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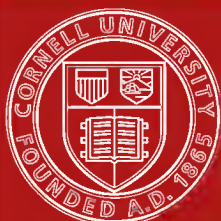
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# ITALY AND HER INVADERS

*HODGKIN*

London

HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE  
AMEN CORNER, E.C.



New York

112 FOURTH AVENUE





C. Nattrese del.

Chromo-lith<sup>e</sup> by G. F. Kell Farnival St. Holborn E. C.

CHAPEL OF S PETER, CHRYSOLOGUS RAVENNA.







ITALY  
AND  
HER INVADERS

BY

THOMAS HODGKIN

D.C.L., OXFORD AND DURHAM

LITT. D., DUBLIN

FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

VOLUME II

BOOK II. THE HUNNISH INVASION

BOOK III. THE VANDAL INVASION AND THE HERULIAN MUTINY

SECOND EDITION

*WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS*

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

M DCCC XCII

Oxford

PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

BY HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

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# BOOK II.

## THE HUNNISH INVASION.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### EARLY HISTORY OF THE HUNS.

##### Authorities.

##### *Guide:—*

THIS chapter is for the most part a mere compilation from a previous compiler. Our chief guide is M. Deguignes, 'de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Censeur Royal, Interprète du Roi pour les Langues Orientales, et Membre de la Société Royale de Londres,' who published at Paris (1756-8) a 'Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols, et des autres Tartares Occidentaux, avant et depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'à présent' (4 vols. small 4to; the first volume being divided into two parts). Only the second part of the first volume (and not the whole of that) is occupied with the history of the Huns properly so called. The fortunes of the different branches of the Turkish and Mongol races fill up the remainder of the work, which might in fact be called 'The History of the Northern Turanians,' though that term was not known to ethnology when Deguignes wrote.

During the period for which we follow his guidance he draws his materials entirely from Chinese historians, whose names are scrupulously quoted. The chief appear to be KAM-MO, LIE-TAI-KI-SOU, HAN-CHOU, and SSU-KI. As he was one of the first Chinese scholars of his day, and as his work has stood its ground for more than a century as an authority on the history of Central Asia, it is reasonable to presume that no gross inaccuracies have been discovered in his manner of using his Chinese authorities.

BOOK II.  
CH. I.

It was stated in the first edition of this work that 'it would be prudent to hold the theory as to the origin of the Huns as not much more than a possible hypothesis.' Perhaps we ought now to go further than this and to discard that theory altogether. Mr. Howorth, than whom no English scholar, perhaps no European scholar, is more qualified to express an opinion on points of Turanian ethnology, pronounces decidedly against it in a paper contributed to the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* (vol. v. 396-474). But upon the whole, remembering the length of time during which it was accepted with unquestioning faith, and considering that the Huns, who were undeniably an Asiatic people, may probably enough have passed through some of the experiences here recorded of the Hiong-nu, even if they were not the people bearing that name, I have thought it best to let this chapter stand nearly as it was first written, referring the reader to the note at the end of the chapter for a brief summary of Mr. Howorth's arguments against the theory of Deguignes.

The article above referred to is incorporated with a 'Translation of the Han Annals' by Mr. A. Wylie. This, as far as Chinese history is concerned, goes over very much the same ground which has been already traversed by Deguignes. I have compared the two accounts and have sometimes altered the spelling of a name on Mr. Wylie's authority.

---

'THERE is a race on Scythia's verge extreme  
Eastward, beyond the Tanais' chilly stream.  
The Northern Bear looks on no uglier crew:  
Base is their garb, their bodies foul to view;  
Their souls are ne'er subdued to sturdy toil  
Or Ceres' arts: their sustenance is spoil.  
With horrid wounds they gash their brutal brows,  
And o'er their murdered parents bind their vows.  
Not e'en the Centaur-offspring of the Cloud  
Were horsed more firmly than this savage crowd.  
Brisk, lithe, in loose array they first come on,  
Fly, turn, attack the foe who deems them gone.'

*Cornellions!*

CLAUDIUS, In Rufinum, i. 323-331.

Such is the account which the courtier-poet of Rome gave of the Huns half a century before the name of

Attila became a terror to the nations. In the fifth BOOK II.  
chapter of the first book <sup>1</sup> we witnessed the effect which CH. I.  
the appearance of these wild Tartar hordes produced upon the Gothic warriors. The swarthy faces, without either beard or whisker, the twinkling black eyes, the squat figures, the perfect understanding which seemed to exist between the riders and their little steeds, were there described in the words of the Gothic bishop, Jordanes, and we heard what he had to say concerning their '*execranda origo*,' descended, as he believed them to be, from Gothic sorceresses and from evil spirits.

The German professor of to-day emerges from his library to gaze at the descendants and representatives of the Huns, and liking them as little as his primeval kinsmen did, brands them with a term of deeper condemnation than Jordanes's epithets of 'witch-born' or 'fiend-begotten'—the terrible name, *Turanian* <sup>2</sup>. The Huns were Turanians.

For by thus defining their ethnological position he cuts them off from all connection with the great Aryan stem whose branches have overspread Europe, America, and Australia, Persia, and India; he equally destroys their claim to share in any of the glory of the Semitic races through whose instrumentality Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism were given to the world; and he shuts them up with a multitude of dull barba-

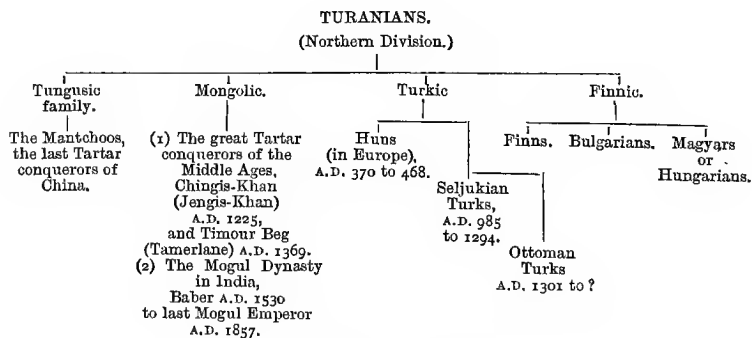
<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> It is true that this term, Turanian, seems to be going somewhat out of fashion in ethnological circles, and that it is confessedly a merely conventional designation. But either it or some other similar name will apparently be always required to denote those races in Europe and Asia which are neither Aryan nor Semitic, and which speak what are called 'agglutinative languages.'

BOOK II. rians, mighty in destruction, powerless in construction,  
 CH. I. who have done nothing for the cause of civilisation or  
 human progress, and who, even where they have  
 adopted some of the varnish of modern customs, have  
 remained essentially and incurably barbarous to the  
 present day<sup>1</sup>.

376. Now this Turanian (or, to speak popularly and with  
 less accuracy, Tartar) race which burst upon the  
 affrighted Goths in the reign of the Emperor Valens,  
 being a people of unlettered nomads, neither cared to  
 give, nor probably could give to the European nations  
 whom they terrified, any information as to their  
 history in the remote past. Some traditions of a  
 mythical kind as to the origin of their race they pro-  
 bably possessed, and had they established themselves

<sup>1</sup> This statement will be admitted to be generally true of all the  
 Turanian tribes. There are however two honourable exceptions, the  
 Finn and the Magyar. The Tartar sovereigns of India and China con-  
 formed to the civilised tastes of their subjects, but cannot claim the  
 merit of having originated them. The following is a sketch of the  
 chief historic races bearing the Turanian characteristics:—



The Southern Division, comprising races in Thibet and the two Indian  
 peninsulas, we may omit as too distant kinsmen of the Huns, our  
 present subject.

in Europe permanently, these might, like the Scandi-  
 navian sagas, have floated down into a literary age and  
 been so preserved. But the Huns vanished out of  
 Europe almost as suddenly as they came, leaving no  
 trace behind of their history, their language, or their  
 religion. But for one somewhat disputed source of in-  
 formation, all is dark concerning them. That source is  
 the History of China. If the Huns be the *Hiong-nu*,  
 whose ravages are recorded in that history, then we  
 have a minute account of their doings for centuries  
 before the Christian era, and we know, in fact, far  
 more about them than about the inhabitants of Gaul  
 or Britain before the time of Julius Cæsar: if they are  
 not, our ignorance is complete.

BOOK II.  
 CH. I.

Proposed  
 identifica-  
 tion of the  
 Huns with  
 the Hiong-  
 nu of  
 Chinese  
 history.

A learned and laborious Frenchman, M. Deguignes,  
 in the middle of last century, conceived the idea that  
 the Huns might be thus identified, and with infinite  
 pains he wrote out their history from Chinese sources,  
 and exhibited it in its connection with that of the  
 various Tartar conquerors who, since their day, have  
 poured down upon the civilised kingdoms of Europe  
 and Asia, and wasted them.

This theory  
 worked out  
 by De-  
 guignes.

As before hinted, this identification has been ques-  
 tioned, and it must be admitted that mere similarity of  
 name is dangerous ground to build upon in the history of  
 barbarous races. But as the hypothesis though looked  
 upon with much less favour than it received a century  
 ago, does not seem to be yet absolutely disproved, we  
 may be permitted to spend some pages on the history  
 of the Hiong-nu, in the possibility that we are thus  
 contemplating the formation of that volcano which  
 hurled forth Attila.

From the description which physical geographers

BOOK II.  
CH. I.

Physical  
geography  
of Central  
Asia.

give of Central Asia, it would surely be one of the most striking features of our globe, in the sight of any visitor who might be approaching us from another sphere. Eastwards from longitude  $73^{\circ}$  it rises, we are told, to the almost incredible average height of 8000 feet, bearing the character of a vast insulated upland, and, its extent and average elevation being taken into account, it may be said to form on the whole the most considerable projection on the surface of our planet<sup>1</sup>.

From this mighty upraised altar great rivers flow down in all directions, the Obi, Yenisei, and Lena through Siberia into the Arctic Sea, the Amour and the two great rivers of China, the Hoang-ho and Yang-tsi-kiang, into the Pacific; the Irawaddy, Brahmah-pootra, Ganges, Indus, into the Indian Ocean; the Oxus and Jaxartes into the sea of Aral. Rivers of its own it has none (or only one, the Yar-kiang), having apparently no deep valleys: the small streams which it does possess find their way to some insignificant inland lake, and are lost there.

Four great mountain chains, limiting or traversing it, run from west to east. The mountains of Altai mark it off from Siberia on the north. The Thian Shan, or Mountains of Heaven, pass across the middle of it at about the 42nd parallel of latitude. The Kuen-Lun fence off what is now Chinese Tartary from Thibet. The Himalayas bound the great plateau to the south.

No mountain chain of any importance appears to intersect the country from north to south till we reach

<sup>1</sup> Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, iv. 288 (quoting Ritter).

the Bolor Mountains (longitude  $73^{\circ}$ ), which are its western boundary, and which form a kind of step down into the lower, but still lofty plateau (4000 feet high) of Eastern Turkestan.

The dominions of the Hiong-nu at the time of their greatest supremacy reached over the whole of the northern and central sections of this plateau—from Mount Altai, that is, to the Kuen-Lun. And westwards, their rule extended beyond the Bolor Mountains down into Turkestan, down lower still to the old seabed between Lake Aral and the Caspian, nay, even across the Ural Mountains to the Volga. In its more contracted state, their empire still touched the Irtish (long.  $80^{\circ}$ ) on the west; but it seems to have receded to the Thian-Shan Mountains on the south; and the proper home of the race—if nomads can be said to have a home—was that district between China and Siberia bounded on the east by the Inshan Mountains (long.  $115^{\circ}$ ), which is marked in modern maps Mongolia. Very roughly estimated, it is probably about as large as Germany and Austria put together. Across the centre of it stretches the great sandy desert of Gobi or Shamo.

BOOK II.  
CH. I.  
Extent of  
the dominions of the  
Hiong-nu.

Here, then, if we may trust our French guide, the nation of the Huns was roaming before the date usually assigned to the Call of Abraham. In winter they crowded down upon the Northern frontier of China, which lies in the latitude of Madrid; in summer they drove their cattle northwards, across the great desert of Gobi, and took refuge from the heat in the cool valleys under the mountains which lie to the south of Lake Baikal, and which are in the same latitude as London.

BOOK II.  
CH. 1.

Relation  
of the  
Hiong-nu  
to the early  
dynasties  
of China.

Under the first two historic dynasties of China (the *Hia*, B.C. 2207-1767, and the *Shang*, 1767-1122), the Huns—if it be indeed the same race—are spoken of under the name of Chan-yong (barbarians of the mountains) and Tchong-yo. Their country was called Kuei-fang, 'the country of spirits,' so denominated by the same unchanging nation which at this day calls us Europeans 'foreign devils.'

Chow Dy-  
nasty in  
China,  
B. C. 1122-  
258.

About one hundred years before the building of Solomon's Temple, the *Chow* dynasty ascended the Chinese throne, and slumbered there for nearly nine centuries, till the year 258 B.C. These were the Carolingians of China, monarchs nominally supreme, but really overshadowed and overawed by their great feudatories; in their personal character debauched and cruel—in short, conspicuous offenders against the golden-mean maxims of morality so dear to the Chinese heart. This cycle of anarchy (it would probably have lasted but a century in Europe) was the harvest-time of the northern barbarians, who are now spoken of as *Hien-yun*. The three northern provinces of the Chinese Empire, Shen-se, Shan-se, and Pe-tche-li (which comprise an area about equivalent to the whole of Great Britain) seem to have been in a state of perpetual border-warfare with these savage enemies, who after each inroad retired laden with booty to the northern portion of their own territory. Their fleet ponies and trackless wildernesses rendered hopeless any attempt on the part of regular troops to pursue or to avenge.

B. C. 258.  
Che-  
Hwang-te,  
first Em-  
peror of

At length, about the middle of the third century B.C., the long-smouldering light of the *Chow* dynasty went out, and the *Tsin* dynasty succeeded. *Ching-wang*,



otherwise Che-Hwang-te<sup>1</sup>, the greatest monarch of this new house, the Napoleon of China, united her warring provinces into one compact empire, took the title of *Hwang-te* (universal Emperor) instead of *Wang* (King), which had been borne by all previous monarchs, drove back the *Hiong-nu* (for such is now the name of the barbarians) to their deserts, and finally, about the time of the Second Punic War, completed the Great Wall of China (portions of which had been already built by two provincial sovereigns) in order to protect the northern frontier from their incursions. Thus then (if only the theory of Deguignes be true) this great work, 1500 miles long, the name of which has been familiar to all of us from our childhood, was really built to guard the civilisation of Eastern Asia from the inroads of the ancestors of Attila, and might as fairly be called the Huns' Wall as Hadrian's barrier across the Northumbrian isthmus is called by many the Picts' Wall.

BOOK II.  
CH. I.  
China,  
builds the  
Great Wall  
to keep out  
the Hiong-  
nu.

Che-Hwang-te in the course of his great career found himself frequently thwarted by the traditions, the etiquette, the state-maxims of the literati, who seem to have been even then a powerful class in China. To recur to a former simile, the Napoleonic idea could not be made to accord with the Bourbon tradition. Violently breaking with the Past of his country, he ordered, it is said, that all the books of history which could be found should be destroyed, sparing however those on medicine, agriculture, astrology, and other branches of science<sup>2</sup>.

His alleged  
destruction  
of Chinese  
historical  
books.

<sup>1</sup> Deguignes calls him Chi-hoam-ti; but I have endeavoured, though at the risk of some inconsistency, to keep the English spelling of these Chinese names. The names of the Hiong-nu princes I have not dared to alter from Deguignes.

<sup>2</sup> The very name of Che-Hwang-te (The Beginning Emperor) was

BOOK II. This strange story may be the invention of national  
 CH. 1. vanity, unable to trace up the written history of China beyond the third century B.C. In this case, all that has been hitherto said as to the early history of China and the Hiong-nu must be relegated to dreamland, for an oral transmission of the events of sixteen centuries may be set aside as an impossibility.

On the other hand, if the story be true, and if Che-Hwang-te was in the main successful in his onslaught on the works of the earlier historians, it does not follow that Chinese history must necessarily begin with him. For if the Chinese were by this time a literary nation, which the story seems to imply, no mere destruction of books would avail to wipe out from the fully-formed historical consciousness the general outlines of their past national life. Had every roll of manuscript perished out of the world at the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Greeks of that period would still have been able to reconstruct, with sufficient distinctness, by an act of memory, both the mythical and the historical record of previous ages which they had read from their childhood. Considering the apparently early development of the literary character in this enigmatic nation with which we are dealing, one is inclined to conjecture that this is the true view of the subject, and that there is at least some historic value in the Chinese annals previous to the third century B.C.

Titles  
 among the  
 Hiong-nu.  
 The Tanjou  
 and his  
 officers.

From this time onwards, at any rate, the chronicle seems to be complete, and full, to the reader's exhaustion, of the doings of the robber-nation, the Hiong-nu.

meant to set forth this claim of his to be the beginning of Chinese greatness.

These latter had now 'taken to themselves a king after the manner of the nations.' He was called the *Tan-jou*, which we are told is a contraction of the formidable title *Tcem-li-ko-to-tan-jou* (mighty son of Heaven<sup>1</sup>). The *Tan-jou*'s queen was always called *Yen-chi*. All the great commands of the state were filled up in duplicate, one officer for the Right and one for the Left. Characteristically enough, as showing how their faces were ever set towards the fertile and opulent South, the Left with them meant the east and the Right the west. The Left was, as we are informed that it is still with their Tartar nephews at Constantinople, the post of honour; and thus *Hien-wang* (which signifies 'wise-king') being the highest grade of office under royalty, the 'Hien-wang of the Left,' or Viceroy of the East, was the next greatest person to the *Tan-jou*, and the office was generally held by the heir-apparent of that monarch.

In their prosperous days the sovereigns of the *Hiong-nu* trampled upon the civilised and literary pride of the Chinese Emperors with the greater pride of the uncouth barbarian. On tablets, the exact size of which had been prescribed by generations of Masters of the Ceremonies, the Chinese monarch thus wrote with the vermilion pencil, 'The Emperor respectfully begs the Great *Tan-jou* of the *Hiong-nu*, &c.' To which, on much larger tablets, the *Tan-jou* replied, 'The Great *Tan-jou* of the *Hiong-nu*, born of the Heavens and the Earth, established by the Sun and Moon, respectfully begs the Emperor of China, &c.'

Diplomatic  
incivilities  
between  
the *Hiong-  
nu* and the  
Chinese.

Frequently an invading *Tan-jou* would ask for the

<sup>1</sup> *Tan-jou* = mighty; *ko-to* = son; *Tcem-li* = Heaven. Wylie calls the shorter name *Shen-yu*, and the longer *Chang-le-kwa-too Shen-yu*.

BOOK II.  
CH. I.

The Tan-  
jous and  
their  
Chinese  
brides.

hand of a Chinese princess as the price of his return to his own land, and the Court, not unwilling to plant by the side of the robber-king a representative of its own interests, would comply with the request. National vanity however will not allow the Chinese historians to confess that one of the princesses of the blood-royal was really given in marriage to a barbarian, and they accordingly relate that a custom prevailed of adopting for the occasion a female slave into the family of the Emperor, giving her the title of Kum-tcheou, or Princess of the Blood, and then sending her off to be the bride of the Tan-jou. An improbable story doubtless; but what is certain is that the transition from the highly civilised luxurious life of a Chinese palace to the squalor of the Tan-jou's home would be keenly felt by the sufferer, whatever her station in life might be, and perhaps even more by the domestic than by the mistress. Here is the melancholy outpouring in verse of one of these victims of policy, sent indeed not to a king of the Hiong-nu but to a prince of the neighbouring nation, the Ou-sioun, whose mode of life was indistinguishable from theirs:—

‘Me to a husband have my kindred tied,  
And in a far-off land have bid me bide;  
A wretched tent is now my palace-hall,  
And a rough paling is its only wall.  
Raw flesh must now my hunger satisfy,  
And curdled milk, my thirst: nought else have I.  
Oh native land! I still must think of thee,  
And my heart's wound bleeds ever inwardly.  
Why am I not a happy bird of air  
To thee, dear home, that I might straight repair?’

The Hiong-nu were ignorant of the art of writing, but the Chinese historians, with a candour which we

should scarcely have expected, admit that when they had verbally pledged themselves to a treaty they generally showed strict good faith in the observance of it. The children were early trained in the use of missile weapons. It is said that they were first taught to ride on the wild scampering moorland sheep, and to shoot with their little bows at birds and mice. As boys they hunted hares and foxes, as young men they assumed the weapons of war. They were not deemed full-grown men till they had slain a foe. When they reached old age they fell into poverty and contempt, all the good things being reserved for the active warriors of the nation. Flight was, as hinted in the verses of Claudian, a great part of their strategy. Like the Parthians, they would discharge a cloud of arrows at the pursuing foe, and even if their rapid return failed to throw his ranks into confusion, they easily vanished into the terrible solitudes of those trackless deserts whither for many generations their harassed neighbours feared to pursue them.

BOOK II.  
CH. I.  
Manners  
and cus-  
toms of the  
Hiong-nu.

Of the two chief residences of the Tan-jous, one appears to have been situated in the north of their dominions, under the continuation of the Altai mountain-range, and near the place which, as the capital of later Tartar chieftains, was known as Karakorum; the other near the Inshan mountains on the eastern frontier, where a large manufactory of bows and arrows was established.

At the first moon of each year there was a general assembly of all the officers of the kingdom and army at the Tan-jou's court, and a solemn sacrifice was then offered up. They met again in the fifth month, and sacrificed to the Heavens, the Earth, and the Spirits of

10' 10'

Their re-  
ligious  
rites.

BOOK II. their ancestors. At another assembly held in the  
 CH. I. autumn they numbered the people and their flocks, thus taking stock, and striking a balance of the profit or loss of the summer's operations in the way of plunder.

Every morning the Tan-jou issued from his tent on the left hand of the camp to pay his devotions to the Sun, and in the evening he offered similar adoration to the Moon, presumably during that part of the month only when she was visible. Such was the simple and primitive nature-worship of this tribe. We are informed that one of the other tribes of Central Asia stuck a naked sabre hilt-downwards into the earth, and then gathered round to adore it.

The great aim of the Hiong-nu in war was to take as many prisoners as possible. They reduced them, of course, to a state of slavery, and employed them to tend their flocks and herds, that they themselves might be left more free to practise the one art of the barbarian—war. If one of their number fell in battle, the comrade who succeeded in carrying off his dead body (as in the Homeric combats) to a place of safety, might claim his inheritance. In the later days of the Hiong-nu empire, when we might have expected that their contact with the Chinese would have exerted some civilising influence upon them, we find the Tanjou Hou-han-sie confirming an oath by drinking blood from the skull of a hostile chief who had been slain by one of his ancestors 130 years before.

Such was the general character of the relations between the Hiong-nu and their southern neighbours. A few striking features of the history of the two nations, selected from a mass of monotonous details,

will sufficiently explain the movement which eventually BOOK II.  
CH. I. launched the Hunnish nation, not upon Peking, but upon Rome.

In China the Tsin dynasty, founded by the book-Tsin Dy-  
nasty in  
China,  
B. C. 258-  
207. destroying Che-Hwang-te, was of short duration, like that of the Buonapartes, to which it has been already compared.

In the year 207 B.C. another period of anarchy was Han Dy-  
nasty,  
B. C. 207-  
A. D. 220. ended by Kaou-te, who, gathering up again all China under his rule, founded the celebrated *Han* dynasty, which flourished till 220 A.D., or, roughly speaking, from the days of Hannibal to those of Caracalla.

Contemporaneously with Kaou-te in China, the Mé-té-  
Tanjou,  
B. C. 209-  
174. terrible Mé-té-Tanjou<sup>1</sup> reigned over the Hiong-nu. His father, his step-mother, his half-brother, all atoned to him with their lives for an abortive attempt to exclude him from the succession. Yet, fierce as he had shown himself against his own flesh and blood, he appeared to submit with patience to the accumulated insults of the Sien-pi, a nation perhaps of Tungusic origin on the east of his dominions. Me-té had in his stable a horse of fabulous speed and endurance, which could travel, it was said, 150 miles in one day. The Sien-pi<sup>2</sup> sent to ask for this horse; he gave it up to them. Emboldened by this act of submission, they demanded one of his wives; she was sent to their king's tent. Then came a requisition for some waste lands, on a disputed frontier between the two nations, and at last the pent-up rage of Me-té burst forth, 'Whatever touched my own honour or profit I have given up for the sake of peace, but of the land of my people I will not surrender

<sup>1</sup> Wylie calls him Maou-tun Shen-yu.

<sup>2</sup> Or the Tung-hoo (Wylie).

BOOK II. to you a foot's-breadth.' And he smote the people of  
 CH. 1. the Sien-pi with a great destruction, and pursued them  
 B. C. till they took refuge in the mountains of Mantchooria,  
 209-174. where they remained a crippled and enfeebled remnant,  
 but ever brooding over their wrongs, till, after the  
 lapse of nearly three centuries, they sallied forth to  
 enjoy their long-delayed vengeance.

Me-té's  
 wars with  
 China.

Towards China, Me-té assumed an attitude of permanent hostility. He fixed his court at Ta-tum-fou, or Tai-tong, just south of the Great Wall, and pushed forward his Hien-wang of the Left as far as Changkow, and him of the Right to Yen-gan, both apparently from 100 to 200 miles within the Chinese frontier.

The Emperor Kaou-te levied an army of 320,000 men and marched against him, but was out-manceuvred, and shut up in a fortress near Ta-tum-fou, where for seven days his army was left without provisions. By the favour of the Tanjou's wife he escaped from this perilous position; but those seven days of semi-starvation were long remembered by the sleek Chinese troops. Peace of some sort was patched up between the two powers, but after the death of Kaou-te an audacious Hien-wang of the Right pushed his inroads so far that his barbarian hordes came almost within sight of Singan-fou (in the province of Shen-si), which was then the capital of the empire. The Chinese Court complained, and the Tanjou sent his too zealous Viceroy of the West on a tour of conquest through Central Asia. Thibet, all that we now call Eastern and Western Turkestan, and part of Siberia, were made subject to Me-té's domination, and it is even said that the conquering Hiong-nu reached on this occasion as far as the Volga itself. With a great show of courtesy, the



Tanjou sent an embassy to inform the Chinese Emperor of these conquests, by which he had become the greatest potentate in Asia; and hereupon, after a copious exchange of compliments, the Emperor, we are informed, concluded to accord to him a renewal of the treaty of peace. As it is clear that at this time China was almost helpless in the hands of her barbarian foe, the Tanjou's humble supplications for peace, and the gracious concession of it by the Emperor, were probably recorded by the literati of that day, the contemporaries of Hannibal, with about as much accuracy as may be evinced by some Chinese historian, upon whom in our own day may have devolved the duty of chronicling the destruction of the Summer Palace, and the treaty graciously conceded to El-gin and Mon-to-ban.

BOOK II.  
CH. I.  
B. C.  
209-174.

A. D. 1860.

From the death of Me-té-Tanjou, which occurred B.C. 174, we have, for the space of 260 years, a history of the wars of China and the Huns, almost as detailed and circumstantial as the records of Roman conquest during the same period. Happily for the reader there is no necessity to reproduce these details here. The same kind of events repeat themselves with monotonous regularity. 'The Tanjou sought for peace from the Chinese Emperor. A wife was sent to him, and presents were exchanged. The Hiong-nu at once recommenced their inroads and ravaged a great belt of country in the three provinces of Shen-se, Shan-se, and Petcheli. The Emperor sent three armies, amounting to 200,000 men, into the country of the Hiong-nu. Two of the generals obtained great successes, the third lost all his men in a march through the desert. He ought to have returned to China, and there submitted to degradation from all his posts of honour, and afterwards committed suicide.

Endless wars and negotiations between China and the Hiong-nu.  
B. C. 174-  
A. D. 93.

BOOK II. But he preferred to take refuge at the Court of the  
 CH. 1.

Tanjou, where the information which he gave as to the movements of the troops and the strength of the frontier-cities proved extremely injurious to the interests of China. The Tanjou now supplicated for peace; rich presents were exchanged, and various complimentary speeches were made, but both parties understood that there was no reality in the peace thus arranged. A Chinese princess was sent as a wife for the heir-apparent, the Hien-wang of the Left. The Hiong-nu recommenced their invasions of the three provinces of Shen-se, Shan-se, and Petcheli, and so on as before.

The barbarian power declines.

Long and prosperous reign of the Chinese Emperor Woo-te.

There was however during all this period a pretty steady decline of the power of the barbarians, and an equally steady increase in that of their civilised neighbours. Especially noteworthy in this respect was the long reign of the great Emperor *Woo-te*, which lasted from B.C. 140–86, or, shall we say, from the time of Cato the Censor to that of Cicero. This monarch *Woo-te*, whose victorious arms extended to Pegu, Siam, and Bengal, and who was a zealous patron of the morality of Confucius, was contemporary with seven successive Tanjous, and, but that his prosperity did not desert him at the end of his reign, he might, not inaptly, be called the Louis XIV of China.

The lives of three of his servants may be briefly noticed here for the sake of the light which they throw on the history of the Hiong-nu.

B.C. 138–126.  
 Mission of Chang-kiao.

*Chang-kiao*<sup>1</sup> was instructed by his master to establish communications with the Yue-ché, a Tartar people whom the Hiong-nu had driven from the east to the west of Central Asia, and who had now established

<sup>1</sup> Or Chang-keen (Wylie).

themselves in great force between the Oxus and Jaxartes, and even within the confines of the present Persian kingdom. Chang-kiao was made prisoner by the Hiong-nu while seeking to pass through their country in disguise. After ten years of captivity he escaped, reached the country of the Yue-ché (the modern Khorasan), remained there some time, storing up a large amount of valuable political information, and returned by way of Thibet, but even so was unable to escape from the Hiong-nu. His second captivity however was of short duration. Under cover of the troubles of a disputed succession, he again made his escape, and after an absence of twelve years, returned to his master's court.

*Li-kwang-li*, one of the bravest of the Chinese officers, was for sixty years perpetually giving and receiving hard blows in the wars with the northern barbarians. They themselves so highly esteemed the skill and rapidity of his movements that they called him 'the Winged General.' Once, it is said, at the head of 100 horsemen, he put a large body of their cavalry to flight. Yet even he, after a defeat, had to endure the systematic ingratitude of his countrymen, and after counterfeiting death on the field of battle, was on the point of receiving it at the hands of the executioner. He was permitted, however, to redeem his life by the payment of a large sum of money, but was degraded from all his dignities. But in the very next year the Emperor found himself compelled to restore him to the chief military command, so pressing was the danger from the northern invaders.

In the decline of life, this veteran soldier had the misfortune to see the honour of his family tarnished by

BOOK II.  
Ch. 1.

B. C.  
144-85.  
Hard fate  
of the  
veteran  
Li-kwang-  
li.

B. C. 99.

BOOK II. the treason of his grandson Li-ling, one of the many  
 CH. 1. Chinese generals who after defeat fled to the Court of the Tanjou, and sold their knowledge of the strategic combinations of their countrymen for honours and offices in the barbarian court.

B. C. 90. About nine years later, the brave old general, who must now have been fully eighty years of age, again headed a grand attack upon the Hiong-nu. He met at first with complete success, and pushed the foe before him to the mountain-barrier at the extreme north of their dominions. The forced marches, however, across the terrible desert of Gobi had too much weakened his troops. The Tanjou brought 50,000 fresh men into the field, dug in the night a deep ditch in the rear of the Chinese forces, and thus added to the disorder and panic of their flight after the defeat of the morrow<sup>1</sup>.

Li-kwang-li was compelled to surrender at discretion, and taken prisoner to the Court of the Tanjou, who treated him with such marked favour (partly, perhaps, on account of his relationship to the already exiled

<sup>1</sup> The historians, consulted by Mr. Wylie, put a somewhat different colour on this campaign of Li-kwang-li. According to them, Li-kwang-li, in the midst of a victorious expedition against the Hiong-nu, received a message, brought him by his servant Hoo-A-foo, to the effect that his wife and family had all been sentenced to death on account of Li-ling's defection. (This defection had happened nine years before, but was perhaps only now bearing fruit manifestly in Li-ling's command of the Hiong-nu troops.) Hereupon Li-kwang-li, determined to do a desperate deed and either conquer Fate or die, planned his march across the great desert. The Chief Historian of the Chinese army warned his comrades that the General was fighting wildly and staking his all on a single throw. He therefore advised them to seize Li-kwang-li, who however was beforehand with his critic, and cut off the Chief Historian's head. According to these writers the trench was cut by the Hiong-nu in front of the Chinese troops and the attack was made in their rear.

Li-ling) that all the barbarian officers became jealous of his predominating influence<sup>1</sup>. Superstition was enlisted on the side of envy; in a dangerous illness of the Queen-mother, the soothsayers declared that the gods of the Hiong-nu were offended because they received no more human sacrifices as of yore, but prisoners of war were now preserved alive, and even received into favour. Li-kwang-li was seized and sacrificed; a terrible succession of snow-storms followed, which destroyed a vast number of cattle, and prevented the seeds from germinating in the earth. Then they changed their minds and said that they had mistaken the will of the gods; but the fine old warrior, after his sixty years of battle, was beyond the reach of their repentance.

*Woo-soo*<sup>2</sup> was sent by the Emperor Woo-te upon one of those endless embassies for the arrangement of 'a lasting and honourable peace,' which vary with their monotony of fraud the monotony of bloodshed. In the course of the discussions on this subject, he addressed himself to one of the Chinese fugitives, who had been promoted to a subordinate kingship in Western Siberia, and reproached him so bitterly for his treason and want of patriotism, that the Tanjou, disregarding the sanctity of an ambassador's person, seized him and cast him into a ditch. There he lived for several days, exposed to all the rigour of the climate, and feeding only upon snow and the offal of the camp. The barbarians conceived that there must be something divine in the

B. C. 100. 'The Ambassador Woo-soo ill-treated by the barbarians.

<sup>1</sup> One of the chief calumniators of Li-kwang-li, and he who eventually succeeded in getting him offered up as a sacrifice, was Wei-leuh, who had himself many years before deserted from the Chinese service, and who was bitterly jealous of the favour shown to the new-comer (Wylie).

<sup>2</sup> Soo-woo (Wylie).

BOOK II. nature of a man who could endure such hardships,  
 CH. I. but they chose a singular means of testifying their admiration. They carried him off to the inhospitable shores of Lake Baikal, in the east of Siberia, where he dragged out life for nineteen years, his food being mice and the bitter fruits of the desert. Some of his countrymen, deserters, tried to reconcile him to his lot, and to persuade him to accept, as they had done, the bounty of the barbarian. 'No,' said he, 'I will remain true to my country, whatever tortures her enemies may inflict upon me. A minister owes to his king the same affectionate duty which a child does to his parent.' And when he heard of the death of his master, the great Woo-te, he turned his face to the beloved South, looked towards China, and burst into tears. The remorse which the Tanjou felt for the death of Li-kwang-li turned out beneficially for Woo-soo, who, after his weary captivity, was at length restored to his country.

The Hiongnu position turned by Chinese alliances in Central Asia.

In the early days of the conquering Tanjous, Thibet appears to have felt their influence, and the whole of Eastern Turkestan (or what Deguignes calls 'Little Bukharia') seems to have been in complete dependence upon them. Even then, however, for some reason which is not explained, but which is probably connected with the physical geography of the country, their invasions of China were always made on the north, never on the west frontier. If they thus missed an opportunity of taking their enemy in flank, he, when his turn of superiority came, showed more skilful strategy; and the great triumph of the reign of Woo-te was the series of conquests and alliances by which he turned the south-west flank of the Hiongnu position.

Any one who now looks at the map of Asia will see a long thin slice of territory stretching forth at the north-western angle of China (from the Hoang-ho to Su-chow, long. 98°). This is ground won from the barbarians, and made strong by the Chinese monarchs for the defence of the Empire. It is, in fact, an arm stretched forth into the desert, by which China seems to say, 'Not this way, barbarians of the North! fight, if you will fight, fairly, face to face; but you shall not come round to my left side, and there deal me stealthily an assassin's blow.'

After the conquest of this territory came the secret mission of Chang-kiao through Thibet, to the country between the Oxus and Jaxartes, and this produced immense results. Where the stealthy emissary had gone, victorious armies followed. Khotan, Yarkand, Kashgar accepted the alliance, or became the subjects of the Chinese Emperor. The Ou-sioun, a powerful people, kindred with but hostile to the Hiong-nu, and dwelling to the south of Lake Balkhash, were encouraged to lean on China for protection against the common intervening foe: and a Chinese governor was permanently established at Aksou, under the steeps of the Thian Shan (about 78° long. and 42° lat.).

In the year 71 B.C. a great army amounting, it is said, to 200,000 men, was sent against the Hiong-nu under the command of seven generals. Notwithstanding the mismanagement and cowardice of some of the generals, this expedition seems, more than anything else, to have broken the power of the Hiong-nu.

It was not without some protest from the timid conservatism of the Chinese ministers that this energetic policy was pursued. When Siven-ti, the great-grand-

BOOK II. son of Woo-te, was meditating an expedition, half-  
 CH. 1. hostile, half-friendly, to the country of the Ouigours  
 (near Turfan, long, 89°) he was met by the outspoken  
 remonstrances of a wise old counsellor named Goei-  
 siang. This sage appears not to have been perplexed  
 by any of those difficulties as to the triumph of in-  
 justice and the downfall of the good which have  
 troubled the sages and seers of other nations.

B. C. 66.

Wars  
 Classified.

‘There are five sorts of wars,’ said he. ‘The first, for  
 the suppression of civil tumult. This is a war of  
 Justice, and it is sure to be successful. The second, in  
 which you oppose a foreign invader, is a war of Necessity,  
 and is generally crowned with victory. In the third kind  
 of war, one of Rage and Fury, in which men take up  
 arms about mere trifles, one is often beaten. To invade  
 the lands of others for the sake of spoil is the fourth  
 species of war, that of Avarice, and in this success is  
 not to be expected. But when a monarch fights only  
 in order to acquire glory, to render his family illustrious  
 and become a terror to his neighbours, that is a war  
 of Ambition and Pride, the results of which are uniformly  
 disastrous. These five points are so many maxims  
 founded on the dealings of Heaven. At present the  
 Hiong-nu desire peace, while our own internal condition  
 is far from satisfactory. It is no rare occurrence to  
 see a son murder his father, a younger brother the  
 elder, a wife her husband. Twenty-two crimes of  
 this kind have occurred in the course of the past  
 year. We ought to apply a remedy to these social  
 disorders instead of carrying war into the country  
 of our neighbours.’

Rapid decline of the  
 power of

Notwithstanding these excellent remarks, the policy  
 of war and annexation prevailed. The Ouigours be-



came tributary, and the Hiong-nu felt the predominant influence of China all round their southern and western frontiers. The barbarians saw that their Empire was departing from them, and fell into confusion and anarchy. In the year 58 B.C. five Tanjous were warring against one another. Hou-han-sie, apparently the rightful heir, at length emerged from the contest, sole Tanjou ; but, almost immediately after, had to enter upon a new and fiercer contest with two fresh competitors, one of them his own brother. The upshot of the whole business was, that he humbly presented himself at the court of the Chinese Emperor, promised subjection and tribute, and received from this hereditary enemy assistance which at length enabled him to reign without a rival <sup>1</sup>.

BOOK II.  
CH. I.

the Hiong-nu.

B.C. 58.

In a feeble and crippled state, the Hiong-nu Empire

B.C. 58-  
A.D. 93.

<sup>1</sup> On the death of Hou-han-sie, B.C. 31, a generous rivalry took place between his children, which should *not* succeed him. Besides other wives he had married two sisters, daughters of his Prime Minister. The elder sister, chief in rank, had the younger children, and this led to a discussion whether the dignity of the mother or the age of the children ought to be most regarded. Eventually all the four sons in question succeeded, first the two elder by the inferior wife, and then the two younger by the chief consort. Their regal names were as follows, and as they are a fair type of their class, the reader will perceive the reason for so often speaking of the Tanjou by his title and not quoting his name.

