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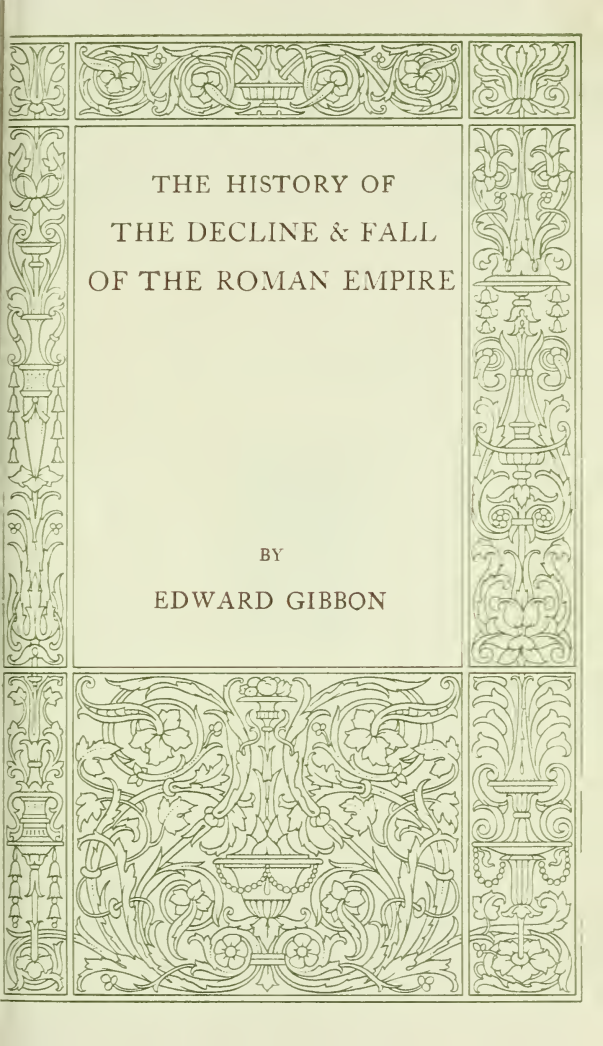
LXXIV

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE

VOL. VII

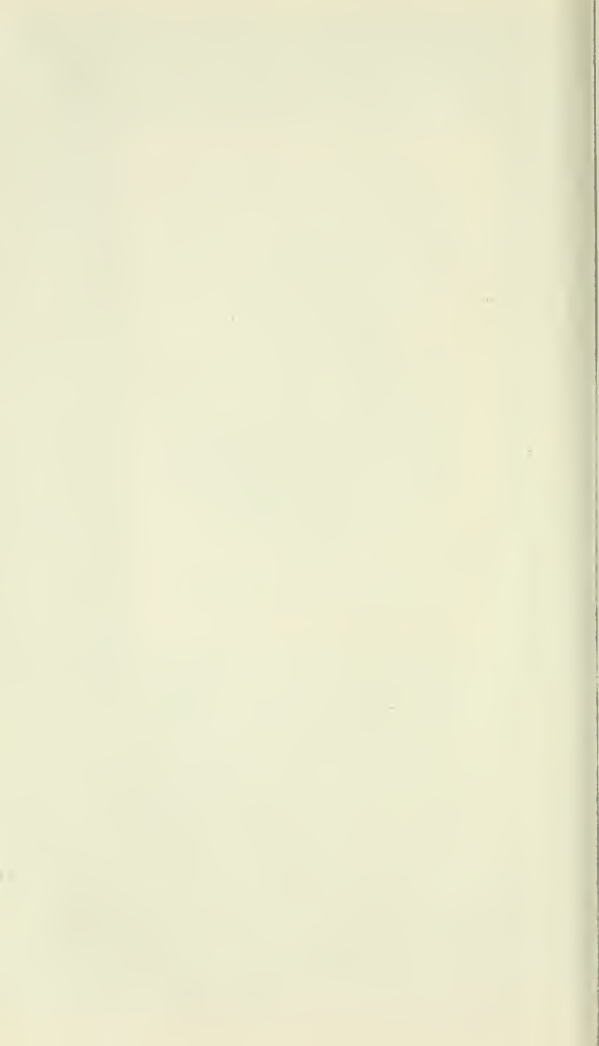






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THE DECLINE & FALL
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

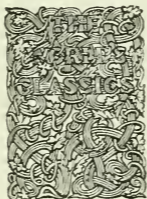
BY
EDWARD GIBBON



THE HISTORY OF
THE DECLINE & FALL OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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VOL. VII

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CONTENTS OF SEVENTH VOLUME

CHAPTER LXIV

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

A.D.	PAGE
1206-1227 Zingis Khan, first Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars	2
His Laws	4
1210-1214 His Invasion of China	6
1218-1224 Of Carizme, Transoxiana, and Persia	7
1227 His Death	9
1227-1295 Conquests of the Moguls under the Successors of Zingis	10
1234 Of the Northern Empire of China	10
1279 Of the Southern	12
1258 Of Persia, and the Empire of the Caliphs	12
1242-1272 Of Anatolia	14
1235-1245 Of Kipzak, Russia, Poland, Hungary, &c.	15
1241 Battle of Liegnitz	16
Battle of Mohi	16
1242 Of Siberia	18
1227-1259 The Successors of Zingis	18
1259-1368 Adopt the Manners of China	19
1259-1300 Division of the Mogul Empire	21

1204465

A. D.	PAGE
1240-1304	Escape of Constantinople and the Greek Empire from the Moguls 21
1304	Decline of the Mogul Khans of Persia 23
1240	Origin of the Ottomans 23
1299-1326	Reign of Othman 24
1326-1360	Reign of Orchan 26
1326-1339	His Conquest of Bithynia 27
1300	Division of Anatolia among the Turkish Emirs 27
1312	Loss of the Asiatic Provinces 27
1310-1523	The Knights of Rhodes 28
1341-1347	First Passage of the Turks into Europe 28
1346	Marriage of Orchan with a Greek Princess 30
1353	Establishment of the Ottomans in Europe 31
	Death of Orchan and his Son Soliman 32
1360-1389	The Reign and European Conquests of Amurath I. 32
	The Janizaries 34
1389-1403	The reign of Bajazet I. Ilderim 35
	His Conquests, from the Euphrates to the Danube 35
1396	Battle of Nicopolis 37
1396-1398	Crusade and Captivity of the French Princes 37
1355-1391	The Emperor John Palæologus 41
	Discord of the Greeks 41
1391-1425	The Emperor Manuel 42
1395-1402	Distress of Constantinople 43

CHAPTER LXV

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

	Histories of Timour, or <i>Tamerlane</i> 45
1361-1370	His first Adventures 47
1370	He ascends the Throne of Zagatai 49
1370-1400	His Conquests 50
1380-1393	I. Of Persia 50
1370-1383	II. Of Turkestan 51

A.D.	PAGE
1390-1396 Of Kipzak, Russia, &c.	52
1398, 1399 III. Of Hindostan	54
1400 His War against Sultan Bajazet	56
Timour invades Syria	59
Sacks Aleppo	61
1401 Damascus	62
And Bagdad	63
1402 Invades Anatolia	63
Battle of Angora	64
Defeat and Captivity of Bajazet	66
The Story of his Iron Cage disproved by the Persian Historian of Timour	67
Attested, 1. By the French	69
— 2. By the Italians	69
— 3. By the Arabs	70
— 4. By the Greeks	70
— 5. By the Turks	71
Probable Conclusion	71
1403 Death of Bajazet	72
Term of the Conquests of Timour	72
1404, 1405 His Triumph at Samarcand	74
1405 His Death on the Road to China	76
Character and Merits of Timour	76
1403-1421 Civil Wars of the Sons of Bajazet	79
1. Mustapha	80
2. Isa	80
1403-1410 3. Soliman	81
1410 4. Mousa	81
1413-1421 5. Mahomet I.	81
1421-1451 Reign of Amurath II.	82
1421 Re-union of the Ottoman Empire	83
1402-1425 State of the Greek Empire	84
1422 Siege of Constantinople by Amurath II.	86
1425-1448 The Emperor John Palæologus II.	87
Hereditary Succession and Merit of the Ottomans	87
Education and Discipline of the Turks	88
Invention and Use of Gunpowder	91

CHAPTER LXVI

APPLICATION OF THE EASTERN EMPERORS TO THE
 POPES—VISITS TO THE WEST, OF JOHN THE FIRST,
 MANUEL, AND JOHN THE SECOND, PALÆOLOGUS—
 UNION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CHURCHES, PRO-
 MOTED BY THE COUNCIL OF BASIL, AND CONCLUDED
 AT FERRARA AND FLORENCE—STATE OF LITERA-
 TURE AT CONSTANTINOPLE—ITS REVIVAL IN ITALY
 BY THE GREEK FUGITIVES—CURIOSITY AND EMULA-
 TION OF THE LATIN

A.D.	PAGE
1339 Embassy of the Younger Andronicus to Pope Bene- dict XII.	93
The Arguments for a Crusade and Union	94
1348 Negotiation of Cantacuzene with Clement VI.	96
1355 Treaty of John Palæologus I. with Innocent VI.	98
1369 Visit of John Palæologus to Urban V. at Rome	99
1370 His Return to Constantinople	102
Visit of the Emperor Manuel	102
1400 To the Court of France	103
— England	104
1402 His Return to Greece	104
Greek Knowledge and Descriptions.	105
Of Germany	105
Of France	106
Of England	107
1402-1417 Indifference of Manuel towards the Latins	108
1417-1425 His Negotiations	109
His Private Motives	109
His Death	111
1425-1437 Zeal of John Palæologus II.	111
Corruption of the Latin Church	112
1377-1429 Schism	113
1409 Council of Pisa.	113
1414-1418 Of Constance	113
1431-1443 Of Basil	114
Their Opposition to Eugenius IV.	114
1434-1437 Negotiations with the Greeks	115
1437 John Palæologus embarks in the Pope's Galleys	116
1438 His Triumphal Entry at Venice	119
— into Ferrara.	120

CONTENTS

ix

A.D.	PAGE
1438, 1439 Council of the Greeks and Latins at Ferrara and Florence	121
Negotiations with the Greeks	125
1438 Eugenius deposed at Basil	128
Re-union of the Greeks at Florence	128
1440 Their Return to Constantinople	129
1449 Final Peace of the Church	130
1300-1453 State of the Greek Language at Constantinople	130
Comparison of the Greeks and Latins	132
Revival of the Greek Learning in Italy	134
1339 Lessons of Barlaam	134
1339-1374 Studies of Petrarch	135
1360 Of Boccace	136
1360-1363 Leo Pilatus, first Greek Professor at Florence, and in the West	137
1390-1415 Foundation of the Greek Language in Italy by Manuel Chrysoloras	138
1400-1500 The Greeks in Italy	140
Cardinal Bessarion, &c.	140
Their Faults and Merits	141
The Platonic Philosophy	143
Emulation and Progress of the Latins	144
1447-1455 Nicholas V.	144
1428-1492 Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medicis	145
Use and Abuse of Ancient Learning	147

CHAPTER LXVII

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

1428-1492 Comparison of Rome and Constantinople	150
1440-1448 The Greek Schism after the Council of Florence	153
Zeal of the Orientals and Russians	155
1421-1451 Reign and Character of Amurath II.	157
1442-1444 His double Abdication	158
1443 Eugenius forms a League against the Turks	160

A.D.	PAGE
Ladislaus, King of Poland and Hungary, marches against them	162
The Turkish Peace	163
1444 Violation of the Peace	164
Battle of Warna	166
Death of Ladislaus	167
The Cardinal Julian	168
John Corvinus Huniades	168
1456 His Defence of Belgrade and Death	170
1404-1413 Birth and Education of Scanderbeg, Prince of Albania	171
1443 His Revolt from the Turks	173
His Valour	174
1467 And Death	175
1448-1453 Constantine, the last of the Roman or Greek Emperors	176
1450-1452 Embassies of Phranza	177
State of the Byzantine Court	179

CHAPTER LXVIII

REIGN AND CHARACTER OF MAHOMET THE SECOND—
SIEGE, ASSAULT, AND FINAL CONQUEST OF CONSTAN-
TINOPLE BY THE TURKS—DEATH OF CONSTANTINE
PALÆOLOGUS—SERVITUDE OF THE GREEKS—EX-
TINCTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST—
CONSTERNATION OF EUROPE—CONQUESTS AND DEATH
OF MAHOMET THE SECOND

1450-1452 Character of Mahomet II.	182
1451-1481 His reign	184
1451 Hostile Intentions of Mahomet	186
1452 He builds a Fortress on the Bosphorus	189
The Turkish War	190
1452, 1453 Preparations for the Siege of Constantinople	191
The great cannon of Mahomet	193
1453 Mahomet II. forms the Siege of Constantinople	195
Forces of the Turks	196
— Greeks	198
1452 False Union of the Two Churches	199
Obstinacy and Fanaticism of the Greeks	200
1453 Siege of Constantinople by Mahomet II.	202

A. D.	PAGE
Attack and Defence	204
Succour and Victory of four Ships	206
Mahomet transports his Navy Overland	209
Distress of the City	211
Preparations of the Turks for the General Assault	212
Last Farewell of the Emperor and the Greeks	214
The General Assault	215
Death of the Emperor Constantine Palæologus	219
Loss of the City and Empire	219
The Turks enter and pillage Constantinople	220
Captivity of the Greeks	221
Amount of the Spoil	223
Mahomet II. visits the City, St. Sophia, the Palace, &c.	225
His Behaviour to the Greeks	227
He re-peoples and adorns Constantinople	228
1453 Extinction of the Imperial Families of Comnenus and Palæologus	231
1460 Loss of the Morea	232
1461 ———— Trebizond	233
1453 Grief and Terror of Europe	234
1481 Death of Mahomet II.	237

CHAPTER LXIX

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

1100-1500 State and Revolutions of Rome	238
1000-1100 The French and German Emperors of Rome	239
Authority of the Popes in Rome	241
From Affection	241
——— Right	242
——— Virtue	242
——— Benefits	243

A.D.	PAGE
Inconstancy of Superstition	243
Seditious of Rome against the Popes	244
1086-1305 Successors of Gregory VII.	245
1090-1118 Paschal II.	246
1118, 1119 Gelasius II.	247
1144, 1145 Lucius II.	247
1181-1185 Lucius III.	247
1119-1124 Calixtus II.	248
1130-1143 Innocent II.	248
Character of the Romans by St. Bernard	248
1140 Political Heresy of Arnold of Brescia	249
1144-1154 He exhorts the Romans to restore the Republic	251
Innocent II., Anastasius IV., Adrian IV.	252
1155 His Execution	253
Restoration of the Senate	253
The Capitol	255
The Coin	256
The Præfect of the City	257
Number and Choice of the Senate	257
The Office of Senator	258
1252-1258 Brancalone	259
1265 1278 Charles of Anjou	260
1281 Pope Martin IV.	261
1328 The Emperor Lewis of Bavaria	261
Addresses of Rome to the Emperors	261
1144 Conrad III.	261
1155 Frederic I.	262
Wars of the Romans against the neighbouring Cities	265
1167 Battle of Tusculum	267
1234 ——— Viterbo	267
The Election of the Popes	268
1179 Right of the Cardinals established by Alexander III.	269
1274 Institution of the Conclave by Gregory X.	270
Absence of the Popes from Rome	271
1294-1303 Boniface VIII.	272
1309 Translation of the Holy See to Avignon	273
1300 Institution of the Jubilee, or Holy Year	276
1350 The Second Jubilee	277
The Nobles or Barons of Rome	278
Family of Leo the Jew	279
The Colonna	280
And Ursini	283
Their hereditary Feuds	284

CHAPTER LXX

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

A.D.		PAGE
1304-1374	Petrarch	286
1341	His Poetic Coronation at Rome	289
	Birth, Character, and patriotic Designs of Rienzi	291
1344	Becomes notary of the civic camera	292
1347	He assumes the Government of Rome	294
	With the Title and Office of Tribune	295
	Laws of the Good Estate	296
	Freedom and Prosperity of the Roman Republic	298
	The Tribune is respected in Italy, &c.	300
	And celebrated by Petrarch	301
	His Vices and Follies	301
	The Pomp of his Knighthood	302
	And Coronation	304
	Fear and Hatred of the Nobles of Rome	305
	They oppose Rienzi in Arms	306
	Defeat and Death of the Colonna	307
	Fall and Flight of the Tribune Rienzi	309
1347-1354	Revolutions of Rome	310
	Adventures of Rienzi	311
1351	A Prisoner at Avignon	312
1354	Rienzi, Senator of Rome	313
	His Death	315
1355	Petrarch invites and upbraids the Emperor Charles IV.	315
	He solicits the Popes of Avignon to fix their Residence at Rome	316
1367-1370	Return of Urban V.	317
1377	Final Return of Gregory XI.	317

A. D.	PAGE
1378 His Death	319
Election of Urban VI.	320
Election of Clement VII.	320
1378-1418 Great Schism of the West	322
Calamities of Rome	322
1392-1407 Negotiations for Peace and Union	323
1409 Council of Pisa	325
1414-1418 Council of Constance	325
Election of Martin V.	327
1417 Martin V.	327
1431 Eugenius IV.	327
1447 Nicholas V.	327
1434 Last Revolt of Rome	327
1452 Last Coronation of a German Emperor, Frederic III.	328
The Statutes and Government of Rome	329
1453 Conspiracy of Porcario	331
Last Disorders of the Nobles of Rome	333
1500 The Popes acquire the absolute Dominion of Rome	334
The Ecclesiastical Government	337
1585-1590 Sixtus V.	338

CHAPTER LXXI

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

1430 View and Discourse of Poggius from the Capitoline Hill	340
His Description of the Ruins	341
Gradual Decay of Rome	342
Four Causes of Destruction	343
I. The Injuries of Nature	344
Hurricanes and Earthquakes	344
Fires	344
Inundations	345
II. The Hostile Attacks of the Barbarians and Christians	347
III. The Use and Abuse of the Materials	349
IV. The Domestic Quarrels of the Romans	352
The Coliseum or Amphitheatre of Titus	354

CONTENTS

XV

A.D.	PAGE
Games of Rome	356
1332 A Bull-feast in the Coliseum	357
Injuries	359
And Consecration of the Coliseum	360
Ignorance and Barbarism of the Romans	360
1420 Restoration and Ornaments of the City	362
Final Conclusion	364
INDEX	367

THE HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER LXIV

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

FROM the petty quarrels of a city and her suburbs, from the cowardice and discord of the falling Greeks, I shall now ascend to the victorious Turks, whose domestic slavery was ennobled by martial discipline, religious enthusiasm, and the energy of the national character. The rise and progress of the Ottomans, the present sovereigns of Constantinople, are connected with the most important scenes of modern history; but they are founded on a previous knowledge of the great eruption of the Moguls and Tartars, whose rapid conquests may be compared with the primitive convulsions of nature, which have agitated

and altered the surface of the globe. I have long since asserted my claim to introduce the nations, the immediate or remote authors of the fall of the Roman empire; nor can I refuse myself to those events which, from their uncommon magnitude, will interest a philosophic mind in the history of blood.¹

From the spacious highlands between China, Siberia, and the Caspian Sea, the tide of emigration and war has repeatedly been poured. These ancient seats of the Huns and Turks were occupied in the twelfth century by many pastoral tribes of the same descent and similar manners, which were united and led to conquest by the formidable Zingis. In his ascent to greatness, that barbarian (whose private appellation was Temugin) had trampled on the necks of his equals. His birth was noble; but it was in the pride of victory that the prince or people deduced his seventh ancestor from the immaculate conception of a virgin. His father had reigned over thirteen hordes, which composed about thirty or forty thousand families; above two-thirds refused to pay tithes or obedience to his infant son; and, at the age of thirteen, Temugin fought a battle against his rebellious subjects. The future conqueror of Asia was reduced to fly and to obey; but he rose superior to his fortune; and, in his fortieth year, he had established his fame and dominion over the circumjacent tribes. In a state of society in which policy is rude and valour is universal, the ascendant of one man must be founded on his power and resolution to punish his enemies and recompense his friends. His first military league was ratified by the simple rites of sacrificing an horse and tasting of a running stream: Temugin pledged himself to divide with his followers the sweets and the bitters of life; and, when he had shared among them his

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

horses and apparel, he was rich in their gratitude and his own hopes. After his first victory, he placed seventy caldrons on the fire, and seventy of the most guilty rebels were cast headlong into the boiling water. The sphere of his attraction was continually enlarged by the ruin of the proud and the submission of the prudent; and the boldest chieftains might tremble, when they beheld, enchased in silver, the skull of the khan of the Keraites,² who under the name of Prester John had corresponded with the Roman pontiff and the princes of Europe. The ambition of Temugin condescended to employ the arts of superstition; and it was from a naked prophet, who could ascend to heaven on a white horse, that he accepted the title of Zingis,³ the *Most Great*; and a divine right to the conquest and dominion of the earth. In a general *couroultai*, or diet, he was seated on a felt, which was long afterwards revered as a relic, and solemnly proclaimed Great Khan or emperor of the Moguls⁴ and Tartars.⁵ Of these kindred though

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

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

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

⁵ The Tartars (more properly Tatars) were descended from Tatar Khan, the brother of Mogul Khan (see Abulghazi, part i. and ii.), and once formed a horde of 70,000 families on the borders of Kitay (pp. 103-112). In the great invasion of Europe (A.D. 1238), they seem to have led the vanguard; and

rival names, the former had given birth to the Imperial race; and the latter has been extended, by accident or error, over the spacious wilderness of the north.

The code of laws which Zingis dictated to his subjects was adapted to the preservation of domestic peace and the exercise of foreign hostility. The punishment of death was inflicted on the crimes of adultery, murder, perjury, and the capital thefts of an horse or ox; and the fiercest of men were mild and just in their intercourse with each other. The future election of the great khan was vested in the princes of his family and the heads of the tribes; and the regulations of the chase were essential to the pleasures and plenty of a Tartar camp. The victorious nation was held sacred from all servile labours, which were abandoned to slaves and strangers; and every labour was servile except the profession of arms. The service and discipline of the troops, who were armed with bows, scymetars, and iron maces, and divided by hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands, were the institutions of a veteran commander. Each officer and soldier was made responsible, under pain of death, for the safety and honour of his companions; and the spirit of conquest breathed in the law that peace should never be granted unless to a vanquished and suppliant enemy. But it is the religion of Zingis that best deserves our wonder and applause. The Catholic inquisitors of Europe, who defended nonsense by cruelty, might have been confounded by the example of a barbarian, who anticipated the lessons of philosophy⁶ and established by his laws a system of pure theism and perfect toleration. His first and only article of faith was the existence of one God, the author of all good, who fills, by his presence, the heavens and earth, which he has created by his

the similitude of the name of *Tartarei* recommended that of Tartars to the Latins (Matth. Paris, p. 398, &c.).

⁶ A singular conformity may be found between the religious laws of Zingis Khan and of Mr. Locke (Constitutions of Carolina, in his works, vol. iv. p. 535, 4to edition, 1777).

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

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

⁸ Haithonus, or Aithonus, an Armenian prince, and afterwards a monk of Premontre (Fabric. *Bibliot. Lat. medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 34), dictated, in the French language, his book *De Tartaris*, his old fellow-soldiers. It was immediately translated into Latin, and is inserted in the *Novus Orbis* of Simon Grynæus (Basil, 1555, in folio).

Syrians,⁹ Arabians,¹⁰ Greeks,¹¹ Russians,¹² Poles,¹³ Hungarians, and Latins; and each nation will deserve credit in the relation of their own disasters and defeats.

The arms of Zingis and his lieutenants successively reduced the hordes of the desert, who pitched their tents between the wall of China and the Volga; and the Mogul emperor became the monarch of the pastoral world, the lord of many millions of shepherds and soldiers, who felt their united strength, and were impatient to rush on the mild and wealthy climates of the south. His ancestors had been the tributaries of the Chinese emperors; and Temugin himself had been disgraced by a title of honour and servitude. The court of Pekin was astonished by an embassy from its former vassal, who in the tone of the king of nations exacted the tribute and obedience which he had paid, and who affected to treat the *son of heaven* as the most contemptible of mankind. An haughty answer disguised their secret apprehensions; and their fears were soon justified by the march of

⁹ Zingis Khan, and his first successors, occupy the conclusion of the ixth Dynasty of Abulpharagius (vers. Pocock, Oxon. 1663, in 4to); and his xth Dynasty is that of the Moguls of Persia. Assemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii.) has extracted some facts from his Syriac writings, and the lives of the Jacobite maphrians or primates of the East.

¹⁰ Among the Arabians, in language and religion, we may distinguish Abulfeda, sultan of Hamah in Syria, who fought in person, under the Mamaluke standard, against the Moguls.

¹¹ Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 5, 6) has felt the necessity of connecting the Scythian and Byzantine histories. He describes, with truth and elegance, the settlement and manners of the Moguls of Persia, but he is ignorant of their origin, and corrupts the names of Zingis and his sons.

¹² M. Levesque (Histoire de Russie, tom. ii.) has described the conquest of Russia by the Tartars, from the patriarch Nikon and the old chronicles.

¹³ For Poland, I am content with the Sarmatia Asiatica et Europaea of Matthew à Michou, or de Michoviâ, a canon and physician of Cracow (A. D. 1506), inserted in the Novus Orbis of Grynæus. Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. mediæ et infimæ Ætatis, tom. v. p. 56.

innumerable squadrons, who pierced on all sides the feeble rampart of the great wall. Ninety cities were stormed, or starved, by the Moguls ; ten only escaped ; and Zingis, from a knowledge of the filial pity of the Chinese, covered his vanguard with their captive parents ; an unworthy and, by degrees, a fruitless abuse of the virtues of his enemies. His invasion was supported by the revolt of an hundred thousand Khitans, who guarded the frontier ; yet he listened to a treaty ; and a princess of China, three thousand horses, five hundred youths, and as many virgins, and a tribute of gold and silk, were the price of his retreat. In his second expedition, he compelled the Chinese emperor to retire beyond the yellow river to a more southern residence. The siege of Pekin¹⁴ was long and laborious : the inhabitants were reduced by famine to decimate and devour their fellow-citizens ; when their ammunition was spent, they discharged ingots of gold and silver from their engines ; but the Moguls introduced a mine to the centre of the capital ; and the conflagration of the palace burnt above thirty days. China was desolated by Tartar war and domestic faction ; and the five northern provinces were added to the empire of Zingis.

In the West, he touched the dominions of Mohammed, sultan of Carizme, who reigned from the Persian Gulf to the borders of India and Turkestan ; and who, in the proud imitation of Alexander the Great, forgot the servitude and ingratitude of his fathers to the house of Seljuk. It was the wish of Zingis to establish a friendly and commercial intercourse with the most powerful of the Moslem princes ; nor could he be tempted by the secret solicitations of the caliph of Bagdad, who sacrificed to his personal wrongs the

¹⁴ More properly *Yen-king*, an ancient city, whose ruins still appear some furlongs to the south-east of the modern *Pekin*, which was built by Cublai Khan (Gaubel, p. 146). *Pe-king* and *Nan-king* are vague titles, the courts of the north and of the south. The identity and change of names perplex the most skilful readers of the Chinese geography (p. 177).

safety of the church and state. A rash and inhuman deed provoked and justified the Tartar arms in the invasion of the southern Asia. A caravan of three ambassadors and one hundred and fifty merchants was arrested and murdered at Otrar, by the command of Mohammed; nor was it till after a demand and denial of justice, till he had prayed and fasted three nights on a mountain, that the Mogul emperor appealed to the judgment of God and his sword. Our European battles, says a philosophic writer, are petty skirmishes, if compared to the numbers that have fought and fallen in the fields of Asia. Seven hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars are said to have marched under the standard of Zingis and his four sons. In the vast plains that extend to the north of the Sihon or Jaxartes, they were encountered by four hundred thousand soldiers of the Sultan; and in the first battle, which was suspended by the night, one hundred and sixty thousand Carizmians were slain. Mohammed was astonished by the multitude and valour of his enemies; he withdrew from the scene of danger, and distributed his troops in the frontier towns; trusting that the barbarians, invincible in the field, would be repulsed by the length and difficulty of so many regular sieges. But the prudence of Zingis had formed a body of Chinese engineers, skilled in the mechanic arts, informed, perhaps, of the secret of gunpowder, and capable, under his discipline, of attacking a foreign country with more vigour and success than they had defended their own. The Persian historians will relate the sieges and reduction of Otrar, Cogende, Bochara, Samarcand, Carizme, Herat, Merou, Nisabour, Balch, and Candahar; and the conquest of the rich and populous countries of Transoxiana, Carizme, and Chorazan. The destructive hostilities of Attila and the Huns have long since been elucidated by the example of Zingis and the Moguls; and in this more proper place I shall be content to observe that, from the Caspian to the Indus, they ruined a tract of many hundred miles,

which was adorned with the habitations and labours of mankind, and that five centuries have not been sufficient to repair the ravages of four years. The Mogul emperor encouraged or indulged the fury of his troops; the hope of future possession was lost in the ardour of rapine and slaughter; and the cause of the war exasperated their native fierceness by the pretence of justice and revenge. The downfall and death of the sultan Mohammed, who expired unpitied and alone in a desert island of the Caspian Sea, is a poor atonement for the calamities of which he was the author. Could the Carizmian empire have been saved by a single hero, it would have been saved by his son Gelaleddin, whose active valour repeatedly checked the Moguls in the career of victory. Retreating, as he fought, to the banks of the Indus, he was oppressed by their innumerable host, till, in the last moment of despair, Gelaleddin spurred his horse into the waves, swam one of the broadest and most rapid rivers of Asia, and extorted the admiration and applause of Zingis himself. It was in this camp that the Mogul emperor yielded with reluctance to the murmurs of his weary and wealthy troops, who sighed for the enjoyment of their native land. Incumbered with the spoils of Asia, he slowly measured back his footsteps, betrayed some pity for the misery of the vanquished, and declared his intention of rebuilding the cities which had been swept away by the tempest of his arms. After he had repassed the Oxus and Jaxartes, he was joined by two generals, whom he had detached with thirty thousand horse, to subdue the western provinces of Persia. They had trampled on the nations which opposed their passage, penetrated through the gates of Derbend, traversed the Volga and the desert, and accomplished the circuit of the Caspian Sea, by an expedition which had never been attempted and has never been repeated. The return of Zingis was signalled by the overthrow of the rebellious or independent kingdoms of Tartary; and he died in the fulness of years

and glory, with his last breath exhorting and instructing his sons to achieve the conquest of the Chinese empire.

The haram of Zingis was composed of five hundred wives and concubines; and of his numerous progeny, four sons, illustrious by their birth and merit, exercised under their father the principal offices of peace and war. Toushi was his great huntsman, Zagatai¹⁵ his judge, Octai his minister, and Tuli his general; and their names and actions are often conspicuous in the history of his conquests. Firmly united for their own and the public interest, the three brothers and their families were content with dependent sceptres; and Octai, by general consent, was proclaimed Great Khan, or emperor of the Moguls and Tartars. He was succeeded by his son Gayuk, after whose death the empire devolved to his cousins, Mangou and Cublai, the sons of Tuli, and the grandsons of Zingis. In the sixty-eight years of his four first successors, the Moguls subdued almost all Asia and a large portion of Europe. Without confining myself to the order of time, without expatiating on the detail of events, I shall present a general picture of the progress of their arms: I. In the East; II. In the South; III. In the West; and IV. In the North.

I. Before the invasion of Zingis, China was divided into two empires or dynasties of the North and South; ¹⁶ and the difference of origin and interest was smoothed

¹⁵ Zagatai gave his name to his dominions of Maurenahar, or Transoxiana; and the Moguls of Hindostan, who emigrated from that country, are styled Zagatais by the Persians. This certain etymology, and the similar example of Uzbek, Nogai, &c. may warn us not absolutely to reject the derivations of a national, from a personal, name.

¹⁶ In Marco Polo and the Oriental geographers, the names of Cathay and Mangi distinguish the Northern and Southern empires, which, from A.D. 1234 to 1279, were those of the Great Khan and of the Chinese. The search of Cathay, after China had been found, excited and misled our navigators of the sixteenth century, in their attempts to discover the north-east passage.

by a general conformity of laws, language, and national manners. The Northern empire, which had been dismembered by Zingis, was finally subdued seven years after his death. After the loss of Pekin, the emperor had fixed his residence at Kaifong, a city many leagues in circumference, and which contained, according to the Chinese annals, fourteen hundred thousand families of inhabitants and fugitives. He escaped from thence with only seven horsemen, and made his last stand in a third capital, till at length the hopeless monarch, protesting his innocence and accusing his fortune, ascended a funeral pile, and gave orders that, as soon as he had stabbed himself, the fire should be kindled by his attendants. The dynasty of the *Song*, the native and ancient sovereigns of the whole empire, survived above forty-five years the fall of the Northern usurpers; and the perfect conquest was reserved for the arms of Cublai. During this interval, the Moguls were often diverted by foreign wars; and, if the Chinese seldom dared to meet their victors in the field, their passive courage presented an endless succession of cities to storm and of millions to slaughter. In the attack and defence of places, the engines of antiquity and the Greek fire were alternately employed: the use of gunpowder, in cannon and bombs, appears as a familiar practice;¹⁷ and the sieges were conducted by the Mahometans and Franks, who had been liberally

¹⁷ I depend on the knowledge and fidelity of the Père Gaubil, who translates the Chinese text of the annals of the Moguls or Yuen (pp. 71, 93, 153); but I am ignorant at what time these annals were composed and published. The two uncles of Marco Polo, who served as engineers at the siege of Siengyang-fou (l. ii. c. 61, in Ramusio, tom. ii.; see Gaubil, pp. 155, 157) must have felt and related the effects of this destructive powder, and their silence is a weighty and almost decisive objection. I entertain a suspicion that the recent discovery was carried from Europe to China by the caravans of the xvth century, and falsely adopted as an old national discovery before the arrival of the Portuguese and Jesuits in the xvith. Yet the Père Gaubil affirms that the use of gunpowder has been known to the Chinese above 1600 years.

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

II. The conquest of Hindostan by the Moguls was reserved in a later period for the house of Timour ; but that of Iran, or Persia, was achieved by Holagou Khan, the grandson of Zingis, the brother and lieutenant of the two successive emperors, Mangou and Cublai. I shall not enumerate the crowd of sultans,

emirs, and atabeks, whom he trampled into dust; but the extirpation of the *Assassins*, or Ismaelians¹⁸ of Persia, may be considered as a service to mankind. Among the hills to the south of the Caspian, these odious sectaries had reigned with impunity above an hundred and sixty years; and their prince, or imam, established his lieutenant to lead and govern the colony of Mount Libanus, so famous and formidable in the history of the crusades.¹⁹ With the fanaticism of the Koran, the Ismaelians had blended the Indian transmigration and the visions of their own prophets; and it was their first duty to devote their souls and bodies in blind obedience to the vicar of God. The daggers of his missionaries were felt both in the East and West: the Christians and the Moslems enumerate, and perhaps multiply, the illustrious victims that were sacrificed to the zeal, avarice, or resentment of *the old man* (as he was corruptly styled) of *the mountain*. But these daggers, his only arms, were broken by the sword of Holagou, and not a vestige is left of the enemies of mankind, except the word *assassin*, which, in the most odious sense, has been adopted in the languages of Europe. The extinction of the Abbassides cannot be indifferent to the spectators of their greatness and decline. Since the fall of their Seljukian tyrants, the caliphs had recovered their lawful dominion of Bagdad and the Arabian Irak; but the city was distracted by theological factions, and the commander of the faithful was lost in a haram of seven hundred concubines. The invasion of the Moguls he encountered with feeble arms and haughty embassies. "On the divine decree," said the caliph Mostasem, "is founded the throne of the sons of

¹⁸ All that can be known of the Assassins of Persia and Syria, is poured from the copious, and even profuse, erudition of M. Falconet, in two *Mémoires* read before the Academy of Inscriptions (tom. xvii. pp. 127-170).

¹⁹ The Ismaelians of Syria, 40,000 assassins, had acquired, or founded, ten castles in the hills above Tortosa. About the year 1280, they were extirpated by the Mamelukes.

Abbas : and their foes shall surely be destroyed in this world and in the next. Who is this Holagou that dares to arise against them? If he be desirous of peace, let him instantly depart from the sacred territory, and perhaps he may obtain from our clemency the pardon of his fault." This presumption was cherished by a perfidious vizir, who assured his master that, even if the barbarians had entered the city, the women and children, from the terraces, would be sufficient to overwhelm them with stones. But, when Holagou touched the phantom, it instantly vanished into smoke. After a siege of two months, Bagdad was stormed and sacked by the Moguls ; and their savage commander pronounced the death of the caliph Mostasem, the last of the temporal successors of Mahomet ; whose noble kinsmen, of the race of Abbas, had reigned in Asia above five hundred years. Whatever might be the designs of the conqueror, the holy cities of Mecca and Medina²⁰ were protected by the Arabian desert ; but the Moguls spread beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, pillaged Aleppo and Damascus, and threatened to join the Franks in the deliverance of Jerusalem. Egypt was lost, had she been defended only by her feeble offspring ; but the Mamalukes had breathed in their infancy the keenness of a Scythian air : equal in valour, superior in discipline, they met the Moguls in many a well-fought field ; and drove back the stream of hostility to the eastward of the Euphrates. But it overflowed with resistless violence the kingdoms of Armenia and Anatolia, of which the former was possessed by the Christians, and the latter by the Turks. The sultans of Iconium opposed some resistance to the Mogul arms, till Azzadin sought a refuge among the Greeks of Constantinople, and his feeble successors, the last of the Seljukian dynasty, were finally extirpated by the khans of Persia.

²⁰ As a proof of the ignorance of the Chinese in foreign transactions, I must observe that some of their historians extend the conquests of Zingis himself to Medina, the country of Mahomet (Gaubil, p. 42).

III. No sooner had Octai subverted the northern empire of China, than he resolved to visit with his arms the most remote countries of the West. Fifteen hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars were inscribed on the military roll; of these the great khan selected a third which he entrusted to the command of his nephew Batou, the son of Tuli; who reigned over his father's conquests to the north of the Caspian Sea. After a festival of forty days, Batou set forwards on this great expedition; and such was the speed and ardour of his innumerable squadrons that in less than six years they had measured a line of ninety degrees of longitude, a fourth part of the circumference of the globe. The great rivers of Asia and Europe, the Volga and Kama, the Don and Borysthenes, the Vistula and Danube, they either swam with their horses, or passed on the ice, or traversed in leathern boats, which followed the camp and transported their waggons and artillery. By the first victories of Batou, the remains of national freedom were eradicated in the immense plains of Turkestan and Kipzak.²¹ In his rapid progress, he overran the kingdoms, as they are now styled, of Astracan and Cazan; and the troops which he detached towards Mount Caucasus, explored the most secret recesses of Georgia and Circassia. The civil discord of the great dukes, or princes, of Russia betrayed their country to the Tartars. They spread from Livonia to the Black Sea, and both Moscow and Kiow, the modern and the ancient capitals, were reduced to ashes; a temporary ruin, less fatal than the deep, and perhaps indelible, mark which a servitude of two hundred years has imprinted on the character of the Russians. The Tartars ravaged with equal fury the countries which they hoped to possess and those which they were hastening to leave. From the permanent conquest of

²¹ The *Dashte Kipzak* or plain of Kipzak, extends on either side of the Volga, in a boundless space towards the Jaik and Borysthenes, and is supposed to contain the primitive name and nation of the Cossacks.

Russia, they made a deadly, though transient, inroad into the heart of Poland, and as far as the borders of Germany. The cities of Lublin and Cracow were obliterated : they approached the shores of the Baltic ; and in the battle of Lignitz, they defeated the dukes of Silesia, the Polish palatines, and the great master of the Teutonic order, and filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain. From Lignitz, the extreme point of their western march, they turned aside to the invasion of Hungary ; and the presence or spirit of Batou inspired the host of five hundred thousand men : the Carpathian hills could not be long impervious to their divided columns ; and their approach had been fondly disbelieved till it was irresistibly felt. The king, Bela the Fourth, assembled the military force of his counts and bishops ; but he had alienated the nation by adopting a vagrant horde of forty thousand families of Comans ; and these savage guests were provoked to revolt by the suspicion of treachery and the murder of their prince. The whole country north of the Danube was lost in a day, and depopulated in a summer ; and the ruins of cities and churches were overspread with the bones of the natives, who expiated the sins of their Turkish ancestors. An ecclesiastic who fled from the sack of Waradin describes the calamities which he had seen or suffered ; and the sanguinary rage of sieges and battles is far less atrocious than the treatment of the fugitives, who had been allured from the woods under a promise of peace and pardon, and who were coolly slaughtered as soon as they had performed the labours of the harvest and vintage. In the winter, the Tartars passed the Danube on the ice, and advanced to Gran or Strigoniun, a German colony, and the metropolis of the kingdom. Thirty engines were planted against the walls ; the ditches were filled with sacks of earth and dead bodies ; and, after a promiscuous massacre, three hundred noble matrons were slain in the presence of the khan. Of all the cities and fortresses of Hungary, three alone survived the Tartar invasion, and the

unfortunate Bela hid his head among the islands of the Adriatic.

The Latin world was darkened by this cloud of savage hostility : a Russian fugitive carried the alarm to Sweden ; and the remote nations of the Baltic and the ocean trembled at the approach of the Tartars,²² whom their fear and ignorance were inclined to separate from the human species. Since the invasion of the Arabs in the eighth century, Europe had never been exposed to a similar calamity ; and, if the disciples of Mahomet would have oppressed her religion and liberty, it might be apprehended that the shepherds of Scythia would extinguish her cities, her arts, and all the institutions of civil society. The Roman pontiff attempted to appease and convert these invincible pagans by a mission of Franciscan and Dominican friars ; but he was astonished by the reply of the khan, that the sons of God and of Zingis were invested with a divine power to subdue or extirpate the nations ; and that the Pope would be involved in the universal destruction, unless he visited in person, and as a suppliant, the royal horde. The emperor Frederic the Second embraced a more generous mode of defence ; and his letters to the kings of France and England and the princes of Germany represented the common danger, and urged them to arm their vassals in this just and rational crusade. The Tartars themselves were awed by the fame and valour of the Franks ; the town of Neustadt in Austria was bravely defended against them by fifty knights and twenty cross-bows ; and they raised the siege on the appearance of a German army. After wasting the adjacent kingdoms of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, Batou slowly retreated from the Danube

²² In the year 1238, the inhabitants of Gothia (*Sweden*) and Frise were prevented, by their fear of the Tartars, from sending, as usual, their ships to the herring fishery on the coast of England ; and, as there was no exportation, forty or fifty of these fish were sold for a shilling (Matthew Paris, p. 396). It is whimsical enough that the orders of a Mogul Khan, who reigned on the borders of China, should have lowered the price of herrings in the English market.

to the Volga to enjoy the rewards of victory in the city and palace of Serai, which started at his command from the midst of the desert.

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

While China, Syria, and Poland were invaded at the same time by the Moguls and Tartars, the authors of the mighty mischief were content with the knowledge and declaration that their word was the sword of death. Like the first caliphs, the first successors of Zingis seldom appeared in person at the head of their victorious armies. On the banks of the Onon and Selinga, the royal or *golden horde* exhibited the contrast of simplicity and greatness; of the roasted sheep and mare's milk which composed their banquets; and of a distribution in one day of five hundred waggons of gold and silver. The ambassadors and princes of Europe and Asia were compelled to undertake this distant and laborious pilgrimage; and the life and reign of the great dukes of Russia, the kings of Georgia and Armenia, the sultans of Iconium, and the emirs of Persia, were decided by the frown or smile of the great khan. The sons and grandsons of Zingis had been accustomed to the pastoral life; but the village of Caracorum²³ was gradually ennobled by their election

²³ The Map of d'Anville and the Chinese Itineraries (de Guignes. tom. i. p. 57) seem to mark the position of Holin, or

and residence. A change of manners is implied in the removal of Octai and Mangou from a tent to an house ; and their example was imitated by the princes of their family and the great officers of the empire. Instead of the boundless forest, the inclosure of a park afforded the more indolent pleasures of the chase ; their new habitations were decorated with painting and sculpture ; their superfluous treasures were cast in fountains, and basins, and statues of massy silver ; and the artists of China and Paris vied with each other in the service of the great khan.²⁴ Caracorum contained two streets, the one of Chinese mechanics, the other of Mahometan traders ; and the places of religious worship, one Nestorian church, two mosques, and twelve temples of various idols, may represent, in some degree, the number and division of inhabitants. Yet a French missionary declares that the town of St. Denys, near Paris, was more considerable than the Tartar capital ; and that the whole palace of Mangou was scarcely equal to a tenth part of that Benedictine abbey. The conquests of Russia and Syria might amuse the vanity of the great khans ; but they were seated on the borders of China ; the acquisition of that empire was the nearest and most interesting object ; and they might learn from their pastoral economy that it is for the advantage of the shepherd to protect and propagate his flock. I have already celebrated the wisdom and virtue of a mandarin who prevented the desolation of five populous and cultivated provinces. In a spotless administration of thirty years, this friend of his country and of mankind continually laboured to mitigate or suspend the havoc of war ; to save the monuments,

Caracorum, about six hundred miles to the north-west of Pekin. The distance between Selingsinsky and Pekin is near 2000 Russian versts, between 1300 and 1400 English miles (Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 67).

²⁴ Rubruquis found at Caracorum his countryman *Guillaume Boucher, orfèvre de Paris*, who had executed, for the khan, a silver tree, supported by four lions, and ejecting four different liquors. Abulghazi (part iv. p. 336) mentions the painters of Kitay or China.

and to rekindle the flame, of science ; to restrain the military commander by the restoration of civil magistrates ; and to instil the love of peace and justice into the minds of the Moguls. He struggled with the barbarism of the first conquerors ; but his salutary lessons produced a rich harvest in the second generation. The northern and by degrees the southern empire acquiesced in the government of Cublai, the lieutenant and afterwards the successor of Mangou ; and the nation was loyal to a prince who had been educated in the manners of China. He restored the forms of her venerable constitution ; and the victors submitted to the laws, the fashions, and even the prejudices of the vanquished people. The peaceful triumph, which has been more than once repeated, may be ascribed, in a great measure, to the numbers and servitude of the Chinese. The Mogul army was dissolved in a vast and populous country ; and their emperors adopted with pleasure a political system which gives to the prince the solid substance of despotism and leaves to the subject the empty names of philosophy, freedom, and filial obedience. Under the reign of Cublai, letters and commerce, peace and justice, were restored ; the great canal of five hundred miles was opened from Nankin to the capital ; he fixed his residence at Peking, and displayed in his court the magnificence of the greatest monarch of Asia. Yet this learned prince declined from the pure and simple religion of his great ancestor : he sacrificed to the idol Fo ; and his blind attachment to the lamas of Thibet and the bonzes of China²⁵ provoked the censure of the disciples of Confucius. His successors polluted the palace with a crowd of eunuchs, physicians,

²⁵ The attachment of the khans, and the hatred of the mandarins, to the bonzes and lamas (Duhalde, *Hist. de la Chine*, tom. i. pp. 502, 503) seems to represent them as the priests of the same god, of the Indian *Fo*, whose worship prevails among the sects of Hindostan, Siam, Thibet, China, and Japan. But this mysterious subject is still lost in a cloud, which the researches of our Asiatic Society may gradually dispel.

and astrologers, while thirteen millions of their subjects were consumed in the provinces by famine. One hundred and forty years after the death of Zingis, his degenerate race, the dynasty of the Yuen, was expelled by a revolt of the native Chinese; and the Mogul emperors were lost in the oblivion of the desert. Before this revolution, they had forfeited their supremacy over the dependent branches of their house, the khans of Kipzak and Russia, the khans of Zagatai or Transoxiana, and the khans of Iran or Persia. By their distance and power, these royal lieutenants had soon been released from the duties of obedience; and, after the death of Cublai, they scorned to accept a sceptre or a title from his unworthy successors. According to their respective situation, they maintained the simplicity of the pastoral life or assumed the luxury of the cities of Asia; but the princes and their hordes were alike disposed for the reception of a foreign worship. After some hesitation between the Gospel and the Koran, they conformed to the religion of Mahomet; and, while they adopted for their brethren the Arabs and Persians, they renounced all intercourse with the ancient Moguls, the idolaters of China.

In this shipwreck of nations, some surprise may be excited by the escape of the Roman empire, whose relics, at the time of the Mogul invasion, were dismembered by the Greeks and Latins. Less potent than Alexander, they were pressed, like the Macedonian, both in Europe and Asia, by the shepherds of Scythia; and, had the Tartars undertaken the siege, Constantinople must have yielded to the fate of Pekin, Samarcand, and Bagdad. The glorious and voluntary retreat of Batou from the Danube was insulted by the vain triumph of the Franks and Greeks; ²⁶ and in a second expedition death surprised

²⁶ Some repulse of the Moguls in Hungary (Matthew Paris, pp. 545, 546) might propagate and colour the report of the union and victory of the kings of the Franks on the confines of Bulgaria. Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 310), after forty years, beyond the Tigris, might be easily deceived.

him in full march to attack the capital of the Cæsars. His brother Borga carried the Tartar arms into Bulgaria and Thrace; but he was diverted from the Byzantine war by a visit to Novogorod, in the fifty-seventh degree of latitude, where he numbered the inhabitants and regulated the tributes of Russia. The Mogul khan formed an alliance with the Mamalukes against his brethren of Persia; three hundred thousand horse penetrated through the gates of Derbend; and the Greeks might rejoice in the first example of domestic war. After the recovery of Constantinople, Michael Palæologus, at a distance from his court and army, was surprised and surrounded in a Thracian castle by twenty thousand Tartars. But the object of their march was a private interest; they came to the deliverance of Azzadin, the Turkish sultan; and were content with his person and the treasure of the emperor. Their general Noga, whose name is perpetuated in the hordes of Astracan, raised a formidable rebellion against Mengo Timour, the third of the khans of Kipzak; obtained in marriage Maria, the natural daughter of Palæologus; and guarded the dominions of his friend and father. The subsequent invasions of a Scythian cast were those of outlaws and fugitives; and some thousands of Alani and Comans, who had been driven from their native seats, were reclaimed from a vagrant life and enlisted in the service of the empire. Such was the influence in Europe of the invasion of the Moguls. The first terror of their arms secured rather than disturbed the peace of the Roman Asia. The sultan of Iconium solicited a personal interview with John Vataces; and his artful policy encouraged the Turks to defend their barrier against the common enemy. That barrier indeed was soon overthrown; and the servitude and ruin of the Seljukians exposed the nakedness of the Greeks. The formidable Holagou threatened to march to Constantinople at the head of four hundred thousand men; and the groundless panic of the citizens of Nice will present an image of the terror which he had inspired. The

accident of a procession, and the sound of a doleful litany, "From the fury of the Tartars, good Lord, deliver us," had scattered the hasty report of an assault and massacre. In the blind credulity of fear, the streets of Nice were crowded with thousands of both sexes, who knew not from what or to whom they fled; and some hours elapsed before the firmness of the military officers could relieve the city from this imaginary foe. But the ambition of Holagou and his successors was fortunately diverted by the conquest of Bagdad and a long vicissitude of Syrian wars; their hostility to the Moslems inclined them to unite with the Greeks and Franks;²⁷ and their generosity or contempt had offered the kingdom of Anatolia as the reward of an Armenian vassal. The fragments of the Seljukian monarchy were disputed by the emirs who had occupied the cities or the mountains; but they all confessed the supremacy of the khans of Persia; and he often interposed his authority, and sometimes his arms, to check their depredations, and to preserve the peace and balance of his Turkish frontier. The death of Cazan,²⁸ one of the greatest and most accomplished princes of the house of Zingis, removed this salutary control; and the decline of the Moguls gave a free scope to the rise and progress of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

After the retreat of Zingis, the sultan Gelaledin of Carisme had returned from India to the possession and defence of his Persian kingdoms. In the space of eleven years, that hero fought in person fourteen battles; and such was his activity that he led his

²⁷ Abulpharagius, who wrote in the year 1284, declares that the Moguls, since the fabulous defeat of Batou, had not attacked either the Franks or Greeks; and of this he is a competent witness. Hayton, likewise, the Armeniac prince, celebrates their friendship for himself and his nation.

²⁸ Pachymer gives a splendid character of Cazan Khan, the rival of Cyrus and Alexander (l. xii. c. 1). In the conclusion of his history (l. xiii. c. 36), he *hopes* much from the arrival of 30,000 Tochars, or Tartars, who were ordered by the successor of Cazan to restrain the Turks of Bithynia, A. D. 1308.

cavalry, in seventeen days, from Teflis to Kerman, a march of a thousand miles. Yet he was oppressed by the jealousy of the Moslem princes and the innumerable armies of the Moguls; and after his last defeat Gelaleddin perished ignobly in the mountains of Curdistan. His death dissolved a veteran and adventurous army, which included under the name of Carizmians, or Corasmins, many Turkman hordes that had attached themselves to the sultan's fortune. The bolder and more powerful chiefs invaded Syria and violated the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem; the more humble engaged in the service of Aladin, sultan of Iconium; and among these were the obscure fathers of the Ottoman line. They had formerly pitched their tents near the southern banks of the Oxus, in the plains of Mahan and Nesa; and it is somewhat remarkable that the same spot should have produced the first authors of the Parthian and Turkish empires. At the head, or in the rear, of a Carizmian army, Soliman Shah was drowned in the passage of the Euphrates; his son, Orthogrul, became the soldier and subject of Aladin, and established at Surgut, on the banks of the Sangar, a camp of four hundred families, or tents, whom he governed fifty-two years both in peace and war. He was the father of Thaman, or Athman, whose Turkish name has been melted into the appellation of the caliph Othman; and, if we describe that pastoral chief as a shepherd and a robber, we must separate from those characters all idea of ignominy and baseness. Othman possessed, and perhaps surpassed, the ordinary virtues of a soldier; and the circumstances of time and place were propitious to his independence and success. The Seljukian dynasty was no more; and the distance and decline of the Mogul khans soon enfranchised him from the control of a superior. He was situate on the verge of the Greek empire; the Koran sanctified his *gazi*, or holy war, against the infidels; and their political errors unlocked the passes of Mount Olympus, and invited him to descend into the plains of Bithynia.

Till the reign of Palæologus, these passes had been vigilantly guarded by the militia of the country, who were repaid by their own safety and an exemption from taxes. The emperor abolished their privilege and assumed their office; but the tribute was rigorously collected, the custody of the passes was neglected, and the hardy mountaineers degenerated into a trembling crowd of peasants without spirit or discipline. It was on the twenty-seventh of July, in the year twelve hundred and ninety-nine of the Christian æra, that Othman first invaded the territory of Nicomedia; and the singular accuracy of the date seems to disclose some foresight of the rapid and destructive growth of the monster. The annals of the twenty-seven years of his reign would exhibit a repetition of the same inroads; and his hereditary troops were multiplied in each campaign by the accession of captives and volunteers. Instead of retreating to the hills, he maintained the most useful and defensible posts; fortified the towns and castles which he had first pillaged; and renounced the pastoral life for the baths and palaces of his infant capitals. But it was not till Othman was oppressed by age and infirmities that he received the welcome news of the conquest of Prusa, which had been surrendered by famine or treachery to the arms of his son Orchan. The glory of Othman is chiefly founded on that of his descendants; but the Turks have transcribed or composed a royal testament of his last counsels of justice and moderation.²⁹

²⁹ I am ignorant whether the Turks have any writers older than Mahomet II., nor can I reach beyond a meagre chronicle (*Annales Turcici ad annum 1550*), translated by John Gaudier, and published by Leunclavius (*ad calcem Laonic. Chalcond. pp. 311-350*), with copious pandects, or commentaries. The *History of the Growth and Decay (A.D. 1300-1683)* of the Othman empire was translated into English from the Latin MS. of Demetrius Cantemir, Prince of Moldavia (London, 1734, in folio). The author is guilty of strange blunders in *Oriental History*; but he was conversant with the language, the annals, and institutions of the Turks. Cantemir partly draws his materials from the *Synopsis of Saadi Effendi of Larissa*, dedi-

From the conquest of Prusa we may date the true æra of the Ottoman empire. The lives and possessions of the Christian subjects were redeemed by a tribute or ransom of thirty thousand crowns of gold; and the city, by the labours of Orchan, assumed the aspect of a Mahometan capital; Prusa was decorated with a mosque, a college, and an hospital of royal foundation; the Seljukian coin was changed for the name and impression of the new dynasty; and the most skilful professors of human and divine knowledge attracted the Persian and Arabian students from the ancient schools of Oriental learning. The office of vizir was instituted for Aladin, the brother of Orchan; and a different habit distinguished the citizens from the peasants, the Moslems from the infidels. All the troops of Othman had consisted of loose squadrons of Turkman cavalry, who served without pay and fought without discipline; but a regular body of infantry was first established and trained by the prudence of his son. A great number of volunteers was enrolled with a small stipend, but with the permission of living at home, unless they were summoned to the field; their rude manners and seditious temper disposed Orchan to educate his young captives as his soldiers and those of the prophet; but the Turkish peasants were still allowed to mount on horseback and follow his standard, with the appellation and the hopes of *freebooters*. By these arts he formed an army of twenty-five thousand Moslems; a train of battering engines was framed for the use of sieges; and the first successful experiment was made on the cities of

cated in the year 1696 to sultan Mustapha, and a valuable abridgment of the original historians. In one of the *Ramblers*, Dr. Johnson praises Knolles (a *General History of the Turks to the present year*, London, 1603), as the first of historians, unhappy only in the choice of his subject. Yet I much doubt whether a partial and verbose compilation from Latin writers, thirteen hundred folio pages of speeches and battles, can either instruct or amuse an enlightened age, which requires from the historian some tincture of philosophy and criticism.

Nice and Nicomedia. Orchan granted a safe-conduct to all who were desirous of departing with their families and effects; but the widows of the slain were given in marriage to the conquerors; and the sacrilegious plunder, the books, the vases, and the images were sold or ransomed at Constantinople. The emperor, Andronicus the Younger, was vanquished and wounded by the son of Othman:³⁰ he subdued the whole province or kingdom of Bithynia, as far as the shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont; and the Christians confessed the justice and clemency of a reign which claimed the voluntary attachment of the Turks of Asia. Yet Orchan was content with the modest title of emir; and in the list of his compeers, the princes of Roum or Anatolia, his military forces were surpassed by the emirs of Ghermian and Carmania, each of whom could bring into the field an army of forty thousand men. Their dominions were situate in the heart of the Seljukian kingdom; but the holy warriors, though of inferior note, who formed new principalities on the Greek empire, are more conspicuous in the light of history. The maritime country from the Propontis to the Mæander and the isle of Rhodes, so long threatened and so often pillaged, was finally lost about the thirtieth year of Andronicus the Elder. Two Turkish chieftains, Sarukhan and Aidin, left their names to their conquests and their conquests to their posterity. The captivity or ruin of the *seven* churches of Asia was consummated; and the barbarous lords of Ionia and Lydia still trample on the monuments of classic and Christian antiquity. In the loss of Ephesus, the Christians deplored the fall of the first angel, the extinction of the first

³⁰ Cantacuzene, though he relates the battle and heroic flight of the younger Andronicus (l. ii. c. 6-8), dissembles, by his silence, the loss of Prusa, Nice, and Nicomedia, which are fairly confessed by Nicephorus Gregoras (l. viii. 15; ix. 9, 13; xi. 6). It appears that Nice was taken by Orchan in 1330, and Nicomedia in 1339, which are somewhat different from the Turkish dates.

candlestick of the Revelations ; the desolation is complete ; and the temple of Diana or the church of Mary will equally elude the search of the curious traveller. The circus and three stately theatres of Laodicea are now peopled with wolves and foxes ; Sardes is reduced to a miserable village ; the God of Mahomet, without a rival or a son, is invoked in the mosques of Thyatira and Pergamus ; and the populousness of Smyrna is supported by the foreign trade of the Franks and Armenians. Philadelphia alone has been saved by prophecy, or courage. At a distance from the sea, forgotten by the emperors, encompassed on all sides by the Turks, her valiant citizens defended their religion and freedom above fourscore years, and at length capitulated with the proudest of the Ottomans. Among the Greek colonies and churches of Asia, Philadelphia is still erect—a column in a scene of ruins—a pleasing example that the paths of honour and safety may sometimes be the same. The servitude of Rhodes was delayed above two centuries by the establishment of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem :³¹ under the discipline of the order that island emerged into fame and opulence ; the noble and warlike monks were renowned by land and sea ; and the bulwark of Christendom provoked and repelled the arms of the Turks and Saracens.

The Greeks, by their intestine divisions, were the authors of their final ruin. During the civil wars of the elder and younger Andronicus, the son of Othman achieved, almost without resistance, the conquest of Bithynia ; and the same disorders encouraged the Turkish emirs of Lydia and Ionia to build a fleet, and to pillage the adjacent islands and the sea-coast of Europe. In the defence of his life and honour, Cantacuzene was tempted to prevent, or imitate, his adversaries by calling to his aid the public enemies of his

³¹ Consult the fourth book of the *Histoire de l'Ordre de Malthe*, par l'Abbé de Vertot. That pleasing writer betrays his ignorance in supposing that Othman, a freebooter of the Bithynian hills, could besiege Rhodes by sea and land.

religion and country. Amir, the son of Aidin, concealed under a Turkish garb the humanity and politeness of a Greek; he was united with the great domestic by mutual esteem and reciprocal services; and their friendship is compared, in the vain rhetoric of the times, to the perfect union of Orestes and Pylades. On the report of the danger of his friend, who was persecuted by an ungrateful court, the prince of Ionia assembled at Smyrna a fleet of three hundred vessels, with an army of twenty-nine thousand men; sailed in the depth of winter, and cast anchor at the mouth of the Hebrus. From thence, with a chosen band of two thousand Turks, he marched along the banks of the river, and rescued the empress, who was besieged in Demotica by the wild Bulgarians. At that disastrous moment the life or death of his beloved Cantacuzene was concealed by his flight into Servia; but the grateful Irene, impatient to behold her deliverer, invited him to enter the city, and accompanied her message with a present of rich apparel and an hundred horses. By a peculiar strain of delicacy the gentle barbarian refused, in the absence of an unfortunate friend, to visit his wife or to taste the luxuries of the palace; sustained in his tent the rigour of the winter; and rejected the hospitable gift, that he might share the hardships of two thousand companions, all as deserving as himself of that honour and distinction. Necessity and revenge might justify his predatory excursions by sea and land: he left nine thousand five hundred men for the guard of his fleet; and persevered in the fruitless search of Cantacuzene, till his embarkation was hastened by a fictitious letter, the severity of the season, the clamours of his independent troops, and the weight of his spoil and captives. In the prosecution of the civil war, the prince of Ionia twice returned to Europe; joined his arms with those of the emperor; besieged Thessalonica, and threatened Constantinople. Calumny might affix some reproach on his imperfect aid, his hasty departure, and a bribe of ten thousand crowns, which he accepted from the Byzantine court; but his

friend was satisfied ; and the conduct of Amir is excused by the more sacred duty of defending against the Latins his hereditary dominions. The maritime power of the Turks had united the pope, the king of Cyprus, the republic of Venice, and the order of St. John, in a laudable crusade ; their galleys invaded the coast of Ionia ; and Amir was slain with an arrow, in the attempt to wrest from the Rhodian knights the citadel of Smyrna.³² Before his death, he generously recommended another ally of his own nation, not more sincere or zealous than himself, but more able to afford a prompt and powerful succour, by his situation along the Propontis and in the front of Constantinople. By the prospect of a more advantageous treaty, the Turkish prince of Bithynia was detached from his engagements with Anne of Savoy ; and the pride of Orchan dictated the most solemn protestations that, if he could obtain the daughter of Cantacuzene, he would invariably fulfil the duties of a subject and a son. Parental tenderness was silenced by the voice of ambition : the Greek clergy connived at the marriage of a Christian princess with a sectary of Mahomet ; and the father of Theodora describes, with shameful satisfaction, the dishonour of the purple. A body of Turkish cavalry attended the ambassadors, who disembarked from thirty vessels before his camp of Selymbria. A stately pavilion was erected, in which the empress Irene passed the night with her daughters. In the morning Theodora ascended a throne, which was surrounded with curtains of silk and gold : the troops were under arms ; but the emperor alone was on horseback. At a signal the curtains were suddenly withdrawn, to disclose the bride, or the victim, encircled by kneeling eunuchs and hymeneal torches : the sound of flutes and trumpets proclaimed the joyful event ; and her pretended happiness was the theme of the nuptial song, which was chanted by such poets as the age could

³² After the conquest of Smyrna by the Latins, the defence of this fortress was imposed by Pope Gregory XI. on the Knights of Rhodes (see Vertot, l. v.).

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

In the treaty with the empress Anne, the Ottoman prince had inserted a singular condition, that it should be lawful for him to sell his prisoners at Constantinople or transport them into Asia. A naked crowd of Christians of both sexes and every age, of priests and monks, of matrons and virgins, was exposed in the public market ; the whip was frequently used to quicken the charity of redemption ; and the indigent Greeks deplored the fate of their brethren, who were led away to the worst evils of temporal and spiritual bondage.³³ Cantacuzene was reduced to subscribe the same terms ; and their execution must have been still more pernicious to the empire : a body of ten thousand Turks had been detached to the assistance of the empress Anne ; but the entire forces of Orchan were exerted in the service of his father. Yet these calamities were of a transient nature ; as soon as the storm had passed away, the fugitives might return to their habitations ; and at the conclusion of the civil and foreign wars Europe was completely evacuated by the Moslems of Asia. It was in his last quarrel

³³ The most lively and concise picture of this captivity may be found in the history of Ducas (c. 8), who fairly transcribes what Cantacuzene confesses with a guilty blush !

with his pupil that Cantacuzene inflicted the deep and deadly wound, which could never be healed by his successors, and which is poorly expiated by his theological dialogues against the prophet Mahomet. Ignorant of their own history, the modern Turks confound their first and their final passage of the Hellespont, and describe the son of Orchan as a nocturnal robber, who, with eighty companions, explores by stratagem an hostile and unknown shore. Soliman, at the head of ten thousand horse, was transported in the vessels, and entertained as the friend, of the Greek emperor. In the civil wars of Roumania, he performed some service and perpetrated more mischief; but the Chersonesus was insensibly filled with a Turkish colony; and the Byzantine court solicited in vain the restitution of the fortresses of Thrace. After some artful delays between the Ottoman prince and his son, their ransom was valued at sixty thousand crowns, and the first payment had been made, when an earthquake shook the walls and cities of the provinces; the dismantled places were occupied by the Turks; and Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, was rebuilt and repeopled by the policy of Soliman. The abdication of Cantacuzene dissolved the feeble bands of domestic alliance; and his last advice admonished his countrymen to decline a rash contest, and to compare their own weakness with the numbers and valour, the discipline and enthusiasm, of the Moslems. His prudent counsels were despised by the headstrong vanity of youth, and soon justified by the victories of the Ottomans. But, as he practised in the field the exercise of the *jerid*, Soliman was killed by a fall from his horse; and the aged Orchan wept and expired on the tomb of his valiant son.

But the Greeks had not time to rejoice in the death of their enemies; and the Turkish scymetar was wielded with the same spirit by Amurath the First, the son of Orchan and the brother of Soliman. By the pale and fainting light of the Byzantine

annals³⁴ we can discern that he subdued without resistance the whole province of Roumania or Thrace, from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus and the verge of the capital; and that Hadrianople was chosen for the royal seat of his government and religion in Europe. Constantinople, whose decline is almost coëval with her foundation, had often, in the lapse of a thousand years, been assaulted by the barbarians of the East and West; but never till this fatal hour had the Greeks been surrounded, both in Asia and Europe, by the arms of the same hostile monarchy. Yet the prudence or generosity of Amurath postponed for a while this easy conquest; and his pride was satisfied with the frequent and humble attendance of the emperor John Palæologus and his four sons, who followed at his summons the court and camp of the Ottoman prince. He marched against the Sclavonian nations between the Danube and the Adriatic, the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians; and these warlike tribes, who had so often insulted the majesty of the empire, were repeatedly broken by his destructive inroads. Their countries did not abound either in gold or silver; nor were their rustic hamlets and townships enriched by commerce or decorated by the arts of luxury. But the natives of the soil have been distinguished in every age by their hardiness of mind and body; and they were converted by a prudent institution into the firmest and most faithful supporters of the Ottoman greatness. The vizir of Amurath reminded his sovereign that, according to the Mahometan law, he was entitled to a fifth part of the spoil and captives; and that the duty might easily be levied, if vigilant officers were stationed at Gallipoli, to watch the passage, and to select for his use the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian youth. The advice was followed: the edict was pro-

³⁴ After the conclusion of Cantacuzene and Gregoras, there follows a dark interval of an hundred years. George Phranza, Michael Ducas, and Laonicus Chalcondyles, all three wrote after the taking of Constantinople.

claimed; many thousands of the European captives were educated in religion and arms; and the new militia was consecrated and named by a celebrated dervish. Standing in the front of their ranks, he stretched the sleeve of his gown over the head of the foremost soldier, and his blessing was delivered in these words: "Let them be called Janizaries (*Yengi cheri*, or new soldiers); may their countenance be ever bright! their hand victorious! their sword keen! may their spear always hang over the heads of their enemies; and, wheresoever they go, may they return with a *white face!*"³⁵ Such was the origin of these haughty troops, the terror of the nations, and sometimes of the sultans themselves. Their valour has declined, their discipline is relaxed, and their tumultuary array is incapable of contending with the order and weapons of modern tactics; but at the time of their institution, they possessed a decisive superiority in war; since a regular body of infantry, in constant exercise and pay, was not maintained by any of the princes of Christendom. The Janizaries fought with the zeal of proselytes against their *idolatrous* countrymen; and in the battle of Cossova the league and independence of the Sclavonian tribes was finally crushed. As the conqueror walked over the field, he observed that the greatest part of the slain consisted of beardless youths; and listened to the flattering reply of his vizir, that age and wisdom would have taught them not to oppose his irresistible arms. But the sword of his Janizaries could not defend him from the dagger of despair; a Servian soldier started from the crowd of dead bodies, and Amurath was pierced in the belly with a mortal wound. The grandson of Othman was mild in his temper, modest in his apparel, and a lover of learning and virtue; but the Moslems

³⁵ *White* and *black* face are common and proverbial expressions of praise and reproach in the Turkish language. *Hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto*, was likewise a Latin sentence.

were scandalised at his absence from public worship ; and he was corrected by the firmness of the mufti, who dared to reject his testimony in a civil cause : a mixture of servitude and freedom not unfrequent in Oriental history.³⁶

The character of Bajazet, the son and successor of Amurath, is strongly expressed in his surname of *Ilderim*, or the lightning ; and he might glory in an epithet which was drawn from the fiery energy of his soul and the rapidity of his destructive march. In the fourteenth year of his reign,³⁷ he incessantly moved at the head of his armies, from Boursa to Hadrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates ; and, though he strenuously laboured for the propagation of the law, he invaded, with impartial ambition, the Christian and Mahometan princes of Europe and Asia. From Angora to Amasia and Erzeroum, the northern regions of Anatolia were reduced to his obedience ; he stripped of their hereditary possessions his brother emirs, of Ghermian and Caramania, of Aidin and Sarukhan ; and after the conquest of Iconium the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians again revived in the Ottoman dynasty. Nor were the conquests of Bajazet less rapid or important in Europe. No sooner had he imposed a regular form of servitude on the Servians and Bulgarians, than he passed the Danube to seek new enemies and new subjects in the

³⁶ See the life and death of Morad, or Amurath I., in *Cantemir* (pp. 33-45), the 1st book of Chalcondyles, and the *Annales Turcici* of Leunclavius. According to another story, the sultan was stabbed by a Croat in his tent : and this accident was alleged to Busbequius (*Epist.* i. p. 98), as an excuse for the unworthy precaution of pinioning, as it were, between two attendants, an ambassador's arms when he is introduced to the royal presence.

³⁷ The reign of Bajazet I. or Ilderim Bayazid, is contained in *Cantemir* (p. 46), the iid book of Chalcondyles, and the *Annales Turcici*. The surname of Ilderim, or lightning, is an example that the conquerors and poets of every age have *felt* the truth of a system which derives the sublime from the principle of terror.

heart of Moldavia.³⁸ Whatever yet adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, acknowledged a Turkish master. An obsequious bishop led him through the gates of Thermopylæ into Greece; and we may observe, as a singular fact, that the widow of a Spanish chief, who possessed the ancient seat of the oracle of Delphi, deserved his favour by the sacrifice of a beautiful daughter. The Turkish communication between Europe and Asia had been dangerous and doubtful, till he stationed at Gallipoli a fleet of galleys, to command the Hellespont and intercept the Latin succours of Constantinople. While the monarch indulged his passions in a boundless range of injustice and cruelty, he imposed on his soldiers the most rigid laws of modesty and abstinence; and the harvest was peaceably reaped and sold within the precincts of his camp. Provoked by the loose and corrupt administration of justice, he collected in a house the judges and lawyers of his dominions, who expected that in a few moments the fire would be kindled to reduce them to ashes. His ministers trembled in silence: but an Æthiopian buffoon presumed to insinuate the true cause of the evil; and future venality was left without excuse by annexing an adequate salary to the office of cadhi.³⁹ The humble title of Emir was no longer suitable to the Ottoman greatness; and Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of Sultan from the caliphs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamalukes;⁴⁰ a last

³⁸ Cantemir, who celebrates the victories of the great Stephen over the Turks (p. 47), had composed the ancient and modern state of his principality of Moldavia, which has been long promised, and is still unpublished.

³⁹ Leunclav. *Annal. Turcici*, pp. 318, 319. The venality of the cadhis has long been an object of scandal and satire; and, if we distrust the observations of our travellers, we may consult the feeling of the Turks themselves (d'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orientale*, pp. 216, 217, 229, 230).

⁴⁰ The fact, which is attested by the Arabic history of Ben Schounah, a contemporary Syrian (de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. iv. p. 336), destroys the testimony of Saad Effendi

and frivolous homage that was yielded by force to opinion, by the Turkish conquerors to the house of Abbas and the successors of the Arabian prophet. The ambition of the sultan was inflamed by the obligation of deserving this august title; and he turned his arms against the kingdom of Hungary, the perpetual theatre of the Turkish victories and defeats. Sigismond, the Hungarian king, was the son and brother of the emperors of the West: his cause was that of Europe and the church; and, on the report of his danger, the bravest knights of France and Germany were eager to march under his standard and that of the cross. In the battle of Nicopolis, Bajazet defeated a confederate army of an hundred thousand Christians, who had proudly boasted that, if the sky should fall, they could uphold it on their lances. The far greater part were slain or driven into the Danube; and Sigismond, escaping to Constantinople by the river and the Black Sea, returned after a long circuit to his exhausted kingdom. In the pride of victory, Bajazet threatened that he would besiege Buda; that he would subdue the adjacent countries of Germany and Italy; and that he would feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome. His progress was checked, not by the miraculous interposition of the apostle, not by a crusade of the Christian powers, but by a long and painful fit of the gout. The disorders of the moral are sometimes corrected by those of the physical world; and an acrimonious humour falling on a single fibre of one man may prevent or suspend the misery of nations.

Such is the general idea of the Hungarian war; but the disastrous adventure of the French has procured us some memorials which illustrate the victory and character of Bajazet.⁴¹ The duke of Burgundy,

and Cantemir (pp. 14, 15), of the election of Othman to the dignity of Sultan.

⁴¹ I should not complain of the labour of this work, if my materials were always derived from such books as the Chronicle of honest Froissard (vol. iv. c. 67, 69, 72, 74, 79-83, 85, 87, 89),

sovereign of Flanders, and uncle of Charles the Sixth, yielded to the ardour of his son, John count of Nevers; and the fearless youth was accompanied by four princes, *his* cousins, and those of the French monarch. Their inexperience was guided by the Sire de Coucy, one of the best and oldest captains of Christendom; ⁴² but the constable, admiral, and marshal of France ⁴³ commanded an army which did not exceed the number of a thousand knights and squires. These splendid names were the source of presumption and the baue of discipline. So many might aspire to command that none were willing to obey; their national spirit despised both their enemies and their allies; and in the persuasion that Bajazet *would* fly or *must* fall, they began to compute how soon they should visit Constantinople, and deliver the holy sepulchre. When their scouts announced the approach of the Turks, the gay and thoughtless youths were at table, already heated with wine: they instantly clasped their armour, mounted their horses, rode full speed to the vanguard, and resented as an affront the advice of Sigismond, which would have deprived them of the right and honour of the foremost attack. The battle of Nicopolis would not have been lost, if the French would have obeyed the prudence of the

who read little, inquired much, and believed all. The original Mémoires of the Maréchal de Boucicault (Partie i. c. 22-28) add some facts, but they are dry and deficient, if compared with the pleasant garrulity of Froissard.

⁴² An accurate Memoir on the life of Enguerrand VII. Sire de Coucy, has been given by the Baron de Zurlauben (Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxv.). His rank and possessions were equally considerable in France and England; and, in 1375, he led an army of adventurers into Switzerland, to recover a large patrimony which he claimed in right of his grandmother, the daughter of the emperor Albert I. of Austria (Sinner, Voyage dans la Suisse Occidentale, tom. i. pp. 118-124).

⁴³ That military office, so respectable at present, was still more conspicuous when it was divided between two persons (Daniel, Hist. de la Milice Française, tom. ii. p. 5). One of these, the marshal of the crusade, was the famous Boucicault, who afterwards defended Constantinople, governed Genoa, invaded the coast of Asia, and died in the field of Azincour.

Hungarians; but it might have been gloriously won had the Hungarians imitated the valour of the French. They dispersed the first line, consisting of the troops of Asia; forced a rampart of stakes, which had been planted against the cavalry; broke, after a bloody conflict, the Janizaries themselves; and were at length overwhelmed by the numerous squadrons that issued from the woods, and charged on all sides this handful of intrepid warriors. In the speed and secrecy of his march, in the order and evolutions of the battle, his enemies felt and admired the military talents of Bajazet. They accuse his cruelty in the use of victory. After reserving the count of Nevers, and four-and-twenty lords, whose birth and riches were attested by his Latin interpreters, the remainder of the French captives, who had survived the slaughter of the day, were led before his throne; and, as they refused to abjure their faith, were successively beheaded in his presence. The sultan was exasperated by the loss of his bravest Janizaries; and if it be true that, on the eve of the engagement, the French had massacred their Turkish prisoners, they might impute to themselves the consequences of a just retaliation. A knight, whose life had been spared, was permitted to return to Paris, that he might relate the deplorable tale and solicit the ransom of the noble captives. In the meanwhile the count of Nevers, with the princes and barons of France, were dragged along in the marches of the Turkish camp, exposed as a grateful trophy to the Moslems of Europe and Asia, and strictly confined at Bursa, as often as Bajazet resided in his capital. The sultan was pressed each day to expiate with their blood the blood of his martyrs; but he had pronounced that they should live, and either for mercy or destruction his word was irrevocable. He was assured of their value and importance by the return of the messenger, and the gifts and intercessions of the kings of France and of Cyprus. Lusignan presented him with a gold salt-cellar of curious workmanship and of the price of ten thousand

ducats; and Charles the Sixth despatched by the way of Hungary a cast of Norwegian hawks, and six horse-loads of scarlet cloth, of fine linen of Rheims, and of Arras tapestry, representing the battles of the great Alexander. After much delay, the effect of distance rather than of art, Bajazet agreed to accept a ransom of two hundred thousand ducats for the count of Nevers and the surviving princes and barons; the marshal Boucicault, a famous warrior, was of the number of the fortunate; but the admiral of France had been slain in the battle; and the constable, with the Sire de Coucy, died in the prison of Boursa. This heavy demand, which was doubled by incidental costs, fell chiefly on the duke of Burgundy, or rather on his Flemish subjects, who were bound by the feudal laws to contribute for the knighthood and captivity of the eldest son of their lord. For the faithful discharge of the debt, some merchants of Genoa gave security to the amount of five times the sum: a lesson to those warlike times that commerce and credit are the links of the society of nations. It had been stipulated in the treaty that the French captives should swear never to bear arms against the person of their conqueror; but the onerous restraint was abolished by Bajazet himself. "I despise," said he to the heir of Burgundy, "thy oaths and thy arms. Thou art young, and mayest be ambitious of effacing the disgrace or misfortune of thy first chivalry. Assemble thy powers, proclaim thy design, and be assured that Bajazet will rejoice to meet thee a second time in a field of battle." Before their departure, they were indulged in the freedom and hospitality of the court of Boursa. The French princes admired the magnificence of the Ottoman, whose hunting and hawking equipage was composed of seven thousand huntsmen, and seven thousand falconers.⁴⁴ In their

⁴⁴ Sherefeddin Ali (*Hist. de Timour Bec*, l. v. c. 13) allows Bajazet a round number of 12,000 officers and servants of the chase. A part of his spoils was afterwards displayed in a hunting-match of Timour: 1. Hounds with satin housings;

presence, and at his command, the belly of one of his chamberlains was cut open, on a complaint against him for drinking the goat's milk of a poor woman. The strangers were astonished by this act of justice; but it was the justice of a sultan who disdains to balance the weight of evidence or to measure the degrees of guilt.

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

2. Leopards with collars set with jewels; 3. Grecian greyhounds; and, 4. dogs from Europe, as strong as African lions (*idem*, l. vi. c. 15). Bajazet was particularly fond of flying his hawks at cranes (Chalcondyles, l. ii. p. 35).

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

The earliest intelligence of that event was communicated to Manuel, who escaped with speed and secrecy from the palace of Bursa to the Byzantine throne. Bajazet affected a proud indifference at the loss of this valuable pledge; and, while he pursued his conquests in Europe and Asia, he left the emperor to struggle with his blind cousin, John of Selymbria, who, in

eight years of civil war, asserted his right of primogeniture. At length the ambition of the victorious sultan pointed to the conquest of Constantinople : but he listened to the advice of his vizir, who represented that such an enterprise might unite the powers of Christendom in a second and more formidable crusade. His epistle to the emperor was conceived in these words :—“ By the divine clemency, our invincible scimitar has reduced to our obedience almost all Asia, with many and large countries in Europe, excepting only the city of Constantinople ; for beyond the walls thou hast nothing left. Resign that city ; stipulate thy reward ; or tremble for thyself and thy unhappy people at the consequences of a rash refusal.” But his ambassadors were instructed to soften their tone, and to propose a treaty, which was subscribed with submission and gratitude. A truce of ten years was purchased by an annual tribute of thirty thousand crowns of gold ; the Greeks deplored the public toleration of the law of Mahomet ; and Bajazet enjoyed the glory of establishing a Turkish cadhi and founding a royal mosque in the metropolis of the Eastern church. Yet this truce was soon violated by the restless sultan : in the cause of the prince of Selymbria, the lawful emperor, an army of Ottomans again threatened Constantinople ; and the distress of Manuel implored the protection of the king of France. His plaintive embassy obtained much pity, and some relief ; and the conduct of the succour was entrusted to the marshal Boucicault, whose religious chivalry was inflamed by the desire of revenging his captivity on the infidels. He sailed with four ships of war from Aiguesmortes to the Hellespont ; forced the passage, which was guarded by seventeen Turkish galleys ; landed at Constantinople a supply of six hundred men at arms and sixteen hundred archers ; and reviewed them in the adjacent plain, without condescending to number or array the multitude of Greeks. By his presence, the blockade was raised both by sea and land ; the flying squadrons of Bajazet were driven to

a more respectful distance ; and several castles in Europe and Asia were stormed by the emperor and the marshal, who fought with equal valour by each other's side. But the Ottomans soon returned with an increase of numbers ; and the intrepid Boucicault, after a year's struggle, resolved to evacuate a country which could no longer afford either pay or provisions for his soldiers. The marshal offered to conduct Manuel to the French court, where he might solicit in person a supply of men and money ; and advised in the meanwhile that, to extinguish all domestic discord, he should leave his blind competitor on the throne. The proposal was embraced : the prince of Selymbria was introduced to the capital ; and such was the public misery that the lot of the exile seemed more fortunate than that of the sovereign. Instead of applauding the success of his vassal, the Turkish sultan claimed the city as his own ; and, on the refusal of the emperor John, Constantinople was more closely pressed by the calamities of war and famine. Against such an enemy prayers and resistance were alike unavailing ; and the savage would have devoured his prey, if, in the fatal moment, he had not been overthrown by another savage stronger than himself. By the victory of Timour, or Tamerlane, the fall of Constantinople was delayed about fifty years ; and this important though accidental service may justly introduce the life and character of the Mogul conqueror.

CHAPTER LXV

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

THE conquest and monarchy of the world was the first object of the ambition of TIMOUR. To live in the memory and esteem of future ages was the second wish of his magnanimous spirit. All the civil and military transactions of his reign were diligently recorded in the journals of his secretaries¹: the authentic narrative was revised by the persons best informed of each particular transaction; and it is believed in the empire and family of Timour that the monarch himself composed the *commentaries*² of his

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

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

life and the *institutions*³ of his government.⁴ But these cares were ineffectual for the preservation of his fame, and these precious memorials in the Mogul or Persian language were concealed from the world, or, at least, from the knowledge of Europe. The nations which he vanquished exercised a base and impotent revenge; and ignorance has long repeated the tale of calumny, which had disfigured the birth and character, the person, and even the name, of *Tamerlane*.⁵ Yet his real merit would be enhanced, rather than debased, by the elevation of a peasant to the throne of Asia; nor can his lameness be a theme of reproach, unless he had the weakness to blush at a natural, or perhaps an honourable, infirmity.

In the eyes of the Moguls, who held the indefeasible succession of the house of Zingis, he was doubtless a rebel-subject; yet he sprang from the noble tribe of Berlass: his fifth ancestor, Carashar Nevian, had been the vizir of Zagatai, in his new realm of Transoxiana; and, in the ascent of some

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

⁴ Shaw Allum, the present Mogul, reads, values, but cannot imitate, the institutions of his great ancestor. The English translator relies on their internal evidence; but, if any suspicions should arise of fraud and fiction, they will not be dispelled by Major Davy's letter. The Orientals have never cultivated the art of criticism; the patronage of a prince, less honourable perhaps, is not less lucrative than that of a bookseller; nor can it be deemed incredible that a Persian, the *real* author, should renounce the credit, to raise the value and price, of the work.

⁵ *Demir* or *Timour* signifies, in the Turkish language, iron; and *Beg* is the appellation of a lord or prince. By the change of a letter or accent it is changed into *Lenc*, or lame; and a European corruption confounds the two words in the name of Tamerlane.

generations, the branch of Timour is confounded, at least by the females,⁶ with the Imperial stem.⁷ He was born forty miles to the south of Samarcand, in the village of Šebzar, in the fruitful territory of Cash, of which his fathers were the hereditary chiefs, as well as of a toman of ten thousand horse. His birth⁸ was cast on one of those periods of anarchy which announce the fall of the Asiatic dynasties, and open a new field to adventurous ambition. The khans of Zagatai were extinct; the emirs aspired to independence; and their domestic feuds could only be suspended by the conquest and tyranny of the khans of Kashgar, who, with an army of Getes or Calmucks,⁹ invaded the Transoxian kingdom. From the twelfth year of his age Timour had entered the field of action; in the twenty-fifth he stood forth as the deliverer of

⁶ After relating some false and foolish tales of Timour *Lenc*, Arabshah is compelled to speak truth, and to own him for a kinsman of Zingis, per mulieres (as he peevishly adds) laqueos Satanæ (pars i. c. i. p. 25). The testimony of Abulghazi Khan (p. ii. c. 5, p. v. c. 4) is clear, unquestionable, and decisive.

⁷ According to one of the pedigrees, the fourth ancestor of Zingis, and the ninth of Timour, were brothers; and they agreed that the posterity of the elder should succeed to the dignity of Khan, and that the descendants of the younger should fill the office of their minister and general. This tradition was at least convenient to justify the *first* steps of Timour's ambition (Institutions, pp. 24, 25, from the MS. fragments of Timour's history).

⁸ See his nativity in Dr. Hyde (Syntagma Dissertat. tom. ii. p. 466), as it was cast by the astrologers of his grandson Ulugh Beg. He was born A.D. 1336 9th April, 11° 57' P. M. lat. 36. I know not whether they can prove the great conjunction of the planets from whence, like other conquerors and prophets, Timour derived the surname of Saheb Keran, or master of the conjunctions (Bibliot. Orient. p. 878).

⁹ In the institutions of Timour, these subjects of the Khan of Kashgar are most improperly styled Ouzbegs, or Uzbeks, a name which belongs to another branch and country of Tartars (Abulghazi, p. v. c. 5; p. vii. c. 5). Could I be sure that this word is in the Turkish original, I would boldly pronounce that the Institutions were framed a century after the death of Timour, since the establishment of the Uzbeks in Transoxiana.

his country; and the eyes and wishes of the people were turned towards an hero who suffered in their cause. The chiefs of the law and of the army had pledged their salvation to support him with their lives and fortunes, but in the hour of danger they were silent and afraid; and, after waiting seven days on the hills of Samarcand, he retreated to the desert with only sixty horsemen. The fugitives were overtaken by a thousand Getes, whom he repulsed with incredible slaughter, and his enemies were forced to exclaim, "Timour is a wonderful man; fortune and the divine favour are with him." But in this bloody action his own followers were reduced to ten, a number which was soon diminished by the desertion of three Carizmians. He wandered in the desert with his wife, seven companions, and four horses; and sixty-two days was he plunged in a loathsome dungeon, from whence he escaped by his own courage and the remorse of the oppressor. After swimming the broad and rapid stream of the Jihoon, or Oxus, he led, during some months, the life of a vagrant and outlaw, on the borders of the adjacent states. But his fame shone brighter in adversity; he learned to distinguish the friends of his person, the associates of his fortune, and to apply the various characters of men for their advantage, and above all for his own. On his return to his native country, Timour was successively joined by the parties of his confederates, who anxiously sought him in the desert; nor can I refuse to describe, in his pathetic simplicity, one of their fortunate encounters. He presented himself as a guide to three chiefs, who were at the head of seventy horse. "When their eyes fell upon me," says Timour, "they were overwhelmed with joy; and they alighted from their horses; and they came and kneeled; and they kissed my stirrup. I also came down from my horse, and took each of them in my arms. And I put my turban on the head of the first chief; and my girdle, rich in jewels and wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of the second; and the third I clothed in my own coat.

And they wept, and I wept also; and the hour of prayer was arrived, and we prayed. And we mounted our horses and came to my dwelling; and I collected my people and made a feast." His trusty bands were soon increased by the bravest of the tribes; he led them against a superior foe; and after some vicissitudes of war the Getes were finally driven from the kingdom of Transoxiana. He had done much for his own glory; but much remained to be done, much art to be exerted, and some blood to be spilt, before he could teach his equals to obey him as their master. The birth and power of emir Houssein compelled him to accept a vicious and unworthy colleague, whose sister was the best beloved of his wives. Their union was short and jealous; but the policy of Timour, in their frequent quarrels, exposed his rival to the reproach of injustice and perfidy; and, after a small defeat, Houssein was slain by some sagacious friends, who presumed, for the last time, to disobey the commands of their lord. At the age of thirty-four,¹⁰ and in a general diet, or *couroultai*, he was invested with *Imperial* command; but he affected to revere the house of Zingis; and, while the emir Timour reigned over Zagatai and the East, a nominal khan served as a private officer in the armies of his servant. A fertile kingdom, five hundred miles in length and in breadth, might have satisfied the ambition of a subject; but Timour aspired to the dominion of the world; and before his death the crown of Zagatai was one of the twenty-seven crowns which he had placed on his head. Without expatiating on the victories of thirty-five campaigns; without describing the lines of march, which he repeatedly traced over the continent of Asia; I shall briefly represent his conquests in I. Persia,

¹⁰ The 1st book of Sherefeddin is employed on the private life of the hero; and he himself, or his secretary (Institutions, pp. 3-77), enlarges with pleasure on the thirteen designs and enterprises which most truly constitute his *personal* merit. It even shines through the dark colouring of Arabshah, p. i. c. 1-12.

II. Tartary, and III India,¹¹ and from thence proceed to the more interesting narrative of his Ottoman war.

I. For every war, a motive of safety or revenge, of honour or zeal, of right or convenience, may be readily found in the jurisprudence of conquerors. No sooner had Timour re-united to the patrimony of Zagatai the dependent countries of Carizme and Candahar, than he turned his eyes towards the kingdoms of Iran or Persia. From the Oxus to the Tigris that extensive country was left without a lawful sovereign since the death of Abousaid, the last of the descendants of the great Houlacou. Peace and justice had been banished from the land above forty years; and the Mogul invader might seem to listen to the cries of an oppressed people. Their petty tyrants might have opposed him with confederate arms: they separately stood, and successively fell; and the difference of their fate was only marked by the promptitude of submission or the obstinacy of resistance. Ibrahim, prince of Shirwan or Albania, kissed the footstool of the Imperial throne. His peace-offerings of silks, horses, and jewels, were composed, according to the Tartar fashion, each article of nine pieces; but a critical spectator observed that there were only eight slaves. "I myself am the ninth," replied Ibrahim, who was prepared for the remark; and his flattery was rewarded by the smile of Timour.¹² Shah Mansour, prince of Fars or the proper Persia, was one of the least powerful, but most dangerous, of his enemies. In a battle under the walls of Shiraz, he broke, with three or four thousand soldiers, the *coul* or main body of thirty thousand horse, where the emperor fought

¹¹ The conquests of Persia, Tartary, and India are represented in the iid and iiid books of Sherefeddin, and by Arabshah, c. 13-55. Consult the excellent Indexes to the Institutions.

¹² The reverence of the Tartars for the mysterious number of *nine* is declared by Abulghazi Khan, who, for that reason, divides his Genealogical History into nine parts.

in person. No more than fourteen or fifteen guards remained near the standard of Timour ; he stood firm as a rock, and received on his helmet two weighty strokes of a scimitar ;¹³ the Moguls rallied ; the head of Mansour was thrown at his feet, and he declared his esteem of the valour of a foe by extirpating all the males of so intrepid a race. From Shiraz, his troops advanced to the Persian Gulf ; and the richness and weakness of Ormuz¹⁴ were displayed in an annual tribute of six hundred thousand dinars of gold. Bagdad was no longer the city of peace, the seat of the caliphs ; but the noblest conquest of Houlacou could not be overlooked by his ambitious successor. The whole course of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the mouth to the sources of those rivers, was reduced to his obedience. He entered Edessa ; and the Turkmans of the black sheep were chastised for the sacrilegious pillage of a caravan of Mecca. In the mountains of Georgia, the native Christians still braved the law and the sword of Mahomet ; by three expeditions he obtained the merit of the *gazie*, or holy war ; and the Prince of Teflis became his proselyte and friend.

II. A just retaliation might be urged for the invasion of Turkestan, or the Eastern Tartary. The

¹³ According to Arabshah (p. i. c. 28, p. 183), the coward Timour ran away to his tent, and hid himself from the pursuit of Shah Mansour under the women's garments. Perhaps Sherefeddin (l. ii. c. 25) has magnified his courage.

¹⁴ The history of Ormuz is not unlike that of Tyre. The old city, on the continent, was destroyed by the Tartars, and renewed in a neighbouring island without fresh water or vegetation. The kings of Ormuz, rich in the Indian trade and the pearl fishery, possessed large territories both in Persia and Arabia ; but they were at first the tributaries of the sultans of Kerman, and at last were delivered (A.D. 1505) by the Portuguese tyrants from the tyranny of their own vizirs (Marco Polo, l. i. c. 15, 16, fol. 7, 8 ; Abulfeda Geograph. tabul. xi. pp. 261, 262 ; an original Chronicle of Ormuz, in Texeira, or Stevens' History of Persia, pp. 376-416, and the Itineraries inserted in the 1st volume of Ramusio ; of Ludovico Barthema (1503), fol. 167 ; of Andrea Corsali (1517), fol. 202, 203 ; and of Odoardo Barbessa (in 1516), fol. 315-318).

dignity of Timour could not endure the impunity of the Getes : he passed the Sihoon, subdued the kingdom of Kashgar, and marched seven times into the heart of their country. His most distant camp was two months' journey, or four hundred and eighty leagues to the north-east of Samarcand ; and his emirs, who traversed the river Irtish, engraved in the forests of Siberia a rude memorial of their exploits. The conquest of Kipzak, or the Western Tartary,¹⁵ was founded on the double motive of aiding the distressed and chastising the ungrateful. Toctamish, a fugitive prince, was entertained and protected in his court : the ambassadors of Auruss Khan were dismissed with an haughty denial, and followed on the same day by the armies of Zagatai ; and their success established Toctamish in the Mogul empire of the North. But, after a reign of ten years, the new khan forgot the merits and the strength of his benefactor, the base usurper, as he deemed him, of the sacred rights of the house of Zingis. Through the gates of Derbend, he entered Persia at the head of ninety thousand horse : with the innumerable forces of Kipzak, Bulgaria, Circassia, and Russia, he passed the Sihoon, burnt the palaces of Timour, and compelled him, amidst the winter snows, to contend for Samarcand and his life. After a mild expostulation, and a glorious victory, the emperor resolved on revenge ; and by the east and the west of the Caspian and the Volga, he twice invaded Kipzak with such mighty powers that thirteen miles were measured from his right to his left wing. In a march of five months, they rarely beheld the footsteps of man ; and their daily subsistence was often trusted to the fortune of the chase. At length the armies encountered each other ; but the treachery of the standard-bearer, who, in the heat of action, reversed the Imperial standard of Kipzak, determined the victory of the Zagatais ;

¹⁵ Arabshah had travelled into Kipzak, and acquired a singular knowledge of the geography, cities, and revolutions of that northern region (p. i. c. 45-49).

and Toctamish (I speak the language of the Institutions) gave the tribe of Touthi to the wind of desolation.¹⁶ He fled to the Christian duke of Lithuania; again returned to the banks of the Volga; and, after fifteen battles with a domestic rival, at last perished in the wilds of Siberia. The pursuit of a flying enemy carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Russia: a duke of the reigning family was made prisoner amidst the ruins of his capital; and Yeletz, by the pride and ignorance of the Orientals, might easily be confounded with the genuine metropolis of the nation. Moscow trembled at the approach of the Tartar, and the resistance would have been feeble, since the hopes of the Russians were placed in a miraculous image of the Virgin, to whose protection they ascribed the casual and voluntary retreat of the conqueror. Ambition and prudence recalled him to the south, the desolate country was exhausted, and the Mogul soldiers were enriched with an immense spoil of precious furs, of linen of Antioch,¹⁷ and of ingots of gold and silver.¹⁸ On the banks of the Don, or Tanais, he received an humble deputation from the consuls and merchants of Egypt¹⁹ Venice, Genoa,

¹⁶ Institutions of Timour, pp. 123, 125. Mr. White, the editor, bestows some animadversion on the superficial account of Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 12-14), who was ignorant of the designs of Timour, and the true springs of action.

¹⁷ The furs of Russia are more credible than the ingots. But the linen of Antioch has never been famous; and Antioch was in ruins. I suspect that it was some manufacture of Europe, which the Hanse merchants had imported by the way of Novogorod.

¹⁸ M. Levesque (Hist. de Russie, tom. ii. p. 247. Vie de Timour, pp. 64-67, before the French version of the Institutes) has corrected the error of Sherefeddin, and marked the true limit of Timour's conquests. His arguments are superfluous, and a simple appeal to the Russian annals is sufficient to prove that Moscow, which six years before had been taken by Toctamish, escaped the arms of a more formidable invader.

¹⁹ An Egyptian consul from Grand Cairo is mentioned in Barbaro's voyage to Tana in 1436, after the city had been rebuilt (Ramusio, tom. ii. fol. 92).

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

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

²⁰ The sack of Azoph is described by Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 55), and much more particularly by the author of an Italian chronicle (Andreas de Redusiis de Quero, in Chron. Tarvisiano, in Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xix. pp. 802-805). He had conversed with the Mianis, two Venetian brothers, one of whom had been sent a deputy to the camp of Timour, and the other had lost at Azoph three sons and 12,000 ducats.

²¹ Sherefeddin only says (l. iii. c. 13) that the rays of the setting, and those of the rising, sun were scarcely separated by any interval: a problem which may be solved in the latitude of Moscow (the 56th degree) with the aid of the Aurora Borealis and a long summer twilight. But a *day* of forty days (Khondemir apud d'Herbelot, p. 880) would rigorously confine us within the polar circle.

of Hindostan; the soubahs of the provinces had erected the standard of rebellion; and the perpetual infancy of sultan Mahmoud was despised even in the haram of Delhi. The Mogul army moved in three great divisions; and Timour observes with pleasure that the ninety-two squadrons of a thousand horse most fortunately corresponded with the ninety-two names or epithets of the prophet Mahomet. Between the Jihoon and the Indus, they crossed one of the ridges of mountains, which are styled by the Arabian geographers the Stony Girdles of the Earth. The highland robbers were subdued or extirpated; but great numbers of men and horses perished in the snow; the emperor himself was let down a precipice on a portable scaffold, the ropes were one hundred and fifty cubits in length; and, before he could reach the bottom, this dangerous operation was five times repeated. Timour crossed the Indus at the ordinary passage of Attok; and successively traversed, in the footsteps of Alexander, the *Punjab*, or five rivers,²² that fall into the master-stream. From Attok to Delhi the high road measures no more than six hundred miles; but the two conquerors deviated to the south-east; and the motive of Timour was to join his grandson, who had achieved by his command the conquest of Moultan. On the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, on the edge of the desert, the Macedonian hero halted and wept; the Mogul entered the desert, reduced the fortress of Batnir, and stood in arms before the gates of Delhi, a great and flourishing city, which had subsisted three centuries under the dominion of the Mahometan kings. The siege, more especially of the castle, might have been a work of time; but he tempted, by the appearance of weakness, the sultan Mahmoud and his vizir to

²² The rivers of the Punjab, the five eastern branches of the Indus, have been laid down for the first time with truth and accuracy in Major Rennell's incomparable map of Hindostan. In his Critical Memoir he illustrates with judgment and learning the marches of Alexander and Timour.

descend into the plain, with ten thousand cuirassiers, forty thousand of his foot-guards, and one hundred and twenty elephants, whose tusks are said to have been armed with sharp and poisoned daggers. Against these monsters, or rather against the imagination of his troops, he condescended to use some extraordinary precautions of fire and a ditch, of iron spikes and a rampart of bucklers; but the event taught the Moguls to smile at their own fears; and, as soon as these unwieldy animals were routed, the inferior species (the men of India) disappeared from the field. Timour made his triumphal entry into the capital of Hindostan; and admired, with a view to imitate, the architecture of the stately mosque; but the order or licence of a general pillage and massacre polluted the festival of his victory. He resolved to purify his soldiers in the blood of the idolaters, or Gentoos, who still surpass, in the proportion of ten to one, the numbers of the Moslems. In this pious design, he advanced one hundred miles to the north-east of Delhi, passed the Ganges, fought several battles by land and water, and penetrated to the famous rock of Coupele, the statue of the cow, that *seems* to discharge the mighty river, whose source is far distant among the mountains of Thibet.²³ His return was along the skirts of the northern hills; nor could this rapid campaign of one year justify the strange foresight of his emirs that their children in a warm climate would degenerate into a race of Hindoos.

It was on the banks of the Ganges that Timour

²³ The two great rivers, the Ganges and Burrampooter, rise in Thibet, from the opposite ridges of the same hills, separate from each other to the distance of 1200 miles, and, after a winding course of 2000 miles, again meet in one point near the gulf of Bengal. Yet, so capricious is fame that the Burrampooter is a late discovery, while his brother Ganges has been the theme of ancient and modern story. Coupele, the scene of Timour's last victory, must be situate near Loldong, 1100 miles from Calcutta; and, in 1774, a British camp! (Rennell's Memoir, pp. 7, 59, 90, 91, 99).

was informed, by his speedy messengers, of the disturbances which had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, of the revolt of the Christians, and the ambitious designs of the sultan Bajazet. His vigour of mind and body was not impaired by sixty-three years and innumerable fatigues; and, after enjoying some tranquil months in the palace of Samarcand, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the western countries of Asia. To the soldiers who had served in the Indian war, he granted the choice of remaining at home or following their prince; but the troops of all the provinces and kingdoms of Persia were commanded to assemble at Ispahan and wait the arrival of the Imperial standard. It was first directed against the Christians of Georgia, who were strong only in their rocks, their castles, and the winter-season; but these obstacles were overcome by the zeal and perseverance of Timour; the rebels submitted to the tribute or the Koran; and, if both religions boasted of their martyrs, that name is more justly due to the Christian prisoners, who were offered the choice of abjuration or death. On his descent from the hills, the emperor gave audience to the first ambassadors of Bajazet, and opened the hostile correspondence of complaints and menaces which fermented two years before the final explosion. Between two jealous and haughty neighbours, the motives of quarrel will seldom be wanting. The Mogul and Ottoman conquests now touched each other in the neighbourhood of Erzeroum and the Euphrates; nor had the doubtful limit been ascertained by time and treaty. Each of these ambitious monarchs might accuse his rival of violating his territory, of threatening his vassals, and protecting his rebels; and, by the name of rebels, each understood the fugitive princes, whose kingdoms he had usurped and whose life or liberty he implacably pursued. The resemblance of character was still more dangerous than the opposition of interest; and, in their victorious career, Timour was impatient of an equal, and Bajazet was

ignorant of a superior. The first epistle²⁴ of the Mogul emperor must have provoked instead of reconciling the Turkish sultan, whose family and nation he affected to despise.²⁵ “Dost thou not know that the greatest part of Asia is subject to our arms and our laws? that our invincible forces extend from one sea to the other? that the potentates of the earth form a line before our gate? and that we have compelled Fortune herself to watch over the prosperity of our empire? What is the foundation of thy insolence and folly? Thou hast fought some battles in the woods of Anatolia; contemptible trophies! Thou hast obtained some victories over the Christians of Europe; thy sword was blessed by the apostle of God; and thy obedience to the precept of the Koran, in waging war against the infidels, is the sole consideration that prevents us from destroying thy country, the frontier and bulwark of the Moslem world. Be wise in time; reflect; repent; and avert the thunder of our vengeance, which is yet suspended over thy head. Thou art no more than a pismire; why wilt thou seek to provoke the elephants? Alas! they will trample thee under their feet.” In his replies, Bajazet poured forth the indignation of a soul which was deeply stung by such unusual contempt. After retorting the basest reproaches on the thief and rebel of the desert, the Ottoman recapitulates his boasted victories in Iran, Touran, and

²⁴ We have three copies of these hostile epistles in the Institutions (p. 147), in Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 14), and in Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 19, pp. 183-201), which agree with each other in the spirit and substance, rather than in the style. It is probable that they have been translated, with various latitude, from the Turkish original into the Arabic and Persian tongues.

²⁵ The Mogul emir distinguishes himself and his countrymen by the name of *Turks*, and stigmatizes the race and nation of Bajazet with the less honourable epithet of *Turkman*s. Yet I do not understand how the Ottomans could be descended from a Turkman sailor; those inland shepherds were so remote from the sea and all maritime affairs.

the Indies; and labours to prove that Timour had never triumphed, unless by his own perfidy and the vices of his foes. "Thy armies are innumerable: be they so; but what are the arrows of the flying Tartar against the scimitars and battle-axes of my firm and invincible Janizaries? I will guard the princes who have implored my protection; seek them in my tents. The cities of Arzingan and Erzeroum are mine; and, unless the tribute be duly paid, I will demand the arrears under the walls of Tauris and Sultania." The ungovernable rage of the sultan at length betrayed him to an insult of a more domestic kind: "If I fly from my arms," said he, "may my wives be thrice divorced from my bed; but, if thou hast not courage to meet me in the field, mayest thou again receive *thy* wives after they have thrice endured the embraces of a stranger." Any violation, by word or deed, of the secrecy of the haram is an unpardonable offence among the Turkish nations²⁶; and the political quarrel of the two monarchs was embittered by private and personal resentment. Yet in his first expedition Timour was satisfied with the siege and destruction of Suvas, or Sebaste, a strong city on the borders of Anatolia; and he revenged the indiscretion of the Ottoman on a garrison of four thousand Armenians, who were buried alive for the brave and faithful discharge of their duty. As a Musulman, he seemed to respect the pious occupation of Bajazet, who was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople; and, after this salutary lesson, the Mogul conqueror checked his pursuit, and turned aside to the invasion of Syria and Egypt. In these transactions, the Ottoman prince, by the Orientals, and even by Timour, is styled the *Kaïssar of Roum*, the Cæsar of the Romans: a title which, by a small

²⁶ The common delicacy of the Orientals, in never speaking of their women, is ascribed in a much higher degree by Arabshah to the Turkish nations; and it is remarkable enough that Chalcondyles (l. ii. p. 55) had some knowledge of the prejudice and the insult.

anticipation, might be given to a monarch who possessed the provinces, and threatened the city, of the successors of Constantine.²⁷

The military republic of the Mamalukes still reigned in Egypt and Syria; but the dynasty of the Turks was overthrown by that of the Circassians; and their favourite Barkok, from a slave and a prisoner, was raised and restored to the throne. In the midst of rebellion and discord, he braved the menaces, corresponded with the enemies, and detained the ambassadors, of the Mogul, who patiently expected his decease, to revenge the crimes of the father on the feeble reign of his son Farage. The Syrian emirs²⁸ were assembled at Aleppo to repel the invasion: they confided in the fame and discipline of the Mamalukes, in the temper of their swords and lances, of the purest steel of Damascus, in the strength of their walled cities, and in the populousness of sixty thousand villages; and, instead of sustaining a siege, they threw open their gates and arrayed their forces in the plain. But these forces were not cemented by virtue and union; and some powerful emirs had been seduced to desert or betray their more loyal companions. Timour's front was covered with a line of Indian elephants, whose turrets were filled with archers and Greek fire: the rapid evolutions of his cavalry completed the dismay and disorder; the Syrian crowds fell back on each other; many thousands were stifled or slaughtered in the entrance of the great street; the Moguls entered with the fugitives; and, after a short defence, the citadel, the impregnable citadel of Aleppo, was

²⁷ For the style of the Moguls, see the Institutions (pp. 131, 147), and for the Persians, the Bibliothèque Orientale (p. 882); but I do not find that the title of Cæsar has been applied by the Arabians, or assumed by the Ottomans themselves.

²⁸ For these recent and domestic transactions, Arabshah, though a partial, is a credible witness (tom. i. c. 64-68; tom. ii. c. 1-14). Timour must have been odious to a Syrian; but the notoriety of facts would have obliged him, in some measure, to respect his enemy and himself. His bitters may correct the luscious sweets of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 17-29).

surrendered by cowardice or treachery. Among the suppliants and captives, Timour distinguished the doctors of the law, whom he invited to the dangerous honour of a personal conference.²⁹ The Mogul prince was a zealous Musulman; but his Persian schools had taught him to revere the memory of Ali and Hosein; and he had imbibed a deep prejudice against the Syrians, as the enemies of the son of the daughter of the apostle of God. To these doctors he proposed a captious question, which the casuists of Bochara, Samarcand, and Herat were incapable of resolving. "Who are the true martyrs, of those who are slain on my side, or on that of my enemies?" But he was silenced, or satisfied, by the dexterity of one of the cadhis of Aleppo, who replied, in the words of Mahomet himself, that the motive, not the ensign, constitutes the martyr; and that the Moslems of either party, who fight only for the glory of God, may deserve that sacred appellation. The true succession of the caliphs was a controversy of a still more delicate nature, and the frankness of a doctor, too honest for his situation, provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Ye are as false as those of Damascus: Moawiyah was an usurper, Yezid a tyrant, and Ali alone is the lawful successor of the prophet." A prudent explanation restored his tranquillity; and he passed to a more familiar topic of conversation. "What is your age?" said he to the cadhi. "Fifty years." "It would be the age of my eldest son. You see me here (continued Timour) a poor, lame, decrepit mortal. Yet by my arm has the Almighty been pleased to subdue the kingdoms of Iran, Touran, and the Indies. I am not a man of blood; and God is my witness that in all my wars I have never been the aggressor, and that my enemies have always been the authors of their own calamity." During this peaceful conversation, the

²⁹ These interesting conversations appear to have been copied by Arabshah (tom. i. c. 68, pp. 625-645) from the cadhi and historian Ebn Schounah, a principal actor. Yet how could he be alive seventy-five years afterwards (d'Herbelot, p. 792)?

streets of Aleppo streamed with blood, and re-echoed with the cries of mothers and children, with the shrieks of violated virgins. The rich plunder that was abandoned to his soldiers might stimulate their avarice; but their cruelty was enforced by the peremptory command of producing an adequate number of heads, which, according to his custom, were curiously piled in columns and pyramids; the Moguls celebrated the feast of victory, while the surviving Moslems passed the night in tears and in chains. I shall not dwell on the march of the destroyer from Aleppo to Damascus, where he was rudely encountered, and almost overthrown, by the armies of Egypt. A retrograde motion was imputed to his distress and despair: one of his nephews deserted to the enemy; and Syria rejoiced in the tale of his defeat, when the sultan was driven, by the revolt of the Mamalukes, to escape with precipitation and shame to his palace of Cairo. Abandoned by their prince, the inhabitants of Damascus still defended their walls; and Timour consented to raise the siege, if they would adorn his retreat with a gift or ransom; each article of nine pieces. But no sooner had he introduced himself into the city, under colour of a truce, than he perfidiously violated the treaty; imposed a contribution of ten millions of gold; and animated his troops to chastise the posterity of those Syrians who had executed or approved the murder of the grandson of Mahomet. A family which had given honourable burial to the head of Hosein, and a colony of artificers whom he sent to labour at Samarcand, were alone reserved in the general massacre; and, after a period of seven centuries, Damascus was reduced to ashes, because a Tartar was moved by religious zeal to avenge the blood of an Arab. The losses and fatigues of the campaign obliged Timour to renounce the conquest of Palestine and Egypt; but in his return to the Euphrates he delivered Aleppo to the flames; and justified his pious motive by the pardon and reward of two thousand sectaries of Ali, who were desirous to visit the tomb of his

son. I have expatiated on the personal anecdotes which mark the character of the Mogul hero; but I shall briefly mention that he erected on the ruins of Bagdad a pyramid of ninety thousand heads; again visited Georgia; encamped on the banks of Araxes; and proclaimed his resolution of marching against the Ottoman emperor. Conscious of the importance of the war, he collected his forces from every province; eight hundred thousand men were enrolled on his military list;³⁰ but the splendid commands of five and ten thousand horse may be rather expressive of the rank and pension of the chiefs than of the genuine number of effective soldiers.³¹ In the pillage of Syria, the Moguls had acquired immense riches; but the delivery of their pay and arrears for seven years more firmly attached them to the Imperial standard.

During this diversion of the Mogul arms, Bajazet had two years to collect his forces for a more serious encounter. They consisted of four hundred thousand horse and foot,³² whose merit and fidelity were of an unequal complexion. We may discriminate the Janizaries, who have been gradually raised to an

³⁰ This number of 800,000 was extracted by Arabshah, or rather by Ebn Schounah, ex rationario Timuri, on the faith of a Carizmian officer (tom. i. c. 68, p. 617); and it is remarkable enough that a Greek historian (Phranza, l. i. c. 29) adds no more than 20,000 men. Poggius reckons 1,000,000; another Latin contemporary (Chron. Tarvisianum, apud Muratori, tom. xix. p. 800) 1,100,000; and the enormous sum of 1,600,000, is attested by a German soldier who was present at the battle of Angora (Leunclav. ad Chalcondyl. l. iii. p. 82). Timour, in his Institutions, has not deigned to calculate his troops, his subjects, or his revenues.

³¹ A wide latitude of non-effectives was allowed by the Great Mogul for his own pride and the benefit of his officers. Bernier's patron was Penge-Hazari, commander of 5000 horse, of which he maintained no more than 500 (Voyages, tom. i. pp. 288, 289).

³² Timour himself fixes at 400,000 men the Ottoman army (Institutions, p. 153), which is reduced to 150,000 by Phranza (l. i. c. 29), and swelled by the German soldier to 1,400,000. It is evident that the Moguls were the more numerous.

establishment of forty thousand men; a national cavalry, the Spahis of modern times; twenty thousand cuirassiers of Europe, clad in black and impenetrable armour; the troops of Anatolia, whose princes had taken refuge in the camp of Timour, and a colony of Tartars, whom he had driven from Kipzak, and to whom Bajazet had assigned a settlement in the plains of Hadrianople. The fearless confidence of the sultan urged him to meet his antagonist; and, as if he had chosen that spot for revenge, he displayed his banners near the ruins of the unfortunate Suvas. In the meanwhile, Timour moved from the Araxes through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia: his boldness was secured by the wisest precautions; his speed was guided by order and discipline; and the woods, the mountains, and the rivers were diligently explored by the flying squadrons, who marked his road and preceded his standard. Firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he avoided their camp; dexterously inclined to the left; occupied Cæsarea; traversed the salt desert and the river Halys; and invested Angora; while the sultan, immoveable and ignorant in his post, compared the Tartar swiftness to the crawling of a snail;³³ he returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of Angora; and, as both generals were alike impatient for action, the plains round that city were the scene of a memorable battle, which has immortalised the glory of Timour and the shame of Bajazet. For this signal victory, the Mogul emperor was indebted to himself, to the genius of the moment, and the discipline of thirty years. He had improved the tactics, without violating the manners, of his nation, whose force still consisted in the missile weapons, and rapid

³³ It may not be useless to mark the distances between Angora and the neighbouring cities, by the journeys of the caravans, each of twenty or twenty-five miles; to Smyrna 20, to Kiotahia 10, to Bursa 10, to Cæsarea 8, to Sinope 10, to Nicomedia 9, to Constantinople 12 or 13 (see Tournefort, Voyage au Levant, tom. ii. lettre 21).

evolutions, of a numerous cavalry. From a single troop to a great army, the mode of attack was the same: a foremost line first advanced to the charge, and was supported in a just order by the squadrons of the great vanguard. The general's eye watched over the field, and at his command the front and rear of the right and left wings successively moved forwards in their several divisions, and in a direct or oblique line; the enemy was pressed by eighteen or twenty attacks; and each attack afforded a chance of victory. If they all proved fruitless or unsuccessful, the occasion was worthy of the emperor himself, who gave the signal of advancing to the standard and main body, which he led in person.³⁴ But in the battle of Angora, the main body itself was supported, on the flanks and in the rear, by the bravest squadrons of the reserve, commanded by the sons and grandsons of Timour. The conqueror of Hindostan ostentatiously shewed a line of elephants, the trophies, rather than the instruments, of victory: the use of the Greek fire was familiar to the Moguls and Ottomans; but, had they borrowed from Europe the recent invention of gunpowder and cannon, the artificial thunder, in the hands of either nation, must have turned the fortune of the day.³⁵ In that day, Bajazet displayed the qualities of a soldier and a chief; but his genius sunk under a stronger ascendant; and, from various motives, the greatest part of his troops failed him in the decisive moment. His rigour and avarice had provoked a mutiny among the Turks; and even his son Soliman too hastily withdrew from the field. The forces of Anatolia, loyal in their revolt, were drawn

³⁴ The Sultan himself (says Timour) must then put the foot of courage into the stirrup of patience. A Tartar metaphor, which is lost in the English, but preserved in the French, version of the Institutes (pp. 156, 157).

³⁵ The Greek fire, on Timour's side, is attested by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 47); but Voltaire's strange suspicion that some cannon, inscribed with strange characters, must have been sent by that monarch to Delhi is refuted by the universal silence of contemporaries.

away to the banners of their lawful princes. His Tartar allies had been tempted by the letters and emissaries of Timour; who reproached their ignoble servitude under the slaves of their fathers, and offered to their hopes the dominion of their new, or the liberty of their ancient, country. In the right wing of Bajazet, the cuirassiers of Europe charged with faithful hearts and irresistible arms; but these men of iron were soon broken by an artful flight and headlong pursuit; and the Janizaries, alone, without cavalry or missile weapons, were encompassed by the circle of the Mogul hunters. Their valour was at length oppressed by heat, thirst, and the weight of numbers; and the unfortunate sultan, afflicted with the gout in his hands and feet, was transported from the field on the fleetest of his horses. He was pursued and taken by the titular khan of Zagatai; and after his capture, and the defeat of the Ottoman powers, the kingdom of Anatolia submitted to the conqueror, who planted his standard at Kiotahia, and dispersed on all sides the ministers of rapine and destruction. Mirza Mehemmed Sultan, the eldest and best beloved of his grandsons, was dispatched to Bursa with thirty thousand horse; and such was his youthful ardour that he arrived with only four thousand at the gates of the capital, after performing in five days a march of two hundred and thirty miles. Yet fear is still more rapid in its course; and Soliman, the son of Bajazet, had already passed over to Europe with the royal treasure. The spoil, however, of the palace and city was immense; the inhabitants had escaped; but the buildings, for the most part of wood, were reduced to ashes. From Bursa, the grandson of Timour advanced to Nice, even yet a fair and flourishing city; and the Mogul squadrons were only stopped by the waves of the Propontis. The same success attended the other mirzas and emirs in their excursions; and Smyrna, defended by the zeal and courage of the Rhodian knights, alone deserved the presence of the emperor himself. After an obstinate defence, the

place was taken by storm ; all that breathed was put to the sword ; and the heads of the Christian heroes were launched from the engines, on board of two carracks, or great ships of Europe, that rode at anchor in the harbour. The Moslems of Asia rejoiced in their deliverance from a dangerous and domestic foe ; and a parallel was drawn between the two rivals, by observing that Timour, in fourteen days, had reduced a fortress which had sustained seven years the siege, or at least the blockade, of Bajazet.

The *iron cage* in which Bajazet was imprisoned by Tamerlane, so long and so often repeated as a moral lesson, is now rejected as a fable by the modern writers, who smile at the vulgar credulity.³⁶ They appeal with confidence to the Persian history of Sherefeddin Ali, which has been given to our curiosity in a French version, and from which I shall collect and abridge a more specious narrative of this memorable transaction. No sooner was Timour informed that the captive Ottoman was at the door of his tent, than he graciously stepped forwards to receive him, seated him by his side, and mingled with just reproaches a soothing pity for his rank and misfortune. "Alas !" said the emperor, "the decree of fate is now accomplished by your own fault : it is the web which you have woven, the thorns of the tree which yourself have planted. I wished to spare, and even to assist, the champion of the Moslems : you braved our threats ; you despised our friendship ; you forced us to enter your kingdom with our invincible armies. Behold the event. Had you vanquished, I am not ignorant of the fate which you reserved for myself and my troops. But I disdain to retaliate ; your life and honour are secure ; and I shall express my gratitude to God by my clemency to man." The royal captive shewed some signs of repentance, accepted

³⁶ The scepticism of Voltaire (*Essai sur l'Histoire Générale*, c. 88) is ready on this, as on every, occasion to reject a popular tale, and to diminish the magnitude of vice and virtue ; and on most occasions his incredulity is reasonable.

the humiliation of a robe of honour, and embraced with tears his son Mousa, who, at his request, was sought and found among the captives of the field. The Ottoman princes were lodged in a splendid pavilion; and the respect of the guards could be surpassed only by their vigilance. On the arrival of the haram from Boursa, Timour restored the queen Despina and her daughter to their father and husband; but he piously required that the Servian princess, who had hitherto been indulged in the profession of Christianity, should embrace without delay the religion of the prophet. In the feast of victory, to which Bajazet was invited, the Mogul emperor placed a crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand, with a solemn assurance of restoring him with an increase of glory to the throne of his ancestors. But the effect of this promise was disappointed by the sultan's untimely death: amidst the care of the most skilful physicians, he expired of an apoplexy at Akshehr, the Antioch of Pisidia, about nine months after his defeat. The victor dropped a tear over his grave: his body, with royal pomp, was conveyed to the mausoleum which he had erected at Boursa; and his son Mousa, after receiving a rich present of gold and jewels, of horses and arms, was invested by a patent in red ink with the kingdom of Anatolia.

Such is the portrait of a generous conqueror, which has been extracted from his own memorials, and dedicated to his son and grandson, nineteen years after his decease;³⁷ and, at a time when the truth was remembered by thousands, a manifest falsehood would have implied a satire on his real conduct. Weighty, indeed, is this evidence, adopted by all the Persian histories;³⁸ yet flattery, more especially in the East,

³⁷ See the history of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 49, 52, 53, 59, 60). This work was finished at Shiraz, in the year 1424, and dedicated to Sultan Ibrahim, the son of Sharokh, the son of Timour, who reigned in Farsistan in his father's lifetime.

³⁸ After the perusal of Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, &c., the learned d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 882) may affirm that

is base and audacious; and the harsh and ignominious treatment of Bajazet is attested by a chain of witnesses, some of whom shall be produced in the order of their time and country. 1. The reader has not forgot the garrison of French, whom the marshal Boucicault left behind him for the defence of Constantinople. They were on the spot to receive the earliest and most faithful intelligence of the overthrow of their great adversary; and it is more than probable that some of them accompanied the Greek embassy to the camp of Tamerlane. From their account, the *hardships* of the prison and death of Bajazet are affirmed by the marshal's servant and historian, within the distance of seven years.³⁹ 2. The name of Poggius the Italian⁴⁰ is deservedly famous among the revivers of learning in the fifteenth century. His elegant dialogue on the vicissitudes of fortune⁴¹ was composed in his fiftieth year, twenty-eight years after the Turkish victory of Tamerlane, whom he celebrates as not inferior to the illustrious barbarians of antiquity. Of his exploits and discipline, Poggius was informed by several ocular witnesses; nor does he forget an example so apposite to his theme as the Ottoman monarch, whom the

this fable is not mentioned in the most authentic histories; but his denial of the visible testimony of Arabshah leaves some room to suspect his accuracy.

³⁹ Et fut lui-même (*Bajazet*) pris, et mené en prison, en laquelle mourut de *dure mort!* Mémoires de Boucicault, p. i. c. 37. These Memoirs were composed while the Marshal was still governor of Genoa, from whence he was expelled in the year 1409 by a popular insurrection (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. xii. pp. 473, 474).

⁴⁰ The reader will find a satisfactory account of the life and writings of Poggius, in the *Poggiana*, an entertaining work of M. Lenfant, and in the *Bibliotheca Latina mediæ et infimæ Ætatis* of Fabricius (tom. v. pp. 305-308). Poggius was born in the year 1380, and died in 1459.

⁴¹ The dialogue de *Varietate Fortunæ* (of which a complete and elegant edition has been published at Paris in 1723, in 4to) was composed a short time before the death of Pope Martin V. (p. 5), and consequently about the end of the year 1430.

Scythian confined like a wild beast in an iron cage and exhibited a spectacle to Asia. I might add the authority of two Italian chronicles, perhaps of an earlier date, which would prove at least that the same story, whether false or true, was imported into Europe with the first tidings of the revolution.⁴² 3. At the time when Poggius flourished at Rome, Ahmed Ebn Arabshah composed at Damascus the florid and malevolent history of Timour, for which he had collected materials in his journeys over Turkey and Tartary. Without any possible correspondence between the Latin and the Arabian writer, they agree in the fact of the iron cage; and their agreement is a striking proof of their common veracity. Ahmed Arabshah likewise relates another outrage, which Bajazet endured, of a more domestic and tender nature. His indiscreet mention of women and divorces was deeply resented by the jealous Tartar. In the feast of victory, the wine was served by female cup-bearers; and the sultan beheld his own concubines and wives confounded among the slaves, and exposed, without a veil, to the eyes of intemperance. To escape a similar indignity, it is said that his successors, except in a single instance, have abstained from legitimate nuptials; and the Ottoman practice and belief, at least in the sixteenth century, is attested by the observing Busbequius, ambassador from the court of Vienna to the great Soliman. 4. Such is the separation of language that the testimony of a Greek is not less independent than that of a Latin or an Arab. I suppress the names of Chalcondyles and Ducas, who flourished in a later period, and who speak in a less positive tone; but more attention is due to George Phranza, protovestiare of the last

⁴² The *Chronicon Tarvisianum* (in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xix. p. 800), and the *Annales Estenses* (tom. xviii. p. 974). The two authors, Andrea de Redusiis de Quero and James de Delayto, were both contemporaries, and both chancellors, the one of Trevigi, the other of Ferrara. The evidence of the former is the most positive.

emperors, and who was born a year before the battle of Angora. Twenty-two years after that event, he was sent ambassador to Amurath the Second; and the historian might converse with some veteran Janizaries, who had been made prisoners with the sultan and had themselves seen him in his iron cage. 5. The last evidence, in every sense, is that of the Turkish annals, which have been consulted or transcribed by Leunclavius, Pocock, and Cantemir. They unanimously deplore the captivity of the iron cage; and some credit may be allowed to national historians, who cannot stigmatize the Tartar without uncovering the shame of their king and country.

From these opposite premises, a fair and moderate conclusion may be deduced. I am satisfied that Sherefeddin Ali has faithfully described the first ostentatious interview, in which the conqueror, whose spirits were harmonized by success, affected the character of generosity. But his mind was insensibly alienated by the unseasonable arrogance of Bajazet; the complaints of his enemies, the Anatolian princes, were just and vehement; and Timour betrayed a design of leading his royal captive in triumph to Samarcand. An attempt to facilitate his escape, by digging a mine under the tent, provoked the Mogul emperor to impose a harsher restraint; and, in his perpetual marches, an iron cage on a waggon might be invented, not as a wanton insult, but as a rigorous precaution. Timour had read in some fabulous history a similar treatment of one of his predecessors, a king of Persia; and Bajazet was condemned to represent the person, and expiate the guilt, of the Roman Cæsar.⁴³ But the strength of his mind and body

⁴³ A Sapor, king of Persia, had been made prisoner, and inclosed in the figure of a cow's hide, by Maximian, or Galerius Cæsar. Such is the fable related by Euty chius (Annal. tom. i. p. 421, vers. Pocock). The recollection of the true history (Decline and Fall, &c., vol. i. p. 371 *sqq.*) will teach us to appreciate the knowledge of the Orientals of the ages which precede the Hegira.

fainted under the trial, and his premature death might, without injustice, be ascribed to the severity of Timour. He warred not with the dead: a tear and a sepulchre were all that he could bestow on a captive who was delivered from his power; and, if Mousa, the son of Bajazet, was permitted to reign over the ruins of Boursa, the greatest part of the province of Anatolia had been restored by the conqueror to their lawful sovereigns.

From the Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, Asia was in the hands of Timour: his armies were invincible, his ambition was boundless, and his zeal might aspire to conquer and convert the Christian kingdoms of the West, which already trembled at his name. He touched the utmost verge of the land; but an insuperable, though narrow, sea rolled between the two continents of Europe and Asia,⁴⁴ and the lord of so many *tomans* or myriads of horse was not master of a single galley. The two passages of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, of Constantinople and Gallipoli, were possessed, the one by the Christians, the other by the Turks. On this great occasion, they forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmness in the common cause: the double straits were guarded with ships and fortifications, and they separately withheld the transports which Timour demanded of either nation, under the pretence of attacking their enemy. At the same time they soothed his pride with tributary gifts and suppliant embassies, and prudently tempted him to retreat with the honours of victory. Soliman, the son of Bajazet, implored his clemency for his father and himself; accepted by a red patent, the investiture of the kingdom of Romania, which

⁴⁴ Arabshah (tom. ii. c. 25) describes, like a curious traveller, the straits of Gallipoli and Constantinople. To acquire a just idea of these events, I have compared the narratives and prejudices of the Moguls, Turks, Greeks, and Arabians. The Spanish ambassador mentions this hostile union of the Christians and Ottomans (Vie de Timour, p. 96).

he already held by the sword, and reiterated his ardent wish of casting himself in person at the feet of the King of the World. The Greek emperor⁴⁵ (either John or Manuel) submitted to pay the same tribute which he had stipulated with the Turkish sultan, and ratified the treaty by an oath of allegiance, from which he could absolve his conscience so soon as the Mogul arms had retired from Anatolia. But the fears and fauzy of nations ascribed to the ambitious Tamerlane a new design of vast and romantic compass; a design of subduing Egypt and Africa, marching from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, entering Europe by the Straits of Gibraltar, and, after imposing his yoke on the kingdoms of Christendom, of returning home by the deserts of Russia and Tartary. This remote, and perhaps imaginary danger, was averted by the submission of the sultan of Egypt: the honours of the prayer and the coin attested at Cairo the supremacy of Timour; and a rare gift of a *giraffe*, or camelopard, and nine ostriches, represented at Samarcand the tribute of the African world. Our imagination is not less astonished by the portrait of a Mogul, who, in his camp before Smyrna, meditates and almost accomplishes the invasion of the Chinese empire. Timour was urged to this enterprise by national honour and religious zeal. The torrents which he had shed of Musulman blood could be expiated only by an equal destruction of the infidels; and as he now stood at the gates of paradise, he might best secure his glorious entrance by demolishing the idols of China, founding mosques in every city, and establishing the profession of faith in one God and his prophet Mahomet. The recent expulsion of the house of Zingis was an insult on the Mogul name, and the disorders of the empire

⁴⁵ Since the name of Cæsar had been transferred to the sultans of Roum, the Greek princes of Constantinople (Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 54) were confounded with the Christian *lords* of Gallipoli, Thessalonica, &c., under the title of *Tekkur*, which is derived by corruption from the genitive *τοῦ κυρίου* (Cantemir, p. 51).

afforded the fairest opportunity for revenge. The illustrious Hongoon, founder of the dynasty of *Ming*, died four years before the battle of Angora, and his grandson, a weak and unfortunate youth, was burnt in his palace, after a million of Chinese had perished in the civil war. Before he evacuated Anatolia, Timour dispatched beyond the Sihoon a numerous army, or rather colony, of his old and new subjects, to open the road, to subdue the pagan Calmucks and Mungals, and to found cities and magazines in the desert, and, by diligence of his lieutenant, he soon received a perfect map and description of the unknown regions, from the source of the Irtysh to the wall of China. During these preparations the emperor achieved the final conquest of Georgia, passed the winter on the bank of the Araxes, appeased the troubles of Persia, and slowly returned to his capital after a campaign of four years and nine months.

On the throne of Samarcand, he displayed, in a short repose, his magnificence and power; listened to the complaints of the people; distributed a just measure of rewards and punishments; employed his riches in the architecture of palaces and temples, and gave audience to the ambassadors of Egypt, Arabia, India, Tartary, Russia, and Spain, the last of whom presented a suit of tapestry which eclipsed the pencil of the Oriental artists. The marriage of six of the Emperor's grandsons was esteemed an act of religion as well as of paternal tenderness; and the pomp of the ancient caliphs was revived in their nuptials. They were celebrated in the gardens of Canighul, decorated with innumerable tents and pavilions, which displayed the luxury of a great city and the spoils of a victorious camp. Whole forests were cut down to supply fuel for the kitchens; the plain was spread with pyramids of meat and vases of every liquor, to which thousands of guests were courteously invited: the orders of the state and the nations of the earth were marshalled at the royal banquet; nor were the ambassadors of Europe (says the haughty Persian) excluded from the feast;

since even the *casses*, the smallest of fish, find their place in the ocean. The public joy was testified by illuminations and masquerades; the trades of Samarcand passed in review; and every trade was emulous to execute some quaint device, some marvellous pageant, with the materials of their peculiar art. After the marriage-contracts had been ratified by the *cadhis*, the bridegrooms and their brides retired to the nuptial chambers; nine times, according to the Asiatic fashion, they were dressed and undressed; and at each change of apparel pearls and rubies were showered on their heads, and contemptuously abandoned to their attendants. A general indulgence was proclaimed: every law was relaxed, every pleasure was allowed; the people was free, the sovereign was idle; and the historian of Timour⁴⁶ may remark, that, after devoting fifty years to the attainment of empire, the only happy period of his life were the two months in which he ceased to exercise his power. But he was soon awakened to the cares of government and war. The standard was unfurled for the invasion of China; the emirs made their report of two hundred thousand, the select and veteran soldiers of Iran and Turan; their baggage and provisions were transported by five hundred great wagons, and an immense train of horses and camels; and the troops might prepare for a long absence, since more than six months were employed in the tranquil journey of a caravan from Samarcand to Peking. Neither age nor the severity of the winter could retard the impatience of Timour; he mounted on horseback, passed the Sihoon on the ice, marched seventy-six parasangs, three hundred miles, from his

⁴⁶ Sherefeddin (l. xi. c. 24) mentions the ambassadors of one of the most potent sovereigns of Europe. We know that it was Henry III. King of Castile; and the curious relation of his two embassies is still extant, Mariana, Hist. Hispan. l. xix. c. 11, tom. ii. pp. 329, 330. *Advertissement à l'Hist. de Timour Bec*, pp. 28-33. There appears likewise to have been some correspondence between the Mogul emperor, and the court of Charles VII. King of France (*Histoire de France*, par Velly et Villaret, tom. xii. p. 336).

capital, and pitched his last camp in the neighbourhood of Otrar, where he was expected by the angel of death. Fatigue, and the indiscreet use of iced water, accelerated the progress of his fever; and the conqueror of Asia expired in the seventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had ascended the throne of Zagatai. His designs were lost; his armies were disbanded; China was saved; and fourteen years after his decease, the most powerful of his children sent an embassy of friendship and commerce to the court of Peking.⁴⁷

The fame of Timour has pervaded the East and West; his posterity is still invested with the Imperial *title*; and the admiration of his subjects, who revealed him almost as a deity, may be justified in some degree by the praise or confession of his bitterest enemies. Although he was lame of an hand and foot, his form and stature were not unworthy of his rank; and his vigorous health, so essential to himself and to the world, was corroborated by temperance and exercise. In his familiar discourse he was grave and modest, and, if he was ignorant of the Arabic language he spoke with fluency and elegance the Persian and Turkish idioms. It was his delight to converse with the learned on topics of history and science; and the amusement of his leisure hours was the game of chess, which he improved or corrupted with new refinements.⁴⁸ In his religion, he was a zealous, though not perhaps an orthodox, Musulman; but his sound understanding

⁴⁷ See the translation of the Persian account of their embassy, a curious and original piece (in the ivth part of the relations de Thévenot). They presented the Emperor of China with an old horse which Timour had formerly rode. It was in the year 1419, that they departed from the court of Herat, to which place they returned in 1422 from Peking.

⁴⁸ His new system was multiplied from 32 pieces and 64 squares, to 56 pieces and 110 or 130 squares. But, except in his court, the old game has been thought sufficiently elaborate. The Mogul emperor was rather pleased than hurt with the victory of a subject; a chess-player will feel the value of this encomium!

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

derived excuse for his victories and a title to universal dominion. The four following observations will serve to appreciate his claim to the public gratitude; and perhaps we shall conclude that the Mogul emperor was rather the scourge than the benefactor of mankind.

1. If some partial disorders, some local oppressions, were healed by the sword of Timour, the remedy was far more pernicious than the disease. By their rapine, cruelty, and discord, the petty tyrants of Persia might afflict their subjects; but whole nations were crushed under the footsteps of the reformer. The ground which had been occupied by flourishing cities was often marked by his abominable trophies, by columns or pyramids of human heads. Astracan, Carizme, Delhi, Ispahan, Bagdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Boursa, Smyrna, and a thousand others, were sacked, or burnt, or utterly destroyed, in his presence, and by his troops; and perhaps his conscience would have been startled if a priest or philosopher had dared to number the millions of victims whom he had sacrificed to the establishment of peace and order.⁴⁹

2. His most destructive wars were rather inroads than conquests. He invaded Turkestan, Kipzak, Russia, Hindostan, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, without a hope or a desire of preserving those distant provinces. From thence he departed, laden with spoil; but he left behind him neither troops to awe the contumacious, nor magistrates to protect the obedient, natives. When he had broken the fabric of their ancient government, he abandoned them to the evils which his invasion had aggravated or caused; nor were these evils compensated by any present or possible benefits.

⁴⁹ Besides the bloody passages of this narrative, I must refer to an anticipation in the third volume of the *Decline and Fall*, which, in a single note (p. 427, note 26), accumulates near 300,000 heads of the monuments of his cruelty. Except in Rowe's play on the fifth of November, I did not expect to hear of Timour's amiable moderation (White's preface, p. 7). Yet I can excuse a generous enthusiasm in the reader, and still more in the editor, of the *Institutions*.

3. The kingdoms of Transoxiana and Persia were the proper field which he laboured to cultivate and adorn as the perpetual inheritance of his family. But his peaceful labours were often interrupted, and sometimes blasted, by the absence of the conqueror. While he triumphed on the Volga or the Ganges, his servants, and even his sons, forgot their master and their duty. The public and private injuries were poorly redressed by the tardy rigour of inquiry and punishment; and we must be content to praise the Institutions of Timour, as the specious idea of a perfect monarchy.

4. Whatsoever might be the blessings of his administration, they evaporated with his life. To reign, rather than to govern, was the ambition of his children and grandchildren, the enemies of each other and of the people. A fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by Sharokh, his youngest son; but after *his* decease, the scene was again involved in darkness and blood; and before the end of a century Transoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Uzbeks from the North, and the Turkmans of the black and white sheep. The race of Timour would have been extinct, if an hero, his descendant in the fifth degree, had not fled before the Uzbek arms to the conquest of Hindostan. His successors (the great Moguls) extended their sway from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the Gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurungzebe, their empire has been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi have been rifled by a Persian robber; and the riches of their kingdoms is now possessed by a company of Christian merchants, of a remote island in the Northern Ocean.

Far different was the fate of the Ottoman monarchy. The massy trunk was bent to the ground, but no sooner did the hurricane pass away than it again rose with fresh vigour and more lively vegetation. When Timour, in every sense, had evacuated Anatolia, he left the cities without a palace, a treasure, or a king. The open country was overspread with hordes of

shepherds and robbers of Tartar or Turkman origin ; the recent conquests of Bajazet were restored to the emirs, one of whom, in base revenge, demolished his sepulchre ; and his five sons were eager, by civil discord, to consume the remnant of their patrimony. I shall enumerate their names in the order of their age and actions.⁵⁰ 1. It is doubtful, whether I relate the story of the true *Mustapha*, or of an impostor who personated that lost prince. He fought by his father's side in the battle of Angora : but, when the captive sultan was permitted to inquire for his children, Mousa alone could be found ; and the Turkish historians, the slaves of the triumphant faction, are persuaded that his brother was confounded among the slain. If *Mustapha* escaped from that disastrous field, he was concealed twelve years from his friends and enemies, till he emerged in Thessaly and was hailed by a numerous party as the son and successor of Bajazet. His first defeat would have been his last, had not the true, or false, *Mustapha* been saved by the Greeks and restored, after the decease of his brother Mahomet, to liberty and empire. A degenerate mind seemed to argue his spurious birth ; and if, on the throne of Adrianople, he was adored as the Ottoman sultan, his flight, his fetters, and an ignominious gibbet delivered the impostor to popular contempt. A similar character and claim was asserted by several rival pretenders : thirty persons are said to have suffered under the name of *Mustapha* ; and these frequent executions may perhaps insinuate that the Turkish court was not perfectly secure of the death of the lawful prince. 2. After his father's captivity, *Isa* reigned for some time in the neighbourhood of Angora, Sinope, and the Black Sea ; and his ambassadors were dismissed from the presence of *Timour* with

⁵⁰ The civil wars, from the death of Bajazet to that of *Mustapha*, are related, according to the Turks, by *Demetrius Cantemir* (pp. 58-82). Of the Greeks, *Chalcondyles* (l. iv. and v.), *Phranza* (l. i. c. 30-32) and *Ducas* (c. 18-27), the last is the most copious and best informed.

fair promises and honourable gifts. But their master was soon deprived of his province and life by a jealous brother, the sovereign of Amasia ; and the final event suggested a pious allusion that the law of Moses and Jesus, of *Isa* and *Mousa*, had been abrogated by the greater *Mahomet*. 3. *Soliman* is not numbered in the list of the Turkish emperors ; yet he checked the victorious progress of the Moguls, and after their departure united for a while the thrones of Hadrianople and Bursa. In war, he was brave, active, and fortunate ; his courage was softened by clemency ; but it was likewise inflamed by presumption, and corrupted by intemperance and idleness. He relaxed the nerves of discipline in a government where either the subject or the sovereign must continually tremble : his vices alienated the chiefs of the army and the law ; and his daily drunkenness, so contemptible in a prince and a man, was doubly odious in a disciple of the prophet. In the slumber of intoxication he was surprised by his brother *Mousa* ; and, as he fled from Hadrianople towards the Byzantine capital, *Soliman* was overtaken and slain in a bath, after a reign of seven years and ten months. 4. The investiture of *Mousa* degraded him as the slave of the Moguls : his tributary kingdom of Anatolia was confined within a narrow limit, nor could his broken militia and empty treasury contend with the hardy and veteran bands of the sovereign of Romania. *Mousa* fled in disguise from the palace of Bursa ; traversed the Propontis in an open boat ; wandered over the Walachian and Servian hills ; and, after some vain attempts, ascended the throne of Hadrianople, so recently stained with the blood of *Soliman*. In a reign of three years and a half, his troops were victorious against the Christians of Hungary and the Morea ; but *Mousa* was ruined by his timorous disposition and unseasonable clemency. After resigning the sovereignty of Anatolia, he fell a victim to the perfidy of his ministers and the superior ascendant of his brother *Mahomet*. 5. The final victory of *Mahomet* was the just recompense of his prudence and modera-

tion. Before his father's captivity, the royal youth had been entrusted with the government of Amasia, thirty days' journey from Constantinople and the Turkish frontier against the Christians of Trebizond and Georgia. The castle in Asiatic warfare was esteemed impregnable; and the city of Amasia, which is equally divided by the river Iris, rises on either side in the form of an amphitheatre, and represents on a smaller scale the image of Bagdad. In his rapid career, Timour appears to have overlooked this obscure and contumacious angle of Anatolia; and Mahomet, without provoking the conqueror, maintained his silent independence, and chased from the province the last stragglers of the Tartar host. He relieved himself from the dangerous neighbourhood of Isa; but in the contests of their more powerful brethren his firm neutrality was respected, till, after the triumph of Mousa, he stood forth the heir and avenger of the unfortunate Soliman. Mahomet obtained Anatolia by treaty and Romania by arms; and the soldier who presented him with the head of Mousa was rewarded as the benefactor of his king and country. The eight years of his sole and peaceful reign were usefully employed in banishing the vices of civil discord, and restoring on a firmer basis the fabric of the Ottoman monarchy. His last care was the choice of two vizirs, Bajazet and Ibrahim,⁵¹ who might guide the youth of his son Amurath; and such was their union and prudence that they concealed, above forty days, the emperor's death, till the arrival of his successor in the palace of Boursa. A new war was kindled in Europe by the prince, or impostor, Mustapha; the first vizir lost his army and his head; but the more fortunate Ibrahim, whose name and family are still revered, extinguished the last pretender

⁵¹ The virtues of Ibrahim are praised by a contemporary Greek (Ducas, c. 25). His descendants are the sole nobles in Turkey; they content themselves with the administration of his pious foundations, are excused from public offices, and receive two annual visits from the sultan (Cantemir, p. 76).

to the throne of Bajazet, and closed the scene of domestic hostility.

In these conflicts the wisest Turks, and indeed the body of the nation, were strongly attached to the unity of the empire; and Romania and Anatolia, so often torn asunder by private ambition, were animated by a strong and invincible tendency of cohesion. Their efforts might have instructed the Christian powers; and had they occupied, with a confederate fleet, the straits of Gallipoli, the Ottomans, at least in Europe, must have been speedily annihilated. But the schism of the West, and the factious and wars of France and England, diverted the Latins from this generous enterprise; they enjoyed the present respite without a thought of futurity; and were often tempted by a momentary interest to serve the common enemy of their religion. A colony of Genoese,⁵² which had been planted at Phocæa on the Ionian coast, was enriched by the lucrative monopoly of alum⁵³; and their tranquillity, under the Turkish empire, was secured by the annual payment of tribute. In the last civil war of the Ottomans, the Genoese governor, Adorno, a bold and ambitious youth, embraced the party of Amurath; and undertook, with seven stout galleys, to transport him from Asia to Europe. The sultan and five hundred guards embarked on board the admiral's ship, which was manned by eight hundred

⁵² See Pachymer (l. v. c. 29), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. i.), Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 57), and Ducas (c. 25). The last of these, a curious and careful observer, is entitled, from his birth and station, to particular credit in all that concerns Ionia and the islands. Among the nations that resorted to New Phocæa he mentions the English (*Ἰγγλῆνοι*): an early evidence of Mediterranean trade.

⁵³ Phocæa is not enumerated by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 52) among the places productive of alum; he reckons Egypt as the first, and for the second the isle of Melos, whose alum mines are described by Tournefort (tom. i. lettre iv.), a traveller and a naturalist. After the loss of Phocæa, the Genoese, in 1459, found that useful mineral in the isle of Ischia (Ismael. Bouillaud, ad Ducam, c. 25).

of the bravest Franks. His life and liberty were in their hands ; nor can we, without reluctance, applaud the fidelity of Adorno, who, in the midst of the passage, knelt before him, and gratefully accepted a discharge of his arrears of tribute. They landed in sight of Mustapha and Gallipoli ; two thousand Italians, armed with lances and battle-axes, attended Amurath to the conquest of Hadrianople ; and this venal service was soon repaid by the ruin of the commerce and colony of Phocæa.

If Timour had generously marched at the request, and to the relief of, the Greek emperor, he might be entitled to the praise and gratitude of the Christians.⁵⁴ But a Musulman who carried into Georgia the sword of persecution, and respected the holy warfare of Bajazet, was not disposed to pity or succour the *idolaters* of Europe. The Tartar followed the impulse of ambition ; and the deliverance of Constantinople was the accidental consequence. When Manuel abdicated the government, it was his prayer, rather than his hope, that the ruin of the church and state might be delayed beyond his unhappy days ; and, after his return from a western pilgrimage, he expected every hour the news of the sad catastrophe. On a sudden, he was astonished and rejoiced by the intelligence of the retreat, the overthrow, and the captivity of the Ottoman. Manuel immediately sailed from Modon in the Morea ; ascended the throne of Constantinople ; and dismissed his blind competitor to an easy exile in the isle of Lesbos. The ambassadors of the son of Bajazet were soon introduced to his presence ; but their pride was fallen, their tone was modest : they

⁵⁴ The writer who has the most abused this fabulous generosity is our ingenious Sir William Temple (his Works, vol. iii. pp. 349, 350, 8vo edition), that lover of exotic virtue. After the conquest of Russia, &c. and the passage of the Danube, his Tartar hero relieves, visits, admires, and refuses the city of Constantine. His flattering pencil deviates in every line from the truth of history ; yet his pleasing fictions are more excusable than the gross errors of Cantemir.

were awed by the just apprehension lest the Greeks should open to the Moguls the gates of Europe. Soliman saluted the emperor by the name of father; solicited at his hands the government or gift of Romania; and promised to deserve his favour by inviolable friendship, and the restitution of Thessalonica, with the most important places along the Strymon, the Propontis, and the Black Sea. The alliance of Soliman exposed the emperor to the enmity and revenge of Mousa: the Turks appeared in arms before the gates of Constantinople; but they were repulsed by sea and land; and, unless the city was guarded by some foreign mercenaries, the Greeks must have wondered at their own triumph. But, instead of prolonging the division of the Ottoman powers, the policy or passion of Manuel was tempted to assist the most formidable of the sons of Bajazet. He concluded a treaty with Mahomet, whose progress was checked by the insuperable barrier of Gallipoli: the sultan and his troops were transported over the Bosphorus; he was hospitably entertained in the capital; and his successful sally was the first step to the conquest of Romania. The ruin was suspended by the prudence and moderation of the conqueror; he faithfully discharged his own obligations, and those of Soliman; respected the laws of gratitude and peace; and left the emperor guardian of his two younger sons, in the vain hope of saving them from the jealous cruelty of their brother Amurath. But the execution of his last testament would have offended the national honour and religion; and the divan unanimously pronounced that the royal youths should never be abandoned to the custody and education of a Christian dog. On this refusal the Byzantine councils were divided: but the age and caution of Manuel yielded to the presumption of his son John; and they unsheathed a dangerous weapon of revenge, by dismissing the true or false Mustapha, who had long been detained as a captive and hostage, and for whose maintenance they received an annual pension of three

hundred thousand aspers.⁵⁵ At the door of his prison, Mustapha subscribed to every proposal; and the keys of Gallipoli, or rather of Europe, were stipulated as the price of his deliverance. But no sooner was he seated on the throne of Romania than he dismissed the Greek ambassadors with a smile of contempt, declaring, in a pious tone, that, at the day of judgment, he would rather answer for the violation of an oath than for the surrender of a Musulman city into the hands of the infidels. The emperor was at once the enemy of the two rivals, from whom he had sustained, and to whom he had offered, an injury; and the victory of Amurath was followed, in the ensuing spring, by the siege of Constantinople.

The religious merit of subduing the city of the Cæsars attracted from Asia a crowd of volunteers, who aspired to the crown of martyrdom; their military ardour was inflamed by the promise of rich spoils and beautiful females; and the sultan's ambition was consecrated by the presence and prediction of Seid Bechar, a descendant of the prophet,⁵⁶ who arrived in the camp, on a mule, with a venerable train of five hundred disciples. But he might blush, if a fanatic could blush, at the failure of his assurances. The strength of the walls resisted an army of two hundred thousand Turks: their assaults were repelled by the sallies of the Greeks and their foreign mercenaries; the old resources of defence were opposed to the new engines of attack; and the enthusiasm of the dervish, who was snatched to heaven in visionary

⁵⁵ The Turkish asper (from the Greek ἀσπρος) is, or was, a piece of *white* or silver money, at present much debased, but which was formerly equivalent to the 54th part, at least, of a Venetian ducat, or sequin; and the 300,000 aspers, a princely allowance or royal tribute, may be computed at £2500 sterling (Leunclav. Pandect. Turc. pp. 406-408).

⁵⁶ Cantemir, p. 80. Cananus, who describes Seid Bechar, without naming him, supposes that the friend of Mahomet assumed, in his amours, the privilege of a prophet, and that the fairest of the Greek nuns were promised to the saint and his disciples.

converse with Mahomet, was answered by the credulity of the Christians, who *beheld* the Virgin Mary, in a violet garment, walking on the rampart and animating their courage.⁵⁷ After a siege of two months Amurath was recalled to Boursa by a domestic revolt, which had been kindled by Greek treachery, and was soon extinguished by the death of a guiltless brother. While he led his Janizaries to new conquests in Europe and Asia, the Byzantine empire was indulged in a servile and precarious respite of thirty years. Manuel sank into the grave; and John Palæologus was permitted to reign, for an annual tribute of three hundred thousand aspers, and the dereliction of almost all that he held beyond the suburbs of Constantinople.

In the establishment and restoration of the Turkish empire, the first merit must doubtless be assigned to the personal qualities of the sultans; since, in human life, the most important scenes will depend on the character of a single actor. By some shades of wisdom and virtue they may be discriminated from each other; but, except in a single instance, a period of nine reigns and two hundred and sixty-five years is occupied, from the elevation of Othman to the death of Soliman, by a rare series of warlike and active princes, who impressed their subjects with obedience and their enemies with terror. Instead of the slothful luxury of the seraglio, the heirs of royalty were educated in the council and the field: from early youth they were entrusted by their fathers with the command of provinces and armies; and this manly institution, which was often productive of civil war, must have essentially contributed to the discipline and vigour of the monarchy. The Ottomans cannot style themselves, like the Arabian caliphs, the descendants or successors of the apostle of God; and the kindred which they claim with the Tartar khans of the house of Zingis appears to be founded in flattery

⁵⁷ For this miraculous apparition, Cananus appeals to the Musulman saint; but who will bear testimony for Seid Bechar?

rather than in truth.⁵⁸ Their origin is obscure ; but their sacred and indefeasible right, which no time can erase and no violence can infringe, was soon and unalterably implanted in the minds of their subjects. A weak or vicious sultan may be deposed and strangled ; but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an idiot : nor has the most daring rebel presumed to ascend the throne of his lawful sovereign.⁵⁹ While the transient dynasties of Asia have been continually subverted by a crafty vizir in the palace or a victorious general in the camp, the Ottoman succession has been confirmed by the practice of five centuries, and is now incorporated with the vital principle of the Turkish nation.

To the spirit and constitution of that nation a strong and singular influence may, however, be ascribed. The primitive subjects of Othman were the four hundred families of wandering Turkmans, who had followed his ancestors from the Oxus to the Sangar ; and the plains of Anatolia are still covered with the white and black tents of their rustic brethren. But this original drop was dissolved in the mass of voluntary and vanquished subjects who, under the name of Turks, are united by the common ties of religion, language, and manners. In the cities, from Erzeroum to Belgrade, that national appellation is common to all the Moslems, the first and most honourable inhabitants ; but they have abandoned, at least in Romania, the villages and the cultivation of the

⁵⁸ See Rycaut (l. i. c. 13). The Turkish sultans assume the title of Khan. Yet Abulghazi is ignorant of his Ottoman cousins.

⁵⁹ The third grand vizir of the name of Kiuperli, who was slain at the battle of Salankamen in 1691 (Cantemir, p. 382), presumed to say that all the successors of Soliman had been fools or tyrants, and that it was time to abolish the race (Marsigli Stato Militare, &c. p. 28). This political heretic was a good Whig, and justified, against the French ambassador, the revolution of England (Mignot, Hist. des Ottomans, tom. iii. p. 434). His presumption condemns the singular exception of continuing offices in the same family.

land to the Christian peasants. In the vigorous age of the Ottoman government, the Turks were themselves excluded from all civil and military honours; and a servile class, an artificial people, was raised by the discipline of education to obey, to conquer, and to command.⁶¹ From the time of Orchan and the first Amurath, the sultans were persuaded that a government of the sword must be renewed in each generation with new soldiers; and that such soldiers must be sought, not in effeminate Asia, but among the hardy and warlike natives of Europe. The provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Servia became the perpetual seminary of the Turkish army; and, when the royal fifth of the captives was diminished by conquest, an inhuman tax, of the fifth child, or of every fifth year, was rigorously levied on the Christian families. At the age of twelve or fourteen years the most robust youths were torn from their parents; their names were enrolled in a book; and from that moment they were clothed, taught, and maintained for the public service. According to the promise of their appearance, they were selected for the royal schools of Bursa, Pera, and Hadrianople, entrusted to the care of the bashaws, or dispersed in the houses of the Anatolian peasantry. It was the first care of their masters to instruct them in the Turkish language: their bodies were exercised by every labour that could fortify their strength; they learned to wrestle, to leap, to run, to shoot with the bow, and afterwards with the musket; till they were drafted into the chambers and companies of the Janizaries, and severely trained in the military or monastic discipline of the order. The youths most conspicuous for birth, talents, and beauty, were admitted into the inferior class of *Agiamoglans*, or the more liberal rank of *Ichoglans*, of whom the former were attached to the palace, and the latter to the

⁶¹ Chalcondyles (l. v.) and Ducas (c. 23) exhibit the rude lineaments of the Ottoman policy, and the transmutation of Christian children into Turkish soldiers.

person of the prince. In four successive schools, under the rod of the white eunuchs, the arts of horsemanship and of darting the javelin were their daily exercise, while those of a more studious cast applied themselves to the study of the Koran and the knowledge of the Arabic and Persian tongues. As they advanced in seniority and merit, they were gradually dismissed to military, civil, and even ecclesiastical employments: the longer their stay, the higher was their expectation; till, at a mature period, they were admitted into the number of the forty agas, who stood before the sultan, and were promoted by his choice to the government of provinces and the first honours of the empire.⁶¹ Such a mode of institution was admirably adapted to the form and spirit of a despotic monarchy. The ministers and generals were, in the strictest sense, the slaves of the emperor, to whose bounty they were indebted for their instruction and support. When they left the seraglio, and suffered their beards to grow as the symbol of enfranchisement, they found themselves in an important office, without faction or friendship, without parents and without heirs, dependent on the hand which had raised them from the dust, and which, on the slightest displeasure, could break in pieces these statues of glass, as they are aptly termed by the Turkish proverb.⁶² In the slow and painful steps of education, their character and talents were unfolded to a discerning eye: the *man*, naked and alone, was reduced to the standard of his personal merit; and, if the sovereign had wisdom to choose, he possessed a pure and boundless liberty of choice. The Ottoman candidates were

⁶¹ This sketch of the Turkish education and discipline is chiefly borrowed from Rycaut's *State of the Ottoman Empire*, the *Stato Militare del' Imperio Ottomano* of Count Marsigli (in *Haya*, 1732, in folio), and a *Description of the Seraglio*, approved by Mr. Greaves himself, a curious traveller, and inserted in the second volume of his works.

⁶² From the series of 115 vizirs till the siege of Vienna (Marsigli, p. 13), their place may be valued at three years and a half purchase.

trained by the virtues of abstinence to those of action ; by the habits of submission, to those of command. A similar spirit was diffused among the troops ; and their silence and sobriety, their patience and modesty, have extorted the reluctant praise of their Christian enemies. Nor can the victory appear doubtful, if we compare the discipline and exercise of the Janizaries with the pride of birth, the independence of chivalry, the ignorance of the new levies, the mutinous temper of the veterans, and the vices of intemperance and disorder which so long contaminated the armies of Europe.

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

of rivals; and the sultans had sense to adopt, and wealth to reward, the talents of a Christian engineer. The Genoese who transported Amurath into Europe must be accused as his preceptors; and it was probably by their hands that his cannon was cast and directed at the siege of Constantinople.⁶³ The first attempt was indeed unsuccessful; but in the general warfare of the age the advantage was on *their* side who were most commonly the assailants; for a while the proportion of the attack and defence was suspended; and this thundering artillery was pointed against the walls and turrets which had been erected only to resist the less potent engines of antiquity. By the Venetians, the use of gunpowder was communicated without reproach to the sultans of Egypt and Persia, their allies against the Ottoman power; the secret was soon propagated to the extremities of Asia; and the advantage of the European was confined to his easy victories over the savages of the new world. If we contrast the rapid progress of this mischievous discovery with the slow and laborious advances of reason, science, and the arts of peace, a philosopher, according to his temper, will laugh or weep at the folly of mankind.

⁶³ The Turkish cannon, which Ducas (c. 30) first introduces before Belgrade (A.D. 1436), is mentioned by Chalcondyles (l. v. p. 123) in 1422, at the siege of Constantinople.

CHAPTER LXVI

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

IN the four last centuries of the Greek emperors their friendly or hostile aspect towards the pope and the Latins may be observed as the thermometer of their prosperity or distress, as the scale of the rise and fall of the barbarian dynasties. When the Turks of the house of Seljuk pervaded Asia and threatened Constantinople, we have seen at the council of Placentia the suppliant ambassadors of Alexius imploring the protection of the common father of the Christians. No sooner had the arms of the French pilgrims removed the sultan from Nice to Iconium than the Greek princes resumed, or avowed, their genuine hatred and contempt for the schismatics of the West, which precipitated the first downfall of their empire. The date of the Mogul invasion is marked in the soft and charitable language of John Vatases. After the recovery of Constantinople, the throne of the first Palæologus was encompassed by foreign and domestic enemies; as long as the sword of Charles was suspended over his head, he basely courted the favour of the Roman pontiff, and sacrificed to the present danger his faith, his virtue, and the affection of his subjects. On the decease of Michael the prince

and people asserted the independence of their church and the purity of their creed : the elder Andronicus neither feared nor loved the Latins ; in his last distress, pride was the safeguard of superstition ; nor could he decently retract in his age the firm and orthodox declarations of his youth. His grandson, the younger Andronicus, was less a slave in his temper and situation ; and the conquest of Bithynia by the Turks admonished him to seek a temporal and spiritual alliance with the Western princes. After a separation and silence of fifty years, a secret agent, the monk Barlaam, was dispatched to Pope Benedict the Twelfth ; and his artful instructions appear to have been drawn by the master-hand of the great domestic.¹ “Most holy father,” was he commissioned to say, “the emperor is not less desirous than yourself of an union between the two churches ; but in this delicate transaction he is obliged to respect his own dignity and the prejudices of his subjects. The ways of union are twofold, force and persuasion. Of force, the inefficacy has been already tried ; since the Latins have subdued the empire, without subduing the minds of the Greeks. The method of persuasion, though slow, is sure and permanent. A deputation of thirty or forty of our doctors would probably agree with those of the Vatican, in the love of truth and the unity of belief ; but on their return, what would be the use, the recompense, of such agreement ? the scorn of their brethren, and the reproaches of a blind and obstinate nation. Yet that nation is accustomed to reverence the general councils which have fixed the articles of our faith ; and, if they reprobate the decrees of Lyons, it is because the Eastern churches were neither heard nor represented in that arbitrary meeting. For this

¹ This curious instruction was transcribed (I believe) from the Vatican archives by Odoricus Raynaldus, in his Continuation of the Annals of Baronius (Romæ, 1646-1677, in 10 volumes in folio). I have contented myself with the Abbé Fleury (Hist. Ecclésiastique, tom. xx. pp. 1-8), whose extracts I have always found to be clear, accurate, and impartial.

salutary end it will be expedient, and even necessary, that a well-chosen legate should be sent into Greece, to convene the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and with their aid to prepare a free and universal synod. But at this moment," continued the subtle agent, "the empire is assaulted and endangered by the Turks, who have occupied four of the greatest cities of Anatolia. The Christian inhabitants have expressed a wish of returning to their allegiance and religion; but the forces and revenues of the emperor are insufficient for their deliverance; and the Roman legate must be accompanied, or preceded, by an army of Franks, to expel the infidels and open a way to the holy sepulchre." If the suspicious Latins should require some pledge, some previous effect of the sincerity of the Greeks, the answers of Barlaam were perspicuous and rational.

1. A general synod can alone consummate the union of the churches; nor can such synod be held till the three Oriental patriarchs and a great number of bishops are enfranchised from the Mahometan yoke.
2. The Greeks are alienated by a long series of oppression and injury: they must be reconciled by some act of brotherly love, some effectual succour, which may fortify the authority and arguments of the emperor and the friends of the union.
3. If some difference of faith or ceremonies should be found incurable, the Greeks, however, are the disciples of Christ, and the Turks are the common enemies of the Christian name. The Armenians, Cyprians, and Rhodians are equally attacked; and it will become the piety of the French princes to draw their swords in the general defence of religion.
4. Should the subjects of Andronicus be treated as the worst of schismatics, of heretics, of pagans, a judicious policy may yet instruct the powers of the West to embrace an useful ally, to uphold a sinking empire, to guard the confines of Europe, and rather to join the Greeks against the Turks than to expect the union of the Turkish arms with the troops and treasures of captive Greece."

The reasons, the offers, and the demands of Andronicus were eluded with cold and stately indifference. The kings of France and Naples declined the dangers and glory of a crusade: the pope refused to call a new synod to determine old articles of faith; and his regard for the obsolete claims of the Latin emperor and clergy engaged him to use an offensive superscription: "To the *moderator*² of the Greeks, and the persons who style themselves the patriarchs of the Eastern churches." For such an embassy a time and character less propitious could not easily have been found. Benedict the Twelfth was a dull peasant, perplexed with scruples, and immersed in sloth and wine: his pride might enrich with a third crown the papal tiara, but he was alike unfit for the regal and the pastoral office.

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

² The ambiguity of this title is happy or ingenious; and *moderator*, as synonymous to *rector*, *gubernator*, is a word of classical, and even Ciceronian, Latinity, which may be found, not in the Glossary of Ducange, but in the Thesaurus of Robert Stephens.

knowledge of the state and revolutions of the Greek empire, which he had imbibed from the honest accounts of a Savoyard lady, an attendant of the empress Anne.³ If Clement was ill endowed with the virtues of a priest, he possessed, however, the spirit and magnificence of a prince, whose liberal hand distributed benefices and kingdoms with equal facility. Under his reign Avignon was the seat of pomp and pleasure; in his youth he had surpassed the licentiousness of a baron; and the palace, nay, the bed-chamber of the pope was adorned, or polluted, by the visits of his female favourites. The wars of France and England were adverse to the holy enterprise; but his vanity was amused by the splendid idea; and the Greek ambassadors returned with two Latin bishops, the ministers of the pontiff. On their arrival at Constantinople, the emperor and the nuncios admired each other's piety and eloquence; and their frequent conferences were filled with mutual praises and promises, by which both parties were amused and neither could be deceived. "I am delighted," said the devout Cantacuzene, "with the project of our holy war, which must redound to my personal glory as well as to the public benefit of Christendom. My dominions will give a free passage to the armies of France: my troops, my galleys, my treasures, shall be consecrated to the common cause; and happy would be my fate, could I deserve and obtain the crown of martyrdom. Words are insufficient to express the ardour with which I sigh for the reunion of the scattered members of Christ. If my death could avail, I would gladly present my sword and my neck; if the spiritual phoenix could arise from my ashes, I would erect the pile and kindle the flame with my own hands." Yet the Greek emperor presumed to

³ Her name (most probably corrupted) was Zampea. She had accompanied and alone remained with her mistress at Constantinople, where her prudence, erudition, and politeness deserved the praises of the Greeks themselves (Cantacuzen. l. i. c. 42).

observe that the articles of faith which divided the two churches had been introduced by the pride and precipitation of the Latins: he disclaimed the servile and arbitrary steps of the first Palæologus; and firmly declared that he would never submit his conscience unless to the decrees of a free and universal synod. "The situation of the times," continued he, "will not allow the pope and myself to meet either at Rome or Constantinople; but some maritime city may be chosen on the verge of the two empires, to unite the bishops, and to instruct the faithful, of the East and West." The nuncios seemed content with the proposition; and Cantacuzene affects to deplore the failure of his hopes, which were soon overthrown by the death of Clement and the different temper of his successor. His own life was prolonged, but it was prolonged in a cloister; and, except by his prayers, the humble monk was incapable of directing the counsels of his pupil or the state.

Yet, of all the Byzantine princes, that pupil, John Palæologus, was the best disposed to embrace, to believe, and to obey the shepherd of the West. His mother, Anne of Savoy, was baptized in the bosom of the Latin church: her marriage with Andronicus imposed a change of name, of apparel, and of worship; but her heart was still faithful to her country and religion: she had formed the infancy of her son, and she governed the emperor, after his mind, or at least his stature, was enlarged to the size of man. In the first year of his deliverance and restoration the Turks were still masters of the Hellespont; the son of Cantacuzene was in arms at Hadrianople; and Palæologus could depend neither on himself nor on his people. By his mother's advice, and in the hope of foreign aid, he abjured the rights both of the church and state; and the act of slavery,⁴ subscribed in purple ink and sealed with the *golden bull*, was privately

⁴ See this ignominious treaty in Fleury (Hist. Ecclés. pp. 151-154), from Raynaldus, who drew it from the Vatican archives. It was not worth the trouble of a pious forgery.

entrusted to an Italian agent. The first article of the treaty is an oath of fidelity and obedience to Innocent the Sixth and his successors, the supreme pontiffs of the Roman and Catholic church. The emperor promises to entertain with due reverence their legates and nuncios; to assign a palace for their residence and a temple for their worship; and to deliver his second son Manuel as the hostage of his faith. For these condescensions he requires a prompt succour of fifteen galleys, with five hundred men at arms and a thousand archers, to serve against his Christian and Musulman enemies. Palæologus engages to impose on his clergy and people the same spiritual yoke; but, as the resistance of the Greeks might be justly foreseen, he adopts the two effectual methods of corruption and education. The legate was impowered to distribute the vacant benefices among the ecclesiastics who should subscribe the creed of the Vatican; three schools were instituted to instruct the youth of Constantinople in the language and doctrine of the Latins; and the name of Andronicus, the heir of the empire, was enrolled as the first student. Should he fail in the measures of persuasion or force, Palæologus declares himself unworthy to reign, transfers to the pope all regal and paternal authority, and invests Innocent with full power to regulate the family, the government, and the marriage of his son and successor. But this treaty was neither executed nor published: the Roman galleys were as vain and imaginary as the submission of the Greeks; and it was only by the secrecy that their sovereign escaped the dishonour of this fruitless humiliation.

The tempest of the Turkish arms soon burst on his head; and, after the loss of Hadrianople and Romania, he was inclosed in his capital, the vassal of the haughty Amurath, with the miserable hope of being the last devoured by the savage. In this abject state Palæologus embraced the resolution of embarking for Venice, and casting himself at the feet of the pope. He was the first of the Byzantine princes who had ever visited

the unknown regions of the West, yet in them alone he could seek consolation or relief; and with less violation of his dignity he might appear in the sacred college than at the Ottoman *Porte*. After a long absence the Roman pontiffs were returning from Avignon to the banks of the Tiber: Urban the Fifth, of a mild and virtuous character, encouraged or allowed the pilgrimage of the Greek prince; and within the same year enjoyed the glory of receiving in the Vatican the two imperial shadows who represented the majesty of Constantine and Charlemagne. In this suppliant visit, the emperor of Constantinople, whose vanity was lost in his distress, gave more than could be expected of empty sounds and formal submissions. A previous trial was imposed; and, in the presence of four cardinals, he acknowledged, as a true Catholic, the supremacy of the pope and the double procession of the Holy Ghost. After this purification, he was introduced to a public audience in the church of St. Peter: Urban, in the midst of the cardinals, was seated on his throne; the Greek monarch, after three genuflexions, devoutly kissed the feet, the hands, and at length the mouth, of the holy father, who celebrated high mass in his presence, allowed him to lead the bridle of his mule, and treated him with a sumptuous banquet in the Vatican. The entertainment of Palæologus was friendly and honourable; yet some difference was observed between the emperors of the East and West;⁵ nor could the former be entitled to the rare privilege of chanting the gospel in the rank of a deacon.⁶ In favour of

⁵ *Paullo minus quam si fuisset Imperator Romanorum.* Yet his title of Imperator Græcorum was no longer disputed (Vit. Urban V. p. 623).

⁶ It was confined to the successors of Charlemagne, and to them only on Christmas Day. On all other festivals, these Imperial deacons were content to serve the pope, as he said mass, with the book and the *corporal*. Yet the Abbé de Sade generously thinks that the merits of Charles IV. might have entitled him, though not on the proper day (A.D. 1368, 1st November), to the whole privilege. He seems to affix a just

his proselyte Urban strove to rekindle the zeal of the French king and the other powers of the West; but he found them cold in the general cause and active only in their domestic quarrels. The last hope of the emperor was in an English mercenary, John Hawkwood,⁷ or Acuto, who, with a band of adventurers, the White Brotherhood, had ravaged Italy from the Alps to Calabria; sold his services to the hostile states; and incurred a just excommunication by shooting his arrows against the papal residence. A special licence was granted to negotiate with the outlaw; but the forces, or the spirit, of Hawkwood were unequal to the enterprise; and it was for the advantage perhaps of Palæologus to be disappointed of a succour that must have been costly, that could not be effectual, and which might have been dangerous. The disconsolate Greek⁸ prepared for his return, but even his return was impeded by a most ignominious obstacle. On his arrival at Venice, he had borrowed large sums at exorbitant usury; but his coffers were empty, his creditors were impatient, and his person was detained as the best security for the payment. His eldest son Andronicus, the regent of Constantinople, was repeatedly urged to exhaust every resource, and, even by stripping the churches, to extricate his father from captivity and disgrace. But the value on the privilege and the man (Vie de Pétrarque, tom. iii. p. 735).

⁷ Through some Italian corruptions, the etymology of *Falcone in bosco* (Matteo Villani, l. xi. c. 79, in Muratori, tom. xiv. p. 746) suggests the English word *Hawkwood*, the true name of our adventurous countryman (Thomas Walsingham, Hist. Anglican. inter Scriptores Camdeni, p. 184). After two and twenty victories and one defeat, he died, in 1394, General of the Florentines, and was buried with such honours as the republic has not paid to Dante or Petrarch (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. pp. 212-371).

⁸ Chalcondyles, l. i. pp. 25, 26. The Greek supposes his journey to the king of France, which is sufficiently refuted by the silence of the national historians. Nor am I much more inclined to believe that Palæologus departed from Italy, valde bene consolatus et contentus (Vit. Urban. V. p. 623).

unnatural youth was insensible of the disgrace, and secretly pleased with the captivity of the emperor : the state was poor, the clergy was obstinate ; nor could some religious scruple be wanting to excuse the guilt of his indifference and delay. Such undutiful neglect was severely reprov'd by the piety of his brother Manuel, who instantly sold or mortgaged all that he possessed, embarked for Venice, relieved his father, and pledged his own freedom to be responsible for the debt. On his return to Constantinople the parent and king distinguished his two sons with suitable rewards ; but the faith and manners of the slothful Palæologus had not been improved by his Roman pilgrimage ; and his apostasy or conversion, devoid of any spiritual or temporal effects, was speedily forgotten by the Greeks and Latins.⁹

Thirty years after the return of Palæologus, his son and successor, Manuel, from a similar motive, but on a larger scale, again visited the countries of the West. In a preceding chapter, I have related his treaty with Bajazet, the violation of that treaty, the siege or blockade of Constantinople, and the French succour under the command of the gallant Boucicault. By his ambassadors, Manuel had solicited the Latin powers ; but it was thought that the presence of a distressed monarch would draw tears and supplies from the hardest barbarians ; and the marshal who advised the journey, prepared the reception, of the Byzantine prince. The land was occupied by the Turks ; but the navigation of Venice was safe and open ; Italy received him as the first, or at least as the second, of the Christian princes ; Manuel was pitied as the champion and confessor of the faith ; and the dignity of his behaviour prevented that pity from sinking into contempt. From Venice he proceeded to Padua and Pavia ; and even the duke of Milan, a

⁹ His return in 1370, and the coronation of Manuel, 25th September, 1373 (Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 241), leaves some intermediate æra for the conspiracy and punishment of Andronicus.

secret ally of Bajazet, gave him safe and honourable conduct to the verge of his dominions.¹⁰ On the confines of France, the royal officers undertook the care of his person, journey, and expenses; and two thousand of the richest citizens, in arms and on horseback, came forth to meet him as far as Charenton, in the neighbourhood of the capital. At the gates of Paris he was saluted by the chancellor and the parliament; and Charles the Sixth, attended by his princes and nobles, welcomed his brother with a cordial embrace. The successor of Constantine was clothed in a robe of white silk and mounted on a milk-white steed, a circumstance, in the French ceremonial, of singular importance: the white colour is considered as the symbol of sovereignty; and in a late visit the German emperor, after an haughty demand and a peevish refusal, had been reduced to content himself with a black courser. Manuel was lodged in the Louvre; a succession of feasts and balls, the pleasures of the banquet and the chase, were ingeniously varied by the politeness of the French, to display their magnificence and amuse his grief. He was indulged in the liberty of his chapel; and the doctors of the Sorbonne were astonished, and possibly scandalised, by the language, the rites, and the vestments of his Greek clergy. But the slightest glance on the state of the kingdom must teach him to despair of any effectual assistance. The unfortunate Charles, though he enjoyed some lucid intervals, continually relapsed into furious or stupid insanity; the reins of government were alternately seized by his brother and uncle, the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, whose factious competition prepared the miseries of civil war. The former was a gay youth, dissolved in luxury and love: the latter was the father of John, count of Nevers, who had so lately been ransomed from Turkish

¹⁰ Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. xii. p. 406. John Galeazzo was the first and most powerful duke of Milan. His connection with Bajazet is attested by Froissard; and he contributed to save and deliver the French captives of Nicopolis.

captivity ; and, if the fearless son was ardent to revenge his defeat, the more prudent Burgundy was content with the cost and peril of the first experiment. When Manuel had satiated the curiosity, and perhaps fatigued the patience, of the French, he resolved on a visit to the adjacent island. In his progress from Dover, he was entertained at Canterbury with due reverence by the prior and monks of St. Austin ; and, on Blackheath, King Henry the Fourth, with the English court, saluted the Greek hero (I copy our old historian), who, during many days, was lodged and treated in London as Emperor of the East. But the state of England was still more adverse to the design of the holy war. In the same year, the hereditary sovereign had been deposed and murdered : the reigning prince was a successful usurper, whose ambition was punished by jealousy and remorse ; nor could Henry of Lancaster withdraw his person or forces from the defence of a throne incessantly shaken by conspiracy and rebellion. He pitied, he praised, he feasted, the emperor of Constantinople ; but, if the English monarch assumed the cross, it was only to appease his people, and perhaps his conscience, by the merit or semblance of this pious intention.¹¹ Satisfied, however, with gifts and honours, Manuel returned to Paris ; and, after a residence of two years in the West, shaped his course through Germany and Italy, embarked at Venice, and patiently expected, in the Morea, the moment of his ruin or deliverance. Yet he had escaped the ignominious necessity of offering his religion to public or private sale. The Latin church was distracted by the great schism : the kings, the nations, the universities, of Europe were divided in their obedience between the popes of Rome and Avignon ; and the emperor, anxious to conciliate the friendship of both parties, abstained from any corre-

¹¹ Shakespeare begins and ends the play of Henry IV. with that prince's vow of a crusade, and his belief that he should die in Jerusalem.

spondence with the indigent and unpopular rivals. His journey coincided with the year of the jubilee; but he passed through Italy without desiring or deserving the plenary indulgence which abolished the guilt or penance of the sins of the faithful. The Roman pope was offended by this neglect; accused him of irreverence to an image of Christ; and exhorted the princes of Italy to reject and abandon the obstinate schismatic.¹²

During the period of the crusades the Greeks beheld, with astonishment and terror, the perpetual stream of emigration that flowed, and continued to flow, from the unknown climates of the West. The visits of their last emperors removed the veil of separation, and they disclosed to their eyes the powerful nations of Europe, whom they no longer presumed to brand with the name of barbarians. The observations of Manuel and his more inquisitive followers have been preserved by a Byzantine historian of the times:¹³ his scattered ideas I shall collect and abridge; and it may be amusing enough, perhaps instructive, to contemplate the rude pictures of Germany, France, and England, whose ancient and modern state are so familiar to *our* minds. I. GERMANY (says the Greek Chalcondyles) is of ample latitude from Vienna to the Ocean; and it stretches (a strange geography) from Prague, in Bohemia, to the river Tartessus and

¹² This fact is preserved in the *Historia Politica*, A.D. 1391-1478, published by Martin Crusius (*Turco-Græci*, pp. 1-43). The image of Christ which the Greek emperor refused to worship was probably a work of sculpture.

¹³ The Greek and Turkish history of Laonicus Chalcondyles ends with the winter of 1463, and the abrupt conclusion seems to mark that he laid down his pen in the same year. We know that he was an Athenian, and that some contemporaries of the same name contributed to the revival of the Greek language in Italy. But in his numerous digressions the modest historian has never introduced himself; and his editor Leunclavius, as well as Fabricius (*Bibliot. Græc.* tom. vi. p. 474), seems ignorant of his life and character. For his descriptions of Germany, France, and England, see l. ii. pp. 36, 37, 44-50.

the Pyrenean Mountains.¹⁴ The soil, except in figs and olives, is sufficiently fruitful; the air is salubrious; the bodies of the natives are robust and healthy, and these cold regions are seldom visited with the calamities of pestilence or earthquakes. After the Scythians or Tartars, the Germans are the most numerous of nations; they are brave and patient, and, were they united under a single head, their force would be irresistible. By the gift of the pope, they have acquired the privilege of choosing the Roman emperor; ¹⁵ nor is any people more devoutly attached to the faith and obedience of the Latin patriarch. The greatest part of the country is divided among the princes and prelates; but Strasburg, Cologne, Hamburg, and more than two hundred free cities are governed by sage and equal laws, according to the will and for the advantage of the whole community. The use of duels, or single combats on foot, prevails among them in peace and war; their industry excels in all the mechanic arts; and the Germans may boast of the invention of gunpowder and cannon, which is now diffused over the greatest part of the world. II. The kingdom of FRANCE is spread above fifteen or twenty days' journey from Germany to Spain, and from the Alps to the British Ocean, containing many flourishing cities, and among these Paris, the seat of the king, which surpasses the rest in riches and luxury. Many princes and lords alternately wait in his palace and acknowledge him as their sovereign:

¹⁴ I shall not animadvert on the geographical errors of Chalcondyles. In this instance, he perhaps followed and mistook Herodotus (l. ii. c. 33), whose text may be explained (Herodote de Larcher, tom. ii. pp. 219, 220), or whose ignorance may be excused. Had these modern Greeks never read Strabo, or any of their lesser geographers?

¹⁵ A citizen of new Rome, while new Rome survived, would have scorned to dignify the German *Ῥήξ* with the titles of *Βασιλεύς*, or *Ἀυτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων*; but all pride was extinct in the bosom of Chalcondyles; and he describes the Byzantine prince and his subject, by the proper, though humble names of *Ἕλληνες*, and *Βασιλεύς Ἑλλήνων*.

the most powerful are the dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy, of whom the latter possesses the wealthy province of Flanders, whose harbours are frequented by the ships and merchants of our own and the more remote seas. The French are an ancient and opulent people; and their language and manners, though somewhat different, are not dissimilar from those of the Italians. Vain of the Imperial dignity of Charlemagne, of their victories over the Saracens, and of the exploits of their heroes, Oliver and Rowland,¹⁶ they esteem themselves the first of the western nations; but this foolish arrogance has been recently humbled by the unfortunate events of their wars against the English, the inhabitants of the British Island. III. BRITAIN, in the ocean and opposite to the shores of Flanders, may be considered either as one or as three islands; but the whole is united by a common interest, by the same manners, and by a similar government. The measure of its circumference is five thousand stadia: the land is overspread with towns and villages; though destitute of wine, and not abounding in fruit-trees, it is fertile in wheat and barley, in honey and wool; and much cloth is manufactured by the inhabitants. In populousness and power, in riches and luxury, London, the metropolis of the isle, may claim a pre-eminence over all the cities of the West. It is situate on the Thames, a broad and rapid river, which, at the distance of thirty miles, falls into the Gallic Sea; and the daily flow and ebb of the tide affords a safe entrance and departure to the vessels of commerce. The king is the head of a powerful and turbulent aristocracy: his principal vassals hold their estates by a free and unalterable tenure; and

¹⁶ Most of the old romances were translated in the sixth century into French prose, and soon became the favourite amusement of the knights and ladies in the court of Charles VI. If a Greek believed in the exploits of Rowland and Oliver, he may surely be excused, since the monks of St. Denys, the national historians, have inserted the fables of Archbishop Turpin in their Chronicles of France.

the laws define the limits of his authority and their obedience. The kingdom has been often afflicted by foreign conquest and domestic sedition; but the natives are bold and hardy, renowned in arms and victorious in war. The form of their shields or targets is derived from the Italians, that of their swords from the Greeks; the use of the long bow is the peculiar and decisive advantage of the English. Their language bears no affinity to the idioms of the continent: in the habits of domestic life, they are not easily distinguished from their neighbours of France; but the most singular circumstance of their manners is their disregard of conjugal honour and of female chastity. In their mutual visits, as the first act of hospitality, the guest is welcomed in the embraces of their wives and daughters: among friends, they are lent and borrowed without shame; nor are the islanders offended at this strange commerce and its inevitable consequences. Informed as we are of the customs of old England, and assured of the virtue of our mothers, we may smile at the credulity, or resent the injustice of the Greek, who must have confounded a modest salute¹⁷ with a criminal embrace. But his credulity and injustice may teach an important lesson, to distrust the accounts of foreign and remote nations, and to suspend our belief of every tale that deviates from the laws of nature and the character of man.¹⁸

After his return, and the victory of Timour, Manuel reigned many years in prosperity and peace. As long as the sons of Bajazet solicited his friendship and

¹⁷ Erasmus (Epist. Fausto Andrelino) has a pretty passage on the English fashion of kissing strangers on their arrival and departure, from whence, however, he draws no scandalous inferences.

¹⁸ Perhaps we may apply this remark to the community of wives among the old Britons, as it is supposed by Cæsar and Dion (Dion Cassius, l. lxii. tom. ii. p. 1007), with Reimar's judicious annotation. The *Arreoy* of Otaheite, so certain at first, is become less visible and scandalous, in proportion as we have studied the manners of that gentle and amorous people.

spared his dominions, he was satisfied with the national religion; and his leisure was employed in composing twenty theological dialogues for its defence. The appearance of the Byzantine ambassadors at the council of Constance announces the restoration of the Turkish power, as well as of the Latin church: the conquest of the sultans, Mahomet and Amurath, reconciled the emperor to the Vatican; and the siege of Constantinople almost tempted him to acquiesce in the double procession of the Holy Ghost. When Martin the Fifth ascended without a rival the chair of St. Peter, a friendly intercourse of letters and embassies was revived between the East and West. Ambition on one side and distress on the other dictated the same decent language of charity and peace: the artful Greek expressed a desire of marrying his six sons to Italian princesses; and the Roman, not less artful, despatched the daughter of the marquis of Montferrat, with a company of noble virgins, to soften, by their charms, the obstinacy of the schismatics. Yet, under this mask of zeal, a discerning eye will perceive that all was hollow and insincere in the court and church of Constantinople. According to the vicissitudes of danger and repose, the emperor advanced or retreated; alternately instructed and disavowed his ministers; and escaped from an importunate pressure by urging the duty of inquiry, the obligation of collecting the sense of his patriarchs and bishops, and the impossibility of convening them at a time when the Turkish arms were at the gates of his capital. From a review of the public transactions, it will appear that the Greeks insisted on three successive measures, a succour, a council, and a final reunion, while the Latins eluded the second, and only promised the first as a consequential and voluntary reward of the third. But we have an opportunity of unfolding the most secret intentions of Manuel, as he explained them in a private conversation without artifice or disguise. In his declining age the emperor had associated John Palæologus, the second of the

name, and the eldest of his sons, on whom he devolved the greatest part of the authority and weight of government. One day, in the presence only of the historian Phranza,¹⁹ his favourite chamberlain, he opened to his colleague and successor the true principle of his negotiations with the pope.²⁰ "Our last resource," said Manuel, "against the Turks is their fear of our union with the Latins, of the warlike nations of the West, who may arm for our relief, and for their destruction. As often as you are threatened by the miscreants, present this danger before their eyes. Propose a council; consult on the means; but ever delay and avoid the convocation of an assembly, which cannot tend either to our spiritual or temporal emolument. The Latins are proud; the Greeks are obstinate; neither party will recede or retract; and the attempt of a perfect union will confirm the schism, alienate the churches, and leave us, without hope or defence, at the mercy of the barbarians." Impatient of this salutary lesson, the royal youth arose from his seat and departed in silence; and the wise monarch (continues Phranza) casting his eyes on me, thus resumed his discourse: "My son deems himself a great and heroic prince; but alas! our miserable age does not afford scope for heroism or greatness. His daring spirit might have suited the happier times of our

¹⁹ From his early youth, George Phranza, or Phranzes, was employed in the service of the state and palace; and Hanckius (*de Script. Byzant.* p. i. c. 40) has collected his life from his own writings. He was no more than four-and-twenty years of age at the death of Manuel, who recommended him, in the strongest terms, to his successor: *Imprimis vero hunc Phranzen tibi commendo, que ministravit mihi fideliter et diligenter* (Phranzes, l. ii. c. 1). Yet the emperor John was cold, and he preferred the service of the despots of Peloponnesus.

²⁰ See Phranzes, l. ii. c. 13. While so many manuscripts of the Greek original are extant in the libraries of Rome, Milan, the Escorial, &c. it is a matter of shame and reproach that we should be reduced to the Latin version, or abstract, of James Pontanus, *ad calcem Theophylact. Simocattæ* (Ingolstadt, 1604), so deficient in accuracy and elegance (*Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. pp. 615-620*).

ancestors; but the present state requires not an emperor, but a cautious steward of the last relics of our fortunes. Well do I remember the lofty expectations which he built on our alliance with Mustapha; and much do I fear that his rash courage will urge the ruin of our house, and that even religion may precipitate our downfall." Yet the inexperience and authority of Manuel preserved the peace and eluded the council; till, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and in the habit of a monk, he terminated his career, dividing his precious moveables among his children and the poor, his physicians and his favourite servants. Of his six sons, Andronicus the Second was invested with the principality of Thessalonica, and died of a leprosy soon after the sale of that city to the Venetians and its final conquest by the Turks. Some fortunate incidents had restored Peloponnesus, or the Morea, to the empire; and in his more prosperous days Manuel had fortified the narrow isthmus of six miles²¹ with a stone wall and one hundred and fifty-three towers. The wall was overthrown by the first blast of the Ottomans; the fertile peninsula might have been sufficient for the four younger brothers, Theodore and Constantine, Demetrius and Thomas; but they wasted in domestic contests the remains of their strength; and the least successful of the rivals were reduced to a life of dependence in the Byzantine palace.

The eldest of the sons of Manuel, John Palæologus the Second, was acknowledged, after his father's death, as the sole emperor of the Greeks. He immediately proceeded to repudiate his wife and to contract a new marriage with the princess of Trebizond: beauty was

²¹ The exact measure of the Hexamilion from sea to sea, was 3800 orgygiæ, or *toises*, of six Greek feet (Phranzes, l. i. c. 38), which would produce a Greek mile, still smaller than that of 660 French *toises*, which is assigned by d'Anville as still in use in Turkey. Five miles are commonly reckoned for the breadth of the Isthmus. See the Travels of Spon, Wheeler, and Chandler.

in his eye the first qualification of an empress; and the clergy had yielded to his firm assurance that, unless he might be indulged in a divorce, he would retire to a cloister and leave the throne to his brother Constantine. The first, and in truth the only, victory of Palæologus was over a Jew,²² whom, after a long and learned dispute, he converted to the Christian faith; and this momentous conquest is carefully recorded in the history of the times. But he soon resumed the design of uniting the East and West; and, regardless of his father's advice, listened, as it should seem, with sincerity to the proposal of meeting the pope in a general council beyond the Adriatic. This dangerous project was encouraged by Martin the Fifth, and coldly entertained by his successor Eugenius, till, after a tedious negotiation, the emperor received a summons from a Latin assembly of a new character, the independent prelates of Basil, who styled themselves the representatives and judges of the Catholic church.

The Roman pontiff had fought and conquered in the cause of ecclesiastical freedom; but the victorious clergy were soon exposed to the tyranny of their deliverer; and his sacred character was invulnerable to those arms which they found so keen and effectual against the civil magistrate. Their great charter, the right of election, was annihilated by appeals, evaded by trusts or commendams, disappointed by reversionary grants, and superseded by previous and arbitrary reservations.²³ A public auction was instituted in the court of Rome: the cardinals and favourites were

²² The first objection of the Jews is on the death of Christ: if it were voluntary, Christ was a suicide; which the emperor parries with a mystery. They then dispute on the conception of the Virgin, the sense of the prophecies, &c. (Phranzes, l. ii. c. 12, a whole chapter).

²³ In the treatise delle Materie Beneficarie of Fra Paolo (in the ivth volume of the last and best edition of his works), the papal system is deeply studied and freely described. Should Rome and her religion be annihilated, this golden volume may still survive, a philosophical history and a salutary warning.

enriched with the spoils of nations ; and every country might complain that the most important and valuable benefices were accumulated on the heads of aliens and absentees. During their residence at Avignon, the ambition of the popes subsided in the meaner passions of avarice²⁴ and luxury : they rigorously imposed on the clergy the tributes of first-fruits and tenths ; but they freely tolerated the impunity of vice, disorder, and corruption. These manifold scandals were aggravated by the great schism of the West, which continued above fifty years. In the furious conflicts of Rome and Avignon, the vices of the rivals were mutually exposed ; and their precarious situation degraded their authority, relaxed their discipline, and multiplied their wants and exactions. To heal the wounds, and restore the monarchy, of the church, the synods of Pisa and Constance²⁵ were successively convened ; but these great assemblies, conscious of their strength, resolved to vindicate the privileges of the Christian aristocracy. From a personal sentence against two pontiffs whom they rejected, and a third, their acknowledged sovereign, whom they deposed, the fathers of Constance proceeded to examine the nature and limits of the Roman supremacy ; nor did they separate till they had established the authority, above the pope, of a general council. It was enacted that, for the government and reformation of the church, such assemblies should be held at regular intervals ; and that each synod, before its dissolution, should appoint the time and place of the subsequent meeting.

²⁴ Pope John XXII. (in 1334) left behind him, at Avignon, eighteen millions of gold florins, and the value of seven millions more in plate and jewels. See the Chronicle of John Villani (l. xi. c. 20, in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiii. p. 765), whose brother received the account from the Papal treasurers. A treasure of six or eight millions sterling in the xivth century is enormous, and almost incredible.

²⁵ A learned and liberal Protestant, M. Lenfant, has given a fair history of the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basil, in six volumes in quarto ; but the last part is the most hasty and imperfect, except in the account of the troubles of Bohemia.

By the influence of the court of Rome the next convocation at Sienna was easily eluded; but the bold and vigorous proceedings of the council of Basil²⁶ had almost been fatal to the reigning pontiff, Eugenius the Fourth. A just suspicion of his design prompted the fathers to hasten the promulgation of their first decree, that the representatives of the church-militant on earth were invested with a divine and spiritual jurisdiction over all Christians, without excepting the pope; and that a general council could not be dissolved, prorogued, or transferred, unless by their free deliberation and consent. On the notice that Eugenius had fulminated a bull for that purpose, they ventured to summon, to admonish, to threaten, to censure, the contumacious successor of St. Peter. After many delays, to allow time for repentance, they finally declared that, unless he submitted within the term of sixty days, he was suspended from the exercise of all temporal and ecclesiastical authority. And to mark their jurisdiction over the prince as well as the priest, they assumed the government of Avignon, annulled the alienation of the sacred patrimony, and protected Rome from the imposition of new taxes. Their boldness was justified, not only by the general opinion of the clergy, but by the support and power of the first monarchs of Christendom: the emperor Sigismund declared himself the servant and protector of the synod; Germany and France adhered to their cause; the duke of Milan was the enemy of Eugenius; and he was driven from the Vatican by an insurrection of the Roman people. Rejected at the same time by his temporal and spiritual subjects, submission was his

²⁶ The original acts or minutes of the council of Basil are preserved in the public library, in twelve volumes in folio. Basil was a free city, conveniently situate on the Rhine, and guarded by the arms of the neighbouring and confederate Swiss. In 1459, the university was founded by Pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius), who had been secretary to the council. But what is a council, or an university, to the presses of Froben and the studies of Erasmus?

only choice; by a most humiliating bull, the pope repealed his own acts and ratified those of the council; incorporated his legates and cardinals with that venerable body; and *seemed* to resign himself to the decrees of the supreme legislature. Their fame pervaded the countries of the East; and it was in their presence that Sigismond received the ambassadors of the Turkish sultan, who laid at his feet twelve large vases, filled with robes of silk and pieces of gold. The fathers of Basil aspired to the glory of reducing the Greeks, as well as the Bohemians, within the pale of the church; and their deputies invited the emperor and patriarchs of Constantinople to unite with an assembly which possessed the confidence of the Western nations. Palæologus was not averse to the proposal; and his ambassadors were introduced with due honours into the Catholic senate. But the choice of the place appeared to be an insuperable obstacle, since he refused to pass the Alps or the sea of Sicily, and positively required that the synod should be adjourned to some convenient city in Italy, or at least on the Danube. The other articles of this treaty were more readily stipulated: it was agreed to defray the travelling expenses of the emperor, with a train of seven hundred persons,²⁷ to remit an immediate sum of eight thousand ducats²⁸ for the accommodation of the Greek clergy; and in his absence to grant a supply of ten thousand ducats, with three hundred archers, and some galleys for the protection of Constantinople. The city of Avignon advanced the funds for the

²⁷ Syropulus, p. 19. In this list, the Greeks appear to have exceeded the real numbers of the clergy and laity which afterwards attended the emperor and patriarch, but which are not clearly specified by the great ecclesiarch. The 75,000 florins which they asked in this negotiation of the pope (p. 9) were more than they could hope or want.

²⁸ I use indifferently the words *ducat* and *florin*, which derive their names, the former from the *dukes* of Milan, the latter from the republic of *Florence*. These gold pieces, the first that were coined in Italy, perhaps in the Latin world, may be compared, in weight and value, to one third of the English guinea.

preliminary expenses; and the embarkation was prepared at Marseilles with some difficulty and delay.

In his distress, the friendship of Palæologus was disputed by the ecclesiastical powers of the West; but the dexterous activity of a monarch prevailed over the slow debates and inflexible temper of a republic. The decrees of Basil continually tended to circumscribe the despotism of the pope and to erect a supreme and perpetual tribunal in the church. Eugenius was impatient of the yoke; and the union of the Greeks might afford a decent pretence for translating a rebellious synod from the Rhine to the Po. The independence of the fathers was lost if they passed the Alps: Savoy or Avignon, to which they acceded with reluctance, were described at Constantinople as situate far beyond the Pillars of Hercules;²⁹ the emperor and his clergy were apprehensive of the dangers of a long navigation; they were offended by an haughty declaration that, after suppressing the *new* heresy of the Bohemians, the council would soon eradicate the *old* heresy of the Greeks.³⁰ On the side of Eugenius, all was smooth and yielding and respectful; and he invited the Byzantine monarch to heal, by his presence, the schism of the Latin, as well as of the Eastern, church. Ferrara, near the coast of the Adriatic, was proposed for their amicable interview; and with some indulgence of forgery and theft a surreptitious decree was procured, which transferred the synod, with its own consent, to that Italian city. Nine galleys were

²⁹ At the end of the Latin version of Phranzes, we read a long Greek epistle or declamation of George of Trebizond, who advises the emperor to prefer Eugenius and Italy. He treats with contempt the schismatic assembly of Basil, the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had conspired to transport the chair of St. Peter beyond the Alps: *οἱ ἄθλιοι* (says he) *σὲ καὶ τὴν μετὰ σοῦ σύνοδον ἔξω τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν καὶ πέρα Γαδῆρων ἐξάξουσι.* Was Constantinople unprovided with a map?

³⁰ Syropulus (pp. 26-31) attests his own indignation, and that of his countrymen; and the Basil deputies, who excused the rash declaration, could neither deny nor alter an act of the council.

equipped for this service at Venice and in the isle of Candia ; their diligence anticipated the slower vessels of Basil. The Roman admiral was commissioned to burn, sink, and destroy ; and these priestly squadrons might have encountered each other in the same seas where Athens and Sparta had formerly contended for the pre-eminence of glory. Assaulted by the impurity of the factions, who were ready to fight for the possession of his person, Palæologus hesitated before he left his palace and country on a perilous experiment. His father's advice still dwelt on his memory ; and reason must suggest that, since the Latins were divided among themselves, they could never unite in a foreign cause. Sigismond dissuaded the unseasonable adventure ; his advice was impartial, since he adhered to the council ; and it was enforced by the strange belief that the German Cæsar would nominate a Greek his heir and successor in the empire of the West.³¹ Even the Turkish sultan was a counsellor whom it might be unsafe to trust, but whom it was dangerous to offend. Amurath was unskilled in the disputes, but he was apprehensive of the union, of the Christians. From his own treasures, he offered to relieve the wants of the Byzantine court ; yet he declared, with seeming magnanimity, that Constantinople should be secure and inviolate in the absence of her sovereign. The resolution of Palæologus was decided by the most splendid gifts and the most specious promises : he wished to escape, for a while, from a scene of danger and distress ; and, after dismissing, with an ambiguous answer, the messengers of the council, he declared his intention of embarking in the Roman galleys. The age of the patriarch Joseph was more susceptible of fear than of hope ; he trembled at the perils of the sea, and expressed his apprehension that his feeble voice, with thirty, perhaps, of his orthodox brethren, would

³¹ Syropulus mentions the hopes of Palæologus (p. 36), and the last advice of Sigismond (p. 57). At Corfu, the Greek emperor was informed of his friend's death ; had he known it sooner, he would have returned home (p. 79).

be oppressed in a foreign land by the power and numbers of a Latin synod. He yielded to the royal mandate, to the flattering assurance that he would be heard as the oracle of nations, and to the secret wish of learning from his brother of the West to deliver the church from the yoke of kings. The five *cross-bearers*, or dignitaries of St. Sophia, were bound to attend his person; and one of these, the great ecclesiarch or preacher, Sylvester Syropulus,³² has composed³³ a free and curious history of the *false union*.³⁴ Of the clergy that reluctantly obeyed the summons of the emperor and the patriarch, submission was the first duty, and patience the most useful virtue. In a chosen list of twenty bishops, we discover the metropolitan titles of Heraclea and Cyzicus, Nice and Nicomedia, Ephesus and Trebizond, and the personal merit of Mark and Bessarion, who, in the confidence of their learning and eloquence, were promoted to the episcopal rank. Some monks and philosophers were named to display the science and sanctity of the Greek church; and the service of the choir was performed by a select band of singers and musicians. The patriarchs of Alexandria,

³² The Christian name of Sylvester is borrowed from the Latin Calendar. In modern Greek, *πouλος*, as a diminutive, is added to the end of words; nor can any reasoning of Creighton, the editor, excuse his changing into *Sguropulus* (*Sguros*, *fuscus*) the Syropulus of his own manuscript, whose name is subscribed with his own hand in the acts of the council of Florence. Why might not the author be of Syrian extraction?

³³ From the conclusion of the history, I should fix the date to the year 1444, four years after the synod, when the great ecclesiarch had abdicated his office (sectio xii. pp. 330-350). His passions were cooled by time and retirement; and, although Syropulus is often partial, he is never intemperate.

³⁴ *Vera historia unionis non verae inter Graecos et Latinos* (*Hagae Comitum*, 1660, in folio) was first published with a loose and florid version, by Robert Creighton, chaplain to Charles II. in his exile. The zeal of the editor has prefixed a polemic title, for the beginning of the original is wanting. Syropulus may be ranked with the best of the Byzantine writers for the merit of his narration, and even of his style; but he is excluded from the orthodox collections of the councils.

Antioch, and Jerusalem appeared by their genuine or fictitious deputies, the primate of Russia represented a national church, and the Greeks might contend with the Latins in the extent of their spiritual empire. The precious vases of St. Sophia were exposed to the winds and waves, that the patriarch might officiate with becoming splendour : whatever gold the emperor could procure was expended in the massy ornaments of his bed and chariot ; and, while they affected to maintain the prosperity of their ancient fortune, they quarrelled for the division of fifteen thousand ducats, the first alms of the Roman pontiff. After the necessary preparations, John Palæologus, with a numerous train, accompanied by his brother Demetrius, and the most respectable persons of the church and state, embarked in eight vessels with sails and oars, which steered through the Turkish straits of Gallipoli to the Archipelago, the Morea, and the Adriatic Gulf.³⁵

After a tedious and troublesome navigation of seventy-seven days, this religious squadron cast anchor before Venice ; and their reception proclaimed the joy and magnificence of that powerful republic. In the command of the world, the modest Augustus had never claimed such honours from his subjects as were paid to his feeble successor by an independent state. Seated on the poop, on a lofty throne, he received the visit, or, in the Greek style, the *adoration*, of the Doge and senators.³⁶ They sailed in the Bucentaur, which was accompanied by twelve stately galleys : the sea was overspread with innumerable

³⁵ Although I cannot stop to quote Syropulus for every fact, I will observe that the navigation of the Greeks from Constantinople to Venice and Ferrara is contained in the ivth section (pp. 67-100), and that the historian has the uncommon talent of placing each scene before the reader's eye.

³⁶ At the time of the synod, Phranzes was in Peloponnesus ; but he received from the despot Demetrius a faithful account of the honourable reception of the emperor and patriarch, both at Venice and Ferrara (Dux . . . sedentem Imperatorem *adorat*), which are more slightly mentioned by the Latins (l. ii. c. 14-16).

gondolas of pomp and pleasure; the air resounded with music and acclamations; the mariners, and even the vessels, were dressed in silk and gold; and in all the emblems and pageants the Roman eagles were blended with the lions of St. Mark. The triumphal procession, ascending the great canal, passed under the bridge of the Rialto; and the eastern strangers gazed with admiration on the palaces, the churches, and the populousness of a city that seems to float on the bosom of the waves.³⁷ They sighed to behold the spoils and trophies with which it had been decorated after the sack of Constantinople. After an hospitable entertainment of fifteen days, Palæologus pursued his journey by land and water, from Venice to Ferrara; and on this occasion the pride of the Vatican was tempered by policy to indulge the ancient dignity of the emperor of the East. He made his entry on a *black* horse; but a milk-white steed, whose trappings were embroidered with golden eagles, was led before him; and the canopy was borne over his head by the princes of Este, the sons or kinsmen of Nicholas, marquis of the city, and a sovereign more powerful than himself.³⁸ Palæologus did not alight till he reached the bottom of the staircase: the pope advanced to the door of the apartment; refused his proffered genuflexion; and, after a paternal embrace, conducted the emperor to a seat on his left hand. Nor would the patriarch descend from his galley, till a ceremony, almost equal, had been stipulated between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople. The latter was saluted by his brother with a kiss of union and charity; nor would any of the Greek ecclesiastics

³⁷ The astonishment of a Greek prince and a French ambassador (*Mémoires de Philippe de Comines*, l. vii. c. 18) at the sight of Venice abundantly proves that in the xvth century it was the first and most splendid of the Christian cities. For the spoils of Constantinople at Venice, see Syropulus (p. 87).

³⁸ Nicholas III. of Este reigned forty-eight years (A.D. 1393-1441), and was lord of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Rovigo, and Commachio. See his life in Muratori (*Antichità Estense*, tom. ii. pp. 159-201).

submit to kiss the feet of the Western primate. On the opening of the synod, the place of honour in the centre was claimed by the temporal and ecclesiastical chiefs; and it was only by alleging that his predecessors had not assisted in person at Nice or Chalcedon that Eugenius could evade the ancient precedents of Constantine and Marcian. After much debate, it was agreed that the right and left sides of the church should be occupied by the two nations; that the solitary chair of St. Peter should be raised the first of the Latin line; and that the throne of the Greek emperor, at the head of his clergy, should be equal and opposite to the second place, the vacant seat of the emperor of the West.³⁹

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

³⁹ The Latin vulgar was provoked to laughter at the strange dresses of the Greeks, and especially the length of their garments, their sleeves, and their beards; nor was the emperor distinguished, except by the purple colour, and his diadem or tiara with a jewel on the top (*Hody de Græcis Illustribus*, p. 31). Yet another spectator confesses that the Greek fashion was *piu grave e piu degna* than the Italian (*Vespasiano*, in *Vit. Eugen. IV.* in *Muratori*, tom. xxv. p. 261).

Palæologus could expect from the consent of the Latins some temporal reward for an unpopular union; and, after the first session, the public proceedings were adjourned above six months. The emperor, with a chosen band of his favourites and *Janizaries*, fixed his summer residence at a pleasant, spacious monastery, six miles from Ferrara; forgot, in the pleasures of the chase, the distress of the church and state; and persisted in destroying the game, without listening to the just complaints of the marquis or the husbandman.⁴⁰ In the meanwhile his unfortunate Greeks were exposed to all the miseries of exile and poverty; for the support of each stranger, a monthly allowance was assigned of three or four gold florins; and, although the entire sum did not amount to seven hundred florins, a long arrear was repeatedly incurred by the indigence or policy of the Roman court.⁴¹ They sighed for a speedy deliverance, but their escape was prevented by a triple chain: a passport from their superiors was required at the gates of Ferrara; the government of Venice had engaged to arrest and send back the fugitives; and inevitable punishment awaited them at Constantinople: excommunication, fines, and a sentence which did not respect the sacerdotal dignity, that they should be stripped naked and

⁴⁰ For the emperor's hunting, see Syropulus (pp. 143, 144, 191). The pope had sent him eleven miserable hawks: but he bought a strong and swift horse that came from Russia. The name of *Janizaries* may surprise; but the name, rather than the institution, had passed from the Ottoman to the Byzantine court, and is often used in the last age of the empire.

⁴¹ The Greeks obtained, with much difficulty, that, instead of provisions, money should be distributed, four florins *per* month to the persons of honourable rank, and three florins to their servants, with an addition of thirty more to the emperor, twenty-five to the patriarch, and twenty to the prince or despot Demetrius. The payment of the first month amounted to 691 florins, a sum which will not allow us to reckon above 200 Greeks of every condition (Syropulus, pp. 104, 105). On the 20th October 1438, there was an arrear of four months; in April 1439, of three; and of five and a half in July, at the time of the union (pp. 172, 225, 271).

publicly whipped.⁴² It was only by the alternative of hunger or dispute that the Greeks could be persuaded to open the first conference, and they yielded with extreme reluctance to attend, from Ferrara to Florence, the rear of a flying synod. This new translation was urged by inevitable necessity: the city was visited by the plague; the fidelity of the marquis might be suspected; the mercenary troops of the duke of Milan were at the gates; and, as they occupied Romagna, it was not without difficulty and danger that the pope, the emperor, and the bishops explored their way through the unfrequented paths of the Apennine.⁴³

Yet all these obstacles were surmounted by time and policy. The violence of the fathers of Basil rather promoted than injured the cause of Eugenius: the nations of Europe abhorred the schism, and disowned the election, of Felix the Fifth, who was successively a duke of Savoy, an hermit, and a pope; and the great princes were gradually reclaimed by his competitor to a favourable neutrality and a firm attachment. The legates, with some respectable members, deserted to the Roman army, which insensibly rose in numbers and reputation; the council of Basil was reduced to thirty-nine bishops and three hundred of the inferior clergy⁴⁴; while the Latins of Florence could produce the subscriptions of the pope himself, eight cardinals, two patriarchs, eight

⁴² Syropulus (pp. 141, 142, 204, 221) deploras the imprisonment of the Greeks, and the tyranny of the emperor and patriarch.

⁴³ The wars of Italy are most clearly represented in the xiiiith volume of the Annals of Muratori. The schismatic Greek, Syropulus (p. 145), appears to have exaggerated the fear and disorder of the pope in his retreat from Ferrara to Florence, which is proved by the acts to have been somewhat more decent and deliberate.

⁴⁴ Syropulus is pleased to reckon seven hundred prelates in the council of Basil. The error is manifest, and perhaps voluntary. That extravagant number could not be supplied by *all* the ecclesiastics, of every degree, who were present at the council, nor by *all* the absent bishops of the West, who, expressly or tacitly, might adhere to its decrees.

archbishops, fifty-two bishops, and forty-five abbots, or chiefs of religious orders. After the labour of nine months, and the debates of twenty-five sessions, they attained the advantage and glory of the reunion of the Greeks. Four principal questions had been agitated between the two churches: 1. The use of unleavened bread in the communion of Christ's body; 2. The nature of purgatory; 3. The supremacy of the pope; and 4. The single or double procession of the Holy Ghost. The cause of either nation was managed by ten theological champions: the Latins were supported by the inexhaustible eloquence of Cardinal Julian; and Mark of Ephesus and Bessarion of Nice were the bold and able leaders of the Greek forces. We may bestow some praise on the progress of human reason by observing that the first of these questions was *now* treated as an immaterial rite, which might innocently vary with the fashion of the age and country. With regard to the second, both parties were agreed in the belief of an intermediate state of purgation for the venial sins of the faithful; and, whether their souls were purified by elemental fire was a doubtful point, which in a few years might be conveniently settled on the spot by the disputants. The claims of supremacy appeared of a more weighty and substantial kind; yet by the Orientals the Roman bishop had ever been respected as the first of the five patriarchs; nor did they scruple to admit that his jurisdiction should be exercised agreeable to the holy canons: a vague allowance which might be defined or eluded by occasional convenience. The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone, or from the Father and the Son, was an article of faith which had sunk much deeper into the minds of men; and in the sessions of Ferrara and Florence the Latin addition of *filioque* was subdivided into two questions, whether it were legal, and whether it were orthodox. Perhaps it may not be necessary to boast on this subject of my own impartial indifference; but I must think

that the Greeks were strongly supported by the prohibition of the council of Chalcedon against adding any article whatsoever to the creed of Nice, or rather of Constantinople.⁴⁵ In earthly affairs, it is not easy to conceive how an assembly of legislators can bind their successors invested with powers equal to their own. But the dictates of inspiration must be true and unchangeable; nor should a private bishop, or a provincial synod, have presumed to innovate against the judgment of the Catholic church. On the substance of the doctrine, the controversy was equal and endless; reason is confounded by the procession of a deity; the gospel, which lay on the altar, was silent; the various texts of the fathers might be corrupted by fraud or entangled by sophistry; and the Greeks were ignorant of the characters and writings of the Latin saints. Of this at least we may be sure, that neither side could be convinced by the arguments of their opponents. Prejudice may be enlightened by reason, and a superficial glance may be rectified by a clear and more perfect view of an object adapted to our faculties. But the bishops and monks had been taught from their infancy to repeat a form of mysterious words; their national and personal honour depended on the repetition of the same sounds; and their narrow minds were hardened and inflamed by the acrimony of a public dispute.

While they were lost in a cloud of dust and darkness, the pope and emperor were desirous of a seeming union, which could alone accomplish the purposes of their interview; and the obstinacy of public dispute was softened by the arts of private and personal negotiation. The patriarch Joseph had sunk under the weight of age and infirmities; his dying voice breathed the counsels of charity and concord, and

⁴⁵ The Greeks, who disliked the union, were unwilling to sally from this strong fortress (pp. 178, 193, 195, 202, of Syropulus). The shame of the Latins was aggravated by their producing an old MS. of the second council of Nice, with *filiou* in the Nicene creed. A palpable forgery! (p. 173).

his vacant benefice might tempt the hopes of the ambitious clergy. The ready and active obedience of the archbishops of Russia and Nice, of Isidore and Bessarion, was prompted and recompensed by their speedy promotion to the dignity of cardinals. Bessarion, in the first debates, had stood forth the most strenuous and eloquent champion of the Greek church; and, if the apostate, the bastard, was reprobated by his country, he appears in ecclesiastical story a rare example of a patriot who was recommended to court favour by loud opposition and well-timed compliance. With the aid of his two spiritual coadjutors, the emperor applied his arguments to the general situation and personal characters of the bishops, and each was successively moved by authority and example. Their revenues were in the hands of the Turks, their persons in those of the Latins; an episcopal treasure, three robes and forty ducats, were soon exhausted;⁴⁶ the hopes of their return still depended on the ships of Venice and the alms of Rome; and such was their indigence that their arrears, the payment of a debt, would be accepted as a favour and might operate as a bribe.⁴⁷ The danger and relief of Constantinople might excuse some prudent and pious dissimulation; and it was insinuated that the obstinate heretics who should resist the consent of the East and West would be abandoned in a hostile land to the revenge or justice of the Roman pontiff.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ For the poverty of the Greek bishops, see a remarkable passage of Ducas (c. 31). One had possessed, for his whole property, three old gowns, &c. By teaching one-and-twenty years in his monastery, Bessarion himself had collected forty gold florins; but of these, the archbishop had expended twenty-eight in his voyage from Peloponnesus, and the remainder at Constantinople (Syropulus, p. 127).

⁴⁷ Syropulus denies that the Greeks received any money before they had subscribed the act of union (p. 283); yet he relates some suspicious circumstances; and their bribery and corruption are positively affirmed by the historian Ducas.

⁴⁸ The Greeks most piteously express their own fears of exile and perpetual slavery (Syropul. p. 196); and they were strongly moved by the emperor's threats (p. 260).

In the first private assembly of the Greeks, the formulary of union was approved by twenty-four, and rejected by twelve, members; but the five *cross-bearers* of St. Sophia, who aspired to represent the patriarch, were disqualified by ancient discipline; and their right of voting was transferred to an obsequious train of monks, grammarians, and profane laymen. The will of the monarch produced a false and servile unanimity, and no more than two patriots had courage to speak their own sentiments, and those of their country. Demetrius, the emperor's brother, retired to Venice, that he might not be witness of the union; and Mark of Ephesus, mistaking perhaps his pride for his conscience, disclaimed all communion with the Latin heretics, and avowed himself the champion and confessor of the orthodox creed.⁴⁹ In the treaty between the two nations several forms of consent were proposed, such as might satisfy the Latins without dishonouring the Greeks; and they weighed the scruples of words and syllables, till the theological balance trembled with a slight preponderance in favour of the Vatican. It was agreed (I must intreat the attention of the reader), that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, as from one principle and one substance; that he proceeds *by* the Son, being of the same nature and substance; and that he proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, by one *spiration* and production. It is less difficult to understand the articles of the preliminary treaty: that the pope should defray all the expenses of the Greeks in their return home; that he should annually maintain two galleys and three hundred soldiers for the defence of Constantinople; that all the ships which transported pilgrims to Jerusalem should be obliged to touch at that port; that, as often as they

⁴⁹ I had forgot another popular and orthodox protester: a favourite hound, who usually lay quiet on the foot-cloth of the emperor's throne; but who barked most furiously while the act of union was reading, without being silenced by the soothing or the lashes of the royal attendants (Syropul. pp. 265, 266

were required, the pope should furnish ten galleys for a year, or twenty for six months; and that he should powerfully solicit the princes of Europe, if the emperor had occasion for land-forces.

The same year, and almost the same day, were marked by the deposition of Eugenius at Basil, and, at Florence, by his reunion of the Greeks and Latins. In the former synod (which he styled indeed an assembly of dæmons), the pope was brauded with the guilt of simony, perjury, tyranny, heresy, and schism;⁵⁰ and declared to be incorrigible in his vices, unworthy of any title, and incapable of holding any ecclesiastical office. In the latter, he was revered as the true and holy vicar of Christ, who, after a separation of six hundred years, had reconciled the Catholics of the East and West, in one fold and under one shepherd. The act of union was subscribed by the pope, the emperor, and the principal members of both churches; even by those who, like Syropulus,⁵¹ had been deprived of the right of voting. Two copies might have sufficed for the East and West; but Eugenius was not satisfied, unless four authentic and similar transcripts were signed and attested as the monuments of his victory.⁵² On a memorable day,

⁵⁰ From the original Lives of the Popes, in Muratori's Collection (tom. iii. p. 2, tom. xxv.), the manners of Eugenius IV. appear to have been decent, and even exemplary. His situation, exposed to the world and to his enemies, was a restraint, and is a pledge.

⁵¹ Syropulus, rather than subscribe, would have assisted, as the least evil, at the ceremony of the union. He was compelled to do both; and the great ecclesiarch poorly excuses his submission to the emperor (pp. 290-292).

⁵² None of these original acts of union can at present be produced. Of the ten MSS. that are preserved (five at Rome, and the remainder at Florence, Bologna, Venice, Paris, and London), nine have been examined by an accurate critic (M. de Brequigny), who condemns them for the variety and imperfections of the Greek signatures. Yet several of these may be esteemed as authentic copies, which were subscribed at Florence before (26th August 1439) the final separation of the Pope and emperor (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xliii. pp. 287-311).

the sixth of July, the successors of St. Peter and Constantine ascended their thrones; the two nations assembled in the cathedral of Florence; their representatives, Cardinal Julian, and Bessarion Archbishop of Nice, appeared in the pulpit, and, after reading in their respective tongues the act of union, they mutually embraced, in the name and the presence of their applauding brethren. The pope and his ministers then officiated according to the Roman liturgy; the creed was chanted with the addition of *filioque*; the acquiescence of the Greeks was poorly excused by their ignorance of the harmonious, but inarticulate sounds; and the more scrupulous Latins refused any public celebration of the Byzantine rite. Yet the emperor and his clergy were not totally unmindful of national honour. The treaty was ratified by their consent: it was tacitly agreed that no innovation should be attempted in their creed or ceremonies; they spared, and secretly respected, the generous firmness of Mark of Ephesus; and, on the decease of the patriarch, they refused to elect his successor, except in the cathedral of St. Sophia. In the distribution of public and private rewards, the liberal pontiff exceeded their hopes and his promises: the Greeks, with less pomp and pride, returned by the same road of Ferrara and Venice; and their reception at Constantinople was such as will be described in the following chapter.⁵³ The success of the first trial encouraged Eugenius to repeat the same edifying scenes, and the deputies of the Armenians, the Maronites, the Jacobites of Syria and Egypt, the Nestorians, and the Ethiopians, were successively introduced, to kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff, and to announce the obedience and the orthodoxy of the East. These Oriental embassies, unknown

⁵³ In their return, the Greeks conversed at Bologna with the ambassadors of England; and, after some questions and answers, these impartial strangers laughed at the pretended union of Florence (Syropul. p. 307).

in the countries which they presumed to represent,⁵⁴ diffused over the West the fame of Eugenius; and a clamour was artfully propagated against the remnant of a schism in Switzerland and Savoy, which alone impeded the harmony of the Christian world. The vigour of opposition was succeeded by the lassitude of despair: the council of Basil was silently dissolved; and Felix, renouncing the tiara, again withdrew to the devout or delicious hermitage of Ripaille.⁵⁵ A general peace was secured by mutual acts of oblivion and indemnity; all ideas of reformation subsided; the popes continued to exercise and abuse their ecclesiastical despotism; nor has Rome been since disturbed by the mischiefs of a contested election.⁵⁶

The journeys of three emperors were unavailing for their temporal, or perhaps their spiritual, salvation; but they were productive of a beneficial consequence, the revival of the Greek learning in Italy, from whence it was propagated to the last nations of the West and North. In their lowest servitude and depression, the subjects of the Byzantine throne were still possessed of a golden key that could unlock the

⁵⁴ So nugatory, or rather so fabulous, are these reunions of the Nestorians, Jacobites, &c. that I have turned over, without success, the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of Assemanus, a faithful slave of the Vatican.

⁵⁵ Ripaille is situate near Thonon in Savoy, on the southern side of the lake of Geneva. It is now a Carthusian abbey; and Mr. Addison (*Travels into Italy*, vol. ii. pp. 147, 148, of Baskerville's edition of his works) has celebrated the place and the founder. Æneas Sylvius, and the fathers of Basil, applaud the austere life of the ducal hermit; but the French and Italian proverbs most unluckily attest the popular opinion of his luxury.

⁵⁶ In this account of the councils of Basil, Ferrara, and Florence, I have consulted the original acts, which fill the xviiith and xviiiith tomes of the edition of Venice, and are closed by the perspicuous, though partial, history of Agustin Patricius, an Italian of the xvth century. They are digested and abridged by Dupin (*Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, tom. xii.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii.); and the respect of the Gallican church for the adverse parties confines their members to an awkward moderation.

treasures of antiquity; of a musical and prolific language, that gives a soul to the objects of sense and a body to the abstractions of philosophy. Since the barriers of the monarchy, and even of the capital, had been trampled under foot, the various barbarians had doubtless corrupted the form and substance of the national dialect; and ample glossaries have been composed, to interpret a multitude of words of Arabic, Turkish, Slavonian, Latin, or French origin.⁵⁷ But a purer idiom was spoken in the court and taught in the college; and the flourishing state of the language is described, and perhaps embellished, by a learned Italian,⁵⁸ who, by a long residence and noble marriage, was naturalised at Constantinople about thirty years before the Turkish conquest. "The vulgar speech," says Philelphus, "has been depraved by the people, and infected by the multitude of strangers and merchants, who every day flock to the city and mingle with the inhabitants. It is from the disciples of such a school that the Latin language received the versions of Aristotle and Plato, so obscure in sense, and in spirit so poor. But the Greeks who have escaped the contagion are those whom *we* follow; and they alone are worthy of our imitation. In familiar discourse, they still speak the tongue of Aristophanes and Euripides, of the historians and philosophers of

⁵⁷ In the first attempt, Meursius collected 3600 Græco-barbarous words, to which, in a second edition, he subjoined 1800 more; yet what plenteous gleanings did he leave to Portius, Ducange, Fabrotti, the Bollandists, &c. ! (Fabric. *Bibliot. Græc.* tom. x. p. 101, &c.). *Some* Persic words may be found in Xenophon, and some Latin ones in Plutarch; and such is the inevitable effect of war and commerce; but the form and substance of the language were not affected by this slight alloy.

⁵⁸ The life of Francis Philelphus, a sophist, proud, restless, and rapacious, has been diligently composed by Lancelot (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. x. pp. 691-751), and Tiraboschi (*Istoria della Letteratura Italiana*, tom. vii. pp. 282-294), for the most part from his own letters. His elaborate writings, and those of his contemporaries, are forgotten; but their familiar epistles still describe the men and the times.

Athens ; and the style of their writings are still more elaborate and correct. The persons who, by their birth and offices, are attached to the Byzantine court are those who maintain, with the least alloy, the ancient standard of elegance and purity ; and the native graces of language most conspicuously shine among the noble matrons, who are excluded from all intercourse with foreigners. With foreigners do I say ? They live retired and sequestered from the eyes of their fellow-citizens. Seldom are they seen in the streets ; and, when they leave their houses, it is in the dusk of evening, on visits to the churches and their nearest kindred. On these occasions, they are on horseback, covered with a veil, and encompassed by their parents, their husbands, or their servants.”⁵⁹

Among the Greeks, a numerous and opulent clergy was dedicated to the service of religion ; their monks and bishops have ever been distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their manners ; nor were they diverted, like the Latin priests, by the pursuits and pleasures of a secular and even military life. After a large deduction for the time and talents that were lost in the devotion, the laziness, and the discord of the church and cloister, the more inquisitive and ambitious minds would explore the sacred and profane erudition of their native language. The ecclesiastics presided over the education of youth : the schools of philosophy and eloquence were perpetuated till the fall of the empire ; and it may be affirmed that more books and more knowledge were included within the walls of Constantinople than could be dispersed over the extensive countries of the West. But an important distinction has been already noticed : the Greeks were stationary or retrograde, while the Latins were advancing with a rapid and progressive motion. The nations were excited by the spirit of independence and emulation ; and even the little world of the Italian

⁵⁹ Philelphus, absurdly enough, derives this Greek or Oriental jealousy from the manners of ancient Rome.

states contained more people and industry than the decreasing circle of the Byzantine empire. In Europe, the lower ranks of society were relieved from the yoke of feudal servitude; and freedom is the first step to curiosity and knowledge. The use, however rude and corrupt, of the Latin tongue had been preserved by superstition; the universities, from Bologna to Oxford,⁶⁰ were peopled with thousands of scholars; and their misguided ardour might be directed to more liberal and manly studies. In the resurrection of science, Italy was the first that cast away her shroud; and the eloquent Petrarch, by his lessons and his example, may justly be applauded as the first harbinger of day. A purer style of composition, a more generous and rational strain of sentiment, flowed from the study and imitation of the writers of ancient Rome; and the disciples of Cicero and Virgil approached, with reverence and love, the sanctuary of their Grecian masters. In the sack of Constantinople, the French, and even the Venetians, had despised and destroyed the works of Lysippus and Homer; the monuments of art may be annihilated by a single blow; but the immortal mind is renewed and multiplied by the copies of the pen; and such copies it was the ambition of Petrarch and his friends to possess and understand. The arms of the Turks undoubtedly pressed the flight of the Muses: yet we may tremble at the thought that Greece might have been overwhelmed, with her schools and libraries, before Europe had emerged from the deluge of barbarism; that the seeds of science might have been scattered by the winds before the Italian soil was prepared for their cultivation.

⁶⁰ At the end of the xvth century, there existed in Europe about fifty universities, and of these the foundation of ten or twelve is prior to the year 1300. They were crowded in proportion to their scarcity. Bologna contained 10,000 students, chiefly of the civil law. In the year 1357, the number at Oxford had decreased from 30,000 to 6000 scholars (Henry's History of Great Britain, vol. iv. p. 478). Yet even this decrease is much superior to the present list of the members of the university.

The most learned Italians of the fifteenth century have confessed and applauded the restoration of Greek literature, after a long oblivion of many hundred years. Yet in that country, and beyond the Alps, some names are quoted; some profound scholars, who, in the darker ages, were honourably distinguished by their knowledge of the Greek tongue; and national vanity has been loud in the praise of such rare examples of erudition. Without scrutinising the merit of individuals, truth must observe that their science is without a cause and without an effect; that it was easy for them to satisfy themselves and their more ignorant contemporaries; and that the idiom, which they had so marvellously acquired, was transcribed in few manuscripts, and was not taught in any university of the West. In a corner of Italy it faintly existed as the popular, or at least as the ecclesiastical, dialect. The first impression of the Doric and Ionic colonies has never been completely erased; the Calabrian churches were long attached to the throne of Constantinople; and the monks of St. Basil pursued their studies in Mount Athos and the schools of the East. Calabria was the native country of Barlaam, who has already appeared as a sectary and an ambassador; and Barlaam was the first who revived, beyond the Alps, the memory, or at least the writings, of Homer. He is described, by Petrarch and Boccace, as a man of a diminutive stature, though truly great in the measure of learning and genius; of a piercing discernment, though of a slow and painful elocution. For many ages (as they affirm) Greece had not produced his equal in the knowledge of history, grammar, and philosophy; and his merit was celebrated in the attestations of the princes and doctors of Constantinople. One of these attestations is still extant; and the emperor Cantacuzene, the protector of his³ adversaries, is forced to allow that Euclid, Aristotle, and Plato were familiar to that profound and subtle logician. In the court of Avignon, he formed an intimate connection with Petrarch, the first of the

Latin scholars; and the desire of mutual instruction was the principle of their literary commerce. The Tuscan applied himself with eager curiosity and assiduous diligence to the study of the Greek language; and, in a laborious struggle with the dryness and difficulty of the first rudiments, he began to reach the sense, and to feel the spirit, of poets and philosophers whose minds were congenial to his own. But he was soon deprived of the society and lessons of this useful assistant; Barlaam relinquished his fruitless embassy; and, on his return to Greece, he rashly provoked the swarms of fanatic monks by attempting to substitute the light of reason to that of their navel. After a separation of three years the two friends again met in the court of Naples; but the generous pupil renounced the fairest occasion of improvement; and by his recommendation Barlaam was finally settled in a small bishopric of his native Calabria.⁶¹ The manifold avocations of Petrarch, love and friendship, his various correspondence and frequent journeys, the Roman laurel, and his elaborate compositions in prose and verse, in Latin and Italian, diverted him from a foreign idiom; and, as he advanced in life, the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wishes rather than of his hopes. When he was about fifty years of age, a Byzantine ambassador, his friend, and a master of both tongues, presented him with a copy of Homer; and the answer of Petrarch is at once expressive of his eloquence, gratitude, and regret. After celebrating the generosity of the donor, and the value of a gift more precious in his estimation than gold or rubies, he thus proceeds: "Your present of the genuine and original text of the divine poet, the fountain of all invention, is worthy of yourself

⁶¹ The bishopric to which Barlaam retired was the old Locri, in the middle ages *Sctæ Cyriaca*, and by corruption *Hieracium*, *Gerace* (*Dissert. Chorographica Italiæ mediæ Ævi*, p. 312). The dives opum of the Norman times soon lapsed into poverty, since even the church was poor; yet the town still contains 3000 inhabitants (*Swinburne*, p. 340).

and of me ; you have fulfilled your promise and satisfied my desires. Yet your liberality is still imperfect : with Homer you should have given me yourself : a guide, who could lead me into the fields of light, and disclose to my wondering eyes the specious miracles of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But, alas ! Homer is dumb, or I am deaf ; nor is it in my power to enjoy the beauty which I possess. I have seated him by the side of Plato, the prince of poets near the prince of philosophers ; and I glory in the sight of my illustrious guests. Of their immortal writings, whatever had been translated into the Latin idiom, I had already acquired ; but, if there be no profit, there is some pleasure in beholding these venerable Greeks in their proper and national habit. I am delighted with the aspect of Homer ; and, as often as I embrace the silent volume, I exclaim, with a sigh, *Illustrious bard ! with what pleasure should I listen to thy song, if my sense of hearing were not obstructed and lost by the death of one friend, and in the much lamented absence of another ! Nor do I yet despair ; and the example of Cato suggests some comfort and hope, since it was in the last period of age that he attained the knowledge of the Greek letters.*”

The prize which eluded the efforts of Petrarch was obtained by the fortune and industry of his friend Boccace,⁶² the father of the Tuscan prose. That popular writer, who derives his reputation from the *Decameron*, an hundred novels of pleasantry and love, may aspire to the more serious praise of restoring in Italy the study of the Greek language. In the year one thousand three hundred and sixty, a disciple of Barlaam,

⁶² For the life and writings of Boccace, who was born in 1313, and died in 1375, Fabricius (*Bibliot. Latin. medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 248, &c.) and Tiraboschi (tom. v. pp. 83, 439-451) may be consulted. The editions, versions, imitations of his novels are innumerable. Yet he was ashamed to communicate that trifling and perhaps scandalous work to Petrarch his respectable friend, in whose letters and memoirs he conspicuously appears.

whose name was Leo or Leontius Pilatus, was detained in his way to Avignon by the advice and hospitality of Boccace, who lodged the stranger in his house, prevailed on the republic of Florence to allow him an annual stipend, and devoted his leisure to the first Greek professor who taught the language in the Western countries of Europe. The appearance of Leo might disgust the most eager disciple: he was clothed in the mantle of a philosopher, or a mendicant; his countenance was hideous; his face was overshadowed with black hair; his beard long and uncombed; his deportment rustic; his temper gloomy and inconstant; nor could he grace his discourse with the ornaments or even the perspicuity of Latin elocution. But his mind was stored with a treasure of Greek learning; history and fable, philosophy and grammar, were alike at his command; and he read the poems of Homer in the schools of Florence. It was from his explanation that Boccace composed and transcribed a literal prose version of the Iliad and Odyssey, which satisfied the thirst of his friend Petrarch, and which perhaps, in the succeeding century, was clandestinely used by Laurentius Valla, the Latin interpreter. It was from his narratives that the same Boccace collected the materials for his treatise on the genealogy of the heathen gods; a work, in that age, of stupendous erudition, and which he ostentatiously sprinkled with Greek characters and passages, to excite the wonder and applause of his more ignorant readers. The first steps of learning are slow and laborious: no more than ten votaries of Homer could be enumerated in all Italy; and neither Rome nor Venice nor Naples could add a single name to this studious catalogue. But their numbers would have multiplied, their progress would have been accelerated, if the inconstant Leo, at the end of three years, had not relinquished an honourable and beneficial station. In his passage, Petrarch entertained him at Padua a short time: he enjoyed the scholar, but was justly offended with the gloomy and unsocial temper of the

man. Discontented with the world and with himself, Leo depreciated his present enjoyments, while absent persons and objects were dear to his imagination. In Italy, he was a Thessalian, in Greece, a native of Calabria; in the company of the Latins, he disdained their language, religion, and manner: no sooner was he landed at Constantinople, than he again sighed for the wealth of Venice and the elegance of Florence. His Italian friends were deaf to his importunity; he depended on their curiosity and indulgence, and embarked on a second voyage; but, on his entrance into the Adriatic, the ship was assailed by a tempest, and the unfortunate teacher, who like Ulysses had fastened himself to the mast, was struck dead by a flash of lightning. The humane Petrarch dropped a tear on his disaster; but he was most anxious to learn whether some copy of Euripides or Sophocles might not be saved from the hands of the mariners.