1. Feou-tchou-loui-jo-ti (Jo-ti=the Greek Philopator).
2. Seou-hiai-jo-ti.
3. Tche-ya-jo-ti.
4. Ou-tchou-lieou-jo-ti.

In course of time two more sons of Hou-han-sie succeeded to the throne,

5. Ou-loui-jo-ti and
6. Hou-tou-ulh-chi-tao-jo-ti.

It is perhaps an unworthy Aryan prejudice which finds a certain amount of uncouthness in these Turanian names.

BOOK II. lasted on for a century and a half from this time, but  
 CH. 1. never again as the equal foe, generally as the vassal,  
 occasionally as the revolted subject of the Court of  
 China.

A. D. 46.  
 Separation  
 between  
 Northern  
 and  
 Southern  
 Hiong-nu.

About the middle of the first century after Christ, the nation became finally divided into two hostile sections—a northern and a southern. Doubtless the dwellers in the immediate neighbourhood of China became more dependent on the good things which accompany civilisation than the wild nomads of the north-west; and then the physical barrier of the great desert of Gobi would probably intensify and perpetuate the moral division. From this time forwards the Tanjou of the south becomes one of the most eager enemies of the northern kingdom, ever besieging the ear of the Chinese Emperor with cries for its demolition.

Vengeance  
 of the  
 Sien-pi.

At the same time a new enemy pressed upon them from the east. The neighbouring tribe of the Sien-pi whom the great Tanjou Meté had cooped up in the mountains of what is now called Mantchuria, after brooding for three centuries over their wrongs, now found the longed-for opportunity of vengeance. After forty years of more or less constant warfare with this triple league of foes, symptoms of dissolution began to show themselves in the northern kingdom. Vast hordes of the Hiong-nu, in one case amounting to a quarter of a million of fighting men, went over bodily to the Chinese. A terrible famine, the work of some locust-like insect, then wasted the country. A combined invasion of the Chinese and the southern Hiong-nu on a large scale took place in the year 89. The Chinese general, Teou-hien, put the Tanjou to flight, and having

A. D. 89.

advanced 1000 miles into his kingdom, left upon one of the mountain ranges an inscription composed by the historiographer who accompanied the expedition, recording the success of his arms. In two years however even this effort was surpassed: the Chinese troops reached the Irtysh, the western frontier of the dominions of the Hiong-nu, the Tanjou had again to take shelter in some Siberian desert, and his mother was taken prisoner.

BOOK II.  
CH. I.

Teou-hien, though victorious, recommended his imperial master to spare his fallen foes. But on his death sterner counsels prevailed. A new Tanjou who had been raised to the throne was driven into revolt, a revolt hopeless from the first. He himself fell into the hands of the Chinese forces, and was beheaded. The Sien-pi poured into the defenceless country like a torrent. Great multitudes of the Hiong-nu consented to pass under their yoke and bear their name, the rest fled westwards across the Irtysh, settling by the Ural River and near the modern Russian Government of Orenbourg. Thus did the great barbarian empire, which for 2000 years had been measuring its forces against the civilisation of China, fall, with apparently irretrievable ruin.

Fall of the  
Hiong-nu  
Empire.  
A. D. 93.

All this occurred in the reign of Domitian. It was not till nearly three centuries later that the Huns, during the reign of Valens, crossed the Sea of Azof or the stream of the Volga, and fell upon the affrighted and disgusted Gothic subjects of King Hermanric. This long interval of quiescence and of obscurity is the weak place in the identification of the Hiong-nu and the Huns. It is impossible not to feel that many changes might have occurred during that time, and that mere

Hunnish  
invasion  
three cen-  
turies after  
these  
events.  
A. D. 376.

BOOK II. similarity of name is a slight clue by which to traverse  
 CH. I. ————— so vast a distance.

Doubtful  
 benefit to  
 China from  
 its victories  
 over the  
 Hiong-nu.

The Chinese historians necessarily give during this interval far scantier information than previously as to the affairs of Central Asia. The expulsion of the northern Hiong-nu appears to have been a 'victory of Pyrrhus' for the Chinese Empire. The southern Hiong-nu and the Sien-pi, under various barbarous names, formed settlements within its limits and erected dynasties which disputed the throne of China itself with its native princes. In such a state of things the historians of that country had but little inducement or opportunity to record the revolutions of Western Asia. We are enabled however, dimly and at long intervals, to trace the continued existence of a Hiong-nu people along the line of the Volga and the northern shores of the Caspian.

Chinese  
 description  
 of a great  
 civilized  
 state on  
 the West  
 frontier of  
 Asia.  
 Deguignes,  
 vol. I,  
 pt. ii, p.  
 lxxviii.

To the west of them, but separated by one fierce Tartar people, the Chinese historians placed the great kingdom of Ta-Tsin. Their description of this kingdom is so curious that a few of its leading features may be here inserted. 'It is a country of large extent with many dependent kingdoms. The walls are built of stone; inns are placed along the lines of road. All sorts of trees and plants are found there. The inhabitants are given to agriculture, and even understand how to keep silkworms. They cut their hair and wear very fine clothes. They have all sorts of chariots with white coverings: in war they have drums, flags, and tents. The capital is thirty-four miles in circumference; it contains five palaces by the waterside, supported on pillars. Every day the king goes to one or other of these palaces to administer justice. Before his

chariot walks an officer holding an open bag in which are placed the petitions of all who present themselves, which are examined by the king when he enters the palace. Thirty-six generals of the army form a Council of State to deliberate on the affairs of the Empire. The king does not always hold his office for life; they generally endeavour to choose a wise man, but should any extraordinary calamity occur, for instance any great whirlwind or inundation, they change their ruler, and he who is thus deposed appears to descend into private life without a sigh.

‘Gold, silver, precious stones, rich and beautifully embroidered vestments abound in this country. They have both gold and silver money: ten pieces of the latter are equivalent to one of the former. They trade both with the Parthians and Indians. They have often endeavoured to enter into direct commercial relations with China, but have always been prevented by the Parthians. Recently’ [in the year corresponding to A.D. 166] ‘the king of the Ta-Tsin named Gan-tun succeeded in sending ambassadors, who were followed by merchants, to China by way of India. The inhabitants of Ta-Tsin are tall and well-made like the Chinese, whence their name’ [Ta = Great: Tsin = China or the Chinese]. This last sentence will probably have disclosed to the reader the real name of the country in question. Only the Romans of that day could be considered worthy of being called by a Chinese historian ‘Great as the Chinese.’ He has been reading a description of *Imperium Romanum* by a Chinese pen, and the king, Gan-tun, is the Emperor Marcus (Aurelius) *Antoninus*.

The question will naturally be asked, ‘Why, if these

BOOK II. Hiong-nu, marauders as they were by nature, had  
 CH. I. wandered so near to the confines of this alluring  
 kingdom of Ta-Tsin, did they allow three centuries  
 Why did the Huns linger for three hundred years before invading Europe? to elapse before they commenced their invasions of that empire? Dimly and vaguely, through the faint twilight of their history, we may conjecture the following reasons for their quiescence: there may have been a hundred others which are to us undiscoverable.

They might still hope to revenge themselves on China.

First, their eyes were still turned eastwards; their expeditions still sometimes reached as far as Khamil (long. 95° E.), and for generations they seem to have cherished the hope of once more ravaging the valley of the Hoang-ho. At length their old enemies, the Sien-pi, under the dynasty of the Topas, built up, in the old country of the Hiong-nu, a sufficiently solid empire to check all eastward incursions on their part. But,

A. n.  
261-376.

The Alani were between them and Europe.

Secondly, between their new home and western civilization a strong barrier was presented by the fierce nation of the Alani, Turanian nomads like themselves, who, under the name of Alanna, are spoken of by the Chinese historians as occupying the country of Yen-Tcai, the extensive district which is bounded by the Volga on the north, the Caucasus on the south, the Sea of Azof and the Don on the west, and the Caspian and Volga on the east. These are the people who for so many generations adored a naked sabre stuck into the earth as their only divinity. They were at length, after contests the duration and severity of which are hidden from us, overcome by those neighbours of theirs whom we may now without fear of contradiction venture to call the Huns. Some, the Alani of the Don, became amalgamated with the armies of the

conqueror, others fled westwards and bore a part, recognised in history, in the subversion of the Roman Empire, though it did not fall to their lot to found any enduring kingdom within its borders.

Hopes of Chinese spoil on the east, the reality of Alan resistance on the west, were doubtless two reasons for the long sojourn of the Hiong-nu eastwards of the Volga. A third, which it is sufficient merely to indicate, is the prestige, slowly and with difficulty impaired, of the Roman Empire, of that 'Ta-Tsin' which 'Gantun' and his immediate predecessors had ruled so wisely and made so strong.

A fourth is the utterly broken and dispirited state of the Hiong-nu themselves. After their flight from their old home in Central Asia, they seem to have ceased to elect Tanjous; the unity of the nation was gone, the degree of organisation, the semblance of a polity which they had before possessed, probably vanished. Removed from the civilizing influences of contact with China they doubtless sank lower and lower into mere squalid savagery, becoming a loosely united bundle of roving hordes, until at length increase of numbers brought with it confidence, the remembrance of past supremacy stirred up shame at their present abject condition, the success of their conflict with the Alans assured them of victory, and turning their backs definitively on the East, they crossed the Cimmerian Bosphorus—whether guided by a demon-stag or not we need not inquire—to work, both directly and indirectly, more ruin and greater changes in the fair kingdoms of Ta-Tsin than their mightiest Tanjous had ever done in the often-wasted provinces of the real China.

This chapter was commenced by Claudian's poetical

BOOK II.  
CH. I.

Prestige  
of the  
Roman  
Empire.

Dispirited  
condition  
of the  
Hiong-nu.

BOOK II.  
CH. 1.

Ammi-  
anus's  
description  
of the  
Huns.

description of the Huns ; at its close let us listen to the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, a soldier, and more strictly a contemporary, describing in what guise they showed themselves when first 1500 years ago, they burst upon Europe.

‘The nation of the Huns, little known to ancient records, but spreading from the marshes of Azof to the Icy Sea, surpasses all other barbarians in wildness of life. In the first days of infancy, deep incisions are made in the cheeks of their boys, in order that, when the time comes for whiskers to grow there, the sprouting hairs may be kept back by the furrowed scars : and hence they grow to maturity and to old age beardless as eunuchs. They all, however, have strong and well-knit limbs and fine necks. Yet they are of portentous ugliness and so crook-backed that you would take them for some sort of two-footed beasts, or for the roughly-chipped stakes which one sees used for the railings of a bridge. And though they do just bear the likeness of men (of a very ugly pattern), they are so little advanced in civilization that they make no use of fire, nor of any kind of relish, in the preparation of their food, but feed upon the roots which they find in the fields, and the half-raw flesh of any sort of animal. I say half-raw, because they give it a kind of cooking by placing it between their own thighs and the backs of their horses. They never seek the shelter of houses, which they look upon as little better than tombs, and will only enter upon the direst necessity : nor would one be able to find among them even a cottage of wattled rushes : but wandering at large over mountain and through forest, they are trained to bear from their infancy all the extremes of cold, of hunger, and of thirst.



‘They are clad in linen raiment, or in the skins of field-mice sewn together, and the same suit serves them for use in-doors and out. However dingy the colour of it may become, the tunic which has once been hung round their necks is never laid aside nor changed till through long decay the rags of it will no longer hold together. Their heads are covered with bent caps, their hairy legs with the skins of goats; their shoes, never having been fashioned on a last, are so clumsy that they cannot walk comfortably.

‘On this account they are not well adapted to pedestrian encounters; but then on the other hand they are almost welded to their horses, which are hardy, though of ugly shape, and on which they sometimes ride women’s fashion. On horseback every man of that nation lives night and day; on horseback he buys and sells; on horseback he takes his meat and drink, and when night comes he leans forward upon the narrow neck of his horse and there falls into a deep sleep, or wanders into the varied phantasies of dreams.

‘When a discussion arises upon any matter of importance they come on horseback to the place of meeting. No kingly sternness overawes their deliberations, but being upon the whole well-contented with the disorderly guidance of their chiefs, they do not scruple to interrupt the debates with anything that comes into their heads.

‘When attacked, they will sometimes engage in regular battle. Then, going into the fight in order of columns, they fill the air with varied and discordant cries. More often, however, they fight in no regular order of battle, but being extremely swift and sudden in their movements, they disperse, and then rapidly come together again in loose array, spread havoc over vast plains, and

BOOK II. flying over the rampart, they pillage the camp of their  
 CH. I. enemy almost before he has become aware of their approach. It must be owned that they are the nimblest of warriors ; the missile weapons which they use at a distance being pointed with sharpened bones admirably fastened to the shaft : when in close combat, they fight without regard to their own safety, and while their enemy is intent upon parrying the thrusts of their swords, they throw a net over him and so entangle his limbs that he loses all power of walking or riding.

‘Not one among them cultivates the ground, or ever touches a plough-handle. All wander abroad without fixed abodes, without home, or law, or settled customs, like perpetual fugitives, with their waggons for their only habitations, in which their wives weave their foul garments, and bring forth children, and rear them up to the age of puberty<sup>1</sup>. If you ask them, not one can tell you what is his place of origin ; he was conceived in one place, born in another, educated perhaps in some yet more distant one. They are great truce-breakers, fickle, always ready to be swayed by the first breath of a new desire, abandoning themselves without restraint to the most ungovernable rage.

‘Finally, like animals devoid of reason, they are utterly ignorant of what is seemly and what is not ; they are tricksters with words, and full of dark sayings ; they are never moved by either religious or superstitious awe ; they burn with unquenchable thirst for gold, and they are so changeable and so easily moved to wrath, that many times in the day they will quarrel with their comrades on no provocation, and be reconciled having received no satisfaction.’

<sup>1</sup> The squalid prototype of the gorgeous Harem of the Ottomans.

NOTE A. ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE HIONG-NU  
WITH THE HUNS.

I quote from Mr. Howorth's 'Introduction to the Translation NOTE A. of the Annals of the Han Dynasty' (by Mr. Wylie), contributed to the Journal of the Anthropological Institute (iii. 398), the following criticism of the theory adopted in my first edition.

'De Guignes, than whom no one has done more for the elucidation of the ethnology of Asia in ancient times, propounded the doctrine that the European Huns were descended from the Hiong-nu of the Chinese writers, and he consequently in his history of the Huns worked out in some detail the account of the Hiong-nu, so far as it could be collected from the narratives of Matuanlin and the other epitomisers of the Chinese annals. Minute ethnology was then in its infancy. The distinctions between Mongols, Turks, Ugrians, &c., &c. were hardly recognised because hardly known. Since the days of De Guignes the subject has received immense illustration from various quarters, and now no European scholar of any repute—save perhaps Dr. Latham—connects the Huns with the Hiong-nu. The Huns, as I have elsewhere argued, were a race of Ugrians, led by a caste of another race now represented by some of the Lesghian tribes of the Caucasus. The Hiong-nu were not Ugrians. It was Klaproth who first proved that the Hiong-nu were Turks, and his conclusions were endorsed by the very competent authority of Abel Remusat, and since by other scholars.' The argument thus divides itself into two parts.

I. *Proof that the Huns were Ugrians.*

This rests on the existence of some 'Lesghian' tribes in the Eastern Caucasus who bear names which appear to be corrupted from 'Hun' and 'Avar.' Among these tribes, names closely corresponding with those of Attila and his family are still, it is said, in common use. The dialect of the 'Andi,' whom Howorth

NOTE A. takes to be the representatives of the Huns, 'approximates very closely to the Ugrian or Finnic dialects proper, while the Avar has many idiosyncrasies related to the Samoyedic class of Siberian languages.'

II. *Proof that the Hiong-nu were a Turkic tribe.*

This rests chiefly on the Turkic character of the vocabulary of the Thiu-Khiu, a fragment of the dispersed Hiong-nu who, in the fifth century, settled in the Altai mountains. Fifteen or sixteen words in use among the Thiu-Khiu, including those for house, meat, horse, wolf, black, white, old, camp, and warrior, are shown to be identical with or closely analogous to words in the Turkish or Mongol languages. Hence it is argued, the Hiong-nu must have been closely related to the Turks.

The question is one which must be decided by experts in ethnology. To me, knowing scarcely anything of that science, there seem one or two weak links in the chain of argument; but then, on the other hand, we must not forget that the equation

$$\text{Hun} = \text{Hiong-nu}$$

rests on nothing more than one, perhaps accidental, similarity of names. It is difficult not to be attracted by the theory of Deguignes, because of the almost ludicrous similarity between the treatment of the Chinese Emperors by the Tanjous and that of the Roman Emperors by Attila and his progenitors. But of course there is nothing in this similarity which can weigh against any well-settled conclusion of ethnological science.

## CHAPTER II.

### ATTILA AND THE COURT OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources* :—

PRISCUS, born at Panium, a town of Thrace, probably about the beginning of the fifth century. He wrote (in Greek) a history in eight books, 'Of Byzantium and the occurrences connected with Attila,' which apparently narrated the events between 433 and 474. He is commonly spoken of as 'the Rhetorician,' or 'the Sophist,' and his pure, elegant, and lively style agrees with the supposition that he was by profession a man of letters. He was admitted to the intimate friendship of Maximin, one of the generals of Theodosius II, whom he accompanied on his celebrated embassy to Attila, and also on a visit to Syria. It is probable that both he and his friend Maximin were Pagans. Only fragments of his work remain, but one of these, of considerable length, describing Attila and his court and the reception of the Roman ambassadors, is the most interesting piece of contemporary history which the fifth century has bequeathed to us.

##### *Guides*<sup>1</sup> :—

Deguignes, *Histoire des Huns*, Liv. iv, § 1 *Les Huns Occidentaux* (a most convenient summary of all the passages in Greek and Latin authors bearing on the history of Attila). The same may be said of

Mascou, *History of the Ancient Germans* (translated from the German 1738), Book ix.

<sup>1</sup> This enumeration of guides applies to all the remaining chapters of the Second Book.

BOOK II. Amédée Thierry's *Histoire d'Attila* (2 vols.) is a well-constructed narrative, with which the relation of the embassy of Priscus is skilfully interwoven.

CH. 2.

'Attila, King of the Huns,' by the Hon. and Rev. W. Herbert (London, 1838), is an Epic Poem in twelve books on the career of Attila from his defeat on the Catalaunian Plains (451) till his death (454). The most useful part of the book to a historical student is the second half of it, 'Attila and his Predecessors, an Historical Treatise.' Here all the materials for writing the life of Attila are collected with great industry, but there is no sufficient separation between the precious and the vile. The contemporary Priscus, who drank wine with Attila, appears to be quoted with no more deference than is paid to Hungarian and Italian romancers.

The Huns do not at once come in contact with Rome.

FOR half a century after the irruption of the Huns into Dacia, they exercise but little direct influence on the course of Roman history. Occasionally they made a predatory inroad into the Empire, as, for instance, in the year 395, when, at the instigation, it was said, of the Prefect Rufinus, they moved southwards from Caucasus upon Armenia, and pressed on through Capadocia and Cilicia<sup>1</sup>, until

'The pleasant fields of Syria waste were laid,  
And hostile chargers trampled down the glade  
Of soft Orontes, to her children's dance  
And song more used than War's dread dissonance?'

Uldis.

And thirteen years later, under the guidance of a chief named *Uldis*<sup>2</sup>, they crossed the Danube and penetrated far into Bulgaria. When the Prefect of Thrace sought humbly for peace, Uldis proudly pointed to the sun and said, 'All that *he* shines upon I can conquer if I will.'

<sup>1</sup> See I. 654.

<sup>2</sup> Claudian, In Rufinum, ii. 32-35.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the same person as Uldin, Stilicho's Hunnish auxiliary in the campaign against Radagaisus (405).

But in the midst of his boastings his power was undermined: the imperial emissaries were at work among his troops, contrasting the hard life of a Hunnish marauder with the ease and the dignity of a stipendiary of Rome. So large a part of his army yielded to these suggestions that Uldis was obliged to fly, and escaped but with life to the Dacian shore.

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.  
409.

Upon the whole, during this period, while their enemies the Visigoths and other Teutonic tribes were still hovering about the Danube and the eastern ranges of the Alps, the attitude of the Huns seems to have been more often friendly than hostile to the Romans, in whose armies we saw them serving when Honorius decreed the overthrow of Stilicho, and when Aetius came too late to the succour of Joannes against Placidia.

Huns as  
Roman  
auxiliaries.

And, mere barbarians as they remained to the end of their history, it is easy to see that this half-century of intercourse with Rome had taught them some few of the needs and enjoyments of civilized life. The whole character of Attila's court and camp was sensual, but the sensuality was by many degrees less squalid and less disgusting than that of the men who first crossed the Sea of Azof, and whose habits were described by Ammianus.

They  
become  
slightly  
less savage.

Doubtless it was the interposition of the Teutonic nations which, during this half-century, prevented the Huns from coming to close quarters with the Roman power. After the Visigoths, the Vandals, and the Suevi had settled in Spain, the Alans in Gaul, the Burgundians in that province which yet bears their name, the Huns, having only the Danube and the Alps between them and the Empire, began to make the two Augusti, but especially him of Constantinople, feel their heavy hand.

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.

432.  
King Roua  
and the  
Hunnish  
fugitives.

In 432 we find a certain *Roua* or *Rugula* reigning over the Huns, and receiving from Theodosius II an annual payment, which might be called either subsidy or tribute, of 350 pounds weight of gold (£14,000 sterling). Finding that the Romans had dared to make alliances with some barbarous tribes, dwellers by the Danube, whom he claimed as his subjects, Roua in great wrath declared that all *his* treaties with Rome should be at once made null and void unless the Emperor renounced his alliance with these nations. Another question of a more personal nature also arose now, if it had not arisen before, and was the subject of ceaseless negotiation for the next seventeen years. Many deserters had fled from the harsh yoke of Roua, and taken shelter on Roman territory. The demand was made, and was pressed home with every circumstance of insult upon the trembling Theodosius, 'Restore to me my fugitives.' Imagine such a request having been hinted, ever so courteously, to any Roman magistrate who in the old days sat upon the curule chair, with his lictors and fasces round him. Had it not been better for the omnipotent Mistress of the Nations to have died rather than live on to endure such degradation?

Accession  
of Attila  
and Bleda.

But Theodosius II, who was a meek man and an excellent illuminator of manuscripts, if not a born king of men, was preparing to send an embassy to mitigate the wrath of Roua, when tidings arrived that he was dead, and that the kingdom of the Huns had devolved upon his two nephews, sons of his brother Mundzuk, men in the vigour of early manhood, named *Attila* and *Bleda*.

433.

It was in the year 433 that the two brothers ascended the throne. Bleda is to us the mere shadow of a name, but it is far otherwise with Attila.



It is almost needless to say that no coin, or picture, or bust remains to bring before us the lineaments of the terrible savage. Yet he seems almost to live again in the pages of Jordanes and Priscus. We see him short of stature, with the small, bead-like eyes, and snub nose and swarthy skin of his Tartar ancestors, yet with a haughty step, and a fierce way of darting his glances hither and thither, as though he felt himself lord of all, and were perpetually asking of the by-standers, 'Who is he that shall deliver you out of my hand?' He had a broad and well-formed chest and a large head, a scanty beard, like most of the Tartar race, and his hair was early sprinkled with white.

Few men that ever lived have had such a power of inspiring fear in the minds both of their subjects and their enemies as this Turanian chieftain. Enthusiasm, loyalty, gratitude, these were not the motives by which he swayed mankind, but the amount of abject, slavish fear which this little swarthy Kalmuck succeeded in instilling into millions of human hearts is not to be easily matched in the history of our race.

Whether he had much military talent may be doubted, since the only great battle in which he figured was a complete defeat. The impression left upon us by what history records of him is that of a gigantic bully, holding in his hands powers unequalled in the world for ravage and spoliation, by the mere threat of loosing which he extorts from trembling Caesars every concession which his insatiable avarice, or his almost super-human pride, requires, and by the same terror compelling Ostrogoths and Gepidae, and other Germanic races far nobler than his own, to assist in drawing his triumphal chariot. But of true constructive genius, of any

BOOK II. notion of the right way to found an enduring empire,  
 CH. 2. of the statesmanship of Ataulfus, or even of Alaric, he shows not a trace. To drink out of vessels of gold and silver, to put his foot upon the neck of his enemies, to be the terror of the world, these seem to be his only delights as a ruler of men.

Extent of  
 Attila's  
 Empire.

Some doubt has recently been thrown on the received accounts of the wide extent of Attila's power. So much of our information, it is said, is derived from Gothic sources, and a proud nation like the Goths had so obvious an interest in magnifying the might of the monarch by whom they themselves had been humbled, that we are bound to make considerable deductions from their statements, and may perhaps reduce the dominions of the world-wide conqueror to an extent not quite equal to that of the modern Austrian Empire<sup>1</sup>. But it may fairly be urged on the other hand that the Greek historian Priscus confirms, or even amplifies the statements of the Goth. According to him, when the ambassadors from the Eastern and Western Empires were met in trembling conference, consulting how they might possibly obtain a reasonable answer from the haughty barbarian, the Romans said, 'His head is turned by his successes. No ruler of Scythia or of any other country has ever achieved so much in so short a time as he has. He rules over the islands in the ocean' (by which we must probably understand the Scandinavian islands and peninsulas<sup>2</sup>); 'he has made the whole of Scythia his

P. 199  
 (Bonn  
 edition).

<sup>1</sup> This view is urged by Dr. Latham in his article 'Hunni' in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.

<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps deserving of consideration whether, if this northward impetus of Attila's subjects and allies really carried them to the Baltic and far into Denmark, it may not have something to do with

own ; he has put the Roman Empire to tribute, and he thinks of renewing his attacks upon Persia. The road to that eastern kingdom is not untrodden by the Huns ; already they have marched fifteen days' journey from a certain lake [the Sea of Azof the Romans thought, but more probably the Caspian], and have ravaged Media.' BOOK II.  
CH. 2.

Add to this apparently trustworthy statement of Priscus the firm belief of Deguignes<sup>1</sup> that he has found traces in the historians of China of a confederacy between Attila and the rulers of that country, and we have reasons for not lightly abandoning the old belief in the wide extent of the Empire of Attila. The prince who felt China on his left, who threatened Persepolis, Byzantium, Ravenna in front, who ruled Denmark and its islands in his rear, and who ultimately appeared in arms on the soil of Champagne on his right, was no minor monarch, and had his empire been as deep as it was wide-spread, he might worthily have taken rank with Cyrus and Alexander.

At the same time it is well to remember that over far the larger part of this territory, Attila's can have been only an over-lordship, Teutonic, Slavonic, and Tartar chieftains of every name bearing rule under him. His own personal government, if government it can be called, may very likely have been confined nearly within the limits of the modern Hungary and Transylvania.

the migrations of the English into Britain between the years 430 and 450. What they had before done against the 'Littus Saxonicum' had been apparently mere piracy and robbery. Now the whole nation migrates, a proceeding to which we can easily imagine them to have been stirred by the Teuton's loathing dread of the Mongol. And thus Attila may have been the unconscious founder of the English as well as of the Venetian dominion.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I. part ii. pp. 298-301.

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.

For nineteen years, from 434 to 453, the sullen might of Attila lay like a thunder-cloud over Europe. During that time the Eastern and Western Courts were so closely united, as well by the bonds of relationship as by the overwhelming sense of their common danger, that it is not possible to disentangle their histories. Let us give a glance at the chief personages in the two Courts.

Character  
of Theodo-  
sius II.

425.

The younger Theodosius, son of Arcadius, and Emperor of the East, was in the twenty-fifth year of his age when we met with him, leading his people from the Hippodrome to the Basilica, to return thanks for the victory of his generals at Ravenna, which replaced his kinsfolk of the West on the Imperial throne. The fatuous dullness of his father and uncle no longer repels us in this member of the Theodosian family; he has some other employment than hunting; he illuminates sacred manuscripts with such skill as to earn the title of the Calligrapher; and he does not rush from blind confidence in his ministers to equally blind suspicion, with the instability which was so conspicuous in Arcadius and Honorius. Still, he is not a true King; he possesses no real momentum in the affairs of the state: as a rule, every important measure is decided upon by his sister Pulcheria, who is two years older than himself, who governs the East—as her aunt Placidia governs the West—respectably, but without genius, powerless to stem the quick-rushing torrent of barbarian ravage and change, but not conspicuously adding to the calamities of Rome by vices of her own<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It should be said that the historian Eunapius (Excerpt 70) gives a terrible picture of the evils which afflicted the state 'under the

Theodosius himself, all through these years of political trouble and anxiety, is much engrossed in the controversy concerning the union of the divine and human natures in Christ; but he does not win from it the same ecclesiastical renown which the Council of Constantinople brought to his more celebrated namesake and grandfather. At the Council of Ephesus he appears (through his ministers) to favour the heresy of Nestorius; at the close of his reign he leans towards the opposite heresy of Dioscorus and Eutyches, which is, immediately after his death, condemned by the great Council of Chalcedon. At no time does he conspicuously defend the narrow *via media* of Orthodoxy.

It is strange that the marriages of the Emperors of this family, which were daring and unconventional, did not remove from the race that effete and worn-out character which attaches to its later scions. The mother of Theodosius II was a Frankish princess, beautiful and impetuous, who bore the name of Eudoxia. His wife, the equally beautiful but portionless daughter of an Athenian rhetorician, brought up in the worship of the Olympian gods, was known in childhood by the name of Athenais, which, on her conversion to Christianity, she exchanged for that of Eudocia. She was twenty-seven when her marriage with Theodosius, who was seven years her junior, raised her to the Imperial throne; but her influence seems never to have outweighed that of her sister-in-law Pulcheria, and after

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.

His theological position.

The  
Empress  
Eudocia.

421.

Empress Pulcheria' (*ἐπὶ Πουλχερίας τῆς Βασιλίσσης*). But he does not appear to attribute them to her personal agency, and the root-evil of all, the sale of public offices and the frightful corruption of the ministers of state, is spoken of in precisely similar terms a generation earlier, in the days of Arcadius and the eunuch Eutropius.

BOOK II. twenty-three years of married life, at the mature age  
 CH. 2. of fifty, she incurred a suspicion of unfaithfulness to her husband, and was banished to Jerusalem, where she died in 460, after an exile of sixteen years.

Eudoxia  
 wife of Valentinian  
 III. The only child of this marriage, with whom history has to concern itself, is a daughter, a *third* Eudoxia (for that name and Eudocia seem to be interchangeable), who, as we have seen, was betrothed in her babyhood, 437. and in the sixteenth year of her age married, to Valentinian III, son of her father's aunt, but her own contemporary, with whom we have already made acquaintance as Emperor of the West, reigning, but not governing, under the tutelage of his mother Placidia.

The Princess Honoria. After one more granddaughter of the great Theodosius has been named, the sketch of the two Imperial groups in the East and West will be complete. Besides her son Valentinian III, Placidia had a daughter Born 418. Honoria, whose name was, for nearly twenty years, a by-word and a horror in the two Courts of Ravenna and Constantinople. Inheriting the coarse and sensual temperament of her father Constantius, and, like him, probably chafing at the restraints imposed on all the family of the 'sacred' Emperors, she was detected in 434. a low intrigue with one of the chamberlains of the palace. Her mother sent her to Constantinople, where, for the next sixteen years of her life, she was kept more or less closely guarded, at the court of her cousin Theodosius. The foolish girl, who was but in the seventeenth year of her age, filled with wild resentment against her family and her native land, hating the calm and sorrowful face of her mother, hating the severe dignity of Pulcheria, the psalmodies, the

weaving, the visitations of the poor, in which she and her sisters passed their lives<sup>1</sup>, looked away to the gloomy North for vengeance, and called upon the squalid Hun to be her deliverer. She contrived to send a ring to Attila, who had become King of the Huns in the year preceding her disgrace, and begged to be considered as his wife, or rather, probably, as one of his wives, for the Huns, unlike the Goths, were polygamists. It was the wild act of a girl of sixteen, perhaps half-crazy with passion. We hear nothing of Attila's reply, nothing of any renewed applications on Honorio's part for his assistance. Probably her apartments in the palace at Constantinople were thenceforward too strictly guarded to allow of her repeating the message. But Attila treasured the ring, and in after-days pulled through that tiny circlet long threads of diplomacy and a bloody skein of war.

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.

Honorio  
sends her  
ring to  
Attila.

Immediately upon Attila's accession, an embassy from Theodosius waited upon him and Bleda, in order to settle the various questions which had been raised between the Emperor and their deceased uncle Roua. The ambassadors met the kings at Margus, a town which stood at the point where the Morava, now the chief river of Servia, empties itself into the Danube.

Treaty of  
Margus be-  
tween Ro-  
mans and  
Huns.

<sup>1</sup> Sozomen, who was a contemporary historian, writes thus concerning Pulcheria and her sisters Arcadia and Marina: 'They all pursue the same mode of life, are sedulous in their attendance in the house of prayer, and evince great charity towards strangers and the poor. These sisters generally take their meals and walks together, and pass their days and their nights together in singing the praises of God. Like other exemplary women, they employ themselves in weaving and in similar occupations, avoiding idleness as unworthy of the life of virginity to which they have devoted themselves' (book ix, chap. 4).

BOOK II. Not only the Hunnish kings, but all their retinue,  
 CH. 2. remained seated on horseback, and, that the dignity  
 433. of Rome might not suffer in their persons, the ambas-  
 sadors did the same. Yet, though etiquette might  
 be maintained, Plinthas and Epigenes, the Roman  
 envoys, did not win any very brilliant diplomatic  
 triumph for their master. The *honorarium*, or stipend,  
 or by whatever name the Romans chose to style that  
 yearly payment which Attila, with ever-increasing  
 frankness, called by its true designation, tribute, was  
 raised from £14,000 to £28,000; the fugitive Huns  
 and Romans were to be surrendered, or a fine of £8  
 per head paid for each who was not forthcoming; there  
 were to be free markets at which the Romans and Huns  
 should meet on equal terms, and any barbarian tribe  
 upon which Attila might choose to levy war, was to  
 be excluded from the alliance of Rome. In compliance  
 with this treaty, two children of the royal blood of  
 the Huns were surrendered by the Roman officers, and  
 crucified on Roman territory by the orders of Attila.  
 Their only crime was flight.

Eight  
 years of  
 peace.

The next eight years are a blank in the Roman  
 annals, as far as the Huns are concerned. It was at  
 this time probably that Attila made those extensive  
 conquests northwards and eastwards to which reference  
 has already been made, that he pushed his dominion to  
 the shores of the German Ocean, and sent his armies  
 fifteen days' march from the Caspian into Media<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This may have been an earlier invasion. Priscus uses very vague  
 language concerning it, and attributes it to 'Basik and Cursik, men  
 belonging to the royal family of Scythia [the Huns] who commanded  
 a great multitude of followers, and afterwards entered into alliance  
 with Rome' (p. 200, ed. Bonn).



According to some accounts, he also, during the same interval, marched into the country watered by the Rhone, and fought the Burgundians. However this may be, in 441 the curtain again lifts, and the first scene of conflict is that same Servian town of Margus on the Morava, where we last saw Attila doubling the Roman tribute and discussing terms of peace with Plinthas and Epigenes. The bishop of this place had crossed the Danube on a marauding expedition, and robbed one of the royal treasure-houses of the Huns of the wealth deposited therein. Naturally this imitation of their own predatory tactics excited the fierce wrath of the barbarians. At the time of one of the great markets by the banks of the Danube, which were arranged for by the last treaty, the Huns made a savage attack on the unsuspecting Romans. To the expostulations of the Imperial Court but one reply was returned: 'Give us up our refugees, and with our refugees the marauding bishop of Margus.' It began to be discussed among Prefects and Chamberlains whether it might not be better to give up this one rash bishop, that the whole nation should not perish. The rumour reached the ears of the reverend prelate, who determined to be beforehand with Fate. Stealing across to the camp of the barbarians, he undertook to put them in possession of the city of Margus if the kings of the Huns would hold him harmless. Claspings his right hand, they swore to confer upon him all sorts of benefits if he would fulfil this promise. Then, having planted the barbarian host in a well-selected ambushade on the northern shore of the Danube, he returned into the city, unsuspected by his fellow-citizens, and at a given signal opened the gates to his new allies. They

BOOK II  
CH. 2.441.  
The  
Bishop of  
Margus.

BOOK II. rushed in and sacked the place, and one of the chief  
 CH. 2. border cities of Moesia was thus lost to the Empire.

441.

An incident like this seems worth recording, since it marks the rapidly changing manners and positions of men during this century of barbarian invasion. Of course the occupant of the see of Margus was no fair specimen of his order, either in his first marauding expedition, or in his subsequent treachery: but when we look back over two centuries, from the time we have now reached to the days of Cyprian, or over one century to the courtly theologian-disputants who hurried to the numberless councils of Constantius, and compare them with this mitred combatant, we feel that we have already passed from Ancient History into the Middle Ages: we might imagine ourselves standing before the warrior bishop of Beauvais, or one of the robber-bishops of the Rhine.

The Vases  
 of Sirmium.

Out of the invasion, for which the fall of Margus gave the signal, another ecclesiastical complication, this time not with the Eastern but the Western Empire, took its rise. The town of Sirmium on the Save, situated in what is now the Austrian province of Slavonia, though it has left no modern representative of its former glories, was once one of the most important cities of Pannonia. The bishop of Sirmium, seeing his city invested by the Hunnish army, gathered together the chalices and patens and other sacred vessels of his church, all of gold, and apparently of considerable value, and contrived to send them secretly to one Constantius, a Gaul, who was at that time officiating as Attila's secretary. The object of the trust hereby created was to liberate the bishop if he should survive the capture of the city, or if he should die, then

to ransom as many as possible of the citizens. The city was taken, and what became of the bishop we know not; but Constantius, ignoring the trust reposed in him, went off to Rome on private business, and there pawned the golden chalices for a large sum of money to a silversmith, named Silvanus<sup>1</sup>. Meanwhile his masters, Attila and Bleda, who probably did not like this journey to Rome on urgent private affairs, came to the conclusion that their secretary was playing the traitor, and soon after Constantius's return, he was crucified. Some time afterwards, the story of the embezzlement of the golden chalices came to the ears of Attila, and filled him with wrath. 'Had my secretary,' said he, 'not deposited these chalices at Rome, they would have come into *my* possession on the death of the swindler. Silvanus therefore has really stolen my property, and unless the Emperor of the West can restore the chalices, I insist that he shall surrender Silvanus to my vengeance.' How the affair, which dragged on for many years, at length terminated we know not, but we shall meet hereafter with an embassy from Valentinian III commissioned to treat on this important subject.

Three years after these events Bleda died, and Attila became sole ruler of the Huns. Historians have accepted, perhaps too readily, a version of the story which attributes to the great Hun the guilt of fratricide, not in passion, but with premeditation and

<sup>1</sup> This Silvanus held some official position, but what, it is difficult to say. He was 'President of the Board of Silver at Rome.' This may mean either that he was a *Praepositus Argentariorum*, or *Primerarius Scrinii ab Argento*, probably the latter. (See *Notitia Dignitatum*, Occidens, cap. x.)

BOOK II. cunning. With all his vices, treachery and secret  
 CH. 2. assassination scarcely seem consonant with the rest of  
 his character<sup>1</sup>.

447.  
 Attila lays waste the Empire up to the walls of Constantinople.

In the year 447, Attila led his barbarian warriors on the most formidable of all his expeditions against the Eastern Empire. No detailed account of it has been preserved, but it is evident that no inroad of so destructive a kind had pierced the provinces between the Adriatic and the Aegean since Alaric met Stilicho in the Peloponnesus. The Huns pushed southwards as far as Thermopylae, and eastwards to the shore of the Dardanelles, where, at Gallipoli, they inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Roman troops<sup>2</sup>. The walls of Constantinople, on this occasion as on so many subsequent ones, saved the very existence of the Empire. But though the tide of barbarian invasion rolled back into its old bed when there was nothing more left to ravage in the open country, a panic fear seized the rulers of the state, who submitted with abject eagerness to every demand which their Master, for such they now considered him, might please to make upon them. Anatolius, a man of high rank who had held the office, still regarded with some of its old veneration, of Roman Consul, was sent to Attila's camp to negotiate

<sup>1</sup> Marcellinus and Jordanes, the chief authorities for the story of the fratricide, were separated by an interval of nearly a century from the event. On the other hand Priscus, the contemporary and guest of the king, speaks of Bleda's death (*τὴν τοῦ Βλήδα τελευτήν*) casually and calmly, and does not hint at any tragedy connected with it. But it is true that only fragments of his history remain.