But the faint rudiments of Greek learning, which Petrarch had encouraged and Boccace had planted, soon withered and expired. The succeeding generation was content for a while with the improvement of Latin eloquence; nor was it before the end of the fourteenth century that a new and perpetual flame was rekindled in Italy.⁶³ Previous to his own journey, the emperor Manuel despatched his envoys and orators to implore the compassion of the Western princes. Of these envoys, the most conspicuous or the most learned was Manuel Chrysoloras,⁶⁴ of noble birth,

⁶³ Dr. Hody (p. 54) is angry with Leonard Aretin, Guarinus, Paulus Jovius, &c. for affirming that the Greek letters were restored in Italy *post septingentos annos*; as if, says he, they had flourished till the end of the viith century. These writers most probably reckoned from the last period of the exarchate; and the presence of the Greek magistrates and troops at Ravenna and Rome must have preserved, in some degree, the use of their native tongue.

⁶⁴ See the article of Emanuel, or Manuel Chrysoloras, in Hody (pp. 12-54), and Tiraboschi (tom. vii. pp. 113-118). The precise date of his arrival floats between the years 1390 and 1400, and is only confined by the reign of Boniface IX.

and whose Roman ancestors are supposed to have migrated with the great Constantine. After visiting the courts of France and England, where he obtained some contributions and more promises, the envoy was invited to assume the office of a professor; and Florence had again the honour of this second invitation. By his knowledge, not only of the Greek but of the Latin tongue, Chrysoloras deserved the stipend and surpassed the expectation of the republic; his school was frequented by a crowd of disciples of every rank and age; and one of these, in a general history, has described his motives and his success. "At that time," says Leonard Aretin,⁶⁵ "I was a student of the civil law; but my soul was inflamed with the love of letters; and I bestowed some application on the sciences of logic and rhetoric. On the arrival of Manuel, I hesitated whether I should desert my legal studies or relinquish this golden opportunity; and thus, in the ardour of youth, I communed with my own mind—Wilt thou be wanting to thyself and thy fortune? Wilt thou refuse to be introduced to a familiar converse with Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes? with those poets, philosophers, and orators, of whom such wonders are related, and who are celebrated by every age as the great masters of human science? Of professors and scholars in civil law, a sufficient supply will always be found in our universities; but a teacher, and such a teacher, of the Greek language, if he once be suffered to escape, may never afterwards be retrieved. Convinced by these reasons, I gave myself to Chrysoloras; and so strong was my passion that the lessons which I had imbibed

⁶⁵ The name of *Aretinus* has been assumed by five or six natives of *Arezzo* in Tuscany, of whom the most famous and the most worthless lived in the xvth century. Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, the disciple of Chrysoloras, was a linguist, an orator, and an historian, the secretary of four successive popes, and the chancellor of the republic of Florence, where he died, A.D. 1444, at the age of seventy-five (Fabric. Bibliot. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 190, &c.; Tiraboschi, tom. vii. pp. 33–38).

in the day were the constant subject of my nightly dreams." At the same time and place the Latin classics were explained by John of Ravenna, the domestic pupil of Petrarch;⁶⁶ the Italians, who illustrated their age and country, were formed in this double school; and Florence became the fruitful seminary of Greek and Roman erudition. The presence of the emperor recalled Chrysoloras from the college to the court, but he afterwards taught at Pavia and Rome with equal industry and applause. The remainder of his life, about fifteen years, was divided between Italy and Constantinople, between embassies and lessons. In the noble office of enlightening a foreign nation, the grammarian was not unmindful of a more sacred duty to his prince and country; and Emanuel Chrysoloras died at Constance, on a public mission from the emperor to the council.

After his example, the restoration of the Greek letters in Italy was prosecuted by a series of emigrants, who were destitute of fortune, and endowed with learning, or at least with language. From the terror or oppression of the Turkish arms the natives of Thessalonica and Constantinople escaped to a land of freedom, curiosity, and wealth. The synod introduced into Florence the lights of the Greek church and the oracles of the Platonic philosophy; and the fugitives who adhered to the union had the double merit of renouncing their country not only for the Christian but for the Catholic cause. A patriot who sacrifices his party and conscience to the allurements of favour may be possessed, however, of the private and social virtues; he no longer hears the reproachful epithets of slave and apostate; and the consideration which he acquires among his new associates will restore in his own eyes the dignity of his character. The prudent conformity of Bessarion was rewarded with

⁶⁶ In this domestic discipline, Petrarch, who loved the youth, often complains of the eager curiosity, restless temper, and proud feelings, which announce the genius and glory of a riper age (*Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. iii. pp. 700-709).

the Roman purple: he fixed his residence in Italy; and the Greek cardinal, the titular patriarch of Constantinople, was respected as the chief and protector of his nation: his abilities were exercised in the legations of Bologna, Venice, Germany, and France; and his election to the chair of St. Peter floated for a moment on the uncertain breath of a conclave.⁶⁷ His ecclesiastical honours diffused a splendour and pre-eminence over his literary merit and service: his palace was a school; as often as the cardinal visited the Vatican, he was attended by a learned train of both nations; ⁶⁸ of men applauded by themselves and the public; and whose writings, now overspread with dust, were popular and useful in their own times. I shall not attempt to enumerate the restorers of Grecian literature in the fifteenth century; and it may be sufficient to mention with gratitude the names of Theodore Gaza, of George of Trebizond, of John Argyropulus, and Demetrius Chalcondyles, who taught their native language in the schools of Florence and Rome. Their labours were not inferior to those of Bessarion, whose purple they revered, and whose fortune was the secret object of their envy. But the lives of these grammarians were humble and obscure; they had declined the lucrative paths of the church; their dress and manners secluded them from the commerce of the world; and, since they were confined to the merit, they might be content with the rewards, of learning. From this character Janus Lascaris⁶⁹ will deserve an exception. His eloquence,

⁶⁷ The cardinals knocked at his door, but his conclavist refused to interrupt the studies of Bessarion: "Nicholas," said he, "thy respect hath cost thee an hat, and me the tiara."

⁶⁸ Such as George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Argyropulus, Andronicus of Thessalonica, Philephus, Poggius, Blondus, Nicholas Perrot, Valla, Campanus, Platina, &c. Viri (says Hody, with the pious zeal of a scholar) nullo ævo perituri (p. 156).

⁶⁹ He was born before the taking of Constantinople, but his honourable life was stretched far into the xvith century (A. D. 1535). Leo X. and Francis I. were his noblest patrons,

politeness, and Imperial descent recommended him to the French monarchs; and in the same cities he was alternately employed to teach and to negotiate. Duty and interest prompted them to cultivate the study of the Latin language; and the most successful attained the faculty of writing and speaking with fluency and elegance in a foreign idiom. But they ever retained the inveterate vanity of their country: their praise, or at least their esteem, was reserved for the national writers, to whom they owed their fame and subsistence; and they sometimes betrayed their contempt in licentious criticism or satire on Virgil's poetry and the oratory of Tully.⁷⁰ The superiority of these masters arose from the familiar use of a living language; and their first disciples were incapable of discerning how far they had degenerated from the knowledge, and even the practice, of their ancestors. A vicious pronunciation,⁷¹ which they

under whose auspices he founded the Greek colleges of Rome and Paris (Hody, pp. 247-275). He left posterity in France; but the counts de Vintimille, and their numerous branches, derive the name of Lascaris from a doubtful marriage, in the xiiith century, with the daughter of a Greek emperor (Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* pp. 224-230).

⁷⁰ Two of his epigrams against Virgil, and three against Tully, are preserved and refuted by Franciscus Floridus, who can find no better names than *Græculus ineptus et impudens* (Hody, p. 274). In our own times, an English critic has accused the *Æneid* of containing *multa languida, nugatoria, spiritu et majestate carminis heroici defecta*; many such verses as he, the said Jeremiah Markland, would have been ashamed of owning (*præfat. ad Statii Sylvas*, pp. 21, 22).

⁷¹ Emanuel Chrysoloras, and his colleagues, are accused of ignorance, envy, or avarice (*Sylloge, &c.* tom. ii. p. 235). The modern Greek pronounces the β as a V consonant, and confounds three vowels (η ι υ) and several diphthongs. Such was the vulgar pronunciation which the stern Gardiner maintained by penal statutes in the University of Cambridge; but the monosyllable $\beta\eta$ represented to an Attic ear the bleating of sheep; and a bell-wether is better evidence than a bishop or a chancellor. The treatises of those scholars, particularly Erasmus, who asserted a more classical pronunciation, are collected in the *Sylloge of Havercamp* (2 vols. in octavo, Lugd.

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

Yet the fleeting shadows of metaphysics were pursued with more curiosity and ardour. After a long oblivion, Plato was revived in Italy by a venerable Greek,⁷² who taught in the house of Cosmo of Medicis. While the synod of Florence was involved in theological debate, some beneficial consequences might

Bat. 1736, 1740); but it is difficult to paint sounds by words; and in their reference to modern use they can be understood only by their respective countrymen. We may observe that our peculiar pronunciation of the *θ* to *th* is approved by Erasmus (tom. ii. p. 130).

⁷² George Gemistus Pletho, a various and voluminous writer, the master of Bessarion and all the Platonists of the times. He visited Italy in his old age, and soon returned to end his days in Peloponnesus. See the curious Diatribe of Leo Allatius de Georgiis, in Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. pp. 739-756).

flow from the study of his elegant philosophy ; his style is the purest standard of the Attic dialect ; and his sublime thoughts are sometimes adapted to familiar conversation, and sometimes adorned with the richest colours of poetry and eloquence. The dialogues of Plato are a dramatic picture of the life and death of a sage ; and, as often as he descends from the clouds, his moral system inculcates the love of truth, of our country, and of mankind. The precept and example of Socrates recommended a modest doubt and liberal inquiry ; and, if the Platonists, with blind devotion, adored the visions and errors of their divine master, their enthusiasm might correct the dry dogmatic method of the Peripatetic school. So equal, yet so opposite, are the merits of Plato and Aristotle that they may be balanced in endless controversy ; but some spark of freedom may be produced by the collision of adverse servitude. The modern Greeks were divided between the two sects : with more fury than skill they fought under the banner of their leaders ; and the field of battle was removed in their flight from Constantinople to Rome. But this philosophic debate soon degenerated into an angry and personal quarrel of grammarians ; and Bessarion, though an advocate for Plato, protected the national honour, by interposing the advice and authority of a mediator. In the gardens of the Medici, the academical doctrine was enjoyed by the polite and learned ; but their philosophic society was quickly dissolved ; and, if the writings of the Attic sage were perused in the closet, the more powerful Stagirite continued to reign the oracle of the church and school.

I have fairly represented the literary merits of the Greeks ; yet it must be confessed that they were seconded and surpassed by the ardour of the Latins. Italy was divided into many independent states ; and at that time it was the ambition of princes and republics to vie with each other in the encouragement and reward of literature. The fame of Nicholas the Fifth has not been adequate to his merits. From a

plebeian origin he raised himself by his virtue and learning : the character of the man prevailed over the interest of the pope ; and he sharpened those weapons which were soon pointed against the Roman church.⁷³ He had been the friend of the most eminent scholars of the age ; he became their patron ; and such was the humility of his manners that the change was scarcely discernible either to them or to himself. If he pressed the acceptance of a liberal gift, it was not as the measure of desert, but as the proof of benevolence ; and, when modest merit declined his bounty, " Accept it," would he say with a consciousness of his own worth ; " you will not always have a Nicholas among ye." The influence of the holy see pervaded Christendom ; and he exerted that influence in the search, not of benefices, but of books. From the ruins of the Byzantine libraries, from the darkest monasteries of Germany and Britain, he collected the dusty manuscripts of the writers of antiquity ; and, wherever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was transcribed and transmitted for his use. The Vatican, the old repository for bulls and legends, for superstition and forgery, was daily replenished with more precious furniture ; and such was the industry of Nicholas that in a reign of eight years he formed a library of five thousand volumes. To his munificence the Latin world was indebted for the versions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Appian ; of Strabo's Geography, of the Iliad, of the most valuable works of Plato and Aristotle, of Ptolemy and Theophrastus, and of the fathers of the Greek church. The example of the Roman pontiff was preceded or imitated by a Florentine merchant, who governed the republic without arms and without a title. Cosmo of Medicis was a father

⁷³ Lord Bolingbroke observes, with truth and spirit, that the popes, in this instance, were worse politicians than the muftis, and that the charm which had bound mankind for so many ages was broken by the magicians themselves (Letters on the Study of History, l. vi. pp. 165, 166, octavo edition, 1779).

of a line of princes, whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning: his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind; he corresponded at once with Cairo and London; and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel. The genius and education of his grandson Lorenzo rendered him, not only a patron, but a judge and candidate, in the literary race. In his palace, distress was entitled to relief, and merit to reward; his leisure hours were delightfully spent in the Platonic academy; he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcondyles and Angelo Politian; and his active missionary, Janus Lascaris, returned from the East with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, fourscore of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe. The rest of Italy was animated by a similar spirit, and the progress of the nation repaid the liberality of her princes. The Latins held the exclusive property of their own literature; and these disciples of Greece were soon capable of transmitting and improving the lessons which they had imbibed. After a short succession of foreign teachers, the tide of emigration subsided; but the language of Constantinople was spread beyond the Alps; and the natives of France, Germany, and England⁷⁴ imparted to their country the sacred fire which they had kindled in the schools of Florence and Rome. In the productions of the mind, as in those of the soil, the gifts of nature are excelled by industry and skill; the Greek authors, forgotten on the banks of the Ilissus, have been illustrated on those of the Elbe and the Thames; and Bessarion or Gaza might have envied

⁷⁴ The Greek language was introduced into the University of Oxford in the last years of the xvth century, by Grocyn, Linacer, and Latimer, who had all studied at Florence under Demetrius Chalcondyles. See Dr. Knight's curious *Life of Erasmus*. Although a stout academical patriot, he is forced to acknowledge that Erasmus learned Greek at Oxford and taught it at Cambridge.

the superior science of the barbarians, the accuracy of Budæus, the taste of Erasmus, the copiousness of Stephens, the erudition of Scaliger, the discernment of Reiske or of Bentley. On the side of the Latins, the discovery of printing was a casual advantage; but this useful art has been applied by Aldus, and his innumerable successors, to perpetuate and multiply the works of antiquity.⁷⁵ A single manuscript imported from Greece is revived in ten thousand copies; and each copy is fairer than the original. In this form, Homer and Plato would peruse with more satisfaction their own writings; and their scholiasts must resign the prize to the labours of our western editors.

Before the revival of classic literature, the barbarians in Europe were immersed in ignorance; and their vulgar tongues were marked with the rudeness and poverty of their manners. The students of the more perfect idioms of Rome and Greece were introduced to a new world of light and science; to the society of the free and polished nations of antiquity; and to a familiar converse with those immortal men who spoke the sublime language of eloquence and reason. Such an intercourse must tend to refine the taste, and to elevate the genius, of the moderns; and yet, from the first experiments, it might appear that the study of the ancients had given fetters, rather than wings, to the human mind. However laudable, the spirit of imitation is of a servile cast; and the first disciples of the Greeks and Romans were a

⁷⁵ The press of Aldus Manutius, a Roman, was established at Venice about the year 1494. He printed above sixty considerable works of Greek literature, almost all for the first time; several containing different treatises and authors, and of several authors two, three, or four editions (Fabric. *Bibliot. Græc.* tom. xiii. p. 605, &c.). Yet his glory must not tempt us to forget that the first Greek book, the Grammar of Constantine Lascaris, was printed at Milan in 1476; and that the Florence Homer of 1488 displays all the luxury of the typographical art. See the *Annales Typographici* of Mattaire and the *Bibliographie Instructive* of De Bure, a knowing bookseller of Paris.

colony of strangers in the midst of their age and country. The minute and laborious diligence which explored the antiquities of remote times might have improved or adorned the present state of society; the critic and metaphysician were the slaves of Aristotle; the poets, historians, and orators were proud to repeat the thoughts and words of the Augustan age; the works of nature were observed with the eyes of Pliny and Theophrastus; and some pagan votaries professed a secret devotion to the gods of Homer and Plato.⁷⁶ The Italians were oppressed by the strength and number of their ancient auxiliaries: the century after the deaths of Petrarch and Boccace was filled with a crowd of Latin imitators, who decently repose on our shelves; but in that æra of learning it will not be easy to discern a real discovery of science, a work of invention or eloquence, in the popular language of the country.⁷⁷ But, as soon as it had been deeply saturated with the celestial dew, the soil was quickened into vegetation and life; the modern idioms were refined; the classics of Athens and Rome inspired a pure taste and a generous emulation; and in Italy, as afterwards in France and England, the pleasing

⁷⁶ I will select three singular examples of this classic enthusiasm. 1. At the synod of Florence, Gemistus Pletho said in familiar conversation to George of Trebizond, that in a short time mankind would unanimously renounce the Gospel and the Koran for a religion similar to that of the Gentiles (Leo Allatius, apud Fabricium, tom. x. p. 751). 2. Paul II. persecuted the Roman academy which had been founded by Pomponius Lætus; and the principal members were accused of heresy, impiety, and *paganism* (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. p. i. pp. 81, 82). 3. In the next century, some scholars and poets in France celebrated the success of Jodelle's tragedy of Cleopatra by a festival of Bacchus; and, it is said, by the sacrifice of a goat (Bayle, Dictionnaire, JOELLE; Fontenelle, tom. iii. pp. 56-61). Yet the spirit of bigotry might often discern a serious impiety in the sportive play of fancy and learning.

⁷⁷ The survivor of Boccace died in the year 1375; and we cannot place before 1480 the composition of the *Morgante Maggiore* of Pulci, and the *Orlando Inamorato* of Boyardo (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. p. ii. pp. 174-177).

reign of poetry and fiction was succeeded by the light of speculative and experimental philosophy. Genius may anticipate the season of maturity; but in the education of a people, as in that of an individual, memory must be exercised, before the powers of reason and fancy can be expanded; nor may the artist hope to equal or surpass, till he has learned to imitate, the works of his predecessors.

CHAPTER LXVII

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

THE respective merits of Rome and Constantinople are compared and celebrated by an eloquent Greek, the father of the Italian schools.¹ The view of the ancient capital, the seat of his ancestors, surpassed the most sanguine expectations of Emanuel Chrysoloras; and he no longer blamed the exclamation of an old sophist, that Rome was the habitation, not of men, but of gods. Those gods and those men had long since vanished; but, to the eye of liberal enthusiasm, the majesty of ruin restored the image of her ancient prosperity. The monuments of the consuls and Cæsars, of the martyrs and apostles, engaged on all sides the curiosity of the philosopher and the Christian; and he confessed that in every age the arms and religion of Rome were destined to reign over the earth. While Chrysoloras admired the venerable beauties of the mother, he was not forgetful of his native country, her fairest daughter,

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

her Imperial colony; and the Byzantine patriot expatiates with zeal and truth on the eternal advantages of nature and the more transitory glories of art and dominion, which adorned, or had adorned, the city of Constantine. Yet the perfection of the copy still redounds (as he modestly observes) to the honour of the original; and parents are delighted to be renewed, and even excelled, by the superior merit of their children. "Constantinople," says the orator, "is situate on a commanding point, between Europe and Asia, between the Archipelago and the Euxine. By her interposition, the two seas and the two continents are united for the common benefit of nations; and the gates of commerce may be shut or opened at her command. The harbour, encompassed on all sides by the sea and the continent, is the most secure and capacious in the world. The walls and gates of Constantinople may be compared with those of Babylon: the towers are many; each tower is a solid and lofty structure; and the second wall, the outer fortification, would be sufficient for the defence and dignity of an ordinary capital. A broad and rapid stream may be introduced into the ditches; and the artificial island may be encompassed, like Athens,² by land or water." Two strong and natural causes are alleged for the perfection of the model of new Rome. The royal founder reigned over the most illustrious nations of the globe; and, in the accomplishment of his designs, the power of the Romans was combined with the art and science of the Greeks. Other cities have been reared to maturity by accident and time: their beauties are mingled with disorder and deformity; and the inhabitants, unwilling to remove from their natal spot, are incapable of correcting the errors of their ancestors

² Somebody observed, that the city of Athens might be circumnavigated (*τις εἶπεν τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δύνασθαι καὶ παραπλεῖν καὶ περιπλεῖν*). But what may be true in a rhetorical sense of Constantinople cannot be applied to the situation of Athens, five miles from the sea, and not intersected or surrounded by any navigable streams.

and the original vices of situation or climate. But the free idea of Constantinople was formed and executed by a single mind: and the primitive model was improved by the obedient zeal of the subjects and successors of the first monarch. The adjacent isles were stored with an inexhaustible supply of marble; but the various materials were transported from the most remote shores of Europe and Asia; and the public and private buildings, the palaces, churches, aqueducts, cisterns, porticoes, columns, baths, and hippodromes, were adapted to the greatness of the capital of the East. The superfluity of wealth was spread along the shores of Europe and Asia; and the Byzantine territory, as far as the Euxine, the Hellespont, and the long wall, might be considered as a populous suburb and a perpetual garden. In this flattering picture, the past and the present, the times of prosperity and decay, are artfully confounded: but a sigh and a confession escape from the orator, that his wretched country was the shadow and sepulchre of its former self. The works of ancient sculpture had been defaced by Christian zeal or barbaric violence; the fairest structures were demolished; and the marbles of Paros or Numidia were burnt for lime or applied to the meanest uses. Of many a statue, the place was marked by an empty pedestal; of many a column, the size was determined by a broken capital; the tombs of the emperors were scattered on the ground; the stroke of time was accelerated by storms and earthquakes; and the vacant space was adorned, by vulgar tradition, with fabulous monuments of gold and silver. From these wonders, which lived only in memory or belief, he distinguishes, however, the porphyry pillar, the column and colossus of Justinian,³ and the church,

³ Nicephorus Gregoras has described the colossus of Justinian (l. vii. 12); but his measures are false and inconsistent. The editor, Boivin, consulted his friend Girardon; and the sculptor gave him the true proportions of an equestrian statue. That of Justinian was still visible to Peter Gyllius, not on the column,

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

The last hope of the falling city and empire was placed in the harmony of the mother and daughter, in the maternal tenderness of Rome and the filial obedience of Constantinople. In the synod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and subscribed, and promised; but these signs of friendship were perfidious or fruitless;⁵ and the baseless fabric of the union vanished like a dream.⁶ The emperor and his

but in the outward court of the seraglio; and he was at Constantinople when it was melted down and cast into a brass cannon (de Topograph. C. P. l. ii. c. 17).

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

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

⁶ On the schism of Constantinople, see Phranza (l. ii. c. 17), Laonicus Chalcondyles (l. vi. pp. 155, 156), and Ducas (c. 31); the last of whom writes with truth and freedom. Among the moderns we may distinguish the continuator of Fleury (tom.

prelates returned in the Venetian galleys; but, as they touched at the Morea and the isles of Corfu and Lesbos, the subjects of the Latins complained that the pretended union would be an instrument of oppression. No sooner did they land on the Byzantine shore than they were saluted, or rather assailed, with a general murmur of zeal and discontent. During their absence, above two years, the capital had been deprived of its civil and ecclesiastical rulers; fanaticism fermented in anarchy; the most furious monks reigned over the conscience of women and bigots; and the hatred of the Latin name was the first principle of nature and religion. Before his departure for Italy, the emperor had flattered the city with the assurance of a prompt relief and a powerful succour; and the clergy, confident in their orthodoxy and science, had promised themselves and their flocks an easy victory over the blind shepherds of the West. The double disappointment exasperated the Greeks; the conscience of the subscribing prelates was awakened; the hour of temptation was past; and they had more to dread from the public resentment than they could hope from the favour of the emperor or the pope. Instead of justifying their conduct, they deplored their weakness, professed their contrition, and cast themselves on the mercy of God and of their brethren. To the reproachful question, What had been the event or use of their Italian synod? they answered, with sighs and tears, "Alas! we have made a new faith; we have exchanged piety for impiety; we have betrayed the immaculate sacrifice; and we are become *Azymites*." (The *Azymites* were those who celebrated the communion with unleavened bread; and I must retract or qualify the praise which I have bestowed on the growing philosophy of the times.) "Alas! we have been seduced by distress, by fraud, and by the hopes and fears of a transitory life. The hand that has signed the union

xxii. pp. 338, &c., 401, 420, &c.) and Spondanus (A.D. 1440-50). The sense of the latter is drowned in prejudice and passion, as soon as Rome and religion are concerned.

should be cut off; and the tongue that has pronounced the Latin creed deserves to be torn from the root." The best proof of their repentance was an increase of zeal for the most trivial rites and the most incomprehensible doctrines; and an absolute separation from all, without excepting their prince, who preserved some regard for honour and consistency. After the decease of the patriarch Joseph, the archbishops of Heraclea and Trebizond had courage to refuse the vacant office; and Cardinal Bessarion preferred the warm and comfortable shelter of the Vatican. The choice of the emperor and his clergy was confined to Metrophanes of Cyzicus: he was consecrated in St. Sophia, but the temple was vacant. The cross-bearers abdicated their service; the infection spread from the city to the villages; and Metrophanes discharged, without effect, some ecclesiastical thunders against a nation of schismatics. The eyes of the Greeks were directed to Mark of Ephesus, the champion of his country; and the sufferings of the holy confessor were repaid with a tribute of admiration and applause. His example and writings propagated the flame of religious discord; age and infirmity soon removed him from the world; but the gospel of Mark was not a law of forgiveness; and he requested with his dying breath that none of the adherents of Rome might attend his obsequies or pray for his soul.

The schism was not confined to the narrow limits of the Byzantine empire. Secure under the Mamaluke sceptre, the three patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem assembled a numerous synod; disowned their representatives at Ferrara and Florence; condemned the creed and council of the Latins; and threatened the emperor of Constantinople with the censures of the Eastern church. Of the sectaries of the Greek communion, the Russians were the most powerful, ignorant, and superstitious. Their primate, the cardinal Isidore, hastened from Florence to Moscow,⁷

⁷ Isidore was metropolitan of Kiow, but the Greeks subject to Poland have removed that see from the ruins of Kiow to

to reduce the independent nation under the Roman yoke. But the Russian bishops had been educated at Mount Athos; and the prince and people embraced the theology of their priests. They were scandalised by the title, the pomp, the Latin cross, of the legate, the friend of those impious men who shaved their beards and performed the divine office with gloves on their hands and rings on their fingers: Isidore was condemned by a synod; his person was imprisoned in a monastery; and it was with extreme difficulty that the cardinal could escape from the hands of a fierce and fanatic people.⁸ The Russians refused a passage to the missionaries of Rome, who aspired to convert the pagans beyond the Tanais⁹; and their refusal was justified by the maxim that the guilt of idolatry is less damnable than that of schism. The errors of the Bohemians were excused by their abhorrence for the pope; and a deputation of the Greek clergy solicited the friendship of those san-

Lemberg or Leopold (Herbestein, in Ramusio, tom. ii. p. 127). On the other hand, the Russians transferred their spiritual obedience to the archbishop, who became, in 1588, the patriarch of Moscow (Levesque, *Hist. de Russie*, tom. iii. pp. 188, 190, from a Greek MS. at Turin, *Iter et labores Archiepiscopi Arsenii*).

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

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

guinary enthusiasts.¹⁰ While Eugenius triumphed in the union and orthodoxy of the Greeks, his party was contracted to the walls, or rather to the palace, of Constantinople. The zeal of Palæologus had been excited by interest; it was soon cooled by opposition: an attempt to violate the national belief might endanger his life and crown; nor could the pious rebels be destitute of foreign and domestic aid. The sword of his brother Demetrius, who, in Italy, had maintained a prudent and popular silence, was half unsheathed in the cause of religion; and Amurath, the Turkish sultan, was displeased and alarmed by the seeming friendship of the Greeks and Latins.

“Sultan Murad, or Amurath, lived forty-nine, and reigned thirty years, six months, and eight days. He was a just and valiant prince, of a great soul, patient of labours, learned, merciful, religious, charitable; a lover and encourager of the studious, and of all who excelled in any art or science; a good emperor, and a great general. No man obtained more or greater victories than Amurath; Belgrade alone withstood his attacks. Under his reign, the soldier was ever victorious, the citizen rich and secure. If he subdued any country, his first care was to build mosques and caravanseras, hospitals and colleges. Every year he gave a thousand pieces of gold to the sons of the Prophet; and sent two thousand five hundred to the religious persons of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.”¹¹ This portrait is transcribed from the historian of the Othman empire: but the applause of a servile and superstitious people has been lavished on the worst of tyrants; and the virtues of a sultan are often the vices most useful to himself, or most agreeable to his

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

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

subjects. A nation ignorant of the equal benefits of liberty and law must be awed by the flashes of arbitrary power : the cruelty of a despot will assume the character of justice ; his profusion, of liberality ; his obstinacy, of firmness. If the most reasonable excuse be rejected, few acts of obedience will be found impossible ; and guilt must tremble where innocence cannot always be secure. The tranquillity of the people and the discipline of the troops were best maintained by perpetual action in the field ; war was the trade of the Janizaries ; and those who survived the peril and divided the spoil applauded the generous ambition of their sovereign. To propagate the true religion was the duty of a faithful Musulman : the unbelievers were *his* enemies, and those of the Prophet ; and, in the hands of the Turks, the scimitar was the only instrument of conversion. Under these circumstances, however, the justice and moderation of Amurath are attested by his conduct and acknowledged by the Christians themselves ; who consider a prosperous reign and a peaceful death as the reward of his singular merits. In the vigour of his age and military power, he seldom engaged in a war till he was justified by a previous and adequate provocation : the victorious sultan was disarmed by submission ; and in the observance of treaties his word was inviolate and sacred. The Hungarians were commonly the aggressors ; he was provoked by the revolt of Scanderbeg ; and the perfidious Caramanian was twice vanquished and twice pardoned by the Ottoman monarch. Before he invaded the Morea, Thebes had been surprised by the despot : in the conquest of Thessalonica, the grandson of Bajazet might dispute the recent purchase of the Venetians ; and, after the first siege of Constantinople, the sultan was never tempted, by the distress, the absence, or the injuries, of Palæologus, to extinguish the dying light of the Byzantine empire.

But the most striking feature in the life and character of Amurath is the double abdication of the

Turkish throne ; and, were not his motives debased by an alloy of superstition, we must praise the royal philosopher,¹² who, at the age of forty, could discern the vanity of human greatness. Resigning the sceptre to his son, he retired to the pleasant residence of Magnesia ; but he retired to the society of saints and hermits. It was not till the fourth century of the Hegira that the religion of Mahomet had been corrupted by an institution so adverse to his genius ; but in the age of the crusades the various orders of Dervishes were multiplied by the example of the Christian, and even the Latin, monks.¹³ The lord of nations submitted to fast, and pray, and turn round in endless rotation with the fanatics, who mistook the giddiness of the head for the illumination of the spirit.¹⁴ But he was soon awakened from this dream of enthusiasm by the Hungarian invasion ; and his obedient son was the foremost to urge the public danger and the wishes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the Janizaries fought and conquered ; but he withdrew from the field of Varna, again to pray, to fast, and to turn round with his Magnesian brethren. These pious occupations were again interrupted by the danger of the state. A victorious army disdained the inexperience of their youthful ruler : the city of Hadrianople was abandoned to rapine and slaughter ; and the unanimous divan

¹² Voltaire (*Essai sur l'Histoire Générale*, c. 89, pp. 283, 284) admires *le Philosophe Turc* ; would he have bestowed the same praise on a Christian prince for retiring to a monastery ? In his way, Voltaire was a bigot, an intolerant bigot.

¹³ See the articles *Dervische, Fakir, Nasser, Rohbaniat*, in d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*. Yet the subject is superficially treated from the Persian and Arabian writers. It is among the Turks that these orders have principally flourished.

¹⁴ Rycaut (in the *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 242-268) affords much information, which he drew from his personal conversation with the heads of the dervishes, most of whom ascribed their origin to the time of Orchan. He does not mention the *Zichidae* of Chalcondyles (l. vii. p. 286), among whom Amurath retired ; the *Seids* of that author are the descendants of Mahomet.

implored his presence to appease the tumult, and prevent the rebellion, of the Janizaries. At the well-known voice of their master, they trembled and obeyed; and the reluctant sultan was compelled to support his splendid servitude, till, at the end of four years, he was relieved by the angel of death. Age or disease, misfortune or caprice, have tempted several princes to descend from the throne; and they have had leisure to repent of their irretrievable step. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and solitude, has *repeated* his preference of a private life.

After the departure of his Greek brethren, Eugenius had not been unmindful of their temporal interest; and his tender regard for the Byzantine empire was animated by a just apprehension of the Turks, who approached, and might soon invade, the borders of Italy. But the spirit of the crusades had expired; and the coldness of the Franks was not less unreasonable than their headlong passion. In the eleventh century, a fanatic monk could precipitate Europe on Asia for the recovery of the holy sepulchre: but, in the fifteenth, the most pressing motives of religion and policy were insufficient to unite the Latins in the defence of Christendom. Germany was an inexhaustible storehouse of men and arms:¹⁵ but that complex and languid body required the impulse of a vigorous hand; and Frederic the Third was alike impotent in his personal character and his Imperial dignity. A

¹⁵ In the year 1431, Germany raised 40,000 horse, men at arms, against the Hussites of Bohemia (Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Basle, tom. i. p. 318). At the siege of Nuys on the Rhine, in 1474, the princes, prelates, and cities sent their respective quotas; and the bishop of Munster (qui n'est pas des plus grands) furnished 1400 horse, 6000 foot, all in green, with 1200 waggons. The united armies of the king of England and the duke of Burgundy scarcely equalled one-third of this German host (Mémoires de Philippe de Comines, l. iv. c. 2). At present, six or seven hundred thousand men are maintained in constant pay and admirable discipline by the powers of Germany.

long war had impaired the strength, without satiating the animosity, of France and England ;¹⁶ but Philip, duke of Burgundy, was a vain and magnificent prince ; and he enjoyed, without danger or expense, the adventurous piety of his subjects, who sailed, in a gallant fleet, from the coast of Flanders to the Hellespont. The maritime republics of Venice and Genoa were less remote from the scene of action ; and their hostile fleets were associated under the standard of St. Peter. The kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, which covered, as it were, the interior pale of the Latin church, were the most nearly concerned to oppose the progress of the Turks. Arms were the patrimony of the Scythians and Sarmatians ; and these nations might appear equal to the contest, could they point, against the common foe, those swords that were so wantonly drawn in bloody and domestic quarrels. But the same spirit was adverse to concord and obedience : a poor country and a limited monarch are incapable of maintaining a standing force ; and the loose bodies of Polish and Hungarian horse were not armed with the sentiments and weapons which, on some occasions, have given irresistible weight to the French chivalry. Yet, on this side, the designs of the Roman pontiff and the eloquence of Cardinal Julian, his legate, were promoted by the circumstances of the times ;¹⁷ by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladislaus,¹⁸

¹⁶ It was not till the year 1444, that France and England could agree on a truce of some months (see Rymer's *Fœdera*, and the chronicles of both nations).

¹⁷ In the Hungarian crusade, Spondanus (*Annal. Eccles. A.D. 1443, 1444*) has been my leading guide. He has diligently read, and critically compared, the Greek and Turkish materials, the historians of Hungary, Poland, and the West. His narrative is perspicuous ; and, where he can be free from a religious bias, the judgment of Spondanus is not contemptible.

¹⁸ I have curtailed the harsh letter (*Wladislaus*) which most writers affix to his name, either in compliance with the Polish pronunciation, or to distinguish him from his rival the infant Ladislaus of Austria. Their competition for the crown of Hungary is described by Callimachus (*l. i. ii. pp. 447-486*), Bonfinius (*Decad. iii. l. iv.*), Spondanus, and Lenfant.

a young and ambitious soldier; by the valour of an hero, whose name, the name of John Huniades, was already popular among the Christians and formidable to the Turks. An endless treasure of pardons and indulgences were scattered by the legate; many private warriors of France and Germany enlisted under the holy banner; and the crusade derived some strength, or at least some reputation, from the new allies, both of Europe and Asia. A fugitive despot of Servia exaggerated the distress and ardour of the Christians beyond the Danube, who would unanimously rise to vindicate their religion and liberty. The Greek Emperor,¹⁹ with a spirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Bosphorus, and to sally from Constantinople at the head of his national and mercenary troops. The sultan of Caramania²⁰ announced the retreat of Amurath and a powerful diversion in the heart of Anatolia; and, if the fleets of the West could occupy at the same moment the straits of the Hellespont, the Ottoman monarchy would be dissevered and destroyed. Heaven and earth must rejoice in the perdition of the miscreants; and the legate, with prudent ambiguity, instilled the opinion of the invisible, perhaps the visible, aid of the Son of God and his divine mother.

Of the Polish and Hungarian diets, a religious war was the unanimous cry; and Ladislaus, after passing the Danube, led an army of his confederate subjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they obtained two signal victories, which were justly ascribed to the valour and conduct

¹⁹ The Greek historians, Phranza, Chalcondyles, and Ducas, do not ascribe to their prince a very active part in this crusade, which he seems to have promoted by his wishes and injured by his fears.

²⁰ Cantemir (p. 88) ascribes to his policy the original plan, and transcribes his animating epistle to the king of Hungary. But the Mahometan powers are seldom informed of the state of Christendom; and the situation and correspondence of the knights of Rhodes must connect them with the sultan of Caramania.

of Huniades. In the first, with a vanguard of ten thousand men, he surprised the Turkish camp; in the second, he vanquished and made prisoner the most renowned of their generals, who possessed the double advantage of ground and numbers. The approach of winter and the natural and artificial obstacles of Mount Hæmus arrested the progress of the hero, who measured a narrow interval of six days' march from the foot of the mountains to the hostile towers of Hadrianople and the friendly capital of the Greek empire. The retreat was undisturbed; and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph. An ecclesiastical procession was followed by the king and his warriors on foot; he nicely balanced the merits and rewards of the two nations; and the pride of conquest was blended with the humble temper of Christianity. Thirteen bashaws, nine standards, and four thousand captives were unquestionable trophies; and, as all were willing to believe and none were present to contradict, the crusaders multiplied, with unblushing confidence, the myriads of Turks whom they had left on the field of battle.²¹ The most solid proof and the most salutary consequence of victory was a deputation from the divan to solicit peace, to restore Servia, to ransom the prisoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty, the rational objects of the war were obtained: the king, the despot, and Huniades himself, in the diet of Segedin, were satisfied with public and private emolument; a truce of ten years was concluded; and the followers of Jesus and Mahomet, who swore on the Gospel and the Koran, attested the word of God as the guardian of truth and the avenger of perfidy. In the place of the Gospel, the Turkish ministers had proposed to substitute the Eucharist, the real presence of the Catholic deity;

²¹ In their letters to the emperor Frederic III. the Hungarians slay 30,000 Turks in one battle, but the modest Julian reduces the slaughter to 6000 or even 2000 infidels (*Æneas Sylvius in Europ. c. 5, and epist. 44, 81, apud Spondanum*).

but the Christians refused to profane their holy mysteries; and a superstitious conscience is less forcibly bound by the spiritual energy, than by the outward and visible symbols, of an oath.

During the whole transaction the cardinal-legate had observed a sullen silence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppose, the consent of the king and people. But the diet was not dissolved before Julian was fortified by the welcome intelligence that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy were masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty, of Ladislaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. "And is it thus," exclaimed the cardinal,²² "that you will desert their expectations and your own fortune? It is to them, to your God, and your fellow-Christians, that you have pledged your faith; and that prior obligation annihilates a rash and sacrilegious oath to the enemies of Christ. His vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff; without whose sanction you can neither promise nor perform. In his name I absolve your perjury and sanctify your arms; follow my footsteps in the paths of glory and salvation; and, if still ye have scruples, devolve on my head the punishment and the sin." This mischievous casuistry was seconded by his respectable character and the levity of popular assemblies: war was resolved on the same spot where peace had so lately been sworn; and, in the execution of the treaty, the Turks were assaulted by the Christians; to whom, with some reason, they might apply the epithet

²² I do not pretend to warrant the literal accuracy of Julian's speech, which is variously worded by Callimachus (l. iii. pp. 505-507), Bonfinius (Dec. iii. l. vi. pp. 457, 458), and other historians, who might indulge their own eloquence, while they represent one of the orators of the age. But they all agree in the advice and arguments for perjury, which in the field of controversy are fiercely attacked by the Protestants and feebly defended by the Catholics. The latter are discouraged by the misfortune of Varna.

of Infidels. The falsehood of Ladislaus to his word and oath was palliated by the religion of the times; the most perfect, or at least the most popular, excuse would have been the success of his arms and the deliverance of the Eastern church. But the same treaty which should have bound his conscience had diminished his strength. On the proclamation of the peace, the French and German volunteers departed with indignant murmurs; the Poles were exhausted by distant warfare, and perhaps disgusted with foreign command; and their palatines accepted the first licence and hastily retired to their provinces and castles. Even Hungary was divided by faction or restrained by a laudable scruple; and the relics of the crusade that marched in the second expedition were reduced to an inadequate force of twenty thousand men. A Walachian chief, who joined the royal standard with his vassals, presumed to remark that their numbers did not exceed the hunting retinue that sometimes attended the sultan; and the gift of two horses of matchless speed might admonish Ladislaus of his secret foresight of the event. But the despot of Servia, after the restoration of his country and children, was tempted by the promise of new realms; and the inexperience of the king, the enthusiasm of the legate, and the martial presumption of Huniades himself were persuaded that every obstacle must yield to the invincible virtue of the sword and the cross. After the passage of the Danube, two roads might lead to Constantinople and the Hellespont; the one direct, abrupt, and difficult, through the mountains of Hæmus; the other more tedious and secure, over a level country, and along the shores of the Euxine; in which their flanks, according to the Scythian discipline, might always be covered by a moveable fortification of waggons. The latter was judiciously preferred: the Catholics marched through the plains of Bulgaria, burning, with wanton cruelty, the churches and villages of the Christian natives; and their last station was at Warna, near the sea-shore,

on which the defeat and death of Ladislaus have bestowed a memorable name.²³

It was on this fatal spot that, instead of finding a confederate fleet to second their operations, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurath himself, who had issued from his Magnesian solitude and transported the forces of Asia to the defence of Europe. According to some writers, the Greek emperor had been awed, or seduced, to grant the passage of the Bosphorus; and an indelible stain of corruption is fixed on the Genoese, or the pope's nephew, the Catholic admiral, whose mercenary connivance betrayed the guard of the Hellespont. From Hadrianople, the sultan advanced, by hasty marches, at the head of sixty thousand men; and, when the cardinal and Huniades had taken a nearer survey of the numbers and order of the Turks, these ardent warriors proposed the tardy and impracticable measure of a retreat. The king alone was resolved to conquer or die; and his resolution had almost been crowned with a glorious and salutary victory. The princes were opposite to each other in the centre; and the Beglerbegs, or generals of Anatolia and Romania, commanded on the right and left against the adverse divisions of the despot and Huniades. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset: but the advantage was fatal; and the rash victors, in the heat of the pursuit, were carried away far from the annoyance of the enemy or the support of their friends. When Amurath beheld the flight of his squadrons, he despaired of his fortune and that of the empire: a veteran Janizary seized his horse's bridle; and he had magnanimity to pardon and reward the soldier who dared to perceive the

²³ Warnæ, under the Grecian name of Odessus, was a colony of the Milesians which they denominated from the hero Ulysses (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 374; d'Anville, tom. i. p. 312). According to Arrian's *Periplus of the Euxine* (pp. 24, 25, in the first volume of Hudson's *Geographers*), it was situate 1740 stadia, or furlongs, from the mouth of the Danube, 2140 from Byzantium, and 360 to the north of a ridge or promontory of Mount Hæmus, which advances into the sea.

terror, and arrest the flight, of his sovereign. A copy of the treaty, the monument of Christian perfidy, had been displayed in the front of battle; and it is said that the sultan in his distress, lifting his eyes and his hands to heaven, implored the protection of the God of truth; and called on the prophet Jesus himself to avenge the impious mockery of his name and religion.²⁴ With inferior numbers and disordered ranks, the king of Hungary rushed forward, in the confidence of victory, till his career was stopped by the impenetrable phalanx of the Janizaries. If we may credit the Ottoman annals, his horse was pierced by the javelin of Amurath; ²⁵ he fell among the spears of the infantry; and a Turkish soldier proclaimed with a loud voice, "Hungarians, behold the head of your king!" The death of Ladislaus was the signal of their defeat. On his return from an intemperate pursuit, Huniades deplored his error and the public loss; he strove to rescue the royal body, till he was overwhelmed by the tumultuous crowd of the victors and vanquished; and the last efforts of his courage and conduct were exerted to save the remnant of his Walachian cavalry. Ten thousand Christians were slain in the disastrous battle of Warna: the loss of the Turks, more considerable in numbers, bore a smaller proportion to their total strength; yet the philosophic sultan was not ashamed to confess that his ruin must be the consequence of a second and similar victory. At his command, a column was erected on the spot where Ladislaus had fallen; but the modest inscription,

²⁴ Some Christian writers affirm that he drew from his bosom the host or wafer on which the treaty had *not* been sworn. The Moslems suppose, with more simplicity, an appeal to God and his prophet Jesus, which is likewise insinuated by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 516, Spondan. A.D. 1444, No. 8).

²⁵ A critic will always distrust these *spolia opima* of a victorious general, so difficult for valour to obtain, so easy for flattery to invent (Cantemir, pp. 90, 91). Callimachus (l. iii. p. 517) more simply and probably affirms, *supervenientibus Janizaris, telorum multitudine non tam confossus est quam obrutus.*

instead of accusing the rashness, recorded the valour, and bewailed the misfortune, of the Hungarian youth.

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

From an humble or at least a doubtful origin, the merit of John Huniades promoted him to the

command of the Hungarian armies. His father was a Walachian, his mother a Greek: her unknown race might possibly ascend to the emperors of Constantinople; and the claims of the Walachians, with the surname of Corvinus, from the place of his nativity, might suggest a thin pretence for mingling his blood with the patricians of ancient Rome.²⁶ In his youth, he served in the wars of Italy, and was retained, with twelve horsemen, by the bishop of Zagrab: the valour of the *white knight*²⁷ was soon conspicuous; he increased his fortunes by a noble and wealthy marriage; and in the defence of the Hungarian borders he won, in the same year, three battles against the Turks. By his influence, Ladislaus of Poland obtained the crown of Hungary; and the important service was rewarded by the title and office of Waivod of Transylvania. The first of Julian's crusades added two Turkish laurels on his brow; and in the public distress the fatal errors of Warna were forgotten. During the absence and minority of Ladislaus of Austria, the titular king, Huniades was elected supreme captain and governor of Hungary; and, if envy at first was silenced by terror, a reign of twelve years supposes the arts of policy as well as of war. Yet the idea of a consummate general is not delineated in his campaigns; the white knight fought with the hand rather than the head, as the chief of desultory barbarians, who attack without fear and fly without shame; and his military life is composed of a romantic alternative of victories and escapes. By the Turks, who employed his name to frighten their perverse

²⁶ See Bonfinius, Decad iii. l. iv. p. 423. Could the Italian historian pronounce, or the king of Hungary hear, without a blush, the absurd flattery which confounded the name of a Walachian village with the casual though glorious epithet of a single branch of the Valerian family at Rome?

²⁷ Philip de Comines (Mémoires, l. vi. c. 13), from the tradition of the times, mentions him with high encomiums, but under the whimsical name of the Chevalier Blanc de Valaigne (Valachia). The Greek Chalcondyles, and the Turkish Annals of Leunclavius, presume to accuse his fidelity or valour.

children, he was corruptly denominated *Jancus Lain*, or the Wicked; their hatred is the proof of their esteem; the kingdom which he guarded was inaccessible to their arms; and they felt him most daring and formidable, when they fondly believed the captain of his country irrecoverably lost. Instead of confining himself to a defensive war, four years after the defeat of *Warna* he again penetrated into the heart of *Bulgaria*; and in the plain of *Cossova* sustained, till the third day, the shock of the Ottoman army, four times more numerous than his own. As he fled alone through the woods of *Walachia*, the hero was surprised by two robbers; but, while they disputed a gold chain that hung at his neck, he recovered his sword, slew the one, terrified the other; and, after new perils of captivity or death, consoled by his presence an afflicted kingdom. But the last and most glorious action of his life was the defence of *Belgrade* against the powers of *Mahomet the Second* in person. After a siege of forty days, the Turks, who had already entered the town, were compelled to retreat; and the joyful nations celebrated *Huniades* and *Belgrade* as the bulwarks of Christendom.²⁸ About a month after this great deliverance, the champion expired; and his most splendid epitaph is the regret of the Ottoman prince, who sighed that he could no longer hope for revenge against the single antagonist who had triumphed over his arms. On the first vacancy of the throne, *Matthias Corvinus*, a youth of eighteen years of age, was elected and crowned by the grateful Hungarians. His reign was prosperous and long: *Matthias* aspired to the glory of a conqueror and a saint; but his purest merit is the encouragement of learning; and the Latin orators and historians, who were invited from

²⁸ See *Bonfinius* (*Decad* iii. l. viii. p. 492) and *Spondanus* (*A.D.* 1456, No. 1-7). *Huniades* shared the glory of the defence of *Belgrade* with *Capistran*, a Franciscan friar; and in their respective narratives neither the saint nor the hero condescends to take notice of his rival's merit.

Italy by the son, have shed the lustre of their eloquence on the father's character.

In the list of heroes, John Huniades and Scanderbeg are commonly associated;²⁹ and they are both entitled to our notice, since their occupation of the Ottoman arms delayed the ruin of the Greek empire. John Castriot, the father of Scanderbeg,³⁰ was the hereditary prince of a small district of Epirus or Albania, between the mountains and the Adriatic Sea. Unable to contend with the sultan's power, Castriot submitted to the hard conditions of peace and tribute; he delivered his four sons as the pledges of his fidelity; and the Christian youths, after receiving the mark of circumcision, were instructed in the Mahometan religion, and trained in the arms and arts of Turkish policy. The three elder brothers were confounded in the crowd of slaves; and the poison to which their deaths are ascribed cannot be verified or disproved by any positive evidence. Yet the suspicion is in a great measure removed by the kind and paternal treatment of George Castriot, the fourth brother, who, from his tender youth, displayed the strength and spirit of a soldier. The successive overthrow of a Tartar and two Persians, who carried a proud defiance to the Turkish court, recommended him to the favour of Amurath, and his Turkish appellation of Scanderbeg (*Iskender beg*.) or the lord Alexander, is

²⁹ They are ranked by Sir William Temple, in his pleasing Essay on Heroic Virtue (Works, vol. iii. p. 385), among the seven chiefs who have deserved, without wearing, a royal crown; Belisares, Narses, Gonsalvo of Cordova, William first prince of Orange, Alexander duke of Parma, John Huniades, and George Castriot, of Scanderbeg.

³⁰ I could wish for some simple authentic memoirs of a friend of Scanderbeg, which would introduce me to the man, the time, and the place. In the old and national history of Marinus Barletius, a priest of Scodra (de Vitâ, Moribus, et Rebus gestis Georgii Castrioti, &c. libri xiii. p. 367, Argentorat. 1537, in fol.), his gaudy and cumbersome robes are stuck with many false jewels. See likewise Chalcondyles, l. vii. p. 185; l. viii. p. 229.

an indelible memorial of his glory and servitude. His father's principality was reduced into a province; but the loss was compensated by the rank and title of Sanjiak, a command of five thousand horse, and the prospect of the first dignities of the empire. He served with honour in the wars of Europe and Asia; and we may smile at the art or credulity of the historian, who supposes that in every encounter he spared the Christians, while he fell with a thundering arm on his Musulman foes. The glory of Huniades is without reproach: he fought in the defence of his religion and country; but the enemies who applaud the patriot have branded his rival with the name of traitor and apostate. In the eyes of the Christians the rebellion of Scanderbeg is justified by his father's wrongs, the ambiguous death of his three brothers, his own degradation, and the slavery of his country; and they adore the generous though tardy zeal with which he asserted the faith and independence of his ancestors. But he had imbibed from his ninth year the doctrines of the Koran: he was ignorant of the Gospel; the religion of a soldier is determined by authority and habit; nor is it easy to conceive what new illumination at the age of forty³¹ could be poured into his soul. His motives would be less exposed to the suspicion of interest or revenge, had he broken his chain from the moment that he was sensible of its weight; but a long oblivion had surely impaired his original right; and every year of obedience and reward had cemented the mutual bond of the sultan and his subject. If Scanderbeg had long harboured the belief of Christianity and the intention of revolt, a worthy mind must condemn

³¹ Since Scanderbeg died, A.D. 1466, in the 63rd year of his age (Marinus, l. xiii. p. 370), he was born in 1403; since he was torn from his parents by the Turks when he was *novennis* (Marinus, l. i. pp. 1, 6), that event must have happened in 1412, nine years before the accession of Amurath II., who must have inherited, not acquired, the Albanian slave. Spondanus has remarked this inconsistency, A.D. 1431, No. 31; 1443, No. 14.

the base dissimulation, that could only serve to betray, that could promise only to be forsworn, that could actively join in the temporal and spiritual perdition of so many thousands of his unhappy brethren. Shall we praise a secret correspondence with Huniades, while he commanded the vanguard of the Turkish army? shall we excuse the desertion of his standard, a treacherous desertion which abandoned the victory to the enemies of his benefactor? In the confusion of a defeat, the eye of Scanderbeg was fixed on the Reis Effendi, or principal secretary; with a dagger at his breast, he extorted a firman or patent for the government of Albania; and the murder of the guiltless scribe and his train prevented the consequences of an immediate discovery. With some bold companions, to whom he had revealed his design, he escaped in the night, by rapid marches, from the field of battle to his paternal mountains. The gates of Croya were opened to the royal mandate; and no sooner did he command the fortress than George Castriot dropped the mask of dissimulation, abjured the Prophet and the sultan, and proclaimed himself the avenger of his family and country. The names of religion and liberty provoked a general revolt: the Albanians, a martial race, were unanimous to live and die with their hereditary prince; and the Ottoman garrisons were indulged in the choice of martyrdom or baptism. In the assembly of the states of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkish war; and each of the allies engaged to furnish his respective proportion of men and money. From these contributions, from his patrimonial estate, and from the valuable salt-pits of Selina, he drew an annual revenue of two hundred thousand ducats; and the entire sum, exempt from the demands of luxury, was strictly appropriated to the public use. His manners were popular; but his discipline was severe; and every superfluous vice was banished from his camp: his example strengthened his command; and under his conduct the Albanians were invincible in their

own opinion and that of their enemies. The bravest adventurers of France and Germany were allured by his fame and retained in his service; his standing militia consisted of eight thousand horse and seven thousand foot; the horses were small, the men were active; but he viewed with a discerning eye the difficulties and resources of the mountains; and, at the blaze of the beacons, the whole nation was distributed in the strongest posts. With such unequal arms, Scanderbeg³¹ resisted twenty-three years the powers of the Ottoman empire; and two conquerors, Amurath the Second and his greater son, were repeatedly baffled by a rebel whom they pursued with seeming contempt and implacable resentment. At the head of sixty thousand horse and forty thousand Janizaries, Amurath entered Albania: he might ravage the open country, occupy the defenceless towns, convert the churches into mosques, circumcise the Christian youths, and punish with death his adult and obstinate captives: but the conquests of the sultan were confined to the petty fortress of Sfetigrade; and the garrison, invincible to his arms, was oppressed by a paltry artifice and a superstitious scruple.³² Amurath retired with shame and loss from the walls of Croya, the castle and residence of the Castriots; the march, the siege, the retreat, were harassed by a vexatious and almost invisible adversary; and the disappointment might tend to embitter, perhaps to shorten, the last days of the sultan.³³ In the fulness of conquest, Mahomet the

³² There were two Dibras, the upper and lower, the Bulgarian and Albanian: the former, 70 miles from Croya (l. i. p. 17), was contiguous to the fortress of Sfetigrade, whose inhabitants refused to drink from a well into which a dead dog had traitorously been cast (l. v. pp. 139, 140). We want a good map of Epirus.

³³ In honour of his hero, Barletius (l. vi. pp. 188-192) kills the sultan, by disease indeed, under the walls of Croya. But this audacious fiction is disproved by the Greeks and Turks, who agree in the time and manner of Amurath's death at Hadrianople.

Second still felt at his bosom this domestic thorn ; his lieutenants were permitted to negotiate a truce ; and the Albanian prince may justly be praised as a firm and able champion of his national independence. The enthusiasm of chivalry and religion has ranked him with the names of Alexander and Pyrrhus ; nor would they blush to acknowledge their intrepid countryman : but his narrow dominion and slender powers must leave him at an humble distance below the heroes of antiquity, who triumphed over the East and the Roman legions. His splendid achievements, the bashaws whom he encountered, the armies that he discomfited, and the three thousand Turks who were slain by his single hand, must be weighed in the scales of suspicious criticism. Against an illiterate enemy, and in the dark solitude of Epirus, his partial biographers may safely indulge the latitude of romance ; but their fictions are exposed by the light of Italian history ; and they afford a strong presumption against their own truth by a fabulous tale of his exploits, when he passed the Adriatic with eight hundred horse to the succour of the king of Naples. Without disparagement to his fame, they might have owned that he was finally oppressed by the Ottoman powers ; in his extreme danger, he applied to Pope Pius the Second for a refuge in the ecclesiastical state : and his resources were almost exhausted, since Scanderbeg died a fugitive at Lissus, on the Venetian territory.³⁴ His sepulchre was soon violated by the Turkish conquerors ; but the Janizaries, who wore his bones enchased in a bracelet, declared by this superstitious amulet their involuntary reverence for his valour. The instant ruin of his country may redound to the

³⁴ Spondanus, from the best evidence and the most rational criticism, has reduced the giant Scanderbeg to the human size (A.D. 1461, No. 20 ; 1463, No. 9 ; 1465, No. 12, 13 ; 1467, No. 1). His own letter to the pope, and the testimony of Phranza (l. iii. c. 28), a refugee in the neighbouring isle of Corfu, demonstrate his last distress, which is awkwardly concealed by Marinus Barletius (l. x.).

hero's glory ; yet, had he balanced the consequences of submission and resistance, a patriot, perhaps, would have declined the unequal contest which must depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderbeg might indeed be supported by the rational though fallacious hope that the pope, the king of Naples, and the Venetian republic would join in the defence of a free and Christian people, who guarded the sea-coast of the Adriatic and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy. His infant son was saved from the national shipwreck ; the Castriots were invested with a Neapolitan dukedom, and their blood continues to flow in the noblest families of the realm. A colony of Albanian fugitives obtained a settlement in Calabria, and they preserve at this day the language and manners of their ancestors.

In the long career of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I have reached at length the last reign of the princes of Constantinople, who so feebly sustained the name and majesty of the Cæsars. On the decease of John Palæologus, who survived about four years the Hungarian crusade,³⁷ the royal family, by the death of Andronicus and the monastic profession of Isidore, was reduced to three princes, Constantine, Demetrius, and Thomas, the surviving sons of the emperor Manuel. Of these the first and the last were far distant in the Morea ; but Demetrius, who possessed the domain of Selymbria, was in the suburbs, at the head of a party ; his ambition was not chilled by the public distress ; and his conspiracy with the Turks and the schismatics had already disturbed the peace of his country. The funeral of the late emperor was accelerated with singular and even suspicious haste ; the claim of Demetrius to the vacant throne was justified by a trite and flimsy sophism,

³⁵ The chronology of Phranza is clear and authentic ; but, instead of four years and seven months, Spondanus (A.D. 1445, No. 7) assigns seven or eight years to the reign of the last Constantine, which he deduces from a spurious epistle of Eugenius IV. to the king of Ethiopia.

that he was born in the purple, the eldest son of his father's reign. But the empress-mother, the senate and soldiers, the clergy and people, were unanimous in the cause of the lawful successor; and the despot Thomas, who, ignorant of the change, accidentally returned to the capital, asserted with becoming zeal the interest of his absent brother. An ambassador, the historian Phranza, was immediately despatched to the court of Hadrianople. Amurath received him with honour, and dismissed him with gifts; but the gracious approbation of the Turkish sultan announced his supremacy, and the approaching downfall of the Eastern empire. By the hands of two illustrious deputies the Imperial crown was placed at Sparta on the head of Constantine. In the spring he sailed from the Morea, escaped the encounter of a Turkish squadron, enjoyed the acclamations of his subjects, celebrated the festival of a new reign, and exhausted by his donatives the treasure, or rather the indigence, of the state. The emperor immediately resigned to his brothers the possession of the Morea, and the brittle friendship of the two princes, Demetrius and Thomas, was confirmed in their mother's presence by the frail security of oaths and embraces. His next occupation was the choice of a consort. A daughter of the doge of Venice had been proposed: but the Byzantine nobles objected the distance between an hereditary monarch and an elective magistrate; and in their subsequent distress the chief of that powerful republic was not unmindful of the affront. Constantine afterwards hesitated between the royal families of Trebizond and Georgia; and the embassy of Phranza represents in his public and private life the last days of the Byzantine empire.³⁶

The *protovestiare*, or great chamberlain, Phranza, sailed from Constantinople as minister of a bridegroom; and the relics of wealth and luxury were applied to his pompous appearance. His numerous

³⁶ Phranza (l. iii. c. 1-6) deserves credit and esteem.

retinue consisted of nobles and guards, of physicians and monks; he was attended by a band of music; and the term of his costly embassy was protracted above two years. On his arrival in Georgia or Iberia, the natives from the towns and villages flocked around the strangers; and such was their simplicity that they were delighted with the effects, without understanding the cause, of musical harmony. Among the crowd was an old man, above an hundred years of age, who had formerly been carried away a captive by the barbarians,³⁷ and who amused his hearers with a tale of the wonders of India,³⁸ from whence he had returned to Portugal by an unknown sea.³⁹ From this hospitable land Phranza proceeded to the court of Trebizond, where he was informed by the Greek prince of the recent decease of Amurath. Instead of rejoicing in the deliverance, the experienced statesman expressed his apprehension that an ambitious youth would not long adhere to the sage and pacific system of his father. After the sultan's decease, his Christian wife Maria,⁴⁰ the daughter of the Servian despot, had been

³⁷ Suppose him to have been captured in 1394, in Timour's first war in Georgia (Sherefeddin, l. iii. c. 50), he might follow his Tartar master into Hindostan in 1398, and from thence sail to the spice-islands.

³⁸ The happy and pious Indians lived 150 years, and enjoyed the most perfect productions of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The animals were on a large scale: dragons seventy cubits, ants (the *formica Indica*) nine inches long, sheep like elephants, elephants like sheep. Quidlibet audendi, &c.

³⁹ He sailed in a country vessel from the spice-islands to one of the ports of the exterior India; invenitque navem grandem *Ibericam*, quâ in *Portugalliam* est delatus. This passage, composed in 1477 (Phranza, l. iii. c. 30), twenty years before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, is spurious or wonderful. But this new geography is sullied by the old and incompatible error which places the source of the Nile in India.

⁴⁰ Cantemir (p. 83), who styles her the daughter of Lazarus Ogli, and the Helen of the Servians, places her marriage with Amurath in the year 1424. It will not easily be believed that in six-and-twenty years' cohabitation the Sultan corpus ejus non tetigit. After the taking of Constantinople, she fled to Mahomet II. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 22).

honourably restored to her parents : on the fame of her beauty and merit, she was recommended by the ambassador as the most worthy object of the royal choice ; and Phranza recapitulates and refutes the specious objections that might be raised against the proposal. The majesty of the purple would ennoble an unequal alliance ; the bar of affinity might be removed by liberal alms and the dispensation of the church ; the disgrace of Turkish nuptials had been repeatedly overlooked ; and, though the fair Maria was near fifty years of age, she might yet hope to give an heir to the empire. Constantine listened to the advice, which was transmitted in the first ship that sailed from Trebizond ; but the factions of the court opposed his marriage ; and it was finally prevented by the pious vow of the sultana, who ended her days in the monastic profession. Reduced to the first alternative, the choice of Phranza was decided in favour of a Georgian princess ; and the vanity of her father was dazzled by the glorious alliance. Instead of demanding, according to the primitive and national custom, a price for his daughter,⁴¹ he offered a portion of fifty-six thousand, with an annual pension of five thousand ducats ; and the services of the ambassador were repaid by an assurance that, as his son had been adopted in baptism by the emperor, the establishment of his daughter should be the peculiar care of the empress of Constantinople. On the return of Phranza the treaty was ratified by the Greek monarch, who with his own hand impressed three vermilion crosses on the golden bull, and assured the Georgian envoy that in the spring his galleys should conduct the bride to her Imperial palace. But Constantine embraced his faithful servant, not with the cold approbation of a sovereign, but with the warm confidence of a friend, who, after a long absence, is impatient to pour his secrets into the bosom of his friend. “ Since the death of my mother and of Cantacuzene, who alone

⁴¹ The classical reader will recollect the offers of Agamemnon (Iliad, I., v. 144) and the general practice of antiquity.

advised me without interest or passion,⁴² I am surrounded," said the emperor, "by men whom I can neither love nor trust nor esteem. You are not a stranger to Lucas Notaras, the great admiral: obstinately attached to his own sentiments, he declares, both in private and public, that his sentiments are the absolute measure of my thoughts and actions. The rest of the courtiers are swayed by their personal or factious views; and how can I consult the monks on questions of policy and marriage? I have yet much employment for your diligence and fidelity. In the spring you shall engage one of my brothers to solicit the succour of the Western powers; from the Morea you shall sail to Cyprus on a particular commission; and from thence proceed to Georgia to receive and conduct the future empress." "Your commands," replied Phranza, "are irresistible; but deign, great Sir," he added, with a serious smile, "to consider that, if I am thus perpetually absent from my family, my wife may be tempted either to seek another husband or to throw herself into a monastery." After laughing at his apprehensions, the emperor more gravely consoled him by the pleasing assurance that *this* should be his last service abroad, and that he destined for his son a wealthy and noble heiress; for himself, the important office of great logothete, or principal minister of state. The marriage was immediately stipulated; but the office, however incompatible with his own, had been usurped by the ambition of the admiral. Some delay was requisite to negotiate a consent and an equivalent; and the nomination of Phranza was half declared and half suppressed, lest it might be displeasing to an insolent and powerful favourite. The winter was spent in the preparations of his embassy; and Phranza had resolved

⁴² Cantacuzene (I am ignorant of his relation to the emperor of that name) was a great domestic, a firm assertor of the Greek creed, and a brother of the queen of Servia, whom he visited with the character of ambassador (Syropulus, pp. 37, 38, 45).

that the youth his son should embrace this opportunity of foreign travel, and be left, on the appearance of danger, with his maternal kindred of the Morea. Such were the private and public designs, which were interrupted by a Turkish war, and finally buried in the ruins of the empire.

CHAPTER LXVIII

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

THE siege of Constantinople by the Turks attracts our first attention to the person and character of the great destroyer. Mahomet the Second was the son of the second Amurath; and, though his mother has been decorated with the titles of Christian and princess, she is more probably confounded with the numerous concubines who peopled from every climate the haram of the sultan. His first education and sentiments were those of a devout Musulman; and, as often as he conversed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Age and empire appear to have relaxed this narrow bigotry; his aspiring genius disdained to acknowledge a power above his own; and in his looser hours he presumed (it is said) to brand the prophet of Mecca as a robber and impostor. Yet the Sultan persevered in a decent reverence for the doctrine and discipline of the Koran:¹ his private indiscretion must have been sacred from the vulgar ear; and we should suspect the credulity of strangers and sectaries, so prone to

¹ Cantemir (p. 115), and the mosques which he founded, attest his public regard for religion. Mahomet freely disputed with the patriarch Gennadius on the two religions (Spond. A. D. 1453, No. 22).

believe that a mind which is hardened against truth must be armed with superior contempt for absurdity and error. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters, Mahomet advanced with an early and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and, besides his native tongue, it is affirmed that he spoke or understood five languages, the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldæan or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. The Persian might, indeed, contribute to his amusement, and the Arabic to his edification; and such studies are familiar to the Oriental youth. In the intercourse of the Greeks and Turks, a conqueror might wish to converse with the people over whom he was ambitious to reign: his own praises in Latin poetry² or prose³ might find a passage to the royal ear; but what use or merit could recommend to the statesman or the scholar the uncouth dialect of his Hebrew slaves? The history and geography of the world were familiar to his memory: the lives of the heroes of the East, perhaps of the West,⁴ excited his emulation: his skill in astrology is excused by the folly of the times, and supposes some rudiments of mathematical science; and a profane taste for the arts is betrayed in his liberal invitation and reward

² Philelphus, by a Latin ode, requested and obtained the liberty of his wife's mother and sisters from the conqueror of Constantinople. It was delivered into the sultan's hands by the envoys of the duke of Milan. Philelphus himself was suspected of a design of retiring to Constantinople; yet the orator often sounded the trumpet of holy war (see his *Life* by M. Lancelot, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. x. pp. 718, 724, &c.).

³ Robert Valturio published at Verona, in 1483, his twelve books, *de Re Militari*, in which he first mentions the use of bombs. By his patron Sigismund Malatesta, prince of Rimini, it had been addressed with a Latin epistle to Mahomet II.

⁴ According to Phranza, he assiduously studied the lives and actions of Alexander, Augustus, Constantine, and Theodosius. I have read somewhere that Plutarch's *Lives* were translated by his orders into the Turkish language. If the sultan himself understood Greek, it must have been for the benefit of his subjects. Yet these *Lives* are a school of freedom as well as of valour.

of the painters of Italy.⁵ But the influence of religion and learning were employed without effect on his savage and licentious nature. I will not transcribe, nor do I firmly believe, the stories of his fourteen pages, whose bellies were ripped open in search of a stolen melon; or of the beauteous slave, whose head he severed from her body, to convince the Janizaries that their master was not the votary of love. His sobriety is attested by the silence of the Turkish annals, which accuse three, and three only, of the Ottoman line of the vice of drunkenness.⁶ But it cannot be denied that his passions were at once furious and inexorable; that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was spilt on the slightest provocation; and that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural lust. In the Albanian war, he studied the lessons, and soon surpassed the example, of his father; and the conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, a vain and flattering account, is ascribed to his invincible sword. He was doubtless a soldier, and possibly a general; Constantinople has sealed his glory; but, if we compare the means, the obstacles, and the achievements, Mahomet the Second must blush to sustain a parallel with Alexander or Timour. Under his command, the Ottoman forces were always more numerous than their enemies; yet their progress was bounded by the Euphrates and the Adriatic; and his arms were checked by Huniades and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights, and by the Persian king.

In the reign of Amurath, he twice tasted of royalty,

⁵ The famous Gentile Bellino, whom he had invited from Venice, was dismissed with a chain and collar of gold, and a purse of 3000 ducats. With Voltaire I laugh at the foolish story of a slave purposely beheaded, to instruct the painter in the action of the muscles.

⁶ These Imperial drunkards were Soliman I., Selim II., and Amurath IV. (Cantemir, p. 61). The sophis of Persia can produce a more regular succession; and in the last age our European travellers were the witnesses and the companions of their revels.

and twice descended from the throne ; his tender age was incapable of opposing his father's restoration, but never could he forgive the vizirs who had recommended that salutary measure. His nuptials were celebrated with the daughter of a Turkman emir ; and, after a festival of two months, he departed from Hadrianople with his bride to reside in the government of Magnesia. Before the end of six weeks, he was recalled by a sudden message from the divan, which announced the decease of Amurath and the mutinous spirit of the Janizaries. His speed and vigour commanded their obedience : he passed the Hellespont with a chosen guard ; and, at the distance of a mile from Hadrianople, the vizirs and emirs, the imams and cadhis, the soldiers and the people, fell prostrate before the new sultan. They affected to weep, they affected to rejoice : he ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one years, and removed the cause of sedition by the death, the inevitable death, of his infant brothers.⁷ The ambassadors of Europe and Asia soon appeared to congratulate his accession, and solicit his friendship, and to all he spoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the solemn oaths and fair assurances with which he sealed the ratification of the treaty ; and a rich domain on the banks of the Strymon was assigned for the annual payment of three hundred thousand aspers, the pension of an Ottoman prince who was detained at his request in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbours of Mahomet might tremble at the severity with which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp of his father's household : the expenses of luxury were applied to those of

⁷ Calapin, one of these royal infants, was saved from his cruel brother, and baptized at Rome under the name of Callistus Othomannus. The emperor Frederic III. presented him with an estate in Austria, where he ended his life ; and Cuspinian, who in his youth conversed with the aged prince at Vienna, applauds his piety and wisdom (*de Cæsaribus*, pp. 672, 673).

ambition, and an useless train of seven thousand falconers was either dismissed from his service or enlisted in his troops. In the first summer of his reign, he visited with an army the Asiatic provinces ; but, after humbling the pride, Mahomet accepted the submission, of the Caramanian, that he might not be diverted by the smallest obstacle from the execution of his great design.

The Mahometan, and more especially the Turkish, casuists have pronounced that no promise can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion, and that the sultan may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors. The justice and magnanimity of Amurath had scorned this immoral privilege ; but his son, though the proudest of men, could stoop from ambition to the basest arts of dissimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart : he incessantly sighed for the possession of Constantinople ; and the Greeks, by their own indiscretion, afforded the first pretence of the fatal rupture. Instead of labouring to be forgotten, their ambassadors pursued his camp, to demand the payment and even the increase of their annual stipend : the divan was importuned by their complaints, and the vizir, a secret friend of the Christians, was constrained to deliver the sense of his brethren. “Ye foolish and miserable Romans,” said Calil, “we know your devices, and ye are ignorant of your own danger ! the scrupulous Amurath is no more ; his throne is occupied by a young conqueror, whom no laws can bind and no obstacles can resist : and, if you escape from his hands, give praise to the divine clemency, which yet delays the chastisement of your sins. Why do ye seek to affright us by vain and indirect menaces ? Release the fugitive Orchan, crown him sultan of Romania, call the Hungarians from beyond the Danube, arm against us the nations of the West, and be assured that you will only provoke and precipitate your ruin.” But, if the fears of the ambassadors were alarmed by the stern language

of the vizir, they were soothed by the courteous audience and friendly speeches of the Ottoman prince; and Mahomet assured them that on his return to Adrianople he would redress the grievances, and consult the true interests, of the Greeks. No sooner had he repassed the Hellespont than he issued a mandate to suppress their pension and to expel their officers from the banks of the Strymon: in this measure he betrayed an hostile mind; and the second order announced, and in some degree commenced, the siege of Constantinople. In the narrow pass of the Bosphorus, an Asiatic fortress had formerly been raised by his grandfather: in the opposite situation, on the European side, he resolved to erect a more formidable castle; and a thousand masons were commanded to assemble in the spring, on a spot named Asomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis.⁸ Persuasion is the resource of the feeble; and the feeble can seldom persuade: the ambassadors of the emperor attempted, without success, to divert Mahomet from the execution of his design. They represented, that his grandfather had solicited the permission of Manuel to build a castle on his own territories; but that this double fortification, which would command the strait, could only tend to violate the alliance of the nations, to intercept the Latins who traded in the Black Sea, and perhaps to annihilate the subsistence of the city. "I form no enterprise," replied the perfidious sultan, "against the city; but the empire of Constantinople is measured by her walls. Have you forgot the distress to which my father was reduced, when you formed a league with the Hungarians; when they invaded our country by land,

⁸ The situation of the fortress, and the topography of the Bosphorus, are best learned from Peter Gyllius (*de Bosphoro Thracio*, l. ii. c. 13), Leunclavius (*Pandect.* p. 445), and Tournefort (*Voyage dans le Levant*, tom. ii. lettre xv. pp. 443, 444); but I must regret the map or plan which Tournefort sent to the French minister of the marine. The reader may turn back to chap. xvii. of this history.

and the Hellespont was occupied by the French galleys? Amurath was compelled to force the passage of the Bosphorus; and your strength was not equal to your malevolence. I was then a child at Hadrianople; the Moslems trembled; and for a while the *Gabours*⁹ insulted our disgrace. But, when my father had triumphed in the field of Warna, he vowed to erect a fort on the western shore, and that vow it is my duty to accomplish. Have ye the right, have ye the power, to control my actions on my own ground? For that ground *is* my own: as far as the shores of the Bosphorus, Asia is inhabited by the Turks, and Europe is deserted by the Romans. Return, and inform your king that the present Ottoman is far different from his predecessors; that *his* resolutions surpass *their* wishes; and that *he* performs more than *they* could resolve. Return in safety; but the next who delivers a similar message may expect to be flayed alive." After this declaration, Constantine, the first of the Greeks in spirit as in rank, had determined to unsheath the sword, and to resist the approach and establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus. He was disarmed by the advice of his civil and ecclesiastical ministers, who recommended a system less generous, and even less prudent, than his own, to approve their patience and longsuffering, to brand the Ottoman with the name and guilt of an aggressor, and to depend on chance and time for their own safety and the destruction of a fort which could not be long maintained in the neighbourhood of a great and populous city. Amidst hope and fear, the fears of the wise and

⁹ The opprobrious name which the Turks bestow on the Infidels is expressed *Καβουρ* by Ducas, and *Giaour* by Leunclavius and the moderns. The former term is derived by Ducange (Gloss. Græc. tom. i. p. 530) from *καβουρον*, in vulgar Greek a tortoise, as denoting a retrograde motion from the faith. But, alas! *Gabour* is no more than *Gheber*, which was transferred from the Persian to the Turkish language, from the worshippers of fire to those of the crucifix (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 375).

the hopes of the credulous, the winter rolled away ; the proper business of each man, and each hour, was postponed ; and the Greeks shut their eyes against the impending danger, till the arrival of the spring and the sultan decided the assurance of their ruin.

Of a master who never forgives, the orders are seldom disobeyed. On the twenty-sixth of March, the appointed spot of Asomaton was covered with an active swarm of Turkish artificers : and the materials by sea and land were diligently transported from Europe and Asia.¹⁰ The lime had been burnt in Cataphrygia, the timber was cut down in the woods of Heraclea and Nicomedia, and the stones were dug from the Anatolian quarries. Each of the thousand masons was assisted by two workmen ; and a measure of two cubits was marked for their daily task. The fortress¹¹ was built in a triangular form ; each angle was flanked by a strong and massy tower ; one on the declivity of the hill, two along the sea-shore ; a thickness of twenty-two feet was assigned for the walls, thirty for the towers ; and the whole building was covered with a solid platform of lead. Mahomet himself pressed and directed the work with indefatigable ardour : his three vizirs claimed the honour of finishing their respective towers ; the zeal of the cadhis emulated that of the Janizaries ; the meanest labour was ennobled by the service of God and the sultan ; and the diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a despot, whose smile was the hope of fortune, and whose frown was the messenger of death. The Greek emperor beheld with terror the irresistible progress of the work ; and vainly strove, by flattery and gifts, to assuage an

¹⁰ Instead of this clear and consistent account, the Turkish Annals (Cantemir, p. 97) revived the foolish tale of the ox's hide, and Dido's stratagem in the foundation of Carthage. These annals (unless we are swayed by an antichristian prejudice) are far less valuable than the Greek historians.

¹¹ In the dimensions of this fortress, the old castle of Europe, Phranza does not exactly agree with Chalcondyles, whose description has been verified on the spot by his editor Leunclavius.

implacable foe, who sought, and secretly fomented, the slightest occasion of a quarrel. Such occasions must soon and inevitably be found. The ruins of stately churches, and even the marble columns which had been consecrated to St. Michael the archangel, were employed without scruple by the profane and rapacious Moslems; and some Christians, who presumed to oppose the removal, received from their hands the crown of martyrdom. Constantine had solicited a Turkish guard to protect the fields and harvests of his subjects: the guard was fixed; but their first order was to allow free pasture to the mules and horses of the camp, and to defend their brethren if they should be molested by the natives. The retinue of an Ottoman chief had left their horses to pass the night among the ripe corn: the damage was felt; the insult was resented; and several of both nations were slain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet listened with joy to the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village: the guilty had fled; but forty innocent and unsuspecting reapers were massacred by the soldiers. Till this provocation, Constantinople had been open to the visits of commerce and curiosity: on the first alarm, the gates were shut; but the emperor, still anxious for peace, released on the third day his Turkish captives,¹² and expressed, in a last message, the firm resignation of a Christian and a soldier. "Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission, can secure peace, pursue," said he to Mahomet, "your impious warfare. My trust is in God alone: if it should please Him to mollify your heart, I shall rejoice in the happy change; if He delivers the city into your hands, I submit without a murmur to His Holy will. But, until the Judge of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my people." The sultan's answer was hostile and decisive; his fortifications were com-

¹² Among these were some pages of Mahomet, so conscious of his inexorable rigour that they begged to lose their heads in the city unless they could return before sunset.

pleted ; and before his departure for Hadrianople he stationed a vigilant Aga and four hundred Janizaries to levy a tribute of the ships of every nation that should pass within the reach of their cannon. A Venetian vessel, refusing obedience to the new lords of the Bosphorus, was sunk with a single bullet. The master and thirty sailors escaped in the boat ; but they were dragged in chains to the *Porte* ; the chief was impaled ; his companions were beheaded ; and the historian Ducas beheld, at Demotica, their bodies exposed to the wild beasts. The siege of Constantinople was deferred till the ensuing spring ; but an Ottoman army marched into the Morea to divert the force of the brothers of Constantine. At this æra of calamity, one of these princes, the despot Thomas, was blessed or afflicted with the birth of a son—"the last heir," says the plaintive Phranza, "of the last spark of the Roman empire."

The Greeks and the Turks passed an anxious and sleepless winter : the former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes ; both by the preparations of defence and attack ; and the two emperors, who had the most to lose or to gain, were the most deeply affected by the national sentiment. In Mahomet, that sentiment was inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper : he amused his leisure with building at Hadrianople¹³ the lofty palace of Jehan Numa (the watch-tower of the world) ; but his serious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conquest of the city of Cæsar. At the dead of night, about the second watch, he started from his bed, and commanded the instant attendance of his prime vizir. The message, the hour, the prince, and his own situation alarmed the guilty conscience of Calil Basha, who had possessed the confidence, and advised the restoration, of Amurath. On the accession of the son, the

¹³ Cantemir, pp. 97, 98. The sultan was either doubtful of his conquest or ignorant of the superior merits of Constantinople. A city or a kingdom may sometimes be ruined by the Imperial fortune of their sovereign.

vizir was confirmed in his office and the appearances of favour ; but the veteran statesman was not insensible that he trode on a thin and slippery ice, which might break under his footsteps and plunge him in the abyss. His friendship for the Christians, which might be innocent under the late reign, had stigmatised him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or foster brother of the infidels ;¹⁴ and his avarice entertained a venal and treasonable correspondence, which was detected and punished after the conclusion of the war. On receiving the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the last time, his wife and children ; filled up a cup with pieces of gold, hastened to the palace, adored the sultan, and offered, according to the Oriental custom, the slight tribute of his duty and gratitude.¹⁵ “ It is not my wish,” said Mahomet, “ to resume my gifts, but rather to heap and multiply them on thy head. In my turn, I ask a present far more valuable and important,—Constantinople.” As soon as the vizir had recovered from his surprise, “ The same God,” said he, “ who has already given thee so large a portion of the Roman empire, will not deny the remnant, and the capital. His providence and thy power assure thy success ; and myself, with the rest of thy faithful slaves, will sacrifice our lives and fortunes.”—“ Lala ”¹⁶

¹⁴ *Σύντροφος*, by the president Cousin, is translated *père nourricier*, most correctly indeed from the Latin version ; but in his haste he has overlooked the note by which Ismael Boillaud (ad Ducam, c. 35) acknowledges and rectifies his own error.

¹⁵ The Oriental custom of never appearing without gifts before a sovereign or a superior is of high antiquity, and seems analogous with the idea of sacrifice, still more ancient and universal. See the examples of such Persian gifts, *Ælian*, *Hist. Var.* l. i. c. 31-33.

¹⁶ The *Lala* of the Turks (*Cantemir*, p. 34) and the *Tata* of the Greeks (*Ducas*, c. 35) are derived from the natural language of children ; and it may be observed that all such primitive words which denote their parents are the simple repetition of one syllable, composed of a labial or dental consonant and an open vowel (des Brosses, *Mécanisme des Langues*, tom. i. pp. 231-247).

(or preceptor), continued the sultan, “do you see this pillow? all the night, in my agitation, I have pulled it on one side and the other; I have risen from my bed, again have I lain down; yet sleep has not visited these weary eyes. Beware of the gold and silver of the Romans: in arms we are superior; and with the aid of God, and the prayers of the prophet, we shall speedily become masters of Constantinople.” To sound the disposition of his soldiers, he often wandered through the streets alone and in disguise; and it was fatal to discover the sultan, when he wished to escape from the vulgar eye. His hours were spent in delineating the plan of the hostile city; in debating with his generals and engineers, on what spot he should erect his batteries; on which side he should assault the walls; where he should spring his mines; to what place he should apply his scaling-ladders; and the exercises of the day repeated and proved the lucubrations of the night.

Among the implements of destruction, he studied with peculiar care the recent and tremendous discovery of the Latins; and his artillery surpassed whatever had yet appeared in the world. A founder of cannon, a Dane or Hungarian, who had been almost starved in the Greek service, deserted to the Moslems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkish sultan. Mahomet was satisfied with the answer to his first question, which he eagerly pressed on the artist. “Am I able to cast a cannon capable of throwing a ball or stone of sufficient size to batter the walls of Constantinople? I am not ignorant of their strength, but, were they more solid than those of Babylon, I could oppose an engine of superior power; the position and management of that engine must be left to your engineers.” On this assurance, a foundry was established at Hadrianople: the metal was prepared; and, at the end of three months, Urban produced a piece of brass ordnance of stupendous and almost incredible magnitude; a measure of twelve palms is assigned to the bore; and the stone bullet

weighed above six hundred pounds.¹⁷ A vacant place before the new palace was chosen for the first experiment; but, to prevent the sudden and mischievous effects of astonishment and fear, a proclamation was issued that the cannon would be discharged the ensuing day. The explosion was felt or heard in the circuit of an hundred furlongs: the ball, by the force of gunpowder, was driven above a mile; and on the spot where it fell, it buried itself a fathom deep in the ground. For the conveyance of this destructive engine, a frame or carriage of thirty waggons was linked together and drawn along by a team of sixty oxen: two hundred men on both sides were stationed to poise and support the rolling weight; two hundred and fifty workmen marched before to smooth the way and repair the bridges; and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred and fifty miles. A lively¹⁸ philosopher derides, on this occasion, the credulity of the Greeks, and observes, with much reason, that we should always distrust the exaggerations of a vanquished people. He calculates that a ball, even of two hundred pounds, would require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder; and that the stroke would be feeble and impotent, since not a fifteenth part of the mass could be inflamed at the same moment. A stranger as I am to the art of destruction, I can discern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal; the quickness of the fire to the sound, or even the consequence, of a single explosion. Yet I dare not

¹⁷ The Attic talent weighed about sixty minæ, or avoirdupois pounds (see Hooper on Ancient Weights, Measures, &c.); but among the Modern Greeks that classic appellation was extended to a weight of one hundred or one hundred and twenty-five pounds (Ducange, *τάλαντον*). Leonardus Chiensis measured the ball or stone of the *second* cannon: Lapidem, qui palmis undecim ex meis ambibat in gyro.

¹⁸ See Voltaire (*Hist. Générale*, c. xci. pp. 294, 295). He was ambitious of universal monarchy, and the poet frequently aspires to the name and style of an astronomer, a chemist, &c.

reject the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers; nor can it seem improbable that the first artists, in their rude and ambitious efforts, should have transgressed the standard of moderation. A Turkish cannon, more enormous than that of Mahomet, still guards the entrance of the Dardanelles; and, if the use be inconvenient, it has been found on a late trial that the effect was far from contemptible. A stone bullet of *eleven* hundred pounds weight was once discharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powder; at the distance of six hundred yards, it shivered into three rocky fragments, traversed the strait, and, leaving the waters in a foam, again rose and bounded against the opposite hill.¹⁹

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the East, the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the assistance of earth and heaven. But the invisible powers were deaf to his supplications; and Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople, while she derived at least some promise of supply from the jealous and temporal policy of the sultan of Egypt. Some states were too weak, and others too remote; by some the danger was considered as imaginary, by others as inevitable: the Western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas the Fifth had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was softened by the last extremity of their distress; but his compassion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Constantinople had fallen, before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from

¹⁹ The Baron de Tott (tom. iii. pp. 85-89), who fortified the Dardanelles against the Russians, describes in a lively, and even comic, strain his own prowess and the consternation of the Turks. But that adventurous traveller does not possess the art of gaining our confidence.

their harbours. Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek islands affected a cold neutrality: the Genoese colony of Galata negotiated a private treaty; and the sultan indulged them in the delusive hope that by his clemency they might survive the ruin of the empire. A plebeian crowd, and some Byzantine nobles, basely withdrew from the danger of their country; and the avarice of the rich denied the emperor, and reserved for the Turks, the secret treasures which might have raised in their defence whole armies of mercenaries.²⁰ The indigent and solitary prince prepared, however, to sustain his formidable adversary; but, if his courage were equal to the peril, his strength was inadequate to the contest. In the beginning of the spring, the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages as far as the gates of Constantinople: submission was spared and protected; whatever presumed to resist was exterminated with fire and sword. The Greek places on the Black Sea, Mesembria, Acheloum, and Bizon, surrendered on the first summons; Selymbria alone deserved the honours of a siege or blockade; and the bold inhabitants, while they were invested by land, launched their boats, pillaged the opposite coast of Cyzicus, and sold their captives in the public market. But on the approach of Mahomet himself all was silent and prostrate; he first halted at the distance of five miles; and from thence advancing in battle array, planted before the gate of St. Romanus the Imperial standard; and, on the sixth day of April, formed the memorable siege of Constantinople.

The troops of Asia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbour;

²⁰ Antonin. in Prooem.—Epist. Cardinal. Isidor. apud Spondanum; and Dr. Johnson, in the tragedy of Irene, has happily seized this characteristic circumstance:—

The groaning Greeks dig up the golden caverns,
The accumulated wealth of hoarding ages;
That wealth which, granted to their weeping prince,
Had rang'd embattled nations at their gates.

the Janizaries in the front were stationed before the sultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep entrenchment; and a subordinate army enclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philelphus, who resided in Greece about thirty years before the siege, is confident that all the Turkish forces, of any name or value, could not exceed the number of sixty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; and he upbraids the pusillanimity of the nations who had tamely yielded to a handful of barbarians. Such, indeed, might be the regular establishment of the *Capiculi*,²¹ the troops of the Porte who marched with the prince and were paid from his royal treasury. But the bashaws, in their respective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of spoil; and the sound of the holy trumpet invited a swarm of hungry and fearless fanatics, who might contribute at least to multiply the terrors, and in a first attack to blunt the swords, of the Christians. The whole mass of the Turkish powers is magnified by Ducas, Chalcondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thousand men; but Phranza was a less remote and more accurate judge; and his precise definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand does not exceed the measure of experience and probability.²² The navy of the besiegers was less formidable: the Propontis was overspread with three hundred and

²¹ The palatine troops are styled *Capiculi*, the provincials, *Seratculi*; and most of the names and institutions of the Turkish militia existed before the *Canon Nameh* of Soliman II., from which, and his own experience, Count Marsigli has composed his *Military State of the Ottoman empire*.

²² The observation of Philelphus is approved by Cuspinian in the year 1508 (de Cæsaribus, in Epilog. de Militiâ Turcicâ, p. 697). Marsigli proves that the effective armies of the Turks are much less numerous than they appear. In the army that besieged Constantinople, Leonardus Chiensis reckons no more than 15,000 Janizaries.

twenty sail ; but of these no more than eighteen could be rated as galleys of war ; and the far greater part must be degraded to the condition of storeships and transports, which poured into the camp fresh supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions. In her last decay, Constantinople was still peopled with more than an hundred thousand inhabitants ; but these numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity ; and they mostly consisted of mechanics, of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety. I can suppose, I could almost excuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a distant frontier, at the will of a tyrant ; but the man who dares not expose his life in the defence of his children and his property has lost in society the first and most active energies of nature. By the emperor's command, a particular inquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lists were entrusted to Phranza ; and, after a diligent addition, he informed his master, with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy *Romans*. Between Constantine and his faithful minister, this comfortless secret was preserved ; and a sufficient proportion of shields, cross-bows, and muskets was distributed from the arsenal to the city-bands. They derived some accession from a body of two thousand strangers, under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese ; a liberal donative was advanced to these auxiliaries ; and a princely recompense, the isle of Lemnos, was promised to the valour and victory of their chief. A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour ; it was supported by some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchandise ; and the ships of every Christian nation, that successively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public service. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire,

a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of sixteen, miles was defended by a scanty garrison of seven or eight thousand soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers; but the strength and provisions of the Greeks must sustain a daily decrease; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succour or supply.

The primitive Romans would have drawn their swords in the resolution of death or conquest. The primitive Christians might have embraced each other, and awaited in patience and charity the stroke of martyrdom. But the Greeks of Constantinople were animated only by the spirit of religion, and that spirit was productive only of animosity and discord. Before his death, the emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of an union with the Latins; nor was the idea revived, till the distress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation.²³ With the demand of temporal aid, his ambassadors were instructed to mingle the assurance of spiritual obedience: his neglect of the church was excused by the urgent cares of the state; and his orthodox wishes solicited the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican had been too often deluded; yet the signs of repentance could not decently be overlooked; a legate was more easily granted than an army; and, about six months before the final destruction, the cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that character with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and father; respectfully listened to his public and private sermons; and with the most obsequious of the clergy and laymen subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the twelfth of December, the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; and the

²³ In Spondanus, the narrative of the union is not only partial but imperfect. The bishop of Pamiers died in 1642, and the history of Ducas, which represents these scenes (c. 36, 37) with such truth and spirit, was not printed till the year 1649.

names of the two pontiffs were solemnly commemorated : the names of Nicholas the Fifth, the vicar of Christ, and of the patriarch Gregory, who had been driven into exile by a rebellious people.

But the dress and language of the Latin priest who officiated at the altar were an object of scandal ; and it was observed with horror that he consecrated a cake or wafer of *unleavened* bread and poured cold water into the cup of the sacrament. A national historian acknowledges with a blush that none of his countrymen, not the emperor himself, were sincere in this occasional conformity. Their hasty and unconditional submission was palliated by a promise of future revisal ; but the best or the worst of their excuses was the confession of their own perjury. When they were pressed by the reproaches of their honest brethren, "Have patience," they whispered, "have patience till God shall have delivered the city from the great dragon who seeks to devour us. You shall then perceive whether we are truly reconciled with the Azymites." But patience is not the attribute of zeal ; nor can the arts of a court be adapted to the freedom and violence of popular enthusiasm. From the dome of St. Sophia, the inhabitants of either sex and of every degree rushed in crowds to the cell of the monk Gennadius,²⁴ to consult the oracle of the church. The holy man was invisible ; entranced, as it should seem, in deep meditation or divine rapture ; but he had exposed on the door of his cell a speaking tablet ; and they successively withdrew, after reading these tremendous words : "O miserable Romans ! why will ye abandon the truth ? and why, instead of confiding

²⁴ His primitive and secular name was George Scholarius, which he changed for that of Gennadius, either when he became a monk or a patriarch. His defence, at Florence, of the same union which he so furiously attacked at Constantinople, has tempted Leo Allatius (*Diatrib. de Georgiis*, in *Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. pp. 760-786*) to divide him into two men ; but Renaudot (*pp. 343-383*) has restored the identity of his person, and the duplicity of his character.

in God, will ye put your trust in the Italians? In losing your faith, you will lose your city. Have mercy on me, O Lord! I protest, in thy presence, that I am innocent of the crime. O miserable Romans! consider, pause, and repent. At the same moment that you renounce the religion of your fathers, by embracing impiety, you submit to a foreign servitude." According to the advice of Gennadius, the religious virgins, as pure as angels and as proud as dæmons, rejected the act of union and abjured all communion with the present and future associates of the Latins; and their example was applauded and imitated by the greatest part of the clergy and people. From the monastery, the devout Greeks dispersed themselves in the taverns; drank confusion to the slaves of the pope; emptied their glasses in honour of the image of the holy Virgin; and besought her to defend against Mahomet the city which she had formerly saved from Chosroes and the Chagan. In the double intoxication of zeal and wine, they valiantly exclaimed, "What occasion have we for succour, or union, or Latins? far from us be the worship of the Azymites!" During the winter that preceded the Turkish conquest, the nation was distracted by this epidemical frenzy; and the season of Lent, the approach of Easter, instead of breathing charity and love, served only to fortify the obstinacy and influence of the zealots. The confessors scrutinised and alarmed the conscience of their votaries, and a rigorous penance was imposed on those who had received the communion from a priest who had given an express or tacit consent to the union. His service at the altar propagated the infection to the mute and simple spectators of the ceremony; they forfeited, by the impure spectacle, the virtue of their sacerdotal character; nor was it lawful, even in danger of sudden death, to invoke the assistance of their prayers or absolution. No sooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin sacrifice than it was deserted as a Jewish synagogue, or an heathen temple,

by the clergy and people; and a vast and gloomy silence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had so often smoked with a cloud of incense, blazed with innumerable lights, and resounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. The Latins were the most odious of heretics and infidels; and the first minister of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare that he had rather behold, in Constantinople, the turban of Mahomet than the pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat.²⁵ A sentiment so unworthy of Christians and patriots was familiar and fatal to the Greeks: the emperor was deprived of the affection and support of his subjects; and their native cowardice was sanctified by resignation to the divine decree or the visionary hope of a miraculous deliverance.

Of the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople, the two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy: the Propontis by nature, and the harbour by art. Between the two waters, the basis of the triangle, the land side was protected by a double wall and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye-witness, prolongs to the measure of six miles,²⁶ the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the first days of the siege, the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch, or sallied into the field; but they soon discovered that, in the proportion of their numbers, one Christian was of more value than twenty Turks; and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently

²⁵ Φακιόλιον, καλύπτρα may be fairly translated a cardinal's hat. The difference of the Greek and Latin habits embittered the schism.

²⁶ We are obliged to reduce the Greek miles to the smallest measure which is preserved in the wersts of Russia, of 547 French *toises*, and of 104 $\frac{2}{3}$ to a degree. The six miles of Phranza do not exceed four English miles (D'Anville, *Mesures Itinéraires*, pp. 61, 123, &c.).

content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The nation was indeed pusillanimous and base; but the last Constantine deserves the name of an hero: his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honour of the Western chivalry. The incessant volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound, and the fire of their musketry and cannon. Their small arms discharged at the same time either five or even ten balls of lead of the size of a walnut; and, according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, several breastplates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches or covered with ruins. Each day added to the science of the Christians; but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful either in size or number; and, if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion. The same destructive secret had been revealed to the Moslems; by whom it was employed with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet has been separately noticed; an important and visible object in the history of the times: but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude;²⁷ the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places; and of one of these it is ambiguously expressed that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the

²⁷ According to Chalcondyles and Phranza, the great cannon burst: an accident which, according to Ducas, was prevented by the artist's skill. It is evident that they do not speak of the same gun.

sultan, we may discern the infancy of the new science. Under a master who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day.²⁸ The heated metal unfortunately burst; several workmen were destroyed; and the skill of an artist was admired, who bethought himself of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

The first random shots were productive of more sound than effect; and it was by the advice of a Christian that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chasm and to build a road to the assault.²⁹ Innumerable fascines and hogsheads and trunks of trees were heaped on each other; and such was the impetuosity of the throng that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the besiegers; to clear away the rubbish was the safety of the besieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines; but the soil was rocky; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers; nor had the art been yet invented

²⁸ Near an hundred years after the siege of Constantinople, the French and English fleets in the Channel were proud of firing 300 shot in an engagement of two hours (*Mémoires de Martin du Bellay*, l. x. in the *Collection Générale*, tom. xxi. p. 239).

²⁹ I have selected some curious facts, without striving to emulate the bloody and obstinate eloquence of the Abbé de Vertot, in his prolix descriptions of the sieges of Rhodes, Malta, &c. But that agreeable historian had a turn for romance, and, as he wrote to please the Order, he has adopted the same spirit of enthusiasm and chivalry.

of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder and blowing whole towers and cities into the air.³⁰ A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople is the reunion of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers: this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls' hides; incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a staircase to the upper platform, and, as high as the level of that platform, a scaling-ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned: after a severe struggle, the Turks were repulsed from the breach and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigour and decisive success. Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justiniani, who passed the night on the spot, and urged the labours which involved the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes: the ditch was cleared and restored; and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong

³⁰ The first theory of mines with gunpowder appears in 1480, in a MS. of George of Sienna (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. p. i. p. 324). They were first practised at Sarzanella, in 1487; but the honour and improvement in 1503 is ascribed to Peter of Navarre, who used them with success in the wars of Italy (Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, tom. ii. pp. 93-97).

and entire. He deplored the failure of his design; and uttered a profane exclamation that the word of the thirty-seven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that such a work, in so short a time, should have been accomplished by the infidels.

The generosity of the Christian princes was cold and tardy; but, in the first apprehension of a siege, Constantine had negotiated, in the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five³¹ great ships, equipped for merchandise and war, would have sailed from the harbour of Chios, had not the wind blown obstinately from the north.³² One of these ships bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoese; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the second day, a strong gale from the south, carried them through the Hellespont and the Propontis; but the city was already invested by sea and land; and the Turkish fleet, at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore, in the form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least to repel, these bold auxiliaries. The reader who has present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople, will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts, and a full press both of sails and oars, against an hostile fleet of three hundred vessels; and the rampart, the camp, the

³¹ It is singular that the Greeks should not agree in the number of these illustrious vessels; the *five* of Ducas, the *four* of Phranza and Leonardus, and the *two* of Chalcondyles, must be extended to the smaller, or confined to the larger, size. Voltaire, in giving one of these ships to Frederic III., confounds the emperors of the East and West.

³² In bold defiance, or rather in gross ignorance, of language and geography, the President Cousin detains them at Chios with a south, and wafts them to Constantinople with a north, wind.

coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succour. At the first view that event could not appear doubtful: the superiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account; and, in a calm, their numbers and valour must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the sultan: in the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged that, if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to the infidels; and a series of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen galleys of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats, rudely constructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops and destitute of cannon; and, since courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage: their artillery swept the waters; their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adversaries who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and closer attack, were twice repulsed with considerable loss. Mahomet himself sat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and presence, by the promise of reward, and by fear more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body,³³ seemed

³³ I must confess that I have before my eyes the living picture which Thucydides (l. vii. c. 71) has drawn of the

to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I must repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms, from their own mouth, that they lost above twelve thousand men in the slaughter of the day. They fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia, while the Christian squadron, triumphant and unhurt, steered along the Bosphorus and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain bashaw, found some consolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes; his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and, under the despotism of the prince or people, misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and services were annihilated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain bashaw was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received one hundred strokes with a golden rod;³⁴ his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their Western allies. Amidst the deserts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the

passions and gestures of the Athenians in a naval engagement in the great harbour of Syracuse.

³⁴ According to the exaggeration or corrupt text of Ducas (c. 38), this golden bar was of the enormous and incredible weight of 500 libræ, or pounds. Bouillaud's reading of 500 drachms, or five pounds, is sufficient to exercise the arm of Mahomet and bruise the back of his admiral.

millions of the crusades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the Imperial city was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople; the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Huniades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the sultan.³⁵

It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the secret of the divan; yet the Greeks are persuaded that a resistance, so obstinate and surprising, had fatigued the perseverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat, and the siege would have been speedily raised, if the ambition and jealousy of the second vizir had not opposed the perfidious advice of Calil Bashaw, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land; but the harbour was inaccessible: an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ships, more than twenty of a smaller size, with several galleys and sloops; and, instead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval sally and a second encounter in the open sea. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous cast, of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbour. The distance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets; and, as the road must be opened behind

³⁵ Ducas, who confesses himself ill informed of the affairs of Hungary, assigns a motive of superstition, a fatal belief that Constantinople would be the term of the Turkish conquests. See Phranza (l. iii. c. 20) and Spondanus.

the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction must depend on the option of the Genoese. But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favour of being the last devoured; and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks; and to render them more slippery and smooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Fourscore light galleys and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore, arranged successively on rollers, and drawn forwards by the power of men and pulleys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm and the prow of each vessel: the sails were unfurled to the winds; and the labour was cheered by song and acclamation. In the course of a single night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired; but the notorious, unquestionable fact was displayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens, of the two nations.³⁶ A similar stratagem had been repeatedly practised by the ancients;³⁷ the Ottoman galleys, I must again repeat, should be considered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the

³⁶ The unanimous testimony of the four Greeks is confirmed by Cantemir (p. 96) from the Turkish annals; but I could wish to contract the distance of *ten* miles, and to prolong the term of *one* night.

³⁷ Phranza relates two examples of a similar transportation over the six miles of the isthmus of Corinth: the one fabulous, of Augustus after the battle of Actium; the other true, of Nicetas, a Greek general, in the xth century. To these he might have added a bold enterprise of Hannibal, to introduce his vessels into the harbour of Tarentum (Polybius, l. viii. p. 749, edit. Gronov).

means, the boasted miracle³⁸ has perhaps been equalled by the industry of our own times.³⁹ As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army, he constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth and one hundred in length; it was formed of casks and hogsheads, joined with rafters linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourscore galleys, with troops and scaling-ladders, approached the most accessible side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Christians has been accused for not destroying these unfinished works; but their fire, by a superior fire, was controlled and silenced; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vessels as well as the bridge of the sultan. His vigilance prevented their approach; their foremost galliots were sunk or taken; forty youths, the bravest of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly massacred at his command; nor could the emperor's grief be assuaged by the just though cruel retaliation of exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty Musulman captives. After a siege of forty days, the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack; the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon; many breaches were opened; and near the gate of St. Romanus four towers had been levelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Constantine was compelled to despoil the churches, with the promise of a fourfold restitution; and his sacrilege offered a new

³⁸ A Greek of Candia, who had served the Venetians in a similar undertaking (Spond. A.D. 1438, No. 37), might possibly be the adviser and agent of Mahomet.

³⁹ I particularly allude to our own embarkations on the lakes of Canada, in the years 1776 and 1777, so great in the labour, so fruitless in the event.

reproach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of discord impaired the remnant of the Christian strength: the Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries asserted the pre-eminence of their respective service; and Justiniani and the Great Duke, whose ambition was not extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.

During the siege of Constantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been sometimes pronounced; and several embassies had passed between the camp and the city.⁴⁰ The Greek emperor was humbled by adversity; and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkish sultan was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers; still more desirous of securing for his own use the Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a sacred duty in presenting to the *Gabours* the choice of circumcision, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been satisfied with an annual sum of one hundred thousand ducats; but his ambition grasped the capital of the East; to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration or a safe departure: but, after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne or a grave under the walls of Constantinople. A sense of honour and the fear of universal reproach forbade Palæologus to resign the city into the hands of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the last extremities of war. Several days were employed by the sultan in the preparations of the assault; and a respite was granted by his favourite science of astrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the twenty-seventh, he issued his final orders; assembled in his presence the military chiefs; and dispersed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty and the motives of the perilous

⁴⁰ Chalcondyles and Ducas differ in the time and circumstances of the negotiation; and, as it was neither glorious nor salutary, the faithful Phranza spares his prince even the thought of a surrender.

enterprise. Fear is the first principle of a despotic government; and his menaces were expressed in the Oriental style, that the fugitives and deserters, had they the wings of a bird,⁴¹ should not escape from his inexorable justice. The greatest part of his bashaws and Janizaries were the offspring of Christian parents; but the glories of the Turkish name were perpetuated by successive adoption; and, in the gradual change of individuals, the spirit of a legion, a regiment, or an *oda* is kept alive by imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare, the Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with seven ablutions; and to abstain from food till the close of the ensuing day. A crowd of dervishes visited the tents, to instil the desire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally trusted to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards. A double pay was promised to the victorious troops: "The city

⁴¹ These wings (Chalcondyles, l. viii. p. 208) are no more than an Oriental figure; but, in the tragedy of Irene, Mahomet's passion soars above sense and reason:—

Should the fierce North, upon his frozen wings,
Bear him aloft above the wondering clouds,
And seat him in the Pleiads' golden chariot—
Thence should my fury drag him down to tortures.

Besides the extravagance of the rant, I must observe—1. That the operation of the winds must be confined to the *lower* region of the air. 2. That the name, etymology, and fable of the Pleiads are purely Greek (Scholiast ad Homer, Σ. 686; Eudocia in Ioniâ, p. 399; Apollodore, l. iii. c. 10; Heine, p. 229, Not. 682), and had no affinity with the astronomy of the East (Hyde ad Ulugbeg, Tabul. in Syntagma Dissert. tom. i. pp. 40, 42; Goguet, Origine des Arts, &c. tom. vi. pp. 73-78; Gebelin, Hist. du Calendrier, p. 73), which Mahomet had studied. 3. The golden chariot does not exist either in science or fiction; but I much fear that Dr. Johnson has confounded the Pleiads with the great bear or waggon, the zodiac with a northern constellation:—

Ἄρκτον θ' ἦν καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐπὶ κλησιν καλέουσι.

and the buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine; but I resign to your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty; be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire: the intrepid soldier who first ascends the walls of Constantinople shall be rewarded with the government of the fairest and most wealthy; and my gratitude shall accumulate his honours and fortunes above the measure of his own hopes." Such various and potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardour, regardless of life and impatient for action: the camp re-echoed with the Moslem shouts of "God is God, there is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God";⁴² and the sea and land, from Galata to the seven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.

Far different was the state of the Christians; who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment, of their sins. The celestial image of the Virgin had been exposed in solemn procession; but their divine patroness was deaf to their entreaties: they accused the obstinacy of the emperor for refusing a timely surrender; anticipated the horrors of their fate; and sighed for the repose and security of Turkish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman Empire:⁴³ he promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the gospel nor

⁴² Phranza quarrels with these Moslem acclamations, not for the name of God, but for that of the Prophet: the pious zeal of Voltaire is excessive, and even ridiculous.

⁴³ I am afraid that this discourse was composed by Phranza himself; and it smells so grossly of the sermon and the convent that I almost doubt whether it was pronounced by Constantine. Leonardus assigns him another speech, in which he addresses himself more respectfully to the Latin auxiliaries.

the church have proposed any conspicuous recompense to the heroes who fall in the service of their country. But the example of their prince and the confinement of a siege had armed these warriors with the courage of despair; and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosque; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured;⁴⁴ and mounted on horseback to visit the guards and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.

In the confusion of darkness an assailant may sometimes succeed; but, in this great and general attack, the military judgment and astrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian æra. The preceding night had been strenuously employed: the troops, the cannon, and the fascines were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which, in many parts, presented a smooth and level passage to the breach; and his fourscore galleys almost touched, with the prows and their scaling-ladders, the less defensible walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, silence was enjoined; but the physical laws of motion and

⁴⁴ This abasement, which devotion has sometimes extorted from dying princes, is an improvement of the gospel doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries; it is more easy to forgive 490 times than once to ask the pardon of an inferior.

sound are not obedient to discipline or fear ; each individual might suppress his voice and measure his footsteps ; but the march and labour of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At daybreak, without the customary signal of the morning-gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land ; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack.⁴⁵ The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd, who fought without order or command ; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall ; the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated ; and not a dart, not a bullet of the Christians was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence ; the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain ; they supported the footsteps of their companions ; and of this devoted vanguard the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge : their progress was various and doubtful ; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained and improved their advantage ; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The sultan himself on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valour ; he was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decisive occasion ; and the tide of

⁴⁵ Besides the 10,000 guards, and the sailors and the marines, Ducas numbers in this general assault 250,000 Turks, both horse and foot.

battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish; and, if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved that the mechanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honour. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire. The single combats of the heroes of history or fable amuse our fancy and engage our affections: the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a necessary though pernicious science. But, in the uniform and odious pictures of a general assault, all is blood, and horror, and confusion; nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene of which there could be no spectators, and of which the actors themselves were incapable of forming any just or adequate idea.

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsel were the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is slight; the danger is pressing; your presence is necessary; and whither will you retire?" "I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by the same road which God has opened to the Turks;" and at these words he hastily passed through

one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pusillanimous act, he stained the honours of a military life; and the few days which he survived in Galata, or the isle of Chios, were embittered by his own and the public reproach.⁴⁶ His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to slacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps an hundred, times superior to that of the Christians; the double walls were reduced by the cannon to an heap of ruins; in a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access or more feebly guarded; and, if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The first who deserved the sultan's reward was Hassan, the Janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his scimitar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification: of the thirty Janizaries, who were emulous of his valour, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit: the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible: the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage-ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor,⁴⁷ who accomplished all the

⁴⁶ In the severe censure of the flight of Justiniani, Phranza expresses his own feelings and those of the public. For some private reasons, he is treated with more lenity and respect by Ducas; but the words of Leonardus Chiensis express his strong and recent indignation, *gloriæ salutis sui que oblitus*. In the whole series of their Eastern policy, his countrymen, the Genoese, were always suspected, and often guilty.

⁴⁷ Ducas kills him with two blows of Turkish soldiers; Chalcondyles wounds him in the shoulder, and then tramples him in the gate. The grief of Phranza carrying him among the enemy escapes from the precise image of his death; but we may, without flattery, apply these noble lines of Dryden:—

duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen, and finally lost. The nobles who fought round his person sustained, till their last breath, the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?"⁴⁸ and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels.⁴⁹ The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple; amidst the tumult, he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. After his death, resistance and order were no more; the Greeks fled towards the city; and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and, as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the side of the harbour.⁵⁰ In the first heat of the pursuit, about two thousand Christians were put to the sword; but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged that they should immediately have given quarter, if the valour of the emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan,

As to Sebastian, let them search the field;
And, where they find a mountain of the slain,
Send one to climb, and looking down beneath,
There they will find him at his manly length,
With his face up to heaven, in that red monument
Which his good sword had digg'd.

⁴⁸ Spondanus (A.D. 1453, No. 10), who has hopes of his salvation, wishes to absolve this demand from the guilt of suicide.

⁴⁹ Leonardus Chiensis very properly observes that the Turks, had they known the emperor, would have laboured to save and secure a captive so acceptable to the sultan.

⁵⁰ Cantemir, p. 96. The Christian ships in the mouth of the harbour had flanked and retarded this naval attack.

and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors.⁵¹

The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing; yet such was the extent of Constantinople that the more distant quarters might prolong, some moments, the happy ignorance of their ruin.⁵² But in the general consternation, in the feelings of selfish or social anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the assault, a *sleepless* night and morning must have elapsed; nor can I believe that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the Janizaries from a sound and tranquil slumber. On the assurance of the public calamity, the houses and convents were instantly deserted; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the streets, like an herd of timid animals, as if accumulated weakness could be productive of strength, or in the vain hope that amid the crowd each individual might be safe and invisible. From every part of the capital, they flowed into the church of St. Sophia: in the space of an hour, the sanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with the multitudes of fathers and husbands, of women and children, of priests, monks, and religious virgins: the doors were barred on the inside, and they sought protection from the sacred dome which they had so lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthusiast or impostor, that one day the Turks would

⁵¹ Chalcondyles most absurdly supposes that Constantinople was sacked by the Asiatics in revenge for the ancient calamities of Troy; and the grammarians of the xvth century are happy to melt down the uncouth appellation of Turks into the more classical name of *Teuceri*.

⁵² When Cyrus surprised Babylon during the celebration of a festival, so vast was the city, and so careless were the inhabitants, that much time elapsed before the distant quarters knew that they were captives. Herodotus (l. i. c. 191), and Usher (Annal. p. 78), who has quoted from the prophet Jeremiah a passage of similar import.

enter Constantinople, and pursue the Romans as far as the column of Constantine in the square before St. Sophia; but that this would be the term of their calamities; that an angel would descend from heaven, with a sword in his hand, and would deliver the empire, with that celestial weapon, to a poor man seated at the foot of the column. "Take this sword," would he say, "and avenge the people of the Lord." At these animating words, the Turks would instantly fly, and the victorious Romans would drive them from the West, and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Persia. It is on this occasion that Ducas, with some fancy and much truth, upbraids the discord and obstinacy of the Greeks. "Had that angel appeared," exclaims the historian, "had he offered to exterminate your foes if you would consent to the union of the church, even then, in that fatal moment, you would have rejected your safety or have deceived your God."⁵³

While they expected the descent of the tardy angel, the doors were broken with axes; and, as the Turks encountered no resistance, their bloodless hands were employed in selecting and securing the multitude of their prisoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth attracted their choice; and the right of property was decided among themselves by a prior seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of command. In the space of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves; the prelates with the porters of the church; and young men of a plebeian class with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the sun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of society were confounded; the ties of nature were

⁵³ This lively description is extracted from Ducas (c. 39), who two years afterwards was sent ambassador from the prince of Lesbos to the sultan (c. 44). Till Lesbos was subdued in 1463 (Phranza, l. iii. c. 27), that island must have been full of the fugitives of Constantinople, who delighted to repeat, perhaps to adorn, the tale of their misery.

cut asunder ; and the inexorable soldier was careless of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked bosoms, outstretched hands, and dishevelled hair ; and we should piously believe that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the haram to those of the monastery. Of these unfortunate Greeks, of these domestic animals, whole strings were rudely driven through the streets ; and, as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the same hour, a similar rapine was exercised in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces and habitations of the capital ; nor could any palace, however sacred or sequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks. Above sixty thousand of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and fleet ; exchanged or sold according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. Among these we may notice some remarkable characters. The historian Phranza, first chamberlain and principal secretary, was involved with his family in the common lot. After suffering four months the hardships of slavery, he recovered his freedom ; in the ensuing winter he ventured to Hadrianople, and ransomed his wife from the *mir bashi*, or master of horse ; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been seized for the use of Mahomet himself. The daughter of Phranza died in the seraglio, perhaps a virgin ; his son, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was stabbed by the hand of the royal lover. A deed thus inhuman cannot surely be expiated by the taste and liberality with which he released a Grecian matron and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philelphus, who had chosen a wife in that noble family.⁵⁴ The pride or cruelty of

⁵⁴ See Tiraboschi (tom. vi. p. i. p. 290), and Lancelot (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 718). I should be

Mahomet would have been most sensibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate; but the dexterity of Cardinal Isidore eluded the search, and he escaped from Galata in a plebeian habit.⁵⁵

The chain and entrance of the outward harbour was still occupied by the Italian ships of merchandise and war. They had signalised their valour in the siege: they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkish mariners were dissipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoisted sail, the beach was covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd; but the means of transportation were scanty; the Venetians and Genoese selected their countrymen; and, notwithstanding the fairest promises of the sultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houses and embarked with their most precious effects.

In the fall and the sack of great cities, an historian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity: the same effects must be produced by the same passions; and, when those passions may be indulged without control, small, alas! is the difference between civilised and savage man. Amidst the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accused of a wanton or immoderate effusion of Christian blood; but, according to their maxims (the maxims of antiquity), the lives of the vanquished were forfeited; and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the service, the sale, or the ransom, of his captives of both sexes.⁵⁶ The wealth of Constantinople

curious to learn how he could praise the public enemy, whom he so often reviles as the most corrupt and inhuman of tyrants.

⁵⁵ The Commentaries of Pius II. suppose that he craftily placed his cardinal's hat on the head of a corpse, which was cut off and exposed in triumph, while the legate himself was bought and delivered, as a captive of no value. The great Belgic Chronicle adorns his escape with new adventures, which he suppressed (says Spondanus, A.D. 1453, No. 15) in his own letters, lest he should lose the merit and reward of suffering for Christ.

⁵⁶ Busbequius expatiates with pleasure and applause on the rights of war and the use of slavery among the ancients and the Turks (de Legat. Turcicâ, epist. iii. p. 161).

had been granted by the sultan to his victorious troops ; and the rapine of an hour is more productive than the industry of years. But, as no regular division was attempted of the spoil, the respective shares were not determined by merit ; and the rewards of valour were stolen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amusement or instruction : the total amount, in the last poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats ;⁵⁷ and of this sum a small part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of these foreigners, the stock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation ; but the riches of the Greeks were displayed in the idle ostentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treasures of ingots and old coin, lest it should be demanded at their hands for the defence of their country. The profanation and plunder of the monasteries and churches excited the most tragic complaints. The dome of St. Sophia itself, the earthly heaven, the second firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God, was despoiled of the oblations of ages ; and the gold and silver, the pearls and jewels, the vases and sacerdotal ornaments, were most wickedly converted to the service of mankind. After the divine images had been stripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvas, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the stables or the kitchen, to the vilest uses. The example of sacrilege was imitated, however, from the Latin conquerors of Constantinople ; and the treatment which Christ, the Virgin, and the saints had sustained from the guilty Catholic might be inflicted by the zealous Musulman

⁵⁷ This sum is specified in a marginal note of Leunclavius (*Chalcondyles*, l. viii. p. 211), but in the distribution to Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Ancona, of 50, 20, 20, and 15,000 ducats, I suspect that a figure has been dropt. Even with the restitution, the foreign property would scarcely exceed one-fourth,

on the monuments of idolatry. Perhaps, instead of joining the public clamour, a philosopher will observe that in the decline of the arts the workmanship could not be more valuable than the work, and that a fresh supply of visions and miracles would speedily be renewed by the craft of the priest and the credulity of the people. He will more seriously deplore the loss of the Byzantine libraries, which were destroyed or scattered in the general confusion: one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared; ten volumes might be purchased for a single ducat; and the same ignominious price, too high perhaps for a shelf of theology, included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of the science and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleasure that an inestimable portion of our classic treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havoc of time and barbarism.

From the first hour⁵³ of the memorable twenty-ninth of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople till the eighth hour of the same day; when the sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his vizirs, bashaws, and guards, each of whom (says a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules, dexterous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror gazed with satisfaction and wonder on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from the style of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, or *atmeidan*, his eye was attracted by the twisted column of the three serpents; and, as a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron mace or battle-axe the under-jaw of one of these monsters, which in the eye

⁵³ The Julian calendar, which reckons the days and hours from midnight, was used at Constantinople. But Ducas seems to understand the natural hours from sunrise.

of the Turks were the idols or talismans of the city. At the principal door of St. Sophia, he alighted from his horse and entered the dome; and such was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory that, on observing a zealous Musulman in the act of breaking the marble pavement, he admonished him with his scimitar that, if the spoil and captives were granted to the soldiers, the public and private buildings had been reserved for the prince. By his command the metropolis of the Eastern church was transformed into a mosque: the rich and portable instruments of superstition had been removed; the crosses were thrown down; and the walls, which were covered with images and mosaics, were washed and purified and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the *muezin* or crier ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the *ezan*, or public invitation, in the name of God and his prophet; the imam preached; and Mahomet the Second performed the *namaz* of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæsars.⁵⁹ From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august but desolate mansion of an hundred successors of the great Constantine; but which, in a few hours, had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness forced itself on his mind; and he repeated an elegant distich of Persian poetry, “The spider has wove his web in the imperial palace; and the owl hath sung her watch-song on the towers of Afrasiab.”⁶⁰

⁵⁹ We are obliged to Cantemir (p. 102) for the Turkish account of the conversion of St. Sophia, so bitterly deplored by Phranza and Ducas. It is amusing enough to observe in what opposite lights the same object appears to a Musulman and a Christian eye.

⁶⁰ This distich, which Cantemir gives in the original, derives new beauties from the application. It was thus that Scipio repeated, in the sack of Carthage, the famous prophecy of Homer. The same generous feeling carried the mind of the conqueror to the past or the future.

Yet his mind was not satisfied, nor did the victory seem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Constantine—whether he had escaped, or been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death: the body, under a heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes; the Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after exposing the bloody trophy,⁶¹ Mahomet bestowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral. After his decease, Lucas Notaras, great duke,⁶² and first minister of the empire, was the most important prisoner. When he offered his person and his treasures at the foot of the throne, “And why,” said the indignant sultan, “did you not employ these treasures in the defence of your prince and country?”—“They were yours,” answered the slave; “God had reserved them for your hands.”—“If he reserved them for me,” replied the despot, “how have you presumed to withhold them so long by a fruitless and fatal resistance?” The great duke alleged the obstinacy of the strangers, and some secret encouragement from the Turkish vizir; and from this perilous interview he was at length dismissed with the assurance of pardon and protection. Mahomet condescended to visit his wife, a venerable princess, oppressed with sickness and grief; and his consolation for her misfortunes was in the most tender strain of humanity and filial reverence. A similar clemency was extended to the principal officers of state, of whom several were ransomed at his expense; and during some days he declared himself the friend and father of the vanquished

⁶¹ I cannot believe, with Ducas (see Spondanus, A.D. 1453, No. 13), that Mahomet sent round Persia, Arabia, &c., the head of the Greek emperor; he would surely content himself with a trophy less inhuman.

⁶² Phranza was the personal enemy of the great duke; nor could time, or death, or his own retreat to a monastery, extort a feeling of sympathy or forgiveness. Ducas is inclined to praise and pity the martyr; Chalcondyles is neuter; but we are indebted to him for the hint of the Greek conspiracy.

people. But the scene was soon changed; and before his departure the hippodrome streamed with the blood of his noblest captives. His perfidious cruelty is execrated by the Christians: they adorn with the colours of heroic martyrdom the execution of the great duke and his two sons; and his death is ascribed to the generous refusal of delivering his children to the tyrant's lust. Yet a Byzantine historian has dropt an unguarded word of conspiracy, deliverance, and Italian succour: such treason may be glorious; but the rebel who bravely ventures has justly forfeited his life; nor should we blame a conqueror for destroying the enemies whom he can no longer trust. On the eighteenth of June, the victorious sultan returned to Hadrianople; and smiled at the base and hollow embassies of the Christian princes, who viewed their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eastern empire.

Constantinople had been left naked and desolate, without a prince or a people. But she could not be despoiled of the incomparable situation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Bursa and Hadrianople, the ancient seats of the Ottomans, sunk into provincial towns; and Mahomet the Second established his own residence, and that of his successors, on the same commanding spot which had been chosen by Constantine.⁶³ The fortifications of Galata, which might afford a shelter to the Latins, were prudently destroyed; but the damage of the Turkish cannon was soon repaired; and before the month of August great quantities of lime had been burnt for the restoration

⁶³ For the restitution of Constantinople and the Turkish foundations, see Cantemir (pp. 102-103), Ducas (c. 42), with Thévenot, Tournefort, and the rest of our modern travellers. From a gigantic picture of the greatness, population, &c., of Constantinople and the Ottoman empire (Abrégé de l'Histoire Ottomane, tom. i. pp. 16-21), we may learn that in the year 1586 the Moslems were less numerous in the capital than the Christians or even the Jews.

of the walls of the capital. As the entire property of the soil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or sacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the establishment of his seraglio, or palace. It is here, in the bosom of luxury, that the *Grand Signor* (as he has been emphatically named by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Asia ; but his person on the shores of the Bosphorus may not always be secure from the insults of an hostile navy. In the new character of a mosque, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and surrounded with groves and fountains, for the devotion and refreshment of the Moslems. The same model was imitated in the *jami*, or royal mosques ; and the first of these was built by Mahomet himself, on the ruins of the church of the Holy Apostles and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conquest, the grave of Abu Ayub, or Job, who had fallen in the first siege of the Arabs, was revealed in a vision ; and it is before the sepulchre of the martyr that the new sultans are girded with the sword of empire.⁶⁴ Constantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian ; nor shall I enumerate the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkish masters : the population was speedily renewed ; and before the end of September five thousand families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moslem subjects ; but his rational policy aspired to collect the remnant of the Greeks, and they returned in crowds, as soon as they were assured of their lives, their liberties, and the free

⁶⁴ The *Turbé*, or sepulchral monument of Abu Ayub, is described and engraved in the *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1787, in large folio), a work of less use, perhaps, than magnificence (tom. i. pp. 305, 306).

exercise of their religion. In the election and investiture of a patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of satisfaction and horror, they beheld the sultan on his throne, who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the crosier, or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclesiastical office; who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the seraglio, presented him with an horse richly caparisoned, and directed the vizirs and bashaws to lead him to the palace which had been allotted for his residence.⁶⁵ The churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and, till it was infringed by Selim, the grandson of Mahomet, the Greeks⁶⁶ enjoyed above sixty years the benefit of this equal partition. Encouraged by the ministers of the divan, who wished to elude the fanaticism of the sultan, the Christian advocates presumed to allege that this division had been an act, not of generosity but of justice; not a concession, but a compact; and that, if one half of the city had been taken by storm, the other moiety had surrendered on the faith of a sacred capitulation. The original grant had indeed been consumed by fire; but the loss was supplied by the testimony of three aged Janizaries who remembered the transaction; and their venal oaths are of more weight in the opinion of Cantemir than the positive and unanimous consent of the history of the times.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Phranza (l. iii. c. 19) relates the ceremony, which has possibly been adorned in the Greek reports to each other, and to the Latins. The fact is confirmed by Emanuel Malaxus, who wrote, in vulgar Greek, the history of the Patriarchs after the taking of Constantinople, inserted in the *Turco-Græcia* of Crusius (l. v. pp. 106-184). But the most patient reader will not believe that Mahomet adopted the Catholic form, "*Sancta Trinitas quæ mihi donavit imperium te in patriarcham novæ Romæ deligit.*"

⁶⁶ From the *Turco-Græcia* of Crusius, &c. Spondanus (A.D. 1453, No. 21; 1458, No. 16) describes the slavery and domestic quarrels of the Greek Church. The patriarch who succeeded Gennadius threw himself in despair into a well.

⁶⁷ Cantemir (pp. 101-105) insists on the unanimous consent of the Turkish historians, ancient as well as modern, and

The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Asia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms; but the final extinction of the two last dynasties⁶⁸ which have reigned in Constantinople should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the East. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas, the two surviving brothers of the name of PALÆOLOGUS, were astonished by the death of the emperor Constantine and the ruin of the monarchy. Hopeless of defence, they prepared, with the noble Greeks who adhered to their fortune, to seek a refuge in Italy, beyond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their first apprehensions were dispelled by the victorious sultan, who contented himself with a tribute of twelve thousand ducats; and, while his ambition explored the continent and the islands in search of prey, he indulged the Morea in a respite of seven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. The *hexamilion*, the rampart of the Isthmus, so often raised and so often subverted, could not long be defended by three hundred Italian archers: the keys of Corinth were seized by the Turks; they returned from their summer excursions with a train of captives and spoil; and the complaints of the injured Greeks were heard with indifference and disdain. The Albanians, a vagrant tribe of shepherds and robbers, filled the peninsula with rapine and murder: the two despots

argues that they would not have violated the truth to diminish their national glory, since it is esteemed more honourable to take a city by force than by composition. But 1. I doubt this consent, since he quotes no particular historian, and the Turkish Annals of Leunclavius affirm, without exception, that Mahomet took Constantinople *per vim* (p. 329). 2. The same argument may be turned in favour of the Greeks of the times, who would not have forgotten this honourable and salutary treaty. Voltaire, as usual, prefers the Turks to the Christians.

⁶⁸ For the genealogy and fall of the Comneni of Trebizond, see Ducange (*Fam. Byzant.* p. 195); for the last Palæologi, the same accurate antiquarian (pp. 244, 247, 248). The Palæologi of Montferrat were not extinct till the next century; but they had forgotten their Greek origin and kindred.

implored the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring bashaw; and, when he had quelled the revolt, his lessons inculcated the rule of their future conduct. Neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged in the communion and before the altar, nor the stronger pressure of necessity, could reconcile or suspend their domestic quarrels. They ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and sword; the alms and succours of the West were consumed in civil hostility; and their power was only exerted in savage and arbitrary executions. The distress and revenge of the weaker rival invoked their supreme lord; and, in the season of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himself the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irresistible force. When he had taken possession of Sparta, "You are too weak," said the sultan, "to control this turbulent province. I will take your daughter to my bed; and you shall pass the remainder of your life in security and honour." Demetrius sighed and obeyed; surrendered his daughter and his castles; followed to Hadrianople his sovereign and son; and received, for his own maintenance, and that of his followers, a city in Thrace, and the adjacent isles of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion of misfortune, the last of the COMNENIAN race, who, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coast of the Black Sea. In the progress of his Anatolian conquests, Mahomet invested with a fleet and army the capital of David, who presumed to style himself Emperor of Trebizond; ⁶⁹ and the negotiation was comprised in a

⁶⁹ Though Tournefort (tom. iii. lettre xvii. p. 179) speaks of Trebizond as *mal peuplée*, Peyssonel, the latest and most accurate observer, can find 100,000 inhabitants (*Commerce de la Mer Noire*, tom. ii. p. 72, and for the province, pp. 53-90). Its prosperity and trade are perpetually disturbed by the factious quarrels of two *odas* of Janizaries, in one of which 30,000 Lazi are commonly enrolled (*Mémoires de Tott*, tom. iii. pp. 16, 17).

short and peremptory question, "Will you secure your life and treasures by resigning your kingdom? or had you rather forfeit your kingdom, your treasures, and your life?" The feeble Comnenus was subdued by his own fears, and the example of a Musulman neighbour, the prince of Sinope,⁷⁰ who, on a similar summons, had yielded a fortified city with four hundred cannon and ten or twelve thousand soldiers. The capitulation of Trebizond was faithfully performed; and the emperor, with his family, was transported to a castle in Romania; but on a slight suspicion of corresponding with the Persian king, David and the whole Comnenian race were sacrificed to the jealousy or avarice of the conqueror. Nor could the name of father long protect the unfortunate Demetrius from exile and confiscation: his abject submission moved the pity and contempt of the sultan; his followers were transplanted to Constantinople; and his poverty was alleviated by a pension of fifty thousand aspers, till a monastic habit and a tardy death released Palæologus from an earthly master. It is not easy to pronounce whether the servitude of Demetrius or the exile of his brother Thomas be the most inglorious. On the conquest of the Morea the despot escaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with some naked adherents: his name, his sufferings, and the head of the apostle St. Andrew entitled him to the hospitality of the Vatican; and his misery was prolonged by a pension of six thousand ducats from the pope and cardinals. His two sons, Andrew and Manuel, were educated in Italy; but the eldest, contemptible to his enemies and burdensome to his friends, was degraded by the baseness of his life and

⁷⁰ Ismael Beg, prince of Sinope or Sinople, was possessed (chiefly from his copper mines) of a revenue of 200,000 ducats (Chalcond. l. ix. pp. 258, 259). Peyssonel (*Commerce de la Mer Noire*, tom. ii. p. 100) ascribes to the modern city 60,000 inhabitants. This account seems enormous; yet it is by trading with a people that we become acquainted with their wealth and numbers.

marriage. A title was his sole inheritance ; and that inheritance he successively sold to the kings of France and Arragon.⁷¹ During this transient prosperity, Charles the Eighth was ambitious of joining the empire of the East with the kingdom of Naples : in a public festival, he assumed the appellation and the purple of *Augustus* : the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled, at the approach of the French chivalry.⁷² Manuel Palæologus, the second son, was tempted to revisit his native country : his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the Porte ; he was maintained at Constantinople in safety and ease ; and an honourable train of Christians and Moslems attended him to the grave. If there be some animals of so generous a nature that they refuse to propagate in a domestic state, the last of the Imperial race must be ascribed to an inferior kind : he accepted from the sultan's liberality two beautiful females ; and his surviving son was lost in the habit and religion of a Turkish slave.

The importance of Constantinople was felt and magnified in its loss : the pontificate of Nicholas the Fifth, however peaceful and prosperous, was dishonoured by the fall of the Eastern empire ; and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or seemed to revive, the old enthusiasm of the crusades. In one of the most distant countries of the West, Philip, duke

⁷¹ By an act dated A.D. 1494, 6th Sept., and lately transmitted from the archives of the Capitol to the royal library of Paris, the despot Andrew Palæologus, reserving the Morea, and stipulating some private advantages, conveys to Charles VIII. King of France, the empires of Constantinople and Trebizond (Spondanus, A.D. 1495, No. 2). M. de Fonce-magne (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvii. pp. 539-578) has bestowed a dissertation on this national title, of which he had obtained a copy from Rome.

⁷² See Philippe de Comines (l. vii. c. 14), who reckons with pleasure the number of Greeks who were prepared to rise, sixty miles of an easy navigation, eighteen days' journey from Valona to Constantinople, &c. On this occasion the Turkish empire was saved by the policy of Venice.

of Burgundy, entertained, at Lisle in Flanders, an assembly of his nobles; and the pompous pageants of the feast were skilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings. In the midst of the banquet, a gigantic Saracen entered the hall, leading a fictitious elephant with a castle on his back; a matron in a mourning robe, the symbol of religion, was seen to issue from the castle: she deplored her oppression and accused the slowness of her champions; the principal herald of the golden fleece advanced, bearing on his fist a live pheasant, which, according to the rites of chivalry, he presented to the duke. At this extraordinary summons, Philip, a wise and aged prince, engaged his person and powers in the holy war against the Turks; his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the assembly; they swore to God, the Virgin, the ladies, and the *pheasant*; and their particular vows were not less extravagant than the general sanction of their oath. But the performance was made to depend on some future and foreign contingency; and, during twelve years, till the last hour of his life, the duke of Burgundy might be scrupulously, and perhaps sincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had every breast glowed with the same ardour; had the union of the Christians corresponded with their bravery; had every country, from Sweden⁷³ to Naples, supplied a just proportion of cavalry and infantry, of men and money, it is indeed probable that Constantinople would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chased beyond the Hellespont or the Euphrates. But the secretary of the emperor, who composed every epistle and attended every meeting, Æneas Sylvius,⁷⁴ a statesman and orator, describes

⁷³ It was found by an actual enumeration that Sweden, Gothland, and Finland contained 1,800,000 fighting men, and consequently were far more populous than at present.

⁷⁴ In the year 1454, Spondanus has given, from Æneas Sylvius, a view of the state of Europe, enriched with his own observations. That valuable annalist, and the Italian Muratori, will continue the series of events from the year 1453 to 1481, the end of Mahomet's life, and of this chapter.

from his own experience the repugnant state and spirit of Christendom. "It is a body," says he, "without an head; a republic without laws or magistrates. The pope and the emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid images; but *they* are unable to command, and none are willing to obey: every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers under the same standard? Could they be assembled in arms, who would dare to assume the office of general? What order could be maintained?—what military discipline? Who would undertake to feed such an enormous multitude? Who would understand their various languages, or direct their stranger and incompatible manners? What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, Genoa with Arragon, the Germans with the natives of Hungary and Bohemia? If a small number enlisted in the holy war, they must be overthrown by the infidels: if many, by their own weight and confusion." Yet the same *Aneas*, when he was raised to the papal throne, under the name of Pius the Second, devoted his life to the prosecution of the Turkish war. In the council of Mantua, he excited some sparks of a false or feeble enthusiasm; but, when the pontiff appeared at Ancona, to embark in person with the troops, engagements vanished in excuses; a precise day was adjourned to an indefinite term; and his effective army consisted of some German pilgrims, whom he was obliged to disband with indulgences and alms. Regardless of futurity, his successors and the powers of Italy were involved in the schemes of present and domestic ambition; and the distance or proximity of each object determined, in their eyes, its apparent magnitude. A more enlarged view of their interest would have taught them to maintain a defensive and naval war against the common enemy; and the support of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians might have prevented the subsequent invasion of the kingdom of Naples. The siege and sack of Otranto by

the Turks diffused a general consternation ; and Pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the storm was instantly dispelled by the death of Mahomet the Second, in the fifty-first year of his age.⁷⁵ His lofty genius aspired to the conquest of Italy : he was possessed of a strong city and a capacious harbour ; and the same reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the NEW and the ANCIENT ROME.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Besides the two annalists, the reader may consult Giannone (*Istoria Civile*, tom. iii. pp. 449-455) for the Turkish invasion of the kingdom of Naples. For the reign and conquests of Mahomet II. I have occasionally used the *Memorie Istoriche de' Monarchi Ottomanni di Giovanni Sagredo* (Venezia, 1677. in 4to). In peace and war, the Turks have ever engaged the attention of the republic of Venice. All her despatches and archives were open to a procurator of St. Mark, and Sagredo is not contemptible either in sense or style. Yet he too bitterly hates the infidels ; he is ignorant of their language and manners ; and his narrative, which allows only seventy pages to Mahomet II. (pp. 69-140), becomes more copious and authentic as he approaches the years 1640 and 1644, the term of the historic labours of John Sagredo.

⁷⁶ As I am now taking an everlasting farewell of the Greek empire, I shall briefly mention the great collection of Byzantine writers, whose names and testimonies have been successively repeated in this work. The Greek presses of Aldus and the Italians were confined to the classics of a better age ; and the first rude editions of Procopius, Agathias, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c., were published by the learned diligence of the Germans. The whole Byzantine series (36 volumes in folio) has gradually issued (A.D. 1648, &c.) from the royal press of the Louvre, with some collateral aid from Rome and Leipsic ; but the Venetian edition (A.D. 1729), though cheaper and more copious, is not less inferior in correctness than in magnificence to that of Paris. The merits of the French editors are various ; but the value of Anna Comnena, Cinnamus, Villehardouin, &c., is enhanced by the historical notes of Charles du Fresne du Cange. His supplemental works, the Greek Glossary, the Constantinopolis Christiana, the *Familiæ Byzantinæ*, diffuse a steady light over the darkness of the Lower Empire.

CHAPTER LXIX

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

IN the first ages of the decline and fall of the Roman empire our eye is invariably fixed on the royal city which had given laws to the fairest portion of the globe. We contemplate her fortunes, at first with admiration, at length with pity, always with attention; and, when that attention is diverted from the capital to the provinces, they are considered as so many branches which have been successively severed from the Imperial trunk. The foundation of a second Rome on the shores of the Bosphorus has compelled the historian to follow the successors of Constantine; and our curiosity has been tempted to visit the most remote countries of Europe and Asia, to explore the causes and the authors of the long decay of the Byzantine monarchy. By the conquest of Justinian we have been recalled to the banks of the Tiber, to the deliverance of the ancient metropolis; but that deliverance was a change, or perhaps an aggravation, of servitude. Rome had been already stripped of her trophies, her gods, and her Cæsars; nor was the Gothic dominion more inglorious and oppressive than the tyranny of the Greeks. In the eighth century of the Christian æra a religious quarrel, the worship of images, provoked the Romans to assert

their independence; their bishop became the temporal as well as the spiritual father of a free people; and of the Western empire, which was restored by Charlemagne, the title and image still decorate the singular constitution of modern Germany. The name of Rome must yet command our involuntary respect: the climate (whatsoever may be its influence) was no longer the same:¹ the purity of blood had been contaminated through a thousand channels; but the venerable aspect of her ruins, and the memory of past greatness, rekindled a spark of the national character. The darkness of the middle ages exhibits some scenes not unworthy of our notice. Nor shall I dismiss the present work till I have reviewed the state and revolutions of the ROMAN CITY, which acquiesced under the absolute dominion of the Popes about the same time that Constantinople was enslaved by the Turkish arms.

In the beginning of the twelfth century,² the æra of the first crusade, Rome was revered by the Latins, as the metropolis of the world, as the throne of the pope and the emperor, who, from the eternal city, derived their title, their honours, and the right or exercise of temporal dominion. After so long an interruption, it may not be useless to repeat that the successors of Charlemagne and the Othos were chosen beyond the Rhine in a national diet; but that these princes were content with the humble names of kings of Germany and Italy, till they had passed the Alps and the Apennine,

¹ The Abbé Dubos, who, with less genius than his successor Montesquieu, has asserted and magnified the influence of climate, objects to himself the degeneracy of the Romans and Batavians. To the first of these examples he replies, 1. That the change is less real than apparent, and that the modern Romans prudently conceal in themselves the virtues of their ancestors. 2. That the air, the soil, and the climate of Rome have suffered a great and visible alteration (*Réflexions sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture*, part ii. sect. 16).

² The reader has been so long absent from Rome, that I would advise him to recollect or review the 49th chapter, in the 5th volume of this history.

to seek their Imperial crown on the banks of the Tiber.³ At some distance from the city, their approach was saluted by a long procession of the clergy and people with palms and crosses; and the terrific emblems of wolves and lions, of dragons and eagles, that floated in the military banners, represented the departed legions and cohorts of the republic. The royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was thrice reiterated, at the bridge, the gate, and on the stairs of the Vatican; and the distribution of a customary donative feebly imitated the magnificence of the first Cæsars. In the church of St. Peter, the coronation was performed by his successor: the voice of God was confounded with that of the people; and the public consent was declared in the acclamations of "Long life and victory to our lord the pope! Long life and victory to our lord the emperor! Long life and victory to the Roman and Teutonic armies!"⁴ The names of Cæsar and Augustus, the laws of Constantine and Justinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otho, established the supreme dominion of the emperors: their title and image was engraved on the papal coins;⁵ and their jurisdiction was marked by the sword of justice, which they delivered to the præfect of the city. But every Roman prejudice was awakened by the name, the language, and the manners, of a barbarian lord. The

³ The coronation of the German Emperors at Rome, more especially in the xith century, is best represented from the original monuments by Muratori (*Antiquitat. Italiæ mediæ Ævi*, tom. i. dissertat. ii. p. 99, &c.) and Cenni (*Monument. Domin. Pontif.*, tom. ii. diss. vi. p. 261), the latter of whom I only know from the copious extract of Schmidt (*Hist. des Allemands*, tom. iii. pp. 255-266).

⁴ *Exercitui Romano et Teutonico!* The latter was both seen and felt; but the former was no more than *magni nominis umbra*.

⁵ Muratori has given the series of the papal coins (*Antiquitat. tom. ii. diss. xxvii. pp. 548-554*). He finds only two more early than the year 800; fifty are still extant from Leo III. to Leo IX. with the addition of the reigning emperor; none remain of Gregory VII. or Urban II.; but in those of Paschal II. he seems to have renounced this badge of dependence.

Cæsars of Saxony or Franconia were the chiefs of a feudal aristocracy; nor could they exercise the discipline of civil and military power, which alone secures the obedience of a distant people, impatient of servitude, though perhaps incapable of freedom. Once, and once only, in his life, each emperor, with an army of Teutonic vassals, descended from the Alps. I have described the peaceful order of his entry and coronation; but that order was commonly disturbed by the clamour and sedition of the Romans, who encountered their sovereign as a foreign invader: his departure was always speedy, and often shameful; and, in the absence of a long reign, his authority was insulted and his name was forgotten. The progress of independence in Germany and Italy undermined the foundations of the Imperial sovereignty, and the triumph of the popes was the deliverance of Rome.

Of her two sovereigns, the emperor had precariously reigned by the right of conquest; but the authority of the pope was founded on the soft, though more solid, basis of opinion and habit. The removal of a foreign influence restored and endeared the shepherd to his flock. Instead of the arbitrary or venal nomination of a German court, the vicar of Christ was freely chosen by the college of cardinals, most of whom were either natives or inhabitants of the city. The applause of the magistrates and people confirmed his election; and the ecclesiastical power that was obeyed in Sweden and Britain had been ultimately derived from the suffrage of the Romans. The same suffrage gave a prince, as well as a pontiff, to the capital. It was universally believed that Constantine had invested the popes with the temporal dominion of Rome; and the boldest civilians, the most profane sceptics, were satisfied with disputing the right of the emperor and the validity of his gift. The truth of the fact, the authenticity of his donation, was deeply rooted in the ignorance and tradition of four centuries; and the fabulous origin was lost in the real and permanent effects. The name of *Dominus*, or Lord, was inscribed

on the coin of the bishops: their title was acknowledged by acclamations and oaths of allegiance; and, with the free or reluctant consent of the German Cæsars, they had long exercised a supreme or subordinate jurisdiction over the city and patrimony of St. Peter. The reign of the popes, which gratified the prejudices, was not incompatible with the liberties of Rome; and a more critical inquiry would have revealed a still nobler source of their power: the gratitude of a nation, whom they had rescued from the heresy and oppression of the Greek tyrant. In an age of superstition, it should seem that the union of the royal and sacerdotal characters would mutually fortify each other, and that the keys of paradise would be the surest pledge of earthly obedience. The sanctity of the office might indeed be degraded by the personal vices of the man. But the scandals of the tenth century were obliterated by the austere and more dangerous virtues of Gregory the Seventh and his successors; and, in the ambitious contests which they maintained for the rights of the church, their sufferings or their success must equally tend to increase the popular veneration. They sometimes wandered in poverty and exile, the victims of persecution; and the apostolic zeal with which they offered themselves to martyrdom must engage the favour and sympathy of every Catholic breast. And sometimes, thundering from the Vatican, they created, judged, and deposed the kings of the world; nor could the proudest Roman be disgraced by submitting to a priest whose feet were kissed, and whose stirrup was held, by the successors of Charlemagne.⁶ Even the temporal interest of the city should have protected in peace and honour the residence of the popes, from whence a vain and lazy people derived the greatest

⁶ See Ducange, *Gloss. mediæ et infimæ Latinitat.* tom. vi. pp. 364, 365, STAFFA. This homage was paid by kings to archbishops, and by vassals to their lords (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 262); and it was the nicest policy of Rome to confound the marks of filial and of feudal subjection.

part of their subsistence and riches. The fixed revenue of the popes was probably impaired: many of the old patrimonial estates, both in Italy and the provinces, had been invaded by sacrilegious hands; nor could the loss be compensated by the claim rather than the possession of the more ample gifts of Pepin and his descendants. But the Vatican and Capitol were nourished by the incessant and increasing swarms of pilgrims and suppliants: the pale of Christianity was enlarged, and the pope and cardinals were overwhelmed by the judgment of ecclesiastical and secular causes. A new jurisprudence had established in the Latin church the right and practice of appeals;⁷ and from the North and West the bishops and abbots were invited or summoned to solicit, to complain, to accuse, or to justify, before the threshold of the apostles. A rare prodigy is once recorded, that two horses, belonging to the Archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, repassed the Alps, yet laden with gold and silver; but it was soon understood that the success, both of the pilgrims and clients, depended much less on the justice of their cause than on the value of their offering. The wealth and piety of these strangers were ostentatiously displayed; and their expenses, sacred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans.

Such powerful motives should have firmly attached the voluntary and pious obedience of the Roman people to their spiritual and temporal father. But the operation of prejudice and interest is often disturbed by the sallies of ungovernable passion. The Indian who fells the tree that he may gather the fruit,

⁷ The appeals from all the churches to the Roman Pontiff are deplored by the zeal of St. Bernard (*de Consideratione*, l. iii. tom. ii. pp. 431-442, edit. Mabillon, Venet. 1750), and the judgment of Fleury (*Discours sur l'Hist. Ecclésiastique*, iv. and vii.). But the saint, who believed in the false decretals, condemns only the abuse of these appeals; the more enlightened historian investigates the origin, and rejects the principles, of this new jurisprudence.

and the Arab who plunders the caravans of commerce, are actuated by the same impulse of savage nature, which overlooks the future in the present, and relinquishes for momentary rapine the long and secure possession of the most important blessings. And it was thus that the shrine of St. Peter was profaned by the thoughtless Romans, who pillaged the offerings and wounded the pilgrims, without computing the number and value of similar visits, which they prevented by their inhospitable sacrilege. Even the influence of superstition is fluctuating and precarious; and the slave, whose reason is subdued, will often be delivered by his avarice or pride. A credulous devotion for the fables and oracles of the priesthood most powerfully acts on the mind of a barbarian; yet such a mind is the least capable of preferring imagination to sense, of sacrificing to a distant motive, to an invisible, perhaps an ideal, object, the appetites and interests of the present world. In the vigour of health and youth, his practice will perpetually contradict his belief; till the pressure of age, or sickness, or calamity, awakens his terrors and compels him to satisfy the double debt of piety and remorse. I have already observed that the modern times of religious indifference are the most favourable to the peace and security of the clergy. Under the reign of superstition they had much to hope from the ignorance, and much to fear from the violence, of mankind. The wealth, whose constant increase must have rendered them the sole proprietors of the earth, was alternately bestowed by the repentant father and plundered by the rapacious son: their persons were adored or violated; and the same idol, by the hands of the same votaries, was placed on the altar or trampled in the dust. In the feudal system of Europe arms were the title of distinction and the measure of allegiance; and amidst their tumult the still voice of law and reason was seldom heard or obeyed. The turbulent Romans disdained the yoke, and insulted the impotence of their bishop; nor would his education or character

allow him to exercise, with decency or effect, the power of the sword. The motives of his election and the frailties of his life were exposed to their familiar observation; and proximity must diminish the reverence which his name and his decrees impressed on a barbarous world. This difference has not escaped the notice of our philosophic historian: "Though the name and authority of the court of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were sunk in profound ignorance and were entirely unacquainted with its character and conduct, the pope was so little revered at home that his inveterate enemies surrounded the gates of Rome itself and even controlled his government in that city; and the ambassadors, who, from a distant extremity of Europe, carried to him the humble, or rather abject, submissions of the greatest potentate of the age, found the utmost difficulty to make their way to him and to throw themselves at his feet."⁸

Since the primitive times, the wealth of the popes was exposed to envy, their power to opposition, and their persons to violence. But the long hostility of the mitre and the crown increased the numbers, and inflamed the passions, of their enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, so fatal to Italy, could never be embraced with truth or constancy by the Romans, the subjects and adversaries both of the bishop and emperor; but their support was solicited by both parties; and they alternately displayed in their banners the keys of St. Peter and the German

⁸ Hume's History of England, vol. i. p. 419. The same writer has given us, from Fitz Stephen, a singular act of cruelty perpetrated on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry II. "When he was master of Normandy, the chapter of Seez presumed, without his consent, to proceed to the election of a bishop; upon which, he ordered all of them, with the bishop elect, to be castrated, and made all their testicles be brought him in a platter." Of the pain and danger they might justly complain; yet, since they had vowed chastity, he deprived them of a superfluous treasure.

eagle. Gregory the Seventh, who may be adored or detested as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six-and-thirty of his successors,⁹ till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans: their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the solemn rites of religion, were polluted with sedition and murder. A repetition¹⁰ of such capricious brutality, without connection or design, would be tedious and disgusting; and I shall content myself with some events of the twelfth century, which represent the state of the popes and the city. On Holy Thursday, while Paschal officiated before the altar, he was interrupted by the clamours of the multitude, who imperiously demanded the confirmation of a favourite magistrate. His silence exasperated their fury: his pious refusal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menaces and oaths, that he should be the cause and the witness of the public ruin. During the festival of Easter, while the bishop and the clergy, barefoot and in procession, visited the tombs of the martyrs, they were twice assaulted, at the bridge of St. Angelo and before the Capitol, with volleys of stones and darts. The houses of his adherents were levelled with the ground: Paschal escaped with difficulty and danger; he levied an army in the patrimony of St. Peter; and his last days were embittered by suffering and inflicting the calamities of civil war. The scenes that followed the

⁹ From Leo IX. and Gregory VII. an authentic and contemporary series of the lives of the Popes, by the Cardinal of Arragon, Pandulphus Pisanus, Bernard Guido, &c. is inserted in the Italian historians of Muratori (tom. iii. p. i. pp. 277-685), and has been always before my eyes.

¹⁰ The dates of years may, throughout this chapter, be understood as tacit references to the Annals of Muratori, my ordinary and excellent guide. He uses, and indeed quotes, with the freedom of a master, his great Collection of the Italian Historians, in xxviii volumes; and, as that treasure is in my library, I have thought it an amusement, if not a duty, to consult the originals.

election of his successor Gelasius the Second were still more scandalous to the church and city. Cencio Frangipani, a potent and factious baron, burst into the assembly furious and in arms: the cardinals were stripped, beaten, and trampled under foot; and he seized, without pity or respect, the vicar of Christ by the throat. Gelasius was dragged by his hair along the ground, buffeted with blows, wounded with spurs, and bound with an iron chain in the house of his brutal tyrant. An insurrection of the people delivered their bishop: the rival families opposed the violence of the Frangipani; and Cencio, who sued for pardon, repented of the failure rather than of the guilt of his enterprise. Not many days had elapsed when the pope was again assaulted at the altar. While his friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody contest, he escaped in his sacerdotal garments. In this unworthy flight, which excited the compassion of the Roman matrons, his attendants were scattered or unhorsed; and, in the fields behind the church of St. Peter, his successor was found alone and half dead with fear and fatigue. Shaking the dust from his feet, the *apostle* withdrew from a city in which his dignity was insulted and his person was endangered; and the vanity of sacerdotal ambition is revealed in the involuntary confession that one emperor was more tolerable than twenty. These examples might suffice; but I cannot forget the sufferings of two pontiffs of the same age, the second and third of the name of Lucius. The former, as he ascended in battle-array to assault the Capitol, was struck on the temple by a stone, and expired in a few days; the latter was severely wounded in the persons of his servants. In a civil commotion several of his priests had been made prisoners; and the inhuman Romans, reserving one as a guide for his brethren, put out their eyes, crowned them with ludicrous mitres, mounted them on asses, with their faces to the tail, and extorted an oath that in this wretched condition they should offer themselves as a lesson to the head of the church. Hope or fear,

lassitude or remorse, the characters of the men and the circumstances of the times, might sometimes obtain an interval of peace and obedience; and the pope was restored with joyful acclamations to the Lateran or Vatican, from whence he had been driven with threats and violence. But the root of mischief was deep and perennial; and a momentary calm was preceded and followed by such tempests as had almost sunk the bark of St. Peter. Rome continually presented the aspect of war and discord: the churches and palaces were fortified and assaulted by the factions and families; and, after giving peace to Europe, Calixtus the Second alone had resolution and power to prohibit the use of private arms in the metropolis. Among the nations who revered the apostolic throne, the tumults of Rome provoked a general indignation; and, in a letter to his disciple Eugenius the Third, St. Bernard, with the sharpness of his wit and zeal, has stigmatised the vices of the rebellious people. "Who is ignorant," says the monk of Clairvaux, "of the vanity and arrogance of the Romans? a nation nursed in sedition, cruel, untractable, and scorning to obey, unless they are too feeble to resist. When they promise to serve, they aspire to reign; if they swear allegiance, they watch the opportunity of revolt; yet they vent their discontent in loud clamours, if your doors or your councils are shut against them. Dexterous in mischief, they have never learned the science of doing good. Odious to earth and heaven, impious to God, seditious among themselves, jealous of their neighbours, inhuman to strangers, they love no one, by no one are they beloved; and, while they wish to inspire fear, they live in base and continual apprehension. They will not submit; they know how to govern; faithless to their superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrateful to their benefactors, and alike imprudent in their demands and their refusals. Lofty in promise, poor in execution: adulation and calumny, perfidy and treason, are the familiar arts of their policy." Surely this dark portrait is not coloured by the pencil of Christian

charity; ¹¹ yet the features, however harsh and ugly, express a lively resemblance of the Romans of the twelfth century. ¹²

The Jews had rejected the Christ when he appeared among them in a plebeian character; and the Romans might plead their ignorance of his vicar when he assumed the pomp and pride of a temporal sovereign. In the busy age of the crusades, some sparks of curiosity and reason were rekindled in the Western world: the heresy of Bulgaria, the Paulician sect, was successfully transplanted into the soil of Italy and France; the Gnostic visions were mingled with the simplicity of the Gospel; and the enemies of the clergy reconciled their passions with their conscience, the desire of freedom with the profession of piety. ¹³ The trumpet of Roman liberty was first sounded by Arnold of Brescia, ¹⁴ whose promotion in the church was confined to the lowest rank, and who wore the monastic habit rather as a garb of poverty than as an uniform of obedience. His adversaries could not deny the wit and eloquence which they severely felt: they

¹¹ As a Roman citizen, Petrarch takes leave to observe that Bernard, though a saint, was a man; that he might be provoked by resentment, and possibly repent of his hasty passion, &c. (*Mémoires sur la Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. i. p. 330).

¹² Baronius, in his index to the xiith volume of his *Annals*, has found a fair and easy excuse. He makes two heads, of *Romani Catholici* and *Schismatici*; to the former, he applies all the good, to the latter all the evil, that is told of the city.

¹³ The heresies of the xiith century may be found in Mosheim (*Institut. Hist. Eccles.* pp. 419-427), who entertains a favourable opinion of Arnold of Brescia. In the 6th volume, I have described the sect of the Paulicians, and followed their migration from Armenia to Thrace and Bulgaria, Italy and France.

¹⁴ The original pictures of Arnold of Brescia are drawn by Otho bishop of Frisingen (*Chron.* l. vii. c. 31, de *Gestis Frederici I.* l. i. c. 27, l. ii. c. 21), and in l. iii. of the *Ligurinus*, a poem of Gunther, who flourished A.D. 1200, in the monastery of Paris, near Basil (*Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimæ Ætatis*, tom. iii. pp. 174, 175). The long passage that relates to Arnold, is produced by Guilliman (*de Rebus Helveticis*, l. iii. c. 5, p. 108).

confess with reluctance the specious purity of his morals; and his errors were recommended to the public by a mixture of important and beneficial truths. In his theological studies, he had been the disciple of the famous and unfortunate Abelard,¹⁵ who was likewise involved in the suspicion of heresy: but the lover of Eloisa was of a soft and flexible nature; and his ecclesiastic judges were edified and disarmed by the humility of his repentance. From this master Arnold most probably imbibed some metaphysical definitions of the Trinity, repugnant to the taste of the times: his ideas of baptism and the eucharist are loosely censured; but a *political* heresy was the source of his fame and misfortunes. He presumed to quote the declaration of Christ that his kingdom is not of this world: he boldly maintained that the sword and the sceptre were entrusted to the civil magistrate; that temporal honours and possessions were lawfully vested in secular persons; that the abbots, the bishops, and the pope himself must renounce either their state or their salvation; and that, after the loss of their revenues, the voluntary tithes and oblations of the faithful would suffice, not indeed for luxury and avarice, but for a frugal life in the exercise of spiritual labours. During a short time the preacher was revered as a patriot; and the discontent, or revolt, of Brescia against her bishop was the first-fruits of his dangerous lessons. But the favour of the people is less permanent than the resentment of the priest; and, after the heresy of Arnold had been condemned by Innocent the Second in the general council of the Lateran, the magistrates themselves were urged by prejudice and fear to execute the sentence of the church. Italy could no longer afford a refuge; and the disciple of Abelard escaped beyond the Alps, till he found a safe and hospitable

¹⁵ The wicked wit of Bayle was amused in composing, with much levity and learning, the articles of ABÉLARD, FOULQUES, HELOISE, in his *Dictionnaire Critique*. The dispute of Abelard and St. Bernard, of scholastic and positive divinity, is well understood by Mosheim (*Institut. Hist. Eccles.* pp. 412-415).

shelter in Zürich, now the first of the Swiss cantons. From a Roman station,¹⁶ a royal villa, a chapter of noble virgins, Zürich had gradually increased to a free and flourishing city, where the appeals of the Milanese were sometimes tried by the Imperial commissaries. In an age less ripe for reformation, the præcursor of Zuinglius was heard with applause : a brave and simple people imbibed, and long retained, the colour of his opinions ; and his art, or merit, seduced the bishop of Constance, and even the pope's legate, who forgot, for his sake, the interest of their master and their order. Their tardy zeal was quickened by the fierce exhortations of St. Bernard ; and the enemy of the church was driven by persecution to the desperate measure of erecting his standard in Rome itself, in the face of the successor of St. Peter.

Yet the courage of Arnold was not devoid of discretion : he was protected, and had perhaps been invited, by the nobles and people ; and in the service of freedom his eloquence thundered over the seven hills. Blending in the same discourse the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of gospel and of classic enthusiasm, he admonished the Romans how strangely their patience and the vices of the clergy had degenerated from the primitive times of the church and the city. He exhorted them to assert the inalienable rights of men and Christians ; to restore the laws and magistrates of the republic ; to respect the *name* of the emperor ; but to confine their shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock. Nor could his spiritual government escape the censure and control of the reformer ; and the inferior clergy were taught by his lessons to resist the cardinals, who had usurped a despotic command over the twenty-eight regions or parishes of Rome. The revolution was not accom-

¹⁶ A Roman inscription of *Statio Turicensis* has been found at Zürich (d'Anville, *Notice de l'ancienne Gaule*, pp. 642-644) ; but it is without sufficient warrant that the city and canton have usurped and even monopolised the names of *Tigurum* and *Pagus Tigurinus*.

plished without rapine and violence, the effusion of blood, and the demolition of houses; the victorious faction was enriched with the spoils of the clergy and the adverse nobles. Arnold of Brescia enjoyed or deplored the effects of his mission: his reign continued above ten years, while two popes, Innocent the Second and Anastasius the Fourth, either trembled in the Vatican or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were succeeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff, Adrian the Fourth,¹⁷ the only Englishman who has ascended the throne of St. Peter; and whose merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almost a beggar, in the monastery of St. Albans. On the first provocation, of a cardinal killed or wounded in the streets, he cast an interdict on the guilty people: and, from Christmas to Easter, Rome was deprived of the real or imaginary comforts of religious worship. The Romans had despised their temporal prince: they submitted with grief and terror to the censures of their spiritual father; their guilt was expiated by penance, and the banishment of the seditious preacher was the price of their absolution. But the revenge of Adrian was yet unsatisfied, and the approaching coronation of Frederic Barbarossa was fatal to the bold reformer, who had offended, though not in an equal degree, the heads of the church and state. In their interview at Viterbo, the pope represented to the emperor the furious, ungovernable spirit of the Romans: the insults, the injuries, the fears, to which his person and his clergy were continually exposed; and the pernicious tendency of the heresy of Arnold, which must subvert the principles of civil as well as ecclesiastical subordination. Frederic was convinced by these arguments, or tempted by the desire of the Imperial crown; in the balance of ambition, the innocence or life of an individual is of small account; and their common enemy was sacrificed to a moment of political concord.

¹⁷ The English reader may consult the *Biographia Britannica*, ADRIAN IV., but our own writers have added nothing to the fame or merits of their countryman.

After his retreat from Rome, Arnold had been protected by the viscounts of Campania, from whom he was extorted by the power of Cæsar: the præfect of the city pronounced his sentence; the martyr of freedom was burnt alive in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people; and his ashes were cast into the Tiber, lest the heretics should collect and worship the relics of their master. The clergy triumphed in his death; with his ashes, his sect was dispersed; his memory still lived in the minds of the Romans. From his school they had probably derived a new article of faith, that the metropolis of the Catholic church is exempt from the penalties of excommunication and interdict. Their bishops might argue that the supreme jurisdiction, which they exercised over kings and nations, more specially embraced the city and diocese of the prince of the apostles. But they preached to the winds, and the same principle that weakened the effect, must temper the abuse, of the thunders of the Vatican.

The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a belief that as early as the tenth century, in their first struggles against the Saxon Othos, the commonwealth was vindicated and restored by the senate and people of Rome; that two consuls were annually elected among the nobles; and that ten or twelve plebeian magistrates revived the name and office of the tribunes of the commons. But this venerable structure disappears before the light of criticism. In the darkness of the middle ages, the appellations of senators, of consuls, of the sons of consuls, may sometimes be discovered.¹⁸ They were bestowed by the emperors, or assumed by the most powerful citizens, to denote

¹⁸ In the panegyric of Berengarius (Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. ii. p. i. p. 408), a Roman is mentioned as *consulis natus* in the beginning of the xth century. Muratori (*dissert. v.*) discovers, in the years 952 and 956, Gratianus in *Dei nomine consul et dux*, Georgius *consul et dux*; and in 1015, Romanus, brother of Gregory VIII., proudly, but vaguely, styles himself *consul et dux et omnium Romanorum senator*.

their rank, their honours,¹⁹ and perhaps the claim of a pure and patrician descent: but they float on the surface, without a series or a substance, the titles of men, not the orders of government; ²⁰ and it is only from the year of Christ one thousand one hundred and forty-four, that the establishment of the senate is dated as a glorious æra, in the acts of the city. A new constitution was hastily framed by private ambition or popular enthusiasm; nor could Rome, in the twelfth century, produce an antiquary to explain, or a legislator to restore, the harmony and proportions of the ancient model. The assembly of a free, of an armed, people will ever speak in loud and weighty acclamations. But the regular distribution of the thirty-five tribes, the nice balance of the wealth and numbers of the centuries, the debates of the adverse orators, and the slow operation of votes and ballots could not easily be adapted by a blind multitude, ignorant of the arts, and insensible of the benefits, of legal government. It was proposed by Arnold to revive and discriminate the equestrian order; but what could be the motive or measure of such distinction? ²¹ The pecuniary qualification of the knights

¹⁹ As late as the xth century, the Greek emperors conferred on the dukes of Venice, Naples, Amalfi, &c. the title of *ὑπατος*, or consuls (see Chron. Sagornini, *passim*); and the successors of Charlemagne would not abdicate any of their prerogatives. But, in general, the names of *consul* and *senator*, which may be found among the French and Germans, signify no more than count or lord (*Signeur*, Ducange, Glossar.). The monkish writers are often ambitious of fine classic words.

²⁰ The most constitutional form is a diploma of Otho III. (A.D. 998), *Consulibus senatus populique Romani*; but the act is probably spurious. At the coronation of Henry I. A.D. 1014, the historian Dithmar (apud Muratori, Dissert. xxiii.) describes him, *a senatoribus duodecim vallatum, quorum sex rasi barbâ alii prolixâ mystice incedebant cum baculis*. The senate is mentioned in the panegyric of Berengarius (p. 406).

²¹ In ancient Rome, the equestrian order was not ranked with the senate and people as a third branch of the republic till the consulship of Cicero, who assumes the merit of the establishment (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 3; Beaufort, République Romaine, tom. i. pp. 144-155).

must have been reduced to the poverty of the times : those times no longer required their civil functions of judges and farmers of the revenue ; and their primitive duty, their military service on horseback, was more nobly supplied by feudal tenures and the spirit of chivalry. The jurisprudence of the republic was useless and unknown ; the nations and families of Italy, who lived under the Roman and barbaric laws, were insensibly mingled in a common mass ; and some faint tradition, some imperfect fragments, preserved the memory of the Code and Pandects of Justinian. With their liberty, the Romans might doubtless have restored the appellation and office of consuls, had they not disdained a title so promiscuously adopted in the Italian cities that it has finally settled on the humble station of the agents of commerce in a foreign land. But the rights of the tribunes, the formidable word that arrested the public counsels, suppose, or must produce, a legitimate democracy. The old patricians were the subjects, the modern barons the tyrants, of the state ; nor would the enemies of peace and order, who insulted the vicar of Christ, have long respected the unarmed sanctity of a plebeian magistrate.

In the revolution of the twelfth century, which gave a new existence and æra to Rome, we may observe the real and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence. I. The Capitoline hill, one of her seven eminences,²² is about four hundred yards in length and two hundred in breadth. A flight of an hundred steps led to the summit of the Tarpeian rock ; and far steeper was the ascent before the declivities had been smoothed and the precipices filled by the ruins of fallen edifices. From the earliest ages, the Capitol had been used as a temple in peace, a

²² After many disputes among the antiquaries of Rome, it seems determined that the summit of the Capitoline hill next the river is strictly the Mons Tarpeius, the Arx ; and that, on the other summit, the church and convent of Araceli, the barefoot friars of St. Francis, occupy the temple of Jupiter (Nardini, *Roma Antica*, l. v. c. 11-16).

fortress in war: after the loss of the city, it maintained a siege against the victorious Gauls; and the sanctuary of empire was occupied, assaulted, and burnt, in the civil wars of Vitellius and Vespasian. The temples of Jupiter and his kindred deities had crumbled into dust; their place was supplied by monasteries and houses; and the solid walls, the long and shelving porticoes, were decayed or ruined by the lapse of time. It was the first act of the Romans, an act of freedom, to restore the strength, though not the beauty, of the Capitol; to fortify the seat of their arms and counsels; and, as often as they ascended the hill, the coldest minds must have glowed with the remembrance of their ancestors. II. The first Cæsars had been invested with the exclusive coinage of the gold and silver; to the senate they abandoned the baser metal of bronze or copper:²³ the emblems and legends were inscribed on a more ample field by the genius of flattery; and the prince was relieved from the care of celebrating his own virtues. The successors of Diocletian despised even the flattery of the senate: their royal officers at Rome, and in the provinces, assumed the sole direction of the mint; and the same prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy, and the long series of the Greek, the French, and the German dynasties. After an abdication of eight hundred years, the Roman senate asserted this honourable and lucrative privilege; which was tacitly renounced by the popes, from Paschal the Second to the establishment of their residence beyond the Alps. Some of these republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are shown in the cabinets of the curious. On one of these, a gold medal, Christ is depicted, holding in his left hand a

²³ This partition of the nobler and the baser metals between the emperor and senate must, however, be adopted, not as a positive fact, but as the probable opinion of the best antiquaries (see the *Science des Médailles* of the Père Joubert, tom. ii. pp. 208-211, in the improved and scarce edition of the Baron de la Bastie).

book with this inscription, "THE VOW OF THE ROMAN SENATE AND PEOPLE: ROME, THE CAPITAL OF THE WORLD;" on the reverse, St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling senator in his cap and gown, with the name and arms of his family impressed on a shield. III. With the empire, the præfect of the city had declined to a municipal officer; yet he still exercised in the last appeal the civil and criminal jurisdiction; and a drawn sword, which he received from the successors of Otho, was the mode of his investiture and the emblem of his functions. The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome; the choice of the people was ratified by the pope; but a triple oath of fidelity must have often embarrassed the præfect in the conflict of adverse duties. A servant, in whom they possessed but a third share, was dismissed by the independent Romans: in his place they elected a patrician; but this title, which Charlemagne had not disdained, was too lofty for a citizen or a subject; and, after the first fervour of rebellion, they consented without reluctance to the restoration of the præfect. About fifty years after this event, Innocent the Third, the most ambitious, or at least the most fortunate, of the pontiffs, delivered the Romans and himself from this badge of foreign dominion: he invested the præfect with a banner instead of a sword, and absolved him from all dependence of oaths or service to the German emperors. In his place an ecclesiastic, a present or future cardinal, was named by the pope to the civil government of Rome; but his jurisdiction has been reduced to a narrow compass; and in the days of freedom the right or exercise was derived from the senate and people. IV. After the revival of the senate, the conscript fathers (if I may use the expression) were invested with the legislative and executive power; but their views seldom reached beyond the present day; and that day was most frequently disturbed by violence and tumult. In its utmost plenitude, the order or assembly consisted of fifty-six senators, the most eminent of whom were distinguished

by the title of counsellors : they were nominated, perhaps annually, by the people ; and a previous choice of their electors, ten persons in each region or parish, might afford a basis for a free and permanent constitution. The popes, who in this tempest submitted rather to bend than to break, confirmed by treaty the establishment and privileges of the senate, and expected from time, peace, and religion, the restoration of their government. The motives of public and private interest might sometimes draw from the Romans an occasional and temporary sacrifice of their claims ; and they renewed their oath of allegiance to the successor of St. Peter and Constantine, the lawful head of the church and the republic.

The union and vigour of a public council was dissolved in a lawless city ; and the Romans soon adopted a more strong and simple mode of administration. They condensed the name and authority of the senate in a single magistrate or two colleagues ; and, as they were changed at the end of a year or of six months, the greatness of the trust was compensated by the shortness of the term. But in this transient reign, the senators of Rome indulged their avarice and ambition : their justice was perverted by the interest of their family and faction ; and, as they punished only their enemies, they were obeyed only by their adherents. Anarchy, no longer tempered by the pastoral care of their bishop, admonished the Romans that they were incapable of governing themselves ; and they sought abroad those blessings which they were hopeless of finding at home. In the same age, and from the same motives, most of the Italian republics were prompted to embrace a measure, which, however strange it may seem, was adapted to their situation, and productive of the most salutary effects. They chose, in some foreign but friendly city, an impartial magistrate, of noble birth and unblemished character, a soldier and a statesman, recommended by the voice of fame and his country, to whom they delegated for a time the supreme administration of

peace and war. The compact between the governor and the governed was sealed with oaths and subscriptions; and the duration of his power, the measure of his stipend, the nature of their mutual obligations, were defined with scrupulous precision. They swore to obey him as their lawful superior: he pledged his faith to unite the indifference of a stranger with the zeal of a patriot. At his choice, four or six knights and civilians, his assessors in arms and justice, attended the *Podestà*, who maintained at his own expense a decent retinue of servants and horses; his wife, his son, his brother, who might bias the affections of the judge, were left behind; during the exercise of his office, he was not permitted to purchase land, to contract an alliance, or even to accept an invitation in the house of a citizen; nor could he honourably depart till he had satisfied the complaints that might be urged against his government.

It was thus, about the middle of the thirteenth century, that the Romans called from Bologna the senator Brancalone, whose fame and merit have been rescued from oblivion by the pen of an English historian. A just anxiety for his reputation, a clear foresight of the difficulties of the task, had engaged him to refuse the honour of their choice: the statutes of Rome were suspended, and his office prolonged to the term of three years. By the guilty and licentious he was accused as cruel; by the clergy he was suspected as partial; but the friends of peace and order applauded the firm and upright magistrate by whom those blessings were restored. No criminals were so powerful as to brave, so obscure as to elude, the justice of the senator. By his sentence, two nobles of the Annibaldi family were executed on a gibbet; and he inexorably demolished, in the city and neighbourhood, one hundred and forty towers, the strong shelters of rapine and mischief. The bishop, as a simple bishop, was compelled to reside in his diocese; and the standard of Brancalone was displayed in the field with terror and effect. His services were repaid by the ingratitude

of a people unworthy of the happiness which they enjoyed. By the public robbers, whom he had provoked for their sake, the Romans were excited to depose and imprison their benefactor; nor would his life have been spared, if Bologna had not possessed a pledge for his safety. Before his departure, the prudent senator had required the exchange of thirty hostages of the noblest families of Rome: on the news of his danger, and at the prayer of his wife, they were more strictly guarded; and Bologna, in the cause of honour, sustained the thunders of a papal interdict. This generous resistance allowed the Romans to compare the present with the past; and Brancaleone was conducted from the prison to the Capitol amidst the acclamations of a repentant people. The remainder of his government was firm and fortunate; and, as soon as envy was appeased by death, his head, enclosed in a precious vase, was deposited on a lofty column of marble.

The impotence of reason and virtue recommended in Italy a more effectual choice: instead of a private citizen, to whom they yielded a voluntary and precarious obedience, the Romans elected for their senator some prince of independent power, who could defend them from their enemies and themselves. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the most ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the same time the kingdom of Naples from the pope and the office of senator from the Roman people. As he passed through the city in his road to victory he received their oath of allegiance, lodged in the Lateran palace, and smoothed in a short visit the harsh features of his despotic character. Yet even Charles was exposed to the inconstancy of the people, who saluted with the same acclamations the passage of his rival, the unfortunate Conradin; and a powerful avenger, who reigned in the Capitol, alarmed the fears and jealousy of the popes. The absolute term of his life was superseded by a renewal every third year; and the enmity of Nicholas the Third obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the

government of Rome. In his bull, a perpetual law, the imperious pontiff asserts the truth, validity, and use of the donation of Constantine, not less essential to the peace of the city than to the independence of the church; establishes the annual election of the senator; and formally disqualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and persons of an eminent and conspicuous rank.²⁴ This prohibitory clause was repealed in his own behalf by Martin the Fourth, who humbly solicited the suffrage of the Romans. In the presence, and by the authority, of the people, two electors conferred, not on the pope, but on the noble and faithful Martin, the dignity of senator and the supreme administration of the republic,²⁵ to hold during his natural life, and to exercise at pleasure by himself or his deputies. About fifty years afterwards the same title was granted to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and the liberty of Rome was acknowledged by her two sovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis.

In the first moments of rebellion, when Arnold of Brescia had inflamed their minds against the church, the Romans artfully laboured to conciliate the favour of the empire, and to recommend their merit and services in the cause of Cæsar. The style of their ambassadors to Conrad the Third and Frederic the First is a mixture of flattery and pride, the tradition and ignorance of their own history.²⁶ After some

²⁴ The high-sounding bull of Nicholas III., which founds his temporal sovereignty on the donation of Constantine, is still extant; and, as it has been inserted by Boniface VIII. in the *Sexte* of the Decretals, it must be received by the Catholics, or at least by the Papists, as a sacred and perpetual law.

²⁵ I am indebted to Fleury (*Hist. Ecclés.* tom. xviii. p. 306) for an extract of this Roman act which he has taken from the Ecclesiastical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus, A.D. 1281, No. 14, 15.

²⁶ These letters and speeches are preserved by Otho, Bishop of Frisingen (*Fabric. Bibliot. Lat. med. et infim.* tom. v. pp. 186, 187), perhaps the noblest of historians; he was son of Leopold, marquis of Austria; his mother, Agnes, was daughter

complaint of his silence and neglect, they exhort the former of these princes to pass the Alps and assume from their hands the Imperial crown. "We beseech your Majesty not to disdain the humility of your sons and vassals, not to listen to the accusations of our common enemies, who calumniate the senate as hostile to your throne, who sow the seeds of discord, that they may reap the harvest of destruction. The pope and the *Sicilian* are united in an impious league to oppose *our* liberty and *your* coronation. With the blessing of God, our zeal and courage has hitherto defeated their attempts. Of their powerful and factious adherents, more especially the Frangipani, we have taken by assault the houses and turrets: some of these are occupied by our troops, and some are levelled with the ground. The Milvian bridge, which they had broken, is restored and fortified for your safe passage; and your army may enter the city without being annoyed from the castle of St. Angelo. All that we have done, and all that we design, is for your honour and service, in the loyal hope that you will speedily appear in person to vindicate those rights which have been invaded by the clergy, to revive the dignity of the empire, and to surpass the fame and glory of your predecessors. May you fix your residence in Rome, the capital of the world; give laws to Italy and the Teutonic kingdom; and imitate the example of Constantine and Justinian, who, by the vigour of the senate and people, obtained the sceptre of the earth." But these splendid and fallacious wishes were not cherished by Conrad the Franconian, whose eyes were fixed on the Holy Land, and who died without visiting Rome soon after his return from the Holy Land.

His nephew and successor, Frederic Barbarossa, was of the emperor Henry IV. ; and he was half-brother and uncle to Conrad III. and Frederic I. He has left, in seven books, a Chronicle of the Times; in two, the *Gesta Frederici I.*, the last of which is inserted in the sixth volume of Muratori's historians.

more ambitious of the Imperial crown ; nor had any of the successors of Otho acquired such absolute sway over the kingdom of Italy. Surrounded by his ecclesiastical and secular princes, he gave audience in his camp at Sutri to the ambassadors of Rome, who thus addressed him in a free and florid oration : “ Incline your ear to the queen of cities ; approach with a peaceful and friendly mind the precincts of Rome, which has cast away the yoke of the clergy and is impatient to crown her legitimate emperor. Under your auspicious influence, may the primitive times be restored. Assert the prerogatives of the eternal city, and reduce under her monarchy the insolence of the world. You are not ignorant that in former ages, by the wisdom of the senate, by the valour and discipline of the equestrian order, she extended her victorious arms to the East and West, beyond the Alps, and over the islands of the ocean. By our sins, in the absence of our princes, the noble institution of the senate has sunk in oblivion ; and with our prudence our strength has likewise decreased. We have revived the senate and the equestrian order ; the counsels of the one, the arms of the other, will be devoted to your person and the service of the empire. Do you not hear the language of the Roman matron ? You were a guest, I have adopted you as a citizen ; a Transalpine stranger, I have elected you for my sovereign ; and given you myself, and all that is mine. Your first and most sacred duty is to swear and subscribe that you will shed your blood for the republic ; that you will maintain in peace and justice the laws of the city and the charters of your predecessors ; and that you will reward with five thousand pounds of silver the faithful senators who shall proclaim your titles in the Capitol. With the name assume the character of Augustus.” The flowers of Latin rhetoric were not yet exhausted ; but Frederic, impatient of their vanity, interrupted the orators in the high tone of royalty and conquest. “ Famous indeed have been the fortitude and wisdom of the ancient Romans ; but your speech is not

seasoned with wisdom, and I could wish that fortitude were conspicuous in your actions. Like all sublunary things, Rome has felt the vicissitudes of time and fortune. Your noblest families were translated to the East, to the royal city of Constantine; and the remains of your strength and freedom have long since been exhausted by the Greeks and Franks. Are you desirous of beholding the ancient glory of Rome, the gravity of the senate, the spirit of the knights, the discipline of the camp, the valour of the legions? you will find them in the German republic. It is not empire, naked and alone, the ornaments and virtues of empire have likewise migrated beyond the Alps to a more deserving people; they will be employed in your defence, but they claim your obedience. You pretend that myself or my predecessors have been invited by the Romans: you mistake the word; they were not invited, they were implored. From its foreign and domestic tyrants, the city was rescued by Charlemagne and Otho, whose ashes repose in our country; and their dominion was the price of your deliverance. Under that dominion your ancestors lived and died. I claim by the right of inheritance and possession, and who shall dare to extort you from my hands? Is the hand of the Franks²⁷ and Germans enfeebled by age? Am I vanquished? Am I a captive? Am I not encompassed with the banners of a potent and invincible army? You impose conditions on your master; you require oaths: if the conditions are just, an oath is superfluous; if unjust, it is criminal. Can you doubt my equity? It is extended to the meanest of my subjects. Will not my sword be unsheathed in the defence of the Capitol? By that sword the northern kingdom of Denmark has been restored to the Roman empire. You prescribe the measure and the objects of

²⁷ Otho of Frisingen, who surely understood the language of the court and diet of Germany, speaks of the Franks in the xiith century as the reigning nation (*Proceres Franci, equites Franci, manus Francorum*); he adds, however, the epithet of *Teutonici*.

my bounty, which flows in a copious but a voluntary stream. All will be given to patient merit; all will be denied to rude importunity.”²⁸ Neither the emperor nor the senate could maintain these lofty pretensions of dominion and liberty. United with the pope, and suspicious of the Romans, Frederic continued his march to the Vatican: his coronation was disturbed by a sally from the Capitol; and, if the numbers and valour of the Germans prevailed in the bloody conflict, he could not safely encamp in the presence of a city of which he styled himself the sovereign. About twelve years afterwards he besieged Rome, to seat an antipope in the chair of St. Peter; and twelve Pisan galleys were introduced into the Tiber; but the senate and people were saved by the arts of negotiation and the progress of disease; nor did Frederic or his successors reiterate the hostile attempt. Their laborious reigns were exercised by the popes, the crusades, and the independence of Lombardy and Germany; they courted the alliance of the Romans; and Frederic the Second offered in the Capitol the great standard, the *Caroccio* of Milan. After the extinction of the house of Swabia, they were banished beyond the Alps; and their last coronations betrayed the impotence and poverty of the Teutonic Cæsars.²⁹

Under the reign of Hadrian, when the empire extended from the Euphrates to the ocean, from Mount Atlas to the Grampian Hills, a fanciful historian amused the Romans with the picture of their infant wars. “There was a time,” says Florus, “when Tibur and Præneste, our summer retreats, were the

²⁸ Otho Frising. de Gestis Frederici I. l. ii. c. 22 pp. 720-723. These original and authentic acts I have translated with freedom, yet with fidelity.

²⁹ The decline of the Imperial arms and authority in Italy is related with impartial learning in the Annals of Muratori (tom. x.-xii.); and the reader may compare his narrative with the Histoire des Allemands (tom. iii. iv.) by Schmidt, who has deserved the esteem of his countrymen.

objects of hostile vows in the Capitol, when we dreaded the shades of the Arician groves, when we could triumph without a blush over the nameless villages of the Sabines and Latins, and even Corioli could afford a title not unworthy of a victorious general." The pride of his contemporaries was gratified by the contrast of the past and the present : they would have been humbled by the prospect of futurity ; by the prediction that after a thousand years Rome, despoiled of empire and contracted to her primæval limits, would renew the same hostilities on the same ground which was then decorated with her villas and gardens. The adjacent territory on either side of the Tiber was always claimed, and sometimes possessed, as the patrimony of St. Peter ; but the barons assumed a lawless independence, and the cities too faithfully copied the revolt and discord of the metropolis. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Romans incessantly laboured to reduce or destroy the contumacious vassals of the church and senate ; and, if their headstrong and selfish ambition was moderated by the pope, he often encouraged their zeal by the alliance of his spiritual arms. Their warfare was that of the first consuls and dictators, who were taken from the plough. They assembled in arms at the foot of the Capitol ; sallied from the gates, plundered or burnt the harvests of their neighbours, engaged in tumultuary conflict, and returned home after an expedition of fifteen or twenty days. Their sieges were tedious and unskilful : in the use of victory, they indulged the meaner passions of jealousy and revenge ; and, instead of adopting the valour, they trampled on the misfortunes, of their adversaries. The captives, in their shirts, with a rope round their necks, solicited their pardon : the fortifications and even the buildings of the rival cities were demolished, and the inhabitants were scattered in the adjacent villages. It was thus that the seats of the cardinal bishops, Porto, Ostia, Albanum, Tusculum, Præneste, and Tibur, or Tivoli, were successively overthrown by the ferocious hostility of the Romans. Of

these, Porto and Ostia, the two keys of the Tiber, are still vacant and desolate: the marshy and unwholesome banks are peopled with herds of buffaloes, and the river is lost to every purpose of navigation and trade. The hills, which afford a shady retirement from the autumnal heats, have again smiled with the blessings of peace; Frascati has arisen near the ruins of Tusculum; Tibur, or Tivoli, has resumed the honours of a city; and the meaner towns of Albano and Palestrina are decorated with the villas of the cardinals and princes of Rome. In the work of destruction, the ambition of the Romans was often checked and repulsed by the neighbouring cities and their allies: in the first siege of Tibur, they were driven from their camp; and the battles of Tusculum³⁰ and Viterbo³¹ might be compared, in their relative state, to the memorable fields of Thrasymene and Cannæ. In the first of these petty wars, thirty thousand Romans were overthrown by a thousand German horse, whom Frederic Barbarossa had detached to the relief of Tusculum; and, if we number the slain at three, the prisoners at two, thousand, we shall embrace the most authentic and moderate account. Sixty-eight years afterward, they marched against Viterbo, in the ecclesiastical state, with the whole force of the city; by a rare coalition, the Teutonic eagle was blended, in the adverse banners, with the keys of St. Peter; and the pope's auxiliaries were commanded by a count of Toulouse and a bishop of Winchester. The Romans were discomfited with shame and slaughter; but the English prelate must have indulged the vanity of a pilgrim, if he multiplied their numbers to one hundred, and their loss in the field to thirty, thousand men.

³⁰ I depart from my usual method of quoting only by the date the Annals of Muratori, in consideration of the critical balance in which he has weighed nine contemporary writers who mention the battle of Tusculum (tom. x. pp. 42-44).

³¹ Matthew Paris, p. 345. This bishop of Winchester was Peter de Rupibus, who occupied the see thirty-two years (A.D. 1206-1238), and is described, by the English historian, as a soldier and a statesman (pp. 178, 399).

Had the policy of the senate and the discipline of the legions been restored with the Capitol, the divided condition of Italy would have offered the fairest opportunity of a second conquest. But in arms the modern Romans were not *above*, and in arts they were far *below*, the common level of the neighbouring republics. Nor was their warlike spirit of any long continuance : after some irregular sallies, they subsided in the national apathy, in the neglect of military institutions, and in the disgraceful and dangerous use of foreign mercenaries.

Ambition is a weed of quick and early vegetation in the vineyard of Christ. Under the first Christian princes, the chair of St. Peter was disputed by the votes, the venality, the violence, of a popular election : the sanctuaries of Rome were polluted with blood ; and, from the third to the twelfth century, the church was distracted by the mischief of frequent schisms. As long as the final appeal was determined by the civil magistrate, these mischiefs were transient and local : the merits were tried by equity or favour ; nor could the unsuccessful competitor long disturb the triumph of his rival. But, after the emperors had been divested of their prerogatives, after a maxim had been established that the vicar of Christ is amenable to no earthly tribunal, each vacancy of the holy see might involve Christendom in controversy and war. The claims of the cardinals and inferior clergy, of the nobles and people, were vague and litigious : the freedom of choice was over-ruled by the tumults of a city that no longer owned or obeyed a superior. On the decease of a pope, two factions proceeded, in different churches, to a double election : the number and weight of votes, the priority of time, the merit of the candidates, might balance each other ; the most respectable of the clergy were divided ; and the distant princes who bowed before the spiritual throne could not distinguish the spurious from the legitimate idol. The emperors were often the authors of the schism, from the political motive of opposing a friendly

to an hostile pontiff; and each of the competitors was reduced to suffer the insults of his enemies, who were not awed by conscience, and to purchase the support of his adherents, who were instigated by avarice or ambition. A peaceful and perpetual succession was ascertained by Alexander the Third,³² who finally abolished the tumultuary votes of the clergy and people, and defined the right of election in the sole college of cardinals.³³ The three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons were assimilated to each other by this important privilege; the parochial clergy of Rome obtained the first rank in the hierarchy: they were indifferently chosen among the nations of Christendom; and the possession of the richest benefices, of the most important bishoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The senators of the Catholic church, the coadjutors and legates of the supreme pontiff, were robed in purple, the symbol of martyrdom or royalty; they claimed a proud equality with kings; and their dignity was enhanced by the smallness of their number, which, till the reign of Leo the Tenth, seldom exceeded twenty or twenty-five persons. By this wise regulation all doubt and scandal were removed, and the root of schism was so effectually destroyed that in a period of six hundred years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the sacred college. But, as the concurrence of two-thirds of the votes had been made necessary, the election was often delayed by the private interest and passions of the cardinals; and, while they prolonged

³² See Mosheim, *Institut. Histor. Ecclesiast.* pp. 401, 403. Alexander himself had nearly been the victim of a contested election; and the doubtful merits of Innocent had only preponderated by the weight of genius and learning which St. Bernard cast into the scale (see his life and writings).

³³ The origin, titles, importance, dress, precedency, &c. of the Roman cardinals, are very ably discussed by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. pp. 1262-1287); but their purple is now much faded. The sacred college was raised to the definite number of seventy-two, to represent, under his vicar, the disciples of Christ.

their independent reign, the Christian world was left destitute of an head. A vacancy of almost three years had preceded the elevation of Gregory the Tenth, who resolved to prevent the future abuse; and his bull, after some opposition, has been consecrated in the code of the canon law. Nine days are allowed for the obsequies of the deceased pope and the arrival of the absent cardinals. On the tenth, they are imprisoned, each with one domestic, in a common apartment, or *conclave*, without any separation of walls or curtains; a small window is reserved for the introduction of necessaries; but the door is locked on both sides, and guarded by the magistrates of the city, to seclude them from all correspondence with the world. If the election be not consummated in three days, the luxury of their tables is contracted to a single dish at dinner and supper; and after the eighth day they were reduced to a scanty allowance of bread, water, and wine. During the vacancy of the holy see, the cardinals are prohibited from touching the revenues, or assuming, unless in some rare emergency, the government of the church; all agreements and promises among the electors are formally annulled; and their integrity is fortified by their solemn oaths and the prayers of the Catholics. Some articles of inconvenient or superfluous rigour have been gradually relaxed, but the principle of confinement is vigorous and entire: they are still urged by the personal motives of health and freedom to accelerate the moment of their deliverance; and the improvement of ballot, or secret votes, has wrapt the struggles of the conclave³⁴ in the silky veil of charity and polite-

³⁴ The genius of Cardinal de Retz had a right to paint a conclave (of 1665), in which he was a spectator and an actor (*Mémoires*, tom. iv. pp. 15-57); but I am at a loss to appreciate the knowledge or authority of an anonymous Italian, whose history (*Conclavi de' Pontifici Romani*, in 4to, 1667) has been continued since the reign of Alexander VII. The accidental form of the work furnishes a lesson, though not an antidote, to ambition. From a labyrinth of intrigues, we emerge to the adoration of the successful candidate; but the next page opens with his funeral.

ness. By these institutions the Romans were excluded from the election of their prince and bishop; and in the fever of wild and precarious liberty they seemed insensible of the loss of this inestimable privilege. The emperor Lewis of Bavaria revived the example of the great Otho. After some negotiation with the magistrates, the Roman people was assembled in the square before St. Peter's; the pope of Avignon, John the Twenty-second, was deposed; the choice of his successor was ratified by their consent and applause. They freely voted for a new law, that their bishop should never be absent more than three months in the year and two days' journey from the city; and that, if he neglected to return on the third summons, the public servant should be degraded and dismissed.³⁵ But Lewis forgot his own debility and the prejudices of the times: beyond the precincts of a German camp, his useless phantom was rejected; the Romans despised their own workmanship; the anti-pope implored the mercy of his lawful sovereign; and the exclusive right of the cardinals was more firmly established by this unseasonable attack.

Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the senate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But the Romans forgot, and were forgotten, in the absence of the successors of Gregory the Seventh, who did not keep, as a divine precept, their ordinary residence in the city and diocese. The care of that diocese was less important than the government of the universal church; nor could the popes delight in a city in which their authority was always opposed and their person was often endangered. From the persecution of the emperors and the wars of Italy, they escaped beyond

³⁵ Villani (l. x. c. 68-71, in Muratori, Script. tom. xiii. pp. 641-645) relates this law, and the whole transaction, with much less abhorrence than the prudent Muratori. Any one conversant with the darker ages must have observed how much the sense (I mean the nonsense) of superstition is fluctuating and inconsistent.

the Alps into the hospitable bosom of France; from the tumults of Rome they prudently withdrew to live and die in the more tranquil stations of Anagni, Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities. When the flock was offended or impoverished by the absence of the shepherd, they were recalled by a stern admonition that St. Peter had fixed his chair, not in an obscure village, but in the capital of the world; by a ferocious menace that the Romans would march in arms to destroy the place and people that should dare to afford them a retreat. They returned with timorous obedience; and were saluted with the account of an heavy debt, of all the losses which their desertion had occasioned, the hire of lodgings, the sale of provisions, and the various expenses of servants and strangers who attended the court. After a short interval of peace, and perhaps of authority, they were again banished by new tumults, and again summoned by the imperious or respectful invitation of the senate. In these occasional retreats, the exiles and fugitives of the Vatican were seldom long, or far, distant from the metropolis; but in the beginning of the fourteenth century, the apostolic throne was transported, as it might seem, for ever, from the Tiber to the Rhône; and the cause of the transmigration may be deduced from the furious contest between Boniface the Eighth and the king of France.³⁶ The spiritual arms of excommunication and interdict were repulsed by the union of the three estates and the privileges of the Gallican church; but the pope was not prepared against the carnal weapons which Philip the Fair had courage to employ. As the pope resided at Anagni, without the suspicion of danger, his palace and person were assaulted by three hundred horse, who had been

³⁶ Besides the general historians of the church of Italy and of France, we possess a valuable treatise, composed by a learned friend of Thuanus, which his last and best editors have published in the appendix (*Histoire particulière du grand Différend entre Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bell, par Pierre du Puis, tom. vii. p. xi. pp. 61-82*).

secretly levied by William of Nogaret, a French minister, and Sciarra Colonna, of a noble but hostile family of Rome. The cardinals fled; the inhabitants of Anagni were seduced from their allegiance and gratitude; but the dauntless Boniface, unarmed and alone, seated himself in his chair, and awaited, like the conscript fathers of old, the swords of the Gauls. Nogaret, a foreign adversary, was content to execute the orders of his master: by the domestic enmity of Colonna, he was insulted with words and blows; and during a confinement of three days his life was threatened by the hardships which they inflicted on the obstinacy which they provoked. Their strange delay gave time and courage to the adherents of the church, who rescued him from sacrilegious violence; but his imperious soul was wounded in a vital part; and Boniface expired at Rome in a frenzy of rage and revenge. His memory is stained with the glaring vices of avarice and pride; nor has the courage of a martyr promoted this ecclesiastical champion to the honours of a saint: a magnanimous sinner (say the chronicles of the times), who entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog. He was succeeded by Benedict the Eleventh, the mildest of mankind. Yet he excommunicated the impious emissaries of Philip, and devoted the city and people of Anagni by a tremendous curse, whose effects are still visible to the eyes of superstition.³⁷

After his decease, the tedious and equal suspense of the conclave was fixed by the dexterity of the French faction. A specious offer was made and accepted, that, in the term of forty days, they would elect one of the three candidates who should be named by their opponents. The archbishop of Bordeaux, a furious enemy of his king and country, was the first on the

³⁷ It is difficult to know whether Labat (tom. iv. pp. 53-57) be in jest or earnest when he supposes that Anagni still feels the weight of this curse, and that the cornfields, or vineyards, or olive trees, are annually blasted by Nature, the obsequious handmaid of the popes.

list; but his ambition was known; and his conscience obeyed the calls of fortune and the commands of a benefactor, who had been informed by a swift messenger that the choice of a pope was now in his hands. The terms were regulated in a private interview; and with such speed and secrecy was the business transacted that the unanimous conclave applauded the elevation of Clement the Fifth.³⁸ The cardinals of both parties were soon astonished by a summons to attend him beyond the Alps; from whence, as they soon discovered, they must never hope to return. He was engaged, by promise and affection, to prefer the residence of France; and, after dragging his court through Poitou and Gascony, and devouring, by his expense, the cities and convents on the road, he finally reposed at Avignon,³⁹ which flourished above seventy years⁴⁰ the seat of the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Christendom. By land, by sea, by the Rhône, the position of Avignon was on all sides accessible; the southern provinces of France do not yield to Italy itself; new palaces arose for the accommodation of

³⁸ See in the Chronicle of Giovanni Villani (l. viii. c. 63, 64, 80, in Muratori, tom. xiii.) the imprisonment of Boniface VIII. and the election of Clement V., the last of which, like most anecdotes, is embarrassed with some difficulties.

³⁹ The original lives of the eight popes of Avignon, Clement V., John XXII., Benedict XII., Clement VI., Innocent VI., Urban V., Gregory XI., and Clement VII., are published by Stephen Baluze (*Vitæ Papparum Avenionensium*; Paris, 1693, 2 vols. in 4to), with copious and elaborate notes, and a second volume of acts and documents. With the true zeal of an editor and a patriot, he devoutly justifies or excuses the characters of his countrymen.

⁴⁰ The exile of Avignon is compared by the Italians with Babylon and the Babylonish captivity. Such furious metaphors, more suitable to the ardour of Petrarch than to the judgment of Muratori, are gravely refuted in Baluze's preface. The Abbé de Sade is distracted between the love of Petrarch and of his country. Yet he modestly pleads that many of the local inconveniences of Avignon are now removed; and many of the vices against which the poet declaims had been imported with the Roman court by the strangers of Italy (tom. i. pp. 23-28).

the pope and cardinals; and the arts of luxury were soon attracted by the treasures of the church. They were already possessed of the adjacent territory, the Venaissin county,⁴¹ a populous and fertile spot; and the sovereignty of Avignon was afterwards purchased from the youth and distress of Jane, the first queen of Naples, and countess of Provence, for the inadequate price of fourscore thousand florins.⁴² Under the shadow of the French monarchy, amidst an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honourable and tranquil state, to which they long had been strangers; but Italy deplored their absence; and Rome, in solitude and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the successor of St. Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitless: after the death of the old members, the sacred college was filled with French cardinals,⁴³ who beheld Rome and Italy with abhorrence and contempt, and perpetuated a series of national and even provincial popes, attached by the most indissoluble ties to their native country.

⁴¹ The comtat Venaissin was ceded to the popes, in 1273, by Philip III., king of France, after he had inherited the dominions of the count of Toulouse. Forty years before the heresy of Count Raymond had given them a pretence of seizure, and they derived some obscure claim from the xith century to some lands *citra Rhodanum* (*Valesii Notitia Galliarum*, pp. 459, 610; Longuerue, *Description de la France*, tom. i. pp. 376-381).

⁴² If a possession of four centuries were not itself a title, such objections might annul the bargain; but the purchase-money must be refunded, for indeed it was paid. *Civitatem Avenionem emit . . . per ejusmodi venditionem pecuniâ redundantes, &c.* (2da *Vita Clement. VI.* in Baluz. tom. i. p. 272; Muratori, *Script.* tom. iii. p. ii. p. 565). The only temptation for Jane and her second husband was ready money, and without it they could not have returned to the throne of Naples.

⁴³ Clement V. immediately promoted ten cardinals, nine French and one English (*Vita 4ta*, p. 63, et Baluz. p. 625, &c.). In 1331, the pope refused two candidates recommended by the king of France, *quod xx. Cardinales, de quibus xvii. de regno Franciæ originem traxisse noscuntur, in memorato collegio existant* (Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 1281).

The progress of industry had produced and enriched the Italian republics : the æra of their liberty is the most flourishing period of population and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce ; and their mechanic labours were gradually refined into the arts of elegance and genius. But the position of Rome was less favourable, the territory less fruitful ; the character of the inhabitants was debased by indolence, and elated by pride ; and they fondly conceived that the tribute of subjects must for ever nourish the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in some degree by the resort of pilgrims to the shrines of the apostles ; and the last legacy of the popes, the institution of the HOLY YEAR,⁴⁴ was not less beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Since the loss of Palestine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied to the crusades, remained without an object ; and the most valuable treasure of the church was sequestered above eight years from public circulation. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface the Eighth, who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice ; and the pope had sufficient learning to recollect and revive the secular games, which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century. To sound without danger the depth of popular credulity, a sermon was seasonably pronounced, a report was artfully scattered, some aged witnesses were produced ; and on the first of January of the year thirteen hundred the church of St. Peter was crowded with the faithful, who demanded the *customary* indulgence of the holy time. The pontiff, who watched and irritated their devout impatience, was soon persuaded, by ancient testimony, of the justice of their claim ; and he proclaimed a plenary absolution to all Catholics who, in the course of that year, and at every similar period, should respectfully

⁴⁴ Our primitive account is from Cardinal James Caietan (Maxima Bibliot. Patrum, tom. xxv.) ; and I am at a loss to determine whether the nephew of Boniface VIII. be a fool or a knave ; the uncle is a much clearer character,

visit the apostolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The welcome sound was propagated through Christendom; and at first from the nearest provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the highways were thronged with a swarm of pilgrims who sought to expiate their sins in a journey, however costly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military service. All exceptions of rank or sex, of age or infirmity, were forgotten in the common transport; and in the streets and churches many persons were trampled to death by the eagerness of devotion. The calculation of their numbers could not be easy nor accurate; and they have probably been magnified by a dexterous clergy, well apprised of the contagion of example: yet we are assured by a judicious historian, who assisted at the ceremony, that Rome was never replenished with less than two hundred thousand strangers; and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure; and two priests stood night and day, with rakes in their hands, to collect, without counting, the heaps of gold and silver that were poured on the altar of St. Paul. It was fortunately a season of peace and plenty; and, if forage was scarce, if inns and lodgings were extravagantly dear, an inexhaustible supply of bread and wine, of meat and fish, was provided by the policy of Boniface and the venal hospitality of the Romans. From a city without trade or industry, all casual riches will speedily evaporate: but the avarice and envy of the next generation solicited Clement the Sixth to anticipate the distant period of the century. The gracious pontiff complied with their wishes; afforded Rome this poor consolation for his loss; and justified the change by the name and practice of the Mosaic Jubilee.⁴⁵ His summons was obeyed; and the

⁴⁵ The sabbatic years and jubilees of the Mosaic law (Car. Sigon. de Republicâ Hebræorum, Opp. tom. iv. l. iii. c. 14, 15, pp. 151, 152), the suspension of all care and labour, the

number, zeal, and liberality of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive festival. But they encountered the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine; many wives and virgins were violated in the castles of Italy; and many strangers were pillaged or murdered by the savage Romans, no longer moderated by the presence of their bishop. To the impatience of the popes we may ascribe the successive reduction to fifty, thirty-three, and twenty-five years; although the second of these terms is commensurate with the life of Christ. The profusion of indulgences, the revolt of the Protestants, and the decline of superstition have much diminished the value of the jubilee; yet even the nineteenth and last festival was a year of pleasure and profit to the Romans; and a philosophic smile will not disturb the triumph of the priest or the happiness of the people.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, Italy was exposed to the feudal tyranny, alike oppressive to the sovereign and the people. The rights of human nature were vindicated by her numerous republics, who soon extended their liberty and dominion from the city to the adjacent country. The sword of the nobles was broken; their slaves were enfranchised; their castles were demolished; they assumed the habits of society and obedience; their ambition was confined to municipal honours, and in the proudest aristocracy of Venice or Genoa each patrician was subject to the laws.⁴⁶ But the feeble and disorderly government of Rome was unequal to the task of curbing her rebellious sons, who scorned the authority of the magistrate within and without the walls. It was no longer a

periodical release of lands, debts, servitude, &c., may seem a noble idea, but the execution would be impracticable in a *profane* republic; and I should be glad to learn that this ruinous festival was observed by the Jewish people.

⁴⁶ Muratori (Dissert. xlvii.) alleges the Annals of Florence, Padua, Genoa, &c., the analogy of the rest, the evidence of Otho of Frisingen (de Gest. Fred. I. l. ii. c. 13), and the submission of the marquis of Este.

civil contention between the nobles and the plebeians for the government of the state; the barons asserted in arms their personal independence; their palaces and castles were fortified against a siege; and their private quarrels were maintained by the numbers of their vassals and retainers. In origin and affection, they were aliens to their country:⁴⁷ and a genuine Roman, could such have been produced, might have renounced these haughty strangers, who disdained the appellation of citizens and proudly styled themselves the princes of Rome.⁴⁸ After a dark series of revolutions all records of pedigree were lost; the distinction of surnames was abolished; the blood of the nations was mingled in a thousand channels; and the Goths and Lombards, the Greeks and Franks, the Germans and Normans, had obtained the fairest possessions by royal bounty or the prerogative of valour. These examples might be readily presumed; but the elevation of an Hebrew race to the rank of senators and consuls is an event without a parallel in the long captivity of these miserable exiles.⁴⁹ In the time of Leo the Ninth, a wealthy and learned Jew was converted to Christianity; and honoured at his baptism with the name of his godfather, the reigning pope. The zeal and courage of Peter, the son of Leo, were signalised in the cause of Gregory the Seventh, who entrusted

⁴⁷ As early as the year 824, the emperor Lothaire I. found it expedient to interrogate the Roman people, to learn from each individual by what national law he chose to be governed (Muratori, Dissert. xxii.).

⁴⁸ Petrarch attacks these foreigners, the tyrants of Rome, in a declamation or epistle, full of bold truths and absurd pedantry, in which he applies the maxims, and even prejudices, of the old republic, to the state of the xivth century (Mémoires, tom. iii. pp. 157-169).

⁴⁹ The origin and adventures of this Jewish family are noticed by Pagi (Critica, tom. iv. p. 435, A.D. 1124, No. 3, 4), who draws his information from the Chronographus Maurigniacensis, and Arnulphus Sagiensis de Schismate (in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. i. pp. 423-432). The fact must in some degree be true; yet I could wish that it had been coolly related, before it was turned into a reproach against the antipope.

his faithful adherent with the government of Hadrian's mole, the tower of Crescentius, or, as it is now called, the castle of St. Angelo. Both the father and the son were the parents of a numerous progeny; their riches, the fruits of usury, were shared with the noblest families of the city; and so extensive was their alliance that the grandson of the proselyte was exalted, by the weight of his kindred, to the throne of St. Peter. A majority of the clergy and people supported his cause: he reigned several years in the Vatican; and it is only the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the final triumph of Innocent the Second, that has branded Anacletus with the epithet of antipope. After his defeat and death, the posterity of Leo is no longer conspicuous; and none will be found of the modern nobles ambitious of descending from a Jewish stock. It is not my design to enumerate the Roman families which have failed at different periods, or those which are continued in different degrees of splendour to the present time.⁵⁰ The old consular line of the *Frangipani* discover their name in the generous act of *breaking* or dividing bread in a time of famine; and such benevolence is more truly glorious than to have enclosed, with their allies the *Corsi*, a spacious quarter of the city in the chains of their fortifications; the *Savelli*, as it should seem a Sabine race, have maintained their original dignity; the obsolete surname of the *Capizucchi* is inscribed on the coins of the first senators; the *Conti* preserve the honour, without the estate, of the counts of Signia; and the *Annibaldi* must have been very ignorant, or very modest, if they had not descended from the Carthaginian hero.

But among, perhaps above, the peers and princes of the city, I distinguish the rival houses of COLONNA and URSINI, whose private story is an essential part of the

⁵⁰ Muratori has given two dissertations (xli. and xlii.) to the names, surnames, and families of Italy. Some nobles, who glory in their domestic fables, may be offended with his firm and temperate criticism; yet surely some ounces of pure gold are of more value than many pounds of base metal.

annals of modern Rome. I. The name and arms of Colonna⁵¹ have been the theme of much doubtful etymology; nor have the orators and antiquarians overlooked either Trajan's pillar, or the columns of Hercules, or the pillar of Christ's flagellation, or the luminous column that guided the Israelites in the desert. Their first historical appearance in the year eleven hundred and four attests the power and antiquity, while it explains the simple meaning, of the name. By the usurpation of Cavæ, the Colonna provoked the arms of Paschal the Second; but they lawfully held in the Campagna of Rome the hereditary fiefs of Zagarola and *Colonna*; and the latter of these towns was probably adorned with some lofty pillar, the relic of a villa or temple.⁵² They likewise possessed one moiety of the neighbouring city of Tusculum: a strong presumption of their descent from the counts of Tusculum, who in the tenth century were the tyrants of the apostolic see. According to their own and the public opinion, the primitive and remote source was derived from the banks of the Rhine;⁵³ and the sovereigns of Germany were not ashamed of a real or fabulous affinity with a noble

⁵¹ It is pity that the Colonna themselves have not favoured the world with a complete and critical history of their illustrious house. I adhere to Muratori (Dissert. xlii. tom. iii. pp. 647, 648).

⁵² Pandulph. Pisan. in Vit. Paschal. II. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. i. p. 335. The family has still great possessions in the Campagna of Rome; but they have alienated to the Rospigliosi this original fief of *Colonna* (Eschinard, pp. 258, 259).

⁵³ *Te longinqua dedit tellus et pascua Rheni*, says Petrarch; and, in 1417, a duke of Guelders and Juliers acknowledges (Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 539) his descent from the ancestors of Martin V. (Otho Colonna): but the royal author of the Memoirs of Brandenburg observes that the sceptre in his arms has been confounded with the column. To maintain the Roman origin of the Colonna, it was ingeniously supposed (Diario di Monaldeschi, in the Script. Ital. tom. xii. p. 533) that a cousin of the emperor Nero escaped from the city and founded Mentz in Germany.

race, which in the revolutions of seven hundred years has been often illustrated by merit and always by fortune.⁵⁴ About the end of the thirteenth century, the most powerful branch was composed of an uncle and six brothers, all conspicuous in arms or in the honours of the church. Of these, Peter was elected senator of Rome, introduced to the Capitol in a triumphant car, and hailed in some vain acclamations with the title of Cæsar, while John and Stephen were declared Marquis of Ancona and Count of Romagna, by Nicholas the Fourth, a patron so partial to their family that he has been delineated in satirical portraits imprisoned as it were in a hollow pillar. After his decease, their haughty behaviour provoked the displeasure of the most implacable of mankind. The two cardinals, the uncle and the nephew, denied the election of Boniface the Eighth; and the Colonna were oppressed for a moment by his temporal and spiritual arms.⁵⁵ He proclaimed a crusade against his personal enemies: their estates were confiscated; their fortresses on either side of the Tiber were besieged by the troops of St. Peter and those of the rival nobles; and after the ruin of Palestrina or Præneste, their principal seat, the ground was marked with a ploughshare, the emblem of perpetual desolation. Degraded, banished, proscribed, the six brothers, in disguise and danger, wandered over Europe without renouncing the hope of deliverance and revenge.

⁵⁴ I cannot overlook the Roman triumph or ovation of Marco Antonio Colonna, who had commanded the pope's galleys at the naval victory of Lepanto (Thuan. Hist. l. vii. tom. iii. pp. 55, 56; Muret. Oratio x. Opp. tom. i. pp. 180-190).

⁵⁵ Petrarch's attachment to the Colonna has authorised the Abbé de Sade to expatiate on the state of the family in the fourteenth century, the persecution of Boniface VIII., the character of Stephen and his sons, their quarrels with the Ursini, &c. (Mémoires sur Pétrarque, tom. i. pp. 98-110, 146-148, 174-176, 222-230, 275-280). His criticism often rectifies the hearsay stories of Villani, and the errors of the less diligent moderns. I understand the branch of Stephen to be now extinct.

In this double hope, the French court was their surest asylum : they prompted and directed the enterprise of Philip ; and I should praise their magnanimity, had they respected the fortune and courage of the captive tyrant. His civil acts were annulled by the Roman people, who restored the honours and possessions of the Colonna ; and some estimate may be formed of their wealth by their losses, of their losses by the damages of one hundred thousand gold florins, which were granted them against the accomplices and heirs of the deceased pope. All the spiritual censures and disqualifications were abolished⁵⁶ by his prudent successors ; and the fortune of the house was more firmly established by this transient hurricane. The boldness of Sciarra Colonna was signalised in the captivity of Boniface, and long afterwards in the coronation of Lewis of Bavaria ; and by the gratitude of the emperor the pillar in their arms was encircled with a royal crown. But the first of the family in fame and merit was the elder Stephen, whom Petrarch loved and esteemed as an hero superior to his own times and not unworthy to ancient Rome. Persecution and exile displayed to the nations his abilities in peace and war ; in his distress he was an object, not of pity, but of reverence ; the aspect of danger provoked him to avow his name and country ; and when he was asked, "Where is now your fortress?" he laid his hand on his heart, and answered, "Here." He supported with the same virtue the return of prosperity ; and, till the ruin of his declining age, the ancestors, the character, and the children of Stephen Colonna, exalted his dignity in the Roman republic, and at the court of Avignon.

II. The Ursini migrated from Spoleto : the sons of Ursus, as they are styled in the twelfth century, from

⁵⁶ Alexander III. had declared the Colonna who adhered to the emperor Frederic I. incapable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice (Villani, l. v. c. 1) ; and the last stains of annual excommunication were purified by Sixtus V. (Vita di Sisto V. tom. iii. p. 416). Treason, sacrilege, and proscription are often the best titles of ancient nobility.

some eminent person who is only known as the father of their race. But they were soon distinguished among the nobles of Rome, by the number and bravery of their kinsmen, the strength of their towers, the honours of the senate and sacred college, and the elevation of two popes, Celestin the Third and Nicholas the Third, of their name and lineage. Their riches may be accused as an early abuse of nepotism : the estates of St. Peter were alienated in their favour by the liberal Celestin ;⁵⁷ and Nicholas was ambitious for their sake to solicit the alliance of monarchs ; to found new kingdoms in Lombardy and Tuscany ; and to invest them with the perpetual office of senators of Rome. All that has been observed of the greatness of the Colonna will likewise redound to the glory of the Ursini, their constant and equal antagonists in the long hereditary feud which distracted above two hundred and fifty years the ecclesiastical state. The jealousy of pre-eminence and power was the true ground of their quarrel ; but, as a specious badge of distinction, the Colonna embraced the name of Ghibelines and the party of the empire ; the Ursini espoused the title of Guelphs and the cause of the church. The eagle and the keys were displayed in their adverse banners ; and the two factions of Italy most furiously raged when the origin and nature of the dispute were long since forgotten.⁵⁸ After the retreat of the popes to Avignon they disputed in arms the vacant republic ; and the mischiefs of discord were perpetuated by the wretched compromise of electing each year two rival senators. By their private hostilities the city and country were desolated, and the fluctuating balance inclined with their alternate success. But none of

⁵⁷ Filii Ursi, quondam Cœlestini papæ nepotes, de bonis ecclesiæ Romanæ ditati (Vit. Innocent. III. in Muratori, Script. tom. iii. p. i.). The partial prodigality of Nicholas III. is more conspicuous in Villani and Muratori. Yet the Ursini would disdain the nephews of a *modern* Pope.

⁵⁸ In his fifty-first Dissertation on the Italian Antiquities, Muratori explains the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines.

either family had fallen by the sword, till the most renowned champion of the Ursini was surprised and slain by the younger Stephen Colonna.⁵⁹ His triumph is stained with the reproach of violating the truce; their defeat was basely avenged by the assassination, before the church door, of an innocent boy and his two servants. Yet the victorious Colonna, with an annual colleague, was declared senator of Rome during the term of five years. And the muse of Petrarch inspired a wish, a hope, a prediction, that the generous youth, the son of his venerable hero, would restore Rome and Italy to their pristine glory; that his justice would extirpate the wolves and lions, the serpents and *bears*, who laboured to subvert the eternal basis of the marble COLUMN.

⁵⁹ Petrarch (tom. i. pp. 222-230) has celebrated this victory according to the Colonna; but two contemporaries, a Florentine (Giovanni Villani, l. x. c. 220) and a Roman (Ludovico Monaldeschi, pp. 533, 534), are less favourable to their arms.

CHAPTER LXX

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

IN the apprehension of modern times Petrarch¹ is the Italian songster of Laura and love. In the harmony of his Tuscan rhymes Italy applauds, or rather adores, the father of her lyric poetry; and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the enthusiasm or affectation of amorous sensibility. Whatever may be the private taste of a stranger, his slight and superficial knowledge should humbly acquiesce in the taste of a learned nation; yet I may hope or presume that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of sonnets and elegies with the sublime compositions of their epic muse, the original wildness of Dante, the regular beauties of Tasso, and the boundless variety of the incomparable Ariosto. The merits of the lover I am still less qualified to appreciate; nor

¹ The *Mémoires sur la Vie de François Pétrarque* (Amsterdam, 1764, 1767, 3 vols. in 4to) form a copious, original, and entertaining work, a labour of love, composed from the accurate study of Petrarch and his contemporaries; but the hero is too often lost in the general history of the age, and the author too often languishes in the affectation of politeness and gallantry. In the preface to his first volume, he enumerates and weighs twenty Italian biographers, who have professedly treated of the same subject.

am I deeply interested in a metaphysical passion for a nymph so shadowy that her existence has been questioned;² for a matron so prolific³ that she was delivered of eleven legitimate children⁴ while her amorous swain sighed and sung at the fountain of Vaucluse.⁵ But in the eyes of Petrarch, and those of his graver contemporaries, his love was a sin, and Italian verse a frivolous amusement. His Latin works of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence established his serious reputation, which was soon diffused from Avignon over France and Italy; his friends and disciples were multiplied in every city; and, if the ponderous volume of his writings⁶ be now abandoned to a long repose, our gratitude must applaud the man who by precept and example revived the spirit and study of the Augustan age. From his earliest youth

² The allegorical interpretation prevailed in the xvth century; but the wise commentators were not agreed whether they should understand by Laura, religion, or virtue, or the blessed Virgin.

³ Laure de Noves, born about the year 1307, was married in January 1325 to Hugues de Sade, a noble citizen of Avignon, whose jealousy was not the effect of love, since he married a second wife within seven months of her death, which happened the 6th of April 1348, precisely one-and-twenty years after Petrarch had seen and loved her.

⁴ *Corpus crebris partibus exhaustum*; from one of these is issued, in the tenth degree, the Abbé de Sade, the fond and grateful biographer of Petrarch; and this domestic motive most probably suggested the idea of his work, and urged him to inquire into every circumstance that could affect the history and character of his grandmother (see particularly tom. i. pp. 122-133, notes, pp. 7-58; tom. ii. pp. 455-495, notes, pp. 76-82).

⁵ Vaucluse, so familiar to our English travellers, is described from the writings of Petrarch, and the local knowledge of his biographer (*Mémoires*, tom. i. pp. 340-359). It was, in truth, the retreat of an hermit; and the moderns are much mistaken if they place Laura and an happy lover in the grotto.

⁶ Of 1250 pages, in a close print, at Basil, in the xvth century, but without the date of the year. The Abbé de Sade calls aloud for a new edition of Petrarch's Latin works; but I much doubt whether it would redound to the profit of the bookseller, or the amusement of the public.

Petrarch aspired to the poetic crown. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of master or doctor in the art of poetry ;⁷ and the title of poet-laureate, which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the English court,⁸ was first invented by the Cæsars of Germany. In the musical games of antiquity, a prize was bestowed on the victor :⁹ the belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the Capitol inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard ;¹⁰ and the laurel¹¹ was endeared to

⁷ Consult Selden's Titles of Honour, in his works (vol. iii. pp. 457-466). An hundred years before Petrarch, St. Francis received the visit of a poet, qui ab imperatore fuerat coronatus et exinde rex versuum dictus.

⁸ From Augustus to Louis, the muse has too often been false and venal ; but I much doubt whether any age or court can produce a similar establishment of a stipendiary poet, who in every reign, and at all events, is bound to furnish twice a year a measure of praise and verse, such as may be sung in the chapel, and, I believe, in the presence of the sovereign. I speak the more freely, as the best time for abolishing this ridiculous custom is while the prince is a man of virtue and the poet a man of genius.

⁹ Isocrates (in Panegyrico, tom. i. pp. 116, 117, edit. Battie, Cantab. 1729) claims for his native Athens the glory of first instituting and recommending the ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ ἄθλα μέγιστα μὴ μόνον τάχους καὶ ῥώμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων καὶ γνώμης. The example of the Panathenæa was imitated at Delphi ; but the Olympic games were ignorant of a musical crown, till it was extorted by the vain tyranny of Nero (Sueton. in Nerone, c. 23 ; Philostrat. apud Casaubon ad locum ; Dion Cassius or Xiphilin, l. lxxiii. pp. 1032, 1041. Potter's Greek Antiquities, vol. i. pp. 445, 450).

¹⁰ The Capitoline games (certamen quinquennale, *musicum*, equestre, gymnium) were instituted by Domitian (Sueton. c. 4) in the year of Christ 86 (Censorin. de Die Natali, c. xviii. p. 100, edit. Havercamp), and were not abolished in the ivth century (Ausonius de Professoribus Burdegal. V.). If the crown were given to superior merit, the exclusion of Statius (Capitolia nostræ inficiata lyræ, Sylv. l. iii. v. 31) may do honour to the games of the Capitol ; but the Latin poets who lived before Domitian were crowned only in the public opinion.

¹¹ Petrarch and the senators of Rome were ignorant that the laurel was not the Capitoline, but the Delphic crown (Plin.

the lover by a verbal resemblance with the name of his mistress. The value of either object was enhanced by the difficulties of the pursuit; and, if the virtue or prudence of Laura was inexorable,¹² he enjoyed, and might boast of enjoying, the nymph of poetry. His vanity was not of the most delicate kind, since he applauds the success of his own *labours*; his name was popular; his friends were active; the open or secret opposition of envy and prejudice was surmounted by the dexterity of patient merit. In the thirty-sixth year of his age, he was solicited to accept the object of his wishes; and on the same day, in the solitude of Vacluse, he received a similar and solemn invitation from the senate of Rome and the university of Paris. The learning of a theological school, and the ignorance of a lawless city, were alike unqualified to bestow the ideal, though immortal, wreath which genius may obtain from the free applause of the public and of posterity; but the candidate dismissed this troublesome reflection, and, after some moments of complacency and suspense, preferred the summons of the metropolis of the world.

The ceremony of his coronation¹³ was performed in the Capitol, by his friend and patron the supreme magistrate of the republic. Twelve patrician youths were arrayed in scarlet; six representatives of the most illustrious families, in green robes, with garlands

Hist. Natur. xv. 39; Hist. Critique de la République des Lettres, tom. i. pp. 150-220). The victors in the Capitol were crowned with a garland of oak-leaves (Martial, l. iv. epigram 54).

¹² The pious grandson of Laura has laboured, and not without success, to vindicate her immaculate chastity against the censures of the grave and the sneers of the profane (tom. ii. notes, pp. 76-82).

¹³ The whole process of Petrarch's coronation is accurately described by the Abbé de Sade (tom. i. pp. 425-435; tom. ii. pp. 1-6, notes, pp. 1-13), from his own writings, and the Roman Diary of Ludovico Monaldeschi, without mixing in this authentic narrative the more recent fables of Sannuccio Delbene.

of flowers, accompanied the procession; in the midst of the princes and nobles, the senator, count of Anguillara, a kinsman of the Colonna, assumed his throne; and, at the voice of an herald, Petrarch arose. After discoursing on a text of Virgil, and thrice repeating his vows for the prosperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne, and received from the senator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration, "This is the reward of merit." The people shouted, "Long life to the Capitol and the poet!" A sonnet in praise of Rome was accepted as the effusion of genius and gratitude; and, after the whole procession had visited the Vatican, the profane wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter. In the act or diploma which was presented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives of poet-laureate are revived in the Capitol, after the lapse of thirteen hundred years; and he receives the perpetual privilege of wearing, at his choice, a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, of assuming the poetic habit, and of teaching, disputing, interpreting, and composing in all places whatsoever and on all subjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the senate and people; and the character of citizen was the recompense of his affection for the Roman name. They did him honour, but they did him justice. In the familiar society of Cicero and Livy, he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to a sentiment and every sentiment to a passion. The aspect of the seven hills and their majestic ruins confirmed these lively impressions; and he loved a country by whose liberal spirit he had been crowned and adopted. The poverty and debasement of Rome excited the indignation and pity of her grateful son: he dissembled the faults of his fellow-citizens; applauded with partial fondness the last of their heroes and matrons; and in the remembrance of the past, in the hope of the future, was pleased to forget the miseries of the present time. Rome was still the lawful mistress of the world; the pope and the emperor,

her bishop and general, had abdicated their station by an inglorious retreat to the Rhône and the Danube ; but, if she could resume her virtue, the republic might again vindicate her liberty and dominion. Amidst the indulgence of enthusiasm and eloquence,¹⁴ Petrarch, Italy, and Europe were astonished by a revolution which realised, for a moment, his most splendid visions. The rise and fall of the tribune, Rienzi, will occupy the following pages :¹⁵ the subject is interesting, the materials are rich, and the glance of a patriot-bard¹⁶ will sometimes vivify the copious but simple narrative of the Florentine, and more especially of the Roman,¹⁷ historian.

In a quarter of the city which was inhabited only by mechanics and Jews, the marriage of an innkeeper and

¹⁴ To find the proofs of his enthusiasm for Rome, I need only request that the reader would open, by chance, either Petrarch or his French biographer. The latter has described the poet's first visit to Rome (tom. i. pp. 323-335). But, in the place of much idle rhetoric and morality, Petrarch might have amused the present and future age with an original account of the city and his coronation.

¹⁵ It has been treated by the pen of a Jesuit, the P. du Cerceau, whose posthumous work (*Conjuration de Nicholas Gabrini, dit de Rienzi, Tyran de Rome, en 1347*) was published at Paris, 1748, 12mo. I am indebted to him for some facts and documents in John Hocsemius, canon of Liège, a contemporary historian (*Fabricius, Bibliot. Lat. med. Ævi, tom. iii. p. 273; tom. iv. p. 85*).

¹⁶ The Abbé de Sade, who so freely expatiates on the history of the xivth century, might treat, as his proper subject, a revolution in which the heart of Petrarch was so deeply engaged (*Mémoires, tom. ii. pp. 50, 51, 320-417, notes, pp. 70-76; tom. iii. pp. 221-243, 366-375*). Not an idea or a fact in the writings of Petrarch has probably escaped him.

¹⁷ In his third volume of *Italian Antiquities* (pp. 249-548), Muratori has inserted the *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ ab Anno 1327 usque ad Annum 1354*, in the original dialect of Rome or Naples in the xivth century, and a Latin version for the benefit of strangers. It contains the most particular and authentic life of Cola (Nicholas) di Rienzi, which had been printed at Bracciano, 1627, in 4to, under the name of Tomaso Fortifiocca, who is only mentioned in this work as having been punished by the tribune for forgery.

a washerwoman produced the future deliverer of Rome.¹⁸ From such parents Nicholas Rienzi Gabrini could inherit neither dignity nor fortune; and the gift of a liberal education, which they painfully bestowed, was the cause of his glory and untimely end. The study of history and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Cæsar, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals and contemporaries the genius of the young plebeian: he perused with indefatigable diligence the manuscripts and marbles of antiquity; loved to dispense his knowledge in familiar language; and was often provoked to exclaim, "Where are now these Romans? their virtue, their justice, their power? why was I not born in those happy times?" When the republic addressed to the throne of Avignon an embassy of the three orders, the spirit and eloquence of Rienzi recommended him to a place among the thirteen deputies of the commons. The orator had the honour of haranguing Pope Clement the Sixth, and the satisfaction of conversing with Petrarch, a congenial mind; but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disgrace and poverty; and the patriot was reduced to a single garment and the charity of the hospital. From this misery he was relieved by the sense of merit or the smile of favour; and the employment of apostolic notary afforded him a daily stipend of five gold florins, a more honourable and extensive connection, and the right of contrasting, both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the state. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and persuasive: the multitude is always prone to envy and censure: he was stimulated by the loss of a brother and the impunity of the assassins; nor was it possible to excuse or exaggerate the public calamities. The blessings of peace and justice, for which civil society has been instituted, were banished from Rome: the jealous

¹⁸ The first and splendid period of Rienzi, his tribunitian government, is contained in the xviiiith chapter of the Fragments (pp. 399-479), which, in the new division, forms the iid book of the history in xxxviii. smaller chapters or sections.

citizens, who might have endured every personal or pecuniary injury, were most deeply wounded in the dishonour of their wives and daughters;¹⁹ they were equally oppressed by the arrogance of the nobles and the corruption of the magistrates; and the abuse of arms or of laws was the only circumstance that distinguished the lions from the dogs and serpents of the Capitol. These allegorical emblems were variously repeated in the pictures which Rienzi exhibited in the streets and churches; and, while the spectators gazed with curious wonder, the bold and ready orator unfolded the meaning, applied the satire, inflamed their passions, and announced a distant hope of comfort and deliverance. The privileges of Rome, her eternal sovereignty over her princes and provinces, was the theme of his public and private discourse; and a monument of servitude became in his hands a title and incentive of liberty. The decree of the senate, which granted the most ample prerogatives to the emperor Vespasian, had been inscribed on a copper plate still extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran.²⁰ A numerous assembly of nobles and plebeians was invited to this political lecture, and a convenient theatre was erected for their reception. The notary appeared in a magnificent and mysterious habit, explained the inscription by a version and commentary,²¹ and descanted with eloquence and zeal

¹⁹ Petrarch compares the jealousy of the Romans with the easy temper of the husbands of Avignon (*Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 330).