<sup>2</sup> It need hardly be observed that, in the language of the historians of the time, the inhabitants of Thrace, of Syria, and of Egypt are still as uniformly spoken of under the name of Romans as those who were born and died by the banks of the Tiber.

terms of peace. The yearly tribute, which had been doubled at Attila's succession, was now tripled, and stood at £84,000, and at the same time £240,000 in gold were handed over as a settlement of past arrears. In order to raise this sum, all the usual fiscal expedients of a weak, yet tyrannical government were resorted to. To have the reputation of wealth was the surest passport to misery. Each senator was assessed upon a certain sum, often greatly in excess of his real fortune; but the amount which stood opposite to his name had to be provided, whether he possessed it or not. Blows and insults enforced the demands of the officers of the Imperial Exchequer, and the upshot of the whole was that in some cases the family jewels of ladies of high rank, or the articles of household furniture of men who had passed all their lives in affluencé, were exposed for sale in the market-place; while in other yet more desperate cases, the unhappy Roman noble escaped by the aid of a cord, or by the slower process of self-starvation, into a land whither even the ministers of Theodosius could not follow him. And all this time the misery of the situation was aggravated by the thought that while the defence of the country was neglected, and, in consequence, these frightfully heavy subsidies had to be paid to her invaders, 'the country's wealth and the royal treasures were being applied, not to their proper uses, but to ridiculous shows, tawdry pageants, and all the pleasures and all the extravagances of sensuality, such as no sensible man would have wasted money upon, even had the state been in the height of prosperity. Far less ought these men to have thus acted, who had so far neglected the military art that not only the Huns, but all the other

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.447.  
Extortions  
practised  
to raise  
the tribute.

BOOK II. barbarous tribes round had bound the Roman State to  
 CH. 2. the payment of tribute<sup>1</sup>.

447.  
 Attila's op-  
 pressive  
 embassies.

The ruler of the Huns marked well the abject terror of the Byzantine Court, and traded upon it with the low cunning of a savage. Scarcely had the treaty of Anatolius been concluded, when Attila sent ambassadors to Theodosius, demanding, in the usual formula, 'the surrender of the fugitives.' The Roman Emperor could only reply, 'We have surrendered all who were in our power;' but in order to secure powerful friends in the Hunnish encampment, he not only treated the ambassadors with splendid hospitality, but loaded them with rich presents on their departure. Again, and again, and again, four times in the space of a twelvemonth, did Attila repeat this process, selecting always for his ambassador some needy favourite whom he had a desire to enrich, and inventing such ridiculous pretexts for his embassies that all could see his real motive in sending them. This plan of pacific invasion began to tire out the patience of the meek Emperor and his ministers. His sister Pulcheria no longer now exercised a predominant influence in the affairs of state. Theological discussions seem to have divided the Imperial pair. She adhered to that side which was eventually, at the Council of Chalcedon, decreed to be the side of orthodoxy; while the rival, and now reigning influence at court was that of the eunuch Chrysaphius, godson and partisan of Eutyches, the fanatic asserter of the absolute oneness of the nature of Christ even during the time of his Incarnation. Judging by the acts of Chrysaphius, we may safely conclude that any opinion of his on such a question was as valuable as the opinion

Ascend-  
 ancy of  
 Chrysa-  
 phius.

<sup>1</sup> Priscus, p. 142 (Bonn edition, 1829).

of an Australian savage concerning the philosophy of Plato. BOOK II,  
CH. 2.

In the year 448, yet another embassy arrived at Constantinople, more famous and more fateful than any which had preceded it. Let us observe well the names of the two chief ambassadors, for these are men who either by themselves or by their offspring will make a deep and ineffaceable mark on the history of their time. *Edecon* is introduced to us as a 'Scythian,' that is, a Hun<sup>1</sup>, 'who had accomplished mighty deeds in war.' He was evidently also one of the most intimate counsellors of Attila. No small degree of jealousy existed between him and his colleague *Orestes*. This man, as we might have inferred from his name, was not of barbarian extraction. He was of 'Roman' descent (a term which is of course consistent with any provincial nationality within the limits of the Roman Empire), and 'he dwelt in that part of Pannonia which borders on the Save,' that is to say, within the limits of the modern Austrian province of Slavonia. He was at this time a regular subject of Attila, his country, which was included in the Western Emperor's share of Illyricum, having recently been ceded by Aetius to the Huns. He married the daughter of a certain Count Romulus, who dwelt at Patavio in Noricum, the place which is now called Passau<sup>2</sup>, and which marks the junction of

448.  
Embassy of  
Edecon  
and  
Orestes.

Orestes  
father of  
Augustus.

<sup>1</sup> As before remarked, the term Scythian, as used by the Greek historians, is of no ethnological value whatever. In classical times it meant probably sometimes Slavonic tribes, sometimes a race with Thracian affinities. Zosimus uses it regularly of the Goths, and now, in Priscus, it is the accepted equivalent for the Huns. Probably it was not intended to mean more than 'the barbarians (of whatever race) living north of the Danube and the Euxine.'

<sup>2</sup> This seems the most probable equivalent of 'Patavio, a city of

BOOK II. the mountain-nourished Inn with the more placid  
 CH. 2. Danube. From this marriage was born to Orestes,  
 448. probably about ten years after the date at which we  
 have now arrived, a son who was named after his  
 maternal grandfather Romulus, and upon whom history  
 has fastened the unkind nickname of Augustulus. The  
 other ambassador, Edecon, was probably already the  
 father of a son whom he had named Odovacar (Odoacer).  
 Edecon  
 father of  
 Odovacar.  
 Attila's de-  
 mands. These two ambassadors, on arriving at the Imperial  
 Court, presented the letters of their lord, in which, as  
 usual, he expressed his high displeasure at the conduct  
 of the Romans with reference to the refugees. War,  
 immediate war, was threatened unless these were sur-  
 rendered. Further, there must be no attempt on the  
 part of the Romans to cultivate the district which  
 would in later times have been called the March of the  
 Danube. This was a belt of territory about 100 miles<sup>1</sup>  
 wide on the southern side of the great stream, which  
 Attila claimed to have annexed by right of conquest  
 after his recent campaign. If this condition were not  
 observed, war. The position of the great market for

Noricum' (Priscus, 185, 22). We know that its ancient name was 'Batava Castra,' from the Ninth Batavian Cohort being stationed there, and that in the ninth century (or earlier) it was called Patavia, whence the modern Passau (see Böcking's *Notitia*, 784). Poetovio, the modern Pettau, in Styria, would have seemed more likely to be the place, except that it was not in Noricum but in Pannonia.

<sup>1</sup> Its width was 'five days' journey for a well-trained pedestrian' (*εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ*). This certainly would not mean less than twenty miles a day. It was to reach from Pannonia (now Attila's by treaty with Aetius) on the West to Novae, now Sistova, in Bulgaria on the East. Eastward of Novae probably commenced the territory of the imperfectly subdued Acatziri. The dimension of the March from West to East would be about 300 miles.



the interchange of Roman and Hunnish commodities must be shifted. It had been fixed at Margus, on the Danube; now it was to be at Naissus, the modern Nisch, 150 miles up the Morava, in Servia. And, lastly, ambassadors were to be sent to Attila, to talk over the points in dispute; and these were to be no men of second-rate position in the state, but men who had sat in the curule chair of the consuls, and the most eminent even among them. If these high dignitaries were afraid to undertake so long and wild a journey, he, the great king, would condescend to come as far as Sardica to meet them. Such was the imperious mandate of Attila, uttered by the lips of Edecon, and translated by the interpreter Vigilas to him, who was saluted by the names, once so mighty, Imperator and Augustus. Edecon then went to the house of Chrysaphius to confer with that minister as to the subject of his embassy. On his way he said to the interpreter, Vigilas, 'How beautiful is the Emperor's palace, how richly adorned with all precious things, and how happy must be the lives of the lords of such magnificence.' Vigilas repeated the remark to Chrysaphius, and with the words a wicked thought entered the mind of the Monophysite eunuch. He said to Edecon, 'You, too, might sit under gilded ceilings <sup>1</sup> of your own, and be lord of vast wealth, if you would leave the party of the Huns and take up ours.'

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.  
448.

Conversa-  
tion be-  
tween  
Chrysa-  
phius and  
Edecon.

*Edecon.* 'I could not do that, being another man's servant, without my lord's consent.'

<sup>1</sup> Compare Horace, 'Non ebur neque aureum  
Mea renidet in domo lacunar,'

and his favourite phrase '*laqueata tecta.*'

BOOK II. *Chrysaphius.* 'Have you free access to your lord's  
 CH. 2. person?'

448.

*Edecon.* 'Yes. I am one of the nobles selected for the purpose of keeping watch in arms over his person. We serve for so many days and then are relieved.'

*Chrysaphius.* 'If you will promise secrecy, I can tell you something very greatly to your advantage. Come to dine with me, without Orestes and your other colleagues, and we can talk the matter over at our leisure.'

Assassina-  
 tion plot  
 hatched.

So a secret meeting was arranged at the house of the eunuch, and there in the presence and by the assistance of *Vigilas*, evidently a Byzantine *dragoman* of the worst type, a vile plot was hatched. *Chrysaphius* first swore that what he had to say should in no case injure *Edecon*. *Edecon* swore a counter oath that he would not reveal, even if he could not accomplish, the designs of the minister; and then *Chrysaphius* at length uttered the fatal secret. 'If when you return to *Scythia* you will slay *Attila* and then come to us, you shall have a happy life here and vast wealth.'

*Edecon.* 'I promise to do so. But I shall want some small sum of money to be paid me in advance, say about fifty pounds of gold [£2000], in order to ensure the co-operation of the common soldiers under my command.'

*Chrysaphius.* 'There will be no difficulty about that. You shall have the money at once.'

*Edecon.* 'No, I will not take it at once, for *Attila* will ask me on my return, as he asks all his ambassadors, how much the mission has been worth to me; and I could not deceive him because all my colleagues will know what weight of gold I am carrying back.'

You must let me return to report the answer of your master as to the refugees, and Vigilas must come with me to receive the rejoinder of mine. Then, through Vigilas, I will send you word how the rest of the gold (beyond the ordinary gratuity to an ambassador) had better be sent to me.'

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.  
448.

This plan met with the full approval of the eunuch, who, as soon as he had dismissed his guest, hurried away to the palace to inform Theodosius of the new prospect of an early termination of Attila's embassies. The Imperial Calligrapher, the Illuminator of Sacred Manuscripts, at once accepted the proposal, and calling in Martialius, the *Magister Officiorum*, and chief of what we should call 'the Secret Service Department,' consulted with him what shape the return embassy to Attila should now assume. Of a truth many things were changed, and not altogether for the better, since the Consul Fabricius handed over to Pyrrhus the traitor, who proposed to purchase the favour of Rome by administering poison to his master.

The plot communicated to Theodosius.

In order to cloak the atrocious scheme thus concocted, the Emperor and his minister decided to send to the coast of Attila a sham embassy, in whose train the intending murderers might travel unsuspected, regardless, of course, of the danger to which they exposed the innocent envoy, who in the event of the plot being discovered was likely to plead in vain the sanctity of an ambassador's person. The man selected for this post was Maximin, an officer of high, but not the highest, rank, and of illustrious lineage, but whose name had not figured in the Consular Fasti. He invited Priscus 'the sophist,' or, as we should say, professor of rhetoric and man of letters, to accompany him, and it is to the

To be carried into effect by a sham embassy

on which Maximin is sent.

BOOK II. diary<sup>1</sup> of the embassy kept by Priscus, and afterwards  
 CH. 2. interwoven by him into his history, that we are in-  
 44<sup>s</sup>. debted for almost all trustworthy details of the Court  
 and Camp of Attila. He assures us emphatically, and  
 the whole course of the history tends to confirm his  
 statement, that the murder-secret was not confided  
 either to him or to his patron, but that the ostensible  
 object of their mission was to them the real one. As  
 both Maximin and Priscus seem still to have adhered  
 to the worship of the Olympian divinities, we are  
 driven, however reluctantly, to the conclusion that by  
 this time the traitors, the time-servers, and the hypo-  
 crites had ranged themselves on the side of successful  
 Christianity, and that when the Emperor wanted a man  
 of indisputably high character and sterling honesty to  
 mask by his innocence a dark and nefarious design, his  
 thoughts naturally turned to the few remaining Pagan  
 statesmen, who probably held at his court a position  
 not unlike that of the Roman Catholics under Queen  
 Elizabeth or the Huguenots under Louis XIII.

Maximin  
 and Priscus  
 Pagans.

Stout  
 answer  
 sent to the  
 Hun.

The message which was entrusted to Maximin was  
 couched in a less servile tone than the recent replies of  
 Theodosius. As if they already saw the knife of the  
 assassin piercing the heart of the great Hun, the  
 Emperor and the eunuch began to express their weariness  
 of Attila's perpetual reclamations. 'You ought  
 not to overleap the obligations of treaties and invade  
 the Roman territory. As for fugitives, besides those  
 already surrendered, I now return you seventeen, and I

<sup>1</sup> Many of the details which Priscus gives as to the movements of  
 the ambassadors are so unnecessarily minute as to suggest the con-  
 clusion that they were jotted down from day to day and almost from  
 hour to hour while the embassy was still proceeding.

really have no more.' So ran the letter. Verbally BOOK II.  
CH. 2. Maximin was instructed to say that Attila must not expect ambassadors of any higher rank than him who now spoke to be sent to him, since this had not been the usage with his own ancestors or any of the other northern rulers, but the custom had hitherto been to send any chance person, soldier or letter-carrier, whose services were available. And as for the king's proposition to come and meet an ambassador of consular rank at Sardica, he himself had made that impossible by his sack of that very town. Such was the contemptuous reply of the Byzantine to the Hunnish court as it was intended to have been delivered; but not such was the actual message which reached the ears of Attila; for, as we shall see, like good wine it mellowed considerably on the journey. 448.

The first fortnight of travel seems to have been pleasant and uneventful enough. During all this time Constanti-  
nople to  
Sardica. the Roman and barbarian ambassadors were passing through the comparatively tranquil and prosperous province of Thrace. At the end of it they reached Sardica, about 350 miles from Constantinople, and the first city of 'Dacia Mediterranea.' This was the place at which almost exactly a century before (343) the celebrated council had been held which enunciated again the Nicene Creed, and gave to the See of Rome the right of deciding whether a bishop had been lawfully deposed. Other matters, however, than theological wrangles had of late forced themselves on the attention of the unhappy inhabitants of Sardica. As we have just heard from the lips of Theodosius, the town had been terribly pillaged and laid waste by Attila. The destruction, however, was not complete. There were

BOOK II. still houses and some inhabitants from whom it was  
CH. 2. possible for the ambassadors to buy sheep and oxen.

448.

Brawl at  
 the ban-  
 quet.

These they killed and roasted; and having prepared a goodly repast, they thought it would be but courteous to ask Edecon and the barbarians attending him to partake with them. As they sat long over the meal, conversation turned upon the greatness and majesty of their respective masters. The Huns, of course, magnified the might of Attila; the Romans tried to extol their great Augustus. At this point of the conversation, Vigilas, with an indiscretion which can only be accounted for by supposing that he had plied the wine-cup too freely, said, 'I cannot think it right to compare gods and men together. Attila, after all, is but a man, while Theodosius I look upon as a god.' At these words the Huns started up with flushed cheeks and angry eyes; and the pleasant diplomatic banquet was on the point of ending in bloodshed. Priscus and Maximin however succeeded in silencing their noisy colleague, guided the conversation into safer channels, and by their civility mollified the wrath of the Huns. That there might be no chance of any rancorous feeling remaining in their minds, Maximin, when the banquet was over, made handsome presents, both to Edecon and Orestes, of silken raiment and 'Indian jewels<sup>1</sup>.'

Dark  
 words of  
 Orestes.

The bestowal of these presents led to another curious outburst of angry feeling. Orestes sat out all his companions, and when they were gone came up to Maximin and thanked him heartily for his presents. 'You,' said he, 'are a wise man, of a most excellent disposition. You are not like those insolent courtiers at Byzantium, who gave presents and invitations to

<sup>1</sup> Were these diamonds, or pearls?

Edecon but none to me.' 'When? where? how?' BOOK II  
CH. 2.  
 gasped out the puzzled ambassador; but Orestes, 448.  
 vouchsafing no more particular statement of his griev-  
 ances, stalked moodily out of the room.

Next day, on the journey, Maximin and Priscus re- Social  
position of  
the Hun  
and the  
Roman.  
 ported this strange conversation to Vigilas. He, of  
 course, knew well enough to what it referred, but did  
 not choose to explain. He only said, 'Orestes has no  
 business to be offended. He is but a secretary, a mere  
 squire of Attila: Edecon is of course differently treated.  
 He is a great warrior and a Hun by birth, and far  
 superior in position to the other.' Already then, in the  
 estimation of a Byzantine dragoman, to be 'a Hun by  
 birth' was a higher position than that of a well-born  
 Roman provincial. Vigilas afterwards repeated this  
 conversation to Edecon and had much difficulty, so he  
 told his companions, in soothing the barbarian's resent-  
 ment against the pretensions of Orestes to be put on an  
 equality with him.

A further hundred miles of travel brought the am- Sardica to  
Naissus.  
 bassadors to Naissus (now Nisch, on the confines of  
 Servia), and here they found such traces of the ravage  
 of the Hun as his Turkish kinsman has often in later  
 days left behind him in the same regions. A city  
 utterly empty of inhabitants, in the churches a few sick  
 folk too weak to fly, every place down to the river's  
 bank full of human bones and skulls: that is how the  
 Turanian leaves his mark. 'But we found,' says Priscus,  
 with simplicity, 'a clean spot a little above the river,  
 and there we rested for the night.'

Near to this city, which had become a tomb, lay the Fugitives  
surren-  
dered.  
 Imperial 'army of Illyricum,' under the command of  
 the General-in-chief, Agintheus. Five out of the

BOOK II. CH. 2.  
448. seventeen fugitives, whom Theodosius had promised to surrender to Attila, were there, imagining themselves safe under the shelter of the eagles. But the Emperor's orders were clear. The Roman General had to give up the five suppliants to the Roman ambassador for him to hand over to the Hunnish king. Agintheus spoke kindly<sup>1</sup> to them; but as they knew, in all probability, that they were going to a death of torture, kind words from the ghost of the old Roman war-wolf were not much to the purpose.

Attila's  
hunting.

At length the ambassadors reached the shores of the Danube. The roads leading down to the river were crowded with Huns; and ferrymen were plying across the stream in their uncouth boats, each made of a single tree roughly hollowed out. They were thus without delay transported to the northern bank of the river; but if they had supposed that all this stir was made in expectation of their own arrival they were soon undeceived. The barbarian king had announced that he meant to cross over into the Romans' land to hunt, and the expectation of his coming had caused this stir among his subjects. Like the Percy's 'Hunting of the Cheviot,' Attila's hunting meant war, war over the endless grievance of the unsundered refugees. It was in fact the barbarian's device to accomplish what the modern strategist calls 'Mobilisation.'

Insolence  
of the Bar-  
barians.

On the second day after crossing the Danube, the Roman party came in sight of the numerous tents of Attila, and were about to pitch their own on a hill-top near. But this the Huns around them would by no means permit: 'they must come down and pitch their tents in the plain: it would be quite improper for the

<sup>1</sup> φιλοφρονησάμενος.



Roman ambassador to occupy the hill while Attila was below in the valley.' When this difficulty was settled, the Romans, as it was still early afternoon, expected doubtless an audience that day with Attila. Instead of this, however, several of the Hunnish nobility came, together with Edecon and Orestes, to their tent, and demanded to know the tenour of their message to the king. Naturally the ambassadors replied that their commission was for Attila alone, and they would disclose it to no other person. At that reply, Scotta, one of the Hunnish magnates, burst out with a passionate question, 'Do you take us for busybodies, who came here out of our own prying curiosity? Attila sent us, and we must have your answer.' The ambassadors firmly declined, pleading the invariable usage of their profession. Whereupon the Huns galloped away, and soon returned, ominous exception, without Edecon. 'Your commission,' said they, 'to our king is so and so; such concessions about refugees, such messages about future ambassadors. Deny that this is the purport of your instructions if you can. If you have nothing to add to this, return at once to your own country.' In vain did the Romans try to maintain the proper official reserve and refuse to say whether this was indeed a true summary of their instructions or not. Their faces doubtless showed that the arrow had hit the mark: the barbarians' version of their commission was correct in the smallest particulars, and to all further protestations of the Romans the Huns had but one reply continually repeated, 'Begone directly.'

Maximin and Priscus were bewildered, as well they might be, by this strange innovation on the customs of diplomacy. Vigilas, who knew that for his part, the

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.  
448.

BOOK II. darker part of the enterprise, access to the court of  
CH. 2.

448.

Attila and some days' sojourn there were essential, bitterly complained of his colleagues' truthfulness. 'They might have vamped up some other matter, and declared that the Huns had not revealed the whole of the commission. It would have been better to be detected eventually in a falsehood, than to return without even seeing Attila.'

The plot revealed by Edecon to Attila.

Little did the false interpreter guess upon what a volcano he himself was standing. The true cause of Attila's strange demeanour was that Edecon had revealed the plot. Either he had only feigned compliance from the first—the more probable supposition—or else that wild conversation at Sardica and the tidings which Vigilas himself had brought him, of the rage and jealousy of Orestes, had satisfied him that the risk was too great to run, with such an unwise person as the interpreter for confederate, and with such an angry rival as the secretary for spy on his movements. And therefore, at the very first opportunity when he found himself alone with Attila, he rehearsed to him the whole plan for his intended assassination, and at the same time furnished him with the particulars of the intended Roman reply, which Edecon had, no doubt, received from Chrysaphius.

Priscus makes friends with Scotta.

It was night when the party of the ambassadors received their peremptory orders to depart. With heavy hearts they were watching their attendants loading the beasts of burden, when they received another message, giving them an ungracious permission to remain where they were till daybreak. A present of an ox for roasting, and some fish, salted, no doubt, as it came from the Euxine, attested the surly hospitality

of Attila. Next morning, they thought, 'Surely some act of kindness and gentleness will now be shown to us by the barbarian.' But no: there came only the same harsh command, 'Begone, if you have no other commission to unfold.' Hereupon Priscus, seeing the deep dejection of his patron, resolved to try what prayers and promises could accomplish with one of Attila's ministers. His chief minister, Onégesh, who was well-known by the Romans, and on the whole favourably inclined towards them, was absent; but Scotta, the brother of Onégesh, was in the Hunnish camp, and to him Priscus betook himself, using another interpreter than Vigilas. He enlarged on the advantages to the two nations, but still more to the house of Onégesh, which would result from the peaceful outcome of the negotiations, on the presents which were in store for Onégesh at Constantinople, and on those which Maximin would immediately bestow on Scotta. And finally, he wound up with a diplomatic appeal to the vanity of the Hun. 'I have heard,' said he, 'that Attila pays great deference to the advice of Scotta, but I shall never believe it if you cannot accomplish so small a matter as to obtain for us this interview.' 'Doubt not that I can do it,' he answered: 'my influence with the king is just as great as my brother's.' And with that he mounted his horse and galloped off to the king's tent. The faithful Priscus returned to his master, who was lying on the grass with Vigilas, while again the packing of the horses was going forward. As soon as they heard of the slight hope which had arisen, and of the influence which Priscus had brought to bear on the mind of Attila, they sprang to their feet, and while warmly commending the sophist for his happy inspira-

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.  
448.

BOOK II. tion, began to discuss what they should say to the king,  
 CH. 2. and how the presents of Theodosius and of Maximin  
 448. himself should be offered for his acceptance.

An inter-  
 view  
 granted.

Soon Scotta returned and escorted them to the royal tent. 'When we obtained admittance,' says Priscus, 'we found the monarch seated on a wooden stool<sup>1</sup>. We stood a little way off from the throne, but Maximin went forward, and after making obeisance to the barbarian, and handing him the emperor's letter, said, "Our Sovereign prays for the safety of thyself and all around thee." Attila answered, "May the Romans receive exactly what they desire for me." Then, turning sharp round to Vigilas, "Shameless beast!" he said, "How have you dared to come to me, knowing, as you do right well, the terms of peace which I settled with you and Anatolius; and how I then said that no more ambassadors were to come to me till all the fugitives were given up." When Vigilas replied that the Romans no longer had with them any refugees of Scythian origin, since we had surrendered all that were with us, Attila grew still more furious, and shouted out with a loud voice every opprobrious epithet that he could think of; "I would impale you," he roared out, "and leave you as food for vultures, if it were not for your sacred character of envoy, which I would not seem to outrage, fitting as the punishment would be for your impudence and your reckless falsehoods. As for Scythian refugees, there are still many among the Romans." And here he bade his secretaries read out their names, inscribed on a roll of paper. When they had rehearsed them all, he bid Vigilas depart without delay. With him was to go Eslas the Hun, commissioned to order the Romans to

<sup>1</sup> *δίφρος*. Perhaps something like the *sella curulis* of the Romans.

restore all the fugitives who had gone over to them from the days of Carpilio, son of Aetius, who was sent as a hostage to his court, and had escaped. "For," continued Attila, "I will never endure that my own servants should come forth and meet me in battle, all useless though they may be to help those with whom they have taken refuge, and who entrust to them the guardianship of their own land. For what city, or what fortress has any of these men been able to defend when I have determined on its capture?"

After this outburst the king condescended to accept the presents which Maximin had brought, and then he repeated his commands as to the future conduct of the negotiations. Having satisfied himself, probably, in the course of this interview that Maximin was an honest man, and guiltless of any complicity in the design against his life, he felt that he could safely indulge in the pleasures which such an embassy brought to him—gifts for himself, gifts for his dependents, and the gratification of trampling on the pride of Rome by exhibiting the Imperial ambassadors as frightened suppliants for his favour. All, therefore, except Vigilas, received orders to repair to his palace in the interior, and there to wait for the written reply which he would send to Theodosius.

Vigilas, on the other hand, whose presence doubtless suggested, even to the brave Hun, uncomfortable thoughts of midnight alarms and the assassin's dagger, was ordered to return at once to Constantinople with the routine message and menace concerning the refugees. Eslas went with him as a spy on his movements: Edecon visited him immediately after the interview in the royal tent, to assure him that he was still true to

BOOK II.

CH. 2.

448.

Presents  
accepted.Vigilas  
remanded  
to Constantinople.

BOOK II. the plot, and to press him to bring back the promised  
 CH. 2. gold. At the same time, with considerable ingenuity,  
 448. Attila issued a proclamation, 'forbidding Vigilas to purchase any Roman captive or barbarian slave, or horses, or anything else but necessary food until the differences between the Romans and Huns should be arranged.' The effect of this proclamation was to deprive Vigilas of any plausible pretext for bringing back any large amount of gold from Constantinople. If, notwithstanding this prohibition, he still brought gold with him, that gold could only be the blood-money of Attila.

Maximin  
 and Priscus  
 in the heart  
 of Hun-  
 land.

There is no need to trace the return of the base and blundering Vigilas to Constantinople, whither he went still entirely unwitting that Attila had sapped below his mine. We follow honest Maximin and his friend as they journey northwards into the recesses of Hungary. For a certain distance they travelled in the train of the Barbarian; then they received orders to turn off into another road. Attila was about to visit a certain village, and there add to his numerous harem another wife, the daughter of one Escam<sup>1</sup>; and apparently he did not choose that the courtly Byzantines should look on the rude wedding festivities of a Hunnish polygamist. The ambassadors had to cross three large rivers in the course of their journey. The names of these rivers are not easy to recognise, but they may possibly be repre-

<sup>1</sup> Some authors understand that the new bride's name was Escam, and that she was herself Attila's daughter. But the Greek does not absolutely require this interpretation, and if it had been correct, such an incestuous union would probably have called forth stronger comment on the part of Priscus. His words are—*ἐν ἧ γαμείν θυγατέρα Ἐσκὰμ ἐβούλετο, πλείστας μὲν ἔχων γαμετάς, ἀγόμενος δὲ καὶ ταύτην κατὰ νόμον τὸν Σκυθικόν.*

sented by the Drave, the Temes, and the Theiss. They crossed them, as before, in tree-trunk boats ; while, for the smaller streams and the marshes, they availed themselves of the convenient rafts which the Huns always carried about with them on their waggons in all their journeys through that often inundated country. They were kindly entertained in the Hunnish villages, and received such provisions as the inhabitants had to offer ; no wheat, indeed, but millet, for food, and for drink *medus* and *camus*, two beverages which seem to correspond to our mead and beer.

One night, after a long day's march, they pitched their tent beside a lake which offered them the advantage of good and sweet water. 'Suddenly,' said Priscus, 'there arose a great storm of wind, accompanied by thunders and frequent flashes of lightning and torrents of rain. Our tent was blown down, and all our travelling furniture was rolled over and over into the waters of the lake. Terrified by this accident and by the din of the storm which filled all the air, we left the spot and soon wandered away from each other, everyone taking what he supposed to be the right road. At length, by different paths, we all reached the neighbouring village, and turned in to the huts for shelter. Then, with loud outcry, we began inquiring into our losses. Roused by our clamour, the Scythians started up, kindled the long reeds which serve them for candles, and which threw a good light upon the scene, and then asked us what on earth we wanted that we were making such an uproar. The barbarians who were with us explained how we had been thrown into confusion by the storm, whereupon they kindly called us into their houses, and by lighting

BOOK II. a very great number of torches did something to  
 CH. 2. warm us.

448.  
 Bleda's  
 widow.

'The chieftainess of the village, who was one of the wives of Bleda [Attila' brother], sent us a supply of food, of which we gladly partook. Next morning, at daybreak, we set about searching for our camp furniture, and were fortunate enough to find it all, some in the place where we pitched our tents, some on the shore, and some in the lake itself, from which we succeeded in fishing it up. The whole of that day we spent in the village, drying our things, for the storm had now ceased and the sun was shining brightly. After attending to our beasts, we visited the queen, saluted her respectfully, and repaid her for her hospitality with presents. These were three silver bowls, some red skins, Indian pepper<sup>1</sup>, dates, and other articles of food, which the barbarians prize as foreign to their climate. Then we wished her health and happiness in return for her hospitality to us, and so we departed.'

Meeting  
 of Eastern  
 and  
 Western  
 Ambassa-  
 dors.

At length, after seven days' journey, they reached a village, where they were ordered to stop. Their road here joined that by which the royal bridegroom would be approaching, and they were not to presume to proceed till Attila should have gone before them. In the little village where they were thus detained they met some unexpected companions. Primutus<sup>2</sup>, the Roman governor of Noricum, Count Romulus of Passau, the father-in-law of Orestes, and Romanus, a general of legionaries, with probably a long train of attendants,

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that both these two kinds of goods, red skins and pepper, figured forty years before this in the ransom which Alaric exacted from Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly a mistake for Promotus.



were already testing, perhaps somewhat severely, the resources and accommodation of the Hunnish village. They, too, had come on an embassy: they represented the Emperor of the West, and it is needless to say that the subject which they had come to discuss was that interminable one, the sacred vases of Sirmium. The father of Orestes, and Constantius the Roman secretary of Attila, journeyed, in an unofficial capacity, with the ambassadors. It was certainly a striking scene: the ambassadors from Ravenna and Constantinople, the representatives of the dignity of the two Imperial courts, the functionaries who between them could set forth the whole majesty that might still survive in the title *Senatus Populus Que Romanus*, meeting in a dingy little village in Hungary, and waiting with abject submission till a snub-nosed Kalmuck should ride past and contemptuously toss them a permission to follow in his train. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Attila, who had a genius for scenic effect in the enhancement of his glory, not unlike that which our century has witnessed in the Napoleons, had purposely arranged this confluence of the two embassies, and partly for this cause had invited Maximin to follow him into Hungary.

After crossing a few more rivers, the united embassies came in sight of the village in which was situated the palace of Attila. Students have discussed whether this Hunnish capital is represented by the modern city of Pesth, by Tokay, or by some other less-known name; but we may dismiss with absolute indifference the inquiry in what particular part of a dreary and treeless plain a barbarian king reared his log-huts, of which probably, twenty years after his death, not a vestige remained.

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CH. 2.

448.  
Attila's  
triumphal  
entry.

As Attila entered the village he was met by a procession of maidens in single file wearing linen veils, thin and white, and so long that under each veil, held up as it was by the hands of the women on either side of the path, seven maidens or more were able to walk. There were many of these sets of girls, each set wearing one veil; and as they walked they sang national songs in honour of the king. The last house which he reached before his own was that of his favourite and chief minister Onégesh<sup>1</sup>, and as he passed it the wife of the owner came forth with a multitude of attendants bearing food and wine—‘the highest honour,’ says Priscus, ‘which one Scythian can pay to another’—saluted him, and begged him to partake of the repast which she had provided as a token of her loyalty. The king, wishing to gratify the wife of his most trusted counsellor, partook accordingly, without dismounting from his horse, his attendants holding high before him the silver table on which the banquet was spread. Having eaten and drunk he rode on to his palace.

The palace  
of Attila.

This edifice, the finest in all the country round, stood on a little hill, and seemed to dominate the whole settlement. Yet it was in truth, as has been already

<sup>1</sup> Priscus calls him Onegesius, and Thierry remarks, ‘Onégèse dont le nom grec indiquait l’origine,’ vol. i. p. 98. But everything seems to show that Onegesius was a pure Hun. His brother’s name was Scotta. The dialogue at Sardica, in which Vigilas compared the positions of Edecon the Hun and Orestes the Roman provincial, shows how impossible it would have been for any but a full-blooded barbarian to attain to the rank which Onegesius held. And the name of Oebersius, Attila’s paternal uncle, recorded by Priscus (p. 208, ed. Bonn), shows his habit of Grecising the names of undoubted Huns. We may therefore conclude that Onegesius is the similarly Grecised form of some such name as Onégesh, by which it seems better to call him in order to mark his barbarian origin.

said, only a log-hut of large dimensions. Externally it seems that it was built of half-trunks of trees, round side outwards, and within, it was lined with smoothly-planed planks. Round the enclosure in which the dwellings of the king and his wives were placed ran a wooden palisading, for ornament, not defence; and the top of the palace was fashioned into the appearance of battlements. Next to the king's house in position, and only second to it in size, rose the dwelling of Onégesh. The only stone building in the place was a bath, which Onégesh had built at a little distance from his palisading. The stone for this building had been brought from quarries in the Roman province of Pannonia; and in fact all the timber used in the settlement had been imported likewise, for in the vast and dreary plain where the nomad nation had pitched its camp, not a tree was growing, not a stone underlay it. With the building of the bath of Onégesh a grim jest was connected. The architect, a Roman provincial, who had been carried captive from Sirmium, hoped that his ingenuity would at least be rewarded by the boon of freedom, if no other architect's commission was paid him. But no such thoughts suggested themselves to the mind of Onégesh. When he had completed his task, the architect was rewarded by being turned into bath-man, and had to wait upon his master and his master's guests whensoever they had a mind for the pleasures of the *sudatorium* and the *tepidarium*. Thus, as Priscus remarks, with a hint, no doubt, at the personal uncleanliness of the Huns, the unhappy man of science 'had prepared for himself unconsciously a worse lot than that of ordinary servitude among the Scythians.'

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.  
448.

The house  
of the  
Prime  
Minister.

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.448.  
Onégesh's  
campaign  
against the  
Acatziri.

Onégesh himself, who was absent when Priscus sought an interview with his brother Scotta, had now returned to his master's court. He had been engaged in quelling the last remains of independence among the Acatziri, a people possibly of Slavonic origin, who dwelt on the Lower Danube. The Byzantine ministers had endeavoured to parry Attila's attack by stirring up some of the petty chieftains of this nation against him. But, with their usual tendency to blunder, they had sent their most costly and honourable presents to the wrong man, and consequently Curidach, the real head of the confederacy, having received only the second gift, called in the aid of Attila to avenge the insult and beat down the power of his associated kings. The Hun was nothing loth, and soon succeeded in quelling all opposition. He then invited Curidach to come and celebrate their joint triumph at his court; but that chieftain, suspecting that his benefactor's kindness was of the same nature as the promised boon of Polyphemus to Ulysses, 'I will eat Outis last',<sup>1</sup> courteously declined. 'It is hard,' he said, 'for a man to come into the presence of a god; and if it be not possible to look fixedly even at the orb of the sun, how shall Curidach gaze undistressed upon the greatest of gods?' The compliment served for the time, but Attila understood what it was worth, and at a convenient season sent his Grand Vizier, Onégesh, to dethrone Curidach and to proclaim the eldest son of Attila king of the Acatziri in his stead. From this expedition the Prime Minister had now just returned successful and in high favour with his master.

The ambassadors were hospitably entertained by the

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, ix. 369.

wife and family of Onégesh. He himself had to wait upon the king to report the success of his mission, and the only drawback which had befallen his party, an accident namely to the young prince, who had slipped off his horse and fractured some of the bones of his right hand. At nightfall Maximin pitched his tents a little way off the enclosure of the royal dwellings, and next morning he sent Priscus early to the house of Onégesh with servants bearing presents both from himself and from Theodosius. The zealous rhetorician was actually up before the barbarian. The house was still close barred and there was no sign of any one stirring.

While Priscus was waiting, and walking up and down before the palisading which surrounded the house of Onégesh, a man, with the dress and general appearance of a Hun, came up and saluted him with a well-pronounced Greek *χαίρει* ('How d'ye do?'). A Hun speaking Greek was an anomaly which aroused all the attention of the Sophist, for, as he says, 'though it is true that this people, who are a kind of conglomerate of nations, do sometimes affect the speech of the Goths, or even that of the Italians, in addition to their own barbarous language, they never learn Greek, except indeed they be inhabitants of Thrace or Dalmatia, who have been carried captive into the Hunnish territory. And these captives or their offspring may be easily known by their ragged garments and scabby heads, and all the other tokens of their having changed their condition for the worse. But this man seemed like a flourishing Scythian, handsomely dressed, and having his hair neatly clipped all round his head. So, returning his salutation, I asked him who he was, and

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.  
448.  
The Greek  
who had  
turned  
Hun.

BOOK II. from what part of the world he had come into that  
CH. 2. barbarian land to adopt the Scythian life. "What  
448. has put it into your head to ask me such a question  
as that?" said he. "Your Greek accent," answered I.  
Then he laughed and said, "'Tis true I am of Greek  
parentage, and I came for purposes of trade to Vimi-  
nacium, a city of Moesia, on the Danube" [about sixty  
miles below Belgrade]. "There I abode for a long  
time, and married a very wealthy wife. But on the  
capture of the city by the Huns I was stripped of  
all my fortune, and assigned as a slave to this very  
Onégesh before whose door you are standing. That  
is the custom of the Huns: after Attila has had his  
share, the chiefs of the nation are allowed to take their  
pick of the wealthiest captives, and so Onégesh chose  
me. Afterwards, having distinguished myself in some  
actions with the Romans and the Acatziri, I surren-  
dered to my master all the spoils which I had taken  
in war, and thus, according to the law of the Scythians,  
I obtained my freedom. I married a barbarian wife,  
by whom I have children: I am admitted as a guest  
to the table of Onégesh, and I consider my present  
mode of life decidedly preferable to my past. For  
when war is over, the people of this country live like  
gentlemen, enjoying themselves to the full, and free  
from worry of any kind. But the people in Roman-  
land are easily worsted in war, because they place their  
hopes of safety on others rather than themselves.  
Their tyrants will not allow them the use of arms,  
and the condition of those who are armed is even more  
dangerous, from the utter worthlessness of their generals,  
who have no notion of the art of War. Then, too,  
Peace has its injuries not less severe than War. Think

of all the cruelties practised by the collectors of the revenue, the infamy of informers, and the gross inequalities in the administration of the laws. If a rich man offends, he can always manage to escape punishment; but a poor man, who does not know how to arrange matters, has to undergo the full penalty, unless indeed he be dead before judgment is pronounced, which is not unlikely, considering the intolerable length to which lawsuits are protracted. But what I call the most shameful thing of all is that you have to pay money in order to obtain your legal rights. For a man who has been injured cannot even get a hearing from the court without first paying large fees to the judge and the officials who serve him.”