²⁰ The fragments of the *Lex Regia* may be found in the inscriptions of Gruter, tom. i. p. 242, and at the end of the Tacitus of Ernesti, with some learned notes of the editor, tom. ii.

²¹ I cannot overlook a stupendous and laughable blunder of Rienzi. The *Lex Regia* empowers Vespasian to enlarge the *Pomœrium*, a word familiar to every antiquary. It was not so to the tribune; he confounds it with *pomarium*, an orchard, translates *lo Giardino de Roma cioene Italia*, and is copied by the less excusable ignorance of the Latin translator (p. 406) and the French historian (p. 33). Even the learning of Muratori has slumbered over the passage.

on the ancient glories of the senate and people, from whom all legal authority was derived. The supine ignorance of the nobles was incapable of discerning the serious tendency of such representations: they might sometimes chastise with words and blows the plebeian reformer; but he was often suffered in the Colonna palace to amuse the company with his threats and predictions; and the modern Brutus was concealed under the mask of folly and the character of a buffoon. While they indulged their contempt, the restoration of the *good estate*, his favourite expression, was entertained among the people as a desirable, a possible, and at length as an approaching, event; and while all had the disposition to applaud, some had the courage to assist, their promised deliverer.

A prophecy, or rather a summons, affixed on the church door of St. George, was the first public evidence of his designs—a nocturnal assembly of an hundred citizens on Mount Aventine, the first step to their execution. After an oath of secrecy and aid, he represented to the conspirators the importance and facility of their enterprise; that the nobles, without union or resources, were strong only in the fear of their imaginary strength; that all power, as well as right, was in the hands of the people; that the revenues of the apostolical chamber might relieve the public distress; and that the pope himself would approve their victory over the common enemies of government and freedom. After securing a faithful band to protect his first declaration, he proclaimed through the city, by sound of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day all persons should assemble without arms before the church of St. Angelo, to provide for the re-establishment of the good estate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of thirty masses of the Holy Ghost; and in the morning, Rienzi, bareheaded, but in complete armour, issued from the church, encompassed by the hundred conspirators. The pope's vicar, the simple bishop of Orvieto, who had been persuaded to sustain

a part in this singular ceremony, marched on his right hand; and three great standards were borne aloft as the emblems of their design. In the first, the banner of *liberty*, Rome was seated on two lions, with a palm in one hand and a globe in the other; St. Paul, with a drawn sword, was delineated in the banner of *justice*; and in the third, St. Peter held the keys of *concord* and *peace*. Rienzi was encouraged by the presence and applause of an innumerable crowd, who understood little and hoped much; and the procession slowly rolled forwards from the castle of St. Angelo to the Capitol. His triumph was disturbed by some secret emotion, which he laboured to suppress: he ascended without opposition, and with seeming confidence, the citadel of the republic; harangued the people from the balcony; and received the most flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if destitute of arms and counsels, beheld in silent consternation this strange revolution; and the moment had been prudently chosen, when the most formidable, Stephen Colonna, was absent from the city. On the first rumour he returned to his palace, affected to despise this plebeian tumult, and declared to the messenger of Rienzi that at his leisure he would cast the madman from the windows of the Capitol. The great bell instantly rang an alarm, and so rapid was the tide, so urgent was the danger, that Colonna escaped with precipitation to the suburb of St. Laurence; from thence, after a moment's refreshment, he continued the same speedy career, till he reached in safety his castle of Palestrina, lamenting his own imprudence, which had not trampled the spark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was issued from the Capitol to all the nobles, that they should peaceably retire to their estates: they obeyed; and their departure secured the tranquillity of the free and obedient citizens of Rome.

But such voluntary obedience evaporates with the first transports of zeal; and Rienzi felt the importance of justifying his usurpation by a regular form and a

legal title. At his own choice, the Roman people would have displayed their attachment and authority, by lavishing on his head the names of senator or consul, of king or emperor : he preferred the ancient and modest appellation of tribune ; the protection of the commons was the essence of that sacred office ; and they were ignorant that it had never been invested with any share in the legislative or executive powers of the republic. In this character, and with the consent of the Romans, the tribune enacted the most salutary laws for the restoration and maintenance of the good estate. By the first he fulfils the wish of honesty and inexperience, that no civil suit should be protracted beyond the term of fifteen days. The danger of frequent perjury might justify the pronouncing against a false accuser the same penalty which his evidence would have inflicted ; the disorders of the times might compel the legislator to punish every homicide with death and every injury with equal retaliation. But the execution of justice was hopeless till he had previously abolished the tyranny of the nobles. It was formerly provided that none, except the supreme magistrate, should possess or command the gates, bridges, or towers, of the state ; that no private garrisons should be introduced into the towns or castles of the Roman territory ; that none should bear arms or presume to fortify their houses in the city or country ; that the barons should be responsible for the safety of the highways and the free passage of provisions ; and that the protection of malefactors and robbers should be expiated by a fine of a thousand marks of silver. But these regulations would have been impotent and nugatory, had not the licentious nobles been awed by the sword of the civil power. A sudden alarm from the bell of the Capitol could still summon to the standard above twenty thousand volunteers ; the support of the tribune and the laws required a more regular and permanent force. In each harbour of the coast, a vessel was stationed for the assurance of commerce : a standing militia of

three hundred and sixty horse and thirteen hundred foot was levied, clothed, and paid in the thirteen quarters of the city; and the spirit of a commonwealth may be traced in the grateful allowance of one hundred florins, or pounds, to the heirs of every soldier who lost his life in the service of his country. For the maintenance of the public defence, for the establishment of granaries, for the relief of widows, orphans, and indigent convents, Rienzi applied, without fear of sacrilege, the revenues of the apostolic chamber; the three branches of hearth-money, the salt-duty, and the customs, were each of the annual produce of one hundred thousand florins;²² and scandalous were the abuses, if in four or five months the amount of the salt-duty could be trebled by his judicious economy. After thus restoring the forces and finances of the republic, the tribune recalled the nobles from their solitary independence; required their personal appearance in the Capitol, and imposed an oath of allegiance to the new government and of submission to the laws of the good estate. Apprehensive for their safety, but still more apprehensive of the danger of a refusal, the princes and barons returned to their houses at Rome, in the garb of simple and peaceful citizens: the Colonna and Ursini, the Savelli and Frangipani, were confounded before the tribunal of a plebeian, of the vile buffoon whom they had so often derided, and their disgrace was aggravated by the indignation which they vainly struggled to disguise. The same oath was successively pronounced by the several orders of society, the clergy and gentlemen, the judges and notaries, the merchants and artisans, and the gradual descent was marked by the increase of sincerity and zeal. They swore to live and die with the republic and the church, whose

²² In one MS. I read (l. ii. c. 4, p. 409) *perfumante quarto solli*, in another *quarto florini*: an important variety, since the florin was worth ten Roman *solidi* (Muratori, dissert. xxviii.). The former reading would give us a population of 25,000, the latter of 250,000 families; and I much fear that the former is more consistent with the decay of Rome and her territory.

interest was artfully united by the nominal association of the bishop of Orvieto, the pope's vicar, to the office of tribune. It was the boast of Rienzi that he had delivered the throne and patrimony of St. Peter from a rebellious aristocracy; and Clement the Sixth, who rejoiced in its fall, affected to believe the professions, to applaud the merits, and to confirm the title, of his trusty servant. The speech, perhaps the mind, of the tribune was inspired with a lively regard for the purity of the faith: he insinuated his claim to a supernatural mission from the Holy Ghost; enforced by an heavy forfeiture the annual duty of confession and communion; and strictly guarded the spiritual as well as temporal welfare of his faithful people.

Never, perhaps, has the energy and effect of a single mind been more remarkably felt than in the sudden, though transient, reformation of Rome by the tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was converted to the discipline of a camp or convent: patient to hear, swift to redress, inexorable to punish, his tribunal was always accessible to the poor and stranger; nor could birth or dignity or the immunities of the church protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houses, the private sanctuaries in Rome, on which no officer of justice would presume to trespass, were abolished; and he applied the timber and iron of their barricades in the fortifications of the Capitol. The venerable father of the Colonna was exposed in his own palace to the double shame of being desirous, and of being unable, to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been stolen near Capranica; and the lord of the Ursini family was condemned to restore the damage, and to discharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways. Nor were the persons of the barons more inviolate than their lands or houses; and, either from accident or design, the same impartial rigour was exercised against the heads of the adverse factions. Peter Agapet Colonna, who had himself been senator of Rome, was arrested in the street for injury or debt;

and justice was appeased by the tardy execution of Martin Ursini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a shipwrecked vessel at the mouth of the Tiber.²³ His name, the purple of two cardinals his uncles, a recent marriage, and a mortal disease, were disregarded by the inflexible tribune, who had chosen his victim. The public officers dragged him from his palace and nuptial bed: his trial was short and satisfactory; the bell of the Capitol convened the people; stript of his mantle, on his knees, with his hands bound behind his back, he heard the sentence of death; and, after a brief confession, Ursini was led away to the gallows. After such an example, none who were conscious of guilt could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle soon purified the city and territory of Rome. In this time (says the historian) the woods began to rejoice that they were no longer infested with robbers; the oxen began to plough; the pilgrims visited the sanctuaries; the roads and inns were replenished with travellers; trade, plenty, and good faith were restored in the markets; and a purse of gold might be exposed without danger in the midst of the highway. As soon as the life and property of the subject are secure, the labours and rewards of industry spontaneously revive: Rome was still the metropolis of the Christian world; and the fame and fortunes of the tribune were diffused in every country

²³ Fortifiocca, l. ii. c. 11. From the account of this shipwreck we learn some circumstances of the trade and navigation of the age. 1. The ship was built and freighted at Naples for the ports of Marseilles and Avignon. 2. The sailors were of Naples and the Isle of Oenaria, less skilful than those of Sicily and Genoa. 3. The navigation from Marseilles was a coasting voyage to the mouth of the Tiber, where they took shelter in a storm, but, instead of finding the current, unfortunately ran on a shoal; the vessel was stranded, the mariners escaped. 4. The cargo, which was pillaged, consisted of the revenue of Provence for the royal treasury, many bags of pepper and cinnamon, and bales of French cloth, to the value of 20,000 florins: a rich prize.

by the strangers who had enjoyed the blessings of his government.

The deliverance of his country inspired Rienzi with a vast, and perhaps visionary, idea of uniting Italy in a great federative republic, of which Rome should be the ancient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and associates. His pen was not less eloquent than his tongue; and his numerous epistles were delivered to swift and trusty messengers. On foot, with a white wand in their hand, they traversed the forests and mountains; enjoyed, in the most hostile states, the sacred security of ambassadors; and reported, in the style of flattery or truth, that the highways along their passage were lined with kneeling multitudes, who implored Heaven for the success of their undertaking. Could passion have listened to reason, could private interest have yielded to the public welfare, the supreme tribunal and confederate union of the Italian republic might have healed their intestine discord and closed the Alps against the barbarians of the North. But the propitious season had elapsed; and, if Venice, Florence, Sienna, Perugia, and many inferior cities offered their lives and fortunes to the good estate, the tyrants of Lombardy and Tuscany must despise, or hate, the plebeian author of a free constitution. From them, however, and from every part of Italy, the tribune received the most friendly and respectful answers; they were followed by the ambassadors of the princes and republics; and in this foreign conflux, on all the occasions of pleasure or business, the low-born notary could assume the familiar or majestic courtesy of a sovereign. The most glorious circumstance of his reign was an appeal to his justice from Lewis king of Hungary, who complained that his

²⁴ It was thus that Oliver Cromwell's old acquaintance, who remembered his vulgar and ungracious entrance into the House of Commons, were astonished at the ease and majesty of the Protector on his throne (see Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, pp. 27-34, from Clarendon, Warwick, Whitelocke, Waller, &c.). The consciousness of merit and power will sometimes elevate the manners to the station.

brother, and her husband, had been perfidiously strangled by Jane queen of Naples · her guilt or innocence was pleaded in a solemn trial at Rome ; but, after hearing the advocates, the tribune adjourned this weighty and invidious cause, which was soon determined by the sword of the Hungarian. Beyond the Alps, more especially at Avignon, the revolution was the theme of curiosity, wonder, and applause. Petrarch had been the private friend, perhaps the secret counsellor, of Rienzi : his writings breathe the most ardent spirit of patriotism and joy ; and all respect for the pope, all gratitude for the Colonna, was lost in the superior duties of a Roman citizen. The poet-laureat of the Capitol maintains the act, applauds the hero, and mingles with some apprehension and advice the most lofty hopes of the permanent and rising greatness of the republic.

While Petrarch indulged these prophetic visions, the Roman hero was fast declining from the meridian of fame and power ; and the people, who had gazed with astonishment on the ascending meteor, began to mark the irregularity of its course and the vicissitudes of light and obscurity. More eloquent than judicious, more enterprising than resolute, the faculties of Rienzi were not balanced by cool and commanding reason ; he magnified in a tenfold proportion the objects of hope and fear ; and prudence, which could not have erected, did not presume to fortify, his throne. In the blaze of prosperity, his virtues were insensibly tinctured with the adjacent vices : justice with cruelty, liberality with profusion, and the desire of fame with puerile and ostentatious vanity. He might have learned that the ancient tribunes, so strong and sacred in the public opinion, were not distinguished in style, habit, or appearance, from an ordinary plebeian ; and that, as often as they visited the city on foot, a single *viator*, or beadle, attended the exercise of their office. The Gracchi would have frowned or smiled, could they have read the sonorous titles and epithets of their successor, “NICHOLAS,

SEVERE AND MERCIFUL ; DELIVERER OF ROME ; DEFENDER OF ITALY ;²⁵ FRIEND OF MANKIND, AND OF LIBERTY, PEACE, AND JUSTICE ; TRIBUNE AUGUST :” his theatrical pageants had prepared the revolution ; but Rienzi abused, in luxury and pride, the political maxim of speaking to the eyes as well as the understanding of the multitude. From nature he had received the gift of an handsome person, till it was swelled and disfigured by intemperance : and his propensity to laughter was corrected in the magistrate by the affectation of gravity and sternness. He was clothed, at least on public occasions, in a parti-coloured robe of velvet or satin, lined with fur and embroidered with gold ; the rod of justice which he carried in his hand was a sceptre of polished steel, crowned with a globe and cross of gold, and enclosing a small fragment of the true and holy wood. In his civil and religious processions through the city, he rode on a white steed, the symbol of royalty ; the great banner of the republic, a sun with a circle of stars, a dove with an olive-branch, was displayed over his head ; a shower of gold and silver was scattered among the populace ; fifty guards with halberds encompassed his person ; a troop of horse preceded his march ; and their tymbals and trumpets were of massy silver.

The ambition of the honours of chivalry²⁶ betrayed the meanness of his birth and degraded the importance of his office ; and the equestrian tribune was not less odious to the nobles whom he adopted than to the plebeians whom he deserted. All that yet remained of treasure or luxury or art was exhausted on

²⁵ I could not express in English the forcible though barbarous title of *Zelator Italiæ*, which Rienzi assumed.

²⁶ Strange as it may seem, this festival was not without a precedent. In the year 1327, two barons, a Colonna and an Ursini, the usual balance, were created knights by the Roman people ; their bath was of rose-water, their beds were decked with royal magnificence, and they were served at St. Maria of Araceli in the Capitol by the twenty-eight *buoni huomini*. They afterwards received from Robert, king of Naples, the sword of chivalry (Hist. Rom. l. i. c. 2, p. 259).⁴

that solemn day. Rienzi led the procession from the Capitol to the Lateran; the tediousness of the way was relieved with decorations and games; the ecclesiastical, civil, and military orders marched under their various banners; the Roman ladies attended his wife; and the ambassadors of Italy might loudly applaud, or secretly deride, the novelty of the pomp. In the evening, when they had reached the church and palace of Constantine, he thanked and dismissed the numerous assembly, with an invitation to the festival of the ensuing day. From the hands of a venerable knight he received the order of the Holy Ghost; the purification of the bath was a previous ceremony; but in no step of his life did Rienzi excite such scandal and censure as by the profane use of the porphyry vase in which Constantine (a foolish legend) had been healed of his leprosy by Pope Sylvester.²⁷ With equal presumption the tribune watched or reposed within the consecrated precincts of the baptistery; and the failure of his state-bed was interpreted as an omen of his approaching downfall. At the hour of worship he showed himself to the returning crowds in a majestic attitude, with a robe of purple, his sword, and gilt spurs; but the holy rites were soon interrupted by his levity and insolence. Rising from his throne, and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice, "We summon to our tribunal Pope Clement, and command him to reside in his diocese of Rome: we also summon the sacred college of Cardinals."²⁸ We again summon the two

²⁷ All parties believed in the leprosy and bath of Constantine (Petrarch, Epist. Famil. vi. 2), and Rienzi justified his own conduct by observing to the court of Avignon that a vase which had been used by a pagan could not be profaned by a pious Christian. Yet this crime is specified in the bull of excommunication (Hocsemius, apud du Cerceau, pp. 189, 190).

²⁸ This *verbal* summons of Pope Clement VI., which rests on the authority of the Roman historian and a Vatican MS., is disputed by the biographer of Petrarch (tom. ii. not. pp. 70-76), with arguments rather of decency than of weight. The court of Avignon might not choose to agitate this delicate question.

pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis of Bavaria, who style themselves emperors : we likewise summon all the electors of Germany, to inform us on what pretence they have usurped the unalienable right of the Roman people, the ancient and lawful sovereigns of the empire.”²⁹ Unsheathing his maiden sword, he thrice brandished it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, “And this too is mine !” The pope’s vicar, the bishop of Orvieto, attempted to check this career of folly ; but his feeble protest was silenced by martial music ; and, instead of withdrawing from the assembly, he consented to dine with his brother tribune, at a table which had hitherto been reserved for the supreme pontiff. A banquet, such as the Cæsars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porticoes, and courts of the Lateran were spread with innumerable tables for either sex and every condition ; a stream of wine flowed from the nostrils of Constantine’s brazen horse ; no complaint, except of the scarcity of water, could be heard ; and the licentiousness of the multitude was curbed by discipline and fear. A subsequent day was appointed for the coronation of Rienzi ;³⁰ seven crowns of different leaves or metals were successively placed on his head by the most eminent of the Roman clergy ; they represented the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost ; and he still professed to imitate the example of the ancient tribunes. These extraordinary spectacles might deceive or flatter the people ; and their own vanity was gratified in the vanity of their leader. But in his private life he soon deviated from the strict rule of frugality and abstinence ; and the plebeians, who were awed by the

²⁹ The summons of the two rival emperors, a monument of freedom and folly, is extant in Hocsemius (Cerceau, pp. 163-166).

³⁰ It is singular that the Roman historian should have overlooked this sevenfold coronation, which is sufficiently proved by internal evidence, and the testimony of Hocsemius, and even of Rienzi (Cerceau, pp. 167-170, 229).

splendour of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. His wife, his son, his uncle (a barber in name and profession), exposed the contrast of vulgar manners and princely expense; and, without acquiring the majesty, Rienzi degenerated into the vices, of a king.

A simple citizen describes with pity, or perhaps with pleasure, the humiliation of the barons of Rome. "Bare-headed, their hands crossed on their breast, they stood with downcast looks in the presence of the tribune; and they trembled, good God, how they trembled!" As long as the yoke of Rienzi was that of justice and their country, their conscience forced them to esteem the man whom pride and interest provoked them to hate: his extravagant conduct soon fortified their hatred by contempt; and they conceived the hope of subverting a power which was no longer so deeply rooted in the public confidence. The old animosity of the Colonna and Ursini was suspended for a moment by their common disgrace: they associated their wishes, and perhaps their designs; an assassin was seized and tortured; he accused the nobles; and, as soon as Rienzi deserved the fate, he adopted the suspicions and maxims, of a tyrant. On the same day, under various pretences, he invited to the Capitol his principal enemies, among whom were five members of the Ursini, and three of the Colonna, name. But, instead of a council or a banquet, they found themselves prisoners under the sword of despotism or justice; and the consciousness of innocence or guilt might inspire them with equal apprehensions of danger. At the sound of the great bell the people assembled: they were arraigned for a conspiracy against the tribune's life; and, though some might sympathise in their distress, not a hand nor a voice was raised to rescue the first of the nobility from their impending doom. Their apparent boldness was prompted by despair; they passed in separate chambers a sleepless and painful night; and the venerable hero, Stephen Colonna, striking against the door of his

prison, repeatedly urged his guards to deliver him by a speedy death from such ignominious servitude. In the morning they understood their sentence from the visit of a confessor and the tolling of the bell. The great hall of the Capitol had been decorated for the bloody scene with red and white hangings: the countenance of the tribune was dark and severe; the swords of the executioners were unsheathed; and the barons were interrupted in their dying speeches by the sound of trumpets. But in this decisive moment Rienzi was not less anxious or apprehensive than his captives: he dreaded the splendour of their names, their surviving kinsmen, the inconstancy of the people, the reproaches of the world; and, after rashly offering a mortal injury, he vainly presumed that, if he could forgive, he might himself be forgiven. His elaborate oration was that of a Christian and a suppliant; and, as the humble minister of the commons, he entreated his masters to pardon these noble criminals, for whose repentance and future service he pledged his faith and authority. "If you are spared," said the tribune, "by the mercy of the Romans, will you not promise to support the good estate with your lives and fortunes?" Astonished by this marvellous clemency, the barons bowed their heads; and, while they devoutly repeated the oath of allegiance, might whisper a secret, and more sincere, assurance of revenge. A priest, in the name of the people, pronounced their absolution; they received the communion with the tribune, assisted at the banquet, followed the procession; and, after every spiritual and temporal sign of reconciliation, were dismissed in safety to their respective homes, with the new honours and titles of generals, consuls, and patricians.³¹

During some weeks they were checked by the memory of their danger rather than of their deliver-

³¹ The original letter, in which Rienzi justifies his treatment of the Colonna (Hocsemius, apud Du Cerceau, pp. 222-229), displays, in genuine colours, the mixture of the knave and the madman.

ance, till the more powerful of the Ursini, escaping with the Colonna from the city, erected at Marino the standard of rebellion. The fortifications of the castle were instantly restored; the vassals attended their lord; the outlaws armed against the magistrate; the flocks and herds, the harvests and vineyards, from Marino to the gates of Rome, were swept away or destroyed; and the people arraigned Rienzi as the author of the calamities which his government had taught them to forget. In the camp Rienzi appeared to less advantage than in the rostrum; and he neglected the progress of the rebel barons till their numbers were strong and their castles impregnable. From the pages of Livy he had not imbibed the art, or even the courage, of a general: an army of twenty thousand Romans returned, without honour or effect, from the attack of Marino; and his vengeance was amused by painting his enemies, their heads downwards, and drowning two dogs (at least they should have been bears) as the representatives of the Ursini. The belief of his incapacity encouraged their operations: they were invited by their secret adherents; and the barons attempted, with four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, to enter Rome by force or surprise. The city was prepared for their reception; the alarm bell rung all night; the gates were strictly guarded, or insolently open; and after some hesitation they sounded a retreat. The two first divisions had passed along the walls, but the prospect of a free entrance tempted the headstrong valour of the nobles in the rear; and, after a successful skirmish, they were overthrown and massacred without quarter by the crowds of the Roman people. Stephen Colonna the younger, the noble spirit to whom Petrarch ascribed the restoration of Italy, was preceded or accompanied in death by his son John, a gallant youth, by his brother Peter, who might regret the ease and honours of the church, by a nephew of legitimate birth, and by two bastards of the Colonna race; and the number of seven, the seven crowns, as Rienzi styled them, of the Holy Ghost, was

completed by the agony of the deplorable parent, of the veteran chief, who had survived the hope and fortune of his house. The vision and prophecies of St. Martin and Pope Boniface had been used by the tribune to animate his troops:³² he displayed, at least in the pursuit, the spirit of an hero; but he forgot the maxims of the ancient Romans, who abhorred the triumphs of civil war. The conqueror ascended the Capitol; deposited his crown and sceptre on the altar; and boasted with some truth that he had cut off an ear which neither pope nor emperor had been able to amputate.³³ His base and implacable revenge denied the honours of burial; and the bodies of the Colonna, which he threatened to expose with those of the vilest malefactors, were secretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family.³⁴ The people sympathised in their grief, repented of their own fury, and detested the indecent joy of Rienzi, who visited the spot where these illustrious victims had fallen. It was on that fatal spot that he conferred

³² Rienzi, in the above-mentioned letter, ascribes to St. Martin the tribune, Boniface VIII. the enemy of Colonna, himself, and the Roman people, the glory of the day, which Villani likewise (l. xii. c. 104) describes as a regular battle. The disorderly skirmish, the flight of the Romans, and the cowardice of Rienzi are painted in the simple and minute narrative of Fortifiocca, or the anonymous citizen (l. ii. c. 34-37).

³³ In describing the fall of the Colonna, I speak only of the family of Stephen the Elder, who is often confounded by the P. du Cerceau with his son. That family was extinguished, but the house has been perpetuated in the collateral branches, of which I have not a very accurate knowledge. Circumspice (says Petrarch) *familiæ tuæ statum, Columnniensium domos; solito pauciores habeat columnas. Quid ad rem? modo fundamentum stabile solidumque permaneat.*

³⁴ The convent of St. Silvester was founded, endowed, and protected by the Colonna cardinals, for the daughters of the family who embraced a monastic life, and who, in the year 1318, were twelve in number. The others were allowed to marry with their kinsmen in the fourth degree, and the dispensation was justified by the small number and close alliances of the noble families of Rome (*Mémoires sur Petrarque*, tom. i. p. 110, tom. ii. p. 401).

on his son the honour of knighthood; and the ceremony was accomplished by a slight blow from each of the horsemen of the guard, and by a ridiculous and inhuman ablution from a pool of water, which was yet polluted with patrician blood.

A short delay would have saved the Colonna, the delay of a single month, which elapsed between the triumph and the exile of Rienzi. In the pride of victory, he forfeited what yet remained of his civil virtues, without acquiring the fame of military prowess. A free and vigorous opposition was formed in the city; and, when the tribune proposed in the public council³⁵ to impose a new tax and to regulate the government of Perugia, thirty-nine members voted against his measures; repelled the injurious charge of treachery and corruption; and urged him to prove, by their forcible exclusion, that, if the populace adhered to his cause, it was already disclaimed by the most respectable citizens. The pope and the sacred college had never been dazzled by his specious professions; they were justly offended by the insolence of his conduct; a cardinal legate was sent to Italy, and, after some fruitless treaty and two personal interviews, he fulminated a bull of excommunication, in which the tribune is degraded from his office and branded with the guilt of rebellion, sacrilege, and heresy.³⁶ The surviving barons of Rome were now humbled to a sense of allegiance; their interest and revenge engaged them in the service of the church; but, as the fate of the Colonna was before their eyes, they abandoned to a private adventurer the peril and glory of the revolu-

³⁵ This council and opposition is obscurely mentioned by Pollistore, a contemporary writer, who has preserved some curious and original facts (*Rer. Italicarum*, tom. xxv. c. 31, pp. 798-804).

³⁶ The briefs and bulls of Clement VI. against Rienzi are translated by the P. du Cerceau (pp. 196, 232), from the Ecclesiastical Annals of Rodericus Raynaldus (A.D. 1347, No. 15. 17, 21, &c.), who found them in the archives of the Vatican.

tion. John Pepin, count of Minorbino,³⁷ in the kingdom of Naples, had been condemned for his crimes, or his riches, to perpetual imprisonment; and Petrarch, by soliciting his release, indirectly contributed to the ruin of his friend. At the head of one hundred and fifty soldiers, the count of Minorbino introduced himself into Rome, barricaded the quarter of the Colonna; and found the enterprise as easy as it had seemed impossible. From the first alarm, the bell of the Capitol incessantly tolled; but, instead of repairing to the well-known sound, the people was silent and inactive; and the pusillanimous Rienzi, deploring their ingratitude with sighs and tears, abdicated the government and palace of the republic.

Without drawing his sword, Count Pepin restored the aristocracy and the church; three senators were chosen, and the legate, assuming the first rank, accepted his two colleagues from the rival families of Colonna and Ursini. The acts of the tribune were abolished, his head was proscribed; yet such was the terror of his name that the barons hesitated three days before they would trust themselves in the city, and Rienzi was left above a month in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence he peaceably withdrew, after labouring, without effect, to revive the affection and courage of the Romans. The vision of freedom and empire had vanished: their fallen spirit would have acquiesced in servitude, had it been smoothed by tranquillity and order; and it was scarcely observed that the new senators derived their authority from the Apostolic See; that four cardinals were appointed to reform, with dictatorial power, the state of the republic. Rome was again agitated by the bloody feuds of the barons, who detested each other and despised

³⁷ Matteo Villani describes the origin, character, and death of this count of Minorbino, a man *da natura inconstante e senza sede*, whose grandfather, a crafty notary, was enriched and ennobled by the spoils of the Saracens of Nocera (l. vii. c. 102, 103). See his imprisonment, and the efforts of Petrarch, tom. ii. pp. 149-151.

the commons; their hostile fortresses, both in town and country, again rose and were again demolished; and the peaceful citizens, a flock of sheep, were devoured, says the Florentine historian, by these rapacious wolves. But, when their pride and avarice had exhausted the patience of the Romans, a confraternity of the Virgin Mary protected or avenged the republic; the bell of the Capitol was again tolled, the nobles in arms trembled in the presence of an unarmed multitude; and of the two senators, Colonna escaped from the window of the palace, and Ursini was stoned at the foot of the altar. The dangerous office of tribune was successively occupied by two plebeians, Cerroni and Baroncelli. The mildness of Cerroni was unequal to the times, and, after a faint struggle, he retired with a fair reputation and a decent fortune to the comforts of rural life. Devoid of eloquence or genius, Baroncelli was distinguished by a resolute spirit: he spoke the language of a patriot, and trod in the footsteps of tyrants; his suspicion was a sentence of death, and his own death was the reward of his cruelties. Amidst the public misfortunes, the faults of Rienzi were forgotten; and the Romans sighed for the peace and prosperity of the good estate.³⁸

After an exile of seven years, the first deliverer was again restored to his country. In the disguise of a monk or a pilgrim, he escaped from the castle of St. Angelo, implored the friendship of the king of Hungary at Naples, tempted the ambition of every bold adventurer, mingled at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed among the hermits of the Apennine, and wandered through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His person was invisible, his name was yet formidable; and the anxiety of the

³⁸ The troubles of Rome, from the departure to the return of Rienzi, are related by Matteo Villani (l. ii. c. 47; l. iii. c. 33, 57, 78) and Thomas Fortifiocca (l. iii. c. 1-4). I have slightly passed over these secondary characters, who imitated the original tribune.

court of Avignon supposes, and even magnifies, his personal merit. The emperor Charles the Fourth gave audience to a stranger, who frankly revealed himself as the tribune of the republic, and astonished an assembly of ambassadors and princes by the eloquence of a patriot and the visions of a prophet, the downfall of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghost.³⁹ Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi found himself a captive; but he supported a character of independence and dignity, and obeyed, as his own choice, the irresistible summons of the supreme pontiff. The zeal of Petrarch, which had been cooled by the unworthy conduct, was rekindled by the sufferings and the presence, of his friend; and he boldly complains of the times in which the saviour of Rome was delivered by her emperor into the hands of her bishop. Rienzi was transported slowly, but in safe custody, from Prague to Avignon; his entrance into the city was that of a malefactor; in his prison he was chained by the leg; and four cardinals were named to inquire into the crimes of heresy and rebellion. But his trial and condemnation would have involved some questions which it was more prudent to leave under the veil of mystery: the temporal supremacy of the popes; the duty of residence; the civil and ecclesiastical privileges of the clergy and people of Rome. The reigning pontiff well deserved the appellation of *Clement*; the strange vicissitudes and magnanimous spirit of the captive excited his pity and esteem; and Petrarch believes that he respected in the hero the name and sacred character of a poet.⁴⁰ Rienzi was indulged with an

³⁹ These visions, of which the friends and enemies of Rienzi seem alike ignorant, are surely magnified by the zeal of Pollistore, a Dominican inquisitor (*Rer. Ital.* tom. xxv. c. 36, p. 819). Had the tribune taught that Christ was succeeded by the Holy Ghost, that the tyranny of the pope would be abolished, he might have been convicted of heresy and treason without offending the Roman people.

⁴⁰ The astonishment, the envy almost, of Petrarch is a proof, if not of the truth of this incredible fact, at least of his own

easy confinement and the use of books; and in the assiduous study of Livy and the Bible he sought the cause and the consolation of his misfortunes.

The succeeding pontificate of Innocent the Sixth opened a new prospect of his deliverance and restoration; and the court of Avignon was persuaded that the successful rebel could alone appease and reform the anarchy of the metropolis. After a solemn profession of fidelity, the Roman tribune was sent into Italy with the title of senator; but the death of Baroncelli appeared to supersede the use of his mission; and the legate, Cardinal Albernoz,⁴¹ a consummate statesman, allowed him, with reluctance, and without aid, to undertake the perilous experiment. His first reception was equal to his wishes: the day of his entrance was a public festival, and his eloquence and authority revived the laws of the good estate. But this momentary sunshine was soon clouded by his own vices and those of the people: in the Capitol, he might often regret the prison of Avignon; and, after a second administration of four months, Rienzi was massacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. In the society of the Germans and Bohemians, he is said to have contracted the habits of intemperance and cruelty; adversity had chilled his enthusiasm, without fortifying his reason or virtue; and that youthful hope, that lively assurance, which is the pledge of success, was now succeeded by the cold impotence of distrust and despair. The tribune had reigned with absolute dominion, by

veracity. The Abbé de Sade (*Mémoires*, tom. iii. p. 242) quotes the vith epistle of the xiiiith book of Petrarch, but it is of the royal MS. which he consulted, and not of the ordinary Basil edition (p. 920).

⁴¹ Ægidius or Giles Alborno, a noble Spaniard, archbishop of Toledo, and cardinal legate in Italy (A.D. 1353-1367), restored, by his arms and counsels, the temporal dominion of the popes. His life has been separately written by Sepulveda; but Dryden could not reasonably suppose that his name, or that of Wolsey, had reached the ears of the Mufti in Don Sebastian.

the choice and in the hearts of the Romans; the senator was the servile minister of a foreign court; and, while he was suspected by the people, he was abandoned by the prince. The legate Albornoz, who seemed desirous of his ruin, inflexibly refused all supplies of men and money: a faithful subject could no longer presume to touch the revenues of the apostolical chamber; and the first idea of a tax was the signal of clamour and sedition. Even his justice was tainted with the guilt or reproach of selfish cruelty; the most virtuous citizen of Rome was sacrificed to his jealousy; and in the execution of a public robber, from whose purse he had been assisted, the magistrate too much forgot, or too much remembered, the obligations of the debtor.⁴² A civil war exhausted his treasures and the patience of the city: the Colonna maintained their hostile station at Palestrina; and his mercenaries soon despised a leader whose ignorance and fear were envious of all subordinate merit. In the death, as in the life of, Rienzi, the hero and the coward were strangely mingled. When the Capitol was invested by a furious multitude, when he was basely deserted by his civil and military servant, the intrepid senator, waving the banner of liberty, presented himself on the balcony, addressed his eloquence to the various passions of the Romans, and laboured to persuade them that in the same cause himself and the republic must either stand or fall. His oration was interrupted by a volley of imprecations and stones; and, after an arrow had transpierced his hand, he sunk into abject despair, and fled weeping to the inner chambers, from whence he was let down by a sheet before the windows of the prison. Destitute of aid or hope, he was besieged till the evening: the doors of

⁴² From Matteo Villani and Fortifiocca, the P. du Cerceau (pp. 344-394) has extracted the life and death of the Chevalier Montreal, the life of a robber, and the death of an hero. At the head of a free company, the first that desolated Italy, he became rich and formidable; he had money in all the banks, 60,000 ducats in Padua alone.

the Capitol were destroyed with axes and fire ; and, while the senator attempted to escape in a plebeian habit, he was discovered and dragged to the platform of the palace, the fatal scene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he stood amidst the multitude, half naked and half dead ; their rage was hushed into curiosity and wonder ; the last feelings of reverence and compassion yet struggled in his favour ; and they might have prevailed, if a bold assassin had not plunged a dagger in his breast. He fell senseless with the first stroke ; the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds ; and the senator's body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames. Posterity will compare the virtues and the failings of this extraordinary man ; but in a long period of anarchy and servitude the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country and the last of the Roman patriots.⁴³

The first and most generous wish of Petrarch was the restoration of a free republic ; but, after the exile and death of his plebeian hero, he turned his eyes from the tribune to the king of the Romans. The Capitol was yet stained with the blood of Rienzi, when Charles the Fourth descended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and Imperial crowns. In his passage through Milan he received the visit, and repaid the flattery, of the poet-laureate ; accepted a medal of Augustus ; and promised, without a smile, to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. A false application of the names and maxims of antiquity was the source of the hopes and disappointments of Petrarch ; yet he could not overlook the difference of times and characters ; the immeasurable distance between the first Cæsars and a Bohemian prince, who by the favour of the clergy had been elected the titular head of the German

⁴³ The exile, second government, and death of Rienzi are minutely related by the anonymous Roman who appears neither his friend nor his enemy (l. iii. c. 12-25). Petrarch, who loved the *tribune*, was indifferent to the fate of the *senator*.

aristocracy. Instead of restoring to Rome her glory and her provinces, he had bound himself, by a secret treaty with the pope, to evacuate the city on the day of his coronation; and his shameful retreat was pursued by the reproaches of the patriot bard.⁴⁴

After the loss of liberty and empire, his third and more humble wish was to reconcile the shepherd with his flock; to recall the Roman bishop to his ancient and peculiar diocese. In the fervour of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch addressed his exhortations to five successive popes, and his eloquence was always inspired by the enthusiasm of sentiment and the freedom of language. The son of a citizen of Florence invariably preferred the country of his birth to that of his education; and Italy, in his eyes, was the queen and garden of the world. Amidst her domestic factions, she was doubtless superior to France both in art and science, in wealth and politeness; but the difference could scarcely support the epithet of barbarous, which he promiscuously bestows on the countries beyond the Alps. Avignon, the mystic Babylon, the sink of vice and corruption, was the object of his hatred and contempt; but he forgets that her scandalous vices were not the growth of the soil, and that in every residence they would adhere to the power and luxury of the papal court. He confesses that the successor of St. Peter is the bishop of the universal church; yet it was not on the banks of the Rhône, but of the Tiber, that the apostle had fixed his everlasting throne; and, while every city in the Christian world was blessed with a bishop, the metropolis alone was desolate and forlorn. Since the removal of the Holy See, the sacred buildings of the Lateran and the Vatican, their altars and their saints, were left in a state of poverty and decay; and Rome

⁴⁴ The hopes and the disappointment of Petrarch are agreeably described in his own words by the French biographer (*Mémoires*, tom. iii. pp. 413-575); but the deep though secret wound was the coronation of Zanubi, the poet-laureate, by Charles IV.

was often painted under the image of a disconsolate matron, as if the wandering husband could be reclaimed by the homely portrait of the age and infirmities of his weeping spouse. But the cloud which hung over the seven hills would be dispelled by the presence of their lawful sovereign: eternal fame, the prosperity of Rome, and the peace of Italy would be the recompense of the pope who should dare to embrace this generous resolution. Of the five whom Petrarch exhorted, the three first, John the Twenty-second, Benedict the Twelfth, and Clement the Sixth, were importuned or amused by the boldness of the orator; but the memorable change which had been attempted by Urban the Fifth was finally accomplished by Gregory the Eleventh. The execution of their design was opposed by weighty and almost insuperable obstacles. A king of France, who has deserved the epithet of Wise, was unwilling to release them from a local dependence: the cardinals, for the most part his subjects, were attached to the language, manners, and climate of Avignon; to their stately palaces; above all, to the wines of Burgundy. In their eyes, Italy was foreign or hostile; and they reluctantly embarked at Marseilles, as if they had been sold or banished into the land of the Saracens. Urban the Fifth resided three years in the Vatican with safety and honour; his sanctity was protected by a guard of two thousand horse; and the king of Cyprus, the queen of Naples, and the emperors of the East and West devoutly saluted their common father in the chair of St. Peter. But the joy of Petrarch and the Italians was soon turned into grief and indignation. Some reasons of public or private moment, his own impatience or the prayers of the cardinals, recalled Urban to France; and the approaching election was saved from the tyrannic patriotism of the Romans. The powers of Heaven were interested in their cause: Bridget of Sweden, a saint and pilgrim, disapproved the return, and foretold the death, of Urban the Fifth; the migration of Gregory the Eleventh was encouraged by St. Catherine of Sienna, the spouse of Christ and

ambassadress of the Florentines; and the popes themselves, the great masters of human credulity, appear to have listened to these visionary females. Yet those celestial admonitions were supported by some arguments of temporal policy. The residence of Avignon had been invaded by hostile violence: at the head of thirty thousand robbers, an hero had extorted ransom and absolution from the vicar of Christ and the sacred college; and the maxim of the French warriors, to spare the people and plunder the church, was a new heresy of the most dangerous import.⁴⁵ While the pope was driven from Avignon, he was strenuously invited to Rome. The senate and people acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign, and laid at his feet the keys of the gates, the bridges, and the fortresses; of the quarter at least beyond the Tiber.⁴⁶ But this loyal offer was accompanied by a declaration that they could no longer suffer the scandal and calamity of his absence; and that his obstinacy would finally provoke them to revive and assert the primitive right of election. The abbot of Mount Cassin had been consulted whether he would accept the triple crown⁴⁷ from the clergy and people: "I am a citizen of

⁴⁵ This predatory expedition is related by Froissart (*Chronique*, tom. i. p. 230), and in the life of du Guesclin (*Collection Générale des Mémoires Historiques*, tom. iv. c. 16, pp. 107-113). As early as the year 1361, the court of Avignon had been molested by similar freebooters, who afterwards passed the Alps (*Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. iii. pp. 563-569).

⁴⁶ Fleury alleges, from the annals of Odericus Raynaldus, the original treaty which was signed the 21st of December 1376 between Gregory XI. and the Romans (*Hist. Ecclés.* tom. xx. p. 275).

⁴⁷ The first crown or regnum (*Ducange, Gloss. Latin.* tom. v. p. 702) on the Episcopal mitre of the popes is ascribed to the gift of Constantine or Clovis. The second was added by Boniface VIII. as the emblem, not only of a spiritual, but of a temporal, kingdom. The three states of the church are represented by the triple crown which was introduced by John XXII. or Benedict XII. (*Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. i. pp. 258, 259).

Rome,"⁴⁸ replied that venerable ecclesiastic, "and my first law is the voice of my country."⁴⁹

If superstition will interpret an untimely death;⁵⁰ if the merit of councils be judged from the event; the heavens may seem to frown on a measure of such apparent reason and propriety. Gregory the Eleventh did not survive above fourteen months his return to the Vatican; and his decease was followed by the great schism of the West, which distracted the Latin church above forty years. The sacred college was then composed of twenty-two cardinals: six of these had remained at Avignon; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians entered the conclave in the usual form. Their choice was not yet limited to the purple; and their unanimous votes acquiesced in the archbishop of Bari, a subject of Naples, conspicuous for his zeal and learning, who ascended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban the Sixth. The epistle of the sacred college affirms his free and regular election, which had been inspired, as usual, by the Holy Ghost; he was adored, invested, and

⁴⁸ Baluze (Not. ad Pap. Avenion. tom. i. pp. 1194, 1195) produces the original evidence, which attests the threats of the Roman ambassadors, and the resignation of the abbot of mount Cassin, qui ultro se offerens respondit se civem Romanum esse, et illud velle quod ipsi vellent.

⁴⁹ The return of the popes from Avignon to Rome, and their reception by the people, are related in the original Lives of Urban V. and Gregory XI. in Baluze (Vit. Papatum Avenionensium, tom. i. pp. 363-486) and Muratori (Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. iii. p. i. pp. 610-712). In the disputes of the schism every circumstance was severely though partially scrutinised, more especially in the great inquest which decided the obedience of Castile, and to which Baluze, in his notes, so often and so largely appeals, from a MS. volume in the Harley library (p. 1281, &c.).

⁵⁰ Can the death of a good man be esteemed a punishment by those who believe in the immortality of the soul? They betray the instability of their faith. Yet, as a mere philosopher, I cannot agree with the Greeks, *ὅν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος* (Brunck, Poetæ Gnomici, p. 231). See in Herodotus (l. i. c. 31) the moral and pleasing tale of the Argive youths.

crowned with the customary rights; his temporal authority was obeyed at Rome and Avignon, and his ecclesiastical supremacy was acknowledged in the Latin world. During several weeks, the cardinals attended their new master with the fairest professions of attachment and loyalty, till the summer heats permitted a decent escape from the city. But, as soon as they were united at Anagni and Fundi, in a place of security, they cast aside the mask, accused their own falsehood and hypocrisy, excommunicated the apostate and antichrist of Rome, and proceeded to a new election of Robert of Geneva, Clement the Seventh, whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Christ. Their first choice, an involuntary and illegal act, was annulled by the fear of death and the menaces of the Romans; and their complaint is justified by the strong evidence of probability and fact. The twelve French cardinals, above two-thirds of the votes, were masters of the election; and, whatever might be their provincial jealousies, it cannot fairly be presumed that they would have sacrificed their right and interest to a foreign candidate, who would never restore them to their native country. In the various and often inconsistent narratives⁵¹ the shades of popular violence are more darkly or faintly coloured; but the licentiousness of these seditious Romans was inflamed by a sense of their privileges, and the danger of a second emigration. The conclave was intimidated by the shouts, and encompassed by the arms, of thirty thousand rebels; the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter's rang an alarm: "Death, or an Italian pope!" was the universal cry; the same threat was repeated by the twelve bannerets or chiefs

⁵¹ In the first book of the *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, M. Lenfant has abridged and compared the original narratives of the adherents of Urban and Clement, of the Italians and Germans, the French and Spaniards. The latter appear to be the most active and loquacious, and every fact and word in the original Lives of Gregory XI. and Clement VII. are supported in the notes of their editor Baluze.

of the quarters, in the form of charitable advice ; some preparations were made for burning the obstinate cardinals ; and, had they chosen a Transalpine subject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. The same constraint imposed the necessity of dissembling in the eyes of Rome and of the world ; the pride and cruelty of Urban presented a more inevitable danger ; and they soon discovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden and recite his breviary, while he heard from an adjacent chamber six cardinals groaning on the rack. His inflexible zeal, which loudly censured their luxury and vice, would have attached them to the stations and duties of their parishes at Rome ; and, had he not fatally delayed a new promotion, the French cardinals would have been reduced to an helpless minority in the sacred college. For these reasons, and in the hope of repassing the Alps, they rashly violated the peace and unity of the church ; and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic schools.⁵² The vanity, rather than the interest, of the nation determined the court and clergy of France.⁵³ The states of Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Arragon, Castille, Navarre, and Scotland were inclined by their example and authority to the obedience of Clement the Seventh, and, after his decease, of Benedict the Thirteenth. Rome and the principal states of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England,⁵⁴ the Low

⁵² The ordinal numbers of the popes seem to decide the question against Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. who are boldly stigmatised as anti-popes by the Italians, while the French are content with authorities and reasons to plead the cause of doubt and toleration (Baluz. in Præfat.). It is singular, or rather it is not singular, that saints, visions, and miracles should be common to both parties.

⁵³ Baluze strenuously labours (Not. pp. 1271-1280) to justify the pure and pious motives of Charles V., king of France : he refused to hear the arguments of Urban ; but were not the Urbanists equally deaf to the reasons of Clement, &c. ?

⁵⁴ An epistle, or declamation, in the name of Edward III. (Baluz. Vit. Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 553) displays the zeal of

Countries, and the kingdoms of the North, adhered to the prior election of Urban the Sixth, who was succeeded by Boniface the Ninth, Innocent the Seventh, and Gregory the Twelfth.

From the banks of the Tiber and the Rhône, the hostile pontiffs encountered each other with the pen and the sword: the civil and ecclesiastical order of society was disturbed; and the Romans had their full share of the mischiefs, of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors.⁵⁵ They had vainly flattered themselves with the hope of restoring the seat of the ecclesiastical monarchy, and of relieving their poverty with the tributes and offerings of the nations; but the separation of France and Spain diverted the stream of lucrative devotion; nor could the loss be compensated by the two jubilees which were crowded into the space of ten years. By the avocations of the schism, by foreign arms and popular tumults, Urban the Sixth and his three successors were often compelled to interrupt their residence in the Vatican. The Colonna and Ursini still exercised their deadly feuds; the bannerets of Rome asserted and abused the privileges of a republic; the vicars of Christ, who had levied a military force, chastised their rebellion with the gibbet, the sword, and the dagger; and, in a friendly conference, eleven deputies of the people were perfidiously murdered and cast into the street. Since the invasion of Robert the Norman, the Romans had pursued their domestic quarrels without the dangerous interposition of a stranger. But, in the disorders of the schism, an aspiring neighbour, Ladislaus king of Naples, alternately supported and betrayed the pope and the people; by the former he was declared *gonfalonier*, or general of the church, while the latter submitted to

the English nation against the Clementines. Nor was their zeal confined to words; the bishop of Norwich led a crusade of 60,000 bigots beyond sea (Hume's History, vol. iii. pp. 57, 58).

⁵⁵ Beside the general historians, the Diaries of Delphinus Gentilis, Peter Antonius, and Stephen Infessura, in the great Collection of Muratori, represent the state and misfortunes of Rome.

his choice the nomination of their magistrates. Besieging Rome by land and water, he thrice entered the gates as a barbarian conqueror; profaned the altars, violated the virgins, pillaged the merchants, performed his devotions at St. Peter's, and left a garrison in the castle of St. Angelo. His arms were sometimes unfortunate, and to a delay of three days he was indebted for his life and crown; but Ladislaus triumphed in his turn, and it was only his premature death that could save the metropolis and the ecclesiastical state from the ambitious conqueror, who had assumed the title, or at least the powers, of king of Rome.⁵⁶

I have not undertaken the ecclesiastical history of the schism; but Rome, the object of these last chapters, is deeply interested in the disputed succession of her sovereigns. The first counsels for the peace and union of Christendom arose from the university of Paris, from the faculty of the Sorbonne, whose doctors were esteemed, at least in the Gallican church, as the most consummate masters of theological science.⁵⁷ Prudently waiving all invidious inquiry into the origin and merits of the dispute, they proposed, as an healing measure, that the two pretenders of Rome and Avignon should abdicate at the same time, after qualifying the cardinals of the adverse factions to join in a legitimate election; and that the nations should *subtract*⁵⁸ their

⁵⁶ It is supposed by Giannone (tom. iii. p. 292) that he styled himself *Rex Romæ*, a title unknown to the world since the expulsion of Tarquin. But a nearer inspection has justified the reading of *Rex Romæ*, of Rama, an obscure kingdom annexed to the crown of Hungary.

⁵⁷ The leading and decisive part which France assumed in the schism is stated by Peter du Puis, in a separate history, extracted from authentic records, and inserted in the seventh volume of the last and best edition of his friend Thuanus (p. xi. pp. 110-184).

⁵⁸ Of this measure, John Gerson, a stout doctor, was the author or the champion. The proceedings of the university of Paris and the Gallican church were often prompted by his advice, and are copiously displayed in his theological writings, of which Le Clerc (*Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. x. pp. 1-78) has given a valuable extract. John Gerson acted an important part in the councils of Pisa and Constance.

obedience, if either of the competitors preferred his own interest to that of the public. At each vacancy, these physicians of the church deprecated the mischiefs of an hasty choice; but the policy of the conclave and the ambition of its members were deaf to reason and entreaties; and whatsoever promises were made, the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinal. During fifteen years, the pacific designs of the university were eluded by the arts of the rival pontiffs, the scruples or passions of their adherents, and the vicissitudes of French factions that ruled the insanity of Charles the Sixth. At length a vigorous resolution was embraced; and a solemn embassy, of the titular patriarch of Alexandria, two archbishops, five bishops, five abbots, three knights, and twenty doctors, was sent to the courts of Avignon and Rome, to require, in the name of the church and king, the abdication of the two pretenders, of Peter de Luna, who styled himself Benedict the Thirteenth, and of Angelo Corrario, who assumed the name of Gregory the Twelfth. For the ancient honour of Rome and the success of their commission, the ambassadors solicited a conference with the magistrates of the city, whom they gratified by a positive declaration that the most Christian king did not entertain a wish of transporting the holy see from the Vatican, which he considered as the genuine and proper seat of the successor of St. Peter. In the name of the senate and people, an eloquent Roman asserted their desire to co-operate in the union of the church, deplored the temporal and spiritual calamities of the long schism, and requested the protection of France against the arms of the king of Naples. The answers of Benedict and Gregory were alike edifying and alike deceitful; and, in evading the demand of their abdication, the two rivals were animated by a common spirit. They agreed on the necessity of a previous interview, but the time, the place, and the manner could never be ascertained by mutual consent. "If the one advances," says a servant of Gregory, "the other retreats; the one appears an animal fearful

of the land, the other a creature apprehensive of the water. And thus, for a short remnant of life and power, will these aged priests endanger the peace and salvation of the Christian world.”⁵⁹

The Christian world was at length provoked by their obstinacy and fraud: they were deserted by their cardinals, who embraced each other as friends and colleagues; and their revolt was supported by a numerous assembly of prelates and ambassadors. With equal justice, the council of Pisa deposed the popes of Rome and Avignon; the conclave was unanimous in the choice of Alexander the Fifth, and his vacant seat was soon filled by a similar election of John the Twenty-third, the most profligate of mankind. But, instead of extinguishing the schism, the rashness of the French and Italians had given a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter. Such new claims of the synod and conclave were disputed; three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, adhered to the cause of Gregory the Twelfth; and Benedict the Thirteenth, himself a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotism of that powerful nation. The rash proceedings of Pisa were corrected by the council of Constance; the emperor Sigismond acted a conspicuous part as the advocate or protector of the Catholic church; and the number and weight of civil and ecclesiastical members might seem to constitute the states-general of Europe. Of the three popes, John the Twenty-third was the first victim: he fled, and was brought back a prisoner; the most scandalous charges were suppressed; the vicar of Christ was only accused of piracy, murder, rape, sodomy, and incest; and, after subscribing his own condemnation, he expiated in prison the imprudence of trusting his person to a free city beyond the Alps. Gregory the

⁵⁹ Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, one of the revivers of classic learning in Italy, who, after serving many years as secretary in the Roman court, retired to the honourable office of chancellor of the republic of Florence (Fabric. *Bibliot. medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 290). Lenfant has given the version of this curious epistle (*Concile de Pise*, tom. i. pp. 192-195).

Twelfth, whose obedience was reduced to the narrow precincts of Rimini, descended with more honour from the throne, and his ambassador convened the session in which he renounced the title and authority of lawful pope. To vanquish the obstinacy of Benedict the Thirteenth, or his adherents, the emperor in person undertook a journey from Constance to Perpignan. The kings of Castille, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland obtained an equal and honourable treaty: with the concurrence of the Spaniards, Benedict was deposed by the council; but the harmless old man was left in a solitary castle to excommunicate twice each day the rebel kingdoms which had deserted his cause. After thus eradicating the remains of the schism, the synod of Constance proceeded, with slow and cautious steps, to elect the sovereign of Rome and the head of the church. On this momentous occasion, the college of twenty-three cardinals was fortified with thirty deputies; six of whom were chosen in each of the five great nations of Christendom, the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the *English*:⁶⁰ the inter-

⁶⁰ I cannot overlook this great national cause, which was vigorously maintained by the English ambassadors against those of France. The latter contended that Christendom was essentially distributed into the four great nations and votes of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the lesser kingdoms (such as England, Denmark, Portugal, &c.) were comprehended under one or other of these great divisions. The English asserted that the British islands, of which they were the head, should be considered as a fifth and co-ordinate nation with an equal vote; and every argument of truth or fable was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Including England, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland, and the Orkneys, the British islands are decorated with eight royal crowns, and discriminated by four or five languages, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scotch, Irish, &c. The greater island, from north to south, measures 800 miles, or 40 days' journey; and England alone contains 32 counties, and 52,000 parish churches (a bold account!) besides cathedrals, colleges, priories, and hospitals. They celebrate the mission of St. Joseph of Arimathea, the birth of Constantine, and the legateine powers of the two primates, without forgetting the testimony of Bartholemey de Glanville (A.D. 1360), who reckons only four Christian kingdoms,

ference of strangers was softened by their generous preference of an Italian and a Roman; and the hereditary as well as personal merit of Otho Colonna recommended him to the conclave. Rome accepted with joy and obedience the noblest of her sons, the ecclesiastical state was defended by his powerful family, and the elevation of Martin the Fifth is the æra of the restoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican.⁶¹

The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exercised near three hundred years by the senate, was *first* resumed by Martin the Fifth,⁶² and his image and superscription introduce the series of the papal medals. Of his two immediate successors, Eugenius the Fourth was the *last* pope expelled by the tumults of the Roman people,⁶³ and Nicholas the

1. of Rome, 2. of Constantinople, 3. of Ireland, which had been transferred to the English monarchs, and 4. of Spain. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their arguments. The adverse pleadings were found at Constance by Sir Robert Wingfield, ambassador from Henry VIII. to the emperor Maximilian I. and by him printed in 1517, at Louvain. From a Leipsic MS. they are more correctly published in the Collection of Von der Hardt, tom. v.; but I have only seen Lenfant's abstract of these acts (Concile de Constance, tom. ii. pp. 447, 453, &c.).

⁶¹ The histories of the three successive councils, Pisa, Constance, and Basil, have been written with a tolerable degree of candour, industry, and elegance, by a Protestant minister, M. Lenfant, who retired from France to Berlin. They form six volumes in quarto; and, as Basil is the worst, so Constance is the best, part of the Collection.

⁶² See the xxviii Dissertation of the Antiquities of Muratori, and the 1st Instruction of the Science des Médailles of the Père Joubert and the Baron de la Bastie. The Metallic History of Martin V. and his successors has been composed by two monks, Moulinet a Frenchman, and Bonanni an Italian; but I understand that the first part of the series is restored from more recent coins.

⁶³ Besides the Lives of Eugenius IV. (Rerum Italic. tom. iii. p. i. p. 869, and tom. xxv. p. 256), the Diaries of Paul Petroni and Stephen Infessura are the best original evidence for the revolt of the Romans against Eugenius IV. The former, who lived at the time and on the spot, speaks the language of a citizen equally afraid of priestly and popular tyranny.

Fifth, the *last* who was importuned by the presence of a Roman emperor.⁶⁴ I. The conflict of Eugenius with the fathers of Basil, and the weight or apprehension of a new excise, emboldened and provoked the Romans to usurp the temporal government of the city. They rose in arms, selected seven governors of the republic and a constable of the Capitol; imprisoned the pope's nephew; besieged his person in the palace; and shot volleys of arrows into his bark as he escaped down the Tiber in the habit of a monk. But he still possessed in the castle of St. Angelo a faithful garrison and a train of artillery: their batteries incessantly thundered on the city, and a bullet more dexterously pointed broke down the barricade of the bridge and scattered, with a single shot, the heroes of the republic. Their constancy was exhausted by a rebellion of five months. Under the tyranny of the Ghibeline nobles, the wisest patriots regretted the dominion of the church; and their repentance was unanimous and effectual. The troops of St. Peter again occupied the Capitol; the magistrates departed to their homes; the most guilty were executed or exiled; and the legate, at the head of two thousand foot and four thousand horse, was saluted as the father of the city. The synods of Ferrara and Florence, the fear or resentment of Eugenius, prolonged his absence: he was received by a submissive people; but the pontiff understood from the acclamations of his triumphal entry that, to secure their loyalty and his own repose, he must grant without delay the abolition of the odious excise. II. Rome was restored, adorned, and enlightened by the peaceful reign of Nicholas the Fifth. In the midst of these laudable occupations, the pope was alarmed by the approach of Frederic the Third of Austria; though his fears could not be justified by the character or the power of the Imperial candidate.

⁶⁴ The coronation of Frederic III. is described by Lenfant (Concile de Basle, tom. ii. pp. 276-288) from Æneas Sylvius, a spectator and actor in that splendid scene.

After drawing his military force to the metropolis and imposing the best security of oaths⁶⁵ and treaties, Nicholas received, with a smiling countenance, the faithful advocate and vassal of the church. So tame were the times, so feeble was the Austrian, that the pomp of his coronation was accomplished with order and harmony; but the superfluous honour was so disgraceful to an independent nation that his successors have excused themselves from the toilsome pilgrimage to the Vatican, and rest their Imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

A citizen has remarked, with pride and pleasure, that the king of the Romans, after passing with a slight salute the cardinals and prelates who met him at the gate, distinguished the dress and person of the senator of Rome; and, in this last farewell, the pageants of the empire and the republic were clasped in a friendly embrace.⁶⁶ According to the laws of Rome, her first magistrate was required to be a doctor of laws, an alien, of a place at least forty miles from the city; with whose inhabitants he must not be connected in the third canonical degree of blood or alliance. The election was annual: a severe scrutiny was instituted into the conduct of the departing senator; nor could he be recalled to the same office till after the expiration of two years. A liberal salary of three thousand florins was assigned for his expense and reward; and his public appearance represented the majesty of the republic. His robes were of gold brocade or crimson velvet, or in the summer season of a lighter silk; he bore in his hand an ivory sceptre;

⁶⁵ The oath of fidelity imposed on the emperor by the pope is recorded and sanctified in the Clementines (l. ii. tit. ix.); and Æneas Sylvius, who objects to this new demand, could not foresee that in a few years he should ascend the throne and imbibe the maxims of Boniface VIII.

⁶⁶ Lo senatore di Roma, vestito di brocarto con quella beretta, e con quelle maniche, et ornamenti di pelle, co' quali va alle feste di Testaccio e Nagone, might escape the eye of Æneas Sylvius, but he is viewed with admiration and complacency by the Roman citizen (Diario di Stephano Infessura, p. 1133).

the sound of trumpets announced his approach ; and his solemn steps were preceded at least by four lictors or attendants, whose red wands were enveloped with bands or streamers of the golden colour or livery of the city. His oath in the Capitol proclaims his right and duty to observe and assert the laws, to control the proud, to protect the poor, and to exercise justice and mercy within the extent of his jurisdiction. In these useful functions he was assisted by three learned strangers, the two *collaterals* and the judge of criminal appeals : their frequent trials of robberies, rapes, and murders are attested by the laws ; and the weakness of these laws connives at the licentiousness of private feuds and armed associations for mutual defence. But the senator was confined to the administration of justice : the Capitol, the treasury, and the government of the city and its territory were entrusted to the three *conservators*, who were changed four times in each year : the militia of the thirteen regions assembled under the banners of their respective chiefs, or *caporioni* ; and the first of these was distinguished by the name and dignity of the *prior*. The popular legislature consisted of the secret and the common councils of the Romans. The former was composed of the magistrates and their immediate predecessors, with some fiscal and legal officers, and three classes of thirteen, twenty-six, and forty counsellors ; amounting in the whole to about one hundred and twenty persons. In the common council, all male citizens had a right to vote ; and the value of their privilege was enhanced by the care with which any foreigners were prevented from usurping the title and character of Romans. The tumult of a democracy was checked by wise and jealous precautions : except the magistrates, none could propose a question ; none were permitted to speak, except from an open pulpit or tribunal ; all disorderly acclamations were suppressed ; the sense of the majority was decided by a secret ballot ; and their decrees were promulgated in the venerable name of the Roman senate and people. It

would not be easy to assign a period in which this theory of government has been reduced to accurate and constant practice, since the establishment of order has been gradually connected with the decay of liberty. But in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty the ancient statutes were collected, methodised in three books, and adapted to present use, under the pontificate, and with the approbation, of Gregory the Thirteenth:⁶⁷ this civil and criminal code is the modern law of the city; and, if the popular assemblies have been abolished, a foreign senator, with the three conservators, still resides in the palace of the Capitol.⁶⁸ The policy of the Cæsars has been repeated by the popes; and the bishop of Rome affected to maintain the form of a republic, while he reigned with the absolute powers of a temporal, as well as spiritual, monarch.

It is an obvious truth that the times must be suited to extraordinary characters, and that the genius of Cromwell or Retz might now expire in obscurity. The political enthusiasm of Rienzi had exalted him to a throne; the same enthusiasm, in the next century, conducted his imitator to the gallows. The birth of Stephen Porcaro was noble, his reputation spotless: his tongue was armed with eloquence, his mind was enlightened with learning; and he aspired, beyond the aim of vulgar ambition, to free his country and immortalise his name. The dominion of priests is most odious to a liberal spirit: every scruple was

⁶⁷ *Statuta almae Urbis Romae Auctoritate S. D. N. Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max. a Senatu Populoque Rom. reformata et edita. Romae, 1580, in folio.* The obsolete, repugnant statutes of antiquity were confounded in five books, and Lucas Pætus, a lawyer and antiquarian, was appointed to act as the modern Tribonian. Yet I regret the old code, with the rugged crust of freedom and barbarism.

⁶⁸ In my time (1765), and in M. Grosley's (*Observations sur l'Italie*, tom. ii. p. 361), the senator of Rome was M. Bielke, a noble Swede, and a proselyte to the Catholic faith. The pope's right to appoint the senator and the conservator is implied rather than affirmed in the statutes.

removed by the recent knowledge of the fable and forgery of Constantine's donation; Petrarch was now the oracle of the Italians; and, as often as Porcaro revolved the ode which describes the patriot and hero of Rome, he applied to himself the visions of the prophetic bard. His first trial of the popular feelings was at the funeral of Eugenius the Fourth: in an elaborate speech, he called the Romans to liberty and arms; and they listened with apparent pleasure, till Porcaro was interrupted and answered by a grave advocate, who pleaded for the church and state. By every law the seditious orator was guilty of treason; but the benevolence of the new pontiff, who viewed his character with pity and esteem, attempted, by an honourable office, to convert the patriot into a friend. The inflexible Roman returned from Anagni with an increase of reputation and zeal; and, on the first opportunity, the games of the place Navona, he tried to inflame the casual dispute of some boys and mechanics into a general rising of the people. Yet the humane Nicholas was still averse to accept the forfeit of his life; and the traitor was removed from the scene of temptation to Bologna, with a liberal allowance for his support, and the easy obligation of presenting himself each day before the governor of the city. But Porcaro had learned from the younger Brutus that with tyrants no faith or gratitude should be observed: the exile declaimed against the arbitrary sentence; a party and a conspiracy were gradually formed; his nephew, a daring youth, assembled a band of volunteers; and on the appointed evening a feast was prepared at his house for the friends of the republic. Their leader, who had escaped from Bologna, appeared among them in a robe of purple and gold: his voice, his countenance, his gestures, bespoke the man who had devoted his life or death to the glorious cause. In a studied oration, he expatiated on the motives and the means of their enterprise; the name and liberties of Rome; the sloth and pride of their ecclesiastical tyrants; the active or passive consent of their fellow-

citizens ; three hundred soldiers and four hundred exiles, long exercised in arms or in wrongs ; the licence of revenge to edge their swords, and a million of ducats to reward their victory. It would be easy (he said) on the next day, the festival of the Epiphany, to seize the pope and his cardinals before the doors, or at the altar, of St. Peter's ; to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Angelo ; to extort by the threat of their instant death a surrender of the castle ; to ascend the vacant Capitol ; to ring the alarm-bell ; and to restore in a popular assembly the ancient republic of Rome. While he triumphed, he was already betrayed. The senator, with a strong guard, invested the house : the nephew of Porcaro cut his way through the crowd ; but the unfortunate Stephen was drawn from a chest, lamenting that his enemies had anticipated by three hours the execution of his design. After such manifest and repeated guilt, even the mercy of Nicholas was silent. Porcaro, and nine of his accomplices, were hanged without the benefit of the sacraments ; and, amidst the fears and invectives of the papal court, the Romans pitied, and almost applauded, these martyrs of their country. But their applause was mute, their pity ineffectual, their liberty for ever extinct ; and, if they have since risen in a vacancy of the throne or a scarcity of bread, such accidental tumults may be found in the bosom of the most abject servitude.

But the independence of the nobles, which was fomented by discord, survived the freedom of the commons, which must be founded in union. A privilege of rapine and oppression was long maintained by the barons of Rome : their houses were a fortress and a sanctuary ; and the ferocious train of banditti and criminals whom they protected from the law repaid the hospitality with the service of their swords and daggers. The private interest of the pontiffs, or their nephews, sometimes involved them in these domestic feuds. Under the reign of Sixtus the Fourth, Rome was distracted by the battles and sieges of the

rival houses : after the conflagration of his palace, the protonotary Colonna was tortured and beheaded ; and Savelli, his captive friend, was murdered on the spot, for refusing to join in the acclamations of the victorious Ursini.⁶⁹ But the popes no longer trembled in the Vatican : they had strength to command, if they had resolution to claim, the obedience of their subjects ; and the strangers, who observed these partial disorders, admired the easy taxes and wise administration of the ecclesiastical state.

The spiritual thunders of the Vatican depend on the force of opinion ; and if that opinion be supplanted by reason or passion, the sound may idly waste itself in the air ; and the helpless priest is exposed to the brutal violence of a noble or a plebeian adversary. But after their return from Avignon the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the sword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel : the use of cannon is a powerful engine against popular seditions : a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enlisted under the banners of the pope : his ample revenues supplied the resources of war ; and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hostile neighbours and loyal subjects.⁷⁰ Since the union of the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino, the ecclesiastical state extends from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po ; and,

⁶⁹ The disorders of Rome, which were much inflamed by the partiality of Sixtus IV., are exposed in the diaries of two spectators, Stephen Infessura and an anonymous citizen. See the troubles of the year 1484, and the death of the protonotary Colonna, in tom. iii. p. ii. pp. 1083, 1158.

⁷⁰ By the economy of Sixtus V. the revenue of the ecclesiastical state was raised to two millions and a half of Roman crowns (Vita, tom. ii. pp. 292-296); and so regular was the military establishment that in one month Clement VIII. could invade the duchy of Ferrara with three thousand horse and twenty thousand foot (tom. iii. p. 64). Since that time (A. D. 1597), the papal arms are happily rusted ; but the revenue must have gained some nominal increase.

as early as the sixteenth century, the greater part of that spacious and fruitful country acknowledged the lawful claims and temporal sovereignty of the Roman pontiffs. Their claims were readily deduced from the genuine or fabulous donations of the darker ages: the successive steps of their final settlement would engage us too far in the transactions of Italy, and even of Europe: the crimes of Alexander the Sixth, the martial operations of Julius the Second, and the liberal policy of Leo the Tenth, a theme which has been adorned by the pens of the noblest historians of the times.⁷¹ In the first period of their conquests, till the expedition of Charles the Eighth, the popes might successfully wrestle with the adjacent princes and states, whose military force was equal, or inferior, to their own. But, as soon as the monarchs of France, Germany, and Spain contended with gigantic arms for the dominion of Italy, they supplied with art the deficiency of strength, and concealed, in a labyrinth of wars and treaties, their aspiring views and the immortal hope of chasing the barbarians beyond the Alps. The nice balance of the Vatican was often subverted by the soldiers of the North and West, who were united under the standard of Charles the Fifth: the feeble and fluctuating policy of Clement the Seventh exposed his person and dominions to the conqueror; and Rome was abandoned seven months to a lawless army, more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals.⁷² After this severe lesson, the

⁷¹ More especially by Guicciardini and Machiavel: in the general history of the former, in the Florentine history, the Prince, and the political discourses of the latter. These, with their worthy successors, Fra Paolo and Davila, were justly esteemed the first historians of modern languages, till, in the present age, Scotland arose to dispute the prize with Italy herself.

⁷² In the history of the Gothic siege, I have compared the barbarians with the subjects of Charles V. (vol. iii. pp. 387-389): an anticipation which, like that of the Tartar conquests, I indulged with the less scruple, as I could scarcely hope to reach the conclusion of my work.

popes contracted their ambition, which was almost satisfied, resumed the character of a common parent, and abstained from all offensive hostilities, except in an hasty quarrel, when the vicar of Christ and the Turkish sultan were armed at the same time against the kingdom of Naples.⁷³ The French and Germans at length withdrew from the field of battle: Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the sea-coast of Tuscany, were firmly possessed by the Spaniards; and it became their interest to maintain the peace and dependence of Italy, which continued almost without disturbance from the middle of the sixteenth to the opening of the eighteenth century. The Vatican was swayed and protected by the religious policy of the Catholic king: his prejudice and interest disposed him in every dispute to support the prince against the people; and, instead of the encouragement, the aid, and the asylum, which they obtained from the adjacent states, the friends of liberty or the enemies of law were enclosed on all sides within the iron circle of despotism. The long habits of obedience and education subdued the turbulent spirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and factions of their ancestors, and insensibly became the servants of luxury and government. Instead of maintaining a crowd of tenants and followers, the produce of their estates was consumed in the private expenses, which multiply the pleasures and diminish the power of the lord.⁷⁴ The Colonna and Ursini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and

⁷³ The ambitious and feeble hostilities of the Caraffa pope, Paul IV., may be seen in Thuanus (l. xvi.-xviii.) and Giannone (tom. iv. pp. 149-163). Those Catholic bigots, Philip II. and the duke of Alva, presumed to separate the Roman prince from the vicar of Christ; yet the holy character, which would have sanctified his victory, was decently applied to protect his defeat.

⁷⁴ This gradual change of manners and expense is admirably explained by Dr. Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. pp. 495-504), who proves, perhaps too severely, that the most salutary effects have flowed from the meanest and most selfish causes.

their antique splendour was rivalled or surpassed by the sudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and discord is no longer heard; and, instead of the foaming torrent, a smooth and stagnant lake reflects the image of idleness and servitude.

A Christian, a philosopher,⁷⁵ and a patriot will be equally scandalised by the temporal kingdom of the clergy; and the local majesty of Rome, the remembrance of her consuls and triumphs, may seem to embitter the sense, and aggravate the shame, of her slavery. If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the ecclesiastical government, it may be praised in its present state as a mild, decent, and tranquil system, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the sallies of youth, the expenses of luxury, and the calamities of war. But these advantages are overbalanced by a frequent, perhaps a septennial, election of a sovereign, who is seldom a native of the country; the reign of a *young* statesman of threescore, in the decline of his life and abilities, without hope to accomplish, and without children to inherit, the labours of his transitory reign. The successful candidate is drawn from the church, and even the convent—from the mode of education and life the most adverse to reason, humanity, and freedom. In the trammels of servile faith, he has learned to believe because it is absurd, to revere all that is contemptible, and to despise whatever might deserve the esteem of a rational being; to punish error as a crime, to reward mortification and celibacy as the first of virtues; to place the saints of the calendar⁷⁶ above the heroes of Rome and the sages

⁷⁵ Mr. Hume (Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 389) too hastily concludes that, if the civil and ecclesiastical powers be united in the same person, it is of little moment whether he be styled prince or prelate, since the temporal character will always predominate.

⁷⁶ A Protestant may disdain the unworthy preference of St. Francis or St. Dominic, but he will not rashly condemn the zeal or judgment of Sixtus V., who placed the statues of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul on the vacant columns of Trajan and Antonine.

of Athens ; and to consider the missal or the crucifix as more useful instruments than the plough or the loom. In the office of nuncio, or the rank of cardinal, he may acquire some knowledge of the world ; but the primitive stain will adhere to his mind and manners : from study and experience he may suspect the mystery of his profession ; but the sacerdotal artist will imbibe some portion of the bigotry which he inculcates. The genius of Sixtus the Fifth⁷⁷ burst from the gloom of a Franciscan cloister. In a reign of five years, he exterminated the outlaws and banditti, abolished the *profane* sanctuaries of Rome,⁷⁸ formed a naval and military force, restored and emulated the monuments of antiquity, and, after a liberal use and large increase of the revenue, left five millions of crowns in the castle of St. Angelo. But his justice was sullied with cruelty, his activity was prompted by the ambition of conquest : after his decease, the abuses revived ; the treasure was dissipated ; he entailed on posterity thirty-five new taxes, and the venality of offices ; and, after his death, his statue was demolished by an ungrateful or an injured people. The wild and original character of Sixtus the Fifth stands alone in

⁷⁷ A wandering Italian, Gregorio Leti, has given the *Vita di Sisto-Quinto* (Amstel. 1721, 3 vols. in 12mo), a copious and amusing work, but which does not command our absolute confidence. Yet the character of the man, and the principal facts, are supported by the annals of Spondanus and Muratori (A.D. 1585-1590), and the contemporary history of the great Thuanus (l. lxxxii. c. 1, 2 ; l. lxxxiv. c. 10 ; l. c. c. 8).

⁷⁸ These privileged places, the *quartieri* or *franchises*, were adopted from the Roman nobles by the foreign ministers. Julius II. had once abolished the *abominandum et detestandum franchitiarum hujusmodi nomen* ; and after Sixtus V. they again revived. I cannot discern either the justice or magnanimity of Louis XIV., who in 1687 sent his ambassador, the marquis de Lavardin, to Rome, with an armed force of a thousand officers, guards, and domestics, to maintain this iniquitous claim, and insult Pope Innocent XI. in the heart of his capital (*Vita di Sisto V.* tom. iii. pp. 260-278 ; Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. xv. pp. 494-496 ; and Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. c. 14, pp. 58, 59).

the series of the pontiffs: the maxims and effects of their temporal government may be collected from the positive and comparative view of the arts and philosophy, the agriculture and trade, the wealth and population, of the ecclesiastical state. For myself, it is my wish to depart in charity with all mankind; nor am I willing, in these last moments, to offend even the pope and clergy of Rome.

CHAPTER LXXI

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

IN the last days of Pope Eugenius the Fourth, two of his servants, the learned Poggius¹ and a friend, ascended the Capitoline Hill, reposed themselves among the ruins of columns and temples, and viewed, from that commanding spot, the wide and various prospect of desolation. The place and the object gave ample scope for moralising on the vicissitudes of fortune, which spares neither man nor the proudest of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed that in proportion to her former greatness the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. “Her primæval state, such as she might appear in a remote age, when Evander entertained the stranger of Troy,² has been delineated by the fancy of Virgil. This Tarpeian rock was then a savage and solitary thicket: in the time of the poet, it was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple: the temple is overthrown, the gold has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has accomplished her revolution, and the sacred ground is again disfigured with thorns and

¹ I have already (not. 40, 41, on chap. lxxv.) mentioned the age, character, and writings of Poggius; and particularly noticed the date of this elegant moral lecture on the varieties of fortune.

² *Æneid*, viii. 97-369. This ancient picture, so artfully introduced and so exquisitely finished, must have been highly interesting to an inhabitant of Rome; and our early studies allow us to sympathise in the feelings of a Roman.

brambles. The hill of the Capitol, on which we sit, was formerly the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of the earth, the terror of kings; illustrated by the footsteps of so many triumphs, enriched with the spoils and tributes of so many nations. This spectacle of the world, how is it fallen! how changed! how defaced! The path of victory is obliterated by vines, and the benches of the senators are concealed by a dunghill. Cast your eyes on the Palatine hill, and seek, among the shapeless and enormous fragments, the marble theatre, the obelisks, the colossal statues, the porticoes of Nero's palace: survey the other hills of the city, the vacant space is interrupted only by ruins and gardens. The forum of the Roman people, where they assembled to enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation of pot-herbs or thrown open for the reception of swine and buffaloes. The public and private edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie prostrate, naked, and broken, like the limbs of a mighty giant; and the ruin is the more visible, from the stupendous relics that have survived the injuries of time and fortune."

These relics are minutely described by Poggius, one of the first who raised his eyes from the monuments of legendary to those of classic superstition. 1. Besides a bridge, an arch, a sepulchre, and the pyramid of Cestius, he could discern, of the age of the republic, a double row of vaults in the salt-office of the Capitol, which were inscribed with the name and munificence of Catulus. 2. Eleven temples were visible in some degree, from the perfect form of the Pantheon, to the three arches and a marble column of the temple of Peace, which Vespasian erected after the civil wars and the Jewish triumph. 3. Of the number, which he rashly defines, of seven *thermæ*, or public baths, none were sufficiently entire to represent the use and distribution of the several parts; but those of Diocletian and Antoninus Caracalla still retained the titles of the founders, and astonished the curious

spectator, who, in observing their solidity and extent, the variety of marbles, the size and multitude of the columns, compared the labour and expense with the use and importance. Of the baths of Constantine, of Alexander, of Domitian, or rather of Titus, some vestige might yet be found. 4. The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine were entire, both the structure and the inscriptions; a falling fragment was honoured with the name of Trajan; and two arches, then extant in the Flaminian Way, have been ascribed to the baser memory of Faustina and Gallienus. 5. After the wonder of the Coliseum, Poggius might have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the prætorian camp. The theatres of Marcellus and Pompey were occupied, in a great measure, by public and private buildings; and in the circus, Agonalis and Maximus, little more than the situation and the form could be investigated. 6. The columns of Trajan and Antonine were still erect; but the Egyptian obelisks were broken or buried. A people of gods and heroes, the workmanship of art, was reduced to one equestrian figure of gilt brass, and to five marble statues, of which the most conspicuous were the two horses of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7. The two mausoleums or sepulchres of Augustus and Hadrian could not totally be lost; but the former was only visible as a mound of earth; and the latter, the castle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortress. With the addition of some separate and nameless columns, such were the remains of the ancient city; for the marks of a more recent structure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of ten miles, included three hundred and seventy-nine turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates.

This melancholy picture was drawn above nine hundred years after the fall of the Western empire, and even of the Gothic kingdom of Italy. A long period of distress and anarchy, in which empire, and arts, and riches had migrated from the banks of the

Tiber, was incapable of restoring or adorning the city ; and, as all that is human must retrograde if it do not advance, every successive age must have hastened the ruin of the works of antiquity. To measure the progress of decay, and to ascertain, at each æra, the state of each edifice, would be an endless and a useless labour ; and I shall content myself with two observations, which will introduce a short inquiry into the general causes and effects. 1. Two hundred years before the eloquent complaint of Poggius, an anonymous writer composed a description of Rome. His ignorance may repeat the same objects under strange and fabulous names. Yet this barbarous topographer had eyes and ears ; he could observe the visible remains ; he could listen to the tradition of the people ; and he distinctly enumerates seven theatres, eleven baths, twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, of which many had disappeared before the time of Poggius. It is apparent that many stately monuments of antiquity survived till a late period,³ and that the principles of destruction acted with vigorous and increasing energy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. 2. The same reflection must be applied to the three last ages ; and we should vainly seek the Septizonium of Severus, which is celebrated by Petrarch and the antiquarians of the sixteenth century. While the Roman edifices were still entire, the first blows, however weighty and impetuous, were resisted by the solidity of the mass and the harmony of the parts ; but the slightest touch would precipitate the fragments of arches and columns that already nodded to their fall.

After a diligent inquiry, I can discern four principal causes of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a thousand years. I. The

³ The Père Mabillon (*Analecta*, tom. iv. p. 502) has published an anonymous pilgrim of the ixth century, who, in his visit round the churches and holy places of Rome, touches on several buildings, especially porticoes, which had disappeared before the xiiith century.

injuries of time and nature. II. The hostile attacks of the barbarians and Christians. III. The use and abuse of the materials. And, IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans.

I. The art of man is able to construct monuments far more permanent than the narrow span of his own existence; yet these monuments, like himself, are perishable and frail; and, in the boundless annals of time, his life and his labours must equally be measured as a fleeting moment. Of a simple and solid edifice, it is not easy, however, to circumscribe the duration. As the wonders of ancient days, the pyramids⁴ attracted the curiosity of the ancients: an hundred generations, the leaves of autumn, have dropped into the grave; and, after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the Cæsars and Caliphs, the same pyramids stand erect and unshaken above the floods of the Nile. A complex figure of various and minute parts is more accessible to injury and decay; and the silent lapse of time is often accelerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and inundations. The air and earth have doubtless been shaken; and the lofty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations; but the seven hills do not appear to be placed on the great cavities of the globe; nor has the city, in any age, been exposed to the convulsions of nature which, in the climate of Antioch, Lisbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the works of ages into dust. Fire is the most powerful agent of life and death: the rapid mischief may be kindled and propagated by the industry or negligence of mankind; and every period of the Roman annals is marked by the repetition of similar calamities. A memorable conflagration, the guilt or misfortune of Nero's reign, continued,

⁴ The age of the pyramids is remote and unknown, since Diodorus Siculus (tom. i l. i. c. 44. p. 72) is unable to decide whether they were constructed 1000 or 3400 years before the clxxxth Olympiad. Sir John Marshman's contracted scale of the Egyptian dynasties would fix them about 2000 years before Christ (Canon. Chronicus, p. 47).

though with unequal fury, either six or nine days.⁵ Innumerable buildings, crowded in close and crooked streets, supplied perpetual fuel for the flames; and, when they ceased, four only of the fourteen regions were left entire; three were totally destroyed, and seven were deformed by the relics of smoking and lacerated edifices. In the full meridian of empire, the metropolis arose with fresh beauty from her ashes; yet the memory of the old deplored their irreparable losses, the arts of Greece, the trophies of victory, the monuments of primitive or fabulous antiquity. In the days of distress and anarchy, every wound is mortal, every fall irretrievable; nor can the damage be restored either by the public care of government or the activity of private interest. Yet two causes may be alleged, which render the calamity of fire more destructive to a flourishing than a decayed city. 1. The more combustible materials of brick, timber, and metals are first melted or consumed; but the flames may play without injury or effect on the naked walls and massy arches that have been despoiled of their ornaments. 2. It is among the common and plebeian habitations that a mischievous spark is most easily blown to a conflagration; but, as soon as they are devoured, the greater edifices which have resisted or escaped are left as so many islands in a state of solitude and safety. From her situation, Rome is exposed to the danger of frequent inundations. Without excepting the Tiber, the rivers that descend from either side of the Apennine have a short and irregular course; a shallow stream in the summer heats; an impetuous torrent, when it is swelled in the spring or winter by the fall of rain and the melting of the snows. When the current is repelled from the sea by adverse winds, when the ordinary bed is inadequate to the

⁵ The learning and criticism of M. des Vignoles (*Histoire Critique de la Republique des Lettres*, tom. viii. pp. 74-118; ix. 172-187) dates the fire of Rome from A.D. 64, 19th July, and the subsequent persecution of the Christians from 15th November of the same year.

weight of waters, they rise above the banks, and overspread, without limits or control, the plains and cities of the adjacent country. Soon after the triumph of the first Punic war, the Tiber was increased by unusual rains; and the inundation, surpassing all former measure of time and place, destroyed all the buildings that were situate below the hills of Rome. According to the variety of ground, the same mischief was produced by different means; and the edifices were either swept away by the sudden impulse, or dissolved and undermined by the long continuance, of the flood. Under the reign of Augustus, the same calamity was renewed: the lawless river overturned the palaces and temples on its banks; and, after the labours of the emperor in cleansing and widening the bed that was encumbered with ruins, the vigilance of his successors was exercised by similar dangers and designs. The project of diverting into new channels the Tiber itself, or some of the dependent streams, was long opposed by superstition and local interests;⁶ nor did the use compensate the toil and cost of the tardy and imperfect execution. The servitude of rivers is the noblest and most important victory which man has obtained over the licentiousness of nature;⁷ and, if such were the ravages of the Tiber under a firm and active government, what could oppose, or who can enumerate, the injuries of the city after the fall of the Western empire? A remedy was at length produced by the evil itself: the accumulation of rubbish and the

⁶ Tacitus (*Annal.* i. 79) reports the petitions of the different towns of Italy to the senate against the measure; and we may applaud the progress of reason. On a similar occasion local interests would undoubtedly be consulted; but an English House of Commons would reject with contempt the arguments of superstition, "that nature had assigned to the rivers their proper course," &c.

⁷ See the *Epoques de la Nature* of the eloquent and philosophic Buffon. His picture of Guyana in South America is that of a new and savage land, in which the waters are abandoned to themselves, without being regulated by human industry (pp. 212, 561, quarto edition).

earth that had been washed down from the hills is supposed to have elevated the plain of Rome fourteen or fifteen feet, perhaps, above the ancient level; and the modern city is less accessible to the attacks of the river.⁸

II. The crowd of writers of every nation, who impute the destruction of the Roman monuments to the Goths and the Christians, have neglected to inquire how far they were animated by an hostile principle and how far they possessed the means and the leisure to satiate their enmity. In the preceding volumes of this History, I have described the triumph of barbarism and religion; and I can only resume, in a few words, their real or imaginary connection with the ruin of ancient Rome. Our fancy may create, or adopt, a pleasing romance, that the Goths and Vandals sallied from Scandinavia, ardent to avenge the flight of Odin,⁹ to break the chains, and to chastise the oppressors, of mankind; that they wished to burn the records of classic literature and to found their national architecture on the broken members of the Tuscan and Corinthian orders. But, in simple truth, the northern conquerors were neither sufficiently savage nor sufficiently refined to entertain such aspiring ideas of destruction and revenge. The shepherds of Scythia and Germany had been educated in the armies of the empire, whose discipline they acquired, and whose weakness they invaded: with the familiar use of the Latin tongue, they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome; and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire than to abolish, the arts and

⁸ Yet, in modern times, the Tiber has sometimes damaged the city; and in the years 1530, 1557, 1598, the Annals of Muratori record three mischievous and memorable inundations, tom. xiv. pp. 268, 429; tom. xv. p. 99, &c.

⁹ I take this opportunity of declaring that in the course of twelve years I have forgotten, or renounced, the flight of Odin from Azoph to Sweden, which I never very seriously believed. The Goths are apparently Germans; but all beyond Cæsar and Tacitus is darkness or fable in the antiquities of Germany.

studies of a brighter period. In the transient possession of a rich and unresisting capital, the soldiers of Alaric and Genseric were stimulated by the passions of a victorious army; amidst the wanton indulgence of lust or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their search; nor could they derive either pride or pleasure from the unprofitable reflection that they had battered to the ground the works of the consuls and Cæsars. Their moments were indeed precious: the Goths evacuated Rome on the sixth,¹⁰ the Vandals on the fifteenth, day;¹¹ and, though it be far more difficult to build than to destroy, their hasty assault would have made a slight impression on the solid piles of antiquity. We may remember that both Alaric and Genseric affected to spare the buildings of the city; that they subsisted in strength and beauty under the auspicious government of Theodoric;¹² and that the momentary resentment of Totila¹³ was disarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From these innocent barbarians the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. The statues, altars, and houses of the dæmons were an abomination in their eyes; and in the absolute command of the city they might labour with zeal and perseverance to erase the idolatry of their ancestors. The demolition of the temples in the East¹⁴ affords to *them* an example of conduct, and to *us* an argument of belief; and it is probable that a portion of guilt or merit may be imputed with justice to the Roman proselytes. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen superstition; and the civil structures that were dedicated to the business or pleasure of society might be preserved without injury or scandal. The change of religion was accomplished, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperor, of the senate, and of time. Of the Christian hierarchy, the bishops of Rome were commonly the

¹⁰ History of the Decline, &c., vol. iii. p. 389.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 6.

¹² *Ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 224-225.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 480. ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. c. xxviii. pp. 231-235.

most prudent and least fanatic ; nor can any positive charge be opposed to the meritorious act of saving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon.

III. The value of any object that supplies the wants or pleasures of mankind is compounded of its substance and its form, of the materials and the manufacture. Its price must depend on the number of persons by whom it may be acquired and used ; on the extent of the market ; and consequently on the ease or difficulty of remote exportation, according to the nature of the commodity, its local situation, and the temporary circumstances of the world. The barbarian conquerors of Rome usurped in a moment the toil and treasure of successive ages ; but, except the luxuries of immediate consumption, they must view without desire all that could not be removed from the city in the Gothic waggons or the fleet of the Vandals.¹⁵ Gold and silver were the first objects of their avarice ; as in every country, and in the smallest compass, they represent the most ample command of the industry and possessions of mankind. A vase or a statue of those precious metals might tempt the vanity of some barbarian chief ; but the grosser multitude, regardless of the form, was tenacious only of the substance ; and the melted ingots might be readily divided and stamped into the current coin of the empire. The less active or less fortunate robbers were reduced to the baser plunder of brass, lead, iron, and copper : whatever had escaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants ; and the emperor Constans, in his rapacious visit, stripped the bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon. The edifices of Rome might be considered as a vast and various mine : the first labour of

¹⁵ Flaminus Vacca (apud Montfaucon, pp. 155, 156 ; his Memoir is likewise printed, p. 21, at the end of the *Roma Antica* of Nardini), and several Romans, doctrinâ graves, were persuaded that the Goths buried their treasures at Rome, and bequeathed the secret marks *filiis nepotibusque*. He relates some anecdotes to prove that, in his own time, these places were visited and rifled by the Transalpine pilgrims, the heirs of the Gothic conquerors.

extracting the materials was already performed; the metals were purified and cast; the marbles were hewn and polished; and, after foreign and domestic rapine had been satiated, the remains of the city, could a purchaser have been found, were still venal. The monuments of antiquity had been left naked of their precious ornaments, but the Romans would demolish with their own hands the arches and walls, if the hope of profit could surpass the cost of the labour and exportation. If Charlemagne had fixed in Italy the seat of the Western empire, his genius would have aspired to restore, rather than to violate, the works of the Cæsars; but policy confined the French monarch to the forests of Germany; his taste could be gratified only by destruction; and the new palace of Aix la Chapelle was decorated with the marbles of Ravenna and Rome. Five hundred years after Charlemagne, a king of Sicily, Robert, the wisest and most liberal sovereign of the age, was supplied with the same materials by the easy navigation of the Tiber and the sea; and Petrarch sighs an indignant complaint that the ancient capital of the world should adorn, from her own bowels, the slothful luxury of Naples. But these examples of plunder or purchase were rare in the darker ages; and the Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their private or public use the remaining structures of antiquity, if in their present form and situation they had not been useless in a great measure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls still described the old circumference, but the city had descended from the seven hills into the Campus Martius; and some of the noblest monuments which had braved the injuries of time were left in a desert, far remote from the habitations of mankind. The palaces of the senators were no longer adapted to the manners or fortunes of their indigent successors; the use of baths¹⁶ and porticoes was forgotten; in the

¹⁶ Yet Charlemagne washed and swam at Aix la Chapelle with an hundred of his courtiers (Eginhart, c. 22, pp. 108, 109); and Muratori describes, as late as the year 814, the

sixth century, the games of the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus had been interrupted ; some temples were devoted to the prevailing worship ; but the Christian churches preferred the holy figure of the cross ; and fashion or reason had distributed, after a peculiar model, the cells and offices of the cloister. Under the ecclesiastical reign, the number of these pious foundations was enormously multiplied ; and the city was crowded with forty monasteries of men, twenty of women, and sixty chapters and colleges of canons and priests, who aggravated, instead of relieving, the depopulation of the tenth century. But, if the forms of ancient architecture were disregarded by a people insensible of their use and beauty, the plentiful materials were applied to every call of necessity or superstition, till the fairest columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the richest marbles of Paros and Numidia, were degraded, perhaps, to the support of a convent or a stable. The daily havoc which is perpetrated by the Turks in the cities of Greece and Asia may afford a melancholy example ; and, in the gradual destruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus the Fifth may alone be excused for employing the stones of the Septizonium in the glorious edifice of St. Peter's. A fragment, a ruin, howsoever mangled or profaned, may be viewed with pleasure and regret ; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of substance, as well as of place and proportion ; it was burnt to lime for the purpose of cement. Since the arrival of Poggius, the temple of Concord and many capital structures had vanished from his eyes ; and an epigram of the same age expresses a just and pious fear that the continuance of this practice would finally annihilate all the monuments of antiquity. The smallness of their numbers was the sole check on the demands and depredations of the Romans. The imagination of Petrarch might create the presence of a mighty people ; and I hesitate to believe that even in the fourteenth public baths which were built at Spoleto in Italy (Annali, tom. vi. p. 416).

century they could be reduced to a contemptible list of thirty-three thousand inhabitants. From that period to the reign of Leo the Tenth, if they multiplied to the amount of eighty-five thousand, the increase of citizens was in some degree pernicious to the ancient city.

IV. I have reserved for the last the most potent and forcible cause of destruction, the domestic hostilities of the Romans themselves. Under the dominion of the Greek and French emperors, the peace of the city was disturbed by accidental though frequent seditions: it is from the decline of the latter, from the beginning of the tenth century, that we may date the licentiousness of private war, which violated with impunity the laws of the Code and the Gospel, without respecting the majesty of the absent sovereign or the presence and person of the vicar of Christ. In a dark period of five hundred years, Rome was perpetually afflicted by the sanguinary quarrels of the nobles and the people, the Guelphs and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Ursini; and, if much has escaped the knowledge, and much is unworthy of the notice, of history, I have exposed in the two preceding chapters the causes and effects of the public disorders. At such a time, when every quarrel was decided by the sword and none could trust their lives or properties to the impotence of law, the powerful citizens were armed for safety or offence against the domestic enemies whom they feared or hated. Except Venice alone, the same dangers and designs were common to all the free republics of Italy; and the nobles usurped the prerogative of fortifying their houses, and erecting strong towers¹⁷ that were capable of resisting a sudden attack. The cities were filled with these hostile edifices; and the example of Lucca, which contained

¹⁷ All the facts that relate to the towers at Rome, and in other free cities of Italy, may be found in the laborious and entertaining compilation of Muratori, *Antiquitates Italiae medii Ævi*, dissertat. xxvi. (tom. ii. pp. 493-496, of the Latin, tom. i. p. 446, of the Italian, work).

three hundred towers, her law, which confined their height to the measure of fourscore feet, may be extended, with suitable latitude, to the more opulent and populous states. The first step of the senator Brancaloneo in the establishment of peace and justice was to demolish (as we have already seen) one hundred and forty of the towers of Rome; and in the last days of anarchy and discord, as late as the reign of Martin the Fifth, forty-four still stood in one of the thirteen or fourteen regions of the city. To this mischievous purpose, the remains of antiquity were most readily adapted: the temples and arches afforded a broad and solid basis for the new structures of brick and stone; and we can name the modern turrets that were raised on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæsar, Titus, and the Antonines. With some slight alterations, a theatre, an amphitheatre, a mausoleum, was transformed into a strong and spacious citadel. I need not repeat that the mole of Hadrian has assumed the title and form of the castle of St. Angelo; the Septizonium of Severus was capable of standing against a royal army; the sepulchre of Metella has sunk under its outworks; the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus were occupied by the Savelli and Ursini families; and the rough fortress has been gradually softened to the splendour and elegance of an Italian palace. Even the churches were encompassed with arms and bulwarks, and the military engines on the roof of St. Peter's were the terror of the Vatican and the scandal of the Christian world. Whatever is fortified will be attacked; and whatever is attacked may be destroyed. Could the Romans have wrested from the popes the castle of St. Angelo, they had resolved, by a public decree, to annihilate that monument of servitude. Every building of defence was exposed to a siege; and in every siege the arts and engines of destruction were laboriously employed. After the death of Nicholas the Fourth, Rome, without a sovereign or a senate, was abandoned six months to the fury of civil war. "The houses," says a cardinal

and poet of the times, “were crushed by the weight and velocity of enormous stones;¹⁸ the walls were perforated by the strokes of the battering-ram; the towers were involved in fire and smoke; and the assailants were stimulated by rapine and revenge.” The work was consummated by the tyranny of the laws; and the factions of Italy alternately exercised a blind and thoughtless vengeance on their adversaries, whose houses and castles they rased to the ground.¹⁹ In comparing the *days* of foreign, with the *ages* of domestic, hostility, we must pronounce that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city; and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch. “Behold,” says the laureate, “the relics of Rome, the image of her pristine greatness! neither time nor the barbarian can boast the merit of this stupendous destruction: it was perpetrated by her own citizens, by the most illustrious of her sons; and your ancestors (he writes to a noble Annibaldi) have done with the battering-ram, what the Punic hero could not accomplish with the sword.” The influence of the two last principles of decay must, in some degree, be multiplied by each other; since the houses and towers, which were subverted by civil war, required a new and perpetual supply from the monuments of antiquity.

These general observations may be separately applied to the amphitheatre of Titus, which has obtained the name of the COLISEUM,²⁰ either from its magnitude

¹⁸ Muratori (Dissertazione sopra le Antiquità Italiane, tom. i. pp. 427-431) finds that stone bullets, of two or three hundred pounds weight, were not uncommon; and they are sometimes computed at xii or xviii *cantari* of Genoa, each *cantaro* weighing 150 pounds.

¹⁹ The vith law of the Visconti prohibits this common and mischievous practice; and strictly enjoins that the houses of banished citizens should be preserved *pro communi utilitate* (Gualvaneus de la Flamma, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 1041).

²⁰ The fourth part of the Verona Illustrata of the Marquis Maffei, professedly treats of amphitheatres, particularly those of Rome and Verona, of their dimensions, wooden galleries, &c. It

or from Nero's colossal statue : an edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might, perhaps, have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries, who have computed the numbers and seats, are disposed to believe that, above the upper row of stone steps, the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with several stages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly consumed by fire and restored by the emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the statues of gods and heroes, and the costly ornaments of sculpture, which were cast in brass, or overspread with leaves of silver and gold, became the first prey of conquest or fanaticism, of the avarice of the barbarians or the Christians. In the massy stones of the Coliseum many holes are discerned ; and the two most probable conjectures represent the various accidents of its decay. These stones were connected by solid links of brass or iron, nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the baser metals :²¹ the vacant space was converted into a fair or market ; the artisans of the Coliseum are mentioned in an ancient survey ; and the chasms were perforated or enlarged, to receive the poles that supported the shops or tents of the mechanic trades. Reduced to its naked majesty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims of the North ; and their rude enthusiasm broke forth in a sublime proverbial expression, which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede : “ As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome shall

is from magnitude that he derives the name of *Colosseum*, or *Coliseum* : since the same appellation was applied to the amphitheatre of Capua, without the aid of a colossal statue ; since that of Nero was erected in the court (*in atrio*) of his palace, and not in the Coliseum (p. iv. pp. 15-19 ; l. i. c. 4).

²¹ Joseph Maria Suarés, a learned bishop, and the author of an history of Præneste, has composed a separate dissertation on the seven or eight probable causes of these holes, which has been since reprinted in the Roman Thesaurus of Sallengre. Montfaucon (*Diarium*, p. 233) pronounces the rapine of the barbarians to be the unam germanamque causam foraminum.

stand ; when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall ; when Rome falls, the world will fall." ²² In the modern system of war, a situation commanded by three hills would not be chosen for a fortress ; but the strength of the walls and arches could resist the engines of assault ; a numerous garrison might be lodged in the enclosure ; and, while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was intrenched in the Lateran and the Coliseum. ²³

The abolition at Rome of the ancient games must be understood with some latitude ; and the carnival sports of the Testacean Mount and the Circus Agonalis ²⁴ were regulated by the law ²⁵ or custom of the city. The senator presided with dignity and pomp to adjudge and distribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the *pallium*, ²⁶ as it was styled, of cloth or silk. A

²² Quamdiu stabit Colyseus, stabit et Roma ; quando cadet Colyseus, cadet Roma ; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus (Beda in Excerptis seu Collectaneis apud Ducange Glossar. med. et infimæ Latinitatis, tom. ii. p. 407, edit. Basil). This saying must be ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who visited Rome before the year 735, the æra of Bede's death ; for I do not believe that our venerable monk ever passed the sea.

²³ I cannot recover, in Muratori's original Lives of the Popes, (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. p. i.), the passage that attests this hostile partition, which must be applied to the end of the xith or the beginning of the xiith century.

²⁴ Although the structure of the Circus Agonalis be destroyed, it still retains its form and name (Agona, Nagona, Navona) : and the interior space affords a sufficient level for the purpose of racing. But the Monte Testaceo, that strange pile of broken pottery, seems only adapted for the annual practice of hurling from top to bottom some waggon-loads of live hogs for the diversion of the populace (Statuta Urbis Romæ, p. 186).

²⁵ See the Statuta Urbis Romæ, l. iii. c. 87, 88, 89, pp. 185, 186. I have already given an idea of this municipal code. The races of Nagona and Monte Testaceo are likewise mentioned in the Diary of Peter Antonius, from 1404 to 1417 (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxiv. p. 1124).

²⁶ The *Pallium*, which Menage so foolishly derives from *Palmarium*, is an extension of the idea and the words from the robe or cloak to the materials, and from thence to their application as a prize (Muratori, dissert. xxxiii.).

tribute on the Jews supplied the annual expense;²⁷ and the races, on foot, on horseback, or in chariots, were ennobled by a tilt and tournament of seventy-two of the Roman youth. In the year one thousand three hundred and thirty-two, a bull-feast, after the fashion of the Moors and Spaniards, was celebrated in the Coliseum itself; and the living manners are painted in a diary of the times.²⁸ A convenient order of benches was restored; and a general proclamation, as far as Rimini and Ravenna, invited the nobles to exercise their skill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were marshalled in three squadrons, and seated in three balconies, which on this day, the third of September, were lined with scarlet cloth. The fair Jacova di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tiber, a pure and native race, who still represent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was divided, as usual, between the Colonna and Ursini; the two factions were proud of the number and beauty of their female bands: the charms of Savella Ursini are mentioned with praise; and the Colonna regretted the absence of the youngest of their house, who had sprained her ankle in the garden of Nero's tower. The lots of the champions were drawn by an old and respectable citizen; and they descended into the *arena*, or pit, to encounter the wild bulls on foot, as it should seem, with a single spear. Amidst the crowd, our annalist has selected the names, colours, and devices,

²⁷ For these expenses, the Jews of Rome paid each year 1130 florins, of which the odd thirty represented the pieces of silver for which Judas had betrayed his master to their ancestors. There was a foot-race of Jewish as well as of Christian youths (*Statuta Urbis*, *ibidem*).

²⁸ This extraordinary bull-feast in the Coliseum is described, from tradition rather than memory, by Ludovico Buonconte Monaldesco, in the most ancient fragments of Roman annals (*Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xii. pp. 535, 536); and, however fanciful they may seem, they are deeply marked with the colours of truth and nature.

of twenty of the most conspicuous knights. Several of the names are the most illustrious of Rome and the ecclesiastical state; Malatesta, Polenta, della Valle, Cafarello, Savelli, Capoccio, Conti, Annibaldi, Altieri, Corsi; the colours were adapted to their taste and situation; the devices are expressive of hope or despair, and breathe the spirit of gallantry and arms. "I am alone like the youngest of the Horatii," the confidence of an intrepid stranger; "I live disconsolate," a weeping widower; "I burn under the ashes," a discreet lover; "I adore Lavinia, or Lucretia," the ambiguous declaration of a modern passion; "My faith is as pure," the motto of a white livery; "Who is stronger than myself?" of a lion's hide; "If I am drowned in blood, what a pleasant death!" the wish of ferocious courage. The pride or prudence of the Ursini restrained them from the field, which was occupied by three of their hereditary rivals, whose inscriptions denoted the lofty greatness of the Colonna name: "Though sad, I am strong"; "Strong as I am great"; "If I fall," addressing himself to the spectators, "you fall with me";—intimating (says the contemporary writer) that, while the other families were the subjects of the Vatican, they alone were the supporters of the Capitol. The combats of the amphitheatre were dangerous and bloody. Every champion successively encountered a wild bull; and the victory may be ascribed to the quadrupeds, since no more than eleven were left on the field, with the loss of nine wounded, and eighteen killed, on the side of their adversaries. Some of the noblest families might mourn, but the pomp of the funerals, in the churches of St. John Lateran and Sta. Maria Maggiore, afforded a second holiday to the people. Doubtless it was not in such conflicts that the blood of the Romans should have been shed; yet, in blaming their rashness, we are compelled to applaud their gallantry; and the noble volunteers, who display their magnificence and risk their lives under the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous sympathy than the thousands of captives

and malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the scene of slaughter.

This use of the amphitheatre was a rare, perhaps a singular, festival: the demand for the materials was a daily and continual want, which the citizens could gratify without restraint or remorse. In the fourteenth century, a scandalous act of concord secured to both factions the privilege of extracting stones from the free and common quarry of the Coliseum;²⁹ and Poggius laments that the greater part of these stones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Romans. To check this abuse, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vast and gloomy recess, Eugenius the Fourth surrounded it with a wall; and, by a charter long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent.³⁰ After his death, the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people; and, had they themselves respected the noblest monument of their fathers, they might have justified the resolve that it should never be degraded to private property. The inside was damaged; but, in the middle of the sixteenth century, an æra of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of one thousand six hundred and twelve feet was still entire and inviolate; a triple elevation of fourscore arches, which rose to the height of one hundred and eight feet. Of the present ruin the nephews of Paul the Third are the guilty agents; and every traveller who views the Farnese palace may curse the sacrilege and luxury of these upstart princes. A similar reproach is applied to the Barberini; and the repetition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till

²⁹ In a concise but instructive memoir, the Abbé Barthélemy (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 585) has mentioned this agreement of the factions of the xivth century de Tiburtino faciendo in the Coliseum, from an original act in the archives of Rome.

³⁰ Of the Olivetan monks. Montfaucon (p. 142) affirms this fact from the memorials of Flaminius Vacca (No. 72). They still hoped, on some future occasion, to revive and vindicate their grant.

the Coliseum was placed under the safeguard of religion by the most liberal of the pontiffs, Benedict the Fourteenth, who consecrated a spot which persecution and fable had stained with the blood of so many Christian martyrs.

When Petrarch first gratified his eyes with a view of those monuments whose scattered fragments so far surpass the most eloquent descriptions, he was astonished at the supine indifference of the Romans themselves; he was humbled rather than elated by the discovery that, except his friend Rienzi and one of the Colonna, a stranger of the Rhône was more conversant with these antiquities than the nobles and natives of the metropolis. The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elaborately displayed in the old survey of the city, which was composed about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and, without dwelling on the manifold errors of name and place, the legend of the Capitol may provoke a smile of contempt and indignation. "The Capitol," says the anonymous writer, "is so named as being the head of the world; where the consuls and senators formerly resided for the government of the city and the globe. The strong and lofty walls were covered with glass and gold, and crowned with a roof of the richest and most curious carving. Below the citadel stood a palace, of gold for the greatest part, decorated with precious stones, and whose value might be estimated at one third of the world itself. The statues of all the provinces were arranged in order, each with a small bell suspended from its neck; and such was the contrivance of art-magic³¹ that, if the province rebelled against Rome, the statue turned round to that quarter of the heavens, the bell rang, the prophet of the Capitol reported the

³¹ The same writer affirms that Virgil captus a Romanis invisibiliter exiit ivitque Neapolim. A Roman magician, in the xith century, is introduced by William of Malmesbury (*de Gestis Regum Anglorum*, l. ii. p. 86); and in the time of Flaminius Vacca (No. 81, 103) it was the vulgar belief that the strangers (the *Goths*) invoked the *dæmons* for the discovery of hidden treasures.

prodigy, and the senate was admonished of the impending danger." A second example of less importance, though of equal absurdity, may be drawn from the two marble horses, led by two naked youths, which have since been transported from the baths of Constantine to the Quirinal Hill. The groundless application of the names of Phidias and Praxiteles may perhaps be excused; but these Grecian sculptors should not have been removed above four hundred years from the age of Pericles to that of Tiberius; they should not have been transformed into two philosophers or magicians, whose nakedness was the symbol of truth and knowledge, who revealed to the emperor his most secret actions, and, after refusing all pecuniary recompense, solicited the honour of leaving this eternal monument of themselves.³² Thus awake to the power of magic, the Romans were insensible to the beauties of art: no more than five statues were visible to the eyes of Poggius; and, of the multitudes which chance or design had buried under the ruins, the resurrection was fortunately delayed till a safer and more enlightened age.³³ The Nile, which now adorns the Vatican, had been explored by some labourers in digging a vineyard near the temple, or convent, of the Minerva; but the impatient proprietor, who was tormented by some visits of curiosity, restored the unprofitable marble to its former grave. The discovery of a statue of Pompey, ten feet in length, was the occasion of a lawsuit. It had been found

³² Anonym. p. 289. Montfaucon (p. 191) justly observes that, if Alexander be represented, these statues cannot be the work of Phidias (Olympiad lxxxiii.), or Praxiteles (Olympiad civ.), who lived before that conqueror (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiv. 19).

³³ William of Malmesbury (l. ii. pp. 86, 87) relates a marvellous discovery (A.D. 1046) of Pallas, the son of Evander, who had been slain by Turnus: the perpetual light in his sepulchre, a Latin epitaph, the corpse, yet entire, of a young giant, the enormous wound in his breast (*pectus perforat ingens*), &c. If this fable rests on the slightest foundation, we may pity the bodies, as well as the statues, that were exposed to the air in a barbarous age.

under a partition-wall : the equitable judge had pronounced that the head should be separated from the body, to satisfy the claims of the contiguous owners ; and the sentence would have been executed, if the intercession of a cardinal and the liberality of a pope had not rescued the Roman hero from the hands of his barbarous countrymen.

But the clouds of barbarism were gradually dispelled ; and the peaceful authority of Martin the Fifth and his successors restored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the ecclesiastical state. The improvements of Rome, since the fifteenth century, have not been the spontaneous produce of freedom and industry. The first and most natural root of a great city is the labour and populousness of the adjacent country, which supplies the materials of subsistence, of manufactures, and of foreign trade. But the greater part of the Campagna of Rome is reduced to a dreary and desolate wilderness : the overgrown estates of the princes and the clergy are cultivated by the lazy hands of indigent and hopeless vassals ; and the scanty harvests are confined or exported for the benefit of a monopoly. A second and more artificial cause of the growth of a metropolis is the residence of a monarch, the expense of a luxurious court, and the tributes of dependent provinces. Those provinces and tributes had been lost in the fall of the empire ; and, if some streams of the silver of Peru and the gold of Brazil have been attracted by the Vatican, the revenues of the cardinals, the fees of office, the oblations of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of ecclesiastical taxes afford a poor and precarious supply, which maintains, however, the idleness of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the measure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants ;³⁴ and, within the spacious enclosure of the walls,

³⁴ In the year 1709, the inhabitants of Rome (without including eight or ten thousand Jews) amounted to 138,568 souls (Labat, *Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. iii. pp. 217, 218). In

the largest portion of the seven hills is overspread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and splendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of superstition. Each reign (the exceptions are rare) has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childless pontiff at the expense of the church and country. The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and servitude: the perfect arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture have been prostituted in their service; and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which taste or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclesiastical revenues were more decently employed by the popes themselves in the pomp of the Catholic worship; but it is superfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, since these lesser stars are eclipsed by the sun of the Vatican, by the dome of St. Peter, the most glorious structure that ever has been applied to the use of religion. The fame of Julius the Second, Leo the Tenth, and Sixtus the Fifth is accompanied by the superior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael-Angelo; and the same munificence which had been displayed in palaces and temples was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity. Prostrate obelisks were raised from the ground and erected in the most conspicuous places; of the eleven aqueducts of the Cæsars and Consuls, three were restored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long series of old or of new arches, to discharge into marble basins a flood of salubrious and refreshing waters; and the spectator, impatient to ascend the steps of St. Peter's, is detained by a column of Egyptian granite, which rises between two lofty and perpetual fountains to the height of one hundred and twenty feet. The map, the

1740 they had increased to 146,080; and in 1765, I left them, without the Jews, 161,899. I am ignorant whether they have since continued in a progressive state.

description, the monuments of ancient Rome have been elucidated by the diligence of the antiquarian and the student;³⁵ and the footsteps of heroes, the relics, not of superstition, but of empire, are devoutly visited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote, and once savage, countries of the North.

Of these pilgrims, and of every reader, the attention will be excited by an History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: the greatest, perhaps, and most awful scene in the history of mankind. The various causes and progressive effects are connected with many of the events most interesting in human annals: the artful policy of the Cæsars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic; the disorder of military despotism; the rise, establishment, and sects of Christianity; the foundation of Constantinople; the division of the monarchy; the invasion and settlements of the Barbarians of Germany and Scythia; the institutions of the civil law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal sovereignty of the popes; the restoration and decay of the Western empire of Charlemagne; the crusades of

³⁵ The Père Montfaucon distributes his own observations into twenty days, he should have styled them weeks, or months, of his visits to the different parts of the city (*Diarium Italicum*, c. 8-20, pp. 104-301). That learned Benedictine reviews the topographers of ancient Rome; the first efforts of Blondus, Fulvius, Martianus, and Faunus, the superior labours of Pyrrhus Ligorius, had his learning been equal to his labours; the writings of Onuphrius Panvinus, qui omnes obscuravit, and the recent but imperfect books of Donatus and Nardini. Yet Montfaucon still sighs for a more complete plan and description of the old city, which must be attained by the three following methods: 1. The measurement of the space and intervals of the ruins. 2. The study of inscriptions and the places where they were found. 3. The investigation of all the acts, charters, diaries of the middle ages, which name any spot or building of Rome. The laborious work, such as Montfaucon desired, must be promoted by princely or public munificence; but the great modern plan of Nolli (A.D. 1748) would furnish a solid and accurate basis for the ancient topography of Rome.

the Latins in the East ; the conquests of the Saracens and Turks ; the ruin of the Greek empire ; the state and revolutions of Rome in the middle age. The historian may applaud the importance and variety of his subject ; but, while he is conscious of his own imperfections, he must often accuse the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the Capitol that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candour of the public.