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CH. 2.  
448.

In reply to this angry outburst, Priscus entered into a long and sophistical disquisition on the advantages of division of labour, the necessity that judges and bailiffs, like men of other occupations, should live by their calling, and so on. It is easy to see that Priscus felt himself to be talking as sagely as Socrates, upon whose style his reply is evidently modelled; but that reply has the fault so common with rhetoricians and diplomatists, of being quite up in the air, and having no relation to the real facts of the case. His conclusion is the most interesting part of the speech: “As for the freedom which you now enjoy, you may thank Fortune for that and not your master, who sent you to war, where you were likely to have been killed by the enemy on account of your inexperience. But the Romans treat even their slaves better than this. True, they correct them, but only for their good as parents or schoolmasters correct children, in order that they may cease to do evil and behave as is suitable for persons

Priscus's  
apology  
for the  
Empire.

BOOK II. in their station. The Roman master is not allowed,  
CH. 2.  


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 448. as the Hun is, to punish his slave so as to cause his death. Besides, we have abundant legal provisions in favour of freedom, and this gift may be bestowed not only by men who are in the midst of life, but also by those who are on the point of death. Such persons are allowed to dispose of their property as they please, and any directions of a dying man concerning the enfranchisement of his slaves are binding on his heirs." Thus I reasoned with him. He burst into tears, and said, "The laws are beautiful, and the polity of the Romans is excellent; but the rulers are not like-minded with the men of old, and are pulling down the state into ruin."

The inter-  
 view with  
 Onégesh.

By the time that this conversation was ended, the household of Onégesh had awoke, and the door was unbarred. Priscus obtained an interview with the minister and delivered the presents, which were graciously received. It is needless to transcribe the memoranda, almost tediously minute, which Priscus has kept of his various conversations. The general drift of them was, on the Roman side, to press for an interview with the king of the Huns, and to urge Onégesh to undertake in person the return embassy, and win for himself eternal glory and much wealth by bringing his candid and impartial mind to bear upon the points in dispute, and settling them in favour of the Romans. Onégesh indignantly repudiated the idea that any arguments of the Romans could ever induce him to betray his master, to forget his Scythian life, his wives, and his children, or to cease to consider servitude with Attila preferable to wealth among the Romans. He could be far more useful to them, he said, by remaining at



Attila's court and mollifying his resentment against their nation, than by coming to Byzantium and negotiating a treaty which his master might very probably disavow. On the other hand, he pressed them repeatedly with the question, 'What man of consular dignity will the Emperor send as ambassador?' The fact that Maximin, a man who had never filled the office of consul, should have been selected as envoy, evidently rankled in the mind of the barbarian king, sensitive, as all upstarts are, about his dignity. And at length, Attila having named three, Nomus, Anatolius, and Senator, any one of whom would be, in the language of modern diplomacy, a *persona grata* at his court, declared that he would receive no one else. The envoys replied that to insist so strongly on the selection of these three men would bring them into suspicion at the Imperial Court; a charming piece of inconsistency in the men who were constantly petitioning that Onégesh and no one else might undertake the return embassy. Attila answered moodily, 'If the Romans will not do as I choose, I shall settle the points in dispute by war.'

While diplomacy was thus spinning her tedious web, the ambassadors saw some sights in the barbarian camp which deserved to be recorded by the careful pen of the professor of rhetoric. One day he had an audience of the Queen Kreka, the chief in dignity of the wives of Attila, and mother of three of his sons. Her palace was built of well-sawn and smoothly-planed planks, 'resting on the ends of logs<sup>1</sup>.' Arches at certain intervals, springing from the ground and rising to a pretty considerable height, broke the flat surface of

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this clause is not very clear.

BOOK II. the wall<sup>1</sup>. Here Kreka was to be found, lying on a  
 CH. 2. soft couch, and with the floor around her covered with  
 448. smooth felts to walk upon. Carpets were evidently still an unwonted luxury in Hun-land. There was no trace of the Oriental seclusion of women in the palace of Kreka. A large number of men-servants stood in a circle round her, while her maids sat on the floor in front, and were busied in dyeing linen of various colours, intending afterwards to work it up into ornamental costumes of the barbarian fashion.

The King himself.

When Priscus had offered his gifts and emerged from the queen's dwelling, he heard a stir and a clamour, and saw a crowd of men hurrying to the door of Attila's palace. These were the signs that the king was coming forth, and the rhetorician obtained a good place to watch his exit. With a stately strut Attila came forth, looking this way and that. Then he stood with his favourite Onégesh in front of the palace, while all the multitude of his people who had disputes one with another came forward and submitted them to him for his decision. Having thus in true Oriental fashion administered justice 'in the gate,' he returned into the interior of his palace in order to give audience to some barbarian ambassadors who had just arrived at his court.

The Ambassadors of East and West compare notes.

Scarcely was this scene ended when Priscus fell in with the ambassadors of the Western Empire, with whom he naturally began to compare notes. 'Are you dismissed,' said they, 'or pressed to remain?' 'The very thing,' he answered, 'that I myself want to know,

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the purport of the sentence: *οἱ δὲ κύκλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀρχόμενοι ἐς ὕψος ἀνέβαινον μετρίως*. But what part arches can have played in an architecture dealing only with planks and logs it is not easy to see.

and that keeps me all day hanging about near the palisading of Onégesh. Pray has Attila vouchsafed a gentle answer to your petition?' 'No; nothing will turn him from his purpose. He declares he will either have Silvanus or the sacred vessels, or else will make war.' Priscus then expressed his wonder at the folly of the barbarian; and Romulus, who was an old and experienced diplomatist, answered, 'His extraordinary good fortune and unbounded power have quite turned his head: so that he will listen to no argument which does not fall in with his own caprices. For no former ruler of Scythia or of any other land has ever achieved so much in so short a time as this man, who has made himself master of the islands in the ocean, and besides ruling all Scythia has forced even the Romans to pay him tribute.' Then Romulus proceeded to tell the story of Attila's intended Persian campaign, to which reference has already been made. The Byzantine ambassadors expressed their earnest desire that he would turn his arms against Persia and leave Theodosius alone; but Constantiolus, a Pannonian in the retinue of Romulus, replied that he feared if Attila did attack and overcome, as he assuredly would, the monarch of that country, 'he would become our lord and master instead of our friend. At present,' said he, 'Attila condescends to take gold from the Romans and call it *pay* for his titular office of General in the Roman armies. But should he subdue the Parthians, and Medes, and Persians, he would not endure to have the Roman Empire cutting in like a wedge between one part and another of his dominions, but would openly treat the two Emperors as mere lacqueys, and would lay upon them such commands as they would

BOOK 11.  
CH. 2.  
448.

BOOK II. find absolutely intolerable. Already he has been heard  
 CH. 2. to remark, testily, "The generals of Theodosius are but  
 448. his servants, while my generals are as good as emperors  
 of Rome." He believes also that there will be before  
 long some notable increase of his power; and that the  
 gods have signified this by revealing to him the sword  
 of Mars, a sacred relic much venerated by the Huns,  
 for many years hidden from their eyes, but quite lately  
 re-discovered by the trail of the blood of an ox which  
 had wounded its hoof against it, as it was sticking  
 upright in the long grass<sup>1</sup>.

Such was the conversation between the representa-  
 tives of Ravenna and Constantinople, amid the log-huts  
 of the Hungarian plain. Later on in the same day  
 they all received an invitation to be present at a  
 banquet of the great conqueror.

The ban-  
 quet in  
 Attila's  
 palace.

'Punctually at three o'clock we, together with the  
 ambassadors of the Western Romans, went to the dinner  
 and stood on the threshold of Attila's palace. Accord-  
 ing to the custom of the country, the cup-bearers  
 brought us a bowl of wine, that we might drink and  
 pray for the good-luck of our host before sitting down.  
 Having tasted the bowl, we were escorted to our seats.  
 Chairs were ranged for the guests all round the walls.  
 In the centre Attila reclined on a couch, and behind  
 him a flight of steps led up to his bed, which, hidden  
 by curtains of white linen and variegated stuffs taste-  
 fully arranged, looked like the nuptial bed, as the  
 Greeks and Romans prepare it for a newly-wedded  
 couple.

'The seat of honour on the right hand of Attila's

<sup>1</sup> Compare the worship of a naked sabre fixed hilt-downwards in  
 the earth, as practised by the Alans (see p. 30).

couch, was occupied by Onégesh. We did not receive even the second place, that on his left, but saw Berich, a Hun of noble birth, placed above us there. Opposite to Onégesh, on a double chair<sup>1</sup>, sat two of the sons of Attila. His eldest son sat on the king's couch, not near to him, however, but on the very edge of it, and all through the banquet he kept his eyes fixed on the ground in silent awe of his father.

‘When we were all seated the cup-bearer came in and handed to Attila his ivy-wood drinking-cup, filled with wine. Remaining seated, the king saluted the one nearest to him in rank. The slave standing behind that person's chair advanced into the centre of the hall, received the cup from the hand of Attila's cup-bearer, and brought it to the guest, whom etiquette required to rise from his seat and continue standing till he had drained the cup and the slave had returned it into the hands of Attila's cup-bearer.’ This process of salutation and drinking was gone through with each guest and in the intervals of every course. The length of the solemnity, and perhaps the tediousness of it, seem greatly to have impressed the mind of Priscus, who describes it in much detail. After the banqueters had all been ‘saluted’ by Attila, the servants began to bring in the provisions, which were set upon little tables, one for every three or four guests, so that each could help himself without going outside the row of seats. ‘For all the rest of the barbarians,’ says Priscus, ‘and for us, a costly banquet had been prepared, which was served on silver dishes; but Attila, on his wooden plate, had nothing else save meat. In all his other equipments he showed the same simple tastes. The

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.  
448.  
Order of  
precedence.

The toasts.

<sup>1</sup> Δίφρος.

BOOK II. other banqueters had drinking cups of gold and silver  
 CH. 2.  
 448. handed to them, but his was of wood. His clothes were quite plain, distinguished by their cleanness only from those of any common man: and neither the sword which was hung up beside him, nor the clasps of his shoes (shaped in the barbarian fashion), nor the bridle of his horse, was adorned, as is the case with other Scythians, with gold or jewels, or anything else that is costly.

Minstrelsy. 'When evening came on, torches were lighted, and two barbarians coming in, stood opposite to Attila and chanted verses in praise of his victories and his prowess in war. The banqueters, looking off from the festal board, gazed earnestly on the minstrels. Some gave themselves to the mere delight of the song; others, remembering past conflicts, were stirred as with the fury of battle; while the old men were melted into tears by the thought that their bodies were grown weak through time, and their hot hearts were compelled into repose.' After tears laughter, and after the tragedy a farce. A mad Hun next came in, who by his senseless babble made all the guests laugh heartily. Then entered a Moorish dwarf named Zercon, hump-backed, club-footed, with a nose like a monkey's. Almost the only anecdote<sup>1</sup> that is preserved to us about Bleda, Attila's brother, records the inextinguishable mirth which this strange creature used to awaken in him, how he had him always by his side at the battle and in the banquet, and how when at last the unlucky dwarf tried to make his escape

Bleda's  
fool.

<sup>1</sup> This anecdote is preserved by Suidas. The commentator Valesius thinks he took it from a portion of the history of Priscus now lost to us: but there are some slight divergences in the story which seem to point to a different conclusion.

together with some other fugitives, Bleda disregarded all the others, and devoted his whole energies to the recapture of the pigmy. Then when he was caught and brought into the royal presence, Bleda burst into another storm of merriment at seeing the queer little creature in the dignity of chains. He questioned him about the cause of his flight: the dwarf replied that he knew he had done wrong, but there was some excuse for him because he could get no wife in Hun-land. More delicious laughter followed, and Bleda straightway provided him with a wife in the person of a Hunnish damsel of noble birth who had been maid of honour to his queen, but had fallen into disgrace and been banished from her presence. After Bleda's death, Attila, who could not abide the dwarf, sent him as a present to Aetius. He had now come back again, apparently to beg to have his wife restored to him, a prayer which Attila was not inclined to grant.

This strange being came into the banquet-hall, and by his grotesque appearance, his odd garb, his stuttering voice, and his wild promiscuous jumble of words, Latin, Hunnish, Gothic, hurled forth pell-mell in unutterable confusion, set every table in a roar. Only Attila laughed not; not a line in his rigid countenance changed till his youngest son Ernak came, laughing like everybody else, and sat down beside him. He did not shrink away like his elder brother and sit on the edge of the couch. His bright, happy eyes looked up into the face of his father, who gently pinched his cheek and looked back upon him with a mild and softened gaze. Priscus expressed aloud his wonder that the youngest son should be so obviously preferred to his elder brethren: whereupon one of the barbarians who sat

BOOK II. near him, and who understood Latin, whispered to him  
 CH. 2.  
 448. confidentially that it had been foretold to Attila by the prophets that the falling fortunes of his house should by this son be restored.

Affair of  
 the family  
 of Sulla.

The drinking-bout was protracted far on into the night, and the ambassadors left long before it was over. At daybreak next morning they again sought an interview with Onégesh, and petitioned that without further loss of time they might receive Attila's answer and return to their master. Onégesh set his secretaries, Roman captives, to work at the composition of the letter of reply. Then they preferred another request, for the liberation of the widow and children of a certain Sulla, a citizen of Ratiaria<sup>1</sup>, who had apparently been killed at the same time when they were taken captive and their home destroyed. Onégesh entirely refused to hear of their gratuitous liberation, but at length, when the ambassadors begged him to reflect on their former prosperity, and to pity their present misfortunes, he laid the matter before Attila, and obtained a reluctant consent to send the children back as a present to Theodosius. As to the widow the Hun remained inexorable: the price of her freedom was fixed at £500. Such abject entreaties to a squalid barbarian for the liberation of the family of a Roman bearing the name of him

'Whose chariot rolled on Fortune's wheel,  
 Trumphant Sulla,'

seem to intensify the force of Byron's magnificent apostrophe—<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Now Arzar Palanka on the Danube.

<sup>2</sup> Childe Harold, iv. 84.



‘Couldst thou divine  
 To what would one day dwindle that which made  
 Thee more than mortal, or that so supine  
 By else than Romans Rome could e’er be laid;  
 She who was named Eternal, and arrayed  
 Her warriors but to conquer, she who veiled  
 Earth with her haughty shadow, and displayed,  
 Till the o’ercanopied horizon failed,  
 Her rushing wings—oh! she who was Almighty hailed?’

BOOK II.  
 CH. 2.  
 448.

Another visit to Attila’s chief wife<sup>1</sup> beguiled the tedium of the ambassadors’ sojourn in the royal village. ‘She received us,’ says Priscus, ‘both with honeyed words and with an elaborate repast. And each of the company wishing to do us honour in Scythian fashion, arose and presented us with a full cup of wine; and when we had drank it they put their arms round us and kissed us, and then received it back from our hands.’

A final supper with Attila himself followed. The monarch seems to have had an increasing appreciation of the worth and honesty of Maximin: and now that the ‘shameless beast,’ *Vigilas*, was gone, and Attila no longer had the unpleasant sensation as of the near presence of a venomous reptile, which was always suggested by his false smile and cringing salutation, the companionship of the Roman ambassadors agreeably diversified the monotony of the barbarian carousals. This time the relative who shared his royal divan was not one of his sons but *Oébarsh*, his uncle. Attila treated the ambassadors during this meal with great politeness, but at the same time frequently reminded them of a grievance which for the moment absorbed all his

Last banquet with Attila.

<sup>1</sup> Here called *Recan*: apparently the same name as the *Kreka* of whom we have already heard (p. 81).

BOOK II. thoughts, to the exclusion of the Hunnish refugees and  
 CH. 2. the vases of Sirmium. Aetius, who was continually send-  
 448. ing presents to the Hunnish monarch or receiving them  
 from him, had consigned to him, perhaps in exchange for  
 the Moorish dwarf, a Latin secretary, named Constantius.  
 This secretary, the second of that name who had entered  
 Attila's service, was eager, like all the adventurers  
 who hovered on the confines between barbarism and  
 civilization, to consolidate his position by marrying one  
 of the 'enormously wealthy'<sup>1</sup> heiresses who were to be  
 found among the Romans. Such an one seemed to be  
 within his grasp when he was sent a few years before  
 as an embassy to Constantinople, and when he succeeded  
 in smoothing some of the negotiations between  
 Theodosius and the Hun. The Emperor, a facile  
 promiser, undertook to bestow upon the secretary the  
 hand of the daughter of Saturninus, a man of high  
 lineage and fortune, who held the office of *Comes*  
*Domesticorum*. Shortly after, however, Eudocia the  
 Empress revenged herself on Saturninus for having, in  
 obedience to her husband's commands, put two favourite  
 ecclesiastics of hers to death, by sending him to join  
 them. The fortunes of the house of Saturninus de-  
 clined, and a powerful general, Zeno, bestowed the  
 daughter of the fallen minister in marriage on one of  
 his creatures named Rufus<sup>2</sup>. The disappointed secre-  
 tary, Constantius, who had doubtless boasted not a

The  
 fortune-  
 hunting  
 Secretary.

<sup>1</sup> ζαπλούτων.

<sup>2</sup> This intrigue is well illustrated by a curious Title in the Theodosian Code (Lib. iii. Tit. 6): 'Si Provinciae Rector, vel ad eum pertinentes sponsalia dederint.' It is directed against the abuse of their power by provincial governors, who terrified the parents or guardians of wealthy heiresses into betrothing them to the governor's sons or dependents.

little of the 'enormously wealthy' bride that was to be assigned to him, besieged the ear of Attila with his clamours, and even promised him money if he would still obtain for him one of the longed-for heiresses. All through this banquet therefore Attila urged the fortune-hunter's claims upon Maximin, saying repeatedly, 'Constantius must not be disappointed. It is not right for kings to tell lies<sup>1</sup>.'

Three days after this banquet the ambassadors from the Eastern Court, after receiving presents which Priscus acknowledges to have been 'suitable,' were at length dismissed under the escort of Berich, the Hunnish nobleman who had sat above them at their first repast in Attila's presence. It is singular that we hear nothing as to the success or failure of the Embassy of the West.

The return journey of Maximin and Priscus was not marked by any striking adventures. They saw a Scythian refugee, who had crossed the Danube and returned into his own country as a spy, subjected to the cruel punishment of impalement, common among these Turanian nations. And two Scythian slaves who had murdered their masters were put to death by crucifixion, a mode of execution which the Christian Empire, from religious rather than humane sentiment, had by this time abandoned. But the only other incidents of their journey were caused by the testy and capricious humour of their companion Berich, who seemed bent on picking a quarrel with them. His ill-temper was chiefly shewn by his violent resumption of the horse which, at Attila's command, he had presented to Maxi-

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.  
448.

Return  
journey  
of the am-  
bassadors.

Sulkiness  
of their  
Hunnish  
colleague.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the words of Aspar to the Emperor Leo I, some twenty years after this time: 'Emperor, he who is clothed with this purple robe should not be a deceiver.'

BOOK II. min. Indeed all the Hunnish nobility had been ordered  
 CH. 2. to make tender of their horses to the ambassador ; but  
 448. he had shewn the wise moderation of his character by  
 accepting only a few. Among these few however was  
 Berich's ; and considering the centaur-like union which  
 had for generations existed between the Huns and their  
 steeds, we may conjecture that it was the pain of daily  
 beholding his favourite horse bestridden by an unwar-  
 like stranger which caused the irritability of the Hun-  
 nish nobleman.

Vigilas  
 arrested,

Vigilas had started from Constantinople before the  
 return of the ambassadors, and met them on their road.  
 They communicated to him the final answer of the bar-  
 barian, and he continued his route. As soon as he  
 reached the camp of Attila, a detachment of Huns, who  
 had been watching for his arrival, made him their  
 prisoner, and took from him the £2000 which he was  
 bringing, as he supposed, to Edecon as the price of  
 blood. They carried him at once before the king, who  
 enquired why he travelled with so much money about  
 him. 'To provide for my own wants and those of my  
 attendants,' said Vigilas, 'lest by any mischance my  
 embassy should lack its proper splendour. Also for the  
 redemption of captives, since many persons in the Roman  
 territory have begged me to purchase the liberation of  
 their kinsfolk.' 'Evil beast !' said Attila, 'thou in truth  
 shalt not blind Justice by all thy quibbles, and no pre-  
 text shall be strong enough to enable thee to escape  
 punishment. Thou hast provided far more money than  
 could possibly be wanted for the purchase of beasts of  
 burden and for the redemption of captives, which last I  
 expressly forbade thee to undertake when thou camest  
 hither with Maximin.'

With these words he signalled to his attendants to seize the son of Vigilas, who had for the first time accompanied his father on this journey. 'Next moment,' said Attila, 'hew him down with the sword, unless his father will say to whom and for what purpose he has brought this money into my territory.' Vigilas burst into passionate lamentations, begged the executioner to slay him instead of his son, and when he saw that all was of no avail, confessed the whole plot, told how Chrysaphius had originated it, how Edecon had accepted it, how Theodosius had sanctioned it, and then once more earnestly entreated Attila to put *him* to death and to spare his son. The king, who from his previous information knew that Vigilas had now disclosed the whole truth, coldly replied that for the present he should be loaded with chains and await, in close confinement, the return of his son who must start at once for Constantinople to obtain another sum of £2000<sup>1</sup>, which, with that already taken from him, should constitute their joint ransom.

Leaving Vigilas in this dangerous predicament, let us now see what kind of messages Theodosius had to listen to from the King of the Huns. Maximin seems to have been instructed to dwell principally on the Emperor's breach of promise to Constantius. 'No one,' Attila argued, 'could have dared to betroth the daughter of Saturninus to another than Constantius without the Emperor's consent. For either he who had presumed to do such a deed would have suffered condign punishment, or else the affairs of the Emperor were in such a

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.

448.  
and compelled to confess.

Attila's message to Theodosius.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Herbert (Attila, p. 417) inadvertently raises this ransom to the enormous figure of £20,000, by calling it 500 lbs. of gold. The words of Priscus are clear, πενήκοντα λίτρας χρυσοῦ.

BOOK II. state that he could not manage his own servants, against  
 CH. 2.

448.

whom therefore, if he desired it, Attila would be ready to grant him the advantage of his alliance.' The taunt, which must surely have proceeded from the lips of Berich, not of Maximin, struck home; and Theodosius showed his anger by confiscating the fortune of the 'enormously wealthy' young lady whose matrimonial affairs had caused him so much annoyance. This act was of course followed by a loud outcry from her husband Rufus and his patron Zeno, whose position towards his Imperial master was in fact pretty accurately described by the sneers of Attila. Zeno chose however to attribute the whole incident to the machinations of Chrysaphius, and began to clamour for the eunuch's life.

449.  
 A still  
 more in-  
 sulting  
 message  
 brought by  
 Orestes.

Such was the position of affairs at Constantinople when the two special ambassadors of Attila, Orestes and Esclas, arrived. Their message was yet harder to digest than that which had preceded it. When they appeared in the Imperial presence, Orestes wore, suspended round his neck, the purse (or rather the large bag) in which the blood-money had been packed. Turning first to Theodosius and then to the Eunuch, he asked each of them: 'Dost thou recognise this bag?' Then Esclas, the Hun, took up his parable, and said roundly<sup>1</sup>, 'Theodosius is the son of a well-born father. Attila too from his father Mundzuk has inherited the condition of noble birth, which *he* has preserved. Not so Theodosius, who fell from the estate of an *ingenuus* and became Attila's slave, when he submitted to pay him tribute. He has now conspired against the life of a better man than himself, and one whom Fortune has made his master. This is a foul deed, worthy only of a caitiff slave, and

<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ στόματος.

his only way of clearing himself from the guilt which he has thus contracted is to surrender the Eunuch to punishment.'

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.  
449.

How this harangue, every word of which had been composed by Attila himself, was received by Theodosius, as he sat surrounded by his courtiers, we know not. The general expectation of the Court was that it would go hard with Chrysaphius, whose punishment was thus simultaneously demanded by the two men whom the Emperor most feared, Zeno his general, and Attila his torment. But 'threatened men live long,' and the Eunuch seems to have been not unpopular with the other courtiers, who exerted themselves zealously for his deliverance.

Anatolius and Nomus were selected as the new ambassadors to the Hunnish Court. Both had been named by Attila<sup>1</sup> as persons of sufficiently exalted rank to visit him, such as he would be willing to welcome. Anatolius, who had been the chief figure of the embassy of 447, was a man of high military rank, in fact, general of the household troops<sup>2</sup>. Nomus, a patrician as well as his colleague, was in the civil service as Master of the Offices, renowned not only for his wealth, but for his willingness to spend it lavishly, and moreover kindly disposed towards Chrysaphius. They were commissioned to employ money freely, to deprecate Attila's resentment against the Eunuch, and to assure Constantius that he should yet have a wealthy Roman bride, though the law would not permit the Emperor to give him the daughter of Saturninus, as she was married to another man from whom she did not desire to be

Embassy  
of Anato-  
lius and  
Nomus.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> ἄρχων τελεῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλείᾳ = Magister Militum praesentalis.

BOOK II. divorced. The trifling circumstance of the confiscation  
 CH. 2. of her property appears not to have been mentioned in  
 449. the instructions of the ambassadors.

Success of the Embassy. This embassy was completely successful. Attila came as far as the river Drave<sup>1</sup>, in order to testify his respect for the persons of the envoys, and to spare them the fatigue of too long a journey. At first his speech was full of arrogance and wrath, but when he saw the beautiful things which the ambassadors had brought for him, the presents of Theodosius, the presents of Chrysaphius, the presents of the lavish Nomus, the child-nature in the heart of the barbarian asserted itself, his eyes gleamed with pleasure, and he suffered himself to be mollified by their gentle words. Peace was concluded pretty nearly on the old terms: in fact, he seems even to have surrendered his claim to the belt of territory, five days' journey wide, south of the Danube. He promised to worry the Emperor no more about any refugees whom he might have received in past times; 'only,' he said, 'Theodosius must receive no more of these men in future.' Vigilas was liberated, his son having brought the £2000 of ransom; and the demand for the head of Chrysaphius seems to have been quietly withdrawn<sup>2</sup>. Of his own accord, in order to mark his special esteem for Anatolius and Nomus, he liberated many captives without ransom; and he made them presents of several horses (whether belonging to himself or to his courtiers we are not informed), and of the

<sup>1</sup> A conjectural translation of *Δρέγκων*.

<sup>2</sup> Thierry (*Attila*, i. 126) says, in describing this interview, 'Il délivra Vigilas, . . . mais il exigea la tête de Chrysaphius. Sur ce point il fut inflexible.' I do not find any evidence in Priscus in support of this statement; and the fact that Attila received, apparently, the eunuch's presents, seems to render it very improbable.





# EUROPE IN THE YEAR 451

Roman Miles  
100 200 300 400



skins of wild beasts, 'such as the royal family among the Scythians wear by way of ornament.' For once, diplomacy really prevented war.

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.  
449.

The important question of satisfying the noble longings of Constantius for a wealthy bride was soon solved. He returned with the ambassadors to Constantinople, and was there mated to a lady of very high birth and large fortune, the widow of a certain Armatius, who had died when on service against some of the fierce tribes of Libya, and the daughter-in-law of Plinthas (Consul 419), who had headed the first Embassy to Attila in the year 433. Thus the last point in dispute between the son of Mundzuk and the son of Arcadius was disposed of.

An heiress found for Attila's secretary.

In the following year (450) Theodosius II died in the 50th year of his age and the 43rd of his reign. His death was the result of an accident in hunting, his horse having run away, swerved aside into a stream and thrown him off. He was carried home to his palace in a litter, but he had received a fatal injury to the spine, and died on the following night (July 28, 450). He left no male offspring, and his sister Pulcheria ascended the throne, which she shared with a brave and honest soldier, Marcian, whom, for the good of the state, she consented to call her husband.

450.  
Death of Theodosius II.

Accession of Marcian.

The immediate results of this change were, the calling together of the Council of Chalcedon (451), at which the orthodox Roman view of the union of the two natures in Christ was finally adopted; the execution of Chrysaphius, whether as maladministrator, as Eutychian heretic, or as private foe to the new Augusta, we are not informed; and, lastly, the assumption of an altered and more manly tone in reply to the intolerable preten-

Chrysaphius put to death.

BOOK II.  
CH. 2.

450.  
Brave  
words of  
Apollonius.

sions of Attila. When that monarch claimed his arrears of tribute, the new Emperor sent as ambassador to his court, Apollonius, the brother of that Rufus who had married the 'enormously wealthy' bride, for whose fortune Constantius had languished. Apollonius crossed the Danube, but when Attila learned that he had not brought the tribute, which—to use the words of the Hun—'had been promised to him by better and more king-like men<sup>1</sup> than the present ambassador,' he refused to grant him an audience. Attila said expressly that he acted thus in order to show his contempt for the envoy, whom, nevertheless, he ordered, on pain of death if he refused, to hand over the presents which the Emperor had sent. 'Not so,' said Apollonius, who spoke with a boldness worthy of old Rome, and in a tone which was now strange to Scythian ears. 'The Huns may kill me if they like, and then my presents will be spoils of war (if they choose to call murder warfare). Or they may receive me as ambassador, and then I willingly offer my gifts. But if not admitted to an audience, I do not part with these presents while I live.' The boldness of the ambassador prevailed. He returned with his gifts and his message alike undelivered, but Attila saw that he had now at length men to deal with at Constantinople, and that the policy of braggadocio would avail no longer. He did not care for a campaign in the often-harried plains of Moesia, but looked out for some richer if not easier prey. And thus, with a dignity which we had ceased to hope for in any Emperor of Byzantium, the long negotiations terminate, and we close the chapter of the doings of Attila in the East.

<sup>1</sup> Anatolius and Nomus.

## CHAPTER III.

### ATTILA IN GAUL.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources :—*

AT the outset we derive a little further information as to BOOK II. Attila's embassies from PRISCUS, but our chief source is again CH. 3. JORDANES. He gives, of course, always the Gothic version of the events which he describes; but the chapters relating to the invasion of Gaul and the battle of Châlons, rise to a far higher level of literary merit than the rest of the history, and seem to have something of the vividness and picturesqueness of contemporary narration.

APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS, the Gaulish nobleman, wit and bishop, whose relation to the politics of the time will be hereafter portrayed, writes about the events of this year in his usual declamatory style. He lived 430-488, and was therefore twenty-one years old at the time of Attila's invasion of Gaul. I quote from Grégoire and Collombet's edition of his works in three vols. : Lyons 1836.

GREGORY of Tours, who wrote his History of the Franks about 590, supplies some meagre details about Attila's invasion.

The Bollandist ACTA SANCTORUM, in the lives of St. Geneviève, St. Lupus, and St. Anianus, give further details of a more or less legendary character. A student who should possess sufficient patience and discrimination to winnow the wheat from the chaff in the vast mass of ecclesiastical literature collected by the Bollandists, would bestow a great service on the history of the Middle Ages.

The Panegyric of Aetius, attributed to a Spanish poet named

BOOK II. MEROBAUDES, and edited by Niebuhr, contains some interesting hints as to the life of Aetius previous to the year 446 (the date of the poem), but in its extremely fragmentary state it is difficult to extract much solid historical material from it. The imitation of Claudian's style is obvious.

A STORY of very doubtful authority<sup>1</sup> represents the monarch of the Huns as sending, shortly before the death of Theodosius II, a Gothic messenger to each of the two Roman Emperors, with this insulting mandate, 'Attila, thy master and mine, bids thee to prepare a palace for his reception.' Whether any such message was actually sent or not, the story indicates not inaptly the attitude which the great Hun maintained for the ten years between 440 and 450, hovering like a hawk over the fluttered dove-cots of Byzantium and Ravenna, and enjoying the terrors of the Eastern and the Western Augustus alternately.

Attila  
turns his  
menaces  
towards the  
Western  
Empire.

Now that the palace by the Bosphorus was occupied by an inmate whose beak and claw looked more like those of the old Roman eagle than any that had been seen there for the last half-century, the Barbarian began to turn his thoughts more definitely to the hapless pigeon of the West. He needed to be at no loss for pretexts in making war on Rome. Whether the great grievance of the communion-plate of Sirmium was still unredressed we cannot say, for History, after wearying us with the details of this paltry affair, forgets to tell us how it ended, whether the vases were surrendered to the service of the king or the silversmith

<sup>1</sup> The story rests only on the authority of the Alexandrian Chronicle and John Malalas. The former was composed during the reign of Heraclius, about 630; the date of the latter historian is uncertain, not earlier, however, than 600, and not later than 900.

to his rage, or whether the latter was deemed to be 'a bona-fide holder of the goods for valuable consideration,' and his title respected accordingly.

But the grievances of the Princess Honoria undoubtedly still remained, possibly even were increased by the death of the easy-tempered Theodosius and the accession to the Byzantine throne of that severe model of feminine virtues, the Augusta Pulcheria, who was now fifty-one years of age, while her cousin was but thirty-two, a juniority which was in itself almost treason against a female sovereign. It is possible that the unhappy princess was removed at this time from the Eastern to the Western court, for we find Attila sending one of his usual insulting embassies to Valentinian III, 'to say that Honoria, whom he had betrothed to himself, must suffer no harm, and that he would avenge her cause if she were not also allowed to wield the imperial sceptre.' The Western Emperor replied, 'that Honoria could not enter into the married state with him, having been already given to a husband' (to whom, when, or under what circumstances, we are not informed); and they met the audacious claim set up on behalf of the princess by an equally audacious misstatement of their own customs, daring to assert in the face of the still-existing royalty of Placidia and Pulcheria, 'that Honoria ought not to receive the sceptre, since the succession to the throne among the Romans was vested not in females, but in males.' Both parties probably felt that the claim was an unreal one: the Hun was determined on war, and would have it, whether he redeemed the ring of Honoria or no. One more embassy takes place, in which Attila prefers the modest claim to one half of the Western Empire, 'as the betrothed husband of

BOOK II.  
CH. 3.Champion-  
ship of  
Honoria.

450.

BOOK II. Honoria, who had received this portion from her father,  
 CH. 3.  
 450. and was wrongfully kept out of it by her brother's  
 covetousness.' This request is of course refused. Then  
 Honoria too, like the vases of Sirmium, fades out of  
 history; whether she ever saw the fierce face of her  
 affianced, when he wasted Italy in her name, nay even  
 whether she was present at the death-bed of her mother  
 Placidia, who expired at Rome in the same year as  
 Theodosius (450), and there received and conferred a  
 mutual forgiveness, we know not.

Two more pretexts for war must Attila accumulate,  
 or at least two more alliances must he conclude, and  
 then all would be ready for his great westward move-  
 ment.

Alliance  
 with a  
 Frankish  
 prince.

One was with a Frankish prince. A certain king of  
 the Franks, whose name is not recorded, had just died,  
 and there was strife between his sons as to the succes-  
 sion to his rude royalty. The younger son was the  
 candidate whom the Romans favoured. He had been  
 to Rome (probably some years before) on an embassy  
 from his father. He had gazed there, doubtless, on the  
 still undiminished glories of the Palatine and the Forum  
 and the great Flavian Amphitheatre, and while he  
 gazed, the observant eye of the rhetorician Priscus, who  
 happened to be at Rome, had likewise gazed on him. A  
 young warrior, with not even the first down of manhood  
 on cheek or lip, but with a cloud of yellow hair descend-  
 ing thickly upon his shoulders, such is the appearance  
 of the first Frankish king whom we meet with in  
 history. Whether he was Meroveus himself<sup>1</sup>, the half-

<sup>1</sup> Meroveus is the so-called grandson of Pharamond and grand-  
 father of Clovis; but no names of the Frankish kings before Chil-  
 deric, father of Clovis, are now accepted as thoroughly historical.



mythical ancestor of the Merovingian dynasty, may be doubted, and cannot now be ascertained ; but that long tawny *chevelure* identifies him with the race who reigned in France for 250 years, till the hair of the last *fainéant* king fell beneath the scissors of Pepin.

BOOK II.  
CH. 3.  
45°.

The all-powerful Aetius regarded this young Frankish chief with favour. He loaded him with presents, conferred upon him the title of his adopted son, and sent him back to his father as the bearer of a treaty of friendship and alliance. It may have been this title of adopted son of the great Aetius which suggested ambitious thoughts to the mind of the young prince. At any rate, on the death of his father, he, though the younger son, with Roman help, made good his claim to the succession to the kingdom. His elder brother fled to the court of Attila, who undertook to recover for him his lost inheritance.

The other alliance of Attila was with Gaiseric, king of the Vandals. This monarch, whose career we shall have to trace in the following book, was now undisputed master of the whole Roman province of Africa, had ravaged Sicily, and was making the name of Carthage, his capital city, as terrible to Italian hearts as ever it had been in the days of Hannibal. There can be little doubt that if the Hunnish hordes by land, and the Vandal pirates by sea, had simultaneously attacked the Western Empire, they must have achieved a complete and crushing success. But for some reason or other, perhaps because neither nation wished to share so rich a booty

Alliance  
with  
Gaiseric.

The silence of Gregory of Tours as to some of these earlier kings and the hesitating way in which he speaks of others seem almost conclusive against the pretension of the medieval genealogists to trace their names and pedigree. (See Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, i. 177.)

BOOK II. with a rival, this united action was not taken; and  
 CH. 3. — though the Hunnish king received large sums of money  
 450. by way of subsidy from the Vandal, it may be doubted  
 whether he did not lose far more than he gained by an  
 alliance which made him accessory after the fact to a  
 cruel and impolitic outrage. For Theodoric, king of the  
 Visigoths, who was at this time far the most powerful  
 ruler in the Gaulish provinces, had bestowed his  
 daughter in marriage on Hunneric, the son of Gaiseric.  
 Gaiseric chose to suspect, apparently on very trifling  
 grounds, that the new bride had attempted to poison  
 him; and with a cruelty which seems to have been  
 characteristic of the Vandal nature, he cut off the nose  
 and ears of the Visigothic princess, and in this condition  
 sent her back to the palace of Theodoric, a living and  
 daily remembrancer of the vengeance due to the Vandal,  
 and therefore an argument against any co-operation with  
 Attila, who was that Vandal's friend.

The  
 Bagaudae  
 in Gaul.

One more, not ally, but summons to war must be  
 mentioned, which may perhaps have assisted powerfully  
 in turning the hosts of Attila towards Gaul rather than  
 towards Italy. The iniquities of judges and the exac-  
 tions of tax-gatherers, which were so loudly complained  
 of by the barbarianised Roman in the camp of Attila,  
 had in Gaul stirred up the peasants to a tumultuary  
 war not unlike that which the mediaeval knights termed  
 a *Jacquerie*. The name given to the peasant warriors  
 with whom we are now concerned was Bagaudae<sup>1</sup>; and

<sup>1</sup> The authorities quoted by Ducange (*Glossarium*, s.v. Bagaudae) imply that the name was of Celtic origin and meant 'robbers' or 'native oppressors.' He suggests a derivation from Bagat, which, he says, is the Welsh for a mob of men, and the Breton for a flock or herd. The monastery of Fossat, four miles from Paris, was called in

their insurrection, a striking proof of the hollowness of the fabric of Roman prosperity, had smouldered for more than a century and a half, ever since the days of Diocletian. A man, of whom we would gladly know more than the few lines which the chroniclers bestow on him, was the link between these marauders within the Empire and the great Barbarian without. In the year 448, as we learn from the Pseudo-Prosper, 'Eudoxius, a doctor by profession, a man of evil, though cultivated intellect, being mixed up with the movements of the Bagaudae at that time, fled to the Huns<sup>1</sup>.' It is probable enough that we have here to do with a mere selfish adventurer such as float ever upon the surface of revolutionary change: yet before condemning the man of 'evil though highly-cultured intellect,' who

BOOK II.  
CH. 3.  
450.

the time of Charles le Chauve, *Castrum Bagaudarum*. Salvian (*De Gubernatione Dei*, v. 6) draws a striking picture of the judicial and fiscal iniquities which had driven men into the ranks of the *Bacaudae* (as he spells the word), '*De Bacaudis nunc mihi sermo est: qui per malos iudices et cruentos spoliati, afflicti, necati, postquam jus Romanae libertatis amiserant, etiam honorem Romani nominis perdidderunt. Et imputatur his infelicitas sua? Imputamus his nomen calamitatis suae? Imputamus nomen, quod ipsi fecimus? Et vocamus rebelles? Vocamus perditos, quos esse compulimus criminosos? Quibus enim aliis rebus Bacaudae facti sunt, nisi iniquitatibus nostris, nisi improbitatibus iudicum, nisi eorum proscriptionibus, et rapinis, qui exactionis publicae nomen in questus proprii emolumenta vertebant et indictiones tributarias praedas suas esse fecerunt.*' Compare also the following interesting notices in 'Tiro's' Chronicle: 435, '*Gallia ulterior Tibatonem principem rebellionis secuta, a Romanâ societate discessit, a quo tracto initio omnia paene Galliarum servitia in Bagaudam conspiravere.*' 437, '*Captô Tibatone et caeteris seditionis partim principibus vinctis, partim necatis, Bagaudarum commotio conquiescit.*'

<sup>1</sup> 'Eudoxius arte medicus, pravi sed exercitati ingenii, in Bagauda id temporis mota delatus, ad Chunnos confugit' (Chronicle of 'Tiro,' 448).

BOOK II. flashes thus for a moment upon the page of history, we  
CH. 3.  
 ---  
 450. would gladly have known whether he too may not  
 have been in his day an apostle of 'the Enthusiasm of  
 Humanity,' whether the miseries which Eudoxius'  
 'arte medicus' saw among the pillaged peasants of Gaul  
 were not the original cause of his being condemned as  
 a 'Bagauda' by delicately-living senators and prefects,  
 and forced to appeal against the injustices of civilization  
 at the bar of its terrible antagonist.

451. At length, in the spring of 451, the preparations of  
 The army of Attila moves westwards. Attila were completed, and the huge host began to roll  
 on its way towards the Rhine. This army, like those  
 which modern science has created, and under which  
 modern industry groans, was truly described as a nation  
 rather than an army; and though the estimates of the  
 chroniclers, which vary from half a million to seven  
 hundred thousand men, cannot be accepted as literally  
 accurate, we shall not err in believing that the vast  
 multitude who looked to the tent of Attila for orders  
 were practically innumerable. Sidonius describes how  
 the quiet life of the Roman provincial senator was  
 suddenly disturbed by the roar of a mighty multitude,  
 when barbarism seemed to be pouring over the plains  
 of Gaul all the inhabitants of the North. If his enu-  
 meration of the invading tribes, which no doubt par-  
 takes of some of the vagueness of his style of poetry, be  
 at all correct, the Geloni from the shores of the Volga,  
 The nationalities which composed it. the Neuri and Bastarnae from the Ukraine, the Sciri,  
 whom we are in doubt whether to place near Riga on  
 the Baltic or Odessa on the Euxine, were serving in  
 that army. The ethnological affinities of these obscure  
 tribes are very doubtful. Some of them may have been  
 of Slavonic origin. The Teutonic family was repre-

sented by the Rugii from Pomerania, the Bructeri from the Weser; one half of the Frankish people from 'the turbid Neckar;' the Thuringians (Toringi) from Bavaria, and the Burgundians—these too only a portion of the tribe who had lingered in their old homes by the Vistula. The bone and marrow of the army were of course the Huns themselves, and the two powerful Teutonic tribes, enemies to the Hun in the past and to be his enemies in the future, but for the present his faithful allies and counsellors, the Gepidae and the Ostrogoths. Thus if we go back to the old story of the Gothic migration from 'the island of Sweden,' we have the crews of two of the ships being led on to attack their fellows in the other vessel, the Ostrogoths and the 'torpid' Gepidae marching right across Europe at the bidding of a leader whose forefathers came from Siberia, to overwhelm their Visigothic brethren, who are dwelling by the Garonne<sup>1</sup>. The Ostrogoths, who possibly occupied a territory in the north of Hungary, were commanded by three brothers, sprung from the great Amal lineage, Walamir and Theudemir and Widemir;

BOOK II.  
CH. 3.  
451.

<sup>1</sup> The lines of Apollinaris Sidonius which enumerate the nations at Attila's disposal are these—

'Subito cum rupta tumultu  
Barbaries totas in te transfuderat arctos,  
Gallia; pugnacem Rugum comitante Gelono  
Gepida trux sequitur; Scyrum Burgundio cogit,  
Chunus, Bellonotus, Neurus, Basterna, Toringus,  
Bructerus, ulvosâ quem vel Nicer abluit undâ  
Prorumpit Francus.'—(Panegyric of Avitus, 319-325.)

It is singular that he makes no mention of the Ostrogoths. 'Bellonotus' seems to be the name of some tribe not yet identified. The Geloni are probably only inserted because their name fits in nicely into a hexameter and has a classical ring about it, as having been used by Horace.

BOOK II. 'nobler,' as the patriotic Jordanes observes, 'than the  
 CH. 3. king whose orders they obeyed.' The Gepidae, whose  
 451. land probably bordered on the northern confines of the  
 Ostrogothic settlement, were led to battle by Arderic,  
 bravest and most famous of all the subject-princes, and  
 him on whose wise and loyal counsels Attila chiefly  
 relied.

While this vast medley of nations are hewing down  
 the trees of the Thüringer Wald, in order to fashion  
 their rude boats and rafts for the passage of the Rhine<sup>1</sup>,  
 let us glance for a moment at the tribes, scarcely less  
 various and not so coherent, which, on the Gaulish side  
 of the river, are awaiting their dreaded impact.

Tribes in-  
 habiting  
 Gaul.

Near the mouths of the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the  
 Somme, that is to say, in the modern countries of  
 Belgium and Picardy, clustered the great confederacy  
 of the Salian Franks. Their Ripuarian brethren held  
 the upper reaches of the Great River, and it is to these  
 probably that Sidonius refers when he places them by  
 the turbid Neckar, and describes them as furnishing a  
 contingent to the army of Attila. All the Franks were  
 still heathen, the fiercest of the Teutonic settlers in  
 Gaul, and they bore an ill reputé for unfaithfulness to  
 their plighted word and even to their oaths. Small  
 sign as yet was there that to them would one day  
 fall the hegemony of the Gallic nations. In the  
 opposite corner of the country, between the Loire, the  
 Garonne, and the Bay of Biscay, the Visigoths had  
 erected a monarchy, the most civilized and compact

Franks.

Visigoths.

<sup>1</sup> So Sidonius—

'Cecidit cito secta bipenni  
 Hercynia in lintres, et Rhenum texuit alno.'

(Panegyric of Avitus 325-6.)

of all the barbarian kingdoms, and the one which seemed to have the fairest promise of a long and triumphant life. By the peace which their king *Walia* concluded with *Honorius* (416) after the restoration of *Placidia*, they had obtained legal possession of the district called *Aquitania Secunda*, together with the territory round *Toulouse*, all of which allotment went by the name of *Septimania*<sup>1</sup> or *Gothia*. For ten years (419-429) there had been firm peace between *Visigoths* and *Romans*; then, for ten years more (429-439), fierce and almost continued war, *Theodoric*, king of the *Visigoths*, endeavouring to take *Arles* and *Narbonne*; *Aetius* and his subordinate *Litorius* striving to take the Gothic capital of *Toulouse*, and all but succeeding. And in these wars *Aetius* had availed himself of his long-standing friendship with the *Huns* to enlist them as auxiliaries against the warriors of *Theodoric*, dangerous allies who plundered friends and enemies, and carried back doubtless to their dreary encampment in *Hungary* vivid remembrance of the sunny vineyards of *Languedoc* and *Guienne*. For the last twelve years (439-451) there had been peace, but scarcely friendship, between the Courts of *Ravenna* and *Toulouse*.

North of the *Visigoths*, the Celtic population of *Brittany*, known by the name of the *Armoricans*, had risen in arms against their Roman rulers, and had with some degree of success maintained their independence. From this time, perhaps, we ought to date that isolation of *Brittany* from the politics of the rest of *France*, which has not entirely disappeared even at the present

<sup>1</sup> From the seven chief cities comprised therein, which were—taking them from south to north—*Toulouse* (the *Visigothic* capital), *Agen*, *Bordeaux*, *Perigueux*, *Angoulême*, *Saintes*, and *Poitiers*.

BOOK II. day. But the terrible invader from the East welded  
 CH. 3. — even the stubborn Breton into temporary cohesion with  
 45<sup>1</sup>. his neighbours, and in the pages of Jordanes we find  
 the ‘Armoritiani’ fighting side by side with the Roman  
 legions against Attila.

Saxons.

The same list includes a yet more familiar name, ‘Saxones.’ How came our fathers thither; they, whose homes were in the long sandy levels of Holstein? As has been already pointed out, the national migration of the Angles and Saxons to our own island had already commenced, perhaps in part determined by the impulse northward of Attila’s own subjects. Possibly like the Northmen, their successors, the Saxons may have invaded both sides of the English Channel at once, and may on this occasion have been standing in arms to defend against their old foe some newly-won possessions in Normandy or Picardy.

Burgun-  
 dians.

In the south-east of Gaul, the Burgundians had after many wars and some reverses established themselves (443) with the consent of the Romans in the district then called Sapaudia and now Savoy. Their territory was somewhat more extensive than the province which was the cradle of the present royal house of Italy, since it stretched northwards beyond the lake of Neufchatel, and southwards as far as Grenoble. Here the Burgundian immigrants, under their king, Gundiok, were busy settling themselves in their new possession, cultivating the lands which they had divided by lot, each one receiving<sup>1</sup> half the estate of a Roman host or *hospes*,

<sup>1</sup> A later division was effected, which gave the Burgundian two-thirds of the arable land; but the primary apportionment seems to have been in equal shares (see Binding’s *Burgundisch-Romanische Königreich*, i. p. 28).



(for under such gentle names the spoliation was veiled,) when the news came that the terrible Hun had crossed the Rhine, and that all hosts and guests in Gaul must unite for its defence.

BOOK II.  
CH. 3.  
451.

The Alans, who had wandered thus far westwards from the country between the Volga and the Don, had received (440) the district round Valence for a possession from the Romans, on much the same terms probably as those by which the Burgundians held Savoy<sup>1</sup>. Of all the barbarian tribes now quartered in Gaul they were the nearest allied to the Huns, and Sangiban, their king, was strongly suspected of having some secret and treacherous understanding with Attila<sup>2</sup>.

This chaos of barbarian tribes occupied perhaps one half of Gaul. Wherever Chaos was not, wherever some remains of the old imperial Cosmos were still left unsubmerged, there was Romania. We may conjecture

Remnants  
of Roman  
dominion  
in Gaul.

<sup>1</sup> 'Tiro' says (440), 'Deserta Valentinae urbis rura Alanis, quibus Sambida praeerat partienda traduntur' [ab Aetio]. (442) 'Alani, quibus terrae Galliae ulterioris cum incolis dividendae a Patritio Aetio traditae fuerant, resistentes armis subigunt, et expulsis dominis terrae, possessionem vi adipiscuntur.'

<sup>2</sup> Jordanes (cap. 36) thus enumerates the nations who fought against Attila: 'Hic enim adfuere auxiliares Franci, Sarmatae, Armoritiani, Litiani, Burgundiones, Saxones, Riparioli, Ibriones aliaeque nonnullae Celticae vel (=et) Germanicae nationes.' The Sarmatae may perhaps stand for the Alani (or the Taifalae whom Thierry speaks of as settled at Poitiers). The Litiani are identified both by Böcking (Notitia, p. 1057) and by Thierry (Hist. d'Attila, i. 169) with the Laeti, military colonists from among various Teutonic nations, many of whom had been settled in Gaul since the time of Diocletian. The Riparioli are probably the Riparian Franks. The Ibriones are declared by Thierry to be 'un petit peuple des Alpes, les Brenes ou Brennes, qu'Aetius avait ralliés pendant son voyage et amenés en Gaule;' but he does not quote his authority for this identification.

BOOK II. that by this time very little of Roman domination  
 CH. 3. remained in the Belgic Gaul. The eastern portions of  
 45<sup>1</sup>. Gallia Lugdunensis and Gallia Aquitania, especially  
 the city of Lyons and the mountains of Auvergne, seem  
 to have been fervently loyal to the Emperor. Gallia  
 Narbonensis with its capitals of Arles and Narbonne,  
 but excepting Toulouse and its surrounding country,  
 had successfully beaten back the Visigothic invader,  
 and was almost more Roman than Rome itself.

Would the  
 Romans  
 and Bar-  
 barians in  
 Gaul  
 coalesce  
 against the  
 Huns? But the question of transcendent importance for  
 Gaul, and indirectly for the whole future of Western  
 Europe, was—‘Would Chaos and Cosmos blend for a  
 little space to resist the vaster and wilder Chaos which  
 was roaring for them both, fierce from its Pannonian  
 home? Especially could Aetius and Theodoric, so  
 lately at death-grips for the possession of one another’s  
 capitals—Aetius who had all but lost Arles, Theodoric  
 who had all but lost Toulouse, unite heartily enough  
 and promptly enough to beat back Attila?’

Attila’s  
 embassies  
 to the  
 Roman and  
 Visigothic  
 courts. This was the doubt, and Attila thought he saw in it  
 an opportunity to divide his foes. ‘A subtle man, and  
 one who fought by artifice before he waged his wars<sup>1</sup>,’  
 he sent ambassadors to Valentinian, representing his  
 intended invasion as only a continuation of the old  
 joint campaigns of Roman and Hun against the  
 Visigoth. To Theodoric he sent other messengers,  
 exhorting him to break off his unnatural alliance with  
 Rome, and to remember the cruel wars which so lately  
 had been kindled against his people by the lieutenants  
 of the Augustus.

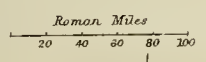
Happily there was a little too much statesmanship

<sup>1</sup> ‘Homo subtilis antequam bella gereret, arte pugnabat’ (Jordanes, cap. 36).





**GAUL**  
 at the time of  
**ATTILA'S INVASION**  
 A. D. 451



both at Ravenna and Toulouse to allow of the success of so transparent an artifice. Valentinian's ambassadors to Theodoric addressed the Visigothic nation (if we may believe their panegyrist Jordanes) in some such words as these :

BOOK II.  
CH. 3.  
451.  
Valentinian's embassy to Theodoric.

'It will comport with your usual wisdom, oh bravest of the nations, to confederate with us against the tyrant of the universe, who longs to fasten the chains of slavery on the whole world, who does not seek for any reasonable excuses for battle, but thinks that whatsoever crimes he may commit are lawful because he is the doer of them. He measures the frontiers of his dominions by what? By the space that his arms can ravage. He gluts his pride by license, he spurns the ordinances of earth and of heaven, and shows himself the enemy of our common nature<sup>1</sup>. Surely he deserves your hatred who proves himself the spiteful foe of all. Recollect, I pray you, (what assuredly he does not forget) blood has once flowed between you, and with whatever wiles he may now cover his thirst for vengeance, it is there, and it is terrible. To say nothing of our grievances, can you any longer tolerate with patience the pride of this savage? Mighty as you are in arms, think of your own griefs' [and here, doubtless, words were used which would recall to the mind of Theodoric the cruel outrages inflicted on his daughter by Attila's Vandal ally], 'and join your hands with ours. Help the Republic which has given you one of her fairest provinces for a possession. If you would know how necessary the alliance of each of us is to the other, penetrate the council-chamber of the foe, and see how he labours to divide us.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Hostem se exhibet naturae cunctorum.'

BOOK II. Theodoric was probably already meditating the Roman  
 CH. 3. alliance, but these words are said to have decided him,  
 451. and he replied, ‘Romans, you have your will. Attila is  
 your foe ; you have made him ours also. Wheresoever  
 the sound of his ravages shall call us, thither will we  
 follow him ; and all-inflated as he is with his victories  
 over so many proud nations, yet the Goths too know  
 how to do battle with the proud. Strong in the  
 goodness of my cause, I deem no war laborious. No  
 evil omen daunts me when the majesty of the Emperor  
 of Rome smiles upon me.’

There is something hollow and unreal, doubtless, in  
 these orations. In point of fact the Goths showed no  
 alacrity in the defence of Roman Gaul till the storm of  
 war rolled up to their own borders, and even then,  
 according to one account<sup>1</sup>, required a special messenger  
 to rouse them from their unreadiness. But the founda-  
 tion for an alliance between Roman and Visigoth was  
 laid, and it saved Gaul.

Attila's  
 invasion of  
 Belgic  
 Gaul.

Attila, foiled in his diplomacy, swept with his vast  
 host across the Rhine, and began the congenial work of  
 destruction. City after city of the Belgic Gaul (which  
 comprised all France north-east of the Seine) fell before  
 him. What help he may have received from the  
 Bagaudae, or rendered to the young Frankish chieftain,  
 his ally, we know not. We only hear that one city  
 after another was broken up (*effracta*) by his savage  
 hordes ; but no simple human voice comes out of the  
 Chaos to tell us what common men and women suffered  
 in that breaking up of the great deep. The ecclesi-  
 astics, intent on the glorification of their own favourite  
 saint or chapel, tell us a little of what was done, or was

<sup>1</sup> Sidonius, Panegyric of Avitus, 329-351.

not done in the way of miraculous interposition on behalf of particular places, and even for their childish legends, of uncertain date, and bearing elements of fiction on the face of them, we have to be grateful, so complete is the silence of authentic history as to the earlier events of the invasion.

The bishop of Tongres in Belgium, Servatius by name, implored God, amidst fastings and watchings and constant showers of tears, that he would never permit 'the unbelieving and ever-unworthy nation of the Huns' to enter Gaul<sup>1</sup>. Feeling sure in his spirit that this prayer was not granted, he sought the tomb of the Apostle Peter at Rome, and there, after three days' fasting, pressed his suit. The Apostle appeared to him in a vision and told him that according to the councils of the Most High, the Huns must certainly enter Gaul and ravage it for a time. But so much was conceded to Servatius, that he should not see the misery which was coming on his flock. He was therefore to return at once to his home, choose out his grave-clothes, and set his house in order, and then should he 'migrate from this body.' He returned accordingly, set all things in order for his burial, and told his flock that they should see his face no more. 'But they following him with great wailing and many tears, humbly prayed him—"Leave us not, oh holy father; forget us not, oh good shepherd!" Then, as they could not prevail upon him to stay, they received his blessing, kissed him, and departed. He went to the city of Utrecht, where he was seized with a mild fever, and his soul departed from his body. His corpse was brought back to Tongres, and buried by the city wall.' Such was

BOOK II.  
CH. 3.  
451.

Vision of  
the Bishop  
of Tongres.

<sup>1</sup> Gregory of Tours, ii. 5.

BOOK II. the end of Servatius. Of the fate of his flock we have  
 CH. 3. no further particulars.

45<sup>1</sup>.  
 Metz. ‘On the very eve of the blessed Easter, the Huns, coming forth out of Pannonia and laying waste everything on their march, arrived at Metz. They gave up the city to the flames, and slew the people with the edge of the sword, killing the priests themselves before the sacrosanct altar of the Lord. And in all that city no place remained unburnt except the oratory of the blessed Stephen, protomartyr and Levite.’ Gregory of Tours<sup>1</sup> then proceeds to describe at unnecessary length a vision in which some one saw the blessed Levite, Stephen, interceding for this oratory with the Apostles Peter and Paul, and obtaining a promise that it should remain unharmed, ‘that the nations might see that he availed somewhat with the Lord.’

Rheims. From Lorraine into Champagne rolled on the devastating flood. St. Nicasius, bishop of Rheims, was hewn down before the altar of his church, while his lips were uttering the words of the Psalm, ‘My soul cleaveth unto the dust, quicken thou me according to thy word.’ Thus he attained the crown of martyrdom, though it has been truly remarked<sup>2</sup> that the bishops and priests who fell beneath the swords of the Huns perished, not strictly as confessors of a religion, but as chief citizens of their dioceses, and as guardians of sacred treasure. Attila was a plunderer, but not a persecutor. He made war on civilization and on human nature, not on religion, for he did not understand it enough to hate it.

Lutetia Parisiorum. The inhabitants of a little town<sup>3</sup> upon a clayey island in the Seine, near its junction with the Marne,

<sup>1</sup> ii. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> By Thierry and Herbert.

<sup>3</sup> πολίχνη, Zosimus, Julian.





BOOK II. nearly all the cities of Gaul and Germany<sup>1</sup>. Firstly,  
 CH. 3. Reims, Cambray, Treveres (Trèves), Mectz (Metz),  
 451. Arras, Tongres, Tournay, Therouenne, Coulongne  
 (Cologne), Amiens, Beauvais, Paris, and so many towns,  
 cities, and fortresses that whoso should wish to put  
 them all in writing he would too much weary the  
 readers<sup>2</sup>. . . .

‘Item, by him were destroyed in Germany, Maience, a very noble city, Warmose (Worms), Argentore (Strasbourg), Nymaie (?), Langres and Nerbonne (?). In this year, as saith Sigebert, were martirised the eleven thousand virgins in the city of Coulongne<sup>3</sup>.’

This extract does not, of course, possess any shadow of historical authority. It is certainly wrong as to Narbonne and Nismes (if that be the city intended by Nymaie), and it is probably wrong as to Paris. But, with these exceptions, the cities named are all either in or upon the confines of Gallia Belgica, the chief scene of Attila’s ravages, and the list is not an improbable one, though we can well believe that, as every defaced tomb and mutilated statue in an English church claims to have been maltreated by ‘Cromwell’s soldiers,’ so no monkish chronicler who had a reasonable opportunity of bringing ‘Attila’ and his malevolent Huns near to the shrine of his favourite saint would be likely to forego the terrible fascination.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Et est a scavoir que nulle ville / forteresse: ou cite tant forte q̄le fust ne resistoit a ce peuple / tant estoit cruel et maliuolent.

‘Dessouz celluy tirant Attila furēt destruiectes presque toutes les citez de Gaulle et de Germanie,’ ii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Et tant de villes citez et forteresses / que qui les voudroit toutes mectre en escript / il pourroit trop ennuyer les lisants.’ Ib. 19.

<sup>3</sup> ‘En celluy an / comme dit Sigibert / furēt martirisez les xi mil vierges en la cité de Coulongne.’

When Belgic Gaul was ravaged to his heart's content, the Hun turned his footsteps towards Aquitaine, which contained the settlements of the Visigoths, and where, as he well knew, his hardest task awaited him. The Loire, flowing first northwards, then westwards, protects, by its broad sickle of waters, this portion of Gaul, and the Loire itself is commanded at its most northerly point by that city which, known in Caesar's day as Genabum, had taken the name Aureliani from the great Emperor, the conqueror of Zenobia, and is now called Orleans. Three times has Aureliani played an eminent part in the history of Gaul. There broke out the great insurrection of B. C. 52 against the victorious Caesar; there Attila's host, in A. D. 451, received their first repulse; and there in 1429, the maid of Domremy, by forcing the Duke of Bedford to raise the siege, wrested from the English Plantagenets their last chance of ruling in France.

BOOK II.  
CH. 3.

451.  
Attila  
marches to  
the Loire.

Defence of  
Orleans.

The hero of Orleans, in this defence of her walls, was the Bishop, Anianus. He had visited Aetius at Arles, and strongly impressed upon the mind of that general the necessity of relieving Orleans before the 24th of June at the very latest. Then returning to the city he cheered his flock with words of pious hope. The battering-rams of Attila thundered against the walls, and the hearts of the people began to fail them. To Anianus himself the promised help seemed to linger. He knew not, and we cannot with certainty state the true cause of the delay which is related to us only by one doubtful authority<sup>1</sup>. Aetius, it is said, emerged from the Alpine

St. Ani-  
anus.

<sup>1</sup> Apollinarius Sidonius, Panegyric of Avitus, 328-356. As the whole object of this poem is to pour laudation on the head of Avitus, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the backwardness of the Visi-

BOOK II. passes with only a slender and ill-officered train of  
 CH. 3. soldiers, and then found that the Goths, instead of  
 451. moving eastward to join him, were thinking of awaiting  
 the attack of the dreaded foe in their own territory  
 behind the Loire. In this unforeseen perplexity, Aetius  
 availed himself of the services of Avitus, a Roman noble  
 of Auvergne, and a *persona grata* at the court of  
 Theodoric. His visit to the Gothic king proved suc-  
 cessful.

‘He aroused their wrath, making it subservient to the purposes of Rome<sup>1</sup>, and marched in the midst of the skin-clothed warriors to the sound of the trumpets of Romulus.’

Meanwhile the consternation within the city of Orleans went on increasing, as the citizens saw their walls crumbling into ruin beneath the blows of the battering-rams of Attila. One day, when they were fervently praying in the church, ‘Anianus said, “Look forth from the ramparts and see if God’s mercy yet succours us.” They gazed forth from the wall, but beheld no man. He said, “Pray in faith: the Lord will liberate you to-day.” They went on praying; again he bade them mount the walls, and again they saw no help approaching. He said to them the third time, “If ye pray in faith, the Lord will speedily be at hand to help you.” Then they with weeping and loud lamentation implored the mercy of the Lord. When their prayer was ended, a third time, at the command

goths has been exaggerated or even invented in order to enhance his glory. He may have simply borne to the camp of Theodoric a message from Aetius arranging the time and place of meeting for the two armies.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Famulas in proelia concitat iras.’

of that old man, they mounted the wall, and looking forth they saw from afar, as it were, a cloud rising out of the ground. When they brought him word of it he said, "It is the help of God." In the meanwhile, as the walls were now trembling under the stroke of the rams, and were already on the point of falling into ruin, lo! Aetius and Theodoric, the king of the Goths, and Thorismund, his son, come running up to the city, turn the ranks of the enemy, cast him out, and drive him far away<sup>1</sup>. It was apparently on the very day fixed between the bishop and the general (the 24th of June) that this relief came.

FOILED in his attempt to take Orleans and to turn the line of the Loire, Attila, with his unwieldy host, began to retreat towards the Rhine. It is the weakness of those marauding warriors of whom he may be considered the type, that their recoil must be as rapid as their onset. A ruined and devastated country cannot be compelled to furnish the subsistence for lack of which it is itself perishing. Everywhere along the line of march are thousands of bitter wrongs waiting for revenge. And the marauders themselves to whom pillage, not patriotism or discipline, has been the one inspiring motive, and the common bond of union, when the hope

BOOK II.  
CH. 8.

45<sup>1</sup>.

Retreat  
towards  
the Rhine.

<sup>1</sup> This is the account of the siege of Orleans given by Gregory of Tours about a century and a half after the event. (ii. 7.) The story given in the life of St. Anianus in the *Acta Sanctorum* differs in some particulars from this. Nothing is said of the three visits to the walls or the far-off cloud of dust; but the prayers of the saint bring a four-days' storm of rain, which greatly hinders the works of the besiegers. They have, however, made a practicable breach and are actually within the city, when the relieving army appears. Gregory's word 'ejiciunt' (cast them out of the city) gives some probability to this part of the narrative.

BOOK II. of further pillage fails, are each secretly revolving the  
 CH. 3. same thought, how to leave the ravaged country as  
 451. soon as possible with their plunder undiminished.

Attila  
 reaches  
 Troyes.

Doubtless Aetius and Theodoric were hovering on Attila's rear, neglecting no opportunity of casual vengeance on the stragglers from the host, and endeavouring to force him to battle at every point where, from the nature of the country, he would be compelled to fight at a disadvantage. But we hear no details of his retreat till he reached the city of Troyes, 114 Roman miles from Orleans<sup>1</sup>. The Bishop of Troyes was the venerable Lupus, a man who was by this time nearly 70 years of age, and who, in common with St. Germanus, had greatly distinguished himself by his opposition to the Pelagian heresy, which he had combated in Britain as well as in Gaul. Troyes was an open city, undefended by walls or arsenals, and the immense swarm of the Huns and their allies who came clamouring round it were hungering for spoil and chafed with disappointment at their failure before Orleans<sup>2</sup>. Lupus, as we are told in the *Acta Sanctorum*, betook himself to his only weapon, prayer, and thereby successfully defended

Bishop  
 Lupus.

<sup>1</sup> The distances and the stations on the Roman road between Metz and Orleans are quoted by Thierry (*Hist. d'Attila*, i. 162). He makes five halting-places between Orleans and Troyes (Aureliani and Tricasses).

<sup>2</sup> It is only by conjecture that the following incident is assigned to the time of Attila's retreat. The words of the *Acta Sanctorum* would be consistent with the interpretation that the Huns were still moving on into Gaul. But the expression '*Rheni etiam fluenta visurum*,' looks as if Attila's face was now set Rhinewards. The first Life given by the Bollandists is evidently of far greater value than the second: in fact, this latter is worthless. It is curious to observe that it contains the cant phrase '*flagellum Dei*,' which is absent from the other record.

his city from the assaults of the enemy. The ecclesiastical biographer seems to be purposely enigmatic and obscure, but there are touches in the story which look like truth. It appears that Attila, who may have been partly swayed by the remembrance that the allies were close upon his track, and that a night of pillage would have been a bad preparation of his troops for the coming battle, was also impressed—‘fierce wild beast as he was<sup>1</sup>’—by something which seemed not altogether of this earth in the face and demeanour of Lupus, something unlike the servile and sordid diplomatists of Byzantium who had hitherto been his chief exemplars of Christianity. In granting the bishop’s prayer for the immunity of his city from pillage, he made one stipulation, that, ‘for the safety of himself and his own army the holy man should go with them and see the streams of the Rhine, after which he promised that he would dismiss him in peace. And so it was; as soon as they arrived at the river he offered him a free passage back, did not hinder his return, sent guides to show him the way; and even earnestly besought, by the mouth of the interpreter Hunagaisus, that the bishop would pray for him.’

This Hunagaisus is undoubtedly the same minister with whom we have made acquaintance in the Hunnish camp under the name of Onegesius or Onégesh, and the introduction of his name here in a biography probably composed about the middle of the sixth century, affords some guarantee that we are on the track of a genuine tradition. If so, the thought that a Gaulish theologian was present in the camp of Attila during the scenes

<sup>1</sup> ‘At ille feralis Attila et immitis’ (Bollandist Acta Sanctorum, July 29).

BOOK II. which are next to follow, gives a fresh interest to the  
 CH. 3. picture, some of the details of which he may himself  
 451. have described.

Battle of  
 the Mau-  
 riac Plain,  
 commonly  
 called the  
 Battle of  
 Châlons.

For in the interval between Attila's arrival before Troyes, and his dismissal of Lupus on the banks of the Rhine, occurred that great clash of armed nations which decided the question whether the West of Europe was to belong to Turanian or to Aryan nationalities. Posterity has chosen to call it the battle of Châlons, but there is good reason to think that it was fought fifty miles distant from Châlons-sur-Marne, and that it would be more correctly named the battle of Troyes, or, to speak with complete accuracy, the battle of *Mery-sur-Seine*<sup>1</sup>.

By what preceding arts of strategy the campaign was marked, whether Attila willingly offered battle or was so sorely harassed in his retreat that he was unable to decline it, we know not, except that we read of a skirmish between the Franks and Gepidae on the night preceding the general engagement<sup>2</sup>. It was probably in the early days of July<sup>3</sup> that the two great armies at length came together. What followed shall be told in the (freely rendered) words of Jordanes himself, who throws all his heart into the narration, rightly feeling that this death-grapple with the enemies of Rome was in some sense the mightiest deed that his kinsmen had achieved, and sympathising, notwithstand-

<sup>1</sup> In contemporary language 'the battle of the Mauriac Plain.'

<sup>2</sup> See Jordanes, cap. 41, quoted below.

<sup>3</sup> I venture here to dissent from a conclusion arrived at in the *Fasti Romani* (i. 642). Clinton, on the authority of Isidore of Seville, fixes the date of the battle after Sept. 27th. This seems contrary to the whole tenour of the history and to the order of events described in Idatius, from whom Isidore has copied.



ing his own Ostrogothic descent, with Theodoric the Visigothic antagonist of Attila, rather than with Walamir his Ostrogothic feudatory<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK II.

CH. 3.

451.

After enumerating in the passage already quoted<sup>2</sup> the various nationalities which fought under the banner of Aetius, he continues, 'All come together therefore into the Catalaunian, which are also called the Maurician plains, 100 Gallic *leugae* in length and 70 in breadth. Now the *leuga* is equivalent to one Roman mile and a half. So then that district of the world becomes the parade ground of innumerable nationalities. Both the armies which there meet are of the mightiest; nothing is done by underhand machinations, but everything by fair and open fight. What worthy reason could be assigned for the deaths of so many thousands? What hatred had crept into so many breasts and bidden them take up arms against one another? It is surely proved that the race of man live but for the sake of Kings; since the mad onset of one man's mind could cause the slaughter of so many nations, and in a moment, by the caprice of one arrogant king, the fruit of nature's toil through so many centuries could be destroyed.

### ' Chapter 37.

' But before relating the actual order of the fight, it seems necessary to explain some of the preliminary movements of the war, because famous as the battle

Preliminary movements.

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen (p. xxxvi of the Introduction to his *Jordanes*), while highly praising this part of the history, thinks it is probably taken over straight from Priscus. But how then account for the Gothic colour of the narrative? Cassiodorus seems to me a more likely source.

<sup>2</sup> See note on p. III.

BOOK II. was, it was no less manifold and complicated. For  
 CH. 3.  
 45<sup>f</sup>. Sangiban, king of the Alans, foreboding future disaster, had promised to surrender himself to Attila, and to bring into obedience to him the city of Orleans where he was then quartered. When Theodoric and Aetius had knowledge of this, they built great mounds against the city and destroyed it before the coming of Attila<sup>1</sup>. Upon Sangiban himself they set a close watch, and stationed him with his own proper tribe in the very  
 Auguries. midst of their auxiliaries. Attila meanwhile, struck by this occurrence, distrusting his own powers, fearing to engage in the conflict, and secretly considering the expediency of flight, which was more grievous to him than death itself, resolved to enquire as to the future from the augurs. These men, according to their wont, first pored over the bowels of some sheep, then pondered the direction of the veins in some scraped bones, and at last gave forth their augury, "Ill fortune to the Huns." They qualified it however with this crumb of comfort, "that the chief leader on the opposite side should fall in the midst of victory, and so mar the triumph of his followers." To Attila the death of Aetius [whom he supposed to be intended by the words "the chief leader of the enemy"] seemed to be worth purchasing even by the defeat of his army, yet being naturally rendered anxious by such an answer, and being a man of much address in warlike matters, he determined, with some fear and trembling, to join battle about the ninth<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If the text is not corrupt here, Jordanes must have received some very distorted account of the events of the siege of Orleans.

<sup>2</sup> This note of time suits July better than October. Even for July, the interval between three o'clock and sunset seems full short for such a battle 'multiplex et immane.'

hour of the day [3 p.m.], so that if his affairs turned out ill, impending night might come to his aid. . . .

BOOK II.  
CH. 3.

45<sup>1</sup>.

‘Chapter 38.

‘Now this was the configuration of the field of battle<sup>1</sup>. It rose [on one side] into a decided undulation which might be called a hill; and as both parties wished to get the not inconsiderable advantage of the ground which this eminence conferred, the Huns took possession of the right-hand portion of it with their troops; the Romans and Visigoths of the left with their auxiliaries<sup>2</sup>.’ Leaving for a while the fight for the possession of this ridge [let us describe the order of the main battle]. On the right wing stood Theodoric with the Visigoths, on the left Aetius with the Romans. In the middle they placed Sangiban, the leader of the Alans,—a piece of military caution to enclose him, of whose disposition they were none too confident, in a mass of loyal soldiers. For the man in the way of whose flight you have interposed a sufficient obstacle, easily accepts the necessity of fighting.

Roman line  
of battle.

‘The line of the Huns was drawn up on a different principle, for in their centre stood Attila with all his bravest warriors. In this arrangement the king consulted his own personal safety, hoping that by taking his place in the very heart and strength of his own people he at least should be delivered from the impending danger. Upon the wings of his army hovered

Hunnish  
line of  
battle.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Erat autem positio loci declivi tumore, in modum collis excrescens.’

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Jordanes means that the right wing of the Hunnish army and the left wing of the confederates both endeavoured to occupy this ground. ‘Dextram partem Hunni cum suis, sinistram Romani et Vesegothae cum auxiliariis occuparunt.’

BOOK II. the many nations and tribes whom he had subjected to  
 CH. 8. his dominion. Preeminent among these was the host of  
 451. the Ostrogoths, led by the three brothers, Walamir, Theodemir, and Widemir, men of nobler birth than the king himself whom they then obeyed, since the mighty line of the Amals was represented by them. There too, at the head of the countless warriors of the Gepidae, was their king Ardaric, that man of valour and of fame who for his extraordinary fidelity towards Attila was admitted into his inmost counsels. For Attila, who had well weighed his sagacious character, loved him and Walamir the Ostrogoth, above all his other subject princes; Walamir, the safe keeper of a secret, the pleasant in speech, the ignorant of guile, and Ardaric, who, as we have said, was illustrious both by his loyalty and his wise advice. To these two nations Attila believed, not undeservedly, that he might safely entrust the battle against their Visigothic kindred. As for all the rest, the ruck of kings—if I may call them so—and the leaders of diverse nationalities, these, like subaltern officers, watched each nod of Attila; and, when a look of his eye summoned them, in fear and trembling they would gather round him waiting in submissive silence to receive his commands, or at any rate' (*i. e.* if their subservience was less abject) 'they would carry out whatever he ordered'. But Attila alone, king of all the kings, was over all in command, and had the care of all upon his shoulders.

<sup>1</sup> 'Reliqua autem, si dici fas est, turba regum, diversarumque nationum ductores, ac si satellites, nutibus Attilae attendebant, et ubi oculo annuisset, absque aliquâ murmuratione cum timore et tremore unusquisque adstabat, aut certe quod jussus fuerat exsequabatur.'

‘As I before said, the fight began with a struggle for the possession of some rising ground. Attila directed his troops to occupy the summit of the hill, but he was anticipated by Thorismund and Aetius, who [from the other side] struggled up to the highest point, and then, having the advantage of the hill in their favour, easily threw into confusion the advancing Huns.

BOOK II.

CH. 3.

451.

## ‘Chapter 39.

‘Then Attila, seeing his army somewhat disturbed by this skirmish, thought the time a suitable one for confirming their courage by an address.

Attila's

speech to  
his troops.

## ‘SPEECH OF ATTILA.

“After your victories over so many nations, after a whole world subdued, if ye only stand fast this day, I should have deemed it a fond thing to whet your spirits with words, as though ye were yet ignorant of your business. Let a new general or an inexperienced army try that method. It were beneath my dignity to utter, and beyond your obligation to listen to, any of the commonplaces of war. For what other occupation are you practised in, if not in fighting? And to the strong man what is sweeter, than with his own right hand to seek for his revenge? It is one of the greatest boons which nature gives us to glut our souls with vengeance. Let us therefore go forward with cheerfulness to attack the enemy, since they who strike the blow have ever the boldest hearts. You who are united under my sway—I tell you to despise these jarring nationalities, leagued together for the momentary purpose of self-defence by an alliance which is in itself an index of their terror.

Lo! ere they have yet felt our onset, they are carried to and fro by their fear; they look out for the rising ground, they are exciting themselves over the occupation of every little hillock, and bewailing too late their own rashness; they are clamouring for ramparts in these open plains<sup>1</sup>. Known to you right well are the flimsy arms and weak frames of the Roman soldiers; I will not say at the first wound, at the first speck of dust on their armour they lose heart. While they are solemnly forming their battle array and locking their shields together into the *testudo*, do you rush into the conflict with that surpassing courage which it is your wont to show, and, despising the Roman line, charge at the Alans, press heavily on the Visigoths. It is there that we must look for speedy victory, for they are the key of the position. Cut the sinews and the limbs will be at once relaxed; nor can the body stand if you have taken away its bones.