LAUSANNE, *June 27, 1787.*

INDEX

A

- ABAN, the Saracen, heroism of his widow, v. 498
- Abbas, uncle of Mahomet. His numerous descendants, v. 530. They claim the Caliphate, vi. 21
- Abbassides, dynasty of the, vi. 24
- Abdallah the father of the prophet Mahomet, v. 393
- Abdallah, son of Abbas, vi. 22
- Abdallah, son of Jaafar, plunders the fair of Abyla, v. 504
- Abdallah, son of Said, supplants Amrou in Egypt, v. 540. Commands the 1st expedition of the Arabs, sent by Othman into Western Africa, v. 541
- Abdallah, son of Zobeir, after his father's death maintains war against Ali and his successors, v. 550
- Abdallah, son of Muza, governor of Africa, v. 568
- Abdalmalek, the Caliph, orders Hassan, governor of Egypt, to resume the War in Western Africa, v. 550. Discontinues the tribute to the Greek emperor, vi. 5
- Abdalahman, or Abderame, governor of Spain, vi. 16. Conquers Aquitain, 17. Defeated and slain by Charles Martel, 19
- Abdalahman I., grandson of the Caliph Hashem and the last of the Ommiades, invited into Spain. Founds there a new dynasty, vi. 25
- Abdalahman III., splendour of his court, vi. 28. His fourteen happy days, 29
- Abdelaziz, son of Muza, conquers Valencia and treats with Theodemir, v. 566. Governor of Spain, 568. Marries the widow of Roderic, 569. Is put to death, *ib.*
- Abdol Motalleb, the grandfather of the prophet Mahomet, his history, v. 392
- Abgarus, legend of his correspondence with Christ, ii. 74 *note*, v. 289
- Abgarus, the last king of Edessa, i. 239
- Ablavius, a favourite of Constantine the Great, ii. 250. Massacred, 252
- Abraha, governor of the Homerites in Arabia. His history, iv. 461. Attacks the Caaba, v. 392
- Abu Ayub, his history, and the veneration paid to his memory by the Mahometans, vii. 229
- Abu Beker, the first to collect the leaves of the Koran, v. 401. The early friend and proselyte of Mahomet, 415. Accompanies him in his flight to Medina, 418.

- His daughter Ayesha is married to Mahomet, 447. Succeeds the prophet, 451. The first caliph, *ib. note*. His death, 452. His government, 471. Sends Caled against Anbar and Hira, 477. His circular letter and instructions for the conquest of Syria, 488
- Abu Caab, or Omar Ben Xoaib, leader of the Andalusian emigrants, who conquered Crete, vi. 42, 43
- Abu Moslem, calls and leads the Abbassides, vi. 22
- Abu Obeidah, appointed by Abu Beker to conduct the Syrian war, v. 490. His six campaigns, 490-519. His death, 521
- Abu Sophian, prince of Mecca, conspires the death of Mahomet, v. 419. Battles of Beder and Ohud, 427, 428. Besieges Medina without success, 428. Surrenders Mecca to Mahomet, 433
- Abu Taher, the Carmathian, threatens Bagdad, vi. 55. Pillages Mecca, 56
- Abu Taleb, an uncle of Mahomet and father of Ali, v. 393, 417, 418
- Abulpharagius, or Gregory Bar-Hebræus, v. 144. Primate of the Eastern Jacobites, 184
- Abuna explained, v. 196
- Abundantius, general of the East, iii. 428
- Abyla, the fair of, plundered by the Saracens, v. 504
- Abyssinians, converted to Christianity by Frumentius, ii. 355. Their early history, vi. 492, 494. Alliance with Justinian, 495.
- Their settlement in Yemen conquered by Nashirvan, v. 48. History of their church and of their intercourse with the Portuguese, v. 194. *See also* Æthiopia.
- Acacius, bishop of Amida, iii, 463
- Acacius, father of the empress Theodora, iv. 251
- Acciainoli, bankers of Florence, obtain the sovereignty of Athens, vi. 533
- Acephali, of Egypt, the "headless sect," v. 153
- Acesius, the novatian, ii. 376
- Achaia, its extent, i. 26. Principality of, held by the Villehardouins after the fourth crusade, vi. 455
- Achilleus, rebellion of, in Egypt, suppressed by Diocletian, i. 409
- Acolyth, the commander of the Varangians, vi. 89
- Acre, the memorable siege of, by the crusaders, vi. 377. Final loss of, 395
- Acropolita, the historian, minister of John Vataces and Theodore Lascaris, vi. 499. Punished for freely speaking his opinion, 502. His account of Baldwin's flight from Constantinople, 510 *note*
- Adarman, the Persian general, conquers Syria, v. 149
- Adauctus, a martyr under Diocletian, ii. 149
- Adhed, the last of the Fatimite dynasty in Egypt, is deposed by Nouredin, and dies, vi. 367
- Adhemar, bishop of Puy, appointed by Urban II. to attend the first crusade, as legate, vi. 284. Associated

- with Raymond in the command of his division, 300. Distrusts the legend of the Holy Lance, 328. Adopts it, 330. His death, of the plague, before Antioch, 338
- Adiabene. *See* Assyria.
- Adolphus, or Athaulphus, the brother-in-law of Alaric, brings him a reinforcement of troops, iii. 369. Derivation of the name, 369 *note*. Is made count of the domestics to the new emperor Attalus, 376. Succeeds Alaric as king of the Goths, and concludes a peace with Honorius, 393. His marriage with Placidia, 394. Marches into Spain, 409. Is assassinated, 410
- Adorno, the Genoese governor of Phocæa, conveys Amurath II. from Asia to Europe, vii. 84
- Adrian I., pope, his alliance with Charlemagne against the Lombards, v. 313. His reception of Charlemagne at Rome, 316. Gives him the mosaics of Ravenna, 320 *note*; vii. 350. Asserts the fictitious donation of Constantine the Great, v. 321. Accepts the decrees of the second council of Nice in favour of image-worship, 326. Threatens to excommunicate the Greek emperors for not restoring the estates of the church, 328. The trophies of his fame, 330
- Adrian IV. puts Arnold of Brescia to death, vii. 252
- Adrianople. *See* Hadrianople.
- Adulis, a seaport, iv. 275
- Ædesius, the Neo-Platonist, ii. 492. Fixes his school at Pergamus, 495
- Ædui, the, of Gaul. Their state and taxation under Constantine, ii. 224
- Ægidius, after the death of Ætius, is elected king by the Franks, iv. 30. Defeats Theodoric II., king of the Visigoths, at Orleans, 45
- Ælia Capitolina, founded on Mount Sion, by Hadrian, ii. 10
- Ælianus. *See* Lælianus.
- Ælianus, one of the principal Bagaudæ, i. 403
- Ælius Gallus, invades Arabia, i. 2; v. 375 *note*
- Ælius Pœtus, his Tripartite, the oldest work of Roman jurisprudence, iv. 540
- Æmilianus, governor of Pannonia and Mœsia, routs the Goths, and is declared emperor by his troops, i. 289. Murdered by them, 290
- Æmona, now Laybach; the statues of Constantine thrown down there, i. 482. Stops the career of the rebel Maximus, iii. 193
- Æneas of Gaza, iv. 109
- Æneas Sylvius, secretary to the council of Basil, vii. 114. Finds, when Pope, the university of that city, *ib*. Applauds the austere life of the Duke of Savoy at Ripaille, 130. Describes the repugnance of Europe to a Turkish war, 235. Strives to excite one when Pope Pius II., *ib*.
- Æstii, the ancient inhabitants of Esthonia. Subject to Hermanric, iii. 70. Send an embassy with offerings of amber to Theodoric, iv. 218

- Æteriarch**, an officer of the Byzantine court, vi. 89
- Æthiopia**, Augustus attempts to conquer, i. 2. The Christian princes of, are urged by Constantius to exclude Athanasius, ii. 427. Commerce of, iv. 275. *See* also Abyssinians and Axume.
- Ætius**, surnamed the Atheist, his character and adventures, ii. 396, 405
- Ætius**, the Roman general under Valentinian III. His character, iii. 472. Histreach-erous scheme to ruin Count Boniface, 473. Is forced to retire into Pannonia, 485. His invitation of the Huns into the empire, 495
- Ætius** seizes the administration of the western empire, iii. 532. His character, as given by Renatus, 533. Employs the Huns and Alani in the defence of Gaul, 536. Concludes a peace with Theodoric, 538. Raises the siege of Orleans, 546. Battle of Chalons, 552. His prudence on the invasion of Italy by Attila, 562. Is murdered by Valentinian, 568
- Afrasiabs**, heroes of Ferdusi, iii. 96
- Africa**, its situation and revolutions, i. 28. Great revenue raised from by the Romans, 183. Revolts in the reign of Diocletian, 409
- Africa**, progress of Christianity there, ii. 71. Is distracted with religious discord in the time of Constantine the Great, 388. Character and revolt of the Circumcellions, 438
- Africa**, oppressions of by count Romanus, iii. 55. General state of, 59. Revolt of count Boniface there, 473. Arrival of Genseric, king of the Vandals, 475. Persecution of the Donatists, 478. Devastation of by the Vandals, 481. Carthage surprised by Genseric, 487
- Africa**, persecution of the Catholics in, iv. 98. Expedition of Belisarius to, 325. Is recovered by the Romans, 341. The government of settled by Justinian, 342. Revolt of the troops there under Stotzas, 465. Devastation of the war, 467
- Africa**, invaded by the Saracens, v. 540. Conquered by Akbah, 546. Decline and extinction of Christianity there, 575. Revolt and independence of the Saracens, vi. 59. Conquests of Roger, king of Sicily, 226
- Agathias**, his praise of the Franks, iv. 144. The historical books of Procopius continued by him, 248
- Agathyrsi**, a painted tribe, subject to the Alani, iii. 107
- Agaunum**, monastery of St. Maurice founded there, ii. 147; iv. 135
- Agiamoglan**, young janizaries serving in the palace, vii. 89
- Aglabites**, the Saracen dynasty of, vi. 59
- Aglæ**, a Roman lady, patronises St. Boniface, ii. 150
- Agnats**, their right of inheritance under the Roman law, iv. 576
- Agnes**, daughter of the duke of Brunswick, is married to Andronicus the Younger, vi. 545

- Agrarian law, *Jus Agrarium*, of Rome, v. 63, and *note*
- Agricola, his conquests in Britain, and provisions for their security, i. 4. His early appointment as military tribune, 15 *note*
- Agriculture, great improvement of in the western countries of the Roman empire, i. 58. Decay of in Italy after the time of Tiberius, iv. 66. State of in the Eastern empire under Justinian, 268
- Agrippa, the faithful friend and adviser of Augustus, i. 67. The Pantheon at Rome, dedicated by him to Cybele and Neptune, vii. 452 *note*
- Ahmed Ebn Arabshah. *See* Arabshah.
- Ahriman, the evil principle in Persian theology, i. 229
- Aidin, a Turkish chieftain, vii. 207
- Ailurus (the Cat), a name given to Timotheus, patriarch of Alexandria, v. 151 *note*. *See* Timothy.
- Aiznadin, battle of, between the Saracens and the Greeks, v. 494
- Ajax, the sepulchre of, ii. 168
- Akmim. *See* Chemmis.
- Alani, invade Asia, i. 393. Conquered by the Huns, iii. 107. Join the Goths who had emigrated into Thrace, 126. Some join Radagaisus in his invasion of Italy, 309. Others serve against him in the army of Stilicho, 311. Occupy Carthagera and Lusitania, 350. Are employed by Ætius to defend Gaul, 538. Some still encountered in Asia, at the foot of Mount Caucasus, by the Avars, and by Zingis, iv. 421
- Alaric, the Goth, learns the art of war under Theodosius the Great, iii. 215. Becomes the leader of the Gothic revolt, and ravages Greece, 284. Escapes from Stilicho, 290. Is appointed master-general of the eastern Illyricum, 292. Is declared king of the Visigoths, 292. His invasion of Italy, 293. Is defeated by Stilicho at Pollentia, 298. Again defeated near Verona and driven out of Italy, 302. Is, by treaty with Honorius, declared master-general of Illyricum, 325. His pleas and motives for marching to Rome, 336. Encamps under the walls of that city, 339. Accepts a ransom, and raises the siege, 367. His negotiations with the emperor Honorius, 370. His second siege of Rome, 374. Places Atalus on the imperial throne, 376. Degrades him, 379. Seizes the city of Rome, 380. His sack of Rome, compared with that by the emperor Charles V., 388. Retires from Rome, and ravages the South of Italy, 489. His death and burial, 392
- Alaric II., king of the Goths, his overthrow by Clovis, king of the Franks, iv. 141
- Alatheus, a warrior of the Ostrogoths, saves their infant king, iii. 109. Arrives on the Danube, 115. Forces a passage, 117. Retreats, 151. Is defeated and killed, 152
- Alavivus, a leader of the Visi-

- goths, iii. 110, 117. *See* Fritigern.
- Albania, a kingdom in Asia, conquered by Trajan, i. 7. War with Armenia, ii. 256
- Albanians, of Asia, among the troops of Sapor, at the siege of Amida, ii. 305
- Albanians, of Greece (Epirus), revolt under Scanderbeg, vii. 175 *note*. Ravage the Morea, 231
- Alberic, the son of Marozia, his revolt, and government of Rome, v. 351
- Albigeois of France, persecution of, vi. 134
- Albinus, Clodius, governor of Britain, i. 125. Opposes Didius Julianus, 126. Negotiates with Severus, 136. Is defeated and killed in the battle of Lyons, 137
- Albinus, the senator, iv. 237
- Al Bochari, compiled from the memorials of Mahomet, the Sonna, or oral law, v. 104
- Albofleda, wife of Theodoric and sister of Clovis, iv. 126
- Alboin, king of the Lombards, his treaty with Justinian, iv. 489. His history, v. 5. His alliance with the Avars against the Gepidæ, 7. Reduces the Gepidæ, 8. He undertakes the conquest of Italy, 9. Overruns what is now called Lombardy, 13. Assumes the regal title there, 13. Takes Pavia, 14. Is murdered at the instigation of his queen Rosamond, 16
- Albornoz, archbishop of Toledo and cardinal Legate in Italy, vii. 313
- Aldus Manutius, establishes his press at Venice, vii. 147
- Aleppo, siege and capture of, by the Saracens, v. 515. Is recovered by the Greeks, vi. 66. Seized by Saladin, 369. Is taken and sacked by Tamerlane, vii. 61
- Alexander Severus, the time of his birth, i. 164 *note*. Is declared Cæsar by the emperor Elagabalus, 171. Is raised to the throne, 172. His intrepidity, 180. Is murdered, 196. Examination into his pretended victory over Artaxerxes, 240. Showed a regard for the Christian religion, ii. 128
- Alexander, uncle and colleague of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, v. 243
- Alexander, archbishop of Alexandria, excommunicates Arius for his heresy, ii. 388
- Alexander, a Byzantine scribe, why called Psalliction, iv. 471
- Alexander III., pope, vii. 269
- Alexandria, a general massacre there, by order of the emperor Caracalla, i. 157. Forts erected there by him, 157. The city described, 319. Is ruined by ridiculous intestine commotions, 319. Is besieged and taken by Diocletian, 409
- Alexandria, suffers greatly by an earthquake, iii. 83. History of the temple of Serapis there, 234. This temple, and the library. destroyed by bishop Theophilus, 236
- Alexandria, is taken by Amrou the Saracen, vi. 532. Attempts of the Greeks to recover it, 533. The library said to be destroyed by Amrou, 534. Doubted, 534

- Alexius Angelus, his usurpation of the Greek empire and character, vi. 407. Flies before the crusaders, 427
- Alexius I., Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, v. 262. New titles of dignity invented by him, vi. 87. Defeated by the Normans at the Battle of Durazzo, 212. Solicits the aid of the emperor Henry III., 216. Solicits the aid of the Christian princes against the Turks, 281. His suspicious policy on the arrival of the crusaders, 308. Exacts homage from them, 310. Profits by the success of the crusaders, 348. His death, v. 265
- Alexius II., Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, v. 270
- Alexius Strategopulus, the Greek general, retakes Constantinople from the Latins, vi. 481
- Alexius, the son of Isaac Angelus, his escape from his uncle, who had deposed his father, vi. 407. His treaty with the crusaders for his restoration, 420. Restoration of his father, 423. Death of Alexius, 437
- Alfred adopted the rigour of the Mosaic law, iv. 115. Sends an embassy to the shrine of St. Thomas in India, v. 179
- Ali, joins Mahomet in his prophetic mission, v. 415. His heroism, 431. Marries Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, 449. His character, 450. Is chosen caliph of the Saracens, 453. His assassination, 458. Devotion paid at his tomb, 458. His posterity, 460, 462
- Aligern, iv. 496, 498, 502
- Aliturus, a Jew player in the time of Nero, ii. 107
- Allectus murders Carausius, and usurps his station, i. 405. Is defeated and killed by Asclepiodotus, 406
- Allemanni, the origin and warlike spirit of, i. 295. Are driven out of Italy by the senate and people, 296. Invade the empire in the time of Aurelian, 336. Are totally routed, 337. Gaul delivered from their depredations by Constantius Chlorus, 408
- Allemanni, invade and establish themselves in Gaul, ii. 310. Are defeated at Strasburg by Julian, 316. Are reduced by Julian in his expeditions beyond the Rhine, 320. Invade Gaul in the time of the emperor Valentinian, iii. 39. Are reduced by Jovinus, 40. And chastised by Valentinian, 42. Subdued by Clovis at Tolbiac, iv. 125
- Allobich, count of the domestics, assassination of, iii. 373
- Alma, mount, near Sirmium, cultivated by the soldiers of Probus, i. 380
- Almamon, caliph, his magnificence, vi. 27. His love of literature, 30
- Almansor, builds Bagdad, vi. 26
- Almohades oppress the Zeirides in Africa, vi. 226
- Almondars, kings of Hira, iv. 469
- Alp Arslan, sultan of the Turks, his reign, vi. 253.

- Defeats the Emperor Romanus, 257. Is assassinated, 261
- Alphonso, the Chaste, v. 340
- Alypius, commissioned by the emperor Julian to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, ii. 516
- Amala, king of the Goths, i. 280. Antiquity of the royal race of the Amali, and origin of the name, iii. 284, 410 *note*; iv. 203 *note*, 357
- Amalafrida, a Gothic princess, married to Thrasimond the Vandal, and put to death, iv. 355
- Amalasontha, queen of Italy, erects a monument at Ravenna to her father Theodoric, iv. 241. Her history and character, 357. Her death, 360 *note*
- Amalphi, discovery of the Pandects, iv. 555. Its trade and present state, vi. 203. Passage of pilgrims to Palestine, 271
- Amalric. *See* Amaury.
- Amandus, a leader of the Bagaudæ, i. 402
- Amantius, the eunuch, rules the palace of Anastasius, iv. 244; put to death, 245
- Amaury, or Amalric, king of Jerusalem, vi. 371
- Ambrose, St., justifies the use of the sword against heresy, ii. 292. His birth and promotion to the archbishopric of Milan, iii. 185. Opposes the Arian worship of the empress Justina, 186. Refuses obedience to the imperial power, 188. Controls the emperor Theodosius, 206. Imposes penance on Theodosius for his cruel treatment of Thessalonica, 208. Employed his influence over Gratian and Theodosius, to inspire them with maxims of persecution, 222. Opposes Symmachus, the advocate for the old Pagan religion, 228. Comforts the citizens of Florence with a dream, when besieged by Radagaisus, 313
- Ambrosius Aurelian, iv. 179
- Amida, siege of, by Sapor, king of Persia, ii. 304. Receives the fugitive inhabitants of Nisibis, 594. Is besieged and taken by Cabades, king of Persia, iv. 305
- Amina, the mother of Mahomet, v. 393
- Amir, the Turkish prince, friend of Cantacuzene, vii. 29
- Ammatus, brother of Gelimer, iv. 333
- Amnianus Marcellinus, the historian, his sincerity, ii. 281 *note*. One of the defenders of Amida, 305. His religious character of the emperor Constantius, 405. His remark on the enmity of Christians towards each other, 441. His account of the fiery obstructions to restoring the temple of Jerusalem, 516. Of the contest of Damasus and Ursinus for the bishopric of Rome, iii. 36. Testimony in favour of his historical merit, 145. His character of the nobles of Rome, 347
- Ammonius, the mathematician, iii. 362
- Ammonius, the monk of Alexandria, his martyrdom, v. 130

- Amogavares, or Almogavares, their origin, vi. 527 *note*
- Amorian dynasty, v. 229
- Amorium, siege and destruction of, by the caliph Motassem, vi. 51
- Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, iii. 169
- Amrou, his conversion, v. 432. Supports Moawiyah, 459. His birth and character, v. 523. His invasion and conquest of Egypt, 525. Is said to have destroyed the library of Alexandria, 533. His administration there, 536. His description of the country, 537
- Amrou, the last of the Soffarides, vi. 60
- Amurath I., sultan of the Turks, vii. 32, 34
- Amurath II., sultan, his reign and character, vii. 157. His two abdications, 158, 159. Promotes Scanderbeg, 171. Is defeated by him, 173. Dies, 175
- Anachorets, in monkish history described, iv. 78, 83, 89
- Anacletus, pope, gives the title of king to Roger, count of Sicily, vi. 224. His Jewish extraction, vii. 279
- Anagni, a city of Italy, where pope Boniface VIII. was assaulted, vii. 272. Cursed by Benedict XI., 279
- Anastasia, sister of Constantine the Great; her two marriages, i. 481; ii. 233
- Anastasia, empress of Tiberius II., v. 21
- Anastasia, Gregory of Nazianzen's private church at Constantinople, iii. 172
- Anastasius I. marries the empress Ariadne, iv. 207. His war with Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, king of Italy, 220. His economy celebrated, 277. His long wall from the Propontis to the Euxine, 299. War with Persia, 305. Is humbled by the Catholic clergy, v. 152, 154
- Anastasius II., emperor of Constantinople, v. 218. His preparations of defence against the Saracens, vi. 5
- Anatolia, conquest of, by the Moguls, vii. 14
- Anatolius, an officer in Julian's army, ii. 578, 580
- Anchialus, a town of Thrace, spared by Baian, chagan of the Avars, v. 67. The emperor Maurice marches there, 68
- Ancona, sieges of, by Frederic Barbarossa, and the archbishop of Mentz, vi. 230
- Ancyra, now Angora, the marble of, i. 123. Council of, ii. 60. Taken by the Persians, v. 172. Battle of, between Tamerlane and Bajazet, vii. 64
- Andages, a noble Ostrogoth, kills Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, in the battle of Chalons, iii. 553
- Anderida, a British town taken by the Saxons, iv. 182
- Andians, or Quartodecimans, iii. 181
- Andragathius, kills the emperor Gratian, iii. 164
- Andrew, St., his supposed body conveyed to Constantinople, iii. 246
- Andronicus, president of Lybia, excommunicated by Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, ii. 369

- Andronicus Comnenus, his character and first adventures, v. 270. Seizes the empire of Constantinople, 277. His unhappy fate, 281
- Andronicus, the elder, emperor of Constantinople, his superstition, vi. 536. His war with his grandson, and abdication, 541. His death, 544
- Andronicus, the Younger, emperor of Constantinople, his licentious character, vi. 539. His civil war against his grandfather, 540. His reign, 544. His marriage to the daughter of the duke of Brunswick, 545 *note*. And to Anne of Savoy, 546. Is vanquished and wounded by the sultan Orchan, vii. 27. His private application to pope Benedict XII. of Rome, 94
- Angamala, or Cranganor, an ancient Nestorian bishopric in India, v. 179, 180
- Anglo-Saxons, their laws against idolatry, iv. 115. Understood the language of the Franks, 183 *note*. Their laws encouraged manumission, 184
- Angora, battle of, vii. 64
- Anianus, bishop of Orleans, iii. 546
- Anician family at Rome, history of, iii. 343
- Anna Comnena, character of her history of her father, Alexius I., v. 264. Her conspiracy against her brother John, 265. Her Greek style, vi. 115. Her account of the crusaders, 308. Of her father's victories, 348. Of Bohemond's escape, 349 *note*
- Anne, the Greek princess, married to the Russian prince, Wolodomir, vi. 96
- Anne of Savoy, empress, vi. 546. Her quarrel with John Cantacuzene, vii. 554
- Annibaldi, a family of modern Rome, vii. 280, 354
- Annibalianus, Roman general, i. 372. *See* Hannibalianus.
- Annona, the tribute of corn for the supply of the capital and army, iv. 280
- Ansars, Mahomet's auxiliaries of Medina, v. 421
- Anses, the demigods of the Goths, i. 280
- Antalas, a chieftain of the Moors in Africa, iv. 466
- Antes, or Anten, a division of the Slavonians, iv. 413
- Anthemius, emperor of the West, his descent, and investiture by Leo the Great, iv. 35. His election confirmed at Rome, 36. Is killed in the sack of Rome by Ricimer, 53
- Anthemius, prefect of the East, iii. 453
- Anthemius, the architect, iv. 288. Forms the design of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, 289
- Anthropomorphites, among the early Christians, personifiers of the Deity, v. 204
- Antioch. Defeat and death of Macrinus, i. 165. Taken and destroyed by Sapor, king of Persia, 309. Zenobia defeated by Aurelian, 346. *See* Immæ.
- Antioch. Flourishing state of the Christian Church there, in the reign of Theodosius, ii. 67. Synod at, 413. Olympic games, 524 *note*. History

- of the body of St. Babylas, bishop of, 525. The cathedral closed, and its wealth confiscated by the emperor Julian, 526
- Antioch. Licentious manners of the citizens, ii. 542. Popular discontents during the residence of Julian, 543. Magic persecuted there by Valens, iii. 20. Sedition there, against the emperor Theodosius, 200. The city pardoned, 202
- Antioch. Is taken and ruined by Chosroes, king of Persia, iv. 437. Great destruction at, by an earthquake, 517
- Antioch. Again seized by Chosroes II., v. 82
- Antioch. Is reduced by the Saracens and ransomed, v. 517. Is recovered by the Greeks, vi. 66. Besieged and taken by the first crusaders, 322. Taken by Bondocdar, 393
- Antioch, in Hyrcania, the linen of, vii. 322
- Antiochus, an officer of the imperial household, ii. 256
- Antiochus, a proconsul of Greece, appointed by Rufinus, iii. 285
- Anti-Tribonians, a law sect, v. 524
- Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, conspires against John of Cappadocia, iv. 284. Her character, 325. Examines and convicts pope Sylverius of treachery, 382. Her activity during the siege of Rome, 383. Her secret history, 399. Founda a convent for her retreat, 509
- Antonines, the Two, found schools at Athens, i. 64; iv. 312
- Antoninus, a Roman refugee at the court of Sapor, king of Persia, ii. 302
- Antoninus, Marcus, his defensive wars, i. 9. Is adopted by Pius at the instance of Hadrian, 87. His character, 88. His indulgence of Faustina and Commodus, 96. His war against the united Germans, 269. Suspicious story of his edict in favour of the Christians, ii. 125
- Antoninus Pius, i. 5, 8, 86
- Antoninus, the name revered by the Romans, and assumed by succeeding emperors, i. 148, 164, 196. Declined by Alexander Severus, 177
- Antoninus Arius, the last of the Antonines, i. 103
- Antoninus, a proconsul of Asia, supposed to be Antoninus Pius before his elevation, ii. 121 *note* *
- Antony, the first monk, invited to Alexandria by Athanasius, ii. 440 *note*. His history, iv. 70
- Antrusion, a Frank dignity, iv. 149 *note*
- Anulinus, a Roman senator, to whom Diocletian's father was a slave, i. 395
- Anulinus, Maximin's prætorian prefect, i. 213
- Anulinus, a prætorian prefect, gives his support to Maxentius, i. 454
- Apamea, or Corna, ii. 555
- Aper, Arrius, father-in-law to the emperor Numerian, is killed by Diocletian as the presumptive murderer of that prince, i. 393

- Apharban, the Persian, his embassy from Narses to the emperor Galerius, i. 419
- Aphdal of Egypt, vi. 332
- Apocalypse, excluded from the sacred canon, why now admitted, ii. 28 *note*. Disputed by the Alogians, 66
- Apocaucus, admiral of Constantinople, his confederacy against John Cantacuzene, vi. 548. His death, 552
- Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, v. 125
- Apollinaris, patriarch of Alexandria, butchers his flock in defence of the catholic doctrine of the incarnation, v. 190
- Apollinaris, son of Sidonius, iv. 190
- Apolloniates, a lake, reservoir of the springs of Olympus, i. 302
- Apollonius of Tyana, his doubtful character, i. 346 *note*
- Apollonius, ambassador from Marcian to Attila, iii. 531
- Apostles, their liberal policy, ii. 47. Their martyrdom doubted, 96. Worship of their supposed relics, v. 37
- Apotheosis of the Roman emperors, how this custom was introduced, i. 77
- Apparitors, subordinate officers of the great public functionaries, ii. 193
- Apsimar, dethrones Leontius, emperor of Constantinople, and usurps his place, v. 214. Is dethroned and executed, 216
- Apulia, is conquered by the Normans, vi. 190. Is confirmed to them by papal grant, 196
- Aquileia, besieged by the emperor Maximin, i. 211. Is taken by Attila, iii. 557. By Alboin, v. 13
- Aquitain, a province of ancient Gaul, i. 22. Possessed by the Visigoths under Wallia, iii. 412. Conquered by Clovis, iv. 142. Its dukes overcome by Charlemagne, v. 408. Invasion of the Saracens, vi. 17. Recovered by Eudes, 20
- Arabia, Augustus fails in his attempt to reduce it, i. 3. Attacked by the fleets of Trajan, 7. Its situation, soil, and climate, v. 365. Its divisions, 366. Horses, 367. Camels, 370. Cities, 371 *notes*. The province of Yemen often conquered, 373. The Turks have only a shadow of jurisdiction, 374. Conquered by Mahomet, 435. Its name given by the Romans to one of the provinces of Syria, 373, vi. 491
- Arabians, their wandering life secured their independence, i. 27. Serve both in the Roman and Persian armies, ii. 257. Mercenaries of Valens under the name of Saracens, iii. 84. Conquest of Yemen by Nushirvan, v. 48. Supposed prophecy of their perpetual independence, 373. Their pastoral habits, 368. Their valour and patience, 374. Government, 377. Predatory warfare, 378. Language, 381, and *note*. Religion, 384. Reverence for the Caaba of Mecca, 385. Are united by Abu Beker, v. 471. Summary of their conquests, 475. They

- invade Persia, 477. Complete its subjugation, 482. Conquer Transoxiana, 487. Invade Syria, 489. Take Damascus, 499. Jerusalem, 512. Antioch, 515. Conclude the Syrian war, 518. Invade Egypt, 530. Take Alexandria, 531. Proceed to Western Africa, 541. Take Carthage, 551. Their first descent in Spain, 559. Limits of their conquests, 113. They besiege Constantinople, vi. 2. Second siege, vi. 6. They invade France under Abderame, vi. 15. Are defeated by Charles Martel, vi. 18. Division of their empire, 25. Emigrate from Andalusia to Crete, 42. From Africa to Sicily, 43. Invade Italy, 45. Fall of their empire, 62. Their tactics, 105
- Arabshah, Ahmed Ebn. His account of Bajazet's iron cage and misfortunes, vii. 69
- Araric, king of the Goths, invades the empire, ii. 246
- Arbetio, a veteran under Constantine the Great, one of Julian's generals, ii. 477. Leaves his retirement to oppose the usurper Procopius, iii. 18
- Arbogastes the Frank, his military promotion under Theodosius in Gaul, and conspiracy against Valentinian the Younger, iii. 212. Is defeated by Theodosius, and kills himself, 218
- Arcadius, son of the emperor Theodosius, succeeds to the empire of the East, iii. 255. His feeble character, 260. Marries the daughter of Bauto the Frank, 263. Is jealous of his brother Honorius, 272. His ministers encourage the revolt of Gildo, 274. His magnificence, 422. Extent of his dominions, 423. Administration of his favourite eunuch Eutropius, 425. His cruel law against treason, 429. Signs the condemnation of Eutropius, 435. His interview with the revolters Tribigild and Gainas, 438. His death, and supposed testament, 451, 452
- Ardaburius, his expedition to Italy, iii. 469
- Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ, iii. 566
- Areobindus, governor of Africa, iv. 465
- Arethas, Aryat or Karwaryat, an Arabian chieftain, iv. 434. Serves under Belisarius, 439. Abyssinian account of him, 459 *note*
- Argentaria, or Colmar, battle of, iii. 127
- Argyrus, son of Melo, rebels in Italy, vi. 193
- Ariadne, daughter of the emperor Leo, and wife of Zeno, iv. 206. Marriage afterwards with Anastasius, 207
- Arianism, its origin, ii. 389. Creeds, 393. Sects, 395. Viewed at first with indifference by the emperors, 399. Favoured by Constantius, 402. Councils held to promote it, 406. Professed by Valens, iii. 30. Constantinople its principal seat, 169. Repressed throughout the East by Theodosius, 174. Taught by Ulphilas and adopted by the Gothic tribes,

- iv. 97. Abandoned by them, 110. Professed by Theodorice, 229
- Arians persecuted Athanasius, ii. 411; their cruelty, 435. Protected the various heretics of Constantinople, but abused their victory over the council of Nice, iii. 168. Displayed less firmness in adversity than their opponents, 227. Persecuted the Catholics in Africa, iv. 98. In Spain, 111. Their writings destroyed, iii. 176; iv. 113. Dispute with the Catholic bishops at Lyons, 132
- Arii, a tribe of the Lygians, i. 373
- Arinthæus, general of the horse to Julian, ii. 553. Serves Valens against Procopius, iii. 19. In the Gothic war, 73
- Ariovistus, iv. 154
- Aristides, his apology for Christianity, ii. 91
- Aristobulus, principal minister of Carus, and Diocletian, i. 397
- Aristotle, studied by the Arabians, vi. 33. Restored by the Mahometans of Spain to the Latin schools, 34. His logic better adapted to the detection of error than to the discovery of truth, *ib.* The oracle of the Western universities, but in a barbarous form, 484
- Arius, his learning, character, and opinions, ii. 388. Is excommunicated, *ib.* His numerous followers, 389. Is banished by Constantine, 401. Recalled, and his faith approved, 402. His death, *ib.*
- Arius, a Roman whose exercise of paternal power was approved by Augustus and Seneca, iv. 562
- Arles, Maximian seizes the treasures deposited there and re-ascends the throne, i. 460. Synod of, ii. 372, 419. Occupied by the usurper Constantine, iii. 279. Besieged by Gerontius, 401. Surrendered to Constantius, the general of Honorius, 403. The seat of government and assembly of the Seven Provinces, 420. Defended by Ægidius against the Visigoths, iii. 548. Captured by Abderame, vi. 17
- Armenia, is formed into a Roman province by Trajan, i. 7. Is seized by Sapor, king of Persia, 308. Tiridates, the native king, restored, 412. He is again expelled by the Persians, 416. Again restored by treaty between the Romans and Persians, 422
- Armenia, its conversion to Christianity, ii. 73, 255. Is rendered tributary to Persia, on the death of Tiridates, 255. Character of Arsaces Tiranus, ii. 550. Abandoned by Jovian in the treaty of Dura, ii. 588. Is reduced by Sapor to a Persian province, iii. 64. Allowed a precarious neutrality, 66. Its distractions and division between the Persians and the Romans, 464
- Armenia, history of Christianity in, v. 187. Conquered by the Mongols, vii. 14
- Armentarius, name given to Gelarius, i. 399

- Armorica, the provinces of, form a free government independent of the Romans, 416. Submits to Clovis, king of the Franks, iv. 130
- Army of the Romans, how composed, i. 16. Number and disposition of the legions, 18. The power of the general almost despotic, 69. Discipline enforced by Augustus, 81. Constantine's military policy, ii. 199. Admission of slaves, 204. Barbarian auxiliaries, 205
- Arnold of Brescia, his heresy and history, vii. 352
- Arnolph, king of Germany, vi. 153
- Arpad, king of Hungary, vi. 147
- Arrian, his visit to, and description of, Colchos, iv. 441, 447
- Arrechis, duke of Beneventum, v. 337
- Arsaces, a king of Armenia under Arcadius, iii. 464
- Arsaces Tiranus, king of Armenia, his character, and disaffection to the emperor Julian, ii. 551. Withdraws his troops treacherously from the Roman service, 569. His disastrous end, iii. 64
- Arsacides, of Parthia, v. 236
- Arsacides of Armenia, deified. Their statues overthrown, i. 414. Their government suppressed by the Romans, iii. 464. Their descendants degraded from the royal dignity, 465. Length of their reign, 466
- Arsacius, patriarch of Constantinople, iii. 448
- Arsenius, a bishop contemporary with Athanasius, ii. 410
- Arsenius, tutor of Arcadius, iii. 448
- Arsenius, patriarch of Constantinople, vi. 513. Faction of the Arsenites, 514
- Artaban, king of Parthia, i. 226
- Artaban, an Armenian prince, kills Gontharis, iv. 465. Conspires against the emperor Justinian, 483. Is pardoned, and intrusted with the conduct of the armament sent to Italy, 487. Reduces Sicily, 488
- Artabanus, an Armenian refugee, protected by the emperor Leo I., v. 236
- Artabazus, a Persian serving in the Roman army, iv. 469
- Artasires, king of Armenia, is deposed by the Persians at the instigation of his own subjects, iii. 465
- Artavasdes, a noble Armenian, whose father saved Tiri-dates, i. 414
- Artavasdus, a champion of image-worship, v. 298
- Artaxerxes restores the Persian monarchy, i. 226. Prohibits every worship but that of Zoroaster, 234. War with the Romans, 240. His character and maxims, 242
- Artemius, duke of Egypt under Constantius, ii. 478
- Artemius, a secretary, becomes emperor, v. 218. *See* Anastasius II.
- Artemon, an early heretic; character of his sect, ii. 75
- Artogerassa, a city of Armenia, iii. 64
- Arvandus, prætorian prefect of Gaul, iv. 46
- Arzanene, one of the five provinces ceded to Rome, i. 422

- Arzema, or Arzemedocht, queen of Persia, v. 477
- Asan, king of the Bulgarians, vi. 407
- Asbad, of the race of the Gepidæ, slays Totila, iv. 494
- Ascalon, battle of, vi. 338
- Ascetics, a name early acquired by the strictest Christians, ii. 42. Precursors of the monastic system, iv. 68.
- Asclepiodotus, trained in the school of Aurelian and Probus, i. 372. Reduces and kills the British usurper Allectus, 406
- Asia, under the reign of the Cæsars, i. 55. Summary view of the revolutions in that quarter of the globe, 225. The pastoral life of its wild hordes, 90. Its inaccessible parts clouded by early fiction, 97. Their present state, vii. 142
- Asia Minor described, i. 26. Amount of its tribute to Rome, 266. Is conquered by the Turks, vi. 183. *See* Anatolia.
- Asiarch, the nature of this office, ii. 62 *note*
- Aspacurus, king of the Iberians, iii. 64
- Aspar is commissioned by Theodosius the Younger to conduct Valentinian III. to Italy, iii. 469. Is sent against the Vandals in Africa, 484. Places his steward Leo on the throne of the Eastern empire, iv. 34. He and his sons murdered by Leo, 206
- Assassins, the principality of, destroyed by the Moguls, vii. 13
- Assyria, a Roman province in the time of Trajan, i. 7. Described, ii. 556. Is invaded by the emperor Julian, 558. His retreat, 575. (Iraq) conquered by the Saracens, v. 479
- Asta or Asti, besieged by Alaric, iii. 297. Relieved by Stilicho, 298
- Asterius commands against the Vandals in Spain, iii. 474
- Astingi, a Vandal tribe, ii. 245
- Astolphus, king of the Lombards, takes the city of Ravenna, and attacks Rome, v. 311. Is repelled by Pepin, king of France, 313
- Asturias, part of the Roman province of Tarragona, i. 21. The retreat of the Gothic fugitives, iv. 170
- Atabeks of Syria, their conquests, vi. 362
- Athalaric, the son of Amalasontha, succeeds his grandfather Theodoric, iv. 241. His education, character, and death, 358, 359
- Athanasaric, a leader of the Visigoths, his wars and treaty with the emperor Valens, iii. 73. Is defeated by the Huns and retires into the mountains, 110. His visit to Theodosius, death and funeral, 150
- Athanasius, St., archbishop of Alexandria, confesses his understanding bewildered by meditating on the divinity of the Logos, ii. 384. General view of his opinions, 393. Is banished, 403. His education and character, 407.

- His election irregular and precipitate, 409. He is summoned to appear at Tyre, 411. Is banished to Treves, and restored, 414. Is degraded by the Council of Antioch, and withdraws to Rome, 415. Is restored through the influence of Constans, 417. Is again expelled, 424. Retires among the monks of Thebais, 427. Is again restored, 532. Persecuted and expelled by Julian, 534. Is again concealed in the desert, 535. Returns to Alexandria, iii. 3. Death, 31. Not the author of the creed attributed to him, 106 *note*
- Athanasius, patriarch of Constantinople, vi. 536
- Athelstan, plants a Saxon colony at Exeter, iv. 177
- Athens, its narrow policy, i. 37. Libraries spared by the Goths, 306. Naval strength of the republic of, during its prosperity, 490 *note*
- Athens, is laid under contribution by Alaric the Goth, iii. 285
- Athens, review of the philosophical history of, iv. 309. The schools of, silenced by the emperor Justinian, 314
- Athens, revolutions of, after the crusades, and its present state, vi. 454, 531
- Athos, Mount, beatific visions of the monks of, vi. 558
- Atlantic Ocean, derivation of its name, i. 29
- Atmeidan. *See* Hippodrome.
- Atropatene, a province of Armenia, ii. 289
- Atsiz, lieutenant of Malek Shah, takes Jerusalem, vi. 275
- Attacotti, a Caledonian tribe, iii. 53
- Attalus, prefect of Rome, is chosen emperor by the senate, under the influence of Alaric, iii. 376. Is publicly degraded, 379. His future fortune, 405
- Attalus, a noble youth of Auvergne, iv. 162
- Attila, the Hun, description of his person and character, iii. 496. His conquests, 499. Called the scourge of God, 508. Imposes terms of peace on Theodosius the Younger, 511. Oppresses Theodosius by his ambassadors, 514. Description of his royal residence, 519. His reception of the ambassadors of Theodosius, 522. His behaviour on discovering the scheme of Theodosius to get him assassinated, 527. His haughty messages to the emperors of the East and West, 532. The friend of Ætius, 533. Demands the princess Honoria in marriage, 543. His invasion of Gaul, 545. His oration to his troops on the approach of Ætius and Theodoric, 548. Battle of Chalons, 549. His invasion of Italy, 556. His retreat purchased by Valentinian, 562. His marriage and death, 565
- Attuarii, a tribe of Franks, ii. 456
- Augurs, Roman, iii. 223
- Augustin, St., his progress from reason to faith, ii. 16 *note*. His work, "The City

- of God," ii. 250. His account of the miracles wrought by the body of St. Stephen, 251. Celebrates the piety of the Goths at the sacking of Rome, 382. Approves the persecution of the Donatists of Africa, 478. His death, character, and writings, 482
- Augustulus, son of the patrician Orestes, is chosen emperor of the West, iv. 57. Is deposed by Odoacer, 58. His banishment to the Lucullan villa in Campania, 62
- Augustus, emperor, his moderate exercise of power, i. 2. Is imitated by his successors, 3. His naval regulations, 19. His division of Gaul, 21. His situation after the battle of Actium, 66. He reforms the senate, 67. Procures a senatorial grant of the imperial dignity, 68. Division of provinces between him and the senate, 71. Is allowed his military command and guards in the city of Rome, 72. Obtains the consular and tribunitian offices for life, 72. His character and policy, 79. Adopts Tiberius, 83. Formed an accurate register of the revenues and expenses of the empire, 183. Taxes instituted by him, 186. Left a foundation for a perpetual sacrifice in the temple of Jerusalem, ii. 4. His naval establishments at Ravenna, iii. 305. His policy in amusing the idleness of Rome, 358. In providing a plentiful supply of corn, ii. 178. His sobriety, 359
- Aurelian, emperor, recom-
mended to the army by Claudius II., i. 331. His origin and services, 332. Relinquishes Dacia to the Goths, 334. Defeats the Allemanni, 336; encloses Rome with new walls, 340. Restores order in Gaul and Britain, 341. His war against Zenobia, 346. His triumph, 352. His generous treatment of his rivals, 353. His severity in suppressing a tumult in Rome, 356. Is assassinated, 358. Hostile to the Christians, ii. 131. Planted vineyards along the coast of Italy, iii. 359
- Aurengzebe, account of his immense camp, i. 263 *note*. Dissolution of his empire, vii. 79
- Aureolus is invested with the purple on the Upper Danube, i. 323. His defeat and death, 326
- Aureus, the gold coin of Rome, ii. 211 *note*
- Autharis, king of the Lombards in Italy, v. 25, 33
- Autun, the city of, stormed and plundered by the legions in Gaul, i. 342. Eumenius, professor of rhetoric in its college, 441 *note*. Constantine remits its arrears of tribute, 463
- Auvergne, province of, in Gaul, revolutions of, iv. 98
- Auxiliaries, part of the Roman army, i. 16. Barbarians, fatal consequences of their admission into the Roman armies, 269. Increased by Constantine, ii. 205
- Avars, their real history and existing descendants, iv. 421. They are discomfited

- by the Turks, 421. Their embassy to the emperor Justinian, 422. Their conquests in Poland and Germany, 422. Their embassy to Justin II., v. 4. They join the Lombards against the Gepidæ, 7. Pride, policy, and power of their chagan Baian, 63. Their conquests, 67. Attempt to capture Constantinople, 89. Are obliged to retreat, 103. *See* Hungary.
- Aversa, a town near Naples, vi. 189
- Avicenna, the Arabian physician, vi. 36
- Avienus, his embassy from Valentinian III. to Attila, iii. 563
- Avignon, the holy see transferred from Rome to that city, vii. 275. Return of pope Urban V. to Rome, 317
- Avitus, his embassy from Ætius to Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, iii. 547. Assumes the empire, iv. 9. His disposition and death, 16
- Avitus, bishop of Vienna (Vienne), iv. 133
- Awsites, an Arabian tribe, v. 420
- Axuch, a Turkish slave, his generous friendship to the princess Anna Comnena, v. 266. And to Manuel Comnenus, 267
- Ayela, or Egilona, widow of Roderic, her marriage with Abdelaziz, v. 568
- Ayesha, daughter of Abu Beker, and wife of Mahomet, v. 447. Said to have opposed her father's elevation as caliph, 451. Is made prisoner by Ali, 457. Retires to the tomb of Mahomet, 458
- Ayub, father of Saladin, vi. 368 *note*
- Azimus, or Azimuntium, remarkable spirit shown by the citizens of, against Attila and his Huns, iii. 502. They defend their privileges against Peter, brother of the Eastern emperor Maurice, v. 69
- Azoph, sack of, vii. 54
- Azymites, vii. 154
- Azzadin, sultan of Iconium, vii. 14

B

- BAALBEC, description of the ruins of, v. 508
- Babec, father of Artaxerxes, i. 226 *note*
- Babylas, St., bishop of Antioch, ii. 525
- Babylon, Rome so called by the first Christians, ii. 29. Its extent, 172 *note*. Was converted into a royal park, ii. 557
- Babylon, in Egypt, the fortress of Memphis, v. 526
- Bacchanals, in Rome, ii. 70
- Badoero, name of an illustrious family at Venice, v. 18
- Baduarius, an officer and son-in-law of the emperor Justin II., v. 18 *note*
- Bætica, one of the three provinces of Roman Spain, i. 21. Held by the Vandals, iii. 475. Conquered by Tarik, v. 561
- Bagaudæ, in Gaul, revolt of the, i. 461. Confederate in Gaul and Spain, iii. 572
- Bagavan, a mountain of Armenia, i. 414
- Bagdad, becomes the royal residence of the Abbassides, vi.

26. Derivation of the name, 26 *note*. Fallen state of the caliphs of, 62. The city of, stormed and sacked by the Moguls, vii. 14
- Baharites, a Mameluke dynasty in Egypt, vi. 393
- Bahram, the Persian general, his character and exploits, v. 53. Is provoked to rebellion, 55. Dethrones Chosroes, 58. His usurpation and death, 60
- Bahrein, a maritime district of Persia, v. 367
- Baian, chagan of the Avars, his pride, policy, and power, v. 63. His seizure of Sirmium, and Singidunum, 67. His conquests, 67. His attempt to seize the emperor Heraclius, 89. Invests Constantinople, 101. Retires, 102
- Bajazet I., sultan of the Turks, his reign, vii. 35. His victory at Nicopolis, 37. His magnificence, 40. His correspondence with Timour, 57. Is defeated and captured by him, 66. His death, 68. Inquiry into the story of the iron cage, 69. His sons, 80
- Balbinus, elected joint emperor with Maximus by the senate, on the deaths of the two Gordians, i. 207
- Balbus, Cornelius, a noble Spaniard, the friend of Cæsar, i. 208 *note*
- Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, accompanies him on the first crusade, vi. 298. Founds the Latin principality of Edessa, 321. Becomes king of Jerusalem, 370
- Baldwin, count of Flanders, engages in the fourth crusade, vi. 411. Is chosen emperor of Constantinople, 452. Is taken prisoner by Calo-John, king of the Bulgarians, 462. His death, 464. Legend concerning him, 465
- Baldwin II., emperor of Constantinople, vi. 474. His distresses and expedients, 475. His expulsion from that city, 482. His death, 483
- Baldwin II., king of Jerusalem, vi. 371
- Baldwin III., king of Jerusalem, vi. 371
- Baldwin IV., king of Jerusalem, vi. 371
- Balearic isles, the, i. 28; iii. 474
- Balista, iv. 374
- Baltha Ogli, the Turkish admiral, defeated, vii. 208
- Banchor, monastery in Flintshire, iv. 74
- Baradaeus, James, founder of the Jacobites, v. 182 *note*
- Barbarians, the, of the East and the North begin to be formidable, i. 225. The Roman superiority over them restored by Claudius II. and Aurelian, 341. Maintained by the victories of Probus, 371. He disperses them in small bands through his army, and plants colonies of captives or fugitives, 376. Diocletian's policy to weaken and restrain them, 407. They renew their inroads after the death of Julian, iii. 39. No decisive victory over them achieved by Theodosius, 145. Their permanent establishment in Gaul, 413. Not so violent and unjust as the

- Roman legionaries, 416.
 Progress of Christianity among them, ii. 354; iv. 90.
 Their state in the time of Justinian, 407. Their legislation, 146, 170, 222; v. 36.
 Beneficent effects of their government in the conquered provinces, iii. 409; iv. 144, 165 *note*
- Barbary, the name of that country, whence derived, v. 552 *note*. The Moors of, converted to the Mahometan faith, 554
- Barbatio, arrests Gallus, ii. 294. His misconduct in Gaul under Julian, 314
- Barcochebas, his rebellion, ii. 84
- Bardas, Cæsar, murdered by his nephew, v. 238. A patron of learning, vi. 112
- Bards, their power of exciting a martial enthusiasm in the people, i. 265. Preserve the tradition of Arthur and his exploits, iv. 180. Propagate the Celtic idiom in Wales and Armorica, 186
- Bargus, iii. 379
- Bari, is taken from the Saracens, by the joint efforts of the Latin and Greek empires, vi. 180. The metropolis of the Theme of Lombardy, 183. Taken by Robert Guiscard, 201
- Barlaam, a Calabrian monk, vi. 559. His embassy to Rome, from Andronicus the Younger, vii. 93. His literary character, 134. His death, 138
- Barmecides, extirpated by Harun al Rashid, vi. 39
- Baroncelli, tribune of Rome, vii. 311
- Barsumas, the monk, his violence at the council of Ephesus, v. 145
- Bartholemy, Peter, inventor of the "Holy Lance," vi. 328
- Bartolus, claimed the sovereignty of the earth for the emperor of the West, v. 362
- Basil, council of, vii. 112, 128.
- Basil I., the Macedonian, emperor of Constantinople, v. 236. Reduces the Paulicians, vi. 130. His death, v. 241. His Basilics, or code of laws, v. 242; vi. 70. His alliance with Louis, great-grandson of Charlemagne, vi. 180
- Basil II., emperor of Constantinople, v. 329. His great wealth, vi. 82. His inhuman treatment of the Bulgarians, vi. 145. His death, v. 252
- Basil, archbishop of Cæsarea, iii. 32. Insults his friend Gregory Nazianzen, 171. The father of the monks of Pontus, iv. 72
- Basil, a monk burnt at Constantinople for heresy, vi. 132
- Basil, St., the monks of, vii. 135
- Basilacius, a Roman general, who commanded against Alp Arslan, vi. 256
- Basilidians, a Gnostic sect, ii. 15
- Basiliscus, brother of the empress Verina, iv. 41. His fleet destroyed by Genseric, 43. His promotion to the empire, and death, 206
- Bassianus, the first name of the emperor Caracalla, i. 147

- Bassianus, high priest of the sun, his parentage, i. 164. Is proclaimed emperor at Emesa, 165. *See* Elagabatus.
- Bassianus, brother-in-law to Constantine, revolts against him, i. 482. Is put to death, 482
- Bassora, its foundation and situation, v. 480
- Bastarnæ, a Barbarian tribe, i. 280
- Batavians, serve as horseguards in the army of Pertinax, i. 118 *note*. Revolt under Civilis, 269. Punished by Valentinian for losing their standard, iii. 39
- Batnæ, ii. 549
- Batou, his invasion of Europe, vii. 15. Retreats, 17
- Bavaria, conquered by Charlemagne, v. 338. Invaded by the Hungarians, vi. 154. Guelph, duke of, joins the crusade, 351
- Bavarians, occupy portions of Pannonia and Noricum, iii. 471. Reject the supremacy of the Huns, 496. Their laws, iv. 146
- Beder, battle of, v. 426
- Bedoweens of Arabia, their mode of life, v. 368
- Bela, prince of Hungary (afterwards Bela III.), v. 270
- Bela IV., king of Hungary, defeated by Batou, vii. 16
- Belenus, tutelar deity of Aquileia, i. 212
- Belgæ, of Britain, i. 21
- Belgic Gaul, i. 21
- Belgrade (Singidunum), or the White City, v. 66. Its defence by Huniades, vii. 170
- Belisarius, his birth and military service as General of the East, iv. 322. Is appointed by Justinian to conduct the African war, 325. Embarkation of his troops, 327. Lands in Africa, 330. Defeats Gelimer, 333. Is received into Carthage, 339. Second defeat of Gelimer, 340. Reduction of Africa, 341. Surrender of Gelimer, 346. Triumphant return of Belisarius to Constantinople, 347. Is declared sole consul, 348. He menaces the Ostrogoths of Italy, 356. He seizes Sicily, 361. Suppresses a revolt in Africa, 362. Invades Italy, 365. Takes Naples, 366. He enters Rome, 370. He is besieged in Rome by the Goths, 371. His vigorous defence, 378. Deposes and banishes pope Silverius, 381. The siege raised, 384. Causes Constantine, one of his generals, to be killed, 387. Siege of Ravenna, 392. Takes Ravenna by stratagem, 395. Returns to Constantinople, 396. His character and behaviour, 398. Scandalous life of his wife Antonina, 399. His disgrace and submission, 404. Is sent into the East to oppose Chosroes, king of Persia, 440. His reception of the Persian ambassadors followed by the retreat of Chosroes, 441. His second campaign in Italy, 472. His ineffectual attempt to raise the siege of Rome, 476. Dissuades Totila from destroying Rome, 480. Re-

- covers the city, 481. His final recall from Italy, 482. Protects Constantinople from the Bulgarians, 507. His disgrace and death, 508
- Benacus, the lake, iii. 262
- Benedict XI., avenges Boniface VIII. by cursing Anagni, vii. 273
- Benedict XII., pope, his transactions with Andronicus the Younger, vii. 94. His character given by Petrarch, 96
- Benedict XIII., a pretender, vii. 324. Acknowledged in Spain, 325. Deposed by the council of Constance, *ib.*
- Benevento, battle of, between Charles of Anjou and Mainfroy, vi. 522
- Beneventum, Lombard duchy of, v. 28, 337; vi. 399
- Benjamin, patriarch of the Egyptian Jacobites, v. 530
- Berbers, barbarians and Barbary derived from it, v. 552 *note*
- Bernard, St., takes no notice of his own miracles, ii. 34 *note*. His character and influence in promoting the second crusade, vi. 359. His character of the Romans, vii. 351. Attacks Arnold of Brescia, 354
- Beræa, the ancient name of Aleppo. Its early church, 66. Its senate gives the emperor Julian a cold reception, ii. 549
- Bertezena, first leader of the Turks, iv. 417
- Bertha, mother of Hugo, king of Italy, vi. 95
- Bertha, his daughter, affianced to Romanus II., vi. 96
- Berytus, account of the law school established there, ii. 196. The city destroyed by an earthquake, iv. 517
- Bessarion, accompanies the Greek emperor to Italy, vii. 118. Leads the champions of the Greek Church in the council, 124. Conforms to that of Rome and is created a cardinal, 126. Remains in Italy, 140. His literary merit, 141. Refuses to be patriarch of Constantinople, 155
- Bessas, governor of Rome for Justinian, iv. 475. Occasions the loss of Rome, 478. Leads the assault of Petra, v. 418
- Bessi, minor Goths of Jordanes, iv. 246 *note*
- Bethlem, the residence of Jerome, iii. 387
- Bezabde, is taken and garrisoned by Sapor, king of Persia, ii. 307. Is ineffectually besieged by Constantius, 308
- Bibars, or Bondocdar, capture of Antioch by, vi. 398
- Bindoes, a Sassanian prince, deposes Hormouz, king of Persia, v. 55. Puts him to death, 57
- Bineses, the Persian, enters Nisibis, ii. 593
- Bishops, among the primitive Christians, the office of explained, ii. 46. Progress of episcopal authority, 50. Assumed dignity of episcopal government, 61. First seen at Court in the time of Alexander Severus, 129. Number of at the time of Constantine the Great, 358. Mode of their election, 359. Their power of ordination.

361. The ecclesiastical revenue of each diocese, how divided, 363. Their civil jurisdiction, 366. Their spiritual censures, 368. Their legislative assemblies, 371. Provoke the enmity of Julian, 488 *note*; 506 *note*. Their power in Gaul and neglect of education, iv. 130
- Bishops, rural, ii. 358
- Bissexile, superstitious regard to this year by the Romans, iii. 10
- Bithynia, i. 26. The cities of, plundered by the Goths, 302. Conquered by Orchan, vii. 27
- Bleda, brother of Attila, iii. 496
- Blemmyes, their revolt against Diocletian, i. 410
- Blue faction of the circus. Why called Veneti, iv. 259, and *note*. Their violence at Rome repressed by Theodoris, 260. Patronised at Constantinople by Justinian, 262. Their sedition, 264
- Boadicea, her despair, i. 4
- Boccaccio, his "Decameron," and his services in restoring the study of Greek, vii. 136
- Bochara, an early conquest of the Saracens, vi. 487
- Boethius, the prætorian prefect, killed with Ætius, iii. 568
- Boethius, his birth and education, iv. 233. His studies, 236. He is accused of treason, 237. Writes in prison his "Consolation of Philosophy," 238. Is put to death, 239. His writings translated by Alfred, *ib.*
- Bohemia, first united with Germany by Charlemagne, v. 338
- Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, his character and military exploits, vi. 215, 301. His route to Constantinople on the crusade, 307. His flattering reception by the emperor Alexius Comnenus, 312. Takes Antioch, and obtains the sovereignty of it, 325. His clandestine return to the West, 349. His death, 350
- Bolsena, or Vulsinienses, a lake of Etruria, iv. 360
- Boniface, the steward of Aglæe, ii. 150
- Boniface, count, the Roman general under Valentinian III., his character, iii. 472. Is betrayed into a revolt by Ætius, 473. Invites the Vandals into Africa, 474. His repentance, 480. Is besieged in Hippo Regius by Genseric, king of the Vandals, 482. Returns to Italy, and is killed by Ætius, 485
- Boniface VIII., pope, his violent contest with Philip the Fair, king of France, vii. 272. Institutes the jubilee, 276
- Boniface, marquis of Montferat, is chosen general of the fourth crusade, vi. 417. Urges the expedition against Constantinople, 420. Is made king of Macedonia, vi. 455. Is killed by the Bulgarians, 466
- Bonusus, a general under Aurelian, i. 334 *note*. Revolts against Probus, 379
- Borak, a fabulous animal that conveyed Mahomet, v. 406
- Borderers, troops of the frontiers, ii. 201

- Borgites, Circassian Mamelukes, vi. 393
- Borysthenes, its banks occupied by the Goths, i. 297. Conducted the Russians to the Euxine, vi. 163. Its falls, 165
- Bosphorus, the Cimmerian, i. 299, 302
- Bosphorus, the Thracian, the third naval expedition of the Goths passes through it, i. 302. Its early history and importance, ii. 163. One of the gates of Constantinople, 168. Crossed by the first crusaders, vi. 296. The main body passes over, 311. Battle on it between the fleets of Venice and Genoa, vi. 565
- Bosphorus, the, battle of, vii. 208
- Bosphorus, kingdom of, conquered by Trajan, i. 7. Its early history, 298. Occupied by the Goths, 299. Its fertility celebrated by Demosthenes, vi. 562 *note*. Genoese settlements and commerce there, vi. 563, 566
- Bosphorus, the city of, besieged by the Turks, iv. 419
- Bostra, or Bosra, capital of the Roman province of Arabia, v. 373 *note*. Birthplace of the emperor Philip, i. 243 *note*. Its fair, v. 372. Syriac meaning of its name, v. 491. Besieged by the Saracens, *ib.* Its bells, 492
- Botheric, the imperial general in Thessalonica, murdered in a sedition, iii. 204
- Boucicault, marshal, taken at Nicopolis, vii. 40. Defends Constantinople against Bajazet, 43. Advises and accompanies the emperor Manuel's journey into the West, 44, 102
- Bouillon. *See* Godfrey.
- Boulogne (Gessoriacum), a Roman naval station, i. 403. Recovered from Carausius by Constantius Chlorus, 405. His son Constantine meets him there, 448. The usurper Constantine lands there, iii. 327
- Bursa (Prusa), a city of Bithynia, i. 302. Its capture by Orchan the commencement of the Ottoman empire, vii. 26. He makes it his residence, 30. Taken by Timour's grandson, Mirza. 66
- Bowides, the Persian dynasty of, vi. 62
- Braga, iv. 14
- Brancaleone, senator of Rome, his character, vii. 259
- Bremen, burnt by the Hungarians, vi. 155
- Breones, a Rhætian tribe, iii. 549 *note*
- Bridget, St., of Sweden, vii. 317
- Brienne, John of, king of Jerusalem and emperor of Constantinople, vi. 472. His death, 474
- Brienne, Walter de, Duke of Athens, vi. 533
- Brienne, Walter de, his son, titular duke, constable of France. Killed in the battle of Poitiers, vi. 533
- Brigantes, a tribe in Britain. War of Antoninus Pius against them, i. 9 *note*. Situated in the North, 22
- Britain, conquest of, by the Romans, i. 4. Description of, 22. Colonies planted in, 40 *note*. A colony of Vandals settled there by Probus,

376. Revolt of Carausius, 403
- Britain, whence peopled, iii. 49.
- Invasions of by the Scots and Picts, 52. Is restored to peace by Theodosius, 54. Revolt of Maximus there, 162. Revolt of the troops there against Honorius, 321. Is abandoned by the Romans, 415. State of until the arrival of the Saxons, 417
- Britain, descent of the Saxons on, iv. 173. Establishment of the heptarchy, 175. Wars in, 175. Saxon devastation of the country, 182. Manners of the independent Britons, 185. Description of by Procopius, 187
- Britain, conversion of the Saxons by a mission from pope Gregory the Great, v. 42. The doctrine of the Incarnation received there, 169. State of in the time of Charlemagne, 339
- Brutus, Marcus, recommended by the Emperor Marcus Antoninus as a perfect model of Roman virtue, i. 80
- Buccelin, a leader of the Allemanni and Franks, iv. 499
- Bugia, a seaport of Africa, v. 546
- Bulgarians, their character, iv. 411. Their inroads on the eastern empire, 413. Invasion of under Zabergan, 505. Repulsed by Belisarius, 507
- Bulgarians, the kingdom of destroyed by Basil II., the Greek emperor, v. 252; vi. 145
- Bulgarians, revolt of, from the Greek empire, and submission to, the pope of Rome, vi. 406. War under Calo-John, against the Latin empire of the East, vi. 461
- Burgundians, invade the empire and are repulsed by Probus, i. 372. Occupied the banks of the Elbe, iii. 43. Advanced to the Rhine, 44. Formed part of the army of Radagaisus, 309. Assist the revolt of Jovinus, 404. Receive from him a grant of lands in Gaul, on which they permanently settle, 413. Burgundians of the Rhine, said to be almost exterminated by Attila, 500. Invaded Belgium, iii. 536. Said to be in the army of Attila, 544. and of Ætius, 549. Seated near the lake of Geneva, 125. Extent of their kingdom, 132. Their war against the Franks, 133, and final subjugation, 135. Their intercourse with Theodoric, 218. Form part of the kingdom of Arles, v. 343
- Busiris, in Egypt, destroyed by Diocletian, i. 410. Mervan defeated there, vi. 24
- Byrrhus, the senator, his death, i. 104
- Byzantine empire, its limits contracted and its history tedious, v. 201. Its government, ceremonies, and officers, vi. 70, 91. Its military force, 99. Tactics, 102. Literature, 112. Conquered by the Latins, 440. Its partition, vi. 453. Recovered by the Greeks, 482. Finally destroyed by Mahomet II., vii. 221.
- Byzantium, siege of, by the emperor Severus, i. 138. Is

taken by Maximin, 478.
Siege of, by Constantine the Great, 492. Founded by Byzas Zeuxippus, ii. 163 *note*. Its situation described, 165

C

CAABA, or temple of Mecca, its origin and antiquity, v. 385. Described, 386. The Koreish its hereditary guardians, 392. Attacked by Abreha, 393. Its idols destroyed by Mahomet, 434. Made the *kebla*, or point to which the eyes of the nations are turned in prayer, 408. Stormed and polluted by the Carmathians, vi. 56

Cabades, or Kobad, king of Persia, besieges and takes Amida, iv. 305. Seizes the straits of Caucasus, 308. Vicissitudes of his reign, 426

Cabul, conquered by Nushirvan, iv. 364

Cadesia, battle of, between the Saracens and the Persians, v. 479

Cadijah, her marriage with Mahomet, v. 394. Is converted by him to his new religion, 415. Her death, 419. Mahomet's veneration for her memory, 449

Cadiz, built by the Phœnicians, i. 184

Cæcilian, empowered by Constantine to relieve the churches of Africa, ii. 364. The peace of the Church in Africa disturbed by him, 376

Cælestian, senator of Carthage, iii. 489

Cæsar, Julius, his inducement

to the conquest of Britain, i. 4. Degrades the senatorial dignity, i. 66. Assumes a place among the tutelary deities of Rome, in his lifetime, 77. Provoked his fate, 80. His address in appeasing a military sedition, 180 *note*. His prudent application of the coronary gold presented to him, ii. 332. Lost his sword at the siege of Gergovia, iv. 98

Cæsarea, capital of Cappadocia, taken by Sapor, king of Persia, i. 310. Constantius receives there Julian's ambassadors, ii. 459. Taken by Chosroes, v. 84

Cæsarea, in Palestine, reduced by the Saracens, v. 519. Yields to the crusaders, vi. 333. Recovered from Saladin by Richard of England, 380

Cæsarius, son of the duke of Naples, vi. 47

Caf, or Imaus, the mountain range of Asia, iv. 416

Caffa, in the Crimea, vi. 562 *note*

Cahina, queen of the Moors of Africa, v. 552

Cairo, its origin, v. 552. Splendour of its palace, vi. 364. Attacked by the Christians, 365. Defeat of Louis IX. under its walls, 390

Cairoan, the city of, v. 549

Caled, deserts from the idolatrous Arabs to the party of Mahomet, v. 433. His gallant conduct at the battle of Muta, 439

Caled, his victories under the caliph Abubeker, v. 477. Attends the Saracen army on the Syrian expedition,

494. His valour at the siege of Damascus, 493. Distinguishes himself at the battle of Aiznadin, 496. Storms Damascus, 499. His cruel treatment of the refugees from Damascus, 503. Joins in plundering the fair of Abyla, 504. Commands the Saracens at the battle of Yermuk, 510. His death, 521
- Caledonia, Christianity introduced there, ii. 73. Its ancient inhabitants described, iii. 50
- Caledonians, defeated by Agricola, i. 4. Preserve their independence in the northern extremity of the island, 6. Expedition of the emperor Severus and his sons against them, 149
- Caliphs, or Khalifs, of the Saracens, origin and meaning of the title, v. 451 *note*. Exemplary manners of the four first, 454. Their austere and frugal habits, 472. Degeneracy of their successors, 474. Their conquests, 475-564. Their empire, 581. Its limits, vi. 2. Its triple division, 26. Their magnificence, 28. Their patronage of learning, 30. Caliphs of Spain (Omniades), their library, 33. Of Bagdad (Abbassides), subject to the insolence of their Turkish guards, 53. Their fallen state, 61. Of Egypt (Fatimites), grant a free toleration to Christians in Palestine, 272. Become the slaves of their vizirs, 356. Are extinguished by Nouredin, 367. Caliphs of Bagdad, the last put to death by Holagou, vii. 14
- Calistus II., pope, vii. 351
- Calligraphes, Theodosius, the Younger, so named, iii. 457
- Callinicum, the punishment of a religious sedition in that city opposed by St. Ambrose, iii. 206
- Callinicus of Heliopolis, defends Constantinople by his Greek fire, vi. 14
- Callixene, a priestess of Ceres, in the time of Julian, ii. 506
- Calmucks, black, return from the confines of Russia to those of China, iii. 105
- Calocerus, a camel driver, excites an insurrection in the island of Cyprus, ii. 242
- Calo-John, the Bulgarian chief, receives the royal title from Innocent III., v. 467. His war with Baldwin, the Latin emperor of the Greeks, vi. 461. Defeats, and takes him prisoner, 462. His savage character and death, 468
- Calpurnius, his eclogue on the accession of the emperor Carus, i. 382. Description of the Coliseum, 389
- Calvin, the reformer. His doctrine of the Eucharist, vi. 137. Examination of his conduct to Servetus, 138
- Camisards of Languedoc, compared with the Circumcellions of Numidia, ii. 439
- Campania, a part of the present kingdom of Naples, i. 23. Desolated by imperial exactions, ii. 221. Occupied by Alaric, iii. 389. Relieved for five years from four-fifths of the ordinary tribute, 458. Its Roman villas, iv. 62

- Campania, ζ Campi Catalaunici, Champagne, the Allemanni encamp and are defeated there, iii. 41. Occupied by Attila, iii. 550
notes
- Candidianus, son of Galerius, i. 479
- Cannæ, battle of, vi. 191
- Cannibalism, alleged, of the Attacotti, iii. 53. Pretended of the crusaders, vi. 316
- Cannon, erroneously said to have been early known in Hindostan and to the Chinese, vii. 11. Asserted use of them by Timour, 65. Enormous one of the sultan Mahomet II. described, vii. 193. Bursts, 204
- Cantabrians, the last people of Spain who submitted to the Romans, i. 21
- Cantacuzene, John, character of his Greek history, vi. 538. His good fortune under the younger Andronicus, 547. His rejoicing, 548. Is driven to assume the purple, 550. His lively distinction between foreign and civil war, 551. His entry into Constantinople, and reign, 552. Abdicates, and turns monk, 558. His war with the Genoese factory at Pera, 563. His friendship with Amir the son of Aidin, vii. 29. Marries his daughter to Orchan, vi. 552; vii. 31. His negotiation with pope Clement VI., vii. 96
- Cantacuzene, Matthew, invested with the purple by his father John, vi. 557
- Capelianus, governor of Mauritania, defeats the younger Gordian, i. 206
- Capiculi, the palatine troops of the Porte, vii. 197
- Capistran, a Franciscan friar, assists in the defence of Belgrade, vii. 170
- Capitation-tax, under the Roman emperors, ii. 221
- Capito, Ateius, the civilian, his character, iv. 544
- Capitol, destroyed in the time of Vespasian and restored, ii. 103. The roof gilt by Catulus, iv. 6. Residence of the civil magistrate, 47. Described, vii. 256. Petrarch crowned there, 289. Remains of the ancient edifice seen by Poggio and still existing, 342. Absurd notions entertained respecting it in the middle ages, 360
- Capitoline games instituted by Domitian, vii. 288
note
- Capizucchi, a Roman family, vii. 280
- Cappadocia, its ancient kingdom, i. 26. Supplied the Roman cavalry with horses, 15. Its imperial estates, ii. 211. Its generous race of horses, 212
- Caracalla, son of the emperor Severus, his fixed antipathy to his brother Geta, i. 148. Supposed to be the Caracul of Ossian, 149. Succeeds to the empire jointly with Geta, 152. Murders him, 153. Orders a general massacre at Alexandria, 157. Tendency of his edict to extend the privileges of Roman citizens to all the free inhabitants of his empire, 182. His view in this transaction, 190. Doubles the tax on legacies and inheritances,

190. His nurse and preceptor Christians, ii. 126
- Caracorum, the Tartar settlement of, described, vii. 18
- Caractacus, his fortitude, i. 4
- Carausius, his revolt in Britain, i. 402. Is acknowledged by Diocletian and his colleagues, 404. Is murdered by Allectus, 405
- Carbeas the Paulician, his revolt from the Greek emperor to the Saracens, vi. 128
- Cardinals, their origin, v. 347. The election of a pope vested in them, vii. 269. Institution of the conclave, 270
- Carduchians, implore the protection of Trajan, i. 7. Their mountainous territory, 422. Ancestors of the Curds, 423; vi. 367
- Carduene, ceded to Rome by the Persians, i. 422
- Carinus, the son of Carus, i. 382. Created Cæsar and governor of the West, 383. Succeeds his father in the empire, 385. His vices, 386. His magnificent games, 387. His death, 394
- Carizmians, conquered by the Saracens, v. 487. Invade Syria, vi. 388. Defeated by Zingis, vii. 8. Subdued by Timour, 164
- Carloman, (Coloman, Kalmeny, Kalomannus), king of Hungary, vi. 295, 296, 306. His victories in Croatia and Dalmatia, 306 *note*
- Carlovingian race of kings, commencement of in France, v. 314
- Carmath, the Arabian reformer, his character, vi. 55. His military exploits, 56
- Caroccium, the great standard of the Lombards, adopted by the cities of Italy, v. 355. That of Milan deposited in the Capitol of Rome, vii. 265
- Carpilio, son of Ætius, iii. 534
- Carrhæ, or Haran, temple of the moon at, i. 159. Crassus defeated there, *ib.* Overthrow of Galerius on the plain near it, 417. Adhered to Paganism in the sixth century, ii. 74 *note*. Julian halts there, ii. 550
- Carthage, the early centre of commerce and empire, i. 28. Its splendour under the dominion of Rome, 55. Religious discord generated there by the factions of Cæcilian and Donatus, ii. 376. Its five hundred ecclesiastical ministers, 362
- Carthage, the temple of Venus there converted into a Christian church, iii. 233. Conference held there condemns the Donatists, 478. Is surprised by Genseric, 487
- Carthage, the gates of, opened to Belisarius, iv. 335. Alterations produced by time in its site, 336 *note*. The walls of, repaired by Belisarius, 337. A synod held there suppresses the Arian worship, 342. Insurrection of the Roman troops there, 465
- Carthage, is reduced and pillaged by Hassan, v. 550. Subsequent history of, 550
- Carus, emperor, a chief trained by Aurelian and Probus, i. 372. His election and character, 381. His eastern conquests, 384. His death, 385
- Cashgar, or Kashgar, a frontier province of the Chinese

- empire, v. 485 *note*. War with Timour, vii. 47. Conquered by him, 52
- Casilinum, battle of, victory of Narses over Buccelin, iv. 500
- Cassian, duke of Mesopotamia, ii. 300
- Cassians, a party among the Roman civilians, iv. 545
- Cassiodorus, his Gothic history, i. 275. His account of the infant state of Venice, iii. 561. Invented the early chronicle of the Goths, iv. 203 *note*. Character of his *Libri Variarum*, or official letters, 214. Minister of Theodoric, 224. Public services of his family in four successive generations, *ib. note*. His long and prosperous life, 224. His epistles afford illustrations of Theodoric's government, 229, 231. Minister of Amalasontha, 357
- Cassius, Avidius, his rebellion, i. 83 *note*; 88
- Castinus, master-general of the Roman army in Spain, iii. 475
- Castriot, John, Prince of Albania, vii. 171
- Castriot, George. *See* Scanderbeg.
- Catalans, their country and origin of their name, v. 337; vi. 527 *note*. Form their Grand Company, 528. Their services and rebellion in the Greek empire, 529, 531. Defeat Walter de Brienne and seize the duchy of Athens, 533. Assist the Venetians in their war against the Genoese, 566
- Catapan, governor of the Greek Theme of Lombardy, vi. 182, and *note*
- Catharine, titular heiress of the empire of Constantinople, vi. 483, and *note*
- Catharine, of Siena, her influence over Gregory XI., vii. 317, and *note*
- Catholic Church, the doctrines of, how discriminated from the opinions of the Platonic school, ii. 385. The authority of, extended to the minds of mankind, 387. The Arian controversy, 388. The doxology, how introduced, and how perverted, 430. The revenue of, transferred to the heathen priests by Julian, 518
- Catholic, edict of Theodosius, for the establishment of the Catholic faith, iii. 168. The progressive steps of idolatry in, 245
- Catholic, persecution of the Catholics in Africa, iv. 98. Pious frauds of the Catholic clergy, 106
- Catholic, how bewildered by the doctrine of the Incarnation, v. 126. Temporary union of the Greek and Latin churches, 169
- Catholic, schism of the Greek Church, vi. 396
- Catibah, the camel-driver, his conquests, v. 487
- Catti, or Khass, a tribe in Germany, fathers of the Hessians, join the Franks, i. 298
- Caucaland, Athanaric retires into, iii. 111
- Caucasus, Caspian and Iberian gates of, iv. 307
- Cava, story of, v. 556
- Cazan, a Persian prince of the house of Zingis, vii. 23

- Ceaulin, grandson of Cerdic, king of Wessex, iv. 178
- Cecrops, commander of the Dalmatian guards, conspires against Gallienus, i. 323
- Celestine, pope, espouses the party of Cyril against Nestorius, v. 135
- Celtiberians, the most powerful native tribe in Spain, i. 21
- Celtic Gaul, a Roman province, i. 22
- Censor, the office of, revived by the emperor Decius, i. 283. But without effect, 286
- Census, or general survey of landed property, ii. 219
- Ceramio, battle of, vi. 204
- Cerca, the principal queen of Attila receives Maximin the Roman ambassador, iii. 521
- Cerdic, or Kerdic, the first king of Wessex, iv. 178
- Cerinthus, his doctrine, v. 122
- Cerroni, a tribune of Rome, vii. 311
- Ceuta, Septa, or Septem, fortified by Justinian, iv. 342. Held by the Goths, vi. 82 *note*
- Chaboras, Aboras, Chebar, Habor, or Khabour, its conflux with the Euphrates, i. 220. Miscalled by Xenophon Araxes, 422. Boundary between the Roman and Persian empires, 423; ii. 551
- Chagan. *See* Avars and Khan.
- Chaibar, seat of the Jewish power in Arabia, v. 430
- Chalcedon, taken by the Goths, i. 301. Its situation, ii. 165. A tribunal erected there by the emperor Julian, to try the ministers of Constantius, 476
- Chalcedon, a stately church built there by Rufinus, iii. 259. Synod held in it, 446
- Chalcedon, is taken by Chosroes II., king of Persia, v. 101. General council of, 147, 162
- Chalcondyles, Laonicus, accompanies the emperor John Palæologus on his visit to the Western States of Europe. His description of them, vii. 101, 105
- Chalons, battles of, between Aurelian and Tetricus, i. 342. Between Jovinus and the Allemanni, iii. 41. Between the Romans and Attila, 55
- Chamavians, the, reduced by Julian, ii. 319
- Chant, the Gregorian, v. 42
- Chapters, the three, subject of dispute, v. 162
- Charegites, converted by Mahomet, v. 420. Rebel against Othman, 455. Plot the assassination of Ali, 458
- Chariot-races, how conducted by the Romans and attended by the emperors, ii. 473. Difference between those of Greece and Rome, iv. 258
- Charlemagne, his management of his domains, iv. 155 *note*. His friendship with pope Adrian I., v. 313. Conquers the kingdom of Lombardy, 314. His reception at Rome, 317. Eludes fulfilling the promises of Pepin and himself to the Roman pontiff, 320. Admits the false decretals and donation of Constantine, 321. His coronation at Rome by the pope, Leo III., 330. His

- reign and character, 331.
Extent of his empire, 335.
His neighbours and enemies, 337. His successors, 341.
His negotiations and treaty with the Eastern empire, 344. State of his family and dominions in the tenth century, vi. 107. Obtains the marbles of Rome and Ravenna for his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, v. 320; vii. 40
- Charles the Fat, emperor of the West, v. 342
- Charles of Anjou, subdues Naples and Sicily, vi. 522. The *Sicilian Vespers*, 525. His character as a senator of Rome, vii.
- Charles IV., emperor of Germany, his weakness and poverty, v. 360. His public ostentation, 361. Contrast between him and Augustus, 362
- Charles V., emperor, parallel between him and Diocletian, i. 434. And between the sack of Rome by his troops, and that by Alaric the Goth, iii. 388
- Charles VIII., of France, takes the title of emperor of the East, vii. 271
- Chauci, a German tribe, i. 292
- Chazars, or Chozars, enter into alliance with the emperor Heraclius, v. 103. The emperor Constantine Copronymus marries the daughter of their Khan, 223; vi. 94. Settle in Hungary, 149
- Cherson, assisted Constantine against the Goths, ii. 247. Justinian II. banished there, v. 213. His cruel persecution of the inhabitants, 217.
- Wolodomir married there to Anne, daughter of the emperor Romanus III., vi. 175
- Chersonesus Taurica, Crim Tartary or Crimea, its early history, i. 299. Plundered by the Goths, 300. The republic of Cherson, on its western coast, assists Constantine against the Goths, ii. 247. A colony of Goths planted there by Justinian, iv. 307
- Chersonesus, Thracian, fortified by Justinian, iv. 298
- Cherusci, a German tribe, i. 292
- Chess, by whom invented, iv. 433
- Chiauss, the Great, vi. 88
- Childebert I., attacks Auvergne, iv. 160
- Childebert II., receives a subsidy from the pope to attack the Lombards, v. 25
- Childeric I., banished by the Franks, iv. 30. Resides among the Thuringians; their queen elopes with him, 121. Clovis their son, *ib.*
- Childeric II., deposed by pope Zachary, v. 315
- China, how distinguished in ancient history, i. 414 *note*. Great numbers of children exposed there, ii. 58 *note*
- China, the high chronology claimed by the historians of, iii. 96. The great wall of, when erected, 99. Was twice conquered by the northern tribes, 100. Invaded by the Siempè, or Topa, 307
- China, cultivation of the mulberry and manufacture of silk there, v. 269. Trade in this commodity, 271-276. The art of printing early

- known to the Chinese, 277. Their wars with the Turks, 419
- China, the Nestorian missionaries introduce Christianity, v. 176
- China, the friendship of the victorious Arabs solicited, v. 488. Paper imported from China to Samarcand, *ib. note*
- China, is conquered by the Moguls, vii. 7, 10. Reign of Cublai, 20. Expulsion of the Moguls, 20
- Chlienes, an Armenian prince, v. 236
- Chnodomar, prince of the Allemanni, taken prisoner by Julian at the battle of Strasburg, ii. 317
- Chosroes, king of Armenia, assassinated by the emissaries of Sapor, i. 307
- Chosroes, the white palace of, at Ctesiphon, plundered by the Saracens, v. 480. Its rich spoils, 481
- Chosroes, son of Tiridates, king of Armenia, ii. 256
- Chosroes I., or Nushirvan, king of Persia, protects the last surviving philosophers of Athens, iv. 315. Review of his history, 427. Sells a peace to Justinian, 434. His invasion of Syria, 436. His negotiations with Justinian, 456. His prosperity, 458. Conquers Yemen, v. 47. Battle of Melitene, v. 49. His death, 50
- Chosroes II., or Purvis, king of Persia, is raised to the throne on the deposition of his father Hormouz, v. 56. Is reduced to implore the assistance of the emperor Maurice, 57. His restoration and policy, 60. Regrets the death of the emperor Maurice, 81. Conquers Syria, 82. Palestine, 83. Egypt and Asia Minor, 84. His reign and magnificence, 86. Rejects the Mahometan religion, 88. Imposes an ignominious peace on the emperor Heraclius, 90. Defeated by Heraclius, 94, 98, 99, 104. His flight, deposition, and death, 107, 108, 109
- Chosroes, king of Eastern Armenia, iii. 464
- Christ, when crucified, ii. 67 *note*; 98 *note*. Image of, borne as a military ensign, v. 52, 94. His statue at Paneas, 289. His picture at Edessa, 289. His sepulchre destroyed by Chosroes II., 84. Pilgrimages to it, vi. 270. Recovered by the crusaders, 337. Recognised as an apostle of God in the Koran, v. 401
- Christianity, its progress and establishment, ii. 1. Five causes assigned, 3. Based on the Mosaic law, but its zeal more liberal, 7. Its first sects, 9. Assisted by the philosophy of the age, 15 *note*. Its progress assisted by the large funds of its priesthood, but its spirit corrupted, 58. Promoted by the scepticism of the Pagans, 64. Historical view of its extension, 65. Its slow progress in the West, 71. Not confined to the Roman empire, 70. Received by all orders of men, 76. Lost its internal purity as its outward splendour increased,

77. Its public establishment in the Roman empire, 327. Cautiously accelerated by Constantine, 328. Compared with the philosophical system of Plato, 380. Effects of its intestine divisions, 440. Julian's aversion and its causes, 480. Its altered character, 493 *note*. Its easy and lasting victory under the emperor Jovian, iii. 4. Adopted by the Roman senate, 229. Corrupted by Pagan ceremonies, 253. Influence of its abuses on the fall of the Roman empire, iv. 194. Preached to the Goths by Ulphilas, 91. Change produced by it in their moral and political condition, 95. Deeply rooted in Abyssinia, v. 195. Adopted by Olga, great princess of Russia, vi. 175

Christians, primitive, the various sects into which they branched out, ii. 14. Ascribed the pagan idolatry to the agency of demons, 17. Believed the end of the world to be near at hand, 25. The miraculous powers ascribed to the primitive church, 31. Their faith stronger than in modern times, 35. Their superior virtue and austerity, 36. Repentance, a virtue in high esteem among them, 37. Censure of luxury, 40. Their notions of marriage and chastity, 41. They disclaim war and government, 43. Were active, however, in the internal government of their own society, 44. Bishops, 46.

VOL. VII.

Synods, 48. Metropolitans and primates, 51. Bishop of Rome, 51. Their probable proportion to the pagan subjects of the empire before the conversion of Constantine the Great, 74. Inquiry into their persecutions, 81. Why more odious to the governing powers than the Jews, 85. Their religious meetings suspected, 91. Supposed secret rites, 91. Are persecuted by Nero, 97. Instructions of the emperor Trajan to Pliny the Younger for the regulation of his conduct towards them, 107. Remained exposed to popular resentment at public festivities, 108. Legal mode of proceeding against them, 110. The ardour with which they courted martyrdom, 120. When allowed to erect places for public worship, 127. Their persecution under Diocletian and his colleagues, 139. An edict of toleration for them published by Galerius, 152. Some considerations necessary to be attended to in reading the sufferings of the martyrs, 155. Edict of Milan published by Constantine the Great, 331. Political recommendations of the Christian morality to Constantine, 333. Theory and practice of passive obedience, 334. Their loyalty and zeal, 337. The sacrament of baptism, how administered in early times, 351. Extraordinary propagation of Christianity after it obtained the imperial sanction, 353.

2 c

- Becomes the established religion of the Roman empire, 356. Spiritual and temporal powers distinguished, 356. Review of the episcopal order in the Church, 358. The ecclesiastical revenue of each diocese, how divided, 365. Their legislative assemblies, 371. Edict of Constantine the Great against heretics, 374. Mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, 382. The doctrines of the Catholic Church, how discriminated from the opinions of the Platonic school, 385. General character of the Christian sects, 440. Christian schools prohibited by the emperor Julian, 519. The Christians are removed from all offices of trust, 521. Are obliged to reinstate the pagan temples, 522. Their imprudent and irregular zeal against idolatry, 535
- Christians, distinction of, into *vulgar* and ascetic, iv. 68. Conversion of the barbarous nations, 90
- Christopher, son of Romanus Lecapenus, v. 243
- Chrysanthius, Neo-Platonist, 507
- Chrysaphius, the eunuch, engages Edecon to assassinate Attila, iii. 526. Is put to death by the empress Pulcheria, 529. Was present at the second council of Ephesus, v. 144
- Chrysocheir, general of the revolted Paulicians, vi. 129. His death, 130
- Chrysoloras, Manuel, the Greek envoy, his character, vii. 138. His comparison of Rome and Constantinople, 149
- Chrysopolis, battle of, between Constantine the Great and Licinius, i. 493. Now Scutari, ii. 165
- Chrysostom, St., his computation of the number of Christians in Antioch, ii. 67. His objections to death-bed baptism, 352 *note*. His eloquence, 371. His account of the luxury of the emperor Arcadius, iii. 422. Protects his fugitive patron Eutropius, 435. His promotion to the archiepiscopal see of Constantinople, 441. His character and administration, 442. His persecution and exile, 446. His death, 450. His relics removed to Constantinople, 450. His encomium on the monastic life, iv. 74 *note*
- Churches, Christian, first erected, ii. 127. Demolition of, under Diocletian, 146. Splendour of, under Constantine the Great, 364. Seven, of Asia, fate of, vii. 141
- Cibalıs, battle of, i. 482
- Cicero, the legacies which he received, i. 189. His view as to the immortality of the soul, ii. 21. Did not understand Plato's Timæus, 385 *note*. His encomium on the Twelve Tables, iv. 529. His discourse on the ballot, 531 *note*. His ridicule of legacy-hunters misunderstood by Cujacius, 538 *note*. His friendship for Servius Sulpicius, 541. System of his "Republic," 542. His char-

- acter of, and correspondence with, Trebatius, 543
- Cilicia, a Roman province bordering on Syria, i. 26. Conquered by Sapor, 309. Heraclius encamps there on his first expedition, v. 71. Reduced by the Saracens, v. 522. Recovered by the Greek emperors, vi. 65. Occupied by Tancred, 321. The emperor Frederic Barbarossa drowned there, 358
- Circassians, supply a large part of the Mamalukes, vi. 393. Their dynasty prevails among them, vii. 60
- Circesium, the Carchemish of Scripture. Its situation, i. 220. Fortified by Diocletian, 423. Almost insulated, iii. 15. An important frontier station, iv. 302
- Circumcellions of Africa, Donatist schismatics, iii. 393. Their religious suicides, 396. Persecution of, by the emperor Honorius, 478. Assist the Vandals, 479
- Circus, Roman, the four factions in, described, iv. 259. Constantinople, and the Eastern empire, distracted by similar factions, 260
- Circus Agonalis, its carnival sports, vii. 357
- Civilians of Rome, origin of the profession, iv. 539
- Civilis, the Batavian, his revolt against the Romans, i. 268
- Clairvaux, a monastic colony from Citeaux, brought by Bernard, vi. 360
- Clari, title given by Constantine to his senators of the second order, ii. 179 *note*
- Clarissimi, the senators of Old Rome, so styled, ii. 179 *note*. Or *honourable*, title given by Constantine to his magistrates of the third class, 183. Its members, 193
- Claudian the poet, iii. 265. Celebrates the murder of Rufinus, 271. His epigram on the old man of Verona, 294. His description of the banks of the Rhine, 318. His death and character, 333. His character of the eunuch Eutropius, 455
- Claudius, invested with the purple in the camp of the Prætorians, compelled the senate to ratify their choice, i. 81. His character, 90
- Claudius II., defends Thermopylæ in the Gothic war, i. 284 *note*. On the Danube, 305 *note*. His elevation to the throne, character, and reign, 324, 329. His death, 333
- Cleander, minister of the emperor Commodus, i. 102, 105
- Clematius, murdered by Gallus, ii. 281 *note*
- Clemens, Flavius, and his wife Domitilla, why distinguished as Christian martyrs, ii. 105
- Clement III., pope, and the emperor Henry III. mutually confirm each other's sovereign characters, vi. 218
- Clement V., pope, transfers the holy see from Rome to Avignon, vii. 275. On his election immediately promotes ten cardinals, nine of whom are French, 275 *note*
- Clement VI., pope, his negotiation with John Cantacuzene, vii. 96. Buys Avignon of Jane, queen of Naples, 275 *note*. Insti-

- tutes the second or Mosaic jubilee, 276
- Clement VII., pope, his election disputed, vii. 321
- Cleodamus, an engineer employed by the emperor Gallienus, i. 303
- Clepho, king of the Lombards, v. 17
- Clergy, their influence in a superstitious age, i. 66. When first distinguished from the laity, ii. 53. The ranks and numbers of, how multiplied, 361. Their immunities, 361. Their property, 363. Their offences only cognisable by their own order, 366. Privileges among the Visigoths, iv. 170
- Clermont, the capital of Auvergne, resists Euric and the Visigoths, iv. 45. Is taken by Childebert I., king of Paris, 160 *note*. Great council held there by Urban II., vi. 283
- Clodion, the first of the Merovingian kings in Gaul, iii. 540, 541
- Clodius Albinus. *See* Albinus.
- Clotilda, niece of the king of Burgundy, is married to Clovis, iv. 127. Exhorts him to the Gothic war, 137
- Clovis, king of the Franks, his descent and reign, iv. 121. Various forms of his name, *ib. note*. Defeats the Allemanni at Tolbiac, 125. His conversion, 127. His victory over the Visigoths near Poitiers, 130. Conquers Aquitain, 142. His consulship, 142. His reformation of the law, 146. His policy, 154
- Cniva, king of the Goths, i. 283
- Code of Justinian, iv. 548. New edition of, 556
- Codicils, an innovation ratified by Augustus, iv. 544. How admitted by the Roman law respecting testaments, 579
- Cœnobites, in monkish history, described, iv. 86
- Cognats, regarded in the twelve tables as strangers and aliens, iv. 576
- Cohortes Urbanæ, city cohorts, watched over the safety of the capital, i. 19. Inferior in rank and discipline, 104 *note*
- Coil, king of Britain, fabulous father of Helena, i. 446 *note*
- Colchis, one of Trajan's eastern conquests, i. 7. The modern Mingrelia, described, iv. 444. Manners of the natives, 445. Revolt of, from the Romans to the Persians, and repentance, 449. Colchian war in consequence, 453. Alliance with Heraclius in his war against Persia, v. 99
- Collyridian heretics, account of, v. 398
- Colonna, Sciarra, joins Nogaret in his attack on Boniface VIII. at Anagni, vii. 273
- Colonna, Stephen the Younger, driven from Rome by Rienzi, vii. 295. Slain, 308
- Colonna, history of the Roman family of, vii. 280
- Colossus of Rhodes, account of, v. 523
- Columba, or Columbkil, founds the monastery of Iona, iv. 74
- Columbanus, founds monasteries at Luxovium and Bobium, iv. 74 *note*. His austere rule, 80 *note*

- Comana, the rich temple of, suppressed, ii. 212. Its temple dedicated to Bellona, vi. 240 *note*
- Comans, or Cumans, a large colony of them admitted into Hungary, vi. 158, 462 *note*
- Combat, judicial, origin of, in the Salic laws, iv. 152. The laws of, according to the assize of Jerusalem, vi. 365. Apology for the practice of, 152 *note*
- Comes Castrensis, the superintendent of the imperial table, ii. 208 *note*
- Comito, sister of the empress Theodora, iv. 251
- Commentiolus, his disgraceful warfare against the Avars, v. 69
- Commerce, of the East, iv. 74. Of Colchis, 445. Foundation of the greatness of Venice, vi. 412. Treaty of, between the Greek empire and the Genoese, vi. 567
- Commodus, emperor, his education, character, and reign, i. 97. His infamous life, 105. He exhibits as a gladiator, 107. His death, 110. His memory branded with infamy by the senate, 113. His concubine Marcia induces him to favour the Christians, ii. 126
- Comneni, origin of the family of, v. 256. Their first elevation to the throne, 256. They depose Nicephorus Botaniates, 262. Extent and revenues of their empire, vi. 187. Their occupation of Trebizond, vi. 459. Their final extinction, vii. 232
- Confarreation, a Roman marriage rite, v. 564
- Confederates, a promiscuous armed multitude collected from various nations and tribes, iv. 56. Place themselves under the command of Odoacer, 58
- Conrad III., emperor, engages in the second crusade, vi. 351. His disastrous expedition, 357
- Conrad, duke of Franconia, killed while repelling an invasion of the Hungarians, vi. 158
- Conrad of Montferrat defends Tyre against Saladin, vi. 376. Is assassinated, 505
- Conradin, cruel fate of, vi. 522
- Constance, treaty of, by which the freedom of the Italian cities is acknowledged, v. 348. Council, established the authority of a general council above the pope, vii. 112. Deposed three rival popes and elected Martin V., 327
- Constans, the third son of Constantine the Great, is sent to govern the western provinces of the empire, ii. 242. Division of the empire between him and his brothers, 253. Is invaded by his brother Constantine, 262. Magnentius conspires against and kills him, 264. Espoused the cause of Athanasius against his brother Constantius, 413. Visited Britain, iii. 52
- Constans, son of the usurper Constantine, iii. 401
- Constans II., emperor of Constantinople, his reign, v.

209. His death, 211. Proposed to restore the seat of empire to Rome, vi. 110. Visited, plundered, and left the city, *ib.* vii. 349
- Constantia, sister of Constantine the Great, is married to Licinius, i. 477. Intercedes for her husband, 493. Her son is saved by her entreaties, ii. 234. She pleads for him again, but in vain, 237
- Constantia, princess, granddaughter of Constantine the Great, is carried by her mother to the camp of the usurper Procopius, iii. 17. Narrowly escapes falling into the hands of the Quadi, 76. Marries the emperor Gratian, 80
- Constantia, daughter of Roger, king of Sicily, is married to the emperor Henry VI., vi. 235
- Constantina, daughter of Constantine the Great, and widow of Hannibalianus, ii. 265. Is married to Gallus, 280. Her character, 281. Dies, 284
- Constantina, widow of the Eastern emperor Maurice, v. 78
- Constantine the Great, great grandson of Crispus, brother of Claudius II., i. 331; opinions as to the place of his birth, 446. His history, 447. He is saluted emperor by the British legions on the death of his father, 449. His brothers and sisters, 450. He marries Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, 455. Puts Maximian to death, 461. General review of his administration in Gaul, 463. Undertakes to deliver Rome from the tyranny of Maxentius, 466. Defeats Maxentius, and enters Rome, 474. His alliance with Licinius, 477. Quarrel between them, 478. Defeats Licinius, 483, 484. Peace concluded with Licinius, 485. Rigorous laws, 486. Chastises the Goths, 488. Second civil war with Licinius, 489. Battle of Hadrianople, 323. Siege of Byzantium, 492. Battle of Chrysopolis (now Scutari), 493. Death of Licinius, 494. Constantine sole emperor, *ib.*
- Constantine, declares himself the protector of the Church, ii. 148. Arrests the persecution prepared by Maximin, 155. Motives which induced him to make Byzantium the capital of his empire, ii. 161. Ascribes his determination to a divine command, 169. Despoils other cities of their ornaments to decorate his new capital, 173. Ceremony of dedicating his new city, 180. His new form of civil and military administration, 181. Three classes of magistrates and four divisions of office, 183. Separates the civil from the military, 199. Corrupted military discipline, 200. Was the first who raised Barbarians to the consulship, 206. Seized the rich temple of Comana, 212. Instituted the general tribute, or indiction, 217. His character, 229. His family, 233. Jealous of his son Crispus, 236. Mysterious

deaths of Crispus and Licinius, 237. His repentance and acts of atonement inquired into, 238. His sons and nephews, 240. Sends them to superintend the several provinces of the empire, 242. Assists the Sarmatians, and provokes the Goths, 246. Reduces the Goths to peace, 248. His death, 249. Date of his conversion to Christianity, 327. His pagan superstition, 330. Protects the Christians in Gaul, 331. Publishes the edict of Milan, 331. Motives which recommended the Christians to his favour, 334. Exhorts his subjects to embrace the Christian profession, 337. His standard the *Labarum*, 340. His vision previous to his battle with Maxentius, 344. Story of the miraculous cross in the air, 346. His conversion accounted for, from natural and probable causes, 347. His theological discourses, 349. His devotion and privileges, 350. The delay of his baptism accounted for, 351. Is commemorated as a saint by the Greeks, 353. Educated a race of princes in the Christian faith, 354. Retained the supreme jurisdiction over the Church, 358. His liberality to the clergy increased in proportion to his faith and his vices, 364. Forgery of his edict, 366. Referred the Trinitarian controversy to the council of Arles, 372. Called and attended the council of Nice, 373. His edict against

heretics, 375. His jest with Acesius, 376. Favours the cause of Cæcilian against Donatus, 378. His letter to the contending parties not dictated by his episcopal advisers, 401. Ratified the Nicene creed, 402. Banished and recalled Arius and Eusebius of Nicomedia, *ib.* Deposed and banished Athanasius and his friends, 403. Baptized by the Arian Eusebius, *ib.* Granted a toleration to his pagan subjects, 442. His reform of pagan abuses, 442. Was associated with the heathen deities after his death, by a decree of the senate, 445. Erected the church of the holy sepulchre, 512. Introduced into the "Cæsars" of Julian, 538. His forbearance towards Paganism, impatiently supported by the clergy, iii. 222

Constantine II., the son of Constantine the Great, carefully educated by his father, ii. 241. Is sent to preside over Gaul, 242. Division of the empire between him and his brothers, on the death of their father, 253. Invades the territories of his brother Constans, and is killed, 262

Constantine III., emperor of Constantinople, v. 208

Constantine IV., Pogonatus, emperor of Constantinople, v. 211. His cruelty to his brothers, 212. Offered the hair of his two sons on the altar of St. Peter at Rome, as a symbol of their spiritual adoption, *ib.*

- Constantine V. [or VI.], Copronymus, emperor of Constantinople, his zeal against images, v. 220. Is denounced by their worshippers as an atheist stained with the most opposite vices, 221. His merits and virtues, *ib.* Marries a daughter of the khan of the Chazars, 246; vi. 94. Fates of his five sons, v. 223. Revolt of Artavasdus, and troubles on account of image worship, 298. Abolishes the monkish order, 299. Transplants the Paulicians from Armenia into Thrace, vi. 130
- Constantine VI. [or VII.], emperor of Constantinople, his contest with his mother Irene, v. 224. His death, 225
- Constantine VII. [or X. or XI.], Porphyrogenitus, emperor of Constantinople, v. 243. His nominal reign, 243. His death, 245. His cautions against discovering the secret of the Greek fire, vi. 13. Account of his works, 69. Their imperfections pointed out, 90. His account of the ceremonies of the Byzantine court, 92. Justifies the marriage of his son with Bertha, daughter of Hugo, king of Italy, 94
- Constantine VIII., emperor of Constantinople, v. 244
- Constantine IX., emperor of Constantinople, v. 351, 352
- Constantine X. [or XII. or XIII.], Monomachus, emperor of Constantinople, v. 254
- Constantine XI. [or XIII. or XIV.], Ducas, emperor of Constantinople, v. 258
- Constantine Palæologus, the last of the Greek emperors crowned at Sparta, vii. 177. Determines to resist Mahomet II., 188. Implores the assistance of the Western princes, 195. Consults with Phranza on his means of defence, 199. Subscribes the act of union between the two churches, 200. Prepares for a vigorous resistance, 206. His funeral oration of the Roman empire, 214. His courage in the last assault, 217. His death, 218
- Constantine, son of Michael VII., Ducas, v. 260. Affianced to a daughter of Robert Guiscard, and afterwards to Anna Comnena, vi. 206
- Constantine Sylvanus, his death, vi. 124
- Constantine, a private soldier in Britain, elected emperor for the sake of his name, iii. 321. He reduces Gaul and Spain, 322, 401. Is besieged in Arles by his general Gerontius, 403. Surrenders to Constantius and is put to death, 403. His rebellion opened the passes of the Pyrenees to the Vandals, Suevi and Alani, 408
- Constantine, eldest son of Heraclius, withdraws from Syria, v. 518. Attends the coronation of his younger brother, 519
- Constantine, general under Belisarius in Italy, his death, iv. 387
- Constantinople, its situation described, ii. 161. Its local advantages, 168. Its extent,

170. The walls of Constantine enclosed five hills, *ib.*
171. Progress of the work,
172. Principal edifices decorated with the spoils of other cities, 173. How furnished with inhabitants, 177. Privileges granted to it, 176. Its dedication, 180. New form of civil and military administration established there, 181. Is allotted to Constantine the Younger, 253. The only city in which idols had never been worshipped, 354, 432. Violent contests there between the rival bishops, Paul and Macedonius, 433. Between the Athanasians and Arians, 435. Triumphant entry of the emperor Julian, 471
- Constantinople, arrival of Valens, iii. 12. Revolt of Procopius, 14. Its school or college and public library, 26. The Goths repelled from its suburbs by Saracens, 136. Visited by Athanaric, 150. Continued the principal seat of Arianism during the reign of Constantius and Valens, 169. Is purged from it by the emperor Theodosius, 173. Installation of Gregory Nazianzen in its patriarchate, 174. Council of, 176. Many relics of saints and martyrs are brought there, 246. Alaric approaches, but refrains from attacking the city, 284. Tumult against Eutropius, 436. Arcadius admits Gainas and the Ostrogoths; insurrection of the people against them, 399. Elevation of Chrysostom to the patriarchal throne, 441. Riots caused by the persecution against him, 446. The new walls of Theodosius II. built, 454. Fifty-eight towers thrown down by an earthquake, 516
- Constantinople, distracted by the factions of the circus, iv. 260. The Nika sedition, 264. Foundation of the church of St. Sophia, 289. Other churches erected there by Justinian, 293. Triumph of Belisarius, 347. The city saved by him from the Bulgarians, 507
- Constantinople, revolt against the emperor Maurice, v. 73. The Persians encamp ten years before the city, 86. Its deliverance from the Persians and Avars, 102. Religious war about the Trisagion, 154. General councils, 164, 168. Tumults in the city to oppose the destruction of images, 298
- Constantinople, first siege of, by the Saracens, vi. 3. Second siege, 7. Harun al Rashid encamps before it, 39. The imperial palace of, 83. Titles of the imperial family, 86. Officers of state, 87. Naval and military character of the Greeks, 99. The name and character of Romans supported to the last, III. Decline and revival of literature, III. The royal college burnt, 112. The city menaced by the Hungarians, 155. Account of the Varangians, 161. Naval expeditions of the Russians against the city, 166. Alleged prophecy of

- its final capture by them, 169. Insulted by the Sicilian admiral, 228. Its gates shut against Godfrey and the crusaders, 310. Massacre of the Latins, 404. Conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders, 424. The city taken, and Isaac Angelus restored, 431. Part of the city burnt, 435. Second siege of the city by the Latins, 438. Is pillaged, 441. Statues destroyed, 447
- Constantinople, assigned with a fourth part of the monarchy to the Latin emperor of the East, vi. 450. Its gates sent as a trophy to the knights Hospitallers, 453. The Greeks rise against their Latin conquerors, 460. The city retaken by the Greeks, 482, 510. The suburb of Galata assigned to the Genoese, 560. Hostilities between the Genoese and the emperor, 560. How the city escaped the Moguls, vii. 21. The new fortifications raised by Manuel Palæologus, and destroyed at the command of Bajazet, 42. The distress of the city relieved for a time by Marshal Boucicault, 43. Is besieged by the sultan Amurath II., 86. Compared with Rome, 150. State of the city during the absence and after the return of the emperor John Palæologus, 154. Is besieged by Mahomed II., 195. Is stormed and taken, 219. Becomes the capital of the Turkish empire, 228. Its present aspect, 229
- Constantius Chlorus, trained by Aurelian and Probus, i. 372. Governor of Dalmatia, 387. Is associated as Cæsar by Diocletian, 399. Delivers Britain from Allectus, 407. And Gaul from the Allemanni, 434. Assumes the title of Augustus, on the abdication of Diocletian, 443. His mild government, 444. He embarks on his last expedition to Britain, 448. His death, 449. Granted a toleration to the Christians, ii. 147
- Constantius II., the second son of Constantine the Great, ii. 233. Governs, with the title of Cæsar, the Gallic provinces, 235. His education, 241. Is sent to govern the eastern provinces of the empire, 242. Seizes Constantinople on the death of his father, 251. Massacres his kinsmen, 252. Division of the empire between him and his brothers, 253. Restores Chosroes, king of Armenia, 256. Battle of Singara with Sapor, king of Persia, 258. Rejects the offers of Magnentius and Vetrico, 267. His oration to the Illyrian troops at the interview with Vetrico, 268. Defeats Magnentius at the battle of Mursa, 271. Obtains the submission of Italy, Spain, and Africa, 274, 275. Finally overcomes Magnentius at Mount Seleucus, 275. Sole emperor, 277. Education of his cousins Gallus and Julian, 279. Creates Gallus Cæsar and governor of the

- East, 280. Disgrace and death of Gallus, 284. Sends for Julian to court, 287. Invests him with the title of Cæsar, and the administration of the West, 291. Visits Rome, 294. Presents an obelisk to that city, 295. The Quadian and Sarmatian wars, 297. His Persian negotiations, 300. Mismanagement of affairs in the East, 307. Favours the Arians, 404. His religious character by Ammianus the historian, 405. His endeavours to establish an uniformity of Christian doctrine, 406. Athanasius driven into exile by the council of Antioch, 413. Is intimidated by his brother Constans, and invites Athanasius back again, 415. His severe treatment of those bishops who refused to concur in deposing Athanasius, 421. His scrupulous orthodoxy, 422. His cautious conduct in expelling Athanasius from Alexandria, 423. His strenuous efforts to seize his person, 424. Athanasius writes invectives to expose his character, 425. Is constrained to restore Liberius, bishop of Rome, 432. Supports Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, 436. His conduct toward his Pagan subjects, 443. His visit to the temples of Rome, 444. Envis the fame of Julian, 448. Recalls the legions from Gaul, 449. Negotiations between him and Julian, 456. His preparations to oppose Julian, 468.
- His death and character, 469
- Constantius, Julius, the patrician, ii. 233, 253
- Constantius, a general in the service of Honorius, obliges Gerontius to raise the siege of Arles, iii. 402. Defeats the Franks and Allemanni, 403. Sends the usurper Constantine a prisoner to Ravenna, *ib.* His marriage with Placidia and death, 466, 467
- Constantius, secretary to Attila, king of the Huns, iii. 515
- Consuls, their origin and office, i. 73. Their powers transferred to the emperor, 75. Officers nominally invested with the dignity still elected every year, 76. Naulobatus receives from Gallienus the ornaments of the consular dignity, 304. The election of consuls transferred by the first emperors from the people to the senate, ii. 184. Diocletian takes the nomination of them into his own hands, *ib.* During 120 years none present in Rome on the day of their inauguration, 184 *note.* Form of that ceremony, 185. Its expense, *ib.* Served only to denote the legal date of the year, *ib.* Their office still an object of ambition, and often assumed by the emperors themselves, 186. Bestowed on Barbarians by Constantine, 206. Cherished by Julian, 480. After the division of the empire, each emperor appoints one consul, iii. 423. Odoacer restores the office in the West, iv. 65.

- History of the consulship reviewed, 315. The office suppressed by Justinian, but not abolished by law till the reign of Leo the philosopher, 316. The name preserved in the municipalities of the Italian cities, v. 355. How given to the resident commercial agents of foreign powers, vii. 255
- Conti, a noble family of modern Rome, vii. 280
- Contracts, the Roman laws respecting, iv. 527
- Copiatæ, or grave-diggers, 1100 in Constantinople, ii. 363
- Coptos, destroyed by Diocletian, i. 410
- Copts, still use the era of martyrs, ii. 143 *note*. Their history, v. 188
- Corbulo, put to death, i. 3 *note*. His innocence, ii. 198 *note*
- Cordova, taken by the Saracens, v. 561. Abdelaziz slain there, 569. Its splendour, 572; vi. 28. The martyrs of, v. 581
- Corfu (ancient Corcyra), seized by Bohemond, vi. 208. Dangers of its seas, 208. Visited by the fourth crusade, 423
- Corinth, reviving as a Roman colony, celebrates the Isthmian games, under the emperor Julian, ii. 482. Taken by Alaric, iii. 28. Its walls repaired and the isthmus fortified by the emperor Justinian, iv. 297. Again fortified by Manuel Palæologus, vii. 111. Forced by the Turks, 231
- Cornwall, reduction of, by the Saxons, iv. 178. The western angle of Armorica so called, 180
- Corruptibles, a sect in the Monophysite church, v. 189
- Corsi, a powerful family in modern Rome, vii. 280
- Corsica, island of, i. 29. A place of banishment, iv. 106 *note*. A colony from, planted at Porto by pope Leo IV., vi. 47
- Corvinus. *See* Huniades and Matthias
- Cossova, battle of; league of the Sclavonians crushed by Amurath I., vii. 34
- Coucy, Sire de, vii. 38. Taken prisoner at Nicopolis, and dies at Bursa, 39
- Councils and synods:
 Alexandria, A.D. 326, ii. 409 *note*
 Ancyra, in Galatia, A.D. 314, ii. 60
 Antioch, A.D. 264, ii. 133
 A.D. 341, ii. 413
 Arles, A.D. 314, ii. 372
 A.D. 353, ii. 419
 Basil, eighteenth general, A.D. 1431-1443, vii. 112, 114, 128, 130
 Bithynia, A.D. 221, ii. 389
 Cæsarea, A.D. 334, ii. 411
 Carthage, A.D. 484, iv. 101
 A.D. 535, iv. 342
 Chalcedon, Ad Quercum, *the oak*, A.D. 403, iii. 446
 Chalcedon, fourth general, A.D. 451, v. 147
 Clermont, A.D. 1095, vi. 282
 Constance, seventeenth general, A.D. 1414-1418, vii. 113, 326
 Constantinople, second general, A.D. 384, iii. 176

- Councils and synods (*contd.*);
- Constantinople, fifth general, A.D. 553, v. 164
 - Constantinople, sixth general, A.D. 680, 681, v. 168
 - Constantinople. Iconoclast, A.D. 754, v. 294
 - Constantinople, eighth general, A.D. 869, vi. 400
 - Ephesus, third general, A.D. 431, v. 137
 - Ephesus, Robber Synod, A.D. 449, v. 145
 - Ferrara, A.D. 1438, vii. 121
 - Florence, A.D. 1439, vii. 123
 - Francfort, A.D. 794, v. 327
 - Hatfield (Hapfield, Heathfield, Bishop's Hatfield), A.D. 680, v. 169 *note*
 - Illiberis (according to Mariana, Eliberis, Elvira, near Granada. *See* another account, ii. 264 *note*). About A.D. 305, ii. 60; v. 286
 - Lateran, the First, A.D. 649, v. 167, 169 *note*
 - Lateran, the Fourth, twelfth general, A.D. 679, v. 169 *note*
A.D. 1215, vi. 384
 - Lyons, A.D. 500, iv. 132
 - Lyons, thirteenth general, A.D. 1245, vi. 475
 - Lyons, fourteenth general, A.D. 1274, vi. 518
 - Mantua, A.D. 1459, vii. 236
 - Milan, A.D. 355, ii. 419
 - Nice, first general, A.D. 325, ii. 372, 389
 - Nice, seventh general, A.D. 787, v. 325
 - Palestine, A.D. 321, ii. 389
 - Pisa, A.D. 1409, vii. 114, 325
 - Placentia, A.D. 1095, vi. 280
 - Rimini (Ariminum), A.D. 359, ii. 326, 399
 - Sardica, A.D. 347, ii. 515, 420 *note*
 - Seleucia, A.D. 359, ii. 397, 406
 - Toledo, A.D. 589, iv. 114
 - Toledo, A.D. 653, iv. 114 *note*
 - Toledo, from A.D. 400-696, their general character, iv. 170
 - Tyre, A.D. 335, ii. 411
- Councils, provincial, their origin, ii. 48. Convened by the primates or metropolitans, 370. General, or extraordinary, convoked by the emperor, *ib.* Submission of the Catholic world to them, 373. Declared by the council of Basil to be superior in authority to the pope, vii. 114
- Count, of the East, ii. 193. Great difference between the ancient and modern application of this title, 199. By whom first invented, 200. Of the sacred largesses, under Constantine the Great, his office, 210. Of the private estate, 211. Of the domestics in the Eastern empire, his office, 213
- Courtenay, history of the family of, vi. 488
- Cracow, ravaged by the Tartars, vii. 15
- Crescentius, consul of Rome, v. 352
- Crete, the isle of, subdued by the Saracens, vi. 42. Is recovered by Nicephorus Phocas, 64. Is purchased by the Venetians, 505
- Crinitus Ulpianus, a senator, i. 332
- Crispus, son of Constantine the Great, is declared Cæsar, i. 485. Distinguishes himself

- against the Franks and Allemanni, 488. Defeats the fleet of Licinius, 492. His character, ii. 234. His mysterious death, 237
- Crispus, the patrician, marries the daughter of Phocas, v. 78. Is obliged to turn monk, 81
- Croatia, account of the kingdom of, vi. 143
- Crocus, or Erocus, king of the Allemanni, i. 449
- Cross, sentiments entertained of this instrument of punishment, by the Pagan and Christian Romans, ii. 339. The standard in the army of Constantine the Great, described, 340. His vision, 341. Said to have appeared in the sky to the army of Constantius during the battle of Mursa, 403. The holy sepulchre and cross of Christ discovered, 513. The cross undiminished by distribution to pilgrims, 513. Carried into Persia by Chosroes, v. 84. Its recovery by Heraclius commemorated by the annual festival of the Exaltation, III. Symbolic worship introduced by the veneration of the cross, v. 286. Adopted by the crusaders, vi. 284
- Crotona, battle of, vi. 183
- Crusades, preparatory steps: Pilgrimage of the German prelates, vi. 274. Mission of Peter the hermit, 271. Letters and designs of Gregory VII., 280. Plans of Urban II., 281. Council of Placentia and embassy of Alexius, 281. Council of Clermont, the first crusade decided, 283. Urban declines to join it in person, 284. Inquiry into the justice of the undertaking, 285. Motives of the crusaders, 288. Inducements offered to them, 292. Extensive preparations, 293. Departure, adventures, and destruction of the four first divisions, 294-296. Princes of the first crusade, 297. March to Constantinople, 306-308. Fears and precautions of the emperor Alexius, 309-313. Muster in the plains of Bithynia, 314. Siege of Nice, 318. Battle of Dorylæum, 319. March through Lesser Asia, 321. Baldwin at Edessa, 321. Siege of Antioch, 322. Famine and distress, 325. Siege and conquest of Jerusalem, 332-336. Godfrey of Bouillon elected king, 338. Battle of Ascalon, *ib.* Knights Hospitallers, 341. Assize of Jerusalem, 342-347. Bohemond returns to Europe, 349. Princes who joined the first crusade, 351. The second and third, 352. Passage through the Greek empire, 353. March of Frederic Barbarossa, 356. His death, 358. Arts employed to keep alive enthusiasm, 359. Preaching of St. Bernard, 361. Zenghi takes Edessa, 363. Conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, 374. Siege of Acre, 377. Richard of England in Palestine, 378. His treaty and departure, 382. Fourth and fifth crusades; Damietta taken, 375. Policy of the popes, 385. The emperor Frederic II. in Palestine, 387. Sixth crusade,

390. Captivity of St. Louis in Egypt, 391. Loss of Acre and the Holy Land, 395. Fulk, of Neuilly, employed by Innocent III. to preach a crusade, 410. The fourth crusade diverted from its object to attack Zara, 419. And restore Alexius Angelus, 421. Conquest of Constantinople, 431. Quarrel of the Greeks and Latins, 435. Second capture of the city, 441. Consequences of the crusades, 483. Social improvement retarded by them, 486
- Ctesiphon, plundered by the Romans, i. 236. Its situation described, ii. 564. Julian declines the siege of that city, 569. Threatened by Heraclius, v. 108. Is sacked by Arabs, 481
- Cublai, Khan of the Mongols, conquers China, vii. 12. His reign and character, 18
- Cumæ, defence of, by Aligern, iv. 496. Its capture, 498
- Cunimund, his quarrel with Alboin, v. 6. Is slain in battle, 9. His skull used for a drinking cup by Alboin, 9, 14. The consequence, 15
- Curator, or guardian of the property of a youth, under the Roman law, iv. 572
- Curopolata, his office, vi. 88
- Cutulmish, a Seljukian prince, vi. 266
- Cynegius, prætorian prefect of the East, iii. 231
- Cyprian, exacted implicit obedience from his flock, ii. 51. Opposed the bishop of Rome, 53. His vehemence, 56. His imperious declamations, 61. His history and martyrdom, 117-118. His letters, 119
- Cyprus, Greeks massacred there by Jews, ii. 83. Reduced by Harun al Rashid, vi. 41. Restored to the Greek empire, 68. Conquered by Richard of England, and given by him to Guy of Lusignan, 406
- Cyrene, its early history, i. 28. Greeks massacred there by Jews, ii. 83. Deputed Synesius to present a crown of gold to Arcadius, iii. 291. Conquered by Chosroes II., v. 85
- Cyriades, is set up, by Sapor the Persian monarch, as emperor of Rome, i. 309
- Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, ii. 404 *note*. His ambiguous character, 514 *note*
- Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, ii. 499 *note*. His life and character, v. 127. His tyranny, 129. His jealousy and cruel murder of Hypatia, 130. Condemns the heresy of Nestorius, 135. Procures the decision of the council of Ephesus against Nestorius, 138. His court intrigues, 141. His death, 144
- Cyrus, prætorian prefect of the East, iii. 461
- Cyzicus, taken by the Goths, i. 303. Seized by the usurper Procopius, iii. 16

D

- DACIA, conquest of, by Trajan, i. 6. Its situation, 25. Is overrun by the Goths, 281. Is resigned to them by

- Aurelian, 334. And a new province of the same name formed by him south of the Danube, 335. This was made by Gratian a part of the Eastern empire, iii. 142
- Dagalaiphus, a general serving under Julian, ii. 465, under Jovian, ii. 582, and Valentinian, iii. 10. Declined the command in the Allemannic war, iii. 40
- Dagisteus, general of the emperor Justinian, besieges Petra, iv. 451. Commands the Huns in Italy under Narses, 490
- Dagobert, revised and promulgated the Salic code, iv. 146
- Daimbert, or Dagobert, archbishop of Pisa, patriarch of Jerusalem, vi. 338
- Dalmatia, described, i. 24. One of the latest and most difficult of the Roman conquests, 128. The native country of Diocletian, 395. His chosen retreat, 435. Furnished the flower of the imperial legions, iii. 371. Occupied by Marcellinus, iv. 30. Principality of the deposed emperor Julius Nepos, 55. Subdued by the Croats, 218. Traversed by the first crusaders, vi. 306. Part of the dominions of Venice, 413, 419
- Dalmatius, a brother of the emperor Constantine, ii. 233
- Dalmatius, son of the preceding, ii. 233. Created Cæsar, 240. Appointed governor of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, 242. Deposed, 251. Murdered, 252
- Dalmatius, archimandrite at Constantinople, v. 141
- Damascus, made the residence of the caliphs, v. 468. Siege of, by the Saracens, 492. Reduced both by storm and by treaty, 499. Muza returns there from Spain, 568. The Omniades massacred there, vi. 24. Deserted by Almansor for Bagdad, 25. Submitted to Zimisce, 67. Taken by the Seljukian Turks, 266. Held by them against the crusaders, 340. Taken by Nouredin, 363. Taken and destroyed by Tamerlane, vii. 62
- Damasus, bishop of Rome, iii. 34. His bloody contest with Ursinus for the episcopal dignity, ii. 449 *note*; iii. 36. His pride and pomp described by Ammianus Marcellinus, 37. Reproved by the prefect Prætextatus, 38
- Dames, the Arab, v. 516
- Damietta, or Pelusium, v. 532. Taken by the fifth crusade and evacuated, vi. 385; and by Louis IX. of France, 391
- Damophilus. *See* Demophilus
- Dandolo, Henry, doge of Venice, his character, vi. 414. His treaty with the French knights, 415. Diverts them to the siege of Zara, 419. To attack Constantinople, 422. His courage in the assault, 430. Refuses the imperial crown, 453. Is made despot of Romania, 453. His death, 454
- Danes, origin of the name, iii. 45 *note*. Invade Britain, iv. 175
- Daniel, bishop of Winchester, iv. 94

- Danielis, a Grecian matron, her presents to the emperor Basil, vi. 79. Her visit to him at Constantinople, 85. Her testament, 86
- Daphne, the sacred grove and temple of, at Antioch, ii. 524. Is converted to Christian purposes by Gallus, and restored to the pagans by Julian, 525. The temple burned, 526
- Dara, battle of, iv. 324
- Dara, the fortifications of, iv. 306. The demolition of, by the Persians, prevented by peace, 433. Is taken by Chosroes, king of Persia, v. 49
- Dardanus, prætorian prefect of Gaul, iii. 405
- Dargham, an Egyptian vizir, slain by Shiracouh, vi. 365
- Datianus, governor of Spain, ii. 148
- Datius, bishop of Milan, iv. 385. Escapes to Constantinople, 389
- Decebalus, king of the Dacians, i. 6
- Decemvirs, prepared the laws of the twelve tables, iv. 527. Assisted by Hermodorus, 527. Their laws approved by an assembly of the centuries, 530
- Decentius, brother of the rebel Magnentius, ii. 275
- Decimus, battle of, iv. 335.
- Decius, his exaltation to the empire, i. 275. Revives the office of censor, 284. Is killed by the Goths, 287. A persecutor of the Christians, ii. 114, 115, 174
- Decretals, false, forgery of them, v. 321
- Defensors, advocates of the people, appointed by Valentinian, iii. 27. Restored by Majorian, iv. 22
- Deification of the Roman emperors, i. 77
- Delators, or informers, i. 99, 144
- Delhi, taken by Timour, vii. 55
- Demetrius, the granddaughter of Proba, iii. 386
- Demetrius Palæologus, dissents from the union of the churches, vii. 127
- Demophilus, archbishop of Constantinople, iii. 169
- Demosthenes, governor of Cæarea, his gallant defence against, and escape from, Sapor, king of Persia, i. 310
- Demotica, of Didymoteichos, a town of Thrace, vi. 456. Be sieged by the Bulgarians, and relieved by Amir, vii. 29
- Dengi ich, son of Attila, iii. 566
- Deogratias, bishop of Carthage, iv. 7
- Derar, the Saracen, his character, v. 405. His sister an Amazon, 510
- Derbend, a fortified pass in Caucasus, iv. 307. Seized by Timour, vii. 52
- Dervishes, Mahometan monks, vi. 159
- Desiderius, the last king of the Lombards, conquered by Charlemagne, v. 314
- Despina, the queen of Bajazet, vii. 68
- Dexippus, defends Greece against the Goths, i. 304
- Diadumenus, son and colleague of Macrinus, i. 160. His death, 165
- D'Ibelin, count of Jaffa, compiled the Assises de Jerusalem, vi. 342
- Didius Julianus, purchases the

- imperial dignity at a public auction, i. 123. Popular discontent, 124. Deposed and put to death, 132
- Digest of Justinian. *See* Pandects.
- Dilemites, a people of Hyrcania, iv. 453
- Diocletian, his opinion of Aurelian, i. 357. Trained in the school of Aurelian and Probus, 372. His military election to the empire, 393. His birth and character, 395. Resembled Augustus as a statesman, 396. Ambitious of imitating Marcus Antoninus, 397. Takes Maximian for his colleague, 397. Associates as Cæsars, Galerius, and Constantius Chlorus, 399. Resigned Britain to Carausius, 404. His victories in Egypt, 410. His edict against the alchemists, 411. Watched at Antioch the Persian war, 416. His triumph in conjunction with Maximian, 424. Fixes his court at the city of Nicomedia, 426. His system of government, 427. Abdicates the empire, 433. Parallel between him and the emperor Charles V., 434. Passes his life in retirement at Salona, 437. His death, 437. Baths erected in his name at Rome, 451. His impartial behaviour toward the Christians, ii. 133. Causes that produced the persecution of the Christians under his reign, 136. Publication of his edict, 141. His palace at Nicomedia twice in flames, 143. Issues a series of cruel edicts, 147
- Diogenes, a magistrate of the Chersonites, ii. 248
- Diogenes, one of the philosophers who went to Persia, iv. 314
- Diogenes, a Byzantine general, iv. 485
- Dion Cassius, his record of the advice given by Mæcenas to Augustus, i. 38 *note*; ii. 137 *note*. Screened from the fury of the soldiers, by Alexander Severus, i. 179
- Dionysius, a friend of Origen, ii. 114
- Diophantus, philosopher, vi. 35
- Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, his outrageous behaviour at the second council of Ephesus, v. 145. Is deposed by the council of Chalcedon, 148
- Disabul, great khan of the Turks, iv. 424
- Ditch, battle of the, or of the nations, v. 429
- Divination, prohibited in the Roman army by Aurelian, i. 334. The general practice of it condemned under rigorous penalties by Constantine, 432
- Divorce, the liberty and abuse of, by the Roman laws, iv. 566. Limitations of, 568
- Docetes, their peculiar tenets, ii. 383; v. 120
- Dodona, oracle of, iv. 486 *note*
- Domestic, the Great, vi. 90
- Dominic, Loricatus, St., his fortitude in flagellation, vi. 289
- Dominus, when this epithet was applied to the Roman emperors, i. 429. Refused by the emperor Julian, ii. 480

Domitian, events of his reign, i. 4, 6. His treatment of his kinsmen Flavius Sabinus, and Flavius Clemens, ii. 105. His memory condemned by the senate, 106

Domitian, the oriental prefect, is sent by the emperor Constantius to reform the state of the East, ii. 282. Is put to death there, 283

Domitilla, niece of Domitian, and wife of Flavius Clemens, banished, i. 95

Donatus, his contest with Cæcilian for the see of Carthage, ii. 377. History of the schism of the Donatists, 377, 438. Persecution of the Donatists by the emperor Honorius, iii. 478. Its consequences, 479

Doria, Pagano, Genoese admiral, vi. 566

Dorylæum, battle of, vi. 319

Doxology, how introduced into the church service, and how perverted, ii. 431

Dragon, the visitor general employed by Constantine Copronymus to dissolve the monasteries, v. 299

Drogo, Duke of Apulia, vi. 193

Dromones of the Greek empire, described, vi. 99

Druids, their power in Gaul, i. 37

Drungarius, a military or naval commander in the Greek empire, vi. 90

Druses of Mount Libanus, a character of, vi. 273 *note*

Ducenarius, an imperial procurator, ii. 131, *note*

Duke, derivation of that title, ii. 200. Introduced into the cities of Italy by Narses, iv. 503

Dumatians, a tribe in the desert of Arabia, v. 387

Dunaan, a persecutor of the Christians in Arabia, iv. 459

Dura, where Jovian signed his treaty with Sapor, ii. 585

Durazzo, or Dyrrachium, passage to, from Brundisium, vi. 207. Siege of, by Robert Guiscard, 209. Battle of, between him and the Greek emperor Alexius, 212. The town taken, 215. Evacuated by Bohemond, 216. Raymond marches through, 307. Resists Bohemond, 350. The confederates of the fourth crusade land there, 423. Michael Angelus obtains possession of it, 459

E

EAST, empire of the, definitively separated from the Western by Arcadius, iii. 422. Its extent, 423. Its annals from the time of Heraclius tedious and dark, v. 201. Abjured the worship of images, 299. The worship restored by Irene, 322. Contracted limits of the empire, vii. 42. Its final fall, 220

Ebermor, a Gothic prince, iv. 365

Ebionites, account of that sect, ii. 12. A confutation of their errors, supposed, to be a particular object in the writings of St. John the evangelist, 382

Ebionites, their ideas of the person of Jesus Christ, v. 115

Ecdicius, prefect of Egypt, ii. 556

- Ecdicius, son, or son-in-law of the emperor Avitus, his gallant conduct in Gaul, iv. 45
- Ecebolus, an early lover of the empress Theodora, iv. 253
- Eclectus, chamberlain of the emperor Commodus, i. 110
- Edecon, is sent from Attila as his ambassador to the emperor Theodosius the Younger, iii. 515. Engages in a proposal to assassinate Attila, 525. His son Odoacer, the first barbarian king of Italy, iv. 59
- Edessa, the capital of Osroene, i. 238. The purest dialect of the Syriac language spoken there, 238. The emperor Valerian defeated near its walls, 308. An early seat of Christianity, ii. 74. The property of the Christians there, confiscated by the emperor Julian. Revolt of the Roman troops there, v. 71. Account of the school of, 173. History of the famous image, 289. The principality of, founded by Baldwin the crusader, vi. 322. Its Turkish name Orfa, *ib. note*. Is retaken by Zenghi, 362. The counts of, 488
- Edict, of Diocletian, ii. 141. Of Milan, published by Constantine the Great, ii. 331
- Edict, the perpetual, iv. 534
- Edicts of the prætors of Rome, under the republic, iv. 532
- Edobic, ambassador from the usurper Constantine to the Franks, iii. 403
- Edrisites, the Saracen dynasty of, vi. 191
- Edward I. of England, his crusade to the Holy Land, vi. 393
- Egypt, general description of, i. 28. The superstitions of, with difficulty tolerated at Rome, 30. Amount of its revenue, 184. Public works executed there by Probus, 380. Conduct of Diocletian there, 409
- Egypt, progress of Christianity there, ii. 68. Its kings always priests, 358 *note*
- Egypt, edict of the emperor Valens, to restrain the number of monks there, iii. 33. The worship of Serapis, how introduced there, 235. His temple, and the Alexandrian library destroyed by bishop Theophilus, 236
- Egypt, origin of monkish institutions in, iv. 70
- Egypt, conquered by Chosroes II., v. 85. Ecclesiastical history of, 189
- Egypt, reduced by the Saracens, v. 525. Capture of Alexandria, 532. Administration of, 536. Conquered by the Turks, vi. 363. Theatre of the fifth crusade, 385. Of the sixth under St. Louis, 390. Government of the Mamalukes, 393
- Elagabalus, high priest of the sun at Emesa, i. 164. Declared emperor by the troops, 165. Origin of his assumed name, 167. His reign and extravagance, 168. His death, 172
- Eleusinian mysteries, Julian initiated, ii. 496. Tolerated by the emperor Valentinian, iii. 29. The last remains of Paganism, extirpated by Alaric, 288

- Elijahs, Nestorian patriarchs of Mosul, v. 177
- Ellac, eldest son of Attila, iii. 566
- Emesa, or Hems, temple of the sun at, i. 164. Battle of, Zenobia defeated by Aureliian, 346. Taken by the Saracens, v. 507. Recovered by Zimisces, vi. 58. Again lost, 68. Held against the crusaders, 340
- Emir, Arabian chief, his dignity and powers, v. 376. The root of our word *admiral*, vi. 90
- Emir al Omrah, v. 87
- Emir, an, of Saragossa, appeals to the Diet of Paderborn, v. 336
- Emperors of Rome, general view of their system, i. 76. Legal jurisdiction of the senate over them, 114. Their republican forms and titles of offices laid aside by Diocletian and new dignities assumed, 429. Six at one time occupy the throne, 458. Their conduct towards the Christians, ii. 81, 93. Their power displayed in the change of the national religion, 356. They retain, after the establishment of Christianity, the title, ensigns, and prerogatives of Pontifex Maximus, 445. A review of their constitutions, iv. 535. Their legislative power, 536. Their rescripts, 537
- Emperors of Constantinople retained the fictitious title of emperor of the Romans, iii. 422. Their luxury, vi. 83. Their officers and ceremonies, 99. Their despotic power, 97. Their weakness and distress, vii. 42
- Emperors of the West, Charlemagne revives the title, v. 331. Its dignity declines under his successors, 342. Is restored by Otho, 343. Their authority in the election of the popes, 346
- Epagathus, punished for the murder of Ulpian, i. 178
- Ephesus, the temple of Diana at, destroyed by the Goths, i. 306. Desolated by the Turks, vii. 27
- Epictetus, his character of the Galilæans, ii. 102
- Epictetus, an Arian bishop in Gaul, ii. 460
- Epicureans, their opinions, i. 34. Prevalent among the higher classes in Italy, 67. Abhorred by Julian, ii. 505. One of the schools of Athens endowed by Hadrian, and the Antonines, iv. 309-311
- Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia, his description of Arius, ii. 388 *note*. Joins in persecuting Chrysostom, iii. 445 *note*
- Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, iv. 50. He intercedes with Odoacer for Pavia, 58, 65 *note*
- Epirus, attacked by the Goths, i. 304. Deputation from, to Valentinian, iii. 78. Occupied by Alaric, 290. Colonised by Paulicians, vi. 131. Invaded by Robert Guiscard, 219. By Bohemond, 473. Despotat of, 460. Seat of the Castriot family, vii. 279
- Epulos, priests who prepared the sacred banquets, iii. 232
- Equitius, master-general of

- Illyricum, under Valentinian, iii. 75. Attempts to exclude Gratian from the throne, 81.
- Erdaviraph, one of the seven Magi, i. 227
- Eslaw, one of Attila's ambassadors, iii. 527
- Essenians, their community of goods, ii. 54. Their distinguishing tenets, 68
- Eucherius, the son of Stilicho, iii. 331
- Euchrocia of Bordeaux, put to death for Priscillianism, iii. 182
- Eudes, duke of Aquitain, repels the first Saracen invasion of France, vi. 16. Defeated, 17. Implores the aid of Charles Martel, 18. Recovers his dukedom, 20
- Eudocia, or Athenais, her birth, character, and marriage with the emperor Theodosius the Younger, iii. 459. Her literary works, 460. Her disgrace and death, 461. Her coins, 462
- Eudocia, daughter of Valentinian III., iv. 32
- Eudocia, widow of Constantine Ducas, v. 258. Marries Romanus Diogenes, 259. Cultivates philosophy, 260; vi. 115
- Eudocia, niece of Manuel Comnenus, paramour of Andronicus, v. 271
- Eudocia, first wife of the emperor Heraclius, v. 91; 103 *note*; 207
- Eudocia, or Epiphania, betrothed to Ziebel, khan of the Chozars, v. 103
- Eudocia of Damascus, v. 502
- Eudoxia, her marriage with the emperor Arcadius, iii. 264. Stimulates him to give up his favourite Eutropius, 435. Persecutes Chrysostom, 447. Her death and character, 450
- Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius the Younger, is betrothed to the emperor Valentinian III. of the West, iii. 471. Her character, iii. 570. Is compelled to marry the usurper Maximus, iv. 5. Invites Genseric to Italy, 5. Is carried prisoner to Carthage, 7. Ransomed, 32
- Eudoxius, bishop of Constantinople, baptizes the emperor Valens, iii. 30
- Eugenius, the rhetorician, is made emperor of the West by Arbogastes the Frank, iii. 213. Is defeated and killed by Theodosius, 218
- Eugenius IV., pope, his contest with the council of Basil, vii. 112. Procures a reunion of the Latin and Greek Churches, 126. Is deposed by the council of Basil, 128. Forms a league against the Turks, 160. Revolt of the Roman citizens against him, 328
- Eugenius, a chamberlain and lover of the princess Honoria, iii. 542
- Eulalius, one of the seven philosophers who went to Persia, iv. 314
- Eulogia, conspires against her brother Manuel Palæologus, vi. 520
- Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, v. 190
- Eunomians, punishment of, by the edict of the emperor Theodosius, iii. 181
- Eunuchs, imported and taxed

- in the time of Alexander Severus, i. 187. They infest the palace of the third Gordian, 218. Their ascendancy in the court of Constantius, ii. 277 *note*. Procure the banishment of Liberius, bishop of Rome, 432
- Eunuchs, a conspiracy of, to disappoint the schemes of Rufinus, and marry the emperor Arcadius to Eudoxia, iii. 262. They distract the court of the emperor Honorius, 372. And govern that of Arcadius, 425. Scheme of Chrysaphius to assassinate Attila, king of the Huns, 526
- Euphemia, daughter of the emperor Marcian, iv. 36
- Euphemia, St., church of, at Chalcedon, built by Rufinus, iii. 446; v. 147
- Euphemius, invites the Saracens of Africa to Sicily, vi. 44
- Euphrosyne, daughter of Constantine VI., second wife of Michael II., v. 225-231
- Euphrosyne, wife of Alexius Angelus, vi. 409
- Euplutijs, his embassy from Honorius to Wallia, iii. 411
- Euric, king of the Visigoths in Gaul, his conquests in Spain, iv. 45. Suspends the Catholic bishops in Aquitain, 98. Is vested with all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps by Odoacer, 119. The first Gothic king who reduces their laws to writing, 147
- Eusebia, empress, wife of Constantius, ii. 288, 293, 459
- Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, his character of the followers of Artemon, ii. 76. Inquiry into the credibility of his narratives, 156, 157. His silence respecting Constantine's cruelty to Crispus and Licinius, 237. His story of Constantine's conversion, 328. His fables of the cross in the sky, 345. Advocates Arianism, 389. His reluctant and ambiguous assent to the Nicene creed, 401. His proceedings at the synod of Tyre, 411
- Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, leader of the friends of Arius, ii. 389. His letter torn at the council of Nice, 392. Banished for his Arianism, and recalled, 401. Officiates at the baptism of Constantine, 402. Tutor of Julian, 487
- Eusebius, a eunuch, chamberlain of Constantius, ii. 278. His enmity to Gallus, 286. His attempt to prevent the accession of Julian, 470. His condemnation by the tribunal of Chalcedon and death, 477
- Eusebius, bishop of Vercellæ, banished, ii. 421
- Eusebius, a eunuch, beaten to death, iii. 373
- Eustathius of Cappadocia, the sophist, ii. 301
- Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, ii. 434
- Eustochium, daughter of Paula, iv. 75
- Euthalites, Nephthalites, or white Huns, iii. 104
- Eutharic, husband of Amalasontha, iv. 357
- Eutropia, sister of Constantine, ii. 274
- Eutropius, father of Constantius Chlorus, i. 399

Eutropius, the eunuch, his mission to John of Lycorolis, iii. 214. Great chamberlain to Arcadius, 262. Succeeds Rufinus in the emperor's confidence, 271. His character and administration, 425. His consulship, 426. Provides for his own security, by a new law against treason, 430. His fall and sanctuary with John Chrysostom, 435. His exile and death, 436

Eutyches, the abbot, v. 140. His opinion on the Incarnation, 144. Adhered to by the Armenians, 187

Euxine, or Black Sea, guarded by the Roman navy, i. 19. The princes on its northern shores tributary to Rome, 26. Description of the vessels used in navigating, 299. Not navigated by the Turks in winter, 303. Passage of Heraclius from Constantinople to Trebizond, v. 96

Exarch, under the Greek empire, his office, v. 317. Of Ravenna, iv. 502; v. 29, 311

F

FACCIOLATI admits Cantacuzene into Constantinople, vi. 553

Fadilla, murder of, i. 154

Falco Sosius conspires against Pertinax, i. 116

Fano, in Umbria, battle of, i. 338

Fasti, Consular, their frequent chasms, iv. 316

Fathers of the Christian Church, their visions, ii. 31

note. Their austere morality, 38. Were prepared by the philosophy of Greece for their conversion to Christianity, ii. 15 *note.* Acknowledged the supernatural part of paganism, 136. No one among them ever asserted his own power of working miracles, 34 *note*

Fatima, Mahomet's daughter, marries Ali, v. 449. Her death, 452

Fatimites, descendants of Ali and Fatima, v. 449. Their fall in Egypt, vi. 367.

Fausta, daughter of Maximian, married to Constantine, i. 455. Her want of feeling for her father, 461. Her family, ii. 233. The death of Crispus attributed to her arts, 238. Her asserted punishment and death, 239

Faustina, daughter of Antoninus Pius, married to Marcus Antoninus, i. 86. Her character, i. 95

Faustina, third wife and widow of the emperor Constantius, ii. 470. Countenances the revolt of Procopius against Valens, iii. 17

Fava, or Felethcus, king of the Rugians, defeated by Odoacer, iv. 66

Fellx II., consecrated bishop of Rome, 432. He is violently expelled, 433

Felix, an African bishop, his martyrdom at Venusia, ii. 145. Patron saint of Paulinus at Nola, iii. 390

Felix V., name by which Amadeus VIII., duke of Savoy, was elected pope, vii. 123. His resignation, 130

- Fire, Greek, the Saracen fleet destroyed by, in the harbour of Constantinople, vi. 9. Is long preserved as a secret, II
- Firmus, an Egyptian merchant, his revolt against the emperor Aurelian, i. 351
- Firmus the Moor, iii. 60
- Firuz, son of Yezdegerd, the last king of Persia, his fate, v. 486
- Flaccilla, empress, wife of, Theodosius, iii. 168
- Flamens, Roman, their number, and peculiar office, iii. 224
- Flavian, archbishop of Constantinople, v. 145
- Flor, Roger de, adventures of, vii. 76
- Florence, the foundation of that city, iii. 312. Is besieged by Radagaisus and relieved by Stilicho, 313. Council of, vii. 123. The reunion of the Greek and Latin churches celebrated there, 129. Invited and paid the first teachers of Greek, 136, 138
- Florentius, prætorian prefect of Gaul under Constantius, ii. 372, 451. Is condemned by the tribunal of Chalcædon, 477
- Florianus, brother of the emperor Tacitus, i. 368
- Fœderati, Gothic allies of Rome, iii. 154
- Forum Trebonii, a town of Mœsia, where Decius was defeated, i. 286
- France, the name of, whence derived, iv. 159
- France, Childeric deposed, and Pepin appointed king, by papal sanction, v. 316.
- Reign and character of Charlemagne, 331
- France, invasion of, by the Saracens, vi. 16. Their expulsion by Charles Martel, 19. Invasion of its southern provinces by the Hungarians, 154. Divided among many dukes and counts, 283
- Frangipani, Cencio, his violence to pope Gelasius II., vii. 247. Derivation of his family name, 280
- Frangipani, Odo; his nuptials with the niece of Manuel Comnenus, vi. 230
- Franks, their origin and confederacy, i. 292. They invade Gaul, and ravage Spain, 293. They pass over into Africa, 294. Are expelled from Gaul by Probus, 372. Bold and successful return of a colony of, from Pontus, by sea, 377
- Franks, influence of those who were employed in the imperial service, ii. 207. They establish themselves in Toxandria, 309. Julian's victory over them, 317
- Franks, their fidelity to the Roman government in the time of Stilicho, iii. 317. Their permanent settlement in Gaul and Lower Germany, 413
- Franks, origin of the Merovingian race of their kings, iii. 539. Their divisions lead to Attila's invasion of Gaul, 592. How converted to Christianity, iv. 93. Reign of their king Clovis, 121. Final establishment of the French monarchy, 144. Their laws, 146. They degenerate into a state of anarchy, 167. They invade Italy, 389

- Franks, or Latins, name given by the Eastern to the Western nations, vi. 106. Their military character, 108
- Fravitta the Goth, his character and deadly quarrel with Priulf, iii. 156. His operations against Gainas, 438
- Frederic I., emperor of Germany, his tyranny in Italy, v. 355. Engages in the third crusade, vi. 531. His death, 358. Sacrifices Arnold of Brescia to the pope, vii. 252. His reply to the Roman ambassadors, 264
- Frederic II., is driven out of Italy, v. 356. His disputes with the pope and reluctant crusade, vi. 386. Exhorts the European princes to unite in opposing the Tartars, vii. 17
- Frederic III., the last emperor crowned at Rome, vii. 328
- Frejus, i. 20
- Frigerid, defeats the Taifalæ, iii. 129
- Frigidus, where Theodosius defeated Eugenius, iii. 216
- Fritigern, leader of the Visigoths with Alavivus, iii. 117. Extricates himself from Lupicinus, governor of Thrace, 118. Defeats him, 119. Battle of Salices, 123. His strength recruited by new tribes, 125. Negotiates with Valens, 130. Battle of Hadrianople, 132. The union of the Gothic tribes broken by his death, 148
- Fronto, ambassador from Avitus to the king of the Suevi in Spain, iv. 13
- Frumentius, the first Christian missionary in Abyssinia, ii. 355
- Fulcaris, a bold Herulian, iv. 499
- Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspæ, iv. 106 *note*
- Fulk, count of Anjou, king of Jerusalem, vi. 370
- Fulk of Neuilly, vi. 410

G

- GABINIUS, king of the Quadi, murdered by Marcellinus, governor of Valeria, iii. 75
- Gaian, a Coptic patriarch, v. 189, 310
- Gainas the Goth is commissioned by Stilicho to execute his revenge on Rufinus, iii. 270. His conduct in the war against Tribigild, 433. Joins him, 434. His flight and death, 439
- Gaita, wife of Robert Guiscard, vi. 213
- Gaius, or Caius, the Roman civilian; his recently discovered Institutes referred to, v. 537, 538, 544, 546, 574
- Galeazzo (Gian Galleazzo Visconte), first duke of Milan, vi. 102
- Galerius, trained in the school of Aurelian and Probus, i. 372. Is associated in the administration, as Cæsar, by the emperor Diocletian, i. 399. Is defeated by the Persians, 416. Surprises and overthrows Narses, 418. Assumes the title of Augustus, on the abdication of Diocletian, 443. His jealousy of Constantine, 456. Acknowledges him Cæsar, 450. His unsuccessful invasion of Italy, 455. Invests Licinius with the purple on the death

- of Severus, 458. His death, 462
- Galerius, causes of his aversion to the Christians, ii. 137. Obtains the countenance of Diocletian for persecuting them, 139. Publishes an edict of toleration just before his death, 152
- Galilæans, ii. 102, 518
- Gall, St., monastery there burnt by the Hungarians, vi. 154
- Galla, daughter of Valentinian I., is married to Theodosius, iii. 194
- Gallicanus, a consular, excites the people against the prætorians, i. 215
- Gallienus, son of the emperor Valerian, is associated with him on the throne, i. 291. Prohibits the senators from exercising military employments, 296. Character of his administration after the captivity of his father, 312. His reign disturbed by pretenders, called "the thirty tyrants," 314. By tumults, 319. By famine, 321. His death, 323. Favoured the Christians, ii. 131
- Gallipoli, in the Thracian Chersonesus, occupied by the Catalans, vi. 530. Dismantled by an earthquake, repaired and permanently held by the Turks, vii. 32
- Gallus elected emperor, i. 288. Murdered, 290
- Gallus, nephew of Constantine the Great, ii. 253. His education, 279. Is invested with the title of Cæsar, 280. His cruelty and imprudence, 281. His disgrace and death, 285. Embraced the doctrine, but neglected the precepts of Christianity, 489. Converts the grove of Daphne, to a Christian burial-place, 525
- Games, secular, of Philip, i. 221. Triumphal, of Aurelian, 354. Magnificent, of Carinus, 388. Public, given at Rome by Honorius, iii. 304. General description of them, 360. Factions and disorders arising from them, iv. 258
- Gannys, assists Elagabalus against Macrinus, i. 165
- Garibald, king of Bavaria, v. 33
- Gassan, an Arabian tribe, molested Julian's army, ii. 555. Confederates of the empire, iv. 434. Abandoned Belisarius, 439. Allowed to encamp on the Syrian territory, v. 375. Christians among them serve in the army of Heraclius, 509. Defeated by Caled, 509
- Gaudentius, the notary, sent by Constantius to occupy Africa, ii. 468. Is condemned to death under the emperor Julian, 478
- Gaudentius, father of Ætius, iii. 472 *note*
- Gaudentius, son of Ætius, iii. 568
- Gaul, described, i. 21. The power of the Druids suppressed by Tiberius and Claudius, 36. Cities in, 54. Amount of the tribute paid to Rome, 183. Is defended against the Franks by Posthumus, 293. Succession of usurpers there, 341. Invasion of, by the Lygians, 374. Revolt of the Bagaudæ suppressed by Maximian, 401

- Gaul, progress of Christianity there, ii. 70. Proportion of the capitation-tax levied there by the Roman emperors, 221. Is invaded by the Germans, 309. The government of, assigned to Julian, 312. His civil administration, 323
- Gaul is invaded by the Allemanni, in the time of Valentinian, iii. 38. By the Saxons, 47. And in the time of Gratian, 129. Destruction of idols and temples by Martin, bishop of Tours, 231. Overrun by the troops of Radagaisus, 316. Occupied by the Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, 413. Assembly of the Seven Provinces, 420
- Gaul, reign of Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, iii. 536. Invasion of, by Attila, 545. Battle of Chalons, 552. Revolutions of, on the death of Majorian, iv. 45. Advantages under the Roman government, 118. Conquests and prosperity of Euric, king of the Visigoths, 120. Character and reign of Clovis, 121. Submission of the Armoricans and the Roman troops, 131. Final establishment of the French monarchy, 144. The Salic laws, 146. The lands of, how claimed and divided by the conquerors, 153. Domain and benefices of the Merovingian princes, 155. Usurpation of the Seniors, 157. Privileges of the Romans in, 165
- Gauls (Galatæ, or Celts), in Northern Italy, i. 23. In Germany, 249. Fabulous emigrations into Asia, *ib. note*. Believed the immortality of the soul, ii. 23. Hostile feelings between them and the Germans, iv. 50. The position which they held after the conquest of the Franks, 145
- Gazi, or holy war among the Mahometans, vii. 24, 51
- Gazna, the seat of Mahmud's empire, vi. 240
- Geber, physician of Arabia, vi. 36
- Geberic, a Gothic king, ii. 248
- Geisa, king of Hungary, vi. 159
- Gelaeddin, sultan of Carizme, vii. 8. His death, 25
- Gelasius, pope, abolishes the Lupercalia, iv. 39. Deplores the decay of Italy, 67.
- Gelasius II., furiously assaulted by Cencio Frangipani, vii. 247
- Gelimer, Vandal king of Africa, iv. 100. Deposes Hilderic, 320. Is defeated by Belisarius, 333. His final defeat, 338. His distressful flight, 344. Surrenders himself to Belisarius, 346. Graces his triumph, 348. His retirement, 349
- Gelli, or Dilemites, a tribe near the Caspian sea, i. 416 *note*
- Geloni, a tribe subject to the Alani, iii. 107
- General of the Roman army, his extensive power, i. 69. Overstated, 70 *note*
- Geneviève, St., iii. 545
- Gennadius, the monk, his denunciation against a Greek union with the Latin church, vii. 200. Becomes patriarch, 200. His death, 230
- Gennerid, the Roman general, under Honorius, iii. 372

- Genoese, their colony at Hera-
clea removed to Galata, vi.
512. Growth of their power,
561. Obtain the exclusive
trade of the Black Sea, 562.
Their war with the emperor
Cantacuzene, 564. With
the Venetians, 566. Treaty
with the empire, 567. Mon-
opoly of alum at Phocæa,
vii. 83
- Genseric, king of the Vandals
in Spain, his character, iii.
475. Goes over to Africa on
the invitation of count Boni-
face, 475. His successes
there by the assistance of
the Donatists, 478. Their
treachery, 475, 481. Devas-
tation of Africa by his troops,
482. Besieges Boniface in
Hippo Regius, 482. His
surprisal of Carthage, 487.
Alliance with Attila, 503.
His brutal treatment of his
son's wife, iii. 538. Raises a
naval force and invades Italy,
iv. 1. His sack of Rome, 3.
Destroys the fleet of Major-
ian, iv. 26. His naval de-
predations on Italy, 31. His
claims on the eastern empire,
33. Destroys the Roman
fleet under Basiliscus, 43.
An Arian, and persecuted his
Catholic subjects, 98
- George of Cappadocia super-
sedes Athanasius in the see
of Alexandria, ii. 425. His
scandalous history, 528. Be-
comes the tutelary saint of
England, 531
- George, the admiral, of Sicily,
takes Mahadia from the
Saracens, vi. 226. Corfu,
Corinth, and Athens from
the Greeks, 228. Rescues
Louis VII., king of France,
ib. Insults Constantinople,
229
- Georgia, the ancient Iberia,
conquered by Alp Arslan,
vi. 253. Origin of its name,
ib. note. Overcome by
Batou, vii. 15. By Timour,
51
- Georgians, their religion, vi.
253
- Geougen, a Tartar tribe; their
origin, iii. 308. Their khan
insulted and vanquished, by
Attila, 500. Almost extir-
pated by the Turks, iv. 417
- Gepidæ, a Gothic tribe, i.
279. Subject to Attila, iii.
501. After his death establish
an independent kingdom, iii.
566. Occupy Hungary and
Transylvania, iv. 408. Their
war with the Lombards and
Avars, v. 5. Subdued, 8
- Germans, their early settle-
ment in Belgium, i. 21. A
warlike race, 245. Their
physical constitution, 248.
Fables respecting their ori-
gin, 249. Their progress
in civilisation, 250. Their
habits and character, 255.
Their freedom and govern-
ment, 257. Their respect
for the female sex, 261. Their
religion, 263. Their bards,
265. Their progress checked
by various causes, 266. Dis-
tinguished from Sarmatians,
281. Invade Gaul, ii. 309.
Defeated by Julian at Stras-
burg, 317. Intimidated by
his three expeditions across
the Rhine, 321. Recruit the
legions of Constantine, 338
note. War with Valentinian,
iii. 38. With Gratian, 129.
Supposed emigration of
northern tribes, 309. Sup-

- posed dominion of Attila, 497. Their conversion to Christianity, iv. 92. Invade Italy, and are defeated by Narses, 498. Subject to Charlemagne, v. 338. In the division of his empire, a part of Gaul, west of the Rhine, allotted to them, 342
- Germanus, nephew of Justinian, iv. 396 *note*; 487. Refuses to defend Antioch, 438. Is appointed to command the army in Italy, 487. His death, 488
- Germanus, the son, iv. 396 *note*. Declines the purple offered to him, v. 75
- Germany, ancient, its rude institutions contain the first principles of our present laws and manners, i. 246. Its extent, *ib.* Its climate, 248. Its forests, game, cattle, and metals, 252
- Germany, the imperial crown established in the nation of Germany, by the first Otho, v. 343. Division of, among independent princes, 357. The Germanic constitution, 359. State assumed by the emperor, 362
- Gerontius, commander of the provincial troops in Greece against Alaric, ii. 285. Sets up Maximus as emperor in Spain, 401
- Geta, son of the emperor Severus, i. 148
- Getes, Jetes, or Desht Jitteh. an Asiatic people, vii. 47
- Ghibelines, the emperor's party in Italy, v. 356; vii. 245
- Gibamund, nephew of Gelimer, iv. 333
- Gibraltar, landing-place of the Saracens in Spain; meaning of the name, v. 559
- Gildo, the Moor, his revolt in Africa, iii. 273. His defeat and death, 278
- Gilimer, a Gothic leader in Italy iv. 53
- Gisulf, a Lombard, appointed duke of Friuli by his uncle Alboin, v. 29
- Glycerius is first emperor of Rome, and then bishop of Salona, iv. 54. Murders Julius Nepos, and is made archbishop of Milan, 55
- Gnostics, their origin, character, and numerous sects, ii. 13, 15. Their tenets, ii. 383; v. 119; vi. 120
- Godas, a governor of Sardinia, iv. 322
- Godegesil, king of the Burgundians, iv. 132. Deserts him and is put to death, 133
- Godescal, or Gottschalk, vi. 294
- Godfrey of Bouillon, in the first crusade, vi. 297. His route to Constantinople, 305. Erected his standard on Mount Calvary, 334. Entered Jerusalem, 334. Is elected king, 337. Compiles the Assises of Jerusalem, 341. Form of his administration, 346
- Gog and Magog, the rampart of, iv. 308. The names applied to the Hungarians and to the pirates of the North, vi. 262
- Goisvintha, wife of Leovigild, king of Spain, iv. 110
- Gonfalonier of the church, vii. 322
- Gontharis, revolts at Carthage, iv. 465
- Gordian, his elevation to the

- empire of Rome, i. 201. His son associated with him in the imperial dignity, 203. Their death, 206
- Gordian, the third, declared Cæsar, i. 203. Emperor by the army, 218. His virtues, 219. His expedition against the Persians, and death, 220
- Gorgo, chief town of the White Huns, iii. 102
- Goths, their origin, i. 275. Their religion, 276. The Goths and Vandals supposed to be originally one great people, 279. Their proximity to Dacia, 280. They invade the Roman provinces, 281. Defeat Decius and his army, 282. They receive tribute from the Romans, 283. Hovered on the banks of the Danube and the confines of Italy, 298. Admitted into the Tauric Chersonesus, 299. Are repulsed at Pityus, 300. Plunder the cities of Bithynia, 302. They ravage Greece, 303. Are defeated by Claudius near Naissus, 329. Lose their fleet and retire to Mount Hæmus, 330. Conclude a treaty with the emperor Aurelian, 334
- Goths, ravage Illyricum, 488
- Goths, their war with the Sarmatians, ii. 246. Are again routed by Constantine, 247. Their victories under Hermanric, 125. Gothic war under the emperors Valentinian and Valens, iii. 69. Are defeated by the Huns, 108. Implore the protection of Valens, 112. Are received into the empire, 113. Are oppressed by the Roman governors of Thrace, 116. Are provoked to hostilities, and defeat Lupicinus, 118. Ravage Thrace, 120. Battle of Salices, 124. Are strengthened by fresh swarms of their countrymen, 125. Battle of Hadrianople, 132. They scour the country from Hadrianople to Constantinople, 136. Massacre of the Gothic youth in Asia, 138. The union of the barbarians broken by the death of Fritigern, 148. Death of Athanaric, 150. Invasion and defeat of the Ostrogoths, 152. The Goths are settled in Thrace, by Theodosius, 153. Serve in the Roman army as allies, 154. Their hostile sentiments, 155. Their intestine divisions and feuds under Fravitta and Priulf, 156
- Goths, revolt of the Goths (Visigoths) in the time of Honorius, 283. They ravage Greece under Alaric, 284. Invade Italy, 293. Besiege Honorius in Asti, 297. Are defeated by Stilicho at Poltenta, 299. Again at Verona, 302. Many join the army of Radagaisus, 309. Advance under Alaric to the gates of Rome, 339. First siege of the city, 364. Second siege, 374. Third siege and sack of Rome, 380. Exaggeration of the damage, 385-389. They evacuate Rome, and proceed into Southern Italy, 390. Death of Alaric, 392. Peace concluded by Adolphus, and they march into Gaul, 393.

- Treasures acquired by their victories, 396. Enter Spain and surprise Barcelona, 409. Victories of Wallia, 411. They are settled in Aquitain, 412. The Ostrogoths subjects or allies of Attila, 500
- Goths, the Visigoths in Gaul, under Theodoric, iii. 535. Besiege Narbonne, 536. Alliance with the Romans, 548. Take part in the battle of Chalons against Attila, 552. Their king Theodoric slain, 553. The Ostrogoths occupy Pannonia, 566. The Visigoths in Gaul under Theodoric II., iv. 10. Conquer Spain, 15. Establish the Gothic monarchy in Spain, 45. The Goths converted to the Christian religion, 92. They adopt Arian opinions, 96. Which the Visigoths of Spain abandon for the Catholic, 110. Their power under Euric, 120. Are defeated by Clovis near Poitiers, 139. Lose Aquitain, 141. Their kingdom in Spain, 169. Influence of their clergy, 170. Their code of laws, 171. The Ostrogoths in Pannonia, 204. Commanded by Theodoric, 205. Serve the emperor Zeno, 207. Conquer Italy, 213. Though Arians, respect the Italian Catholics, 229. A colony of them settled in the Crimea, 301. State of the Visigoths in Spain under Theudes, 354. Of the Ostrogoths in Italy after the death of Theodoric, 357. Subdued by Belisarius, 396. Revolt, 468. Finally overcome by Narses, 498.
- The Goths of Ceuta assist the Greeks, v. 550. State of the Gothic kingdom in Spain under Roderic, 556. Invaded by the Arabs, 558. Its ruin, 563
- Gratian, father of Valentinian I., iii. 65
- Gratian was the first emperor who refused the pontifical robe, ii. 461 *note*. Marries the princess Constantia, and succeeds to the empire, iii. 80. Defeats the Allemanni in Gaul, 127. Invests Theodosius with the empire of the East, 141. His character and conduct, 158. His flight from Maximus, and death, 164. Overthrew the ecclesiastical establishment of paganism, 224
- Greece, as a province of the Roman empire, i. 25. Is ravaged by the Goths, 303. Supports Constantine, 490. Favoured and relieved by Julian, ii. 499. Included in the Western empire by Valentinian, iii. 13. Transferred to the Eastern with the diocese of Macedonia by Gratian, 145. Is overrun by Alaric, 284. Early intercourse with Rome, 527. Visit of Constans II., 210. Irruption of the Slavonians, vi. 77. Its silk manufactures, 79. Invasion of the Sicilian Normans, 227. Latin dukedoms, 455. Is reduced by the Turks, vii. 232
- Greek church, first symptoms of discord revealed at the council of Sardica, ii. 415. Its controversies and divisions, v. 171. The wor-

- ship of images abjured, 299. Restored, 318. Abstained from the use of bells, 492. Its long dream of superstition, vi. 120. Its separation from the Western church, the combined effect of religious and national animosity, 396. Its rules of discipline different, 398. Emulation of the two leading prelates, 399. The breach widened by the Latin reign in Constantinople, 484. A temporary reunion effected by Michael Palæologus, 517. Dissolved, 521. Barlaam negotiates to renew it, vii. 94. Treaty signed and ratified at Florence, 129. Disowned by the clergy and people, 154. Another false union, 169. Mahomet II. grants freedom to the church, 229.
- Greens, or Prasini, a circus faction at Rome and Constantinople, iv. 258
- Gregorian code, iv. 544
- Gregory the Great, pope, his exchange of presents with Recared, king of Spain, iv. 114. Exhorts Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, to propagate the Nicene faith, 115. His enmity to the venerable buildings and learning of Rome, v. 37. His birth and early profession, 39. His pontificate, 41. His sacred music and ceremonies, 42. Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, *ib.* The last pope canonised, 43. His distribution of alms, 44. His mediation between the Lombards and Greeks, 45. Sanctifies the usurpation of the emperor Phocas, 76
- Gregory II., pope, his epistles to Leo III., emperor of Constantinople, v. 301. Revolts against the Greek emperor, 304. Persuades Luitprand to withdraw his troops from Rome, 310
- Gregory III., the first pope who implores the aid of France against the Lombards, v. 312
- Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), reforms the apostolic see, v. 350. His ambitious projects, 351. He supports the impostor Michael Ducas, vi. 206. His contest with the emperor Henry III., 217. Is besieged by him, and relieved by Robert Guiscard, 218. Retires to Salerno, 219. Died in exile at Salerno, vii. 245
- Gregory IX., vi. 387
- Gregory X., urges the emperor Michael to re-unite the two churches, vi. 516. Receives his ambassadors at Lyons, 518. Establishes the conclave, vii. 271
- Gregory XI., restores the papal see from Avignon to Rome, vii. 421
- Gregory XII., elected during the schism, vii. 322. Called upon to resign, 324. Abdicates, 325
- Gregory XIII., collects and republishes the ancient statutes of Rome, vii. 331. Reforms the calendar, vi. 264
- Gregory of Nazianzus, fellow-student with Julian at Athens, ii. 289 *note*. Deplores the dissensions among Chris-

- tians, 450. Assails the emperor Julian with invectives, 487. Censures Constantius for having saved the infant apostate, 498 *note*. His birth in Cappadocia, iii. 170. Friendship with Basil, and appointment to be bishop of Sasima, 171 *note*. Of Nazianzus, 172. Invited to Constantinople, 173. Installed archbishop, 174. His opinion of bishops and councils, 178. His persecution, 179. Retirement and death, 179
- Gregory, prefect of Africa, v. 542, 543, 544
- Gregory, bishop of Langres, iv. 163
- Gregory, bishop of Adrianople, vi. 514
- Grimoald, duke of Beneventum, v. 337
- Grumbates, king of the Chionites, ii. 302, 303, 306
- Guadalete, or Xeres, battle of, v. 560
- Gubazes, king of Colchis, his alliance with Chosroes, iv. 449. Returns to his former connection with the emperor Justinian, 451. Is treacherously killed, 454
- Guelfs, name assumed by the pope's party in Italy, v. 356; vii. 245
- Guiscard, Robert, meets Leo IX. at Civitella, vi. 195. His birth and character, 196. Meaning of his surname, 198 *note*. Acquires the dukedom of Apulia, 199. His Italian conquests, 201. Besieges Durazzo, 208. Defeats the emperor Alexius, 212. Engages in the cause of pope Gregory VII., 218.
- His second expedition to Greece, and death, 220
- Gundamund, king of the African Vandals, iv. 99
- Gundobald, prince of the Burgundians and nephew of Ricimer, iv. 53. Appoints Glycerius emperor of Rome, 55. Succeeds to the kingdom of Burgundy, 132. Calls a council of his bishops at Lyons, 133. Betrayed by his brother Godegesil, and defeated by Clovis, 134. His mild and impartial laws, 135. His argument in favour of the judicial combat, 152
- Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, vi. 371. Is defeated and taken prisoner by Saladin, 372. His release, 378

H

- HADRIAN, emperor, relinquishes the eastern conquests of Trajan, i. 8. Their characters compared, 8. His character contrasted with that of Antoninus Pius, 8. His adoption by Trajan, 85. His choice of a successor, 86. Formed the harbour of Trebizond, 300. Excludes the Jews from Jerusalem and builds the city of Ælia Capitolina on Mount Sion, ii. 10. Finds a library at Athens, iv. 312. His mausoleum converted into an arsenal by Belisarius, 374. His perpetual edict, 533. His mausoleum now the Castle of S. Angelo, vii. 342. Its threatened destruction by the Romans, 353

- Hadrianople, battle of, between Constantine and Licinius, i. 491. Besieged by Fritigern, iii. 121. Battle of, between Valens and the Goths, 132. Again besieged, 135. Escapes the ravages of Attila, 505. Revolts against the Latin emperor Baldwin, vi. 451. Roger de Flor invited there and assassinated, 529. Taken by Amurath I. and made the seat of the Ottoman government, vii. 33
- Hakem, caliph of Egypt, vi. 272. His sacrilege and death, 273. His disciples, the Druses, *ib.*
- Hamadanites, vi. 61
- Hannibalianus, youngest son of Constantius Chlorus, i. 450; ii. 233
- Hannibalianus, son of Dalmatius and nephew of Constantine, ii. 233. Has the titles of nobilissimus and king, 240. Provinces which formed his kingdom, 242. Married his cousin Constantina, 252, 265. Murdered by Constantius, 252
- Harmozan, the Persian satrap, v. 484
- Harun al Rashid, caliph, v. 53. His correspondence with Charlemagne, 340. His wars with the Greek empire, vi. 39. His reign, 40
- Hashem, ancestor of Mahomet, vi. 335, 339
- Hassan, or Hasan, son of Ali, v. 456, 459, 460
- Hassan, governor of Egypt, v. 550
- Hassan, a janizary, leads the assault of Constantinople, vii. 219
- Hawkwood, Sir John, vii. 101
- Hegira, the era fixed by Omar, v. 420
- Helena, the mother of Constantine, i. 446. Converted to Christianity by her son, ii. 330 *note*
- Helena, sister of the emperor Constantius, married to Julian, ii. 290. Is reported to be deprived of children by the arts of the empress Eusebia, 293. Her death, 459
- Helena, daughter of Romanus Lecapenus, and wife of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, v. 245
- Heliopolis, or Baalbec, in Syria, v. 507
- Hellespont, the Goths penetrate through it, i. 303. Naval victory of Crispus on its waters, 492. Its form and extent, ii. 166. The Saracens pass through it to besiege Constantinople, vi. 3. Cross it at Abydos for the second siege, 8. Crossed by Frederic Barbarossa with his army, 356. Crossed by the Turks, vii. 33
- Helmichis assists Rosamund to murder Alboin, and is poisoned by her, v. 16
- Hengist, his arrival in Britain, iv. 173, 174
- Henry succeeds his brother Baldwin as emperor of Constantinople, vi. 465, 468
- Henry the Fowler, v. 343; vi. 157
- Henry III., emperor, his contest with pope Gregory VII., vi. 218. Takes Rome, and sets up pope Clement III., 219
- Henry VI., emperor, conquers the island of Sicily, v. 282

- Heraclea, in Pontus, i. 302.
Destroyed by Harun al Rashid, vi. 41
- Heraclea, in Thrace, Diocletian elected there, i. 392.
Maximin defeated, 478.
First colony of the Genoese, vi. 512
- Heracleonas, emperor of Constantinople, v. 207. Deposed and mutilated, 209
- Heraclian, kills Stilicho, iii. 331. Count of Africa, 378.
His cruel usage of the refugees from the sack of Rome by Alaric, 387. His revolt and death, 399
- Heraclianus conspires against Gallienus, i. 323
- Heraclius, exarch of Africa, v. 79
- Heraclius, deposes Phocas, and is chosen emperor, v. 80. Conquests of Chosroes II., king of Persia, 81. Distress of Heraclius, 85. Accepts an ignominious peace from Chosroes, 90. His first expedition against the Persians, 93. His second expedition, 95. Alliance with the Turks, 102. His third expedition, 105. His treaty of peace with Persia, 110. His triumph and pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 166. His theological inquiries, and *Ecthesis*, 166. Marries his niece Martina, 207. Appoints his two sons joint-successors to the empire, 207. Invasion of his provinces by the Saracens, 494. Flies from Syria, 517. His death, v. 207
- Heraclius the prefect, iv. 41, 42
- Heraclius the eunuch, iii. 568.
His death, 570
- Hercules, columns of, i. 29; v. 555
- Herculians, a body of imperial guards, i. 427; ii. 568; iii. 16
- Hermanric, king of the Ostrogoths, iii. 69, 110
- Hermenegild, or Ermenigild, prince of Bætica, iv. 110. His revolt and death, 112
- Hermits, of the East, iv. 86, 88
- Hermodorus, the Ephesian, iv. 527
- Hermogenes, master-general of the cavalry, ii. 434
- Hermogenian code, iv. 537
- Herod, son of Odenathus, his death, i. 344
- Herodes Atticus, i. 50
- Herodian, an officer under Belisarius, iv. 482
- Herodians, a Jewish sect, ii. 3 *note*
- Heruli, enter into the service of Gallienus, i. 304. Form a legion in Julian's army, ii. 449. Conquered by Hermanric, near the Palus Mæotis, iii. 69. Letter of Theodoric to their king, iv. 218. Their history and meaning of their name, *ib. note*. Serve under Narses in Italy, 365, 478
- Hierarchy of the church; its origin, ii. 47. Its progress, 51. Its pride, 60. Of the State, 180. Of Pagan Rome, iii. 55
- Hilarion, the monk, iv. 113
- Hilarius, friend of Libanius, iii. 201, 204
- Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, laments the diversity of Christian doctrines, ii. 394. His exposition of the term *Homoiousion*, 397. Ban-

- ished by Constantius, 421.
Restored with the other exiles by Julian, 501
- Hilary, pope, iv. 38
- Hilderic, the Vandal king of Africa, iv. 320, 334
- Hildibald, elected king, by the Goths in Italy, iv. 468
- Hindustan, trade with Rome, i. 161. Early Christian church there, v. 179. First visited by the Portuguese, 196. Invasions of Mahmud the Gaznevide, vi. 246. Conquest of, by Timour, vii. 54
- Hippo Regius, Augustin its bishop. iii. 250. Siege of, by Genseric, 482
- Hira, a kingdom and city of Arabia, iv. 434; v. 575; vi. 477
- Hologou, grandson of Zingis, vii. 13
- Homerites, an Abyssinian colony in Arabia, iv. 459, 461; v. 392
- Homoousion, origin and use of that term at the council of Nice, ii. 392. And Homoiousion, the distinction between, 397
- Honain, war of, v. 435
- Hongvou, a Chinese prince, vii. 74
- Honoratus, archbishop of Milan, v. 13
- Honorina, sister of Valentinian III., iii. 542
- Honorians, Barbarian auxiliaries of the usurper Constantine, iii. 324
- Honorius, son of Theodosius the Great, is declared emperor of the West by his dying father, iii. 219. Ascends the throne, 255. Marries Maria, the daughter of Stilicho, 281. His character, 282. Flies from Milan on the invasion of Italy by Alaric, 295. Besieged in Asta, 297. His triumphant entry into Rome, 302. Abolishes the combats of gladiators, 304. Fixes his residence at Ravenna, 304. Orders the death of Stilicho, 331. His measures unite his Barbarian soldiers against him under Alaric, 337. His councils distracted by the eunuchs, 371. His overtures to Attalus and Alaric, 377. His laws for the relief of Italy, 398. His triumph for the reduction of Spain by Wallia, 412. Gives independence to Britain and Armorica, 416. Convenes the Seven Provinces of Gaul, 420. Banishes his sister Placidia, 468. His death, *ib.* His persecution of the Donatists, 478
- Hormisdas, a fugitive Persian prince, his remarks on the city of Rome, ii. 295 *note*. His history, and station under Julian, 553. Requested by Sapor to mediate a peace with Julian, 570. His son supports the revolt of Procopius, iii. 16
- Hormouz, son of Chosroes, king of Persia, v. 50, 51, 55
- Hormuz, a competitor for the throne of Persia, i. 416
- Hortaire, king of the Allemanni, ii. 320
- Hosein, the son of Ali, his death, v. 462
- Hospitallers, knights of St. John of Jerusalem, origin and rules of the order, vi. 341. After the fall of Acre take refuge in Cyprus, 395.

- Obtain possession of Rhodes.
Defend it against Othman,
vii. 28
- Hostilianus, son of Decius,
elected emperor, i. 287; his
death, 288
- Houain, battle of, v. 435
- Houssein, brother-in-law and
colleague of Timour, vii.
48
- Hugh, king of Burgundy, v.
35^r
- Hugh, count of Vermandois,
vi. 298, 308, 327
- Hugo, king of Italy, vi. 95
- Hungarians, in Europe, vi.
147, 148, 149, 151, 154, 156,
158
- Hungary, establishment of the
Huns in, iii. 494. State of,
under Charlemagne, v. 338.
Peopled by a mixture of
races, vi. 158. Conquered
by the Moguls, vii. 16.
Wars with the Ottomans,
37, 158
- Huniades, John, his exploits
against the Turks, vii. 162,
169, 170
- Huniades, Matthias Corvinus,
king of Hungary, vii. 170
- Hunneric, the son of Genseric,
king of the Vandals, iv. 32,
101, 108
- Huns, their original seat, and
their conquests, iii. 97.
Their decline, 100. Two
divisions of them: the
White Huns, Euthalites,
occupy Sogdiana, 104. The
Huns of the Volga emigrate,
105. Defeat the Alani, 108.
Overcome the Ostrogoths,
110. Are defeated by
Toulun, 308. Occupy the
lands in modern Hungary,
494. Commanded by Attila,
495. Ravage the Eastern
empire, 505. Treaty of peace
with Theodosius II., 511.
Invade Gaul, 544. Defeated
at Chalons, 553. Invade
Italy, 555. Retreat, 564.
Their empire expires with
Attila, 566
- Hypatia, the female philo-
sopher, v. 130
- Hypatius, sedition of, iv. 265

I

- IBAS, bishop of Edessa, v. 162
- Iberia, conquered by Trajan,
i. 7. The nomination of its
kings by Diocletian, 423.
Converted to Christianity,
ii. 355. Receives the name
of Georgia, iv. 307; vi.
253
- Ibrahim, descendant of Ma-
homet's uncle Abbas, vi. 22
- Ibrahim, founder of the
Aglabites, vi. 62
- Ibrahim, vizir of Amurath II.,
vii. 82
- Icasia, by a pert reply, offends
the emperor Theophilus, v.
233
- Iceni, the British tribe, i. 22
- Ichoglans, young janizaries
attached to the sultan's
person, vii. 89
- Ichthyophagi, savage fisher-
men of Gedrosia, i. 235
note. Of Hejaz, v. 368
note
- Iconium, or Cogni, vi. 321,
350, 358; vii. 326
- Iconoclasts, the sect opposed
to the worship of images, v.
296. Break the images and
persecute the monks, 297.
Are resisted by the Western
church, 304. By the em-
press Irene, 323. Finally

- overcome by the empress Theodora, 325
- Idatius, iii. 408, 476 *note*; iv. 14
- Igilium, or Ægilium, iii. 386
- Igmazen, king of a Moorish tribe, iii. 60
- Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, ii. 112 *note*. His zeal, 121
- Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, vi. 400
- Igor, son of Ruric, vi. 168
- Igours, or Vigours, a Tartar nation, iii. 98. Overthrow the remnant of the Huns, iii. 567. Migrate to the banks of the Irtish, vi. 149
- Ikshidites, the Saracen dynasty, vi. 61
- Ildico, married to Attila, iii. 564
- Illiberis, rebuilt by Constantine and named Helena, ii. 264 *note*
- Illyricum, the Roman province, i. 23. The security of its frontier restored by Aurelian, 335. Divided between Gratian and Theodosius, iii. 142. Again between Arcadius and Honorius, 256. Alaric, master-general of the Eastern, 290
- Imams, Ali, and his eleven descendants, venerated by the Persians, v. 463
- Imma, daughter of Charlemagne, v. 332 *note*
- Immæ, near Antioch, defeat and death of Macrinus, i. 65 *note*. Zenobia defeated, 346 *note*
- Immortals, a Persian military band, ii. 584
- Imperator, in the Roman history, explained, i. 69 *note*. The imperial prerogatives, 72. The court, 76. Its sense altered, 429
- Ina, the legislator of Wessex, iv. 186
- Incarnation, history of the doctrine, v. 114
- Income, the Roman tax on, v. 157
- India, embassy from, to Constantine, ii. 248. To Julian, 540
- Ingo, king of Sweden, i. 277 *note*
- Ingundis, wife of the Spanish prince Hermenegild, iv. 142
- Inheritance, tax on, imposed by Augustus, i. 188. The Roman law, iv. 574. Testamentary dispositions of property, 577. The Voconian law, 580
- Injuries, Roman laws to redress, iv. 585
- Innocent I., pope, accompanies the embassy from Rome to Honorius, iii. 371
- Innocent II., pope, driven from Rome by Anacletus, vi. 224. Excommunicates Roger, king of Sicily, *ib.* Is taken prisoner by him, 225. Opposes Arnold of Brescia, and employs Bernard to preach a second crusade, vii. 250. His final triumph over Anacletus, 279
- Innocent III., founds the Inquisition and persecutes the Albigeois, vi. 135. His ambition, vi. 384. The most active promoter of the crusades, 385. Guardian of the emperor Frederic II., and makes him assume the cross, 386. Makes John of England surrender his crown to him, 385 *note*. Employs Fulk of Neuilly to preach the fourth crusade, 409. Excommunicates the cru-

- saders for the siege of Zara, 420. Condemns their conduct at Constantinople, 442. In his letters pardons them, on condition of their securing the obedience of the East to the church of Rome, 453
- Inquisition, iv. 117; vi. 235, 385
- Inquisitor of the faith, iii. 181
- Institutes of Roman law, various, iv. 553
- Institutes of Justinian, iv. 550
- Intiline, one of the five provinces ceded to Rome by Persia, i. 422. Restored by Jovian, ii. 591
- Investitures, papal, of Naples and Apulia to the Normans, vi. 196. Feudal, of the Franks in Gaul, iv. 155
- Iona, one of the Hebrides, iv. 73
- Irene, daughter of the Khan of the Chazars, v. 223
- Irene, an Athenian orphan, wife of the emperor Leo IV., v. 223. Guardian of their son Constantine, 224. Blinds him, and assumes the empire, 225. Is deposed and banished to Lesbos, 226. Image-worship restored by her, 324
- Irene, wife of Alexius Comnenus, v. 265
- Irene, or Bertha, first wife of Manuel I., Comnenus, v. 269
- Irene, or Pansophia, concubine of Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, v. 148
- Irnac, youngest son of Attila. His fate, iv. 37
- Isa, son of Bajazet I. His fate, vii. 80
- Isaac I., Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, v. 257. His abdication, 258
- Isaac II., Angelus, is deposed by his brother Alexius, vi. 384. Is restored by the crusaders, 432. His death, 437
- Isaac, son of John Comnenus, v. 262
- Isaac, son of Alexius Comnenus, v. 266. His rebellion and reconciliation, 270
- Isaac, archbishop of Armenia, iii. 465
- Isaurians, a wild and barbarous race, i. 320. Rebel under Trebellianus, *ib.* Remain independent, though defeated by Probus, 362. Trouble the reign of Constantius, ii. 289. Support the emperor Zeno, iv. 299. Submit to Anastasius, 301. The emperor Leo III. their countryman, v. 219
- Isdigune, a royal chamberlain of Persia, iv. 456
- Isidore of Miletus, iv. 288.
- Isidore, primate of Russia, vii. 119, 126, 156, 200
- Isis, the Egyptian Deity, i. 36
- Ismael, a chief of the race of Seljuk, vi. 246
- Ismael Beg, last prince of Sinope, vii. 233
- Isocrates, the companion of Plato and Xenophon, iv. 309. His first stipend, 311
- Istria, origin of its name, i. 25 *note*. Included in Italy, 23. Crispus conveyed there and put to death, ii. 237. Gallus has the same fate there, 286. Conquered by Alaric, iii. 293. A new Campania formed there, iv. 227. Acquired by Venice, vi. 414

Italy, divided by Augustus into eleven regions, i. 22. Its pre-eminence over the provinces, 38. Receives Severus without resistance, 129. Made subject to a proportion of the public burdens by Augustus, 186. Extinction of its exclusive privileges, 191. First invasion of Barbarians, 295. Invaded by Aureolus, 322. By the Allemanni, 336. Entered by Galerius, 353. Oppressed by Maxentius, 465. Delivered by Constantine, 475. Invaded by Maximus, iii. 191. By Alaric, 294. By Radagaisus, 311. Again by Alaric, 338. Depravity of its inhabitants in the 16th century, 388. Occupied four years by the Goths, 390. Evacuated by them, 397. Invaded by Attila, i. 57. By Genseric, iv. 5. Conquered by Odoacer, iv. 60. Its distress mitigated by his humanity, 67. Conquered by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, 213. Its inhabitants reserved by him for the arts of peace, 216. Flourishes under his government, 227. Invaded by Belisarius, 365. By the Franks, 390. Its Gothic kingdom subdued by Belisarius, 394. Restored by Totila or Badvila, 469. Finally subverted by Narses, 488. Invasion of the Franks and Allemanni, 498. Their defeat, 501. Government of the Exarchs of Ravenna, 502. Distress of the country, 504. Kingdom of the Lombards founded by Alboin, v. 14. Its extent and the ex-

archate of Ravenna, 27. Formation of the modern Italian language, 28. Allegiance to the Eastern empire thrown off, and temporal power of the pope established, 300-304. Lombard kingdom conquered by Charlemagne, 314. Calamitous expeditions of the German emperors, 353. Rise of the municipal republics, 354. Factions of the Guelfs and Ghibelines, 356; vii. 245. Inroad of the Hungarians, vi. 154. Conflict of the Greeks, Normans, and Saracens, 179. New Greek province, 182. First arrival of the Normans, 186. Their final extinction, 238. Revival of Greek learning in Italy, vii. 363. Fine arts, 363. Ithacius, or Idacius, his cruelty to Priscillian, iii. 184

J

JAAFAR, slain in the battle of Muta, v. 438
 Jabalah, an Arabian of the tribe of Gassan, v. 511
 Jacob, son of Leith, first of the Soffarides, vi. 60
 Jacobites, the Oriental sect, v. 180. Introduced into Abyssinia, 195. Submit to the Saracens in Egypt, v. 529. Send five of their bishops to Cairoan, 577
 Jalulah, battle of, v. 482
 James, bishop of Edessa, miracles ascribed to him, ii. 259 *note*
 James, St., his legendary exploits in Spain, ii. 73
 Jane, queen of Naples, sells

- Avignon to pope Clement VI., vii. 275. Is accused of having murdered her first husband, Andrew, prince of Hungary, 301
- Janizaries, their origin, vii. 34. Their education, 89. Name applied to the guards of the Greek emperor, 122
- Jaroslaus, the Russian prince, vi. 168
- Jazygæ, a Sarmatian tribe, ii. 252
- Jerome, or Hieronymus, is employed by Damasus, bishop of Rome, iii. 35. Exaggerates the calamities inflicted by the Goths, 138. The friend and flatterer of Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, 236. His controversy with Vigilantius, 247 *note*. Persecution of Rufinus and Jovinian, 294 *note*. His residence at Bethlem, 388. Gives Paula the title of "Mother-in-law of God," iv. 74
- Jerusalem, its temple respected by Augustus, ii. 5. Attempted profanation by Caligula, *ib.* The Jews excluded from it, 85. Destruction of the temple, 103. Julian's design to rebuild it, 510. Constantine's previous erection of a Christian church, 512. Julian's attempt defeated by an apparently supernatural interposition, 516. Church erected there by Justinian, iv. 294. The holy vessels of the temple placed there by him, 348
- Jerusalem, is conquered by Chosroes II., king of Persia, v. 83. Insurrection of the Monks, 151. The city conquered by the Saracens, 511. By the Turks, vi. 270. Is taken from the Turks by the Egyptian Fatimites, 332. Captured by the crusaders, 336. A Christian kingdom under Godfrey of Bouillon, 337. Appointment of a patriarch, 339. Knights of St. John and Templars, 341. Godfrey's Assise, 341, 343. Succession of its Christian princes, 371. Taken by Saladin, 373. Recovered by the emperor Frederic II., 388. Pillaged by the Carizmians, 389
- Jesuits, Portuguese, v. 180, 198
- Jews, their rebellion in the time of Hadrian, i. 9 *note*; ii. 84. Persecuted by Artaxerxes, i. 234. Their character and conduct to other nations, ii. 3. Did not receive from Moses the doctrine of a future state, 24. Learned it first under their Asmonæan princes and pontiffs, 25. Their reception of Christianity, 65. Their cruelty in Egypt, Cyprus, and Cyrene, 83. Distinguished from Christians, 85. The learned among them in Egypt study Greek philosophy, 381. The emperor Julian's letter to them, 491. Their persecution in Spain, iv. 116. Their mercantile establishments in Italy pillaged, 232. Their settlement in Arabia, 460. Persecuted by Heraclius, v. 112. By Cyril, at Alexandria, 129. By Justinian, 159. By Mahomet in Arabia, 430. Contributed to the conquest

- of Spain by the Saracens, 562. Plundered and massacred by the first crusaders in the trading cities of Germany, vi. 294. A tribute levied upon them to support the public games of modern Rome, vii. 357
- Jezdegerd, king of Persia, guardian to Theodosius the Younger, iii. 452. His war with Theodosius, 462
- Joannina, daughter of Belisarius, iv. 485
- John II., Comnenus, or Calo-Johannes, his reign, v. 266. His death, 267
- John, principal secretary to the emperor Honorius, iii. 468
- John, the Almsgiver, archbishop of Alexandria, v. 83. His liberality, 191
- John, bishop of Antioch, v. 139, 140
- John, of Apri, patriarch of Constantinople, vi. 549, 560
- John, the Armenian, an officer under Belisarius in Africa, iv. 333
- John of Cappadocia, iv. 284. Opposes the African war, 321. His fraud in supplying the army with bread, 329. Is disgraced by Theodora, 285
- John, count, favourite of the empress Eudocia, iii. 451
- John, the eunuch, v. 253
- John, son of Isaac Comnenus, v. 270
- John of Lycopolis, the hermit, iii. 214
- John, the Monophysite bishop of Asia, v. 159
- John XI., pope, son of Marozia, v. 348, 351
- John XII., pope, his flagitious character, v. 349. Degraded, 351
- John XXII., pope, vii. 113. Deposed by the people of Rome, 271
- John XXIII., pope, his profligate character, vii. 325
- John, the prefect and patrician, v. 550
- John of Procida, vi. 523
- John of Ravenna, pupil of Petrarch, vii. 139
- John, St., the evangelist, reveals the *Logos*, ii. 382. The disputed passage in his gospel on the "three witnesses," iv. 107
- John the Sanguinary, iv. 384. Obliges Vitiges to raise the siege of Rome, 386
- John, one of the principal officers under Basiliscus; his heroism, iv. 43
- Joinville accompanies Louis IX., vi. 381
- Jonas, of Damascus, v. 502
- Joseph the Carizmian, vi. 260
- Joseph, patriarch of Constantinople, vi. 514, 517
- Josephs of Amida, v. 177
- Jovian, is elected emperor by the troops of Julian, ii. 583. His treaty with Sapor, 586. Proclaims universal toleration, iii. 4. His death, 7
- Jovinian, persecuted by Jerome, iii. 294
- Jovinus, a general in Julian's army, ii. 463. Besieges Aquileia, 469. A member of the tribunal at Chalcedon, 477. Serves under Valentinian, iii. 40. Consul, 41
- Jovinus, assumes the diadem at Mentz, iii. 405. Invests his brother, Count Sebastian, with the purple, 406. They

- are defeated and slain by Adolphus, *ib.* 409
- Jovius, a general in Julian's army, ii. 463
- Jovius, commissioned by Theodosius to close the pagan temples in the Western empire, iii. 180. Prætorian prefect and minister to Honorius, 371. Instigates the guards against the eunuchs, 372. Negotiates with Alaric, 373. Abandons Honorius, 377. Betrays Attalus, 379
- Judas the Gaulonite, his rebellion, ii. 99
- Julia Domna, wife of the emperor Severus, i. 136, 147, 163
- Julia Mæsa, sister of Julia Domna, i. 163. Her intrigues to obtain the empire for her grandson Bassianus (Elagabalus), 164. Persuades him to adopt his cousin Alexander, 170. Her death, 172
- Julian assumes the purple at Carthage, 409
- Julian, the nephew of Constantine the Great, his character of Augustus in his "Cæsars," i. 80 *note*. Escapes the massacre of the family, ii. 252. Saved by Mark, bishop of Arethusa, 279 *note*. His education, 279. His rank, liberty, and patrimony restored, 280. His danger on the death of his brother Gallus, 287. Is sent to Athens, 288. Is protected by the empress Eusebia, recalled by Constantius, and married to Helena, 290. Is invested with the title of Cæsar, 291. Is appointed to the government of Gaul, 310. His first campaign, 312. Battle of Strasburg, 317. Reduces the Franks of Toxandria, 319. His three expeditions beyond the Rhine, 320. Restores the cities of Gaul, 321. His civil administration, 323. Alleviates the distress of the people, 324. His account of the theological calamities of the empire under Constantius, 437. Constantius grows jealous of him, 447. Is saluted emperor by the troops, 453. His embassy and epistle to Constantius, 456. His fourth and fifth expeditions beyond the Rhine, 458. Declares war against Constantius, 461. His march from the Rhine into Illyricum, 463. Enters Sirmium, 465. Publishes apologies for his conduct, 467. His triumphant entry into Constantinople, 470. His private life and civil government, 472. His reformations in the imperial palace, 474. Becomes a sloven to avoid foppery, 476. Erects a tribunal for the trial of the evil ministers of Constantius, 476. Dismisses the spies and informers, 478. His love of freedom, 481. His liberality to the Grecian cities, 482. His abilities as an orator, 483. And as a judge, 482. His character, 484. His apostasy accounted for, 486. Adopts the pagan mythology, 486. His education and early studies, 487. His aversion to Christianity, 488. His theological system,

493. The influence of philosophy turned against Christianity, 495. His initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, 496. His dissimulation during the life of Constantius, 499. His work against Christianity, 500. His toleration and letter to the citizens of Bostra, 501. Restores the banished clergy, 501. His pagan superstitious zeal, 502. His circular letters for the reformation of the pagan religion, 504. His friendship for Maximus, 507. His proselytism, 508. His address to the Jews, 510. His attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, 514. Transfers the allowances which had been granted to Christian churches, 518. Prohibits Christian schools, 519. Obliges the Christians to reinstate the pagan temples, 522. Restores the sacred grove and temple of Daphne, 524. Punishes the Christians of Antioch, 526. His treatment of the cities of Edessa and Alexandria, 531. Banishes Athanasius, 533. Accused of intending to persecute Christians, 537
- Julian, the philosophical fable of his "Cæsars," 538. Meditates the conquest of Persia, 541. Popular discontents during his residence at Antioch, 542. Writes his "Misopogon," 545. His friendship for Libanius, 546. His march to the Euphrates, 549. He enters the Persian territories, 552. Invades Assyria, 558. His personal conduct in this enterprise, 561. His address to his discontented troops, 563. His passage of the Tigris, 565. Burns his fleet, 571. His retreat and distress, 574. His death, 580. His funeral, 597
- Julian, count, v. 555, 561
- Julian of Halicarnassus, v. 188
- Julian Cæsarini, cardinal, vii. 124, 162, 164, 168
- Julius, master-general of the East, iii. 140
- Jurisprudence, Roman, supposed to have attained its full maturity and perfection under Severus, i. 144. The study of it led to fortune and honours, in the time of Constantine, ii. 195. Its school at Berytus, 196. Its history, iv. 523
- Justin the elder, iv. 244, 246
- Justin II., emperor, his alliance with the Turks, iv. 424. Succeeds his uncle Justinian, v. 1. His firmness to the ambassadors of the Avars, 4. Abdicates and invests Tiberius, as his successor, 18. His death, 19. His war with Nushirvan, 73
- Justin Martyr, his treatment of Judaizing Christians and Ebionites, ii. 12, 382. His exaggerated account of the progress of Christianity, 73. Was converted from Platonism to Christianity, 75
- Justina, her marriage with the emperor Valentinian, iii. 79. Her infant son, Valentinian II., invested with the imperial ensigns, 80. Professed the Arian faith, 186. Her contest with Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, 187. An

- edict of toleration promulgated through her influence, 189. Flies from the invasion of Maximus, with her son, 192. Meets Theodosius, 194. Her death, 210
- Justinian, emperor of the East, his "Institutes," ii. 195. His treaty with the sons of Clovis, iv. 142. His birth and promotion, 243. His orthodoxy, 246. Is invested with the diadem by his uncle Justin, 248. Marries Theodora, 250. Patronises the blue faction of the circus, 262. State of agriculture and manufacture in his provinces, 268. Introduces the culture of the silk-worm, 274. State of his revenue, 277. His avarice and profusion, 278. Taxes and monopolies, 281. His ministers, 283. His public buildings, 286. Finds the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, 289. His other public works, 293. His European fortifications, 295, 297. His Asiatic fortifications, 301, 306. He suppresses the schools of Athens, 314. And the consular dignity, 315. Purchases peace from the Persians, 319. Undertakes to restore Hilderic king of Carthage, 320. Reduction of Africa, 341. His instructions for its government, 342. His acquisitions in Spain, 355. His deceitful negotiations in Italy, 355. Conquests of Belisarius in Sicily and Italy, 361, 365. His letter to Narses, 388. Recalls Belisarius from Italy, 396. Sends him against the Persians, 403. Receives him with cold ingratitude, 404. Weakness of the empire, 406. Receives an embassy from the Avars, 421. Persian war, 436. Assists the Colchians, or Lazi, 451. His negotiations with Chosroes, 456. His alliance with the Abyssinians, 458. Oppresses Africa, 463. And Italy, 470. Sends Belisarius to oppose Totila, 472. Leaves him destitute of the means of warfare, 473. Finally recalls him, 482. Makes preparation for war, 487. Sends Narses to command, 488. Settles the government of Italy under the exarch of Ravenna, 502. Has again recourse to Belisarius, 507. Disgrace and death of Belisarius, 509. Death and character of Justinian, 511
- Justinian, the civil jurisprudence digested under his care, 523. Employs Tribonian to reform the Roman laws, 541. His code, 548. Pandects or digest, 549. His legal inconstancy, 556. His "Institutes," 558. Abuses of his jurisprudence, 601. His theological character and government, v. 157. His persecuting spirit, 158. His orthodoxy, 161. Died a heretic, 165
- Justinian II., emperor of Constantinople, v. 212, 214, 216
- Justinian, a friend of Stilicho, iii. 329
- Justinian, the son of Germanus, v. 19. Defeats Nushirvan at Melitene, 49
- Justiniana Prima, now Giustendil, iv. 296
- Justiniani, John, defends Con-

stantinople, vii. 199. His wound and death, 217
 Justus, the Paulician, vi. 125
 Juvenalis, patriarch of Jerusalem, v. 152
 Juventius, prefect of Rome, iii. 36

K

Kaoti, a Chinese emperor, iii. 99
 Kenric, king of Wessex, iv. 177
 Kerboga defeated by the crusaders at Antioch, vi. 325
 Kerman, a division of the Seljukians in Asia Minor, vi. 265
 Khalil, a sultan of Egypt, vi. 394
 Khan, or Chagan, the Tartar regal title, iii. 93, 308; v. 65
 Kilidsch Arslan, Seljukian sultan of Iconium, vi. 317, 319, 320
 Kilidsch Arslan II., vi. 358
 Kindred, civil degrees of, iv. 575
 Kipzak, Kaptchak, or Kasachia, a plain in Western Asia, conquered by the Moguls, vii. 15. Conquered by Timour, 52
 Koran, its publication and character, v. 403
 Koreish, an Arabian tribe, v. 372, 386, 391, 417, 418, 426, 434

L

LABARUM, or standard of the cross, ii. 340, 509; iii. 28
 Labeo, the civilian, iv. 540, 544

Lactantius. His flattering prediction of the influence of Christianity among mankind, 334. Inculcates the divine right of Constantine to the empire, 336. Character of his writings, and of his religion, 348. His pure and spiritual worship would have recoiled from that of images, iii. 253
 Lactarian Mount, now Lettere, iv. 496
 Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Poland, vii. 162, 164, 167
 Ladislaus, king of Naples, vii. 322
 Lælianus, Ælianus, or Lollianus, one of the thirty tyrants, i. 314, 329, 341 *note*
 Læta, widow of the emperor Gratian, iii. 365
 Læti, a promiscuous race in Gaul, iii. 548
 Lætus, prætorian prefect, kills Commodus, and confers the empire on Pertinax, i. 110. Conspires against him, 116
 Lampadius, a Roman senator, iii. 327
 Lance, Holy, legend of the, vi. 328
 Land, assessed by the Roman emperors, ii. 218. Divided by the Barbarians, iv. 153. Allodial, and Salic, 156. Of Italy, how partitioned by Theodoric, 215. Of conquered States allotted and colonised by the Romans, 573
 Landlord and Tenant, their mutual obligations under the Roman law, iv. 583
 Langres, battle of, i. 408
 Laodicea, i. 55. Its ruins, vii. 28

- Lascaris, Theodore, vi. 429, 458, 499
- Lascaris, Theodore II., vi. 502, 503
- Lascaris, John IV., vi. 512
- Lascaris, Janus, the Greek grammarian, vii. 141, 145
- Latin church, its separation from the Greek, vi. 396. Corruption and schism, vii. 113. Reunion of with the Greek, vii. 129. End of the schism of the West, 130. The subsequent Greek schisms, 155
- Latins, or Franks, vi. 107, 111
- Latium, the right of, explained, i. 40
- Latronian, a poet, iii. 183
- Leander, archbishop of Seville, iv. 111
- Lebedias declines the Hungarian crown in favour of Almus, vi. 149
- Legion, in the Roman army under the emperors, described, i. 12. General distribution of the legions, 19. Their mutinies against Alexander Severus, 180. First paid at the siege of Veii, 182. Divided into smaller bands by Constantine the Great, ii. 203
- Lentienses, a tribe of the Allemanni, iii. 126
- Leo of Thrace, emperor of the East, iv. 583, 584, 587; v. 161
- Leo II., iv. 206
- Leo III., the Isaurian, v. 219, 220, 294, 301, 304
- Leo IV., v. 222. His death, 223
- Leo V., the Armenian, v. 228, 229
- Leo VI., the philosopher, v. 242, 243; vi. 97
- Leo, a general defeated by Tribigild, iii. 433
- Leo, bishop of Rome, iii. 562; iv. 5; v. 147
- Leo III., pope, v. 330, 331; vi. 398
- Leo IV., pope, vi. 46, 47, 49
- Leo IX., pope, vi. 194, 196; vii. 279
- Leo X., vi. 258
- Leo of Thessalonica, vi. 112
- Leo Pilatus, vi. 472
- Leonas, the quæstor, ii. 460
- Leontius of Athens, iii. 459
- Leontius is taken from prison, and chosen emperor on the deposition of Justinian II., v. 213. His death, 215
- Leovigild, Gothic king of Spain, iv. 110, 112
- Leuden, the people, vi. 561
- Leuderis, the Gothic commander of Rome, surrenders to Belisarius, iv. 369
- Lewis the Pious, v. 341
- Lewis II., emperor of the West, v. 342, 345; vi. 181
- Lewis of Bavaria, emperor of the West, vii. 261, 262
- Lewis of Hungary, vii. 300
- Libanius. Expatriates on Julian's visions, ii. 497 *note*. Approves his outward conformity to Christian rites, 499. Refuses Julian's invitation to Constantinople, ii. 546. Their intercourse at Antioch, *ib.* His writings and character, 547. His comments on the treaty of Dara, 588. Regrets that Julian was not buried in the groves of the Academy, 597. His funeral oration on Valens and his army, iii. 134. Pleads for the citizens of Antioch, 231. Was distinguished by the friendship of Theodosius,

243. The tutor of Chrysostom, 442
- Liberius, bishop of Rome, ii. 421, 432, 433
- Liberius, prætorian prefect of Theodoric, iv. 223
- Libius, Severus, made emperor by Ricimer, iv. 29
- Licinius rescued from the seditious soldiers by Tiridates, i. 412. Is invested with the purple by Galerius, i. 458. Divides the provinces of Galerius with Maximin, 462. His alliance with Constantine, 477. Defeats Maximin, 478. His cruelty, 479. Is defeated by Constantine at Cibalis, 483. And at Mardia, 484. Peace concluded, 485. Second civil war with Constantine, 489. His humiliation, and death, 494
- Licinius concurred in the edict of Milan, ii. 331. Violated this engagement, 336. His alleged vision, 343
- Licinius, the Younger, i. 485; ii. 237
- Lignitz, victory of the Moguls at, vii. 16
- Lilius, ambassador from Phocas, v. 80.
- Lilybæum, in Sicily, iv. 355, 360
- Limigantes, Sarmatian slaves, ii. 248, 299
- Litorius, count, iii. 537
- Lombards, their conversion from Arianism, iv. 114. Their name, and history, 409. Are employed by the emperor Justinian, 410. Their king Alboin, v. 1. They reduce the Gepidæ, 8. Overrun that part of Italy now called Lombardy, 13. Extent of their kingdom, 27.
- Language and manners, 28.
- Government and laws, 34.
- Attack Rome, 310
- Lombardy, the country afterwards so called, was peopled by Gauls (Celts), i. 22. Ravaged by Attila, iii. 558. Conquered by the Lombards, v. 13, 36. Is conquered by Charlemagne, 314
- Lombardy, the Greek Theme or province so called in the South of Italy, vi. 183. Conquered by the Normans, 202
- Longinus, the philosopher, i. 65, 272, 350
- Longinus, exarch of Ravenna, v. 11, 16
- Longinus, brother of the emperor Zeno, iv. 300
- Loria, Roger de, his naval exploits, vi. 527
- Lothaire I., emperor of the West, v. 341
- Lothaire, a leader of the Allemanni, invades Italy, iv. 499. His death, 500
- Louis VII. of France, vi. 228, 351, 356
- Louis IX. of France, his crusades to the Holy Land, vi. 389, 478, 494
- Lublin, destroyed by the Moguls, vii. 15
- Lucca, besieged and taken by Narses, iv. 498
- Lucian, count of the East, iii. 262
- Lucian, presbyter of Jerusalem, discovers the body of St. Stephen, iii. 249
- Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, ii. 421
- Lucilla, sister of the emperor Commodus, i. 99
- Lucillian, defends Nisibis, ii. 260. Taken prisoner by

Julian, 465. Appointed by his son-in-law Jovian to command in Gaul; is massacred at Rheims, iii. 5

Lucius II. and III., popes, vii. 247.

Lucius, successor of Athanasius, iii. 31

Luitprand, or Liutprand, king of Lombardy, v. 310, 311

Liutprand, or Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, v. 309; vi. 73

Luke, St., his relics conveyed to Constantinople, iii. 246. Called a painter, was probably a physician, v. 291

Lupicinus, sent by Julian into Britain, ii. 451. Imprisoned, 457. Brings the legions of Syria to assist Valens, iii. 18. Governor of Thrace oppresses the Goths, 117. Provokes them to hostilities, 119. Is defeated by them, 119

Lupus, patron saint of Troyes, iii. 545

Lusitania, a Spanish province, i. 21. Conquered by the usurper Constantine, iii. 323. Occupied by the Alani, 388

Lutetia Parisiorum, now Paris, ii. 325

Lychnidus, or Achrida, vi. 142, 147

Lycia, a Roman province, i. 26; iii. 259

Lygians, a German nation, i. 373

Lyons, the ancient Lugdunum, gave its name to a province of Gaul, i. 21. Battle of, i. 137. Clodius Albinus defeated there by Severus, 136. Adheres to Tetricus and is taken by Aurelian, 342. Irenæus, its bishop, ii. 32.

Its martyrs, 92 *note*, 113 *note*. Gratian assassinated there, iii. 164. Taken by Clovis, iv. 134. Threatened by Abderame, vi. 117

M

Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, v. 168, 184

Macedonia, former kingdom of, a Roman province, i. 25. Added to the Eastern empire, iii. 142. Descent of its kings, ii. 482

Macedonians, a sect in the East, iii. 177

Macedonius II., bishop of Constantinople, v. 154

Macedonius, Arian bishop of Constantinople, ii. 434. Removes the body of the emperor Constantine to the church of St. Acacius, 435. Persecutes the Catholics and Novatians, 437

Macrianus, prætorian prefect under Valerian, i. 308

Macrianus, a prince of the Allemanni, iii. 44

Macrinus, his succession to the empire predicted, i. 158. Accelerates the completion of the prophecy, 159. Purchases peace with Parthia, 236. His attempt to regulate the army, 162. His death, 166

Mæonius of Palmyra, i. 345

Magi, in Persia, corruption of their religion, i. 227. Its reformation by a general council, 228. Their doctrine of the two principles, 228. Moral duties inculcated, 230. Power and wealth of the Magi, 232. Their intoler-

- ance, 234, 414. They predict the birth of Sapor, ii. 254. Their doctrines blended with Christianity by the Manichæans, 375. After the conquest of Persia, retired into Arabia, v. 380. Their fall, v. 575. Ghebers or fire-worshippers a remnant of them, 577
- Magistrates, civil, in Rome, i. 35, 74, 428; ii. 196; iv. 596, 597
- Magnentius, assumes the empire in Gaul, ii. 263. Puts Constans to death, 264. Sends an embassy to Constantius, 265. His proposals rejected, 266. Is defeated at the battle of Mursa, 271. Takes flight, 273. Kills himself, 275
- Magnesia ad Sipylum, vi. 503, 528; vii. 158
- Magnus, put to death by Maximin, i. 198
- Mahadi, or the Guide, the last of the Imams, v. 463
- Mahmud, the Gaznevide, vi. 239, 243
- Mahomet, introduced the fable of the Seven Sleepers in the Koran, iii. 490. His letters to Heraclius and Chosroes, v. 88. His genealogy, birth, and education, 391. His person and character, 394. Assumed his prophetic character, 397. Inculcated the unity of God, 397. His reverential mention of Jesus Christ, 401. His Koran, 403. His miracles, 405. His precepts, 407. His hell and paradise, 411. Converts his own family, 415. Preaches publicly at Mecca, 415. Escapes from the Koreishites there, 419. Is received as prince of Medina, 420. His regal dignity, and sacerdotal office, 422. Declares war against infidels, 423. Battle of Beder, 427. Battle of Ohud, 428. Subdues the Jews of Arabia, 429. Submission of Mecca to him, 433. He conquers Arabia, 434. His sickness and death, 442. His character, 443. His private life, 446. His wives, 447. His children, 449. His posterity, 459. The spread and permanency of his religion, 467
- Mahomet I., the son of Bajazet, vii. 81
- Mahomet II., sultan, the castles on the Bosphorus strengthened by him, ii. 164. His alleged mutilation of the serpentine pillar in the Hippodrome, 175 *note*; vii. 225. His wars with Scanderbeg, 174, 175. His character, 180. His reign, 185. Indications of his hostile intentions against the Greeks, 187. He besieges Constantinople, 195. Takes the city by storm, 220. His entry into the city, 225. Makes it his capital, 228. Conquers the Morea, 231. Trebizond, 233. His death, 237
- Mainfroy, or Manfred, king of the Two Sicilies, vi. 522
- Mainotes, a tribe in the Morea, vi. 78
- Majorca submits to Belisarius, iv. 341
- Majorian, iv. 18, 19, 24, 27, 28
- Majo, great admiral of Sicily, vi. 234
- Majorinus, ii. 132 *note*, 376

- Malabar, early Christians on its coast, v. 176, 178, 179
- Malak Rodosaces, ii. 556
- Malarich refuses the command in Gaul offered him by Jovian, iii. 5
- Malek Shah, sultan of the Turks, vi. 262, 264, 266
- Mallius Theodorus, his civil honours, ii. 197 *note*. The subject of Claudian's epigram, iii. 335
- Malta, conquered by Roger, king of Sicily, vi. 226
- Mamæa, i. 172, 197; ii. 291
- Mamalukes, their origin and character, vi. 363. Their establishment in Egypt, 292. Their capture of Acre, 395. Repulse the Moguls from Syria, vii. 14
- Mamertinus, ii. 477, 481
- Mango, an ally of Tiridates, i. 414
- Manes, both a Magian and Christian heretic, i. 234 *note*. The time of his preaching, ii. 375 *note*
- Maniaces, governor of the Theme of Lombardy, vi. 190
- Maniach, a Turkish ambassador, iv. 423
- Manichæans, edict of Diocletian against them, ii. 375. Of Theodosius, iii. 181. A branch of them originates the sect of Paulicians, vi. 120
- Manuel I., Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, v. 267. He repulses the Normans, vi. 228. But fails in his scheme of subduing the Western empire, 231. His ill-treatment of the crusaders, 354
- Manuel II., Palæologus, is detained by Bajazet at Bursa, vii. 42. Obtains assistance from the king of France, 43. Accompanies Boucicault on his return, 44. Resumes the empire and treats with Bajazet's sons, 85. His death, 87. Account of his visit to Venice, 102. To Paris, 103. To London, 104. His ambassadors at the council of Constance, 108. His negotiations with Martin, 109. His policy, 110. Fortified the Isthmus of Corinth, 111
- Manumission restricted by the Roman laws, i. 45
- Maogmalcha, reduced and destroyed by Julian, ii. 559
- Marcellinus, count of the sacred largesses, assists the usurpation of Magnentius, ii. 263. His embassy to Constantius, 265. Killed in the battle of Mursa, 275
- Marcellinus, iv. 29, 41, 44
- Marcellinus, son of the prefect Maximin, murders Gabinus, king of the Quadi, iii. 75
- Marcellus, the centurion, ii. 138
- Marcellus, bishop of Rome, exiled, ii. 150
- Marcellus, bishop of Apamea, iii. 233
- Marcellus abandons Julian when besieged at Sens, ii. 314. Rebellion and punishment of his son, 480
- Marcellus of Ancyra, friend of Athanasius, ii. 393
- Marcia, the most favoured concubine of Commodus, i. 105. Conspires against and poisons him, 110. A patroness of the Christians, ii. 126
- Marcian, one of the con-

- spirators against Gallienus, i. 322
- Marcian, marries the empress Pulcheria, and is acknowledged emperor, iii. 529. His refusal of the demands of Attila, 531. Recognises Avitus as emperor of the West, iv. 10. His pacific policy, 34
- Marciana, sister of Trajan, i. 282
- Marcianopolis, founded by him in honour of her, i. 282. Purchased the retreat of the Goths, *ib.* The Visigoths commence war there, iii. 118, 119. Victory of Attila and plunder of the city, 504, 505
- Marcionites, a Gnostic sect, ii. 15; v. 120; vi. 120
- Marcomanni, their war with Marcus Antoninus, i. 270. Gallienus grants them a settlement in Pannonia, i. 297
- Marcomir, king of the Franks, iii. 317
- Marcus, an emperor elected by the army in Britain and murdered, iii. 321
- Mardia, battle of, i. 484
- Mardonius, a preceptor of Julian, ii. 488 *note*
- Margus, battle of, between Diocletian and Carinus, i. 538. Manufacture of arms there, ii. 333. Treaty of, with the Huns, iii. 504. Betrayed by its bishop into their hands, *ib.* Sabinian, general of the East, defeated there by Theodoric, iv. 220
- Maria, daughter of Stilicho, married to the emperor Honorius, iii. 280. Her death, 331
- Maria, daughter of Raymond of Poitou, prince of Antioch, marries the emperor Manuel Comnenus, v. 270, 275. Murdered by Andronicus, 279
- Maria, daughter of Eudæmon of Carthage, her adventures, iii. 489
- Marina, daughter of the emperor Arcadius, iii. 454
- Marinus, chosen emperor by the legions of Mœsia, and murdered by them, i. 274
- Marius, the armourer, i. 315, 341
- Mark of Ephesus, attends the emperor John Palæologus II. to Italy, vii. 118. Is a leader of the Greeks in the council of Ferrara and Florence, 124. Disdains communion with the Latins, 127. His firmness respected, 129. His death, 155
- Mark, bishop of Arethusa, ii. 523
- Maroboduus, king of the Marcomanni, i. 270 *note*. Said to have been the progenitor of the Frank Merovingians, iii. 539 *note*
- Maron, a Syrian hermit, v. 186
- Maronga, engagement there between the emperor Julian and Sapor, ii. 576
- Maronites, a Monothelite sect, v. 184, 185; vi. 5
- Marozia, a Roman prostitute, the mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother, of three popes, v. 348. Marries Hugh, king of Burgundy, 350. Is imprisoned by her son Alberic, 351
- Marriage, regulations of, by the Roman laws, iv. 564. A

- fourth prohibited by a law of Leo the Philosopher, v. 243. Of Roman citizens with strangers, proscribed, vi. 93
- Martel, Charles, his character, vi. 18. Defeats the Saracens, 19. Consigned to hell flames by the clergy, 21
- Martialis, the assassin of Caracalla, i. 158
- Martin, bishop of Tours, attentions exacted by him from the emperor Maximus, ii. 357 *note*. His reputed miracles, iii. 185. Destroys the idols and pagan temples in Gaul, 232. His monastic institutions there, iv. 73. Conversion of the Suevi at his shrine, 113
- Martin I., pope, banished by Constans II., v. 166
- Martin IV., pope, excluded the emperor Michael from the Western church, vi. 520. Joins a league against him, 523. Senator of Rome, vii. 260
- Martin V., pope, his election terminates the schism of the West, vii. 327. Commences the restoration of Rome, 362
- Martina marries her uncle, the emperor Heraclius, v. 91, 207. Endeavours to share the imperial dignity with her sons, 208. Her fate, 209
- Martinianus, receives the title of Cæsar from the emperor Licinius, i. 494
- Martyrs, primitive, their true history, ii. 81. Inducements to martyrdom, 119. Three methods of escaping it, 122. Marks by which learned Catholics distinguish the relics of the martyrs, 113
- note*. Era of, 134 *note*. Legendary martyrdoms, 155. The worship of, introduced, iii. 245
- Mary, queen of Bulgaria, vi. 520
- Mascezel, brother of Guido, takes refuge in the court of Honorius, iii. 275. Is entrusted with troops to reduce Gildo, 276. Defeats him, 278. His death, 280
- Massagetæ, invade Persia, ii. 261
- Massoud, son of Mahmud the Gaznevide, vi. 246
- Masters-general, of the cavalry and infantry, their duties, ii. 199. Power of the office in the hands of Alaric, iii. 292
- Maternus, his revolt and conspiracy against the emperor Commodus, i. 102
- Maurice, his birth, character, and promotion to the empire, v. 22. Restores Chosroes II., 59. His wars against the Avars, 68. State of his armies, 70. His abdication and death, 75
- Mauritania, ancient, its situation and extent, i. 28. Invaded by a body of Franks, 294. Vanquished by Maximian, 409. Its villages peopled by Donatists, ii. 438. Its condition at the arrival of the Vandals, iii. 477. Reconquered by Belisarius and Solomon, iii. 568. Subdued by the Saracens, v. 504
- Maxentius, the son of Maximian, declared emperor at Rome, i. 452. His tyranny in Italy and Africa, 464. Opposes Constantine, 467. His defeat and death, 474.

- His politic humanity to the Christians, ii. 149
- Maximian, trained in the school of Aurelian and Probus, i. 372. Colleague of Diocletian, his character, 397. Overcomes the Bagaudæ of Gaul, 401, and the insurgents of Mauritania, 409. Triumphs with Diocletian, 424. Holds his court at Milan, 425. Abdicates the empire with Diocletian, 435. He resumes the purple, 453. Reduces Severus, and puts him to death, 455. His second resignation and unfortunate end, 458. His aversion to the Christians, ii. 137, 148
- Maximilianus, the African, a Christian martyr, ii. 138
- Maximin, the Thracian, his birth, fortune, and elevation to the empire of Rome, i. 195. His cruelty, 198. His advance towards Italy, 209. His death, 212. Why deemed a persecutor of the Christians, ii. 129
- Maximin, surnamed Daza, promoted to the rank of Cæsar, i. 445. Exacts that of Augustus, 458. Divides the Eastern provinces with Licinius, 462. Commences war against him, 477. His defeat, flight, and death, 478. His cruelty to the wife and daughter of Diocletian, 480. Supports heathenism by a system copied from the policy of the church, ii. 153. Issues an edict of persecution, 152. Which he suspends, 155
- Maximin, the cruel minister of the emperor Valentinian, iii. 25. Obtains the government of Valeria for his son, 75
- Maximin, his embassy from Theodosius the Younger to Attila, iii. 514
- Maximianists, a section of Donatists, ii. 379
- Maximus Papienus and Balbinus, elected joint emperors by the senate, i. 207. Their discord, 216. Are put to death, 217
- Maximus, a rival of Gregory Nazianzen, iii. 173
- Maximus, his character and revolt in Britain, iii. 162. Invades Gaul, 163. His treaty with the emperor Theodosius, 166. Persecutes the Priscillianists, 182. His invasion of Italy, 191. His defeat and death, 196
- Maximus, the Neo-Platonist. Initiates Julian into the mysteries of Eleusis, ii. 495. Is invited by him to Constantinople, 507. Attended him on his Persian expedition, 581
- Maximus, proclaimed emperor by Gerontius, iii. 401. His death, 402
- Maximus, Petronius, his wife ravished by Valentinian III., iii. 569. His character and elevation to the empire, iv. 3. Marries the widow of Valentinian, 4. His death, 6
- Maximus, an abbot, v. 167
- Maximus, Julius Verus, son of the tyrant Maximin, i. 213
- Maximus, colleague of Lupicinus, iii. 116
- Mazdak, a Persian fanatic, iv. 426

- Mebodes, the Persian general, iv. 428
- Mebodes, a Persian general under Chosroes II., v. 60
- Mecca, its situation and description, v. 371. The Caaba, or temple of, 385. Its deliverance from Abraham, 392. Mahomet opposed there, 417. His flight, 418. The city surrendered to Mahomet, 433. All unbelievers excluded, 434. Is pillaged by Abu Taher, vi. 57. Attacked by Reginald de Chatillon, 372
- Media, its tribes implore the protection of Trajan, i. 7. The summer residence of the Persian monarchs, 238. Invaded by the Huns, iii. 502. The scene of Bahram's revolt, v. 54, 60. Of the exploits of Heraclius, 98
- Mediana, a castle near Naissus, iii. 13
- Medina, v. 371, 419, 442
- Megalesia, the Roman festival, i. 102 *note*
- Melchites, or royalists, an eastern sect, v. 170
- Meletians, ii. 410 *note*
- Meletius, bishop of Antioch, iii. 177
- Melisenda, daughter of Baldwin II., marries Fulk of Anjou, vi. 371
- Melitene, battle of, between the Eastern emperor Tiberius and Chosroes, v. 49. Paulicians at, vi. 129
- Mellobaudes (or Merobaudes), king of the Franks and count of the Domestics, protects Romanus, iii. 61. Nominates Valentinian II., 80. Serves under Gratian, 127. Put to death by Maximus, 165. Said to have betrayed Gratian, *ib. note*
- Melo, revolts, and invites the Normans into Italy, vi. 187. His death, 188
- Melphi, the common city and citadel of the Normans in Apulia, vi. 191
- Memnon, bishop of Ephesus, v. 136
- Memnon, human actors introduced into his hollow statue, iii. 236
- Memphis, v. 526
- Mengo Timour, third khan of Kipzak, vii. 22
- Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, ii. 150
- Mentz, or Moguntiacum, surprised by the Allemanni, iii. 41. Plundered by the Barbarians, 318. Jovinus revolts there, 404. Massacre and pillage of the Jews by crusaders, vi. 294
- Merida, taken by the Saracens, v. 565
- Mermeroes, the Persian General, v. 418
- Meroveus, king of the Franks, iii. 539 *note*. Implores the protection of Rome, 542. Serves under Ætius at Chalons, 548. Watches the retreat of Attila, 556
- Merovingian kings of the Franks in Gaul, iii. 539. Origin of their gold coinage, iv. 143. Their kingdom, 144. Their laws, 147. Their domain and benefices, 155. Did not oppress Gaul, 165. Their liberal policy, 166. Decay of their line, v. 336. The last of their race, vi. 14
- Merseburg in Saxony, defeat of the Hungarians by Henry the Fowler, vi. 156

- Mervan II., the last of the house of Ommiyah, vi. 24
- Mesopotamia, conquered by Trajan, i. 8. Invaded by the Persians, 219. Osrhoene, its northern part, formed permanently into a Roman province, 238. Artaxerxes unable to conquer it, 242. The southern part ravaged by Carus, 384. Campaign of Galerius, 416. The claims of Persia relinquished, 448. Invaded by Sapor, ii. 256. Resistance of its fortified towns, 259; march of Julian over its sandy plains, ii. 535. Its strongest fortresses dismembered by the treaty of Dura, 587. Amida made the capital, 594. Two indecisive campaigns of the Romans and Persians, iii. 463. Manœuvre of Belisarius, iv. 440. Its fortresses taken and destroyed by Chosroes II., v. 82. Recovered by Heraclius, 103. Conquered by the Saracens, v. 522. A new province to the west of the Euphrates, vi. 74. Part of it acquired by Baldwin, 321. Taken by Zenghi, 362. Overrun by the Mongols, vii. 14. By Timour, 50
- Messala, Valerius, the first prefect of Rome, ii. 191
note
- Messala, governor of Pannonia, iii. 76
- Mesuah, an Arabian master of medicine, vi. 36
- Metius Falconius, persuades Tacitus to be emperor, i. 364
- Metrophanes of Cyzicus, is made patriarch of Constantinople, vii. 155
- Metz, plundered by Attila, iii. 545
- Michael I., Rhangabe, emperor of Constantinople, v. 226, 227. Persecuted the Paulicians, vi. 127
- Michael II., the Stammerer, v. 225, 227, 230
- Michael III., v. 234. His extravagance, 235. Is defeated by the Paulicians, vi. 129. Is murdered, v. 236
- Michael IV., the Paphlagonian, v. 253, 254
- Michael V., Calaphates, v. 253, 254
- Michael VI., Stratioticus, v. 256
- Michael VII., Ducas, surnamed Parapinaces, v. 257. Resigns the crown, and becomes archbishop of Ephesus, 259
- Michael VIII., Palæologus. *See* Palæologus
- Michael IX., Palæologus. *See* Palæologus
- Michael, a natural son of Constantine Angelus, vi. 460
- Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, vi. 401
- Milan, the imperial court of the West, transferred to that city, i. 426. Edict of Constantine, published there, ii. 363. Ambrose archbishop, iii. 185. Tumults occasioned by his refusing a church for Arian worship, 186. Taken by Attila, iii. 558. Submits to Belisarius, iv. 384. Is taken and destroyed by the Burgundians, 389. Is again destroyed by Frederic I., v. 356. Its duke protects Genoa, and is styled Lord of Pera, vi. 567. Its first Duke John Galeazzo Visconte, vii. 102

- Minervina, first wife of Constantine, ii. 233
- Mint, at Rome, sedition of the workmen, i. 355
- Minucius Felix, ii. 87
- Mirdites, Scanderbeg's tribe, vii. 282 *note*
- Mirranes, or Mirrhanes, a Persian name or title of honour, iv. 323
- Misenum, a Roman naval station, i. 19. Its marines brought to support Didius Julianus, 131. Its harbour, iii. 350
- Misitheus, minister and father-in-law of the third Gordian, i. 218. His death, 219
- Misopogon of the emperor Julian, ii. 545
- Missorium, golden dish of Adolphus, iii. 397
- Mistrianus, ambassador from Licinius to Constantine, i. 475
- Mithridates, his massacre of the Romans in Asia, i. 39. Resisted by the city of Cyzicus, 302. His conquest of Colchis, iv. 447. His dynasty, vi. 240 *note*
- Moawiyah, makes war against Ali, v. 459. His character and reign, 460. Lays siege to Constantinople, vi. 2
- Moctader, his splendour, vi. 27. Is attacked by the Carmathians, 55
- Modar, prince of the Amali, iii. 149
- Modestinus, a counsellor of Alexander Severus, iv. 546; v. 33
- Mæsia, its situation, i. 25. Defended by Theodosius against the Sarmatians, iii. 77. The Visigoths settled there by Valens, 114, 118
- Moez, a Fatimite caliph in Egypt, v. 465
- Mogul, the Great, title taken by Zingis, vii. 3 *note*. Continued by the successors of Timour, 79
- Mohadi, third caliph of the Abbassides, vi. 39
- Mohagerians, the Moslem fugitives of Mecca, v. 421
- Mohammed, Sultan of Carizme, iii. 104 *note*. Defeated by Zingis, vii. 8. His death, 9
- Mokawkas, his treaty with Amrou, v. 528
- Moko, the Slave, founder of the Geougen, iii. 308
- Mongols, or Moguls, their connection with the Tartars and Huns, iii. 84. Their destructive mode of warfare, 507 *note*; vii. 78. Their conquests under Zingis, 7. Subdued almost all Asia and a large portion of Europe, 10. Repeat their conquests under Timour or Tamerlane, 50. Defeat Bajazet at Angora, 64. Transient nature of their conquests, 79
- Monks, their fabulous accounts of early martyrs, ii. 110. They conceal Athanasius in the deserts of Thebais, 427. Assist Martin of Tours in destroying pagan temples, iii. 232. Described by Eunapius, 245. By Rutilius, 276. Their origin, iv. 69. Multiply in Egypt, 70. Causes of their progress, 74. Their discipline and rules, 76. Destroy the freedom of the mind, 78. Their manual and literary labours, 80. Their wealth, 82. Their miracles, 88.