‘O ye Huns, raise your hearts battle-high and let your wonted fury swell your veins. Now put forth all your cunning; now use all your arms. Let him who is wounded seek still for at least one enemy’s death; let him who is unhurt revel in the slaughter of the foe. Him who is fated to conquer, no dart will touch; him who is doomed to die, fate will find in the midst of slothful peace. And, last of all, why should Fortune have set her mark upon the Huns as conquerors of so many nations, unless she was preparing them for the delights of this battle too? Who

<sup>1</sup> ‘Et serâ poenitudine in campis munitiones efflagitant.’ An incidental argument against the theory that the so-called ‘Camp of Attila’ (which would be precisely ‘in campis munitio’) was occupied by his troops.

opened the way across the pool of Maeotis<sup>1</sup>, for so many centuries an impenetrable secret from our ancestors? Who made armed men bow before them while they were still unarmed? Yonder motley host will never endure to look upon the faces of the Huns. The event cannot mock my hopes; this, this is the field of victory which so many previous successes have avouched us of. I shall be the first to hurl my weapon against the enemy, and if any one can linger inactive when Attila fights, he is a thing without a soul, and ought to be buried out of hand<sup>2</sup>.”

BOOK II.  
CH. 3.  
451.

‘Their hearts were warmed at these words, and all rushed headlong into the fray.

‘Chapter 40.

‘The position of their affairs was not without its suggestions of fear, but the presence of their king removed all tendency to delay even from the most hesitating.

‘Hand to hand the two armies were soon engaged. It was a battle,—ruthless, manifold, immense, obstinate,—such as antiquity in all its stories of similar encounters has nought parallel to, such as, if a man failed to see, no other marvel that he might behold in the course of his life would compensate for the omission<sup>3</sup>. For if we may believe the report of our elders, a brook which was gliding down between low banks through the aforesaid plain, receiving the blood which gushed from

The Battle  
com-  
menced.

<sup>1</sup> The sea of Azof.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Si quis potuerit Attila pugnante otio ferre, sepultus est.’

<sup>3</sup> A free translation of ‘ut nihil esset quod in vitâ suâ conspiciere potuisset egregius qui hujus miraculi privaretur aspectu.’ *Egregius* is evidently the neuter comparative.

BOOK II. thousands of wounds, was, not by showers of rain, but  
 CH. 3. by that ghastly intermingling, swollen from a brook  
 451. into a torrent. And those whom parching thirst, the  
 consequence of their wounds, drove to its banks, found  
 that murder was mixed with the draught. A miserable  
 fate for them who drank of the gore which their own  
 wounds poured forth.

Death of Theodoric. ‘Here the King Theodoric, while he was galloping  
 backwards and forwards, cheering on his army, was  
 thrown from his horse, and being trampled under the  
 feet of his own party, thus ended his life in a ripe  
 old age. Others however assert that he was smitten  
 by a javelin from the hand of Andages, of the nation  
 of the Ostrogoths who were then following the lead  
 of Attila. This was the event which Attila’s sooth-  
 sayers had foretold to him in their divinations, though  
 he understood them to speak of Aetius.

Visigothic onset before which Attila gives way. ‘Then the Visigoths, splitting off from the Alans,  
 rushed upon the squadrons of the Huns, and had well-  
 nigh slaughtered Attila himself, but he prudently fled,  
 and straightway enclosed himself and his followers  
 within the defences of his camp, upon which he had  
 placed the waggons by way of rampart. It seemed  
 a frail bulwark to be sure, still they clung to it as  
 their last chance of life; and yet these were the men  
 whose desperate onset a little while ago stone walls  
 could not stand against. Meanwhile Thorismund, the  
 son of King Theodoric, the same who had taken part  
 with Aetius in the occupation of the hill, and in driving  
 down the enemy from that higher ground, lost his way  
 in the blind night, and thinking that he was rejoining  
 his own men on their line of march, came unawares  
 upon the waggons of the enemy. Here, while he was



fighting bravely, his horse was killed under him by a wound in the head. He fell to the ground, but was rescued by the care of his people, and persuaded to desist from the unequal encounter. Aetius in the same way was separated from his host in the confusion of the night, and went wandering through the midst of the enemy<sup>1</sup>, trembling lest some untoward event should have occurred to the Goths, and ever asking the way, till at length he arrived at the camp of his allies, and passed the remainder of the night under the shelter of their shields.

BOOK II.  
CH. 3.  
451.

‘Next morning when day dawned, and the allied generals beheld the vast plains covered with corpses, but saw that the Huns did not venture to sally forth, they concluded that the victory was theirs. They knew perfectly well that it could have been no common slaughter which had compelled Attila to fly in confusion from the battle-field; and yet he did not act like one in abject prostration, but clashed his arms, sounded his trumpets, and continually threatened a fresh attack. As a lion, close pressed by the hunters, ramps up and down before the entrance to his cave, and neither dares to make a spring, nor yet ceases to frighten all the neighbourhood with his roarings, so did that most warlike king, though hemmed in, trouble his conquerors. The Goths and Romans accordingly called a council of war and deliberated what was to be done with their worsted foe. As he had no store of provisions, and as he had so posted his archers within the boundaries of his camp as to rain a shower of missiles on an advancing assailant, they decided not to attempt a

Morning  
after the  
fight.

<sup>1</sup> Having from his youth been accustomed to intercourse with the Huns, he probably spoke their language like a native.

BOOK II. storm, but to weary him out by a blockade. It is  
 CH. 3. said however that seeing the desperate condition of  
 451. his affairs, the aforesaid King, high-minded still in the  
 supreme crisis of his fate, had constructed a funeral  
 pyre of horses' saddles, determined, if the enemy should  
 break into his camp, to hurl himself headlong into  
 the flames, that none should boast himself and say,  
 "I have wounded Attila," nor that the lord of so  
 many nations should fall alive into the hands of his  
 enemies.

'Chapter 41.

Burial of  
Theodoric.

'During the delays of this blockade the Visigoths were looking for their old king, and marvelling at his absence from the scene of victory. After a long search they found him, as is wont to be the case with brave men, lying there where the bodies were thickest; and singing their songs in his honour, they bore away his corpse from the gaze of the enemy. Then should you have seen the Gothic companies lifting up their untuned voices in a wild strain of lamentation, and, while the battle still raged around them, giving all heed to the exact observance of the rites of burial. Tears were shed, but they were the tears which are rightly paid to brave men dead. The death had been on our [the Gothic] side, but the Hun himself bore witness that it had been a glorious one, and even Attila's pride might bow when he saw the corpse of such a king borne out to burial with all his kingly ornaments about him<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A conjectural expansion of 'Nostra mors erat, sed Hunno teste gloriosa, unde hostium putaretur inclinata fore superbia, quando tanti regis efferre cadaver cum suis insignibus inspiciebant.'

‘The Goths, while still paying the last honours to Theodoric, by the clash of their weapons hailed the majesty of a new king, and the brave and glorious Thorismund, decked with that title, followed the funeral of his dearly-loved father as became a son. Then, when that was finished, grief for the loss which he had sustained, and the impulse of his own fiery valour, urged him to avenge the death of his father upon the Hunnish host. First, however, he consulted Aetius the patrician, as the senior general and a man of ripened experience, what step he would advise to be next taken. He, fearing lest if the Huns were destroyed root and branch, the Roman Empire might be still more hardly pressed by the Goths, earnestly tendered this advice, “that he should return to his own capital and grasp the kingdom which his father had left; lest otherwise his brothers should seize on his father’s treasures, and so make the realm of the Visigoths their own, whereupon he would have to commence a laborious campaign, and one in which victory would be a wretched business, since it would be over his own flesh and blood.”

BOOK II.  
CH. 3.

451.  
Elevation  
of Thoris-  
mund.

‘Thorismund received this advice as the best thing for his own interest, without perceiving the duplicity which lurked beneath it, and leaving the Huns, he returned to his own district in Gaul. So does human frailty, if it becomes entangled in suspicion, often lose irretrievably the opportunity of achieving great results<sup>1</sup>.

Return of  
Thoris-  
mund to  
Toulouse.

‘In this most famous battle, which was fought between the bravest nations in the world, it is reported

Numbers  
of the  
slain.

<sup>1</sup> ‘And thus the native hue of resolution  
Is sicklied o’er with the pale cast of thought.’

BOOK II. that 162,000<sup>1</sup> men were slain on both sides, not including 15,000 of Gepidae and Franks, who, falling foul of one another the night before the battle, perished by mutually inflicted wounds, the Franks fighting on the side of the Romans, the Gepidae on that of the Huns.

Unex-  
pected de-  
liverance  
of Attila.

‘When Attila learned the departure of the Goths, the event was so unexpected<sup>2</sup> that he surmised it to be a stratagem of the enemy, and kept his troops within the camp for some time longer. But when he found that the absence of the enemy was followed by a long time of silence, his mind again rose with the hope of victory, future joys unfolded themselves before him, and the courage of this mighty king returned again to its old level. Meanwhile Thorismund, who had been clothed with the regal majesty on the Catalaunian plains on the very place where his father had fallen, entered Toulouse, and here, notwithstanding that his brothers had a strong party among the chiefs, he so prudently managed the commencement of his reign, that no dispute was raised as to the succession.’

Why was  
the victory  
not fol-  
lowed up?

So far Jordanes. The battle then was lost but not won: lost as far as Attila’s invasion of Gaul was concerned, but not won for the Roman Empire by the destruction of its most dreaded foe. In reading the story of Attila’s escape from Aetius, one is naturally reminded of Alaric’s escape from Stilicho, forty-eight years before, and of the imputations then thrown out<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Idatius puts the number of slain at 300,000. Of course all estimates of the slain on such a battle-field are of the vaguest and most untrustworthy kind.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtful translation.

<sup>3</sup> By Orosius, vii. 37, ‘Taceo de Alarico cum Gothis suis saepe victo, saepe concluso, semperque dimisso.’

as to the connivance of the Roman general. And the same remark which was made then may be to some extent applicable now. With troops of such uncertain temper, and, in this case, with such imperfect cohesion as the greater part of the Roman auxiliaries showed, it might be dangerous to animate the vast host of Attila with the irresistible courage of despair. In all ages, from Sphacteria to Saratoga, and from Saratoga to Sedan, the final operation of compelling the surrender of a beaten army, the landing, so to speak, of the fisherman's prize, has been an operation requiring some nicety of generalship and a pretty high degree of confidence in the discipline of the victorious troops. Even the clash of arms and the blast of trumpets in the camp of the Huns—the lashing of the lion's tail, and the deep thunder of his roar—may have struck some terror into the hearts of his hunters. But after all, Jordanes is probably not very wide of the mark when he imputes both to Aetius and to Thorismund a want of whole-heartedness in securing the fruits of victory.

Aetius had not, most probably, such accurately wrought-out views of the balance of power as the historian imputes to him, nor such an over-mastering dread of Gothic bravery as their countryman supposed. But, in the very outset of his career, his life had been passed alternately in the Hunnish camp and the Roman palace; he had been 'mingled among the heathen and learned their works.' He had used the help of his barbarian friends in the marshes of Ravenna and under the walls of Toulouse. Reasons of sentiment as well as of policy may have made him reluctant to aid in obliterating the very name of the Huns from the earth.

BOOK II.  
CH. 3.  
451.

Reasons  
which in-  
fluenced  
Aetius.

BOOK II. And above all, as the events of the next few years  
 CH. 3. showed, he himself was safe only so long as he was  
 451. indispensable. There was a dark and rotten-hearted  
 Augustus skulking in the palace at Ravenna, who en-  
 dured the ascendancy of Aetius only because he trembled  
 at the name of Attila.

Reasons  
 which  
 influenced  
 Thoris-  
 mund.

On the Gothic side there were also good reasons for  
 not pushing the victory too far. It scarcely needed the  
 whisper of the Roman general to remind Thorismund  
 how uncertain was his succession to the royalty of his  
 father. The kingly office among the Visigoths became,  
 in days subsequent to these, a purely elective dignity.  
 If at this time some notion of hereditary right, or at  
 least of hereditary preference, hovered round the family  
 of the dead king, it was by no means clear that one son  
 alone must succeed, nor that son the eldest. All was  
 still vague and indeterminate in reference to these  
 barbaric sovereignties. In point of fact Thorismund,  
 though he now succeeded to the throne, was, only  
 453. two years later, deprived of crown and life by his  
 brother Theodoric II, who, after a peaceful and pros-  
 466. perous reign, succumbed in like fashion to the fratricidal  
 hand of his successor Euric. Every motive therefore of  
 individual ambition and far-seeing patriotism concurred  
 in recommending to Thorismund and his chiefs a speedy  
 return to Toulouse, that the same army which brought  
 the tidings of the death of Theodoric might also an-  
 nounce the election of his successor.

Recent  
 discovery  
 of the  
 grave of  
 a Gothic  
 chief near  
 the site of  
 the battle.

This is all that history can say with unhesitating  
 voice concerning the death of the Visigothic king and  
 the accession of his son on the Mauriac plain. Archae-  
 ology, however, offers a contribution to our knowledge,  
 which, if not raised beyond the reach of all contradiction,

is at least curious and interesting. In 1842, a labourer BOOK 11.  
CH. 3. digging for gravel near the little village of Pouan, on 451. the south bank of the Aube, and about ten miles from Mery-sur-Seine, found at a depth of nearly a yard below the surface 'some human bones, two rusted blades, and several jewels and golden ornaments of considerable weight.' Examined more in detail, the most interesting objects in this find appeared to be

I. A two-edged sword, 2 feet 8 inches long, and 3 inches broad. The point is protected by a little oblong hoop of iron, to prevent it from penetrating into the scabbard, which was probably of wood, and which of course has disappeared.

II. A cutlass, about 22 inches long, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch broad. Both of these two weapons have the hilts richly adorned with gold, and at the top a sort of lattice-work of gold and purple glass.

III. A golden necklace, serpent-shaped, weighing three ounces.

IV. A golden armlet, five ounces in weight, with the ends left open, so as to give it elasticity in fitting it on to the forearm.

V. Two golden clasps (*fibulae*) with the same lattice-work of gold and purple glass which is found on the hilts of the swords.

VI. A golden signet-ring, an ounce-and-a-half in weight, with the word HEVA in Roman capitals on the flat surface.

Some gold buckles and other ornaments, one of which has an inlay of garnets instead of purple glass, complete the treasure-trove, which, having been eventually purchased by the Emperor Napoleon III, was presented by him to the museum of the city of Troyes.

BOOK II.  
CH. 3.

451.

The question arises, 'Can we form any probable conjecture whose grave is this in which we find a skeleton surrounded with articles of adornment, worth even now perhaps £100 in intrinsic value, and pointing by the style of their workmanship towards the fifth or sixth century, as the time of their fashioning, and towards a Gothic or Frankish artificer as their maker.

Is this the  
tomb of  
Theodoric?

M. Peigné Delacourt, to whom we are indebted for these details<sup>1</sup>, answers unhesitatingly, 'We can. It is probably the tomb of Theodoric I, king of the Visigoths.' But how reconcile such a theory with the narrative of Jordanes? To accomplish this, M. Delacourt imagines a few unrecorded details, which of course no one is bound to accept, but which certainly seem to bring us a little nearer to that tremendous battle-field, dim with the haze of fourteen centuries. 'When the servants of Theodoric,' so his imagined story runs, 'found that their king was wounded to death, they dragged him a little aside from the "vast and manifold and ruthless conflict." They dug a shallow trench in the gravelly soil, and there they laid the bruised and trampled body of the snowy-bearded warrior. His golden-hilted sword was still by his side, his cutlass hung from the baldric, the purple robe of his royalty was fastened over his shoulders by the golden *fibula*. Round his neck was the golden torque, his forearm was clasped by the un-closed bracelet, on his finger was the ring of gold bear-

<sup>1</sup> See 'Recherches sur le lieu de la Bataille d'Attila en 451 par Peigné-Delacourt, Membre correspondant de la Société Imperiale des Antiquaires de France,' &c., Paris, 1860, with Supplement published at Troyes, 1866. This monograph is sumptuously illustrated with chromo-lithographic pictures of the find itself and of other ornaments found in France and Spain, which, in the author's opinion, point to a similarity of date or origin.



ing the mysterious name Heva, perhaps a remembrance of his dead wife, perhaps<sup>1</sup> a symbol of his kingship. All these things were buried with him. The only object of his henchmen was to find a temporary resting-place for their lord. When the tide of battle should have rolled away from that spot, they would come again and disinter him and carry him southwards, to be laid with proper pomp in Gothic Toulouse by the Garonne. Such was their thought, but Fortune, in making void their counsel, worked a strange reprisal for the barbarity practised in the burial of Alaric. As *his* tomb was dug by the unwilling hands of captives, whose instant death insured their secrecy, so the few faithful friends of Theodoric were all slain in the terrible turmoil of war which raged round the spot where he had fallen, and thus his grave remained unmarked for 1391 years. The battle was won, and the cry was raised, "Where is the body of the king?" They found it at last, says Jordanes, after a long search, lying under a heap of dead. Who knows if they really did find it? In those hot July days it might not be an easy task to identify a body gashed with wounds and lying under a pile of slain. Thorismund's interest was obviously to get his father's funeral and his own elevation to the sovereignty accomplished as speedily as possible. Perhaps he did not insist too punctiliously on the recovery of the right corpse out of all that vast slaughter-house, the one strangely missing body out of all those acres upon acres of dead Romans, Goths, and Huns.'

<sup>1</sup> Heva *may* possibly mean 'wife' or 'house.' But it seems more probable that it is a proper name. The termination *a* is frequent in Gothic names; more so, however, we must admit in those of men than of women.

BOOK II. And so, M. Delacourt suggests, the body round which  
CH. 3.  
 --- the Visigothic warriors circled, singing their wild chorus  
451. of lamentation, may have been not that of Theodoric at  
 all. He all the while lay in that shallow trench in the  
 gravel-bed at Pouan, not to be disturbed there till  
 Jacques Bonhomme, in blouse and sabots, came with his  
 pick-axe in 1842 to break the repose of centuries. The  
 story is well imagined, and certainly cannot be pro-  
 nounced impossible. What militates most against it is  
 that Jordanes says that the body was borne out to  
 burial *with its ornaments*<sup>1</sup>. In its favour is a certain  
 peculiar silence of his concerning the actual interment  
 of the corpse. He may have felt that it was improbable  
 that the Goths should have left their beloved chieftain  
 lying there in alien territory, in the cold Catalaunian  
 plains, and yet no tradition authorised him to say that  
 they took him back to the sepulchre of his predecessors  
 at Toulouse, a course which Thorismund may have had  
 sufficient reasons for emphatically prohibiting.

Finally, whether this body and these ornaments be  
 Theodoric's, or belong to one of the 'turba regum,' who  
 swarmed around the car of Attila; in either case their  
 discovery, coupled as it appears to be with that of  
 numerous other human remains in the not distant  
 village of Martroy, seems to add great probability to the  
 theory that here and not at Châlons (two days' march  
 to the northward) was fought the great battle which de-  
 cided that Europe was to belong to the German and the  
 Roman, not to the Tartar race.

<sup>1</sup> 'Cum suis insignibus.'

NOTE B. ON THE SITE OF THE SO-CALLED BATTLE OF  
CHÂLONS.

As such recent historians as Aschbach (*Geschichte der Visigothen*) and Thierry (*Histoire d'Attila*) place the site of the great battle at Châlons-sur-Marne, it may be well to show how little there is to support this view in the earliest authorities. NOTE B.

The place which we now call Châlons was probably under the Romans named Duro-Catalaunum. It was the chief place of the Catalauni, a tribe who dwelt next to the Suessiones. As in so many other parts of Gaul, the old tribal name has finally prevailed, and Duro-Catalaunum has become Châlons, as Lutetia Parisiorum is Paris, Augusta Suessionum, Soissons, and so on. In Roman miles (ten of which are about equal to nine English), and by the Roman roads, Châlons was 170 miles distant from Metz, and 51 from Troyes. Fanum Minervae, now La Cheppe, where the so-called 'Camp of Attila' is to be found, is about ten miles to the north-east of Châlons 'as the crow flies,' but owing to the interposition of the river Vêles, seems to have been 55 miles by road (which went northwards to Rheims, and then returned on the other bank of the river to Châlons. This camp is square, of Roman origin, and was therefore certainly not constructed by Attila even if he encamped inside it.

We may now consider the words of the original authorities.

*Jordanes* says, 'They come together therefore at the Catalaunian plains, which are also called the *Maurician* plains, 100 Gaulish leagues in length and 70 in breadth.' ('Convenitur itaque in campos Catalaunicos qui et Mauricii nominantur c leugas ut Galli vocant in longum tenentes et lxx in latum.') These measurements would cover the whole space between 48°

NOTE B. and 50° N. latitude, and 3° and 5° E. longitude, or a district at least equal to the old French province of Champagne.

*Gregory of Tours* says (ii. 7), 'Aetius and Theodore put Attila to flight [from Orleans], and he, going to the *Mauriac* plain, arrays his troops for battle.' ('Attilam fugant qui Mauriacum campum adiens se praecingit ad bellum.') Here we have no mention of the Catalaunian, but only of the *Mauriac* plain.

*Idatius* (28th year of Theodosius II) puts the battle 'in the Catalaunian plains not far from the city of Metz which the Huns had broken up' ('in campis Catalaunicis haud longè de civitate quam effregerant Mertis'). This statement is evidently quite wide of the mark, and shows that the Gallician bishop had such vague notions of the geography of north-eastern Gaul that we cannot safely accept his guidance.

The *continuer of Prosper* gives the most precise details: 'The battle was fought at the fifth milestone from Troyes, at a place called *Maurica* in Champagne.' ('Pugnatum est in quinto milliario de Trecas, loco nuncupato Mauricâ in Campaniâ.')

Now when we look (1) at the exceedingly wide range which, as we see from *Jordanes*, was given to the term *Campi Catalaunici*; (2) at the persistent reference to the *Campus Mauriacus* or some similar name as the field of battle; (3) at the fact that there is still existing a place called *Mery-sur-Seine*, which may fairly be supposed to represent the ancient *Mauriacum*; (4) at the situation of this place, not indeed at the fifth milestone from Troyes, apparently about twenty miles distant from it, but situated in a plain which may very probably have been called the *Campus Mauriacensis*, and may have extended to the fifth milestone from Troyes; (5) at the great strategical importance of Troyes, placed at the centre of a perfect cobweb of roads, in the Roman time as well as now, and commanding apparently the passage of at least one important river; considering all these facts and comparing them with the authorities, we must, as it appears to me, accept the conclusion that the battle was fought near to *Mery-sur-Seine*, but upon widely extended lines, and that it may easily have rolled over into what were properly called the Catalaunian plains (the Catalauni being the next tribe to the *Tricasses*), though it cannot have extended as far as the modern *Châlons-sur-Marne*, which was two days' march from the field of battle.

It will be observed that this argument represents the con-  
clusion to which we are brought by a simple consideration of  
the language of the chroniclers, and is wholly independent of  
the interesting discoveries described in the *Mémoire* of M.  
Peigné Delacourt to which reference is made in the text.

NOTE B.

[Von Wietersheim takes the same view as to the site of the  
battle.]

## CHAPTER IV.

### ATTILA IN ITALY.

#### Authorities.

BOOK II. A chapter in JORDANES and a paragraph in the HISTORIA  
CH. 4. MISCELLA, with one curious anecdote from SUIDAS the well-  
451. known lexicographer (of uncertain date), are all the materials  
that we possess for the history of this immeasurably important  
campaign, except the brief memoranda of the Annalists.

Attila's  
return to  
Pannonia.

IN the summer of 451, Attila, with his beaten army, recrossed the Rhine, and dismissed the courageous Lupus with a safe-conduct back to Troyes, bidding his chief minister and interpreter Onégesh intercede with the holy man that he might receive the benefit of his prayers.

All that autumn and winter we may imagine him dwelling, moody and sore of heart, within his wooden stockade upon the plains of Hungary, receiving the homage of his nobles as he drank to them out of his goblet of ivy-wood, scowling while all around were laughing at the gabble and the jests of Zercon, or passing his fingers through the dark locks of Ernak, while he whispered to himself, 'This boy shall build up the house of Attila.'

With spring, the spring of 452, came back the long-

ing for 'the joys of strife <sup>1</sup>,' and the determination to wipe out the shame of the Mauriac plains on some fresh battle-field. But this time he would not try conclusions with the hardy Visigoth. Aetius, Valentinian, Italy, should bear the sole weight of his revenge <sup>2</sup>. He marched, probably through the passes of the Julian Alps and down the valley of the Frigidus, by the route already trodden by Theodosius and Alaric, and stood, perhaps before the spring had ripened into summer, before the walls of Aquileia.

BOOK II.  
CH. 4.

452.  
Italian  
campaign  
of 452.

This town was then, both as a fortress and a commercial emporium, second to none in Northern Italy. It was situated at the northernmost point of the Gulf of Hadria, about twenty miles north-west of Trieste, and the place where it once stood is now in the Austrian dominions, just over the border which separates them from the kingdom of Italy. In the year 181 B. C. a Roman colony had been sent to this far corner of Italy to serve as an outpost against some intrusive tribes, called by the vague name of Gauls, who were pressing into the Adriatic shores over the passes of the Carnic Alps, those Alps which are so familiar to the sojourners in Venice as 'blue Friuli's mountains.' The colonists built their town about four miles from the sea by the

Situation  
and im-  
portance of  
Aquileia.

<sup>1</sup> 'Certaminis gaudia' (Jordanes, xxxix).

<sup>2</sup> Possibly there had intervened some slackening of the alliance or even actual dissensions between Ravenna and Toulouse. Jordanes says that Attila watched his opportunity in the departure of the Visigoths, and seeing, what he had often hoped for, his enemies divided into two parts, with a feeling of security moved forward his array for the destruction of the Romans. ('Attila vero nacta occasione de secessu Vesegotharum et, quod saepe optaverat, cernens hostium solutionem per partes, mox jam securus ad oppressionem Romanorum movit procinctum.')

BOOK II. banks of the river Aquilo<sup>1</sup> (the River of the North  
 CH. 4. Wind) from whence it probably derived its name.

452.

Possessing a good harbour, with which it was connected by a navigable river, Aquileia gradually became the chief entrepôt for the commerce between Italy and what are now the Illyrian provinces of Austria. Under the Emperors, and especially after Trajan's conquest of Dacia, these provinces, rich in mineral and agricultural wealth, and enjoying long intervals of settled government, attained to a high degree of prosperity, and had the glory of seeing many Illyrian brows bound with the Imperial diadem. Naturally Aquileia rose in importance with the countries whose broker she was. She sent the wine, the oil, the costly woven fabrics of the Mediterranean provinces over the Julian and Carnic Alps into Pannonia and Noricum, and she received in return their cattle, their hides, amber from the shores of the Baltic<sup>2</sup>, and long files of slaves taken in the border wars which were being perpetually waged with the Germanic and Slavonic tribes beyond the Danube and the Carpathians. The third century after the Christian era was probably the most flourishing period of her commercial greatness, some of the springs of which must have been dried up by the troubles with the barbarians after the loss of the province of Dacia. Still, as far as can be ascertained from the language of contemporary authors, she was, at the time at which we have now arrived, entitled to contest

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise called the Natiso, now the Isonzo.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen thinks that the traffic in amber between Germany and Italy may be traced back as far as the times of the Roman kings. A silver coin of the Etrurian town, Populonia, of very early date, has been found, he says, 'on the old amber-route in the district of Posen' (Hist. of Rome, book i, chap. 13).



with Milan and Ravenna the distinction of being the most important city of Northern Italy. Ecclesiastical had followed commercial supremacy, and the Bishop of Aquileia ruled as Metropolitan over the provinces of Western Illyricum and Venetia, so that, between the years 350 and 450, Silistria on the lower Danube and Verona in the heart of Lombardy, both (though not both at the same time) owned his spiritual sway<sup>1</sup>. In a military point of view the city held a yet higher place. The strength which she derived from the river, the sea, perhaps the intervening marshes, had been increased by the elaborate fortifications of successive emperors. The savage Maximin (dethroned by the Senate in 238) had in vain attempted to take it, and had eventually been murdered under its walls by his mutinous soldiers. Equally vain had been the efforts of the army of Julian more than a century later, though they built huge wooden towers and floated them on rafts down the stream past the walls of the city. The inhabitants set the towers on fire, and were continuing a vigorous resistance when the news which arrived of the death of Constantius II, in whose cause they were fighting, released them from the necessity of further defence, and justified them in opening their

BOOK II.  
CH. 4.

452.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the ecclesiastical limits would so far agree with the political, that the portion of Illyricum which was assigned to the Eastern sceptre at the accession of Theodosius ceased before long to be within the obedience of the See of Aquileia. On the other hand Verona and the whole of Western Venetia were (possibly as some indemnification for this loss) transferred from the metropolitan jurisdiction of Milan to that of Aquileia, at the death of St. Ambrose or shortly after that event. Such at least is the conclusion of Count Maffei (*Verona Illustrata*, book x), who has carefully examined both the political and ecclesiastical relations of Aquileia with the Venetian province.

BOOK II. gates to Julian, now sole and lawful Emperor. Rightly  
 CH. 4. therefore might Aquileia have claimed to herself the  
 45<sup>2</sup>. proud title of a virgin fortress<sup>1</sup>; and we can now  
 understand why it was that Aetius, who apparently  
 regarded the defence of all the rest of Northern Italy  
 as hopeless, left troops—we know not how many, nor  
 for how long a siege prepared—to hold the great  
 fortress by the Natiso against the enemy.

Attila's  
 siege of  
 Aquileia.

The Roman soldiers of the garrison were of unusually  
 good quality and high courage, and under their guid-  
 ance the town made so long and stubborn a defence  
 that Attila's soldiers began to weary of their work.  
 Ominous murmurs began to be heard in the camp, and  
 it seemed as if Aquileia was about to add another  
 and more terrible name to the list of her unsuccessful  
 assailants. But just then, while Attila was pacing  
 round her walls, moodily deliberating with himself  
 whether to go or stay, the flapping of wings and  
 the cry of birds overhead arrested his attention. He  
 looked up, and saw the white storks<sup>2</sup> which had built  
 their nests in the roofs of the city, rising high in the  
 air, and inviting their callow young to follow them,  
 evidently with the intention of leaving the beleaguered  
 town, and contrary to their usual habits, betaking  
 themselves to the open country. The mother-wit of  
 the Hunnish chieftain caught at the expressive augury.  
 'Lo, there!' he cried to his grumbling soldiers. 'See  
 those birds, whose instinct tells them of futurity; they

<sup>1</sup> The sudden attack by which Theodosius wrested it from Maximus (388) was so completely a surprise that the city can hardly be deemed to have lost its character of impregnability thereby (see vol. i. p. 467).

<sup>2</sup> 'Animadvertit candidas aves, id est ciconias, quae in fastigio domorum nidificant de civitate foetus suos trahere' (Jordanes, xlii).

are leaving the city which they know will perish, the fortress which they know will fall. It is no mere chance, no vague uncertainty which guides their movements. They are changed from all their natural love of home and human kind by their knowledge of the coming terror.' The wild hearts of the Huns were stirred by the speech of their king, and took courage from the fresh voice of Nature on their side<sup>1</sup>. They again pushed up their engines to the walls, they plied the slings and catapults with renewed energy, and, as it were in an instant, they found themselves masters of the town.

In proportion to the stubbornness of the defence was the severity of the punishment meted out to Aquileia. The Roman soldiers were, no doubt, all slain. Attila was not a man to encumber himself with prisoners. The town was absolutely given up to the rage, the lust, and the greed of the Tartar horde who had so long chafed around its walls. The only incident of the capture which enables us to grasp more definitely these commonplaces of barbaric conquest, is the story<sup>2</sup> of a noble lady, named Digna, eminent for beauty and virtue, whose house was situated upon the walls of the city. Close to her house was a high tower, overlooking the glassy waters ('*vitreis fluentis*') of the Natiso. When she saw that the city was taken, in order to save her honour from the scornful outrages of those filthiest of foes ('*sordidissimis hostibus*'), she ascended the tower, and having covered her head in the old Roman fashion, plunged into the stream below.

<sup>1</sup> It is important to remember the tradition that they had been guided into Europe by a hind, a somewhat similar kind of augury.

<sup>2</sup> Told in the *Historia Miscella*, book xiv.

BOOK II.  
CH. 4.  
452.

The  
punish-  
ment of  
Aquileia.

BOOK II. When the barbarians could plunder no more, they  
 CH. 4. probably used fire, for the very buildings of Aquileia  
 452. perished, so that, as Jordanes tells us, in his time, a century later than the siege, scarcely the vestiges of it yet remained. A few houses may have been left standing, and others must have slowly gathered round them, for the Patriarch of Aquileia retained all through the middle ages considerable remains of his old ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and a large and somewhat stately cathedral was reared there in the eleventh century. But the City of the North Wind never really recovered from the blow. Her star had fallen from the firmament, and from this time she almost disappears from history. At the present day two or three mean-looking little villages cower amid the vast enclosure, which is chiefly filled with maize-fields and cherry-trees, while the high-pitched roof of the Duomo, with its tall detached campanile, dominates the plain.

Destruction of cities of Venetia.

The terrible invaders, made more wrathful and more terrible by the resistance of Aquileia, streamed on through the trembling cities of Venetia. Each earlier stage in the itinerary shows a town blotted out by their truly Tartar genius for destruction. At the distance of thirty-one miles from Aquileia stood the flourishing colony of Julia Concordia, so named, probably, in commemoration of the universal peace which, 480 years before, Augustus had established in the world. Concordia was treated as Aquileia, and only an insignificant little village now remains to show where it once stood<sup>1</sup>. At another interval of thirty-

Concordia.

<sup>1</sup> In the Academy of Sept. 3rd, 1881, there is a notice by F. Barnabei of the very interesting excavations by S. Bertolini in Concordia and its neighbourhood. Especially noteworthy must have

one miles stood Altinum, with its white villas cluster-  
ing round the curves of its lagunes, and rivalling  
Baiae in its luxurious charms. Altinum was effaced  
as Concordia and as Aquileia. Yet another march of  
thirty-two miles brought the squalid invaders to  
Patavium, proud of its imagined Trojan origin, and,  
with better reason, proud of having given birth to  
Livy. Patavium, too, was levelled with the ground.  
True it has not, like its sister towns, remained in the  
nothingness to which Attila reduced it. It is now

‘Many domed Padua proud,’

but all its great buildings date from the middle  
ages. Only a few broken friezes and a few inscrip-  
tions in its museum exist as memorials of the classical  
Patavium.

As the Huns marched further away from Aquileia,  
and the remembrance of their detention under its  
ramparts became less vivid, they were less eager to  
spend their strength in mere blind rage of demolition.  
Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, all opened their  
gates at their approach, for the terror which the fate of  
Aquileia had inspired was on every heart. In these  
towns, and in Milan and Pavia (Ticinum), which followed  
their example, the Huns enjoyed doubtless to the full  
their wild revel of lust and spoliation, but they left the

Attila in  
the upper  
valley of  
the Po.

been the great sarcophagi with their heavy lids, grouped on both sides  
of the Roman road which led to Aquileia and the East. ‘In some  
places we see slabs that have been completely wrenched from their  
sarcophagi by means of levers; and in imagination we witness the  
desolating invasion of the ruthless Huns, who cared not one jot for  
the pains and penalties with which he who should desecrate the tombs  
was threatened, but broke them open in every direction in order to  
rifle the valuables which had been buried with the corpse.’

BOOK II. buildings unharmed, and they carried captive the in-  
 CH. 4. habitants instead of murdering them <sup>1</sup>.

45<sup>2</sup>.  
 Attila at  
 Mediola-  
 num.

At Milan a characteristic incident, which rests on fair if not contemporaneous evidence, is said to have occurred. The Hunnish king took up his quarters at the Imperial Palace, the stately edifice in which Constantine signed the edict for the legalization of Christianity, the same edifice in which, eighty years later, Theodosius expired, sick at heart for the ruin which he saw impending over the Empire. Besides other works of painting and sculpture with which the palace was no doubt liberally adorned, Attila beheld a picture representing 'The Triumph of Rome over the Barbarians.' Here were the two Augusti of the East and West seated on their golden thrones, and here in the front of the picture were the figures of the vanquished Scythians, some slain, others crouching in abject submission before the feet of the Emperors. Even so may the King of Prussia have looked, in the long galleries of Versailles, upon the glowing battle-pieces in which the genius of Lebrun and of Vernet commemorates the prowess of France and the humiliations of Germany. Attila took the insult as aimed at his own ancestors, though it is almost certain that the 'Scythians' whom any painter at Milan delineated would be Goths rather

<sup>1</sup> This distinction between the cities of Eastern Venetia and their Western neighbours, which is quite evident to any one at the present day who is in quest of Roman remains, is very clearly brought out by the *Historia Miscella* (Book xiv) which is here our best authority. 'Concordiam, Altinum sive (=et) Patavium vicinas Aquilejæ civitates, illius instar demoliens solo coaequavit. Exinde per universas Venetiarum urbes, hoc est Vincentiam, Veronam, Brixiam, Pergamum, seu (=et) reliquas, nullo resistente, Hunni bacchabantur, Mediolanum Ticinumque pari sorte diripiunt, *ab igne tamen abstinentes et ferro.*

than Huns. With that grim humour which flashed forth now and again upon the sullen background of his character, he called for an artist whom he commissioned to paint, perhaps on the opposite wall, a rival picture. In this, king Attila sat on his throne, and the two Emperors bowed low before him. One still bore upon his shoulders a large miller's sack filled with pieces of gold, the other was already pouring out the contents of a similar sack at his feet. This reference to the tributary obligations which Attila had forced upon both Rome and Constantinople harmonises with the language of Priscus, and seems to invest the story with a semblance of probability. Would that amidst the subsequent changes of fortune which have befallen the fair city of Milan, notwithstanding the despair of the Ostrogoths and the rage of Barbarossa, that picture might have survived to tell us what the great Hun looked like in his pride, the artistic Theodosius and the sensual Valentinian in their humiliation<sup>1</sup>.

The valley of the Po was now wasted to the heart's content of the invaders. Should they cross the Apennines and blot out Rome as they had blotted out Aquileia from among the cities of the world? This was the great question that was being debated in the Hunnish camp, and strange to say, the voices were not

<sup>1</sup> This story is preserved for us in the work—half dictionary, half encyclopaedia—of Suidas. Unfortunately his own date is so uncertain, and so many additions have been made to the original work, that it is quite impossible to say from external evidence whether this anecdote was committed to writing in the 5th century or at a much later period. Suidas relates it twice, once under the heading *Κόρυκος* and once under *Μεδιόλανον*. The former word, which signifies 'a sack' is of very infrequent occurrence, and it has been suggested that this is probably the cause of the preservation of the story.

BOOK II. all for war. Already Italy began to strike that strange  
 CH. 4, 1  
 452. awe into the hearts of her northern conquerors which so often in later ages has been her best defence. The remembrance of Alaric, cut off by a mysterious death immediately after his capture of Rome, was present in the mind of Attila, and was frequently insisted upon by his counsellors, who seem to have had a foreboding that only while he lived would they be great and prosperous.

Roman  
 embassy  
 to the  
 Hunnish  
 camp.

While this discussion was going forward in the barbarian camp, all voices were hushed, and the attention of all was aroused, by the news of the arrival of an embassy from Rome. What had been going on in that city it is not easy to ascertain. The Emperor seems to have been dwelling there, not at Ravenna. Aetius shows a strange lack of courage or of resource, and we find it difficult to recognise in him the victor of the Mauriac plains. He appears to have been even meditating flight from Italy, and to have thought of persuading Valentinian to share his exile<sup>1</sup>. But counsels a shade less timorous prevailed. Some one suggested that possibly even the Hun might be satiated with havoc, and that an embassy might assist to mitigate the remainder of his resentment. Accordingly ambassadors were sent in the once mighty name of 'the Emperor and the Senate and People of Rome' to crave for peace, and these were the men who were now ushered into the camp of Attila.

<sup>1</sup> This hint as to the feebleness of Aetius is to be found in Prosper of Aquitaine—'Nihil duce nostro Aetio secundum prioris belli opera prospiciente; ita ut ne clusuris quidem Alpium quibus hostes prohiberi potuerant, uteretur; hoc solum spei suis superesse existimans, si ab omni Italiâ cum Imperatore discederet.'



The envoys had been well chosen to satisfy that punctilious pride which insisted that only men of the highest dignity among the Romans should be sent to treat with the Lord of Scythia and Germany<sup>1</sup>. Avienus, who had, two years before, worn the robes of consul, was one of the ambassadors. Trigetius, who had wielded the power of a prefect, and who, seventeen years before, had been despatched upon a similar mission to Gaiseric the Vandal, was another. But it was not upon these men, but upon their greater colleague that the eyes of all the barbarian warriors and statesmen were fixed. Leo, Bishop of Rome, had come on behalf of his flock, to sue for peace from the idolater.

BOOK II.  
CH. 4.  
452.  
The Roman ambassadors.

The two men who had thus at last met by the banks of the Mincio are certainly the grandest figures whom the fifth century can show to us, at any rate since Alaric vanished from the scene. Attila we by this time know well enough: adequately to describe Pope Leo I, we should have to travel too far into the region of ecclesiastical history. Chosen pope in the year 440, he was now about half way through his long pontificate, one of the few which have nearly rivalled the twenty-five years traditionally assigned to St. Peter<sup>2</sup>. A firm

Character of Pope Leo I.

<sup>1</sup> We know, from a letter of the Ostrogothic king Theodoric, that the grandfather of his Secretary Cassiodorus was sent on an embassy to Attila and obtained peace for Rome. (Cassiodori Variarum, i. 4.) Some historians have perplexed themselves by trying to reconcile that account with this of the embassy of Leo and his two colleagues. But it seems much more probable that the embassy of the grandfather of Cassiodorus was an earlier one, perhaps one of the many relating to the vases of Sirmium. He was accompanied by Carpilio, son of Aetius, who, as we learn from Priscus (p. 179, Bonn edition), had passed many years as a hostage at Attila's court.

<sup>2</sup> 'Non videbis annos Petri,' the exhortation which is said to be addressed to each Pope on his accession, and which no Pope till

BOOK II. disciplinarian, not to say a persecutor, he had caused  
 CH. 4. the Priscillianists of Spain and the Manichees of Rome  
 452. to feel his heavy hand. A powerful rather than subtle theologian, he had asserted the claims of Christian common sense as against the endless refinements of Oriental speculation concerning the nature of the Son of God. Like an able Roman general, he had traced in his letters on the Eutychian Controversy the lines of the fortress in which the defenders of the Catholic verity were thenceforward to entrench themselves, and from which they were to repel the assaults of Monophysites on the one hand, and of Nestorians on the other. These lines had been enthusiastically accepted by the great Council of Chalcedon (held in the year of Attila's Gaulish campaign), and remain from that day to this the authoritative utterance of the Church concerning the mysterious union of the Godhead and the Manhood in the person of Jesus Christ.

And all these gifts of will, of intellect, and of soul, were employed by Leo with undeviating constancy, with untired energy, in furthering his great aim, the exaltation of the dignity of the Popedom, the conversion of the admitted primacy of the bishops of Rome into an absolute and world-wide spiritual monarchy. Whatever our opinions may be as to the influence of this spiritual monarchy on the happiness of the world, or its congruity with the character of the Teacher in whose words it professed to root itself, we cannot withhold a tribute of admiration from the high temper of this Roman bishop, who in the ever-deepening degradation of his country still despaired not, but had Pius IX lived to falsify. The Pontificate of Leo I lasted only twenty-one years.

the courage and endurance to work for a far-distant future, who, when the Roman was becoming the common drudge and footstool of all nations, still remembered the proud words, '*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento!*' and under the very shadow of Attila and Gaiseric prepared for the city of Romulus a new and spiritual dominion, vaster and more enduring than any which had been won for her by Julius or by Hadrian.

Such were the two men who stood face to face in the summer of 452 upon the plains of Lombardy. The barbarian king had all material power in his hand, and he was working but for a twelve-month. The Pontiff had no power but in the world of intellect, and his fabric was to last fourteen centuries. They met, as has been said, by the banks of the Mincio. Jordanes tells us that it was 'where the river is crossed by many wayfarers coming and going.' Some writers think that these words point to the ground now occupied by the celebrated fortress of Peschiera, close to the point where the Mincio issues from the Lake of Garda<sup>1</sup>. Others place the interview at Governolo, a little village hard by the junction of the Mincio and the Po<sup>2</sup>. If the latter theory be true, and it seems to fit well with the route which would probably be taken by Attila, the meeting took place in Virgil's country, and almost in sight of the very farm where Tityrus and Meliboeus chatted at evening under the beech tree.

BOOK II.  
CH. 4.  
452.

Interview  
by the  
Mincio.

<sup>1</sup> This is the opinion of Maffei (*Verona Illustrata*, ii. 377, ed. 1825).

<sup>2</sup> This is the opinion of Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, iii. 154) and has also in its favour the authority of Andrea Dandolo (Doge of Venice, 1343-1354), whatever that authority may be worth (*And. Dandoli Chronicon*, book v, cap. 5, § 6).

BOOK II.  
CH. 4.

452.  
Complete  
success of  
Leo's em-  
bassy.

Leo's success as an ambassador was complete. Attila laid aside all the fierceness of his anger and promised to return across the Danube, and to live thenceforward at peace with the Romans. But, in his usual style, in the midst of reconciliation he left a loophole for future wrath, for 'he insisted still on this point above all, that Honoria, the sister of the Emperor, and the daughter of the Augusta Placidia, should be sent to him with the portion of the royal wealth which was her due; and he threatened that unless this was done he would lay upon Italy a far heavier punishment than any which it had yet borne.'

Legendary  
amplifica-  
tions.

But, for the present, at any rate, the tide of devastation was turned, and few events more powerfully impressed the imagination of that new and blended world which was now standing at the threshold of the dying Empire than this retreat of Attila, the dreaded king of kings, before the unarmed successor of St. Peter. Later ages have encrusted the history with legends of their own. The great picture in the Vatican, which represents the abject terror of the Huns in beholding St. Peter and St. Paul in the air championing the faithful city, gives that version of the story which has received eternal currency from the mint-mark impressed by the genius of Raphael. As mythology has added to the wonder, so criticism has sought of later days to detract from it. The troops of Marcian, the Eastern Emperor, are said to have been in motion. Aetius, according to one account, had at length bestirred himself and cut off many of the Huns. But on carefully examining the best authorities we find the old impression strengthened, that neither miracle, nor pious fraud, nor military expediency deter-

mined the retreat of Attila. He was already predis-  
 posed to moderation by the counsels of his ministers.  
 The awe of Rome was upon him and upon them, and  
 he was forced incessantly to ponder the question,  
 'What if I conquer like Alaric, to die like him?' Upon  
 these doubts and ponderings of his supervened the  
 stately presence of Leo, a man of holy life, firm will,  
 dauntless courage—that, be sure, Attila perceived in  
 the first moments of their interview—and, besides this,  
 holding an office honoured and venerated through all  
 the civilized world. The Barbarian yielded to his  
 spell as he had yielded to that of Lupus of Troyes, and,  
 according to a tradition which, it must be admitted, is  
 not very well authenticated, he jocularly excused his  
 unaccustomed gentleness by saying that 'he knew how  
 to conquer men, but the lion and the wolf (Leo and  
 Lupus) had learned how to conquer him.'

The renown and the gratitude which Leo I earned  
 by this interposition placed the Papal Chair many  
 steps higher in the estimation both of Rome and of the  
 world<sup>1</sup>. In the dark days which were coming, the  
 senate and people of Rome were not likely to forget  
 that when the successor of Caesar had been proved  
 useless, the successor of Peter had been a very present  
 help. And thus it is no paradox to say that indirectly  
 the king of the Huns contributed, more perhaps than  
 any other historical personage, towards the creation of  
 that mighty factor in the politics of mediaeval Italy,  
 the Pope-King of Rome.

His share in the creation of another important actor  
 on the same stage, the Republic of Venice, has yet to  
 be noticed. The tradition which asserts that it and

BOOK II.  
 CH. 4.  
 452.  
 Effect on  
 the au-  
 thority of  
 the Papacy.

Attila  
 the true  
 founder  
 of Venice

<sup>1</sup> Urbis et Orbis.

BOOK II. its neighbour cities in the Lagunes were peopled by  
 CH. 4. fugitives from the Hunnish invasion of 452, is so constant, and in itself so probable, that we seem bound to accept it as substantially true, though contemporary, or nearly contemporary evidence to the fact is utterly wanting.

The thought of 'the glorious city in the sea' so dazzles our imaginations when we turn our thoughts towards Venice, that we must take a little pains to free ourselves from the spell, and reproduce the aspect of the desolate islands and far-stretching wastes of sand and sea, to which the fear of Attila drove the delicately-nurtured Roman provincials for a habitation. And as in describing the Hiongnu at their first appearance in history we had to refer to Physical Geography for an account of that vast Asian upland which was their home, so now that we are about to part with the Huns for ever, we must hear what the same science has to tell us of that very different region (the north-eastern corner of Italy) in which they, who came but to destroy, unwittingly built up an empire.

Streams  
 pouring  
 into the  
 north-west  
 corner  
 of the  
 Adriatic.

If we examine on the map the well-known and deep recess of the Adriatic Sea, we shall at once be struck by one marked difference between its eastern and its northern shores. For three hundred miles down the Dalmatian coast not one large river, scarcely a considerable stream, descends from the too closely towering Dinaric mountains to the sea. If we turn now to the north-western angle which formed the shore of the Roman province of Venetia, we find the coast-line broken by at least seven streams, two of which are great rivers. Let us enumerate them. Past the desolate site of Aquileia flows forth that *Isonzo*, once

called the river of the North Wind, with which we have already made acquaintance. It rises in an all but waterless range of mountains on the edge of Carniola<sup>1</sup>, and flows, milk-white with its Alpine deposits, through the little Austrian county of Goritzia. *Tagliamento* and *Livenza* rise in 'blue Friuli's mountains,' and just before they reach the sea encircle the town of Concordia, with which we have also made acquaintance as the second Italian city which Attila destroyed. Rising among the mysterious Dolomites, and flowing through Cadore and Titian's country, then past Belluno and Treviso, comes a longer and more important river, the *Piave*. The shorter but lovely stream of the *Brenta*, rising within a few miles of Trient, and just missing the same Dolomite ancestry, washes with her green and rapid waters the walls of Bassano, full of memories of Ezzelin's tyrannies, and of a whole family of Venetian painters, and then, running within sight of Padua, empties her waters into the sea a few miles south of Venice<sup>2</sup>. *Adige* comes next, dear to the heart of the pedestrian traveller in South Tyrol, who has through many a mile of his pilgrimage towards Italy been cheered by the loquacious companionship of its waters, who has seen its tributary, the *Eisach*, swirling round the porphyry cliffs of Botzen, and the united stream rushing under the old battlemented bridge at Verona. Last and greatest of all, the *Po*, the Eridanus of the poets, rising under the shadow of Monte Viso, flowing

<sup>1</sup> See a striking description of the upper valley of the Isonzo in 'The Dolomite Mountains,' by Gilbert and Churchill, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> The mouth of the Brenta was formerly just opposite to the island of Rialto. The Venetian canal-makers took the river round to Brondolo.

BOOK II. nearly 300 miles through the rich plain of Lombardy,  
 CH. 4. and receiving in its course countless affluents from the southern gorges of the Alps and the northern face of the Apennines, empties its wealth of waters into the Adriatic about a dozen miles from the all but united mouths of the Brenta and the Adige. The Delta of this abundant, but comparatively sluggish river, projecting into the Adriatic Sea, makes a marked alteration in the Italian coast-line, and causes some surprise that such a Delta should not yet have received its Alexandria; that Venice to the north, and Ravenna to the south should have risen into greatness, while scarcely a village marks the exit of the Po.

These seven streams, whose mouths are crowded into less than eighty miles of coast, drain an area which, reckoning from Monte Viso to the Terglou Alps (the source of the Isonzo), must be 450 miles in length, and may average 200 miles in breadth, and this area is bordered on one side by the highest mountains in Europe, snow-covered, glacier-strewn, wrinkled and twisted into a thousand valleys and narrow defiles, each of which sends down its river or its rivulet to swell the great outpour.

For our present purpose, and as a worker out of Venetian history, Po, notwithstanding the far greater volume of his waters, is of less importance than the six other smaller streams that we named before him. He, carrying down the fine alluvial soil of Lombardy, goes on lazily adding foot by foot to the depth of his Delta, and mile by mile to its extent. They, swiftly hurrying over their shorter course from mountain to sea, scatter indeed many fragments, detached from their native rocks, over the first meadows which they meet with in



the plain, but carry some also far out to sea, and then, behind the bulwark which they thus have made, deposit the finer alluvial particles with which they too are laden. Thus we get the two characteristic features of this ever-changing coastline, the *lido* and the *laguna*. The *lido*, founded upon the masses of rock, is a long, thin slip of *terra firma* which forms a sort of advanced guard of the land. The *laguna*, occupying the interval between the lido and the true shore, is a wide expanse of waters generally very few feet in depth, with a bottom of fine sand, and with a few channels of deeper water, the representatives of the forming rivers, winding intricately among them. In such a configuration of land and water the state of the tide makes a striking difference in the scene. And unlike the rest of the Mediterranean, the Adriatic does possess a tide, small it is true in comparison with the great tides of ocean, (for the whole difference between high and low water at the flood is not more than six feet, and the average flow is said not to amount to more than two feet six inches), but even this flux is sufficient to produce large tracts of sea which the reflux converts into square miles of oozy sand<sup>1</sup>.

Here, between sea and land, upon this detritus of the rivers, settled the Detritus of Humanity. The Gothic and the Lombard invasions contributed probably their share of fugitives, but fear of the Hunnish world-waster (whose very name, according to some, was derived from

<sup>1</sup> No reader of Ruskin's 'Stones of Venice' will need to be reminded of that magnificent chapter, 'The Throne,' at the commencement of the Second Volume, in which the influence of this Adriatic tide on the history and architecture of Venice, and the whole connection between the physical configuration and political development of the city, are worked out with inimitable clearness and force.

BOOK II. one of the mighty rivers of Russia<sup>1</sup>) was the great  
 CH. 4. 'degrading' influence that carried down the fragments  
 45<sup>2</sup>. of Roman civilization and strewed them over the  
 desolate lagunes of the Adriatic.

Allocation  
 of the  
 refugees  
 among the  
 villages by  
 the la-  
 gunes.

The inhabitants of Aquileia, or at least the feeble remnant that escaped the sword of Attila, took refuge at Grado. Concordia migrated to Caprularia (now Caorle). The inhabitants of Altinum, abandoning their ruined villas, founded their new habitations upon seven islands at the mouth of the Piave, which, according to tradition, they named from the seven gates of their old city—Torcellus, Maiurbius, Boreana, Ammiana, Constantiacum, and Anianum. The representatives of some of these names, Torcello, Mazzorbo, Burano, are familiar sounds to the Venetian at the present day. From Padua came the largest stream of emigrants. They left the tomb of their mythical ancestor, Antenor, and built their humble dwellings upon the islands of Rivus Altus and Methamaucus, better known to us as Rialto and Malamocco. This Paduan settlement was one day to be known to the world by the name of Venice. But let us not suppose that the future Queen of the Adriatic sprang into existence at a single bound like Constantinople or Alexandria. For 250 years, that is to say for eight generations, the refugees on the islands of the Adriatic prolonged an obscure and squalid existence,—fishing, salt-manufacturing, damming out the waves with wattled vine-branches, driving piles into the sand-banks<sup>2</sup>; and thus gradually extending

<sup>1</sup> Etzel (=Attila) is said to have been the Tartar name of the Volga.

<sup>2</sup> See the well-known letter of Cassiodorus, Praetorian Prefect under the successors of Theodoric the Ostrogoth: written probably about 537 (*Variarum*, xii. 24).

the area of their villages. Still these were but fishing BOOK II.  
villages, loosely confederated together, loosely governed, CH. 4.  
poor and insignificant; so that the anonymous geogra- 452.  
pher of Ravenna, writing in the seventh century, can  
only say of them: 'In the country of Venetia there  
are some few islands which are inhabited by men<sup>1</sup>.'  
This seems to have been their condition, though  
perhaps gradually growing in commercial importance,  
until at the beginning of the eighth century the con-  
centration of political authority in the hands of the  
first doge, and the recognition of the Rialto cluster of  
islands as the capital of the confederacy, started  
the Republic on a career of success and victory, in  
which for seven centuries she met no lasting check.

But this lies far beyond the limits of our present Cause of  
the safety  
of Venice.  
subject. It must be again said that we have not to  
think of 'the pleasant place of all festivity,' but of a  
few huts among the sand-banks, inhabited by Roman  
provincials, who mournfully recall their charred and  
ruined habitations by the Brenta and the Piave. The  
sea alone does not constitute their safety. If that were  
all, the pirate ships of the Vandal Gaiseric might  
repeat upon their poor dwellings all the terror of  
Attila. But it is in their amphibious life, in that  
strange blending of land and sea which is exhibited by  
the lagunes, that their safety lies. Only experienced  
pilots can guide a vessel of any considerable draft  
through the mazy channels of deep water which  
intersect these lagunes; and should they seem to be in  
imminent peril from the approach of an enemy, they  
will defend themselves, not like the Dutch by cutting

<sup>1</sup> 'In patria vero Venetiae sunt aliquantae insulae quae hominibus habitantur' (v. 25).

BOOK II. the dykes which barricade them from the ocean, but  
 CH. 4. by pulling up the poles which even those pilots need  
 452. to indicate their pathway through the waters.

Contrast  
 between  
 Venice  
 and her  
 founder.

There, then, engaged in their humble beaver-like labours, we leave for the present the Venetian refugees from the rage of Attila. But even while protesting, it is impossible not to let into our minds some thought of what those desolate fishing villages will one day become. The dim religious light, half-revealing the slowly-gathered glories of St. Mark's; the Ducal Palace—that history in stone; the Rialto, with its babble of many languages; the Piazza, with its flocks of fearless pigeons; the Brazen Horses; the Winged Lion; the Bucentaur; all that the artists of Venice did to make her beautiful, her ambassadors to make her wise, her secret tribunals to make her terrible; memories of these things must come thronging upon the mind at the mere mention of her spell-like name. Now, with these pictures glowing vividly before you, wrench the mind away with sudden effort to the dreary plains of Pannonia. Think of the moody Tartar, sitting in his log-hut, surrounded by his barbarous guests, of Zercon gabbling his uncouth mixture of Hunnish and Latin, of the bath-man of Onégesh, and the wool-work of Kreka, and the reed-candles in the village of Bleda's widow; and say if cause and effect were ever more strangely mated in history than the rude and brutal might of Attila with the stately and gorgeous and subtle Republic of Venice.

Venice,  
 'Europe's  
 bulwark  
 'gainst the  
 Ottomite.'

One more consideration is suggested to us by that which was the noblest part of the work of Venice, the struggle which she maintained for centuries, really on behalf of all Europe, against the Turk. Attila's power

was soon to pass away, but in the ages that were to come, another Turanian race was to arise, as brutal as the Huns, but with their fierceness sharp-pointed and hardened into a far more fearful weapon of offence by the fanaticism of Islam. These descendants of the kinsfolk of Attila were the Ottomans, and but for the barrier which, like their own *murazzi* against the waves, the Venetians interposed against the Ottomans, it is scarcely too much to say that half Europe would have undergone the misery of subjection to the organised anarchy of the Turkish Pachas. The Tartar Attila, when he gave up Aquileia and her neighbour cities to the tender mercies of his myrmidons, little thought that he was but the instrument in an unseen Hand for hammering out the shield which should one day defend Europe from Tartar robbers such as he was. The Turanian poison secreted the future antidote to itself, and the name of that antidote was Venice.

Our narrative returns for a little space to the Pannonian home of Attila. Before the winter of 452 he had probably marched back thither with all his army. Jordanes tells us that he soon repented of his inactivity, as if it were a crime, and sent one of his usual blustering messages to Marcian, threatening to lay waste the provinces of the East unless the money promised by Theodosius were immediately paid. Notwithstanding this message, however, he really had his eyes fixed on Gaul, and burned to avenge his former defeat upon the Visigoths. The Alans, that kindred tribe now encamped on the southern bank of the Loire, seemed again to hold out some hope of facilitating his invasion. King Thorismund, however, detected the subtle schemes of Attila with equal subtlety, moved

BOOK II. speedily towards the country of the Alans, whom he  
 CH. 4. either crushed or conciliated, then met the Hunnish  
 453. king in arms once more upon the Catalaunian plains, and again compelled him to fly defeated to his own land. 'So did the famous Attila, the lord of many victories, in seeking to overturn the glory of his conqueror, and to wipe out the memory of his own disgrace, bring on himself double disaster, and return inglorious home.'

Dis-  
 believed  
 by his-  
 torians.

By the unanimous consent of historians, this second defeat of Attila by the Visigoths is banished from the historical domain. The silence of all contemporary chroniclers, the strange coincidence as to the site of the battle, the obvious interest of the patriotic Goth to give his countrymen one victory over the Hun, of which neither Roman nor Frank could share the credit: these are the arguments upon which the negative judgment of historians is based, and they are perhaps sufficient for their purpose. It may be remarked, however, that the events assigned by the chroniclers to the year 453 do not seem absolutely to preclude the possibility of a Gaulish campaign, and that it is somewhat unsafe to argue against positive testimony from the mere silence even of far more exhaustive narrators than the annalists of the fifth century.

For the next scene, however, we have far more trustworthy authority, for here the words of Jordanes — 'ut Priscus refert' — assure us that we have again, though at second-hand, the safe guidance of our old friend the Byzantine ambassador.

Marriage  
 with Ildico,

It was in the year 453, the year that followed his Italian campaign, that Attila took to himself, in addition to all his other wives (and, as we have seen,

his harem was an extensive one), the very beautiful damsel, Ildico. At the wedding-feast he relaxed his usual saturnine demeanour, drank copiously, and gave way to abundant merriment. Then when the guests were departed, he mounted the flight of steps that led up to his couch, placed high in the banqueting hall<sup>1</sup>, and there lay down to sleep the heavy sleep of a reveller. He had long been subject to fits of violent bleeding at the nose, and this night he was attacked by one of them. But lying as he was upon his back in his deep and drunken slumber, the blood could not find its usual exit, but passed down his throat and choked him. The day dawned, the sun rose high in the heavens, the afternoon was far spent, and no sign was made from the nuptial chamber of the king. Then at length his servants, suspecting something wrong, after uttering loud shouts, battered in the door and entered. They found him lying dead, with no sign of a wound upon his body, the blood streaming from his mouth, and Ildico, with downcast face, silently weeping behind her veil. Such a death would, of course, excite some suspicion—suspicion which one of the Eastern chroniclers<sup>2</sup> expanded into certainty—of the guilt of Ildico, who was probably regarded as the Jael by whose hand this new and more terrible Sisera had fallen. It is more probable, however, that the cause assigned by Jordanes, apparently on the authority of Priscus, is

BOOK II.

CH. 4.

453.

and death  
of Attila.

<sup>1</sup> See Priscus' description quoted in the second chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Marcellinus says 'Attila, king of the Huns, despoiler of the provinces of Europe, is [at the instigation of Aetius] stabbed in the night by the hand and dagger of a woman. Some, however, relate that he lost his life by a hemorrhage' ('sanguinis rejectione').

BOOK II. the true one, and that the mighty king died, as he says,  
 СЯ. 4. a drunkard's death.

453-  
 Marcian's  
 dream.

It seems to be a well-attested fact, and is a curious incidental evidence of the weight with which the thought of Attila lay upon the minds even of brave men, that on the same night in which he died, the stout-hearted Emperor of the East, Marcian, who had gone to sleep anxious and distressed at the prospect of a Hunnish invasion, had a dream in which he saw the bow of Attila broken. When he awoke he accepted the omen that the Huns, whose chief weapon was the bow, were to be no longer formidable to the Empire.

Attila's  
 obsequies.

In proportion to the hope of other nations was the grief of Attila's own people when they found that their hero was taken from them. According to their savage custom they gashed their faces with deep wounds<sup>1</sup>, in order that so great a warrior might be honoured by the flowing, not of womanish tears, but of manly blood. Then in the middle of the vast Hungarian plain they erected a lofty tent with silken curtains, under which the corpse of the great chieftain was laid. A chosen band of horsemen careered round and round the tent, like the performers in the Circensian games of the Romans, and as they went through their mazy evolutions they chanted a wild strain, rehearsing the high descent and great deeds of the departed. What the form of these Hunnish songs may have been, it is impossible to conjecture; but the thoughts, or at least some of the chief thoughts, have been preserved to us by Jordanes, and may perhaps, without unfitness, be

<sup>1</sup> Compare the lines of Claudian quoted at the beginning of the second book.



clothed in metre, for in truth his prose here becomes almost metrical.

## THE DIRGE OF ATTILA.

Mightiest of the Royal Huns<sup>1</sup>,  
Son of Mundzuk, Attila!  
Leader of Earth's bravest ones,  
Son of Mundzuk, Attila!  
Power was thine, unknown before.  
German-Land and Scythia bore,  
Both, thy yoke. Thy terror flew  
Either Roman Empery through.  
O'er their smoking towns we bore thee,  
Till, to save the rest, before thee,  
Humbly both the Caesars prayed.  
Thy wrath was soothed, and sheathed thy blade.  
Slave-like<sup>2</sup> at thy feet they laid  
Tribute, as their master bade,  
The son of Mundzuk, Attila.

At the height of human power  
Stood the chieftain, Attila,  
All had prospered till that hour  
That was wrought by Attila.  
Thou diedst not by the foeman's brand,  
Thou felt'st no dark assassin's hand.  
All thy landmen, far and wide,  
Were safe from fear on every side.

<sup>1</sup> As this translation is somewhat paraphrastic the original is sub-joined. 'Praecipuus Hunnorum Rex Attila, patre genitus Mundzucco, fortissimarum gentium dominus, qui inauditâ ante se potentiâ solus Scythica et Germanica regna possedit, necnon utraque Romani orbis Imperia captis civitatibus terruit, et ne praedae reliquae subderentur, placatus precibus, annum vectigal accepit. Cumque haec omnia proventu felicitatis egerit, non vulnere hostium, non fraude suorum, sed gente incolumi, inter gaudia laetus, sine sensu doloris occubuit. Quis ergo hunc dicat exitum, quem nullus aestimat vindicandum.'

<sup>2</sup> This thought is taken from Attila's message to Theodosius by Orestes, quoted in the Second Chapter.

In the midst of thy delight,  
 'Mid the joys of Wine and Night  
 Painless, thou hast taken flight  
 From thy brethren, Attila!

Shouldest thou thus have ended life,  
 With no pledge of future strife?  
 Thou art dead: in vain we seek  
 Foe on whom revenge to wreak  
 For thy life-blood, Attila!

The Inter-  
 ment.

When the wild dirge was ended, the great funeral-feast, which they call the *Strava*<sup>1</sup>, was prepared, and the same warriors who but a few days before had been emptying great goblets of wine in honour of the marriage of Attila, now with the same outward semblance of jollity, celebrated his death. Even while the feast was proceeding, the dead body was being secretly consigned to the earth. It was enclosed in three coffins; the first of gold, the second of silver, the third of iron, to typify the wealth with which he had enriched his kingdom, and the weapons wherewith he had won it. Arms won from valiant foes, quivers studded with gems, and many another royal trinket, were buried with him. Then, as in the case of Alaric, in order to elude the avarice of future generations and keep the place of his burial secret for ever, the workmen, probably captives, who had been engaged in the task of his sepulture, were immediately put to death.

As far as we know, the grave of Attila keeps its

<sup>1</sup> There is some doubt whether the word *Strava* does not mean the heap of arms and trophies of war which was sometimes raised over the body of a dead warrior; but here the emphasis laid on the obscurity of the burial-place seems to negative that interpretation. *Ducange* (*Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*) seems on other grounds to prefer the banquet-interpretation.

secret to this day. But his deeds had made an indelible mark on the imagination of three races of men—the Latin peoples, the Germans, and the Scandinavians; and in the ages of darkness which were to follow, a new and strangely-altered Attila, if we should not rather say three Attilas, rose as it were from his mysterious Pannonian tomb, gathered around themselves all kinds of weird traditions, and hovered ghost-like before the fascinated eyes of the Middle Ages. To trace the growth of this Attila-legend, however interesting the work might be as an illustration of the myth-creating faculty of half-civilized nations, is no part of my present purpose. Moreover, the task has been so well performed by M. Amedée Thierry in the last section of his *Histoire d'Attila*, that little remains for any later inquirer but simply to copy from him. It will be sufficient therefore to note as briefly as possible the chief characteristics of the different versions of the legend.

1. The traditions of the Latin races, preserved and elaborated by ecclesiastics, naturally concerned themselves with the religious, or rather irreligious, aspect of his character. To them he is, therefore, the great Persecutor of the Fifth Century, the murderer of the eleven thousand virgins of Cologne, but above all, he is the *Flagellum Dei*, the scourge of God, divinely permitted to set forth on his devastating career for the punishment of a world that was lying in wickedness. This title, 'Flagellum Dei,' occurs with most wearisome frequency in the mediaeval stories about Attila; and wheresoever we meet with it, we have a sure indication that we are off the ground of contemporaneous and authentic history, and have entered the cloud-land of

BOOK II.  
CH. 4.  
The  
Attila of  
Legend.

Latin  
Traditions.

Flagellum  
Dei.

BOOK II. ecclesiastical mythology. Later and wilder develop-  
 CH. 4. ments in this direction, attributed to him the title of  
 'grandson of Nimrod, nurtured in Engedi, by the grace  
 of God King of Huns, Goths, Danes, and Medes, the  
 terror of the world.' There may have been a tendency,  
 as Mr. Herbert thinks, to identify him with the Anti-  
 Christ of the Scriptures, but this is not proved, and is  
 scarcely in accordance with the theological idea of  
 Anti-Christ, who is generally placed in the future or in  
 the present rather than in the past.

Teutonic  
 Traditions.

The Niebe-  
 lungen  
 Lied.

2. Very unlike the semi-Satanic Attila of eccle-  
 siastical legend is the Teuton's representative of the  
 same personage, the Etzel of the Niebelungen Lied.  
 In the five or six centuries which elapsed between the  
 fall of the Hunnish monarchy and the writing down of  
 this poem, the German seems to have forgotten almost  
 everything about his mighty lord and foe, except that  
 he dwelt by the Danube, that there was glorious  
 feasting in his palace, and that he had relations both  
 in peace and war with the Burgundians and the  
 Franks. Hence, in the Niebelungen Lied all that is  
 distinctive in Attila's character disappears. He marries  
 the Burgundian princess Kriemhilde, the widow of  
 Siegfried, and at her request invites her kindred, the  
 Niebelungs, to visit him in Hunland. There, good-  
 nature and hospitality are his chief characteristics; he  
 would fain spend all day in hunting and all night at  
 the banquet; he is emphatically the commonplace  
 personage of the story. True, it is in his hall that the  
 terrible fight is waged for a long summer day between  
 the Niebelungs and the Huns, till the floor is slippery  
 with the blood of slaughtered heroes. But this is not  
 his doing, but the doing of his wife, that terrible figure,

the Clytemnestra or the Electra of the German tragedy, 'reaping the due of hoarded vengeance' for the murder of her girlhood's husband Siegfried. Her revenge and Hagen's hardness, and the knightly loyalty of Rudiger only serve to throw the genially vapid king of the Huns yet further into the background. This round and rubicund figure, all benevolence and hospitality, is assuredly not the thunder-brooding, sallow, silent Attila of history.

3. The Scandinavian Atli, the husband of Gudruna, is a much better copy of the original. He himself is the cause of the death of the Niblung heroes, he plots and diplomatizes and kills in order to recover the buried treasure of Sigurd, just as the real Attila moved heaven and earth for the recovery of Honoria's dowry or the chalices of Sirmium. Above all, the final scene in which he with a certain grand calmness discusses, with the wife who has murdered him, the reason of her crime and appeals to her generosity to grant him a noble funeral, is not at all unlike what Attila might have said to Ildico, if the suspicion of the Byzantine courtiers had been correct, that he had met his death at her hand.

That the King of the Huns should be mentioned at all, far more that he should play so large a part in the national epic of the far-distant Iceland, is a strange fact, and suggests two interesting explanations. First: the statement of the Western ambassadors to Priscus that Attila had penetrated even to the isles of the Ocean may have been more nearly true than one is disposed, at first, to think possible, and he may have really annexed Norway and Sweden (the 'island of Scanzia,' as Jordanes calls it) to his dominions.

BOOK II. Second: throughout the early Middle Ages there was  
 CH. 4. probably an extensive reciprocal influence between the literatures of the countries of Western Europe, especially a borrowing of plots and scenery and characters by the minstrels of various nations from one another, and it may have been thus that the fiction of the King of the Huns and his murdered guests travelled from the Danube to the North Sea. It seems a paradox, yet it is probably true that the thought of Austria had more chance of blending with the thought of Iceland in the days of the Skald and the Minnesingers than in the days of the Railroad and the Telegraph.

Hungarian  
 imagina-  
 tions about  
 Attila,  
 quite  
 valueless  
 for History.

Another line of inventions rather than of traditions must be referred to, only to reject them as containing no valuable element for the historian or the archaeologist. The Magyars, a race of Turanian origin, and bound by certain ties of kindred to the Huns, entered Europe at the close of the 9th century, and established themselves in that country which has since been known as Hungary. As they slowly put off the habits of a mere band of marauders, as they became civilised and Christian, and as they thus awoke to historical consciousness, like a man sprung from the people who has risen to riches and honour, they looked about them for a pedigree. Such a pedigree was found for them by their ecclesiastics in an imagined descent from Attila, 'Flagellum Dei.' Little of course did they then foresee that their own noble deeds would furnish them with a far prouder escutcheon than any that even a genuine affinity to the great Marauder could bestow upon them. So, from the 11th to the 15th century a series of Magyar chroniclers, Simon Keza, Thurocz, Nicolaus Olahus, and others, made it their task to

glorify the nation of the Hungarians by writing out the great deeds of Attila. There is no sufficient evidence that they were recording that which had been truly handed down, however vaguely, from their ancestors. On the contrary, there is everything to show that they were, as they supposed, embellishing, and certainly expanding the literary history of Attila by imaginations of their own. Inventions of this kind are valuable neither as fact nor as legend. They no more truly illustrate the history of Attila than the Book of Mormon illustrates the history of the Jews; and they probably reflect no more light on the genuine traditions of the Asiatic and heathen Magyars than is thrown by the 'Mort d'Arthur' on the thoughts of British minds in the days of Cassivelaunus and Boadicea. All this invented history should be sternly disregarded by the student who wishes to keep before his mind's eye the true lineaments of the great Hunnish warrior.

We return for a moment, in conclusion, to the true historic Attila, whose portrait, as painted by Priscus and Jordanes, has been placed, it may be with too great fulness of detail, before the reader. It is impossible not to be struck by a certain resemblance both in his character and in his career to those of the latest world-conqueror, Napoleon. Sometimes the very words used to describe the one seem as if they glanced off and hit the other. Thus a recent German historian<sup>1</sup> in an eloquent passage, contrasting the Hun and his great Roman antagonist, Aetius, says—

Resemblance between Attila and Napoleon.

‘Conspicuous above the crowd, the two claimants to the lordship of the world stood over against one another.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Binding, *Geschichte des Burgundisch-Romanischen Königreichs*, p. 44.

BOOK II. Attila in his wild dream of building up a universal  
 CH. 4. empire in the space of one generation : opposite to him  
 the General of that Power which, in the course of a  
 thousand years, had extended its dominions over three  
 Continents, and was not disposed to relinquish them  
 without a struggle. But in truth, the idea of a world-  
 empire of the Huns had passed out of the sphere of  
 practical politics even before the battle on the Cata-  
 launian plains. Far and wide Attila enslaved the  
 nations, but the more the mass of his subjects grew and  
 grew, the more certain they were, in time, to burst the  
 fetters which the hand of one single warrior, however  
 mighty, had bound around them. With Attila's death  
 at latest his empire must fall in ruins, whether he won  
 or lost on the battle-field by Troyes. But the Roman  
 would still stand, so long as its generals had the will  
 and the power to hold it together.'

Do we not seem to hear in these words a description  
 of Napoleon's position, sublime but precarious, when  
 he was at the zenith of his glory? As the Hun led  
 Scythia and Germany against Gaul, so the Corsican led  
 Gaul and Germany against Scythia in the fatal cam-  
 paign of 1812. The Kings of Saxony and Bavaria  
 were his Ardaric and Walamir ; Moscow his Orleans ;  
 Leipsic his 'Campus Mauriacensis.' He won his  
 Honoria from an 'Emperor of the Romans,' prouder  
 and of longer lineage than Valentinian. Like Attila,  
 he destroyed far more than he could rebuild ; his  
 empire, like Attila's, lasted less than two decades of  
 years ; but, unlike Attila, he outlived his own pros-  
 perity. Of course, even greater than any such resem-  
 blance are the differences between the uncultured  
 intellect of the Tartar chieftain, and the highly-de-



veloped brain of the great Italian-Frenchman who played with battalions as with chessmen, who thought out the new Paris, who desired 'to go down to posterity with his code in his hand.' But in their insatiable pride, in the arrogance which beat down the holders of ancient thrones and trampled them like the dust beneath their feet, in their wide-stretching schemes of empire, in the haste which forbade their conquests to endure, in the wonderful ascendancy over men which made the squalid Hun the instrument of the one, and the Jacobin of the other, and above all, in the terror which the mere sound of their names brought to fair cities and widely-scattered races of men,—in all these points no one so well as Napoleon explains to us the character and career of Attila.

NOTE C. ON THE DATE OF THE FOUNDATION OF VENICE.

NOTE C. THE assertion in the text, that the story of Venice having been founded by fugitives at the time of Attila's invasion rests on mere tradition, may surprise some readers. Others, with the popular histories of Venice in their hands, may think that an earlier date ought to have been assigned to that event. Daru (*Histoire de Venise*, i. 27), after asserting that the invasions of *Alaric* sent some fugitives across the Lagunes (a very probable hypothesis, though one entirely unsupported by proof), goes on to state that twenty-four houses on the Rialto having been destroyed by fire, a church to St. James was dedicated there in the year 421. 'La ville de Padoue y envoya des magistrats annuels, avec le titre de Consuls. On trouve dans un vieux manuscrit le plus ancien monument de l'histoire de Venise ; c'est un décret du sénat de Padoue, sous la date de 421, qui ordonne la construction d'une ville à Rialte, pour y rassembler, en une seule communauté, les habitants répandus sur les îles environnantes, afin qu'ils puissent y tenir une flotte armée, parcourir la mer avec plus de sûreté, et se défendre avec plus d'avantage dans leur asyle. Tels furent les commencements de la superbe Venise.'

This seems circumstantial enough, and has been copied in good faith by the writers of popular manuals who have to deal with the early history of Venice, though they are evidently puzzled by finding the foundation of the city thus assigned to the year 421, thirty-one years, as they well know, before the invasion of Attila, which they have also to represent to their readers as the main cause of the settlement of Venice.

The fact is, and it cannot be stated too clearly in order to relieve this useful class of writers from an unnecessary dilemma, that the whole story of the foundation of the city or the building of the Church of St. James in 421, is a mere fable (the result of ignorance rather than of dishonesty), and that the alleged

'Decree of the Senate of Padua,' is as valuable a contribution to history as the forgeries of Ireland or Chatterton, but no more so. NOTE C.

I. The earliest historian of Venice is *Andrea Dandolo*, who was born in 1307, was Doge from 1343 to 1354, and was the immediate predecessor of Marino Faliero. His history (*Chronicon Venetum*, in the twelfth volume of Muratori) is very uncritical, but in his account of the events of the fifth century he builds a good deal on Jordanes and the *Historia Miscella*, though also to some extent on the Hungarian Romancers (historians they cannot be called) who wrote about Attila. He appears to be under the impression that Attila began to reign over the Huns about 415, since he places his accession before the election of Pope Zosimus in 417; and he describes<sup>1</sup> a battle which took place between him and Macrinus, 'Tetrarch of Pannonia, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia,' in which 40,000 Huns were slain, but Macrinus also fell, and the Roman army was routed. The title attributed to Macrinus is sufficient to show that Dandolo is here working with absolutely unhistorical materials.

He then proceeds in the next part to relate how the chiefs and people of the cities of Venetia, exhausted by the incursions of the Barbarians, decided to construct certain maritime cities of refuge. 'First of all, Gallianus de Fontana, Simeon de Glauconibus, and Antonius Calvus de Limianis, Consuls of Patavium (Padua), not unmindful of the past invasion, went to the maritime regions, and there near the mouth of the river Realtis, having found an island suitable for their purposes, laid the foundations of the city of Rivoaltus on the 25th March in the year of our Lord 421.' The fire (issuing from the house of a Greek shipmaster named Eutinopus), by which twenty-four mansions were consumed, and the building of a church dedicated to St. James are then recorded. This is the first and best authority for the statement quoted above from Daru, and it is hardly necessary to say that it has not the slightest claim to be regarded as authentic history. The three Consuls of Padua, with such names as 'de Fontana,' 'de Glauconibus,' and 'de Limianis,' in the early part of the fifth century, are alone quite enough to condemn it.

<sup>1</sup> Book v, chap. 1, part 9.

NOTE C. But Dandolo, though he was quite at fault as to the date of the commencement of Attila's reign, knew, with something like accuracy, the date of the fall of Aquileia, which he puts about 454. He knew very little however as to the circumstances of that disaster. We have the story of the storks, of course, and of the matron Digna, who threw herself headlong into the Natiso. But he says that after 9000 of Attila's men and 2000 of the citizens of Aquileia had been slain, the latter, 'being no longer able to resist so great a multitude, put statues as sentinels on the walls, and thus, by distracting Attila's attention, almost all escaped to Grado.' Soon after, however, Attila let fly his hawk, which settled on the hand of one of the statues. The boldness of the bird and the immobility of the man revealed the trick to Attila, and in his anger he rased the city to the ground. (Book v, chap. 5.) Attila then presses on to Concordia, whose inhabitants fly to Caprulae (Caorle), to Altino (whose inhabitants colonise Torcello and the five neighbouring islands, and name them after the six gates of their city), and lastly to Padua (which Dandolo here calls by its modern name and not Patavium). 'The king of the city of Padua sent his queen with his sons, their wives and little ones, and all his treasure to Rialto and Malamocco. Attila attacked the city, was first defeated, then he gained a victory and destroyed Padua.' Again we have here a narrative which is absolutely unhistorical, and which, even as an invention, must have belonged to a period long subsequent to the fifth century.

II. *Andrea Nogier*, a Venetian noble, who lived about 1500, is the reputed author of a History of Venice, which is printed in the twenty-third volume of Muratori. It would be an insult to Dandolo to put Nogier's work for a moment in comparison with his. Muratori truly says that it is full of fables and anachronisms in the early part, and that the man who can read it through must have plenty of spare time on his hands. It is only worth noticing here as showing the growth of the legend about the foundation in 421 and its utter historic worthlessness.

Attila, according to this account, was the grandson of a King of Hungary named Osdrubald. His invasion of Italy is placed in the years 420-428. His sieges of Aquileia, Concordia, Altino, and Pafagonia (Padua) are described at great length, and with no regard to truth. The name of the King of Padua is Janus,

his Queen is 'Andriana ovvero Vitaliana.' The siege of Padua is said to have lasted seven years. In the second year of Attila's invasion, i.e. 421, 'on the 15th of March, which was a Saturday, it was determined by the Nobles and Tribunes of the kingdom of Padua, to build a city on the island of Rivoalto. And three Consuls were set over this work whose names were Julius Falier, Thomas Candianus, and Cosmas Paulus.' By some mistake the author represents the design to build the city as formed on the 15th of March, though the first stone is laid three days earlier, on the 12th of March 421, 'in which year<sup>1</sup>, month, and day the arrangement of the heavens was by the Divine will and ordering of such favourable aspect as verily to promise that the aforesaid city should be noble and powerful, as is seen at this day<sup>2</sup>.'

NOTE C.

Then follows a good deal more atrociously disjointed history, in which for instance Totila the Ostrogoth<sup>3</sup> (who really reigned from 541 to 552) is represented as invading Italy and persecuting the Christians in 440. Soon after, the mendacious scribe, who must surely be laughing at his readers, says, 'From 442 to 648 the History of Venice is lost, and none of it can be written.' There need not have been any blank spaces in a history written on such principles.

III. *Marino Sanuto* (in the twenty-second volume of Muratori), who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth century, and was still alive in the year 1522, admits that there are various opinions about the time of the *principio* of Venice, one author putting 'it in the year 456 [453], so indicating the time in which, at the death of Attila, reigned Pope Leo I, Marcian, Gaiseric, Meroveus, and Valentinian Junior.'

'But the truth is that in the year 421, as I have said, on the 25th of March, Friday, "e ascendendo, come nell' Astrologica figura appare, gradi 25 di Canero," was laid the first stone, as many writers tell, of the Church of S. Jacopo di Rivoalto. On which day, as Holy Scripture testifies, our first father Adam was formed at the beginning of the Creation of the World.

<sup>1</sup> Millesimo (?).

<sup>2</sup> Muratori, xxiii, 925-932.

<sup>3</sup> Totila and Attila seem to have been generally confounded by the Italians of the Middle Ages. Dante (*Inferno*, xiii, 149) makes Attila instead of Totila the destroyer of Florence. And the *Ottimo Commento*, in its note on that passage, says, 'Some say that Attila and Totila were two different persons, and others that they were the same.'

NOTE C. On the same day was the Annunciation of the Angel Gabriel to the blessed Virgin Mary, and the Son of God was conceived in her womb. And on the same day, according to some theologians, Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, was crucified by the Hebrews on Mount Calvary. So this day is a very memorable one. "Sicchè è giorno molto memorabile<sup>1</sup>." An astrological diagram is appended, to shew the aspect of the heavens at that day and hour. It is of course a great matter, from this point of view, to get for the foundation of the city a day which corresponds according to the days of the week as well as according to those of the year with the supposed day of the crucifixion. (Not however an ecclesiastical Good Friday which, according to 'L'Art de vérifier les dates,' fell in 421 a week later, on the 1st April.)

IV. It is scarcely necessary to quote the passage in which *Marco Antonio Sabellico*, another great Venetian historian (who died in 1504), gives his opinion concerning 'la vera origine Veneta.' He is slightly heterodox about the year, which according to him is 422, but he is quite certain about the day. 'Almost all agree in this that on the 25th of March began the origin of this city.' And then he proceeds, like Sanuto (who perhaps copied from him), to enumerate the wonderful events which according to Scripture and tradition happened on this most auspicious day.

For all the statements which have been quoted from these four historians, it is abundantly clear that there is not the slightest true historical foundation. They are mere fancies of mediaeval Venetian patriotism, which may be revered or smiled at according to the mood of the reader, but which, having no relation to fact, should be carted away out of the domain of History with the least possible delay.

Whether the mistake under which the early Venetian historians evidently laboured as to the accession of Attila, and which led them to antedate his operations against Italy by nearly thirty years, or the astrological and ecclesiastical back-reckonings which led them up to the 25th of March, 421, as a very choice day on which their city should have been built, were the original cause of the error, it is not likely that we can now ascertain. Perhaps the historical error and the chronological conceit grew together and each strengthened the other.

<sup>1</sup> Muratori, xxii, 405-408.

The student however will expect, before the subject is dismissed, to hear something of that which Daru calls 'the most ancient monument of the history of Venice, the decree of the Senate of Padua under the date of 421, which orders the construction of a city at Rialto.' Daru quotes this document. It begins, 'Anno a nativitate Christi cccxxi in ultimo anno papae Innocentii primi . . . Aponencis, regno Pataviencium feliciter et copiose florenti, regentibus rempublicam Galiano de Fontana, Simeone de Glausonibus, et Antonio Calvo dominis consulibus . . . decretum est . . . aedificari urbem circa Rivoaltum,' &c.; and he concludes, 'Nam Gothorum multitudinem et instantiam verebantur et recordabantur quod anno Christi cccxiii [sic] ipsi Gothi cum rege eorum Alarico venerant in Italiam, et ipsam provinciam igne et ferro vastatam reliquerant et ad urbem processerunt eam spoliantes.'

According to Daru 'Le bibliographe ajoute "Reliquum legere non potui."' It was really not worth while his reading so far. Every scholar must at once perceive that this document, the so-called 'most ancient monument of the history of Venice,' is an absurd and clumsy fabrication. The misdating of Alaric's invasion by at least three years is a comparatively trifling error. The use of the date 'Anno Christi,' in the year 421, a century before Dionysius Exiguus, and the ridiculously unclassical names of the three consuls of Padua, at once stamp the document as a forgery, and give one a very low idea of the attainments of the historian who could be imposed upon by it<sup>1</sup>.

The real 'most ancient monument of the history of Venice' is the celebrated letter of Cassiodorus to the Venetians in the early part of the sixth century. This letter proves that already among the Venetian islands, though very likely not precisely at the Rialto, there was collected such a population of fishermen, salt-manufacturers, and hardy mariners as those whom we find thriving there when in 697 the first Doge is elected and the continuous history of Venice commences.

<sup>1</sup> Endeavouring to follow up at Venice the reference which Daru gives as to this MS., I was unable to discover where it is at present. The Camaldulensian convent in whose library it was placed is, as I understood, dispersed. But I was informed that the Tomaselli collection, of which this MS. formed part, consisted chiefly of 'copie di copie di copie,' and was of extremely slight archaeological value.





# BOOK III.

## THE VANDAL INVASION AND THE HERULIAN MUTINY.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### EXTINCTION OF THE HUNNISH EMPIRE AND THE THEODOSIAN DYNASTY.

##### Authorities.

##### Sources :—

FOR the disruption of the Hunnish Empire, JORDANES. For the deaths of Aetius and Valentinian, PROSPER, whose original chronicle ends with a long and eloquent paragraph at the year 455.

The *Continuer of Prosper* (Codex Havniensis) is an important authority on the deaths of Aetius and Valentinian III.

With the termination of Prosper's chronicle we are introduced to a new set of Annalists.

VICTOR TUNNUNENSIS flourished in the sixth century. He was bishop of a place in the province of Africa, the exact situation of which is not known. He wrote a chronicle (edited by Roncalli), continuing that of Prosper down to the first year of Justin II (565). He can only be looked upon as a second-rate authority for fifth-century matters, but, writing from the neighbourhood of Carthage, he may have sometimes preserved the local traditions as to the acts of the Vandal conquerors.

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ANONYMUS CUSPINIANI is the uncouth designation of a mysterious MS. (also edited by Roncalli), which is our most valuable authority for the last quarter-century of the Western Empire. The MS. of this chronicle is in the Imperial Library at Vienna. It was first published by a certain Joseph Cuspinianus, a scholar of the Renaissance (who died in 1529), and hence the name by which it is technically known. It begins with a mere list of names of Consuls, very fragmentary, and of no great value. With the year 378, the point where St. Jerome's Chronicle ends, 'the Anonymous of Cuspinian' becomes more valuable. He begins to insert much fuller notices of passing events, and is exceedingly precise in mentioning the day of the month on which each event occurred. It would not probably be too much to assert that at least half of the dates recorded by historians who write of the accessions and depositions of the Roman Emperors in the fifth century, are due to the Anonymus Cuspiniani. His information becomes perceptibly fuller and richer as the historical interest approaches Ravenna. From this and various other reasons it is conjectured that we have here an official record compiled at Ravenna, possibly by some Minister of the Imperial Court, or else part of the lost history of Bishop Maximian<sup>1</sup>; and some of the scholars of Germany have gone so far as to endeavour to reconstruct from it the original 'Ravennatische Fasten.' But putting aside all minute conjectures as to its origin and preservation, there can be no doubt that we have here an exceedingly valuable and nearly, or quite, contemporary record of the events between 455 and 493. There is an unfortunate chasm in the chronicle between 403 and 455<sup>2</sup>.

Besides the above-mentioned sources we derive some details from APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS and PROCOPIUS, who will be described more fully in future chapters.

WITH dramatic suddenness the stage after the death of Attila is cleared of all the chief actors, and fresh

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 915.

<sup>2</sup> [Anonymus Cuspiniani is now reprinted by Mommsen under the title 'Fasti Vindobonenses Priores' in the 'Chronica Minora Saec. iv. v. vi. vii.', which form the 9th volume of 'Monumenta Germaniae Historica.' Mommsen objects with some reason to the term 'Fasti Ravennates' proposed by Waitz and proposes to call the lost document instead 'Consularia Italica.' These frequent changes of name are very bewildering to a student.]

performers come upon the scene, some of whom occupy it for the following twenty years. Before tracing the character and following the fortunes of the Vandal invaders of Rome, let us briefly notice these changes.

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454.

The death of Attila was followed by a dissolution of his empire, as complete and more ruinous than that which befell the Macedonian monarchy on the death of Alexander. The numerous progeny of his ill-assorted harem were not disposed to recognise any one of their number as supreme lord. Neither Ellak, the eldest son, who had sat uneasily on the edge of his chair in the paternal presence, nor Ernak, the youngest, his father's darling, and he upon whom the hopes of Attila had most confidently rested, could obtain this preeminence. There were besides, Emnedzar, Uzindur, Dinzio, and one knows not how many more uncouthly-named brethren; in fact, as Jordanes says, 'these living memorials of the lustful disposition of Attila made a little nation themselves. All were filled with a blind desire to rule, and so between them they upset their father's kingdom. It is not the first time that a superabundance of heirs has proved more fatal to a dynasty than an absolute deficiency of them.'

Dissen-  
sions be-  
tween the  
sons of  
Attila.

To end the quarrel, it was decided that this tribe of sons should partition between them the inheritance of their father. But the great fabric which had been upheld by the sullen might of Attila was no longer a mere aggregation of nomad clans, such as the Hunnish nation had once been. If it had still been in this rudimentary condition, it might perhaps have borne division easily. But now it contained whole nations of more finely fibred brain than the Huns, astute statemen-kings like Ardaric, sons of the gods like the

Attempted  
partition  
causes  
discontent  
among the  
confeder-  
ates.

BOOK III. three Amal brothers who led the Ostrogoths to battle.  
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These men and their followers had been awed into subservient alliance with the great Hun. They had elected to plunder with him rather than to be plundered by him, and they had perhaps found their account in doing so. But not for that were they going to be partitioned like slaves among these loutish lads, the sons of Attila's concubines, men not one of whom possessed a tithe of their father's genius, and who, when they had thus broken up his empire into fragments, would be singly but petty princelings, each of far less importance than many of their own vassals. Should the noble nation of the Ostrogoths lose the unity which it had possessed for centuries, and be allotted part to Ellak and part to Ernak? Should the Gepidae be distributed like agricultural slaves, so many to Emnedzar, and so many to Uzindur? That was not Germania's understanding of the nature of her alliance with Scythia, as it would not have been the King of Saxony's or the King of Bavaria's understanding of the tie which bound them to Napoleon. Ardaric, king of the Gepidae, lately the chosen confidant of Attila, now stepped forth to denounce this scheme of partition, and to uphold Teutonic independence against Attila's successors. The battle was joined near the river Nedao<sup>1</sup>, a stream in Pannonia which modern geographers have not identified, but which was probably situated in that part of Hungary which is west of the Danube. 'There,' says Jordanes<sup>2</sup>, whose Gothic heart seems to beat faster beneath his

Battle of  
the Nedao.

<sup>1</sup> This and not Netad, is according to Mommsen the reading of the best MSS. of Jordanes.

<sup>2</sup> De Rebus Geticis, cap. I.

churchman's frock whenever he has a bloody battle to describe,—‘There did all the various nations whom Attila had kept under his dominion meet and look one another in the face. Kingdoms and peoples are divided against one another, and out of one body divers limbs are made, no longer governed by one impulse, but animated by mutual rage, having lost their presiding head. Such were those most mighty nations which had never found their peers in the world if they had not been sundered the one from the other, and gashed one another with mutual wounds. I trow it was a marvellous sight to look upon. There should you have seen the Goth fighting with his pike, the Gepid raging with his sword, the Rugian breaking the darts of the enemy at the cost of his own wounds; the Sueve pressing on with nimble foot; the Hun covering his advance with a cloud of arrows; the Alan drawing up his heavy-armed troops; the Herul his lighter companies, in battle array.’ We are not distinctly told what was the share of the Ostrogoths in this great encounter, and we may reasonably doubt whether all the German tribes were arranged on one side and all the Tartars on the other with such precision as a modern ethnologist would have used in an ideal battle of the nationalities. But the result is not doubtful. After many desperate charges, Victory, which they scarcely hoped for, sat upon the standards of the Gepidae. Thirty thousand of the Huns and their confederates lay dead upon the field, among them Ellak, Attila's firstborn, ‘by such a glorious death that it would have done his father's heart good to witness it.’ The rest of his nation fled away across the Dacian plains, and over the Carpathian mountains to those

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Disruption  
of Attila's  
Empire.

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wide steppes of Southern Russia, in which at the commencement of our history we saw the three Gothic nations taking up their abode. Ernak, Attila's darling, ruled tranquilly under Roman protection in the district between the lower Danube and the Black Sea, which we now call the Dobrudscha, and which was then 'the lesser Scythia.' Others of his family maintained a precarious footing higher up the stream, in Dacia Ripensis, on the confines of Servia and Bulgaria. Others made a virtue of necessity, and entering 'Romania,' frankly avowed themselves subjects and servants of the Eastern Caesar, towards whom they had lately shown themselves such contumelious foes. There is nothing in the after-history of these fragments of the nation with which any one need concern himself. The Hunnish empire is from this time forward mere drift-wood on its way to inevitable oblivion.

Settlement  
of Teutonic  
nations in  
Hun-land.

What is more interesting for us, as affecting the fortunes of the dwellers in Italy during the succeeding century, is the allotment of the dominions of Attila among the Teutonic tribes who had cast off the Hunnish yoke. Dacia, that part of Hungary which lies east and north of the Danube, and which had been the heart of Attila's domains, fell to the lot of the Gepidae, under the wise and victorious Ardaric. Pannonia, that is the western portion of Hungary, with Sclavonia, and parts of Croatia, Styria and Lower Austria, was ruled over by the three Amal-descended kings of the Ostrogoths. What barbarous tribe took possession of Noricum in the general anarchy does not appear to be clearly stated, but there is some reason to think that part of it at least was occupied by the Heruli, and that the south-eastern portion, Carinthia

and Carniola, received those Slavonic settlers (coming originally in the triumphant train of Attila) whom, to increase the perplexity of the politicians of Vienna, it still retains.

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454.

The death of Attila and the disruption of his empire removed the counterpoise which alone had for many years enabled the Western Emperor to bear the weight of the services of Aetius. It is true that quite recently vows of mutual friendship had been publicly exchanged and sealed with the rites of religion between these two men, the nominal and the real rulers of Italy. It is true that a solemn compact had been entered into for the marriage of the son of Aetius<sup>1</sup> with the daughter of Valentinian, and thus, as the Emperor had no son, a safe path seemed to be indicated in the future, by which the ambition of the general might be gratified, yet the claims of the Theodosian line not sacrificed. All this might be, but nothing could avail against the persuasion which had rapidly insinuated itself into the Emperor's mind that the minister, so useful and so burdensome, was now no longer needed. Just as Honorius forty-six years before had planned the ruin of Stilicho, so now did the nephew of Honorius plot the murder of the only Roman general who was worthy to rival Stilicho's renown. The part which was then played by Olympius was now played by the Eunuch Heraclius. Whether, as some chroniclers say, the Eunuch filled his master's mind with suspicions as to the revolutionary designs of Aetius, or whether, as others, the Emperor first resolved on the

Aetius no longer necessary to Valentinian.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Gaudentius, so named after his paternal grandfather. But there was at least one other son, Carpilio, who had been sent as a hostage to the Huns (see p. 69, and compare p. 157, n. 1).

BOOK III. murder of his general, and secured the grand chamber-  
 CH. I. lain's assistance, does not greatly signify. As planet  
 454. attracts planet and is itself attracted by it, so villain  
 works on villain, and is worked upon by him, when  
 a great crime, profitable to both, presents itself as  
 possible.

Murder of  
 Aetius.

The Emperor enticed Aetius into his palace without an escort. Possibly the pretext was some further conversation as to the marriage treaty between their children. Possibly when the general had entered the presence-chamber, his master announced that he must consider this contract as at an end, for we are told that Aetius was urging with uncourtly warmth the pretensions of his son, when he was suddenly stabbed by the Emperor himself. The swords of the bystanders finished the work with unnecessary circumstances of cruelty, and the chief friends of the murdered minister having been on one pretence or other allured singly into the palace, were all slain in like manner. Among them was his most intimate friend, Boethius, the Praetorian Prefect, and the grandfather, probably, of the celebrated author of the 'Consolations of Philosophy.'

In narrating this event, the Count Marcellinus (writing about a century after it had occurred) rises above his usual level as a mere chronicler, and remarks, 'With Aetius fell the whole Hesperian realm, nor has it hitherto been able to raise itself up again.' We seem, in the faded chronicle, to read almost the very words of Shakespeare—

'O, what a fall was there, my countrymen!  
 Then I, and you, and all of us fell down,  
 Whilst bloody treason flourished over us.'



Another historian<sup>1</sup> tells us that immediately after the murder, 'a certain Roman uttered an epigram, which made no small reputation for its author. The Emperor asked him if in his opinion the death of Aetius was a good deed to have accomplished. Whereupon he replied, "Whether it was a good deed, most noble Emperor, or something quite other than a good deed, I am scarcely able to say. One thing, however, I do know, that you have chopped off your right hand with your left."'

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A contemporary author, the Gaulish poet Apollinaris Sidonius, in some verses written a year or two after the event, alludes in passing to the time when

'The Thing, scarce Man, Placidia's fatuous son  
Butchered Aetius<sup>2</sup>.'

So that this deed at least had not to wait for a late posterity to be judged according to its desert.

It was probably towards the end of 454 that the murder of Aetius was perpetrated, and the scene of the crime was Rome, which for ten years previously seems to have been the chief residence of the Emperor, though Ravenna was occasionally visited by him.

In the middle of the succeeding March the Emperor rode out of the city one day to the Campus Martius. He halted by two laurel bushes in a pleasant avenue, and there, surrounded by his court and his guards, was intently watching the games of the athletes<sup>3</sup>.

455.  
Valentinian assassinated.

<sup>1</sup> Procopius (De Bello Vandalico, i. 4).

<sup>2</sup> 'Aetium Placidus mactavit semivir amens' (Panegyric of Avitus, 359).

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be the meaning of the very elliptical words of Prosper, 'egressum extra Urbem principem et ludo gestationis intentum.' Marcellinus, Cassiodorus, and others add 'in Campo Martio.'

BOOK III. Suddenly two soldiers of barbarian origin, named Optila  
 CH. I. and Traustila, rushed upon him and stabbed him<sup>1</sup>.  
 455. The Eunuch Heraclius, the confidant who had planned  
 the death of Aetius, was also slain. No other blood  
 seems to have been shed, and apparently it must be  
 taken as an evidence how low the Emperor had fallen  
 in the esteem of his subjects, that in all that courtly  
 retinue, and in all that surrounding army, not a hand  
 stirred to avenge his death. The murderers were well  
 known as henchmen of Aetius, who, moved partly  
 by resentment at his fate, and partly, no doubt, by  
 chagrin at the interruption of their own career of  
 promotion, had for months been dogging the steps of  
 the heedless Emperor with this black design in their  
 hearts.

Valentinian III left no son, and thus the Imperial  
 line of Theodosius became extinct, after it had held  
 the Eastern throne seventy-four years (379-453)<sup>2</sup>, and  
 the Western sixty-one (394-455). The choice of the  
 people and army fell on Petronius Maximus, an elderly

The Augustan MS. of Prosper supplies 'ad duas Lauros,' a little  
 detail which is also contained in the Paschal Chronicle. Holder-  
 Egger (*Neues Archiv*. i. 270) argues that we have here a blundering  
 attempt to mix up two inconsistent versions of the story: the Campus  
 Martius having been on the West of the city, within the walls, and  
 the 'Duæ Laurus' having been (as he shews from the *Liber Ponti-*  
*ficalis*) at the third milestone from the city, to the South-East of it,  
 on the Via Labicana. But surely there might very easily be two  
 places in the environs of Rome bearing the name of 'the Two Laurels,'  
 so that there is no necessary conflict of evidence.

<sup>1</sup> We get the names of the assassins from Marcellinus, whom Jordanes (*De Regnorum Successione*, 334) follows. *Codex Havniensis* calls them Accila the armour-bearer ('*bucillarius*') of Aetius, and Trasila, son-in-law of Aetius.

<sup>2</sup> Pulcheria died in the year 453, aged 54.

senator, who assumed the purple with every prospect of a wise and perhaps even a successful reign.

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CH. I.

The new Emperor was apparently related to Probus, the eminent Roman, whose two sons were made consuls in the same year (395) amid the high-flown panegyrics of Claudian. He is said to have been also grandson of that usurping Emperor Maximus, who was taken prisoner by the soldiers of Theodosius at the third milestone from Aquileia. But his own career as a member of the civil hierarchy had been so much more than merely respectable, that it seems impossible to deny to him the possession of some ability, and even of some reputation for virtue, as Roman virtue went in those days. At the age<sup>1</sup> of nineteen he was admitted into the Imperial Council as tribune and notary; then Count of the Sacred Largesses, and then Prefect of Rome, all before he had attained his twenty-fifth year. When he was holding this last office, the Emperor Honorius, at the request of the senate and people, erected a statue to his honour in the great Forum of Trajan. Consul at the age of thirty-eight, Prefect of Italy from the age of forty-four to forty-six, again Consul at forty-eight, and again Prefect, he had attained at fifty the crowning dignity of the Patriciate. This was evidently a man whom both prince and people had delighted to honour, and from whom, now that he had reached his sixtieth year, a reign of calm and statesmanlike wisdom, and such prosperity as those evil days would admit of, might not unreasonably have been hoped for.

455.  
Elevation  
and pre-  
vious career  
of Maxi-  
mus.

How different was the result, and how far he was

<sup>1</sup> These facts are collected by Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, v. 257.

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CH. 1.455.  
Short and  
unhappy  
reign of  
Maximus,as de-  
scribed by  
Sidonius.

from attaining, much more from bestowing, happiness during the seventy days, or thereabout, that he wore the Imperial Purple, we learn from a letter addressed, some time after his death, by one<sup>1</sup> who was himself well acquainted with the inner life of courts, to Ser- ranus, a faithful friend, who still ventured to proclaim his attachment to an unpopular and fallen patron.

‘I received your letter,’ says Sidonius, ‘dedicated to the praises of your patron the Emperor Petronius Maximus. I think, however, that either affection or a determination to support a foregone conclusion has carried you away from the strict truth when you call him most happy (*felicissimus*) because he passed through the highest offices of the state and died an emperor. I can never agree with the opinion that those men should be called happy who cling to the steep and slippery summits of the State. For words cannot describe how many miseries are hourly endured in the lives of men who, like Sulla, claim to be called Felix because they have clambered over the limits of law and right assigned to the rest of their fellow-citizens. They think that supreme power must be supreme happiness, and do not perceive that they have, by the very act of grasping dominion, sold themselves to the most wearisome of all servitudes: for, as kings lord it over their fellow-men, so the anxiety to retain power lords it over kings.

‘To pass by the proofs of this that might be drawn from the lives of preceding and succeeding emperors, your friend Maximus alone shall prove my maxims<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Apollinaris Sidonius, Ep. ii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Solus peculiaris iste tuus *Maximus maximo* nobis ad ista documento poterit esse.’ Sidonius is an inveterate punster.

He, though he had climbed up with stout heart into the high places of Prefect, Patrician, Consul, and had, with unsatisfied ambition, claimed a second turn at some of these offices, nevertheless when he arrived, still vigorous, at the top of the Imperial precipice, felt his head swim with dizziness under the diadem, and could no more endure to be master of all than he had before endured to be under a master. Then think of the popularity, the authority, the permanence of his former manner of life, and compare them with the origin, the tempestuous course, the close of his two months' <sup>1</sup> sovereignty, and you will find that the least happy portion of his life was that in which he was styled *Beatissimus*.

'So it came to pass that he who had attracted universal admiration by his well-spread table, his courtly manners, his wealth, his equipages, his library, his consular dignity, his patrimonial inheritance, his following of clients,—he who had arranged the various pursuits of his life so accurately that each hour marked on the water-clock <sup>2</sup> brought its own allotted employment—this same man, when he had been hailed as Augustus, and with that vain show of majesty had been shut up, a virtual prisoner, within the palace walls, lamented before twilight came the fulfilment of his ambitious hopes. Now a host of cares forbade him to indulge in his former measure of repose; he had suddenly to break off all his old rules of life, and perceived when it was too late that the business of an emperor and the ease of a senator could not go together. Moreover, the worry of the present did not

<sup>1</sup> 'Paulo amplius quam bimestris principatus.'

<sup>2</sup> Clepsydra.

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455.

blind him to the calamities which were to come, for he who had trodden the round of all his other courtly dignities with tranquil step, now found himself the powerless ruler of a turbulent court, surrounded by tumults of the legionaries, tumults of the populace, tumults of the barbarian mercenaries<sup>1</sup>; and the forebodings thus engendered were but too surely justified when the end came—an end quick, bitter, and unlooked-for, the last perfidious stroke of Fortune, which had long fawned upon the man, and now suddenly turned and stung him to death as with a scorpion's tail. A man of letters, who by his talents well deserved the rank which he bore of *quaestor*, I mean Fulgentius, used to tell me that he had often heard Maximus say, when cursing the burden of empire, and regretting his old freedom from cares, 'Ah, happy Damocles! it was only for one banquet's space that you had to endure the necessity of reigning.'

Sidonius then tells in his most elaborate style the story of Damocles feasting sumptuously under the suspended sword-blade, and concludes, 'Wherefore, Sir Brother, I cannot say whether those who are on their way to Sovereign Power may be considered happy; but it is clear that those who have arrived at it are miserable.'

Let the reader store up in his mind this picture of a sorely worried Emperor vainly striving to maintain his authority amid the clamours of mutinous legionaries full of fight everywhere but on the battlefield, of Roman demagogues haranguing about Regulus and Romulus, and of German *foederati* insatiable in their claims for donative and land. For this picture,

<sup>1</sup> 'Foederati.'

or something like it, will probably suit equally well for each of the eight other weary-browed men who have yet to wear the diadem and be saluted with the name of Augustus.

As for the Emperor Maximus, his mingled harshness and febleness, both misplaced, soon earned for him the execration of his subjects. They saw with astonishment the murderers Optila and Traustila not only not punished, but received into the circle of the Emperor's friends. This might be only the result of a fear of embroiling himself with the Barbarians, but it was only natural that it should be attributed to a guilty participation in their counsels. Then, after a disgracefully short interval, all Rome heard with indignation that the Empress Eudoxia had been commanded to cease her mourning for Valentinian, whom, notwithstanding his many infidelities, she fondly loved, and to become the wife of the sexagenarian Emperor. At the same time he compelled her to bestow the hand of one of her daughters on his son, the Caesar Palladius. The widowed Empress<sup>1</sup>, who was now in the 34th year of her age, was one of the loveliest women of her time. The motive of Maximus may have been passion, but the double marriage looks rather like policy, like a determination on the part of the fire-new Emperor to consolidate his dynasty by welding it with all that yet remained on earth of the great name of Theodosius.

If this was the object of Maximus, he signally failed, and the precautions which he took to ensure his safety accelerated his ruin. Eudoxia, the daughter, the niece,

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455.  
Maximus takes the murderers of Valentinian into favour,

and forces his widow to marry him.

Eudoxia appeals to the Vandal:

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπιπρεπαστή γυναικὶ Εὐδοξίᾳ, Theophanis Chronographia, p. 93 (ed. Paris, 1655).

and the wife of emperors, writhed under the shame of her alliance with the elderly official. As a still mourning widow she resented her forced union with the man whom some deemed an accomplice in her husband's murder. Her aunt Pulcheria was dead, and she feared that it was vain to hope for succour from Byzantium. In her rage and despair, she imitated the fatal example of Honoria, and called on the Barbarian for aid. Not the Hun, but the Vandal was the champion whose aid she invoked. Her emissary reached Carthage in safety. Gaiseric, only too thankful for a good pretext for invading Rome, eagerly promised his aid. He fitted out his piratical fleet, and soon from mouth to mouth in Rome fitted the awful tidings, 'The Vandals are coming.' Many of the nobles fled. The Emperor, torn from his sweet clepsydra-round of duties and pleasures, and depressed by the scorn of the beautiful Avenger, whose love he could not win, devised no plan for defence, but sat trembling and helpless in his palace, and when informed of the flight of the nobility could think of no more statesmanlike expedient than to publish a proclamation, 'The Emperor grants to all, who desire it, liberty to depart from the city.' The fact was that he was meditating flight himself. Better the immediate abandonment of Empire than to sit any longer under that ever-impending sword of Damocles. But then the smouldering indignation of all classes against the man whom they deemed the author of the coming misery, burst forth. The soldiers mutinied, the rabble rose in insurrection, the servants of the Imperial Palace, faithful probably to the old Theodosian traditions, prevented the meditated escape. Soon the tragedy, which near sixty



years before had been perpetrated at Constantinople (after the fall of Rufinus), was repeated in Rome. The Imperial domestics tore their new master limb from limb, and after dragging the ghastly fragments through the city, scattered them into the Tiber, so that not even the rites of burial might be granted by any one to Petronius Maximus <sup>1</sup>.

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455.  
Murder  
of Maxi-  
mus.

This event happened on the 31st of May<sup>2</sup>, less than three months after the new Emperor's accession. The sails of Gaiseric's fleet are already upon the Tyrrhene sea, and before three days are ended the third great Barbarian Actor, the Vandal nation, will appear upon the stage of Italy. But, before they come, we must turn back the pages of history for awhile, and trace the successive steps of the migration which had led them from the forests of Pomerania to the burning shores of Africa.

<sup>1</sup> According to Jordanes, a Roman soldier named Ursus dealt the fatal blow. A passage in Apollinaris Sidonius (Panegyric of Avitus, 442) seems to attribute to the Burgundians some share in the tragedy:

‘Infidoque tibi [Romae] Burgundio ductu

Extorquet trepidas mactandi principis [sc. Maximi] iras.’

Binding (p. 49) thinks that the Burgundians had just made a foray into Italy. But the passage seems too obscure for interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> Not Midsummer Day, as inadvertently stated in the first edition. Anonymus Cuspinianni puts it on the 12th of June.

## NOTE D. ON THE CHARACTER OF PETRONIUS MAXIMUS.

NOTE D. THE account of the character and actions of this Emperor, given in the text, is drawn almost exclusively from the writings of his contemporaries—Apollinaris Sidonius (430–488) and Prosper of Aquitaine (about 400–460). In some respects it is less unfavourable than that which is usually given and which is derived from later authorities.

The chief difference is in the degree of culpability which has to be assigned to him for the death of his predecessor. Some suspicion undoubtedly rested upon him in the minds of his contemporaries, but I have endeavoured not to treat this suspicion as more of a certainty than it actually was. The obvious, patent cause of Valentinian's murder was the two barbarians' desire to revenge the death of Aetius; and, to a certain extent, the whole people and army of Rome, by witnessing it unmoved, made the crime their own. It was the extraordinary conduct of Maximus *after* the murder, in admitting the assassins to his most intimate counsels, which naturally raised a suspicion that he was their accomplice, but this suspicion does not appear ever to have reached the stage of proof. The following words of Prosper no doubt express all that the immediate contemporaries of the two emperors knew about the chief actors in the tragedy.

'As soon as this parricide' (the murder of Valentinian by the friends of Aetius) 'had been perpetrated, Maximus, a man who had twice filled the office of consul, and was of patrician rank, assumed the imperial dignity. It had been supposed that he would be in all ways serviceable to the imperilled commonwealth, but he very soon showed what disposition he was of, since he not only did not punish the murderers of Valentinian, but even received them into the circle of his friends, and moreover, forbidding the widowed Empress to mourn the loss of her

lord, within a very few days he constrained her to contract a marriage with himself.' NOTE D.

This scandal of his precipitate marriage with the widow of his predecessor, and the ruin which resulted from it for Rome, made evidently a deep impression on the minds of contemporary and succeeding annalists, especially in the Eastern Empire, and disposed them to put the harshest construction on all his previous actions. It is curious to note how the suspicion which is but faintly marked in the pages of Prosper, and is not even alluded to in those of Sidonius, deepens and hardens in the later historians.

The Spanish ecclesiastic, *Idatius* (fl. about 400-470), says that 'Maximus was racked by a disturbing fear of great commotions. Through desire of reigning he had contributed by his wicked advice to the deaths of the persons slain by Valentinian, and even to that of Valentinian himself.'

*Marcellinus*, a Count of the Eastern Empire (whose chronicle ends at 558), says, 'Valentinian the Prince, by the stratagem of Maximus the Patrician, by whose deceit Aetius also perished, was mangled in the Campus Martius by Optila and Traustila.'

But the anti-Maximian prejudice reaches its height in *Procopius* (fl. about 500-560) who has unfortunately made the largest contribution to the history of this Emperor with the smallest claim to be regarded as a trustworthy authority. In the long and disagreeable romance with which he favours us, Valentinian is represented as winning the ring of Maximus from him at play, entrapping his wife to the palace by means of this ring, and then seducing her. The dishonour of his wife fills the mind of Maximus with thoughts of vengeance, in order to accomplish which he first of all induces Valentinian to assassinate Aetius, and then, 'without any trouble, he killed the Emperor and took the sovereignty.' He marries Eudoxia, and incautiously tells her one night that it was for love of her that he killed her late husband. As soon as day dawns she sends the fatal message to Gaiseric, knowing that she will receive no help from Byzantium.

It is not worth while to point out the internal improbabilities of this story, the jumble of different motives which it ascribes to the chief actors, the disparity of years between Valentinian the seducer and his victim (who was mother of a grown-up son and

NOTE D. wife to the elderly Maximus), and other points which might be remarked upon. The history into which it is inserted is thoroughly inaccurate in a chronological point of view (for instance, it represents the fall of Aquileia as succeeding the death of Aetius), and Procopius, even in reference to the events of his own time, is notoriously apt to let his history degenerate into a mere 'chronique scandaleuse,' inserting apparently many an unauthentic piece of gossip, simply because it is unsavoury. Gibbon truly remarks that 'Procopius is a fabulous writer for the events which precede his own memory.' Whatever judgment we may be disposed to pass on the alleged share of Maximus in the murder of his predecessor—and I am disposed to ask for a verdict of 'Not Proven'—at least let the fables of Procopius no longer pass current as History.





## CHAPTER II.

### THE VANDALS FROM GERMANY TO ROME.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources :—*

FOR the events which happened during the Vandals' stay in Spain IDATIUS is our best authority. BOOK III.  
CH. 2

For the Vandal Conquest, PROCOPIOUS. This Historian, Secretary, and Commissariat Officer to Belisarius is well known as the chief authority for the events of the reign of Justinian. He flourished from about 500 to 560, and wrote, besides other histories, two books, *De Bello Vandalico*. The Vandalic war, which it is his main object to describe, is of course that in which Belisarius overthrew the Vandal Kingdom (533-534). But he devotes seven chapters of the First Book (thirty-six pages in the Bonn edition) to a description of the foundation of that Kingdom by Gaiseric and the chief events of his life.

Although Procopius is an authority of the first class for the events of which he was himself an eye-witness, he