- Their violence at the second council of Ephesus, v. 144.
 Defence of image-worship, 292. Are suppressed by Constantine Copronymus, 294. Abu Beker instructs the Syrian army to spare them, 489
- Monophysites, v. 144, 169, 171
- Monothelite controversy, v. 166
- Montanists, ii. 92 *note*, 123; v. 158
- Montius, quæstor of the palace, ii. 282, 283
- Moors, revolt under Firmus, iii. 57. Assist the Vandals, 477. Those of the mountains resist the Roman general Solomon, iv. 352. Are reduced and converted by the Arabs, v. 552
- Mopsuestia, Malmistra, Missis; Ætius, the heretic, banished there, ii. 422 *note*. Recovered from the Saracens by Nicephorus Phocas, vi. 65. Taken by the crusaders, 321
- Morea reduced by the Turks, vii. 232. Final expulsion of the Venetians, 234
- Morosini, Thomas, vi. 452
- Moseilama, an Arabian chief, endeavours to rival Mahomet, v. 471. His death, 472
- Moslemah, the Saracen, besieges Constantinople, vi. 7. His retreat, 10
- Mostali, caliph of Egypt, vi. 332
- Mostanser, caliph of Bagdad, vi. 54
- Mostasem, the last caliph of Bagdad, vii. 14
- Mosthadi, caliph of Bagdad, vi. 367
- Motassem, the caliph, vi. 49
- Motawakkel, caliph of Bagdad, killed by his Turkish guards, vi. 54
- Mothi, caliph of Bagdad, his reduced state, vi. 68
- Mourzoufle, usurps the Greek empire, vi. 437. Is driven from Constantinople by the Latins, 440. His death, 457
- Mousa, the son of Bajazet, vii. 68, 80
- Moxoene, one of the five provinces ceded by Persia, i. 422
- Mozarabes, of Spain, v. 578
- Mucapor, assassin of Aurelian, i. 358
- Mummolus, Ennius, count of Autun, iv. 166
- Munaza, a Moorish chief, ally of Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, vi. 16
- Mursa, or Essek, battle of, between Constantius and Magnentius, ii. 271
- Mursas, Tartar chiefs, iii. 92
- Musonian, a minister of Constantius, ii. 300
- Mustapha, supposed son of Bajazet, vii. 80
- Muta, battle of, v. 439
- Muza, the Saracen, reduces Northern Africa, v. 554. His conquest of Spain, 564. His disgrace, 568. His death, 569
- Muzalon, George, a favourite of Theodore Lascaris, vi. 503, 504
- Mythras, worship of, at Rome, ii. 136 *note*

N

- NACOLIA, battle of, iii. 19
- Nacoragan, a Persian general, iv. 453

- Naissus, the Goths defeated there by Claudius II., i. 329. Its manufactory of arms, iii. 292. Destroyed by Attila, 504. Claimed by him, 511
- Naples, adorned by Theodoric, iv. 227. A Grecian colony and elegant retreat of the Romans, 365. Taken by Belisarius, 366. Its dukes, v. 27. Recovered by its duke Sergius, with the aid of the Normans, vi. 188. Origin of its kingdom as a fief of the Holy See, 196. Its extent marked by the conquests of Robert Guiscard, vi. 201. Conquered by Charles of Anjou, 521. Adorned by monuments of art from Rome, vii. 350
- Narbonne, a Roman colony, gives its name to a province of Gaul, i. 22. Is besieged by Theodoric, and relieved by Count Litorius, iii. 536. Is acquired by the Visigoths, iv. 45. Is seized by the Arabs, vi. 16
- Narses, king of Persia, prevails over Hormuz, and expels Tiridates from Armenia, i. 415. Overthrows Galerius, 417. Is surprised and routed, 416. Peace between him and the Romans, 421
- Narses, an ambassador from Sapor, king of Persia, to the emperor Constantius, ii. 301
- Narses, three warriors of that name discriminated, v. 59 *note*
- Narses, the Persian, general of the emperor Maurice, restores Chosroes II., v. 59. His cruel death, 82
- Narses, the eunuch, his military promotion, and dissension with Belisarius, iv. 388. His character and expedition to Italy, 488. Battle of Tagina, 492. Takes Rome, 494. Reduces and kills Teias, 496. Defeats the Franks and Allemanni, 501. Governs Italy in the capacity of exarch, 502. His disgrace, and death, v. 10, 11
- Nations, or the Ditch, battle of, v. 429
- Naulobatus, a chief of the Heruli, is made consul, i. 304
- Navy of the Roman empire, i. 19. Of the Greek empire, vi. 99. Of the Venetians, 413. Of the Catalans, vi. 528
- Nazarene church at Jerusalem, ii. 9, 383
- Nazarius, the pagan orator, ii. 345
- Nebriidius, prætorian prefect in Gaul, asserts the rights of Constantius, ii. 462
- Nectarius, a senator, is chosen archbishop of Constantinople, iii. 179
- Negra, or Najiran, in Arabia, Christians there persecuted by Jews, iv. 460
- Nehavend, battle of, v. 483
- Nemean games, ii. 482
- Nemesianus, Olympius, a Latin poet, i. 392 *notes*
- Nepos, Julius, is made emperor of the West, iv. 54, 55
- Nepotian, his brief reign and death, ii. 274
- Nero, the last lineal successor of Augustus, i. 83. In the first year of his reign, wished to abolish taxes, 189. Per-

- secuted the Christians, ii. 96
- Nerva, emperor, his character, i. 85. His kindness to the Christians, ii. 106
- Nestorians, their controversy hastened the ruin of Christianity, iv. 117. Crushed by the penal laws of the empire, v. 172. Survived in Persia, 173. Their missions in the East, 175
- Nestorius, archbishop of Constantinople, his character, v. 132. His heresy, 133. His dispute with Cyril of Alexandria, 134. Iscondemned, and degraded from his episcopal dignity, 138. Is exiled, 142. His death, 143
- Netod, battle of, iii. 566
- Nevers, John de, son of the duke of Burgundy, vii. 38, 39
- Nevitta, Julian's general, ii. 463. One of the tribunal at Chalcedon, 477. Appointed consul with Mamertinus, 481. His operations in Assyria, iii. 553, 560, 582
- Nice, a city of Bithynia, burnt by the Goths, i. 302. Valentinian elected emperor there, iii. 8, 10. Metropolis of the Seljukian kingdom, vi. 268. Conquered by the crusaders, 318. The emperor Alexius acquires possession of it, 319. The Greek empire revived there by Theodore Lascaris, 458. Taken by Orchan, vii. 27. By Mirza Mehemmed, Timour's grandson, 179
- Nicephorium, or Callinicum, ii. 551
- Nicephorus II. (or I.), deposes Irene, and makes himself emperor, v. 226. Rebellion of Bardanes, 227. His transactions with Charlemagne, 344. His wars with Harun al Rashid, vi. 40. Defeated and slain by the Bulgarians, 145
- Nicephorus III. (or II.), Phocas, his services against the Saracens, v. 246. Marries Theophano, widow of Romanus II., and obtains the throne, 247. Assassinated by Zimisces, 250. His victories while emperor, vi. 74. His reception of Otho's ambassador Luitprand, 73, 91
- Nicephorus IV. (or III.), Botaniates, rebels against Michael VII., v. 260. Assisted by the Turks, becomes emperor, 261; vi. 267. Deposed by Alexius Comnenus, v. 262
- Nicephorus, Briennius, v. 226
- Nicephorus, son of Constantine Copronymus, his fate, v. 222, 223
- Nicephorus, Callistus. His legend of the martyrdom of Arethas, iv. 459 *note*
- Nicetas, assists the rebellion of Heraclius, v. 79
- Nicetas, Choniates, Byzantine senator, and historian, vi. 444. His own adventures, 445. Desolation of the city by the Latins, 446
- Nicetius, bishop of Treves, v. 165
- Nicholas, patriarch of Constantinople, v. 243
- Nicholas I., pope; Photius and Ignatius refer their claims to him, vi. 399
- Nicholas II., pope, his alliance with Robert Guiscard, vi. 200

- Nicholas III., pope, his secret treaty with Peter, king of Aragon, vi. 525. Obligated Charles of Anjou to abdicate the government of Rome, vii. 260
- Nicholas IV., pope, partial to the Colonna family, vii. 281
- Nicholas V., pope, his fame not adequate to his merits, vii. 144. His encouragement of learning, 145. His compassion for Constantinople tardy, 195. His peaceful reign and reception of Frederick III., 328
- Nicholas III., of Este, vii. 120 *note*
- Nicomedia, burnt by the Goths, i. 302, 303. Embellished and made the seat of empire by Diocletian, 426. Rapid flight of Maximus from Heraclea, 478. Licinius retires there after the battle of Chrysopolis, 493. Its church destroyed by Diocletian, ii. 140. His edict published there, and his palace twice on fire, 142. Recovered by Alexius from the Seljukians, vi. 268. Taken by Orchan, vii. 27
- Nicopolis, i. 283; battle of, vii. 37
- Niger, Pescennius, assumes the purple, i. 127. Is defeated by Severus, 136. Killed, 139
- Nika, sedition of the circus, iv. 263
- Nile, its importance to Egypt, i. 28. Improvement in its navigation by Probus, 381. The time of its rise, v. 526 *note*. United to the Red Sea by a canal, 536. Its flood caused the defeat of the fifth crusade, vi. 385
- Nineveh, battle of, v. 105
- Nisibis, taken by Sapor, i. 308. Meeting of Diocletian and Galerius, and reception of the Persian ambassador, 419. Peace concluded there, 421. Sustains three sieges, and resists Sapor II., ii. 259. Surrendered to the Persians by Jovian, 587. He transports its inhabitants to Amida, 593. Attempt of the Romans to recover it, iii. 462. Its walls levelled by the Saracens, v. 522
- Nitria, Valens sends an armed force against its monasteries, iii. 33. Peopled by monks, iv. 71
- Nizam, the Persian vizir, vi. 264
- Noah, superstructure of fable raised on his ark, i. 249. One of Mahomet's prophets, v. 400
- Nobilissimus, a title invented by Constantine, ii. 240
- Noga, rebels against the khan of Kipzak, vii. 22
- Nogaret, William of, vii. 273
- Nola, in Campania, iii. 389
- Nonnosus, Justinian's ambassador to Abyssinia, iv. 460
- Noricum, described, i. 24
- Normans, their first incursions, v. 341. Their settlement in France, vi. 186. Introduction into Italy, 187. They serve in Sicily, 189. Conquer Apulia, 190. Their character, 192. Take pope Leo IX. prisoner, and enter into a treaty with him, 196. With Nicholas II., 199. Conquer Sicily, 204. Their wars with the Greek empire, 206, 220.

- Lose Apulia and Calabria, 229. Are finally lost among the people whom they vanquished, 238. The duchy of Normandy mortgaged by Duke Robert, 299
- Notaras, Lucas, vii. 180, 227
- Nouredin, sultan, vi. 362, 368
- Novatians, ii. 375, 437
- Novogorod, vi. 168
- Nubians, or Nobatæ, Diocletian's treaty with them, 411. Or Blemmyes, invade the prison of Nestorius, v. 143. Their conversion to Christianity, 195
- Numerian, son of Carus, i. 385. His character, 391. His death, 393
- Numidia, its extent at different periods, i. 28. Its mines places of banishment for Christians, ii. 112 *note*
- O
- OBEIDOLLAH, governor of Cufa, v. 461
- Octai, succeeds his father Zingis, as great Khan, vii. 10. Turns his arms against the West, 15. Changes his tent for a house, 18
- Odenathus, the Palmyrene, his successful opposition to Sapor, i. 311. Is associated in the empire by Gallienus, 316. Is assassinated, 345. Succeeded by his widow Zenobia, *ib.*
- Odeum, of Athens, restored by Herodes Atticus, i. 51
- Odin, the long reign of his family in Sweden, i. 257 *note*. His history, 277; vii. 347
- Odoacer, the first Barbarian king of Italy, iv. 58. His character and reign, 63. Resigns all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps to Euric the Visigoth, 119. Is reduced and killed by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, 213
- Ogors, or Varchonites, iv. 420
- Ohud, battle of, v. 338
- Olga, princess of Russia, vi. 173
- Olybrius, is raised to the Western empire, iv. 52. His death, 54
- Olympia, an Armenian princess, iii. 64
- Olympic games, still celebrated in the time of Julian, ii. 482. Compared with the tournaments of the middle ages, vi. 304
- Olympiodorus, his account of the city of Rome, iii. 344. Of the marriage of Adolphus with Placidia, 395
- Olympius, the Alexandrian philosopher, iii. 236
- Olympius, prejudices the emperor Honorius against Stilicho, iii. 328. Causes Stilicho to be put to death, 331. His disgrace and ignominious death, 371
- Omar, his conversion to Islamism, v. 416. Nominates Abu Beker to succeed Mahomet, 451. Becomes caliph, 459. Makes Moawiyah governor of Syria, 452. His frugality, economy, and liberality, 472. Conquests of the Saracens during his reign, 475. His journey to conclude the capitulation of Jerusalem, 512
- Omar II., Ben Abdalaziz, conducts the second siege of Constantinople, vi. 8

- Ommyyah, the family raised to the caliphate by Moawiyah, v. 459. Character of its succeeding princes, 473. Reduction of their power, vi. 5. Their unpopularity, 21. Massacred by Abul Abbas, 24. Preservation of their dynasty in Spain, 25
- Optatus, a patrician, massacred with the Constantine family, ii. 252
- Orchan, emir of the Ottomans, vii. 26. Conquers Bithynia and builds a fleet, 29. Marries the daughter of the emperor Cantacuzene, 30. His death, 32
- Orestes, a Pannonian, ambassador from Attila to Theodosius the Younger, iii. 516. His promotion under the Western emperors, iv. 55. His son Augustulus, the last emperor of the West, 55
- Orestes, prætor of Egypt, v. 130
- Orlando, Rolando, or Rutland, slain in the Pyrenees, v. 334
note
- Orleans, besieged by Attila, iii. 546. Sigismund and his family massacred there, iv. 135
- Ormusd, the principle of good in Zoroaster's theology, i. 228
- Ormuz, supplied the Romans with pearls, i. 62. Made tributary to Timour, vii. 51. Its history, *ib. note*
- Orthogrul, leader of the Og-husian Tartars, vii. 24
- Ortok, a Turkman chief, vi. 276
- Osimo, capitulates to Belisarius, iv. 380
- Osius, bishop of Cordova, his influence with Constantine, ii. 348. Prevails on him to ratify the Nicene creed, 401. Is with difficulty induced to concur in deposing Athanasius, 422
- Osrhoene, conquered by Trajan, i. 7
- Ostia, its port formed by the emperor Claudius, i. 58. Described, iii. 373. Its capture by Alaric, 374. Defeat of the Saracens by pope Leo IV., vi. 47. Its present vacant and desolate state, vii. 267. The plunder of a wreck there punished by Rienzi, 299
- Ostrogoths. *See* Goths.
- Otas, an Armenian satrap, i. 414
- Othman, the Koran revised by him, v. 404. Third caliph, 453. Betrayed by his secretary, Merwan, 454. Murdered, 456. Amrou recalled by him from Egypt, 523. Abdallah appointed by him to command the first expedition into Western Africa, 541
- Othman, or Osman (the bone-breaker), his first invasion of the territory of Nicomedia, vii. 24. His glory achieved by his descendants, 25. Character of his troops, 26. His attack on Rhodes. 28
- Otho I., king of Germany, v. 343. His transactions with the Eastern empire, 346. Obtains the right of nominating the Roman pontiff, 347. Is crowned emperor by pope John XII., 351. Deposes him, 349, 351. His embassy of Luitprand to Constantinople, vi. 76, 96

- Defeats the Hungarians at Augsburg, 157. Campaign in Calabria against the Greeks, 182
- Otho II., marries Theophania, v. 247. Accused of a perfidious slaughter of Roman nobles, v. 351. Defeated by the Greeks and Saracens at Crotona (Basientello), vi. 182
- Otho III., v. 352
- Otho de la Roche, Great Duke of Athens and Thebes, vi. 532
- Otranto, sacked by the Turks, vii. 234
- Otrar, taken by Zingis, vii. 8
- Ottomans, their origin, vii. 24. Beginning of their empire, 26. Pass into Europe, 29. Their permanent establishment there, 31. Recover from their defeat at Angora, 79. Re-union of their empire by Mahomet I., 82. Personal qualities of their princes, 87. Their obscure origin, 88. Their training, 90
- Oxus, or Jihoon, its navigation for the purposes of commerce, iv. 442. Crossed by the victorious Saracens, v. 541. Passed and re-passed by Zingis, vii. 9. Timour's early adventures in its regions, 48
- Oxyrinchus, in Egypt, iv. 71

P

- PACHOMIUS, iv. 71
- Pacta, or simple agreements, iv. 581
- Pætus, Ælius, his Tripartite, iv. 540
- Paganism, its ruin suspended
- by the divisions among the Christians, ii. 445. System of the emperor Julian, 493
- Paganism, its early hierarchy, iii. 222. Renounced by the Roman senate, 229. Sacrifices prohibited, 230. Temples demolished, 231. Its holiday character, 240 *note*. Its ruin deplored by the sophists, 245. Pagan ceremonies revived in Christian churches, 249. A secret remnant discovered and persecuted by Justinian, v. 159. Imputed to the classic enthusiasts of the fifteenth century, vii. 148
- Painting, combined with sculpture to adorn the edifices of antiquity, i. 52. Better cultivated than learning, by the Italians of the sixth century, v. 38. Historical, by Germans in the tenth century, vi. 156
- Palæologus, origin of the family, vi. 504. Its extinction, vii. 234
- Palæologus, Andrew, vii. 234 *note*
- Palæologus, Andronicus IV., his conspiracy with Sauzes, son of Amurath I., vii. 41. Divides the empire with his father, 42
- Palæologus, Andronicus, second son of Manuel II., vii. 110. His death, 111
- Palæologus, Demetrius, brother of John VIII., fails in his attempt to obtain the throne, vii. 176. Divides the Morea with his brother Thoasm. 175. Expelled by Mahomet II., 232. Dies in a monastery, 234
- Palæologus, George, seizes the

- fleet of Nicephorus Botaniates, v. 262. Defends Durazzo, vi. 208. Places Alexius Comnenus on the throne, vi. 504
- Palæologus, John V., emperor of Constantinople, vi. 546. Marries the daughter of John Cantacuzene, 555. Takes up arms against Cantacuzene, 557. His restoration, 557. Discord between him and his sons, vii. 41. His treaty with Pope Innocent VI., vii. 41. His visit to Pope Urban V., 42
- Palæologus, John VII., son of Andronicus IV., imprisoned with his father, vii. 41. Released, admitted to a share of the empire, 42. Contest with his uncle Manuel, *ib.* Reigns in Constantinople during Manuel's absence, 44. Is dismissed on his uncle's return, 85
- Palæologus II., John VIII., son of Manuel II., succeeds his father, vii. 87, 111. Resumes the design of uniting the churches, 112. Sends ambassadors to the Council of Basil, 115. Invited by the pope to Ferrara, 116. Embarks, 117. His reception at Venice, 119. At Ferrara, 120. Subscribes the act of union at Florence, 128. Assailed with murmurs on his return to Constantinople, 154. His conduct during the war of Ladislaus against the Turks, 162. His death, 176
- Palæologus, Manuel, son of Michael IX., vi. 540
- Palæologus, Manuel. *See* Manuel II.
- Palæologus, Manuel, son of the Despot Thomas, vii. 234
- Palæologus, Michael VIII., guardian of John Lascaris, vi. 480. His early services, 504. Assumes the powers of government, 507. Proclaimed joint Emperor, 509. Receives the intelligence of the recovery of Constantinople, 510. Returns to that city, 511. Blinds and imprisons John Lascaris, 512. Is excommunicated by Arsenius, 513. Recovers portions of the empire, 515. Concludes a treaty to unite the two Churches, 518. Persecutes the dissentients, 520. His death dissolves the union, 521. The Sicilian conspiracy against Charles of Anjou promoted by him, 524. Was surprised by a Tartar army and escaped by ransom, vii. 22
- Palæologus, Michael IX., son of Andronicus II., vi. 539. Dies of grief, 540
- Palæologus, Michael, lieutenant of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, vi. 229
- Palæologus, Theodore, third son of Manuel II., has a share of the Morea, vii. 111. Retires into a monastery, 176
- Palæologus, Thomas, youngest son of Manuel II., iv. 542. Despot of the Morea, v. 202. Escapes from the Turks and dies in Italy, vii. 233
- Palamas, Gregory, vi. 560
- Palatines, origin and nature of these Roman troops, ii. 201
- Palermo, taken by Belisarius, iv. 361

- Palestine, its extent and fertility, i. 27. Extirpation of its idolatrous natives by the Jews, ii. 13. Conquered by Chosroes II., v. 83. Reoccupied by Heraclius, 112. Conquered by the Saracens, 515. By the Turks, vi. 270. Its population, 340
- Palladium of Rome, invaded by Elagabalus, i. 168. How guarded, iii. 224
- Palladius, son of Petronius Maximus, iv. 3
- Palladius, the notary, iii. 56
- Palmyra, under Odenathus, resists Sapor, i. 310. Capital of Zenobia's kingdom, 343. Taken by Aurelian, 349. Rebels and is destroyed, 351
- Pamphronius, ambassador from Rome to the emperor Maurice, v. 24
- Pamphylia, a Roman province, i. 26. Its peasants defeat Tribigild, iii. 432
- Panætius, iv. 542
- Pandects, or digest, of Justinian, iv. 550
- Pannonia, one of the Illyrian provinces of the empire, i. 24. One of the last conquests of the Romans, 128. Supplied the best troops in the service, 129. Invaded by the Quadi, iii. 76. By Alaric, 293. Abandoned by Ætius to the Huns, 495. Occupied by the Ostrogoths, iv. 405. By the Gepidæ, iv. 405. By the Lombards, v. 9. Abandoned by them, 13. Reduced by Charlemagne, 338. Its solitudes peopled by Hungarian emigrants, vi. 148
- Pantheon at Rome, erected by Agrippa, i. 49 *note*. Converted into a Christian Church by pope Boniface IV., iii. 233; vii. 348. How dedicated by its founder, *ib.* Robbed of its brass tiles by Constans II., vii. 349
- Pantomimes, Roman, described, iii. 361
- Papinian, prætorian prefect to Severus, i. 143. Hated by Caracalla, deprived of the office and murdered, 155. The highest Roman legal authority, iv. 546
- Para, king of Armenia, his history, iii. 65, 66
- Parabolani, of Alexandria, ii. 363; v. 129
- Parthia, submitted to Trajan, i. 7. Subdued by Artaxerxes, 234. Its constitution of government similar to the feudal system of Europe, 235. Recapitulation of the wars with Rome, 237. Ragæ, its capital, under the name of Arsacia, v. 53 *note*
- Paschal II., pope, vii. 246, 257
- Paternal authority, by the Roman laws, iv. 560, 561
- Patras, delivered from the Slavonians and Saracens, vi. 77
- Patricians, many of their most noble families extinct, i. 67. Augustus and his successors affected to adopt their language and principles, 76. Of the Roman republic, and under the emperors, compared, ii. 186
- Patrick, tutelar saint of Ireland. His history, iii. 313 *note*
- Patripassians, a name given to the Sabellians, ii. 391 *note*
- Pāul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, ii. 131. His ad-

- herents persecuted by Constantine, 375
- Paul, archbishop of Constantinople, his contest with Macedonius, ii. 434
- Paul, St., veneration for his tomb, iii. 246; v. 37. Wealth poured on his altar at Rome, vii. 175
- Paul, of Cilicia, iv. 486
- Paul (Julius Paulus, a contemporary of Ulpian) II., iv. 546
- Paul, the Hermit, Jerome's legends of him, ii. 111 *note*
- Paul, of Tanis, patriarch of Alexandria, v. 189
- Paul II., pope, persecuted Pomponius Lætus, and his Roman Academy, aspagans, vii. 148 *note*
- Paula, a Roman widow, iii. 341. Was owner of Nicopolis, 345. Her monastic zeal, iv. 75
- Paulicians, origin and character of, vi. 121. Are persecuted by the Greek emperors, 126. They revolt, 127. Are reduced, and transplanted to Thrace, 130. Their present state, 132
- Paulina, wife of Maximin, i. 199 *note*
- Paulinus, master of the offices to Theodosius the Younger, iii. 460
- Paulinus, bishop of Nola, iii. 389
- Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia, v. 13
- Pavia (or Ticinum), defeat of the Allemanni by Aurelian, i. 338. Useless victory of Magnentius, ii. 274. Massacre of Stilicho's friends, iii. 329. Intrenched camp of Theodoric, iv. 212. The city decorated by him, 218. Taken by Alboin, and made the capital of the Lombard kingdom, v. 14. Surrendered to Charlemagne by Desiderius, 314. Burnt by the Hungarians, vi. 155
- Pegasians, a party among the Roman civilians, iv. 545
- Pekin, taken by Zingis, vii. 7
- Pelagius I., pope, pleads with Totila for Rome, iv. 478. Succeeds Vigilius as head of the church, v. 164
- Pella, church of the Nazarenes, ii. 10
- Peloponnesus, conquered by Alaric, iii. 287. The fortifications of Justinian, iv. 298. Overrun by Sclavonian bands, vi. 77. Its state under the Greek empire, 78
- Pelso, Lake, drained by Galerius, i. 462
- Penal laws of Rome, v. 81
- Pendragon, his office and power, iii. 420
- Pentapolis, of Italy, v. 319
- Pepin, king of France, assists the pope against the Lombards, v. 312. Receives from him the title of king, 314. Grants the Exarchate to him, 319
- Pepin, John, count of Minorbino, vii. 309
- Peredeus, assists Rosamond to kill Alboin, v. 15
- Perennis, minister of Commodus, i. 101
- Perfectissimus, a court title, ii. 183 *note*
- Pergamus, Oribasius, its library given by M. Antony to Cleopatra, iii. 235 *note*
- Perisabor, or Anbar, taken by Julian, ii. 559
- Perozes, or Phirouz, king of

- Persia, his expedition against the Nephthalites, iv. 304
- Persarmenia, the name of Armenia, while it was a province of Persia, iii. 466. Invaded by Belisarius, iv. 323. Its people oppressed by the intolerance of the Magi, v. 48
- Persecutions, the first against the Christians, by Nero, ii. 97, 102. The second by Domitian, 105. Legal form given to it by Trajan, 107. The celebrated number of Ten by the Roman emperors, 124. Rigour of Severus, 127. Of Maximin, 129. Of Decius, 130. Of Valerian and Gallienus, 130. Of the bishops against Paul of Samosata, 133. Edict of Diocletian, 141. Its effects, 147. Its failure, 151. End of the persecutions, 155. Probable number of victims, 158. Exceeded by the cruelties of Christian sects towards each other, 160. Persecution of the Donatists by Constantine and his successors, 286. Of Arius and his disciples, 402. Of Athanasius, 413. Of his friends, 421. Mutual, of their two factions, 432. Of the Circumcellions, 438. Of Athanasius by Julian, 440. Of magic by Valentinian and Valens, iii. 23. Of Arians by Theodosius, 168, 173. Of Gregory of Nazianzus by the bishops, 179. Of all heretics by Theodosius, 180. Of Andians, or Quarto-decimans, 181. Of Priscillian by Maximus, 184. Of Paganism by Theodosius, 240. Of Chrysostom by Theophilus, 445. Of Christians in Persia, 527. Of the Donatists, 479. Of the African Catholics by the Arian Vandals, iv. 98. Of the Jews in Spain, v. 64. Of the Armenian Christians by the Magi, 42. Of Arians by Nestorius, 133. Of Nestorius by Cyril, 137. Of heretics, pagans, and Jews by Justinian, 158. Of Nestorians, 172. Of the Christians of India by the Portuguese, 179. Of Mahomet and his disciples by the Koreish, 419. Of the Paulicians, vi. 166. Of the Albigeois, 135. Of Servetus by Calvin, 137
- Perseus, of Macedon, i. 183
- Persia, the monarchy restored by Artaxerxes, i. 226. Extent and population of the country, 234. Its military power, 243. War with the Romans, 219, 239, 308. Sapor defeats Valerian, 308. Audience given by Carus to the ambassadors of Varanes, 383. The throne disputed by Narses and Hormuz, 416. Galerius defeated, 417. Narses overthrown by Galerius, 418. Peace between the Persians and the Romans, 421
- Persia, war between Sapor and Constantius, ii. 257. Battle of Singara, 258. Sapor invades Mesopotamia, 303. His successes, 307
- Persia, invaded by Julian, ii. 552. Passage of the Tigris, 566. Julian harassed in his retreat, 575. Treaty of peace between Sapor and Jovian,

587. Reduction of Armenia and death of Sapor, iii. 64, 66.
- Persia, war with Theodosius II., 461. Peace concluded, 466. The silk trade carried through Persia, iv. 271. Death of Perozes, 305. War with Anastasius, *ib.* Peace, 306. Visit of the seven philosophers, 314. War with Justinian, 324. Reign of Cabades and fanaticism of Mazdak, 426. Accession of Nushirvan, 427. His victories, 436. Checked by Belisarius, 439. Peace, 457. War renewed, v. 46. Death of Nushirvan, 58. Rebellion of Bahram, 55. Chosroes II. restored, 60. Invades the Roman empire, 81. His wars with Heraclius, 91. Final defeat, 107. Death, 109. Peace, 110. Church of the Nestorians in Persia, 172. Invaded by the Saracens, 477. Battle of Cadesia, 479. Sack of Madayn, 481. Death of Yezdegerd, 486. Fall of his kingdom, 487. Conquered by the Bowides, vi. 61. By the Turks at Zendecan, 247. By Zingis, vii. 9. By Timour, 51
- Pertinax, his merit and elevation, i. 111. His virtuous reign, 114. Conspiracy against him, 117. Murdered, 118. His funeral rites, and oration by Severus, 133
- Peter, of Arragon, vi. 524
- Peter, the Bulgarian chief, vi. 407
- Peter, of Courtenay, vi. 469. His captivity and death, 471
- Peter the Hermit, vi. 278, 279, 294
- Peter, brother of the emperor Maurice, v. 69
- Peter, the Patrician, or of Thessalonica, iv. 360
- Peter, St., his visit to Rome, ii. 52 *note*. Discovery of his tomb, iii. 246. Veneration for it, v. 37. Two of his Epistles rejected by the Paulicians, vi. 121
- Peter's, St., church at Rome, ii. 99; vii. 363
- Petra, a fortress built by the Romans near the mouth of the Phasis, iv. 449. Surrendered to the Persians, 450. Besieged by Justinian's general, Dagisteus, 457. Taken by Bessas, 453
- Petrarch, his effort to restore peace between Venice and Genoa, vi. 367. His studies and services in reviving literature, vii. 134. His friendship for Stephen Colonna the Elder, 283-286. His love for Laura, 287. His works, 288. His coronation in the Capitol, 290. His praise of Rienzi, 300. His visit to Charles IV., 315. His exhortations to the popes, 316. He accuses the citizens of Rome of destroying their architectural monuments, 354
- Petronius, the patrician, father-in-law of Valens, iii. 14
- Phantasma, Phantastic system of the Docetes, v. 119
- Pharamond, the foundation of the French monarchy by him doubtful, iii. 413
- Pharas, commands the Heruli, in the African war, under Belisarius, iv. 325, 345
- Phasis, the river, i. 303; iv. 442, 447, 448, 449, 455

- Philadelphia, one of the Seven Cities of Asia, vi. 458. Besieged by the Turks and relieved by the Catalans, 527. Capitulates to the Turks, vii. 28
- Philagrius, prefect of Egypt, ii. 414
- Philephus, Francis, his character of the Greek language of Constantinople, vii. 131. Saves his family from captivity by a Latin ode, addressed to Mahomet II., 223
- Philip, succeeds Gordian III. as emperor, i. 220. Celebrates the secular games, 222. Confusion in the history of his times, 273. His death, 274. Peace of the Christian Church during his reign, ii. 129
- Philip, son of the emperor, i. 275
- Philip, minister of Constantius, executes the order for the banishment and death of the bishop Paul, ii. 435. Grandfather of the prefect Anthemius, iii. 453 *note*
- Philip I., of France, vi. 282
- Philip Augustus, of France, his conduct in the third crusade, vi. 379. His perfidious invasion of Normandy, 382
- Philip, duke of Burgundy, viii. 235
- Philippa, daughter of Raymond, v. 275
- Philippicus, or Bardanes, declared emperor, v. 216. Deposed, 217
- Philippopolis, built by Philip of Macedon; taken by the Goths, i. 282
- Philo Judæus, ii. 381
- Philoponus, John, v. 533
- Philotheus, a Macedonian sectary, iv. 38
- Phirouz, betrays Antioch, vi. 324
- Phocæa, Genoese colony, vii. 83, 84
- Phocas, a centurion, is chosen emperor by the disaffected troops, v. 74. Murders the emperor Maurice and his sons. 75. His fall and death, 80
- Phocas, Bardas, rebels against the emperor Basil II., v. 251
- Phœnicia, a Syrian province, i. 27; ii. 296
- Photius, the son of Belisarius, distinguishes himself at the siege of Naples, iv. 398. Is exiled, 399. Betrays his mother's vices to Belisarius, 461. Is persecuted by her and turns monk, 402
- Photius, the patrician, v. 159
- Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, educates Leo the Philosopher, v. 242. Is induced by the Cæsar Bardas to renounce a secular life, vi. 113. His "Library," *ib.* Assumes the merit of having converted the Russians, 173. His appeal to Nicholas I., 400
- Phranza, George, the historian, vii. 70. Favourite of Manuel Palæologus, 110 *note*. His embassies, 177. His fate on the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, 222
- Picts, their inroads in Britain repulsed by Lupicinus, ii. 451. Men of the plain, their love of arms and rapine, iii. 49. Contend with Constans, 52. Molest Britain after the retirement of the Romans, iv. 173

- Pilate, Pontius, procurator of Judæa, ii. 98 *note*, 124
- Pipa, espoused by the emperor Gallienus, i. 297
- Piræus, i. 303, 490
- Pisa, conquers Amalphi, vi. 203. Assists the first crusade by a fleet, 340. Also the third, 377. Shares the commerce of the western Mediterranean with Genoa, 413. Refuses to join the fourth crusade, 416.
- Pisani, Venetian admiral, defeated by the Genoese Doria, vi. 566
- Piso, Calpurnius, i. 315
- Pityus, taken by the Goths, i. 291. Chrysostom ordered to be banished there, iii. 449. Evacuated by the Romans, iv. 448 *note*
- Pius II., pope, establishes alum-works at Tolfa, vii. 83 *note*. See Æneas Sylvius.
- Placentia, battle of, i. 338
- Placidia, daughter of Theodosius the Great, her marriage with Adolphus, king of the Goths, iii. 394. Is injuriously treated by the usurper Singeric, after the death of her husband, 410. Her marriage with Constantius, 467. Her administration in the West as guardian of her son, Valentinian III., 471. History of her daughter Honoria, iii. 542. Her death, 568 *note*
- Placidia, daughter of Valentinian III., iv. 7, 32, 52, 54
- Plato, his spiritual God, i. 34. Taught the pre-existence and immortality of the soul, ii. 23. His theological system not derived from the Jews, 380 *note*. His philosophy united with the Mosaic faith in the schools of Alexandria, 382. Attributes and character of his Logos, 383. His writings studied by the early Christians, 384. The study of them revived in Italy, vii. 144
- Platonists, New, their origin and illusions, i. 441. An extravagant portion of them endeavour to revive paganism, ii. 136. Are encouraged by the emperor Julian, 494. Their failure, 495
- Plautianus, prætorian prefect under the emperor Severus, i. 143
- Plautilla, married to Caracalla, i. 143
- Pletho, George Gemistus, vii. 144, 148
- Pliny, the Younger, ii. 38, 106
- Plotina, the empress, i. 85
- Plotinus, the philosopher, i. 219 *note*, 311, 442
- Poitiers, battle of, iv. 139
- Pollentia, battle of, iii. 298
- Poland, the Sarmatians of the Lesser Poland, formed into a kingdom by Constantius, ii. 297. Occupied by Slavonians, v. 338. Its dukes tributary to Otho, 343. Ravaged by Octai, vii. 15. Its crown united with that of Hungary, 162
- Polemon, king of Pontus, iv. 447
- Polybius, his account of the Roman legions, i. 15. Of Byzantium, ii. 163
- Pompeianus, Claudius, i. 109
- Pompey, his absolute power in the East, i. 70. Increased the tributes, 183. His palace at Rome possessed by the Gordians, 201. His

- conquest of Mithridates, iv. 447. Founded Colonia, on the Lycus in Pontus, vi. 125 *note*
- Pompey, nephew of Anastasius, iv. 265, 267
- Pontirolo, bridge over the Adda, where Aureolus was defeated, i. 323
- Pontus, the ancient kingdom, its situation, i. 26. Lucian, a native of it, ii. 66
- Popes of Rome, growth of their power in the hands of Gregory I., v. 41. Extended by rebellion against the Iconoclast emperors, 299. The sovereignty of the Greek emperors extinguished, 308. The authority of the popes established, 309. Mutual obligations between them and the Carolingians, 314. Donation of the Exarchate by Pepin, 319. The performance of it eluded by Charlemagne, 320. Forgery of Constantine's donation, 321. The false title still sanctifies their reign, 323. Their separation from the Greek empire confirmed by Charlemagne, 328. Authority of the German emperors in their election, 346. Degradation of the papacy, 347. Designs of Gregory VII. for its exaltation, 349. Their corruption and avarice, vii. 112. Hostility to the diffusion of knowledge, 148. Their authority in Rome, 241. Seditions against them, 245. Their mode of election regulated, 268. Ab-ence from Rome, 272. Remove to Avignon, 274. Institute the Jubilee, 276. Return to Rome, 317. Great schism of the West, 318. Three rival popes, 326. Termination of the schism, 327. They acquire the absolute dominion of Rome, 334. Nature of their temporal kingdom, 336
- Porcaro, his attempt to imitate Rienzi, vii. 331
- Porphyrians, a name given by Constantine's law to the Arians, ii. 402
- Porphyrio, the name of a whale which infested the seas of Constantinople, v. 260
- Porphyrius Optatianus, a poet in the time of Constantine, ii. 236
- Posthumus, or Postumus, protects Gaul, i. 293. One of the Thirty Tyrants, 314. Praised by Claudius II., 329. Killed by his soldiers, 341
- Præjecta, niece of Justinian, iv. 484
- Præpo-itus, a great chamberlain of Constantine, ii. 207
- Prætextatus, petitions for the Eleusinian mysteries, iii. 28. Reproves Damasus, 37
- Prætorian Guards, their first purpose, i. 19. Instituted by Augustus, 120. Perceived their own strength, 121. Murdered Pertinax, 118. Sold the empire by public auction, 123. Deserted Didius Julianus, 132. Dismissed and banished by Severus, 133. Their restoration by him, 142. Elagabalus massacred by them, 172. Murder of Ulpian, 178. Their discontent, 215. Maximus and Balbinus killed

- by them, 217. Their numbers reduced and privileges abolished by Diocletian, 427. Finally abolished by Constantine, 476
- Prætors of Rome, their number and office, ii. 191. Their edicts, iv. 532
- Pragmatic Sanction, promulgated by Justinian for the settlement of Italy, iv. 503
- Prefect, Prætorian, his office created by Severus, i. 143. Changes made by Diocletian and Constantine, ii. 189. Succeeded by the count of the Domestics, 213. The office continued in Italy by Theodoric, iv. 222. Its insensible decline afterwards, vi. 87
- Prefects of Rome and Constantinople, ii. 190. Retained the name of Augustal, ii. 193
- Presidius, the commander of Spoleto, iv. 387
- Prince of the Senate (Princeps Senatûs), title of Augustus, i. 167. Held by Tacitus, 362
- Prisca, wife of Diocletian, banished by Maximin, i. 480. Put to death by Licinius, 481. Had been converted to Christianity, ii. 133
- Priscian, one of the seven philosophers who went to Persia, iv. 314
- Priscillian, bishop of Avila in Spain, put to death for heresy, iii. 182
- Priscus, an engineer who defended Byzantium against Severus, i. 138
- Priscus, Thræsea, put to death by Caracalla, i. 155
- Priscus, Helvidius, his patriotism and fate, i. 155 *note*
- Priscus, brother of the emperor Philip, revolts against Decius, i. 283
- Priscus, one of the Neo-Platonist sophists, ii. 580
- Priscus, a general under Maurice, v. 70, 78
- Priscus, the historian, iii. 497 *note*, 510
- Priulf, the Goth, slain by Fravitta, iii. 156
- Proba, widow of the prefect Petronius Probus, her friendship with Jerome, iii. 76. Her flight from the sack of Rome, 386
- Probus, the bravest of Aurelian's generals, 347. Conquers Egypt, 349. Defeats Florianus, and obtains the empire, 368. Success of his arms, 372. Constructs a wall from the Rhine to the Danube, 375. Plants colonies of Barbarians, and introduces them into his army, 376. Overcomes rebellions, 378. Celebrates his triumph at Rome, 379. His discipline, 380. Is murdered, 381
- Probus, Petronius, prætorian prefect of Illyricum, preserves Sirmium from the Quadi, iii. 76. Husband of Jerome's friend, Proba, 76
- Probus, Sicorius, his embassy from Diocletian to Narses, i. 421
- Probus, head of the Anicii in the time of Gratian, iii. 344
- Proclus, story of his brazen mirror, iv. 287
- Proclus, philosopher of Athens, iv. 313
- Proclus, quæstor of Justin I., iv. 245. Prevents the adoption of Nushirvan, 426

- Proconnesus, an island of the Propontis, ii. 166, 171
- Proconsuls of the senate, their honourable character, i. 71. Of Asia, Achaia, and Africa, their office, ii. 193
- Procopia, wife of Michael I., v. 227
- Procopius, a kinsman of Julian, serves in the Persian war, ii. 530. Conducts his funeral, 595. Escapes from the soldiers sent to seize him, iii. 14. Revolts, 15. Is defeated and beheaded, 19
- Procopius, a father-in-law of the emperor Valens, iii. 428
- Procopius, father of the emperor Anthemius, iv. 35
- Proculians, the Roman law sect, iv. 544
- Proculus, his rebellion against Probus in Gaul, i. 379
- Proculus, son of Tatian, betrayed by Rufinus and murdered, iii. 258
- Profuturus, lieutenant of Valens in the Gothic war, iii. 122
- Promotus, master-general of the infantry under Theodosius, ruined by Rufinus, iii. 257
- Property of Roman citizens first subjected to a general tribute, i. 183. Relieved from it, 183. Personal, its original right, iv. 572. Two kinds in Rome, how distinguished, 574. Inherited by succession, 575. Disposed of by will, 575
- Propontis, or Sea of Marmora, traversed by the Goths, i. 303. Its extent and islands, ii. 166. Store of fish, 169. The southern side of Constantinople extends along its shore, 171. Its coasts plundered by the Saracens, vi. 3. Traversed by the fleet of the fourth crusade, 423. By the Catalans, 528
- Protectors, two select companies of guards, ii. 213
- Proterius, patriarch of Alexandria, v. 151
- Protestants, their resistance of oppression, not consistent with the practice of the primitive Christians, ii. 335. Proportion of their number to that of the Catholics, in France, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, 337 *note*. Their zeal supposed to have aggravated the sack of Rome by the army of Charles V., iii. 338. Estimate of their reformation of popery, vi. 135
- Protosebastos, title in the Greek empire, vi. 87
- Protospathaire, commander of the Byzantine guards, vi. 89
- Protostrator, master of the horse to the Greek emperor, vi. 89
- Provinces, of the Roman empire described, i. 20. Their government, 39. Latin and Greek, 41. Divided between the emperor and the Senate, 71. Their tributes, 184. Their number and government in the time of Constantine, ii. 193. Regulation for the appointment of their governors, 194
- Prusa, plundered by the Goths, i. 302
- Prussia, supposed emigration of the Goths, i. 278. Its conquest by the Teutonic knights, 279 *note*
- Prussians said to have invaded Britain, iii. 163

- Ptolemies, their colony of Jews at Alexandria, 381. Introduce the worship of Serapis, and found a library in his temple, iii. 235
- Ptolemy, a Roman senator, leads the people against Otho III., v. 352
- Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius the Younger, iii. 454. Her lessons to her brother, 456. Her contests with the empress Eudocia, 461. Is proclaimed empress of the East on the death of Theodosius, and marries Marcian, 529. Her death and canonisation, iv. 33. Her support of Cyril against Nestorius, v. 140
- Punishments, under the Roman law, iv. 586. Capital for nine crimes, 587. Abolished, 589. Revived, 592. Rigorously inflicted by the Christian emperors, 596. Penalty of death abolished by John Comnenus, v. 266
- Pythian games, restored by Julian at Delphi, ii. 482

Q

- QUADI, their invasion repelled by M. Antoninus, i. 270. Their inroads punished by Constantius, ii. 297. Revenge the murder of Gabinius, iii. 76. Implore the clemency of Valentinian, 78
- Quarini, Nicholas, obtains the holy crown of thorns, vi. 477
- Quæstor, history of this office, ii. 208
- Question, criminal, how exercised under the Roman emperors, ii. 214

- Quindecemvirs, keepers of the Sibylline books, iii. 223
- Quintianus, bishop of Rodez, iv. 137
- Quintilian brothers, Maximus and Condianus, i. 100
- Quintilius, brother of the emperor Claudius, i. 331

R

- RADAGAISUS, or Radagast, invades Italy, iii. 309. Besieges Florence, 312. Is defeated and beheaded, 315
- Radiger, a supposed king of the Varni, iv. 188
- Rahdi, caliph of Bagdad, vi. 61
- Rainulf, the first leader of the Normans in Italy, vi. 189
- Rando, a chieftain of the Allemanni, iii. 42
- Ravenna, a station for the Roman fleets, i. 20. Besieged by Maximian, 454. Its early history, iii. 305. Construction of its harbour and fortifications by Augustus, 305. Made by Honorius the seat of the Western empire, 307. Paul, brother of Orestes, defeated and slain there, iv. 58. Odoacer takes refuge there, 212. Besieged by Theodoric, 213. He makes it his residence, and cultivates an orchard there, 227. The Goths retire within its walls, 386. Surrendered to Belisarius, 395. Its Exarchate established by Narses, 502. Its districts, v. 26. Attacked by a fleet of the Eastern empire, 305. Taken by the Lombards; from them by the Venetians; and again by the Lombards,

310. Given by Pepin to the popes, 319
- Raymond of Toulouse, the crusader, his character, vi. 300. His route to Constantinople, 306. His bold behaviour there. 312. His conduct at Antioch, 328. At Jerusalem, 336. His death, 338 *note*
- Raymond, count of Tripoli, vi. 372, 373
- Razis, an eminent physician of Arabia, vi. 36
- Recared, the first Catholic king of Spain, iv. 112
- Rechiarius, king of the Suevi, iv. 14
- Regilianus (Regillianus, or Regalianus), one of the Thirty Tyrants, in Illyricum, i. 314. Praised by Claudius II., 329
- Regilla, wife of Herodes Atticus, i. 51
- Reginald of Chatillon, vi. 372
- Remigius, bishop of Rheims, converts Clovis, iv. 127
- Remigius, master of the offices, his corruption, iii. 56
- Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, iii. 533
- Rhæteum, its situation, ii. 168
- Rhætia, described, i. 24. Its frontiers secured by Probus, 371
- Rhazates, the Persian general, v. 105
- Rhine, the Gallic frontier of the empire, i. 23. Often frozen, 247. An imperfect barrier against the Franks, 294. Secured by Probus, 373. Its fortresses are established by Diocletian, 407. Three times crossed by Julian, ii. 320. New forts constructed by him on its banks, 322. Twice more crossed by him, 456. Fortified by Valentinian, iii. 43. Protected by the Franks, 317. Cultivation of its banks, 318. The barrier finally broken through, 319. Settlement of the Franks in its lower districts, iii. 539
- Rhodes, taken by Chosroes II., v. 85. Its history and Colossus, 523. Taken by the Hospitaliers, vii. 28
- Rhyndacus, a river of Asia Minor, i. 302
- Richard I. of England, redeems the relics taken by Saladin at Jerusalem, vi. 376. Engages in the third crusade, 377. Arrives at Acre, 378. His captivity, 383. The isle of Cyprus given by him to Lusignan, 406. He refuses to undertake another crusade, 410
- Richomer, his service against the Goths, iii. 123, 134
- Ricimer, count, deposes Avitus, iv. 16. Raises Majorian to the throne, 19. Promotes a sedition against him, 28. Orders the senate to elect Libius Severus, and reigns in his name, 29. Requests Leo to appoint an emperor of the West, 33. Acknowledges Anthemius, and marries his daughter, 36. Quarrels with him, 50. Supports Olybrius, 51. Sacks Rome, kills Anthemius, and dies, 53
- Rienzi, Nicholas Gabrini, his origin, vii. 292. Education and early life, 293. Tribune of Rome, 295. His government, 297. Respected in Italy, 300. Celebrated by

- Petrarch, 301. His follies and vices, 301. His coronation, 304. Defeats the nobles, 308. Is expelled from Rome, 310. A prisoner at Avignon, 312. Returns to Rome as Senator, 313. Is assassinated, 314
- Rimini. *See* Councils. A treaty negotiated there with Alaric, iii. 373. Deposition of Attalus, 379. Taken from the Goths, besieged by them, and defended by John the Sanguinary, iv. 386
- Ripuarians, Franks who lived on the banks of the Rhine, join the army of Attila, iii. 548. Their code of laws not different in substance from the Salic, iv. 146
- Robert of Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, vi. 471, 472
- Robert, of Paris, vi. 313
- Robert, count of Flanders, his character and engagement in the first crusade, vi. 299. Obligated to beg a dinner, 326. He returns to the West, 338
- Robert, duke of Normandy, his character and engagement in the first crusade, vi. 299. Withdraws and is recalled by the censures of the Church, 326. His return to Normandy, 338
- Robert, king of Naples, vii. 350
- Roderic, supplants the sons of Witiza, and is elected king of the Goths in Spain, v. 556. His struggle against the Saracens, 559. Defeat at Xeres and death, 561
- Rogatians, a Donatist sect, ii. 379
- Roger, count of Sicily, his exploits, vi. 203
- Roger, son of the former, the first king of Sicily, vi. 223, 227
- Romanus I., Lecapenus, emperor of the East, v. 244; vi. 94, 146
- Romanus II., son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; his short reign, v. 246. Marries Bertha, daughter of Hugo, king of Italy, vi. 94. His second wife Theophano, 96
- Romanus III., Argyrus, v. 253
- Romanus IV., Diogenes, is taken prisoner by Alp Arslan, vi. 258, 259
- Romanus, count, governor of Africa, iii. 55
- Romanus, governor of Bosra, betrays it to the Saracens, v. 492
- Rome, era of its foundation, according to Varro, i. 222 *note*. Suffers from famine and pestilence, 321. Fortified by Aurelian, 340. Its state in the fourth century A.U.C., *ib. note*. Ceases to be the residence of the emperors, 425. Maxentius makes it the seat of his short empire, 453. Visit of Constantine, 474. Called Babylon by the early Christians, ii. 28. Its church, 69. Fire in the reign of Nero, 96. Its first prefect and local government, 190. Celebration of Constantine's *vicennalia*, 236. Visit of Constantius, 274. Contentions for its bishopric, 432. Its pagan hierarchy, iii. 223. Conversion of its Senate and people to Christianity, 229. Visit of Honorius, 302.

Character and manners of its inhabitants in his time, 352. Extent and population, 362. Besieged by Alaric, 365. Second siege, 373. Third siege and capture, 379. This catastrophe compared with the previous destruction of the city by the Gauls, and its subsequent spoliation by the army of Charles V., 388. Evacuated by the Goths, 389. Vestiges of their invasion obliterated, 398. Plundered by the Vandals under Genseric, iv. 6. By Ricimer, 53. Introduction of the Monastic system, 72. Visit of Theodoric, and preservation of its ancient monuments, 225. Taken by Belisarius, 370. Defended by him against the Goths, 374. Taken by the Goths, 478. Recovered by Belisarius, 479. Again taken by the Goths, 486. Taken by Narses, 495. The close of the sixth century, the period of its lowest depression, v. 36. Resort of pilgrims to the shrines of Peter and Paul, 38. Government of pope Gregory I., 43. Its supremacy restored by the popes, 300. Attacked by the Lombards, 310. Delivered by Pepin, 312. Its Patricians, 317. Final separation from the Greek empire, 328. Visit and coronation of Charlemagne, 330. Local jurisdiction of the German emperors, 350. Invasion of the Saracens, vi. 45. Foundation of the Leonine city, 49. Besieged by the emperor Henry III., 217. Visit

of John Palæologus I., vii. 100. Library of the Vatican enriched by Nicholas V., 145. Its merits in comparison with Constantinople, 150. Its condition in the beginning of the twelfth century, 238. Authority and revenue of the popes, 242. Resort of pilgrims and suppliants, 243. Seditions against the popes, 245. Reforms of Arnold of Brescia, 251. The Senate restored, 254. Office of Senator, 259. Held by Brancaloneo, 260. By Charles of Anjou, 260. By pope Martin V., *ib.* Embassies to the German emperors, 261. Wars against the neighbouring cities, 266. Absence of the popes, 272. The holy see removed to Avignon, 274. Resort of pilgrims during the Jubilee, 276. Feuds of the barons, 284. Tribuneship of Rienzi, 295. Return of the popes, 324. Last revolt, 328. Statutes and government, 330. Absolute dominion of the popes, 334. Reforms of Sixtus V., 338. Description of its antiquities by Poggius, 340. Causes of their gradual decay, 343. Games, 357. Population, 352, 463 *notes*. Restoration and ornaments, 462. Romilda, a Lombard princess, v. 89. Roncesvalles, battles there, v. 333. Rosamond, daughter of Cuni-mund, king of the Gepidæ, her marriage with Alboin, v. 8. Conspires his murder, 14. Her flight and death, 16

- Rotharis, Lombard king, his laws, v. 30 *note*. His marriage to Theudelinda, 33. His death, 34. His laws, 35
- Roum (or of the Romans), Seljukian kingdom, vi. 265. Its extent, 268. Attacked by the crusaders, 317. Cogni or Iconium made its capital, 350. Conquered by the Moguls, vii. 14. By Bajazet, 34
- Roumelia, i. 25
- Roxolani, an ancient tribe in the army of Regillianus, i. 318 *note*. Deserted Hermanric, iii. 109
- Rufinus, minister of Theodosius, inflames his anger against Thessalonica, iii. 205, 257. His tyranny under Arcadius, 258. Builds a church at Chalcedon, 259, 446. Oppresses the East, 262. Conspiracy against him, 263. Dreads the arrival of Stilicho, 264. Is put to death by Gainas, 270. His treachery, 285
- Rufinus, a presbyter of Aquileia, persecuted by Jerome, iii. 293
- Rugians, a tribe among the confederate bands of Italy, iv. 54. Conquered by Odoacer, 66. Said to have followed the Saxons into Britain, 175
- Rugilas, or Roas, leader of the Huns, iii. 495. On his death leaves the command to his nephews, Attila and Bleda, 496
- Ruric, or Röríc, founder of the Russian empire, vi. 159
- Rusium, battle of, vi. 464
- Russia, derivation of its name, iii. 109 *note*. Arrival of Ruric, vi. 160. Its geography, 162. Its trade, 164. Its naval expeditions against Constantinople, 166. Its conversion to Christianity, 173. Completed by Wolodomir, 175. Discord of its princes, and conquest by the Golden Horde, vii. 15. Ravaged by Timour, 53. Is represented by its primate at the council of Ferrara, 119. Refuses to concur in the union of the Churches, 156
- Rustam, the Persian general, v. 478, 479
- Rustan, a Persian nobleman, i. 91
- Rusticiana, daughter of Symmachus, and wife of Bœthius, iv. 240. Rescued by Totila at the taking of Rome, 479

S

- SABÆANS, or Homerites, ii. 355
- Sabaton, a lake in Hungary, i. 491 *note*
- Sabellius, the heresiarch, his opinions afterward adopted by his antagonists, ii. 387. His doctrine of the Trinity, 391. The Sabellians unite with the Tritheists, at the council of Nice, to overpower the Arians, 393
- Sabians, their astronomical mythology, v. 388
- Sabinian, ii. 308
- Sabinian, general of the East, is defeated by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, iv. 220
- Sabinians, the Roman law-sect, iv. 544
- Sabinus, Flavius, elder brother of Vespasian, ii. 105

- Sabinus, Flavius, the son, put to death by his cousin Domitian, ii. 105
- Sabinus, prætorian prefect, announces Maximin's order to cease the persecution of the Christians, ii. 153
- Sabrata, a city of the African Tripolis, iii. 56
- Sadducees, the Jewish sect, their opinions, ii. 25
- Said, lieutenant of Omar, v. 480
- Sain, slain for conducting the embassy of Heraclius to the presence of Chosroes, v. 90
- Saladin, his birth, promotion, and character, vi. 365. Conquers the kingdom of Jerusalem, 376. His ineffectual siege of Tyre, 375. Siege of Acre, 376. His negotiations with Richard I. of England, 381. His death, 382
- Saladine tenth, vi. 384
- Salban, a Persian town, v. 99
- Salerno, origin of its school of medicine, vi. 36. A Lombard principality, 180. Besieged by the Saracens, 184. Conquered by Robert Guiscard, 200. Account of its school, 201. Resists the Byzantine general Palæologus, 229
- Saliens, or Salic Franks, ii. 318. Clovis, their king, iv. 121. Their laws, 146. Origin of the different tenures of their lands, 156
- Salices, battle of, iii. 124
- Sallust, his attachment to Julian, and service in Gaul, ii. 312. Removed by Constantius, 450. Appointed by Julian prætorian prefect of Gaul, 462. His colleague in the consulship, 477 *note*
- Sallust (Secundus Sallustius, *Amm. Marc.*), prefect of the East, president of the tribunal of Chalcedon, ii. 477. Announces to the dying Julian the fate of Anatolius, 580. Refuses the offered diadem, 582. Sent to negotiate with Sapor, 586. Again refuses the empire on the death of Jovian, iii. 7. Approves the election of Valentinian, 8. Proposes an important proclamation, 10. Retained in the public service, 12. Dismissed by Valens, 51. Restored to oppose the rebellion of Procopius, 18
- Sallust, the historian, iii. 384
- Salona, Diocletian's retirement there, i. 437. Belisarius assembles his army there, iv. 473
- Salvian, of Marseilles, denounces the abominations of Carthage, iii. 488. Deplores the corrupt state of Gaul, iii. 571 *note*
- Salvius, Julian, prepares the Perpetual Edict of Hadrian, iv. 534
- Samanides, the Saracen dynasty, vi. 59
- Samara, on the Tigris, ii. 582; vi. 54
- Samarcand, Nestorian missionaries preach there, v. 176. Conquered by the Saracens, v. 488. Taken by the Turks, vi. 239. Seljuk's encampment, 248. Reduced by Malek Shah, 262. Taken by the Mongols, vii. 8. The first seat of Timour's empire, 48. Threatened by Tocta-

- mish, and saved by Timour, 52. Scene of his triumphs and magnificence, 74
- Samaritans, persecuted by Justinian, v. 159
- Samoyedes, known to the Mongols, vii. 132
- Samuel, his ashes conveyed to Constantinople, iii. 246
- Sangian, the last hero of the Seljukian race in Persia, vi. 362
- Sangiban, king of the Alani, 46 552
- Saphadin, brother of Saladin, vi. 383. Usurps the throne of Egypt, 384
- Sapor I., inherits Persia from his father, Artaxerxes, i. 242. Assassinate Chosroes, and seizes Armenia, 307. Defeats Valerian and takes him prisoner, 308. Captures Antioch, 308. Overcomes Syria and Cilicia, 309. Insults and is defeated by Odenathus, 310, 345. Modern Persians ignorant of his victory, 312 *note*. His death, 349
- Sapor II., the son of Hormouz, is crowned king of Persia before his birth, ii. 254. His character and early heroism, 254. Harasses the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, 256. Battle of Singara against Constantius, 257. His son killed, 259. His attempts on Nisibis, 275. Concludes a truce with Constantius, 261. His haughty propositions to Constantius, 301. Invades Mesopotamia, 302. Reduces Amida, 306. Returns home, 306
- Sapor II., his peaceful overtures to the emperor Julian, 541. His consternation at the successes of Julian, 570. Harasses the retreat of the Romans, 575. His treaty with the emperor Jovian, 587. His reduction of Armenia, iii. 64, 66
- Sapor III., iii. 66
- Saracens, serve in the army of Valens, iii. 136
- Saragossa, v. 336, 565
- Sarbar, v. 100, 103
- Sarbaraza, surprised by Heraclius, v. 99
- Sardes, one of the seven churches of Asia, ii. 66; vii. 28
- Sardica, conference held there between Constantius and Vetrano, ii. 267. Plundered by Attila, iii. 504
- Sardinia, an appendage of the Roman empire, i. 29. Subdued by the Vandals, iv. 31. Recovered by Marcellinus, 41. Again conquered by Genseric, 43. Revolts under Godas, 322. Zano, Gelimor's brother, sent to reduce it, 330. His success, 338. The island is surrendered to an officer of Belisarius, 341. Remains independent of the Lombards, v. 27
- Sarmatians (Sarmatæ, or Sauromatæ). Not Scythians, i. 245. Distinguished from Goths, 280. Defeated by Carus, 383. Allies of the Goths, and defeated by Constantine, 488. Manners of the people, ii. 243. Assisted by Constantine against the Goths, 247. Punished for their ingratitude, 249. Established by Constantius in the Lesser Poland, 297

- Sarukhan, a Turkish chieftain, vii. 141
- Sarus, invades the camp of Stilicho, iii. 330. Is received at Ravenna, 379. Deserts Honorius, joins Jovinus, and is killed by Adolphus, 406
- Sarus, a river of Cilicia, v. 99
- Sassanides, their dynasty founded in Persia, i. 225. Its extinction, v. 487
- Satalia, a seaport of Pamphylia, vi. 357
- Satrap, i. 235, 239
- Saturninus, one of the Thirty Tyrants, i. 314
- Saturninus, driven into rebellion against Probus, i. 378
- Saturninus, a minister of Arcadius, iii. 437
- Saturninus, count of the Domestics, iii. 265
- Saul, a veteran general of Theodosius, iii. 299
- Sauromaces, king of Armenia, iii. 65
- Sauzes, son of Amurath I., vii. 41
- Savoy (Sapaudia), i. 21; iii. 536
- Savelli, a Roman family, vii. 280
- Saxa Rubra, battle of, i. 473
- Saxons, mentioned as assailants of the coast of Britain, in the time of Diocletian, i. 402 *note*. Not known to Tacitus, iii. 45. Found in Ptolemy's map, iii. 45. Their habits of naval war, 46. Afflicted the maritime provinces of Gaul in the reign of Valentinian, 47. Unite with the Scots and Picts, 54. Are repelled by Theodosius, 55. Their conversion to Christianity, iv. 92; v. 42. Their conquest of Britian, 172 *note*. Establishment of the Heptarchy, 175. Their alleged ferocity, 182. Gave their language to the country, 183. Fables respecting them, 188. In Germany, allies of the Lombards, v. 9. Their character drawn by Luitprand, vi. 109
- Scanderbeg, Prince of Albania, vii. 171
- Scantinian law of the Romans, v. 594
- Scarponna, the Allemanni defeated by Jovinus, iii. 40
- Sclerena, mistress of Constantine Monomachus, v. 254
- Sclerus, Bardas, rebels against Basil II., v. 251
- Scodra, treaty between its prince and the first crusaders, vi. 301
- Scribonianus, took up arms in Dalmatia against Claudius, i. 82 *note*
- Scrinia, public offices of the empire, ii. 208
- Scyrris, a tribe of Huns, iii. 454; iv. 57
- Sebaste, or Siwas, destroyed by Timour, vii. 59
- Sebastian, son-in-law of count Boniface, iii. 532
- Sebastian, appointed duke of Egypt by Constantius, ii. 425. Sent by Julian to Nisibis, 550. Fails to accomplish the object of his march, 569. Serves under Valentinian against the Allemanni, iii. 42. Promoted by Valens to the rank of master-general of the infantry, 130. Is killed in the battle of Hadrianople, 134
- Sebastian, invested with the purple by his brother Jovinus,

- iii. 405. Put to death by Adolphus, 409
- Sebastocrator, a title invented by Alexius Comnenus for his brother Isaac, vi. 86. Given by John Comnenus to his brother, v. 265
- Sebectagi, father of Mahmud the Gaznevide, vi. 240
- Secundinus, duke of Osrhoene, ii. 554
- Secutor, the adversary of the Retiarius in the Roman circus, i. 108
- Segestan, maintains its independence for many years against Persia, i. 235 *note*. An ally of Sapor at the siege of Amida, ii. 305
- Seid Bechar predicts the fall of Constantinople, vii. 86
- Seleucia, capital of the Macedonian kingdom of the Seleucides, i. 236. Its ruins, ii. 565
- Seleucia in Isauria (or Cilicia). Defended by three legions against the Isaurians, ii. 289
- Seleucides, their era still used in the East, i. 225 *note*
- Seleucus Nicator, cities built by him, i. 234
- Seleucus, Mount, Magnentius finally defeated there, ii. 275
- Selgæ, Tribigild defeated there, iii. 433
- Selim I., vi. 393
- Seljuk, the father of the Seljukian dynasty, vi. 248
- Seljukians, establishment of their empire by Togrul Beg, vi. 249. Extended by Alp Arslan, 253. Civilised by Malek Shah, 263. Divided by his sons, 265. Foundation of the kingdom of Roum, 266. Conquest of Jerusalem, 270. Contests with the crusaders, 295, 317, 358. Decline of their power, 331. Isolated state of Roum, 350. Extirpated by the Moguls, vii. 14
- Selybria (Selymbria), allotted to John Palæologus, vii. 42. Taken by Mahomet II., 196
- Semno, taken by Probus, i. 373
- Senate of Rome, loss of its power and dignity, i. 66. Remodelled by Augustus, 67. Refused to accept his resignation, 68. Allowed by him to govern the most peaceful provinces, 71. To possess apparent power, 75. Attempts to reassume its rights after the murder of Caligula, 80. Its conduct on the death of Commodus, and election of Pertinax, 113. Advocates the imperial prerogative of Severus, 144. Supports the Gordians, 204. Elects Maximus and Balbinus, 207. Defends the empire against the Allemanni, 296. Elects Tacitus, 363. Its authority revived by him, 364. Recognised by Probus, 370. Expired with him, 382. Rendered a useless monument of antiquity by Diocletian, 428. Acknowledges Maxentius as emperor, 452. Constantine promises to restore its dignity and power, 475. The name of Senate given by him to the public council of Constantinople, ii. 179. The distinction of its members personal, not hereditary, 188. That of Rome still permitted to bestow the titles of Imperial

- power, recognises Julian, 416. He confers on that of Constantinople all the honours and privileges enjoyed by that of Rome, 481. Restores to the latter the altar of Victory, iii. 225. It is removed by Gratian, *ib.* Discussion and vote for the suppression of paganism, 229. Debates on the demands of Alaric, and propositions of Stilicho, 326. His widow, Serena, sentenced to death, 365. Attalus elected emperor, 376. The trial of Arvandus closed its jurisdiction in Gaul, iv. 46. Support given to Anthemius, 53. Surrender of Italy to Zeno, emperor of the east, 60. The Senate of Rome extinguished, 495. Legislative power exercised by it in the time of Tiberius, 532. Restored by Arnold of Brescia, vii. 254. Its number and powers, 257
- Senators of Rome, persecuted by Commodus, i. 89. The dignity exposed by him to public sale, 103. Forbidden by Gallienus to exercise any military employment, 296. Their *auri oblatio*, to the emperors, ii. 227 *note*. Their genealogy, iii. 341. Wealth, 344. Manners and character, 347
- Sens, Decentius surrounded there by an army of Germans, ii. 275. Julian besieged there on his first arrival in Gaul, 314
- Septem, besieged by Theudes, iv. 354
- Septimania, retained by the Visigoths, iv. 142, 144. Conquered by the Arabs, vi. 16. Recovered by Pepin, v. 336
- Septizonium, of Severus, vii. 343, 351
- Serai, a city built by Batou in the desert, vii. 17. Destroyed by Timour, 54
- Serapæum, temple of Serapis at Alexandria destroyed by Theophilus, iii. 235. Contained one of the great libraries; its fate, 237
- Serena, daughter of Honorius, brother of Theodosius, marries Stilicho, iii. 266. Accused of taking a necklace from the statue of Vesta, 332. Sentenced to death by the senate, 365
- Sergius, nephew of Solomon, his misconduct in Africa, iv. 362. Conspires against Justinian, 508
- Sergius, a saint of Antioch, v. 62
- Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, v. 166
- Sergius, teacher of the Paulicians, vi. 127
- Serjabil, saved by Caled at Bostra, v. 491
- Seronatus, punished for offering to betray Auvergne, iv. 49
- Servians, overthrown by the Bulgarians, vi. 146
- Sestus, opposite to Abydos, on the Hellespont, ii. 167
- Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, the fable, iii. 489. Embellished in the Koran, 490 *note*
- Severa, first wife of Valentinian I., iii. 179
- Severianus, son of Fl. Val. Severus, put to death by Licinius, i. 479
- Severina Ulpia, married to Aurelian, i. 332

- Severinus, a popular saint of Noricum, iv. 59, 63
- Severus, Septimius, proclaimed emperor, i. 129. His government, 134. Overcomes Pescennius Niger, 135, and Clodius Albinus, 137. Remodels the Prætorian guards, 142. Rules by his arbitrary will, 144. Marries Julia Domna, 147. His campaign in Britain, 149. His death, 151. State of the Christians during his reign, ii. 127
- Severus, Flavius Valerius, i. 445, 450, 454, 455
- Severus, Libius, receives the imperial title, iv. 29
- Severus, succeeds Marcellus, as general of Julian's cavalry in Gaul, ii. 314
- Severus, patriarch of Antioch, v. 180
- Seville, reduced by Muza, v. 564
- Sfetigrade, a fort in Albania, vii. 174
- Shah Mansour, prince of Fars, vii. 51
- Shawer, the Egyptian vizir, vi. 364, 367
- Sheikhs of Arabia, their dignity hereditary, v. 376
- Shepherds of the North, their devastations, iii. 85
- Shiracouh, emir of Nouredin, vi. 365
- Siberia, its savage inhabitants, iii. 97. Colonised by Mongols, vii. 18. Last retreat of Toctamish, 53
- Sicilian vespers, vi. 525
- Sicily, an island of the empire, i. 29. Produced vines in the time of Homer, 59. Desolated by a servile war, 318. Furnished troops to Maxentius, 467. Threatened by Alaric, and saved by his death, iii. 392. Conquered by Genseric, iv. 1, 44. Surrendered to Theodoric, 213. Subdued by Belisarius, 362. By Totila, 486. Betrayed to the Saracens of Africa by Euphemius, vi. 44. Silk weavers brought from Greece, 80, 228. Attempts of the Byzantines to recover it, 189. Success of Maniaces, 190. Conquered by Roger the Norman, 205. Made a kingdom by his son, 225. Reign of his successors, 234. The sovereignty acquired by the emperor Henry VI., 235. Given by the pope to Charles of Anjou, 521, 522. His tyranny provokes revolt and massacre, 526. Transferred to the house of Arragon, 527
- Sidon, taken from the crusaders by Bibars, vi. 393
- Sidonius Apollinaris, his poetical prayer for an alleviation of his tax, ii. 222. Theodoric II, king of the Ostrogoths, iv. 11. His panegyric on Avitus, 16. On Majorian, 18. On Anthemius, 37. His letter to Riothamus, 46. To Arvandus, 47
- Sienpi, Oriental Tartars, iii. 103. Under the name of Topa invaded China, 307
- Sigismund, last king of the Burgundians, iv. 135, 136
- Sigismund, the emperor, supports the council of Basle against the pope, vii. 115. Advocates the council of Constance, 326
- Sigismund, king of Hungary, vii. 37
- Silingi, a branch of the Van-

- dals in Spain, iii. 408. Ex-
terminated by Wallia, 412
- Silvester, pope, v. 321
- Simeon Stylites, iv. 87
- Simeon, king of Bulgaria, vi.
146
- Simeon puts to death the
Paulican, Constantine, vi.
126
- Simeons, Nestorians of Van,
their revolt, v. 177
- Simon Magus, v. 142
- Simon of Montfort, vi. 411
- Simplicius, visits Persia, iv.
314. His works, 315
- Sinbal, chief of the Heruli, iv.
500, 501
- Singara, its situation, i. 422
note
- Singara, battle of, ii. 258
- Singeric, king of the Visigoths,
iii. 410
- Singidunum, iii. 504
- Sinistus, high priest of the
Burgundians, iii. 43
- Sinope, surrendered to Maho-
met II., vii. 233
- Sira, or Shirene, said to be the
daughter of the emperor
Maurice, v. 63, 107
- Sirmium, Claudius II. dies
there, i. 331. Its marshes
drained by Probus, 381.
Abandoned by Licinius to
Constantine, 483. Receives
Julian triumphantly, ii. 465.
Resists the Quadi and Sar-
matians, iii. 76. Despoiled
by Attila, 504. Treacher-
ously taken by Baian, v.
66
- Siroes, v. 107, 110
- Sisebut, persecutes the Jews in
Spain, iv. 116
- Siwas, or Sebaste, in Cappa-
docia, v. 93. Destroyed by
Timour, vii. 59
- Sixtus IV., pope, vii. 333
- Sixtus V., pope, vii. 338
- Slaves, their condition among
the Romans, i. 44. Means
of enfranchisement, 45.
Their employments, value,
and numbers, 47. Revolt in
Sicily, 318. Received into
the army, ii. 204. Released
by Alaric, and join his
forces, iii. 369. Their treat-
ment among the Huns, 508.
Among the conquerors of
the empire, iv. 158. Trained
in Egypt as Mamalukes, vi.
393. The sale of them autho-
rised by treaty at Scutari,
vii. 31. Educated by the
Turks as Janizaries, 88
- Slavonians, their language, iv.
411. Habits, 412. Coun-
tries occupied by them, 413.
Enter Gran, 414. Their
settlement in the Pelopon-
nesus, vi. 77. Their various
tribes, 144
- Smyrna, its wealth and com-
merce, i. 56. One of the
Seven Churches of Asia, ii.
66. Supported now by the
commercial activity of Euro-
peans, vii. 28. Placed under
the protection of the Knights
of Rhodes, 30 *note*. Taken
by Timour, 66
- Soæmias, niece of the empress
Julia Domna, i. 163, 171,
173
- Soffarides, the Saracen dyn-
asty, vi. 59
- Sogdiana, conquered by the
White Huns, iii. 104. Its
caravans between China and
Persia, iv. 270. Tributary
to the Turks, 423
- Solicinium, Mount, the Alle-
manni defeated there, iii.
42
- Soliman, caliph, undertakes the

- second siege of Constantinople, vi. 7, 9
- Soliman, son of Bajazet, escapes from Angora, vii. 66. Is invested with Romania by Timour, 72. Unites for awhile the thrones of Hadrianople and Bursa, and dies, 81. His alliance with Manuel Palæologus, 85
- Soliman, son of Orchan, obtains possession of Gallipoli, vii. 32
- Solomen, the eunuch, succeeds Belisarius in Africa, iv. 352. Defeats the Moors, 354. Withdraws to Sicily, 464. Returns to Africa, 467
- Song, the Chinese dynasty, becomes extinct, vii. 11. Death of their last champion, vii. 12
- Sonna, the Mahometan oral law, v. 405
- Sonnites, orthodox Mahometans, as opposed to Shiites, v. 453
- Sophia, wife of Justin II., v. 563. Causes the defection of Narses, 570. Conspires against Tiberius II., 580
- Sophia, St., church at Constantinople, built by Constantine, ii. 175; iv. 289, 290, 293; vii. 153, 226
- Sophian, a veteran warrior of the Arabs, vi. 3
- Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, v. 512
- Sovou, or So-ou, the Chinese exile, iii. 99
- Sozopetra, its destruction causes the Amorian war, vi. 49
- Spain, its divisions, as a Roman province, i. 20. Its rich mines, 184; iv. 478 *note*. First inroad of Barbarians, i. 323. Long happiness of the people, iii. 407. Invaded and divided by Vandals, Suevi, and Alani, 408. Their government preferred to that of Rome, 409. Conquered and restored to Honorius by Wallia, 412. The Vandals subdue the Suevi, 474. Conquered by the Visigoths under Theodoric, iv. 13. Predominance of Arianism, 110. Conversion of Recared to the Catholic creed, 114. Persecution of the Jews, 116. On the death of Alaric II., Theodoric protects Spain against Clovis, 141, 169. Legislative councils of Toledo, 170. Their code, 171. Reign of Theudes, 354. Justinian obtains some cities, 355. The Spanish March of Charlemagne, v. 337. Usurpation of Roderic, 557. Invasion of the Saracens, 558. Battle of Xeres, 560. The country conquered by them, 563. Retirement of Gothic fugitives into the Asturian valleys, 564. Prosperity of Spain under the Arabs, 570. Abdalrahman I. establishes an independent throne at Cordova, vi. 125. Magnificence of Abdalrahman III., 28. One of the five great nations of Christendom, whose deputies attended the council of Constance, vii. 326.
- Spectables, or Respectable, one of the three ranks of honour, ii. 183, 192
- Spoleto, taken by Belisarius, iv. 370. Its governor, Constantine, despoils Presidius,

387. Surrendered to the pope, v. 320
- Stauracius, emperor of Constantinople, v. 226
- Stephen, assassinates Domitian, ii. 105
- Stephen, count of Chartres, Blois, and Troyes, engages in the first crusade, vi. 299, 312, 327
- Stephen, son of Romanus Lecapenus, conspires against him, v. 245
- Stephen III., pope, visits France to obtain support against the Lombards, v. 312. Returns at the head of a French army, 313. Crowns Pepin a second time, 315
- Stephen, a favourite of Justinian II., v. 216
- Stilicho, master-general under Theodosius, iii. 215. The theme of Claudian's muse, 265. Marries Serena, 266. Appointed guardian of Arcadius and Honorius, 267. Master-general of the West, 268. Causes Rufinus to be killed, 270. His daughter Maria married to the emperor Honorius, 281. Drives Alaric out of Greece, 289. Collects the remaining forces of the empire to oppose him in Italy, 296. Compels him to abandon the siege of Asti, 298. Defeats him at Pollentia, 299. His triumph, 303. Resists the invasion of Radagaisus, 312. Defeats him at Florence, 314. Provides better means of defence in Britain, 320 *note*. Negotiates with Alaric, 327. Court intrigues against him, 328. His friends massacred at Pavia, 329. He is seized and beheaded, 331
- Stotzas, revolts in Africa, iv. 464. His death, 465
- Strasburg, stormed by the Huns, iii. 545 *note*. Battle of, ii. 318
- Stratopedarch, the great judge of the camp, vi. 89
- Successianus, i. 329
- Suevi, their early history, i. 295 *note*. Form a part of the host of Radagaisus, iii. 309. After his death invade Gaul, 317. Enter Spain, 408. Are conquered by Wallia, 412. By the Vandals, 476. By the Visigoths, iv. 13. United to the Gothic monarchy of Spain, 114
- Sufetula, taken by the Arabs, v. 544
- Sullecte, iv. 331
- Sulpicianus, father-in-law of Pertinax, i. 122
- Sulpicius, Servius, the friend of Cicero, iv. 542
- Sultan, the title invented for Mahmud the Gaznevide, vi. 241
- Summat, taken by Mahmud the Gaznevide, vi. 242
- Surenas, Persian general, ii. 555
- Sus, a river of western Africa, v. 548
- Susa, in Italy, taken by Constantine, i. 468
- Susa, in Persia, taken by the Arabs, v. 484
- Swatoslaus, great duke of Russia, vi. 170, 171, 172
- Sweden, described by Olaus Rudbeck, i. 250. Its people kindred with the Goths, 277
- Syagrius, son of Timasius, iii. 429

Syagrius, son of Ægidius, iv. 123, 124

Sybillā, daughter of Amaury, inherits the crown of Jerusalem, vi. 371

Syllanus, the consul, i. 204

Sylvania, sister of Rufinus, iii. 270 *note*

Sylvanus, revolt against Constantius, ii. 293

Sylverius, pope, deposed and banished by Belisarius, iv. 381. His death, 471

Symmachus, Roman Senator, his praise of Constantius, ii. 444. Pleads for the toleration of pagan ceremonies, iii. 226. Appointed consul by Theodosius II., and holds other offices, 243. Urges Stilicho to provide a supply of corn during the revolt of Gildo, 275

Symmachus, pope, iv. 230

Symmachus, a senator, gives his daughter in marriage to Boethius, iv. 235. Put to death by Theodoric, 240

Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais in Africa; a native of Cyrene; his illustrious pedigree, ii. 369 *note*. Excommunicated Andronicus, the tyrant of his province, 370. His embassy from Cyrene to present a crown of gold to Theodosius II., iii. 290. His address to the emperor, 291

Syracuse, plundered by Franks, i. 377. Tradition respecting the Roman fleet destroyed there, iv. 286. Its capture by the Saracens, vi. 44

Syria, its previous history, i. 26. Dignity of its capital, Antioch, 56. Conquered by Sapor, 310. Recovered by Odenathus and ruled by

Zenobia, 344. Some of the most ancient and illustrious churches planted there, ii. 66. Services of Belisarius in its defence, iv. 324. Invaded by Nushirvan, 436. Ravaged by his general Adarnan, v. 48. Conquered by Chosroes II., 82. Recovered by Heraclius, 110. Invaded by the Saracens, 490. Description of the province, 505. The conquest completed in six campaigns, 520. Reconquered by Nicephorus, Phocas, and Zimisces, vi. 65. Occupied by Malek Shah, 262. The Seljukian emirate, 266. The Atabeks, 363. Octai repelled by the Mamalukes, vii. 15. Invaded by Timour, 59. Abandoned by him, 78

Syrianus, duke of Egypt, ii. 424

Syropolus, Sylvester. vii. 117

T

TABENNE, an island of the Nile, ii. 427. Occupied by Pachomius, iv. 71

Tacitus, the historian, his episodes relieve an uniform tale of woe, i. 224. His survey of ancient Germany, and character as a writer, 245. Of the manners and conditions of the people, 250. Of the Batavian war of Civilis, 267. Of the discord of the Barbarians, 269. Preservation of his works, 362 *note*. His account of the fire of Rome and Nero's treatment of the Christians, ii. 97. His compositions, 99

- Tacitus, his previous career, and election as emperor of Rome, i. 362. His care to preserve the works of his ancestor, 362 *note*. Revives the authority of the senate, 364. Places himself at the head of the army, 365. His death, 366
- Tagina, battle of, iv. 492
- Taherites, an Arabian dynasty, vi. 59
- Taifalæ, a Gothic tribe, ii. 298. Join the Visigoths, iii. 126. Defeated by Frigerid, 129
- Taitsong, the first of the Tang dynasty, v. 486
- Tamsapor, a Persian satrap, ii. 300
- Tancred de Hauteville, vi. 197
- Tancred, nephew of Robert Guiscard, vi. 301. Reluctantly does homage to Alexius, 312. Quarrels with Baldwin, 321. His generosity at Jerusalem, 336
- Tancred, grandson of Roger, vi. 236
- Tanjou, an appellation of the chiefs of the Huns, iii. 98. Defeated by the Chinese emperor Vouti, 101. Their power utterly destroyed, 102
- Taprobana, or Ceylon, iv. 274
- Tarantus, a celebrated gladiator, i. 147 *note*
- Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, v. 324
- Targetius, chief of the Avar embassy to Justin II., v. 4
- Tarif, chief of the first Arab invaders of Spain, v. 558, 559, 563, 565
- Tarkhan, prince of Fargana, v. 485
- Tarquin, his law against suicide, v. 600
- Tarragona, gave its name to a Roman province in Spain, i. 21. Plundered by the Franks, 294. Maximus set up there as emperor, iii. 401. Long one of the most illustrious Roman cities, 407. Molested by the Suevi, iv. 131. Conquered by Tarik, v. 565
- Tarsus, opened its gates to Probus, i. 368. Julian interred there, ii. 597. Molested by the Isaurians, iv. 390. Recovered from the Saracens by the Greek emperors, vi. 65. Taken by Tancred and Baldwin, 231. Restored to Alexius, 350
- Tartary, the country north of the Euxine, anciently called Scythia, iii. 95. Its real geography, 96. Conquered by Toulun, 308. Eastern, by Timour, vii. 52
- Tasillo, conquered by Charlemagne, v. 338
- Tatian, prefect of the East, iii. 258
- Tauris, Tebris, or Gandzaca, capital of the province of Atropatene, i. 423. Taken by Heraclius, v. 97. Said to have been the depository of the spoils of Cræsus, *ib.* Conquered by the Saracens, 483
- Taurus, prefect of Italy, ii. 406, 466, 477
- Taurus, Mount, the retreat of the Isaurians, i. 320. Place of Chrysostom's exile, iii. 448. Its villages resist the imposition of tributes, iv. 301. Its defiles guarded by Heraclius, v. 93
- Tayef, surrenders to Mahomet, v. 436
- Tebeste, or Tibesch, iv. 467

- Tecrit, or Virtha, repels Sapor, ii. 307
- Teias, commands the Gothic forces at Verona, iv. 491. Is chosen king, 496. Falls at the Lactarian Mount, 497
- Telha, revolts against Ali, v. 457
- Tempe, exposed to Barbarian incursions, iv. 298. Viewed with a careless eye by the Latin conquerors, vi. 455
- Templars, Knight. *See* Jerusalem. Final proscription of their order, vi. 395
- Tephricæ, a fortress of the Paulicians, vi. 128, 130
- Terbelis, king of the Bulgarians, v. 215
- Tertullian, his severe treatise against idolatry, ii. 18 *note*. His picture of the Last Judgment, 30. Cyprian's "Master," 31 *note*. Suggests to soldiers the expedient of deserting, 43. His *Apology* addressed to the magistrates of Severus, 74 *note*. Aspersed the morals of the sect which he left, 92 *note*. His argument against Praxcas, 382 *note*
- Tesseræ (dice, tables or trictrac), a favourite game of the Romans, iii. 354
- Testaments, regulations of that law for the disposition of property, iv. 577. Codicils and trusts, 579
- Tetricus, one of the Thirty Tyrants, i. 314. Supported by Victoria, 342. Surrenders to Aurelian, 343. Attends his triumph, 352. Reinstated by him in his rank and fortune, 354
- Teutonic knights, colonise and convert Prussia, i. 278
- Thamud, an ancient tribe in Arabia, v. 417
- Thanet, Isle of, the first settlement of the Saxons, iv. 173
- Thapsacus, ii. 303
- Thebes, in Egypt, i. 127 *note*. Its extent, 172 *note*
- Thebes, in Bœotia, taken by the Goths, i. 303. Spared by Alaric, iii, 286. Sacked by the Normans, vi. 80, 227. Taken by Boniface to Montferrat, 455. Assigned to Otho de la Roche, 532. Conquered by the Catalans, 533
- Themistius, iii. 5
- Theodatus, cousin of Amalasontha, iv. 359. Imprisons and murders her, 360. Resigns Sicily, 363. Abdicates and retracts, 364. Is assassinated, 368
- Theodebert, king of Austrasia, assists Vitiges, iv. 389. Destroys Milan, 390. His death, 391
- Theodemir, father of Theodoric, iv. 204. King of the Ostrogoths, 205
- Theodemir, Tadmîr, governor of Murcia, v. 566
- Theodora, daughter-in-law of Maximian, the second wife of Constantius Chlorus, i. 400, 450
- Theodora, daughter of Acacius the bear-keeper, iv. 251. Her beauty and early career of vice, 252. Captivates Justinian, 253. Their nuptials and coronation, 254. Her tyranny, 255. Cruelty, 256. Prudence, 257. Death, 262. Courage, 266. Her conspiracy against John of Cappadocia, 285. Her jealousy of Amalasontha, 357.

- Intrigues against her with Gundelinda, 360. Procures the appointment of Vigilius as pope, 381. Protects Antonina, 401. Her opposition to Justinian's theology, v. 161. Her mission to Nubia, 195. Establishment of the Jacobite church in Abyssinia, 196
- Theodora, wife of Theophilus, administers the empire after his death, v. 233. Restores the worship of images, 321. Persecutes the Paulicians, vi. 224
- Theodora, daughter of Constance IX., refuses to marry, v. 253. Reigns jointly with her sister Zoe, 254. Last of the Basilian dynasty, 255
- Theodora, daughter of John Cantacuzene, vi. 552; vii. 31
- Theodora, sister of Marozia, v. 348
- Theodora, widow of Baldwin III., v. 275, 276
- Theodore, Angelus, despot of Epirus, vi. 470, 471
- Theodore, bishop of Mopsestia, v. 126, 162
- Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, iii. 489; v. 163
- Theodoric I., king of the Visigoths, succeeds Wallia, iii. 536. Defeats Litorius, 538. Joins Ætius to oppose Attila, 548. Falls in the battle of Chalons, 552
- Theodoric II., murders his brother Torismund, iv. 10. His character and government, 11. Supports Avitus and invades Spain, 15. Defeats the Suevi, 15. Assassinated by his brother Euric, 45
- Theodoric, son of Triarius, iv. 208
- Theodoric, son of Theodemir the Ostrogoth, iv. 203. Succeeds his father on the throne, 205. Marches into Italy against Odoacer, 210. Defeats him, 211. Capitulation and death of Odoacer, 212. Theodoric, king of Italy, 214. His foreign policy, 217. His civil government, 223. His ministers, 223. His visit to Rome, 225. His care to preserve statues and edifices, 226. Happiness and prosperity of Italy, 227. His toleration, 229. He decides the contest between Symmachus and Laurence for the papal chair, 230. Is provoked to persecute the Catholics, 232. Condemns Boethius, 239. And Symmachus, 240. His remorse and death, 241
- Theodorus, Mallius, his consulship, iii. 426
- Theodorus, brother of Heracilius, v. 100, 102
- Theodorus, executed on a charge of magic, iii. 21 *note*
- Theodosiopolis, its foundation, iii. 464
- Theodosius, father of the emperor, is sent by Valentinian into Britain, iii. 54. Restores the security of the province, 55. Defeats the Allemanni, 55. Suppresses the revolt of Firmus in Africa, 59. Is beheaded, 60
- Theodosius I., the Great, supposed magical prediction of his future greatness, iii. 21 *note*. Duke of the frontier, protects Mœsia from inva-

sion, 77. Withdrew to his estate in Spain on the death of his father, 142. Is called from his retirement by Gratian, and invested with the purple, 144. His successful conduct of the Gothic war, 147. Submission of the Goths, 148. Is visited by Athanaric, 149. Defeats the Ostrogoths, 151. Concludes a treaty with Maximus, 166. His theological training, 167. Banishes Demophilus, the Arian archbishop of Constantinople, 173. Appoints Gregory of Nazianzus in his place, 174. Convenes a council to establish the Nicene faith, 175. Issues severe edicts against heretics, 180. Disqualifies them for public offices, 182. Institutes inquisitors of the faith, *ib.* Meets Valentinian II. at Thessalonica, 193. Marries Galla, and decides to make war against Maximus, 194. Defeats him and restores the empire of the West to Valentinian, 196. His virtues, 197. His faults, 199. His clemency to the citizens of Antioch, 202. His barbarous treatment of Thessalonica, 205. His repentance and penance, 209. His superstitious embassy to consult the oracular monk, John of Licopolis, 215. War with Eugenius, 216. Defeat of the usurper, 218. Theodosius divides the empire between his sons, 219. Expires at Milan, 219. The senate of Rome induced to vote the abolition of paganism, 229. Heathen sacrifices

prohibited, 230. Temples destroyed, 231. His last edict against paganism, 240. Men of genius, though pagans, patronised by him, 243. His elevation of Rufinus, 256. His appointment of Stilicho as guardian of his sons, 267. His descendants, *iv.* 54

Theodosius II., the fortifications of Constantinople improved during his reign, *ii.* 171. His atonement for the wrongs of Chrysostom, *iii.* 450. His birth, 451. Said to have been placed by his father's will under the guardianship of Jezdegerd, 452. Educated by his sister Pulcheria, 456. Marries Eudocia, 459. Celebrates the defeat of the usurper John, 470. Pays tribute to the Huns, 495. Concludes an ignominious treaty with Attila, 511. Plots his assassination, 526. Is killed by a fall from his horse, 528. The part taken by him in the dispute between Cyril and Nestorius, *v.* 140

Theodosius III., his brief reign, *v.* 218; *vi.* 8

Theodosius, son of the emperor Maurice, is sent by him to Persia, *v.* 74. Intercepted and beheaded, 77. Said to have escaped and become a monk, 83 *note*

Theodosius, his adventures with Antonina, *iv.* 400. His death, 402

Theodosius, murdered by his brother Constans II., *v.* 210

Theodosius, a deacon of Syracuse, *vi.* 44

Theodosius, his contest for the

- patriarchate of Alexandria, v. 189. His death, 191
- Theodotus, of Hierapolis, ii. 468
- Theophano, wife of Leo the Armenian, saves the life of Michael, v. 228
- Theophano, wife of Romanus II., her origin, v. 246; vi. 96. Poisons her husband and his father, v. 247. Raises Nicephorus Phocas to the throne, and consents to his murder, 248. Makes Zimisces emperor, and is banished by him, 249
- Theophano, or Theophania, daughter of Romanus II., v. 247; vi. 96
- Theophilus succeeds his father, Michael II., as emperor of the East, v. 231. His cruel treatment of Theophobus, v. 233. His marriage with Theodora, 234. The last of the Iconoclasts, 326. Attacks the Saracens, and destroys Sozopetra, vi. 49. Defeated by Motassem, 51
- Theophilus, consular of Syria, killed at Antioch, ii. 282
- Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria, iii. 236. Destroys the Serapæum and its library, 236. His conspiracy and intrigues against Chrysostom, 445. Escapes from Constantinople, 446
- Theophobus, murdered by Theophilus, v. 233
- Therapeutæ, or Essenians, a Jewish sect, ii. 68
- Thermantia, daughter of Stilicho, iii. 331
- Thermopylæ, abandoned to Alaric by the proconsul Antiochus, iii. 285. Fortified by Justinian, iv. 297. Passed by the Slavonians, 414. Penetrated by Boniface of Montferrat, vi. 455
- Thessalonica, besieged by the Goths, i. 328. Prisca and Valeria murdered there, 481. Rendezvous of Constantine's army against Licinius, 489. Meeting and marriage of Theodosius with Galla, iii. 193. Sedition of its inhabitants, 204. Alaric supplied with arms from its magazines, 292. Sacked by the Sicilian Normans, vi. 233. Demetrius expelled by Theodore Angelus, vi. 471. Sold by Andronicus Palæologus to the Venetians, and finally conquered by the Turks, vii. 111
- Theudelinda, marries Autharis, king of Lombardy, v. 32. On his death, bestows the sceptre and her hand on Agilulf, 33
- Theudes, king of Spain; iv. 354, 355
- Thibaut, or Theobald, count of Champagne, vi. 410, 417
- Thilutha, an impregnable fortress in Mesopotamia, ii. 555
- Thomas, St., planted a church in India, v. 178. It is persecuted by the Portuguese, 178. His shrine visited by the ambassadors of Alfred, *ib.*
- Thomas, a valiant defender of Damascus, v. 497, 498, 501
- Thomas, the Cappadocian, v. 228, 230
- Thoulouse, battle of, vi. 492
- Thrace, its martial population, i. 25. Invaded by the Goths, 282, 330. Colonised with Bastarnæ, and other Bar-

- barians, by Probus, 377. Left by Constantine to Licinius, 485. Ravaged by the Goths, iii. 120. Gold mines of Pangæus, 121 *note*. Settlement of the Visigoths by Theodosius, 153. Included in the Eastern empire, 256. Abandoned by Alaric, 284. Occupied by Theodoric, iv. 208. Plundered by the Slavonians, 414. By the Bulgarians, 505. Passage of Godfrey and the first crusaders, vi. 306. Part of the crown lands of the Latin empire, vi. 453 *note*. Revolts, 461. Or Romania, occupied by the Turks, vii. 32
- Thrasea Priscus, put to death by Caracalla, i. 155
- Thrasimund, the most accomplished of the Vandal kings in Africa, iv. 99
- Thundering Legion, its fabulous miracle, ii. 125
- Thuringia, included in Attila's supposed empire, iii. 500. Charge of cruelty against its people, iii. 556. The ancient Gothic tribe of the Thervingi, *ib. note*. Residence of Childeric, father of Clovis, iv. 121. Conquered by Charlemagne, v. 338
- Thyatira, its church, ii. 66. Gainas and Tribigild unite their forces there, iii. 437. Its present state, vii. 142. Battle of, iii. 19
- Tiber, its havens, i. 57. Mills constructed by Belisarius in its current, iv. 379. Inundations, vii. 345
- Tiberius, adopted by Augustus, i. 83. Disguised his murders by the forms of justice, 92. His Pannonian war, 128. Temporary diminution of the excise on his reduction of Cappadocia, 187 *note*. His fabulous edict in favour of the Christians, ii. 125
- Tiberius II., created Cæsar and Augustus by Justin II., v. 18. His reign, 20. Assumed the name of Constantine, 21. His death, 22. His Persian war, 48
- Tigris, descended by Trajan, i. 7. Crossed by Julian, ii. 565. By Heraclius, v. 99. Its junction with the Euphrates, 480. Repassed by the Saracens, 483
- Til, or Tula, a river of Tartary, iv. 420
- Timasius, persecuted by the eunuch Eutropius, iii. 428
- Timavus, a river near Aquileia, i. 211 *note*
- Timolaus, son of Odenathus and Zenobia, i. 345 *note*
- Timothy, surnamed Ailurus, or the Cat, v. 151 *note*
- Timour, or Tamerlane, compared with Attila, iii. 507. His autobiography, vii. 46. His birth, 47. His early adventures, 48. His conquests, 50. His war with Bajazet, 57. Invades Syria, 59. Battle of Angora, 64. Term of his conquests, 73. Triumph at Samarcand, 75. Death, 76. Breaking up of his empire, 79
- Tingitana, a Roman province in Mauritania, i. 75. Its condition and produce under the Romans, v. 547
- Tipasa, alleged miracle there, iv. 108
- Tiridates, saved when the Persians conquered Armenia, i.

308. Protected and educated by the Roman emperors, 412. Restored to his throne, 413. Again expelled, 416. Restored by the victory of Galerius over Narses, 423. His conversion to Christianity and death, ii. 256
- Titus, associated by his father in the full powers of the imperial dignity, i. 83. Destroyed the temple of Jerusalem, ii. 511, 512 *note*. Compelled to dismiss Berenice, vi. 94.
- Tobolskoy, a Mongol colony, vii. 262
- Togrul Beg, grandson of Seljuk, elected sultan, vi. 248. His character and conquests, 249. His death, 252
- Tolbiac, battle of, iv. 125
- Tongouses, a tribe of Northern Asia, iii. 97
- Topirus, slaughter of its inhabitants by the Slavonians, iv. 415
- Torismond, son of Theodoric I., king of the Visigoths, iii. 548, 551. Is acknowledged king on his father's death, 555. Assassinated by his brother Theodoric, iv. 10
- Totila, elected by the Ostrogoths king of Italy, iv. 469. His rapid success, 470. His virtues, 472. Takes Rome, 478, 486. His conquests in Sicily, Sardinia, and Greece, 477. Loses his maritime acquisitions and his fleet, 488. Defeated at Tagina by Narses, and slain, 494
- Toucush, takes Syria and Palestine from Atsiz, vi. 275
- Toulouse, iii. 413
- Toulun, chagan of the Geougen, conquers Tartary, iii. 308.
- Toulunides, Saracen dynasty, vi. 61
- Tours, battle of, vi. 19
- Tourun Shah, the last of the race of Nouredin, vi. 391
- Trajan subdues Dacia, i. 6. His Eastern conquests, and navigation of the Persian Gulf, 7. His public works, i. 49, 52. His adoption by Nerva, and appointment of Hadrian as his successor, 85. His instructions to Pliny respecting the Christians, ii. 107. Description of his bridge over the Danube, iv. 296
- Trajan, count, serves under Valens in the Persian war, iii. 65. Is employed by him to murder Para, 68. His lieutenant in the Gothic war, 122. Endeavours to save him in the battle of Hadrianople, 133
- Transoxiana, conquered by the Arabs, v. 487. By Zingis, vii. 8. The realm of Timour, 46. Invaded by the Getes, 47. Their expulsion, 49
- Treason, unjust law of Arcadius respecting it, iii. 429. Surreptitiously added to the Golden Bull of Germany, 431 *note*
- Trebatius, an eminent jurist, iv. 542
- Trebellianus, one of the Thirty Tyrants, i. 314, 320
- Trebizond, its early history, i. 303. Adorned and fortified by Justinian, iv. 302 *note*. Landing-place of Heraclius on his second expedition, v. 96. Not conquered by

- the Seljukians, v. 268. Its mediæval empire founded by Alexius Comnenus, 459. Capitulates to Mahomet II., vii. 232
- Treves. Gallienus holds his court there, i. 293. Shuts its gates against Decentius, ii. 275. Pillaged by the Allemanni, 309. The residence of Valentinian, iii. 77. Its calamities, 541
- Triarian Goths unite with the Ostrogoths, iv. 211
- Tribigild, the Ostrogoth, rebels, iii. 432. Joins Gainas, 437
- Tribonian, accused by the people during the Nika sedition, iv. 359. Employed by Justinian to revise the laws of the empire, 547
- Trigetius, one of the Roman ambassadors to Attila, iii. 562
- Tripolis, confederation of three African cities, oppressed by count Romanus, iii. 56. Now Tripoli, taken by the Saracens, v. 542. By Roger, king of Sicily, vi. 226
- Turcilingi, a tribe among the confederates of Italy, iv. 56
- Turin, battle of, i. 469
- Turisund, king of the Gepidæ, v. 6
- Turkestan, conquered by Timour, vii. 52.
- Turks, origin of their monarchy in Asia, iv. 416. Their religion and laws, 418. They subdue the Ogors, 419. Send an embassy to Constantinople, 423. Their alliance with Justinian and his successors, 424. With Heraclius, v. 103. Employed as guards by the caliphs of Bagdad; their licentiousness and insolence, vi. 54. Dissolution of their empire, vi. 239. Conquests of the Gaznevites, 240. Emigrations of the Turkmans, 245. Rise of the Seljukians, 248. Conquest of Asia Minor, 267. Kingdom of Roum, 268. Capture of Jerusalem, 270. Wars of the Crusades, 317. Origin of the Atabeks, 362. Conquest of Egypt, 365. Origin of the Ottomans, vii. 24. Their conquests, 27. Their establishment in Europe, 31. War on the Danube, 36. War with Timour, 56. Battle of Angora, 64. Civil wars of the sons of Bajazet, 80. Reunion of the Ottoman empire, 82. War with Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Poland, 162. Battle of Warna, 166. War with Huniades, 169. With Scanderbeg, 172. Siege of Constantinople, 192. Capture of the city, 221
- Turpin, archbishop of Rheims, vi. 282
- Tusculum, battle of, vii. 267
- Tyrants, Thirty Roman, in the time of Gallienus, i. 314

U

- UBII of Cologne, i. 252 *note*
- Ugri, a Fennic tribe, vi. 149
- Uldin, king of the Huns, opposes and kills Gainas, iii. 440. Is driven over the Danube, 454
- Ulphilas, apostle of the Goths, iv. 91, 93, 96, 97

- Ulphilas, lieutenant of the general Constantius, iii. 403
- Ulpian, president of the council of state, under Alexander Severus, i. 173. Beneficent effects of his advice, 176. Murdered by the prætorians, 178. His treatise on the office of proconsul, ii. 194 *note*. The *lex regia* ascribed to him, iv. 535. Supposed to have been the author of the laws of Caracalla, 536. His works made oracles of law by Theodosius II., 545
- Uraias, iv. 468, 469
- Urban II., pope, adopted the plans of Gregory VII. for a crusade in the East, vi. 280. Summoned the council of Placentia, 281. Of Clermont, 282. His oration, 284. Declined to lead the crusaders, 285. Said to have been guided by the advice of Bohemond, 301 *note*. Died before he heard the result, 337
- Urban IV., embraced the cause of Baldwin, vi. 516
- Urban V., is visited at Rome by the emperors of the East and the West, vii. 100. Returns to Avignon, 318
- Urban VI., his election a prelude to the great schism, vii. 319. Puts six cardinals to the rack, 321. Driven from the Vatican, 322
- Ursacius, an Illyrian bishop, introduces Arianism at the council of Rimini, ii. 399. His alleged recantation, 417 *note*
- Ursacius, master of the offices to Valentinian, iii. 39
- Ursel of Baliol (Urselius or Russelius), vi. 255
- Ursicinus, betrays Sylvanus, ii. 293. Punished for the misconduct of Sabinian, 308
- Ursini, a Roman family, rivals of the Colonna, vii. 283
- Ursinus (or Ursicinus), his contest with Damasus for the bishopric of Rome, iii. 36
- Ursula, legend of, iii. 163 *note*
- Ursulus treasurer of the empire, condemned by the tribunal of Chalcedon, ii. 477. His confiscated wealth restored to his family by Julian, *ib.*
- Utus, a river of Thrace, iii. 505
- Uzbecks, their primitive manners much altered, iii. 86 *note*. Established in Transoxiana, vii. 47 *note*
- Uzi, a Moldavian tribe, vi. 255

V

- VADOMAIR, king of the Allemanni, ii. 458; iii. 65
- Valarsaces, appointed by his brother king of Armenia, iii. 466 *note*
- Valdrada, wife of Lothair II., vi. 96
- Valens, one of the Thirty Tyrants, i. 314. Kills Calpurnius Piso, 315
- Valens, appointed Cæsar by Licinius, i. 484. Deposed and killed, 485
- Valens, appointed emperor of the East by his brother Valentinian, iii. 12. Dismayed by the revolt of Procopius, 17. His anxiety for his personal safety, 23. Reduced the taxes of the East, 27. Instructed by Eudoxius in the Arian creed, 30. Accused of having persecuted the

- Catholics, 31. Endowed a hospital, founded by Basil at Cæsarea, 32. Contest with the monks of Egypt, 33. Established Sauromaces on the throne of Armenia and Iberia, 65. Para, son of Arsaces Tiranus, treacherously murdered by his order, 68. His residence at Antioch, 111. The Visigoths implored his protection, 112. Leave given by him for their passage of the Danube, 114. War with them, 123. Defeated and slain at Hadrianople, 133. Funeral oration of Libanius, 134
- Valens, bishop of Mursa, ii. 399. Comforts the emperor Valens, during the battle against Magnentius, 403. His alleged recantation of Arianism, 417 *note*
- Valentia, a new British province, iii. 55
- Valentia, a city of Spain, taken by the Goths, iii. 406; by the Saracens, v. 566
- Valentia, supports the sons of Constantine III., v. 209
- Valentine, v. 122
- Valentinian I., elected emperor, iii. 8. Divides the empire with his brother Valens, 12. Punishes the crime of magic, 19. His cruelty, 23. His laws and government, 25. Establishes public schools and Defensors of cities, 27. Maintains religious toleration, 28. His edict to restrain the avarice of the clergy, 33. His German war, 39. He defeats the Allemanni, 42. Fortifies the banks of the river, 43. War with the Quadi and Sarmatians, 75. His angry interview with their envoys, 78. His death, 79
- Valentinian II., associated in the empire with his brother Gratian, iii. 80. The Western empire divided between him and Maximus, 166. His impatience under the dictation of Ambrose, and edict of toleration, 189. His flight to Thessalonica, 192. Restored by Theodosius, 210. On the death of his mother adopts the Nicene faith, 211. Murdered by Arbogastes, 212
- Valentinian III., succeeds his father Honorius on the throne of the West, iii. 470. His long minority entrusted to the guardian care of his mother Placidia, 471. His flight from Ravenna on the approach of Attila, 562. Treaty of peace with Attila, 563. Death of his mother, 568 *note*. Murders Ætius, 568. Ravishes the wife of Maximus, 569. Is assassinated by him, 570
- Valentinians, a Gnostic sect, ii. 15; v. 205 *note*
- Valeria, daughter of Diocletian, marries Galerius, i. 400. Persecuted by Maximin, 480. Put to death by Licinius, 481. Said to have been a convert to Christianity, ii. 133
- Valeria, a province between the Drave and Danube, i. 461 *note*. The government of it given to Marcellinus, iii. 75
- Valerian, appointed censor by Decius, i. 286. Elected em-

- peror, 291. Takes his son Gallienus for his associate, *ib.* War with Persia, 307. He is defeated and made prisoner, 308. Dies in captivity, 312. Inconsistency of his conduct towards the Christians, ii. 131.
- Valla, Laurentius, his opinion on the Latin of the Pandects, iv. 552 *note*. Disproved the donation of Constantine, v. 223. Supposed to have used clandestinely the version of Homer by Leo Pilatus, vii. 137
- Vandals, a Gothic tribe, 279. A colony of them said to have been planted in Britain by Probus, 376. Formed a part of the army of Radagaisus, iii. 309. Left their confederates and were defeated by the Franks, 317. Their passage into Gaul, *ib.* Into Spain, 406. Conquered by the Visigoths, 412. Maintain themselves in Gallicia, 474. Overcome the Suevi, 475. On the invitation of Boniface land in Africa, 476. Their progress, 486. Surprise Carthage, 487. Genseric establishes his kingdom, 488. Their naval power, iv. 1. Rome plundered by them, 6. Their piracies, 31. Adopt the Arian form of Christianity, 97. Persecute the Catholics, 98. Usurpation of Gelimer, 101. War of the Eastern empire against him, 330. Success of Belisarius, 341. End of their race, 349
- Varanes, a worthless general of Honorius, iii. 336
- Varanes, or Bahram, king of Persia, his embassy to Carus, i. 384
- Varanes, or Bahram, son of Jezdegerd, his war with Theodosius, iii. 462
- Varangians, the Byzantine body-guard, vi. 89, 92, 93. Employed by Alexius Comnenus against Robert Guiscard, 210. Defeated by the Normans, 213. Surprised by Bohemond at Castoria, 215. Assist in the defence of Constantinople, 429
- Varronian, count, father of the emperor Jovian, ii. 583
- Varronian, infant son of Jovian, iii. 6, 7
- Varus, slaughtered with three legions, by the Germans, i. 3
- Vataces, John Ducas, succeeds Theodore Lascaris, vi. 471. Extends his dominions to the Hadriatic Gulf, 479. His prosperous reign, 499
- Vayvods, hereditary chiefs of the Hungarians, vi. 148
- Vegetius, describes the relaxation of discipline in the Roman army, iii. 221
- Velleda, her influence in the Batavian war, i. 262
- Venedi, a Celtic tribe, join the Goths in their invasion of the Ukraine, i. 280. Conquered by Hermanric, iii. 73
- Veneti, or Venetians, early settlers on the banks of the Po, i. 23. Origin of their republic, 26. The islands of Grado and Malamocco receive many fugitives, v. 13. In its infant state acknowledged the supremacy of the exarch of Ravenna, 27. Its fleet unites with

- that of the emperor Alexius against Robert Guiscard, vi. 412. Progress of its independence, commerce, and power, 413. Alliance with the French nobles for the fourth crusade, 414. Capture of Zara, 419. Of Constantinople, 430, 440. Territories acquired by this enterprise, 455. Retained a factory in Constantinople after the return of the Greek Emperor, 512. Commercial rivalry with Genoa, 562. Naval battle in the Bosphorus, 566. Splendid reception of the emperor John Palæologus, vii. 120. Joined a league against the Turks, 161
- Venus, the Bald, origin of a temple to her at Aquileia, i. 212 *note*. Character of her temples in Phœnicia, ii. 442. The Celestial, her temple at Carthage, converted into a church, iii. 34
- Verina, widow of the emperor Leo I., v. 206
- Verona, battle of, i. 475; iii. 302
- Veronica, a pretended impression of the face of Christ, v. 292
- Verres, iv. 591
- Vertæ, a people employed by Sapor in the siege of Amida, ii. 307
- Verus, Ælius, and the Younger, adopted by Hadrian; their deaths, i. 86
- Vespasian, associates Titus with him on the throne, i. 84, 85. His parsimony, iii. 56
- Vetranio revolts at the instigation of the princess Constantina, ii. 265. Holds a conference with Constantius at Sardica, 267. Abdicates and retires to Prusa, 268
- Vicars, or vice-prefects, ii. 193
- Victor, master-general of the infantry in Julian's army, ii. 533. Wounded at Ctesiphon, 568. Collects the remains of the court of Constantius after Julian's death, 882. Master-general of the cavalry to Valens, 72. Urges him to be cautious in resisting the Visigoths, 130. Escapes at Hadrianople, 134
- Victoria, Mother of the Camps, i. 341
- Victorinus, a son of Victoria, one of the Thirty Tyrants, i. 314. Slain at Cologne, 341
- Vigilantia, or Biglenizia, mother of Justinian, iv. 243. Her objections to his marriage with Theodora, 254
- Vigilantius, a Presbyter, iii. 247
- Vigilantius, a worthless general of Honorius, iii. 336
- Vigilius, interpreter of the Greek embassy to Attila, iii. 516. Provokes the Huns by his boasting, 517. Proposes to assassinate Attila, 526. Confesses the crime, and is dismissed, 527
- Vigilius, pope, obtains his throne by a large bribe, iv. 381. Urges Justinian to reconquer Italy, 382. Detained a prisoner at Constantinople, is compelled to condemn the "Three Chapters," v. 163
- Villehardouin, Jeffrey of, marshal of Champagne, vi. 411, 429, 456, 463, 466

Villehardouin, Jeffrey of, the Younger, vi. 457, 467, 480
 Vindobona, now Vienna, Julian's embarkation on the Danube, ii. 164
 Vindonissa, battle of, i. 408
 Visandus, iv. 372
 Vitalian, his rebellion against Anastasius, v. 156. Is treacherously assassinated at a royal banquet, iv. 245
 Vitalianus, i. 204
 Viterbo, battle of, vii. 267
 Vitiges, Gothic king of Italy, iv. 369. Besieges Rome, 371. Repulsed by Belisarius, 378. Abandons the siege, 385. Besieges Rimini, 386. Retires to Ravenna, 387. Is besieged by Belisarius, 392. Surrenders, 395. Receives the rank of patrician at Constantinople, with lands in Asia, 396. His embassy while king of Italy, to engage Nushirvan in war against Justinian, 434
 Vizir, origin and meaning of the term, v. 415. The office instituted among the Turks by Orchan, vii. 26
 Volusianus, son of Gallus, killed, i. 29
 Vortigern, the British prince, iv. 172
 Vortimer, his victories and tomb, iv. 179
 Vouti, fifth emperor of the Chinese dynasty of the Han, iii. 100
 Vulturnus, battle of, iv. 500

W

WALAMIR, the friend of Attila, iii. 501. Uncle of Theo-

doric the Ostrogoth, iv. 204. Falls in battle, iii. 501. His subjects called Walamirs, submit to Theodoric, 207. Are multiplied by other Gothic swarms, 211
 Wales, iv. 178, 185
 Walid, caliph, permits Muza to invade Spain, v. 557. Recalls Muza, 568. His death, 569. Progress of the Saracen arms during his caliphate, vi. 6
 Wallia, king of the Visigoths, iii. 411. Restores Spain to Honorius, 412. Settles in Aquitain, 413. His death, iv. 5
 Walter the Pennyles, vi. 296
 Warn, or Varna, battle of, vii. 165
 Werdan, a general of Heraclius, v. 494
 Wilfrid, the apostle of Sussex, iv. 184
 William I., king of Sicily, the Bad, vi. 234
 William II., the Good, vi. 235
 William of the Iron Arm, count of Apulia, vi. 192
 Wisemar, king of the Vandals, 248
 Witheric, infant son of Withimer, iii. 109
 Withicab, son of Vadomair, murdered, iii. 41
 Withimer, successor of Hermanric, iii. 110
 Witiza, king of Gothic Spain, v. 556, 570
 Wolodomir, great duke of Russia, marries Anne, daughter of Romanus II., v. 347; vi. 96. His conversion to Christianity, 176

X

- XENAIAS, or Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis in Syria, v. 180
 Xeres, or Guadalete, battle of, v. 560
 Xiphilin, patriarch of Constantinople, v. 259

Y

- YAMANAH, an Arabian city and province, v. 471
 Yelutchousay, a virtuous mandarin, iii. 506 *note*
 Yemen, or Arabia Felix, conquered by Nushirvan, v. 41
 Yermuk, or Hieromax, battle of, v. 509
 Yezdegerd III., placed on the throne of Persia instead of Arzema, v. 477, 478, 483, 485, 486, 487
 Yezid I., succeeds his father Moawiyah as caliph, v. 460, 463
 Yezid, son of the caliph Walid, vi. 486 *note*
 Yezid, a colleague of Amrou in the Syrian war, v. 515
 Yolande, sister of the counts of Flanders, vi. 469
 Youkinna, defends Antioch against the Saracens, v. 515. A proselyte to their religion, 516
 Yuen, dynasty of, descendants of Zingis, expelled by the Chinese, vii. 20

Z

- ZABDAS, a general of Zenobia, conquered Egypt, i. 347

- Zabergan, the Bulgarian, iv. 505
 Zachary, pope, deposes Childeric, v. 315
 Zaleucus, lawgiver of the Locrians, iv. 528
 Zama, defeated by Eudes, duke of Aquitain, vi. 16
 Zamolxis, an early Gothic leader, i. 335
 Zani, Asiatic mercenaries of Justinian, iv. 457
 Zano, brother of Gelimer, iv. 338, 339, 340
 Zapharan, a monastery of Jacobites, v. 182
 Zathus, king of Lazica, iv. 449
 Zeid, a slave of Mahomet, one of his first converts, v. 415, 438
 Zeirides, African Saracens, vi. 226
 Zemzem, the holy well of the Caaba, v. 386
 Zendavesta, contains the doctrines of Zoroaster, i. 227
 Zendecon, the Gaznevites defeated there by the Turks, vi. 247
 Zenghi, father of Nouredin, takes Edessa, and is murdered by his mamalukes, vi. 362
 Zeno, emperor of the East, his law on the responsibility of governors of provinces, ii. 196 *note*. His reception of the ambassadors who resigned to him the empire of the West, iv. 60. The annals of his reign imperfect, 173. His accession, 175. Death, 176. His *Henoticon*, v. 152
 Zeno, the orator of Constantinople, iv. 288
 Zenobia, one of the Thirty Tyrants, i. 314. Queen of

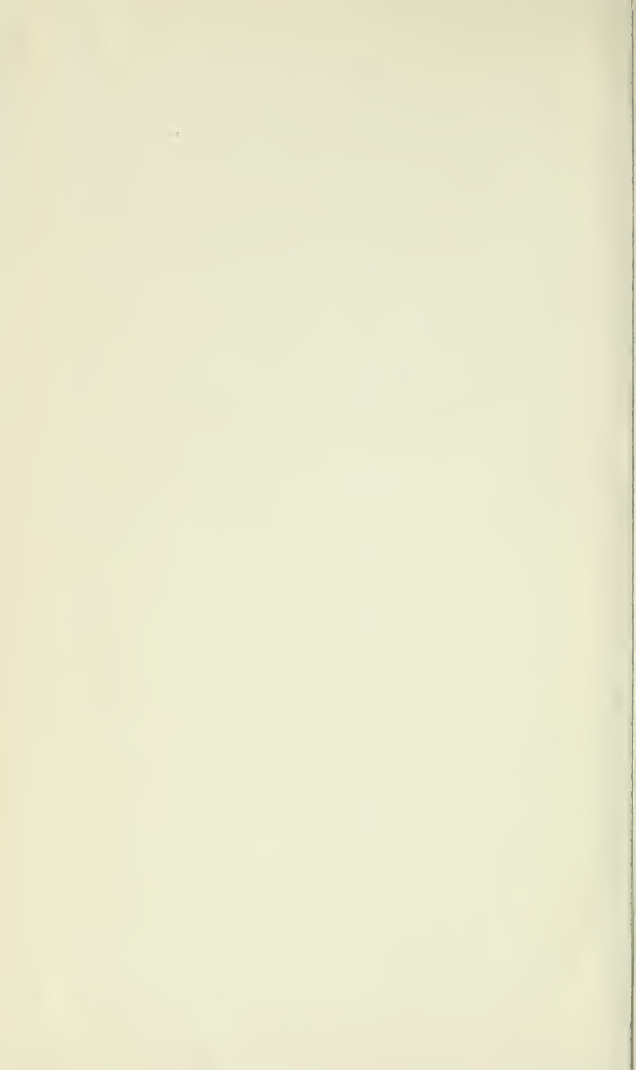
- Palmyra and the East, 343. Her accomplishments and judicious administration, 344. Attacked by Aurelian, 346. Defeated and captured, 350. Attends his triumph, 352. Occupies an elegant villa at Tibur, 353.
- Ziebel, chagan of the Chozars, v. 103
- Zimisces, John, assists the elevation of Nicephorus Phocas, v. 248. Murders him and ascends the throne of the East, 249. His death, 251. Conquests achieved by him in the East, vi. 65. Few of them permanent, 68. Transplants a colony of Paulicians to Thrace, 131. His war with Swatoslaus, 171. Triumph at Constantinople, 173
- Zingis-khan, resemblance between him and Attila, iii. 498. Diverted from his design of extirpating the Chinese, 506. His proper name Temugin, vii. 2. Becomes emperor of the Moguls and Tartars, vii. 2. His laws and religion, 4. His conquests, 6. His death, 10. His successors, 19
- Zizais, created king of the Sarmatians by Constantius, ii. 298
- Zobeir, revolts against Ali and is slain in battle, v. 456. His previous services in Egypt and Africa, 543
- Zoe, daughter of Constantine IX., v. 252. Marries Romanus III. Poisons him and marries Michael IV., 253. Is banished by Michael V. and recalled to reign with her sister, 254. Dies as the wife of Constantine Monomachus, 255
- Zoe, wife of Leo VI., v. 243, 245
- Zoroaster, the prophet and philosopher of the Persians, i. 227-232; v. 98; v. 574
note
- Zoupan, lords of Croatia, vi. 144
- Zubeir, the third Arab governor of Africa, v. 549

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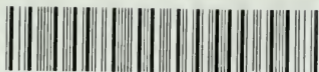
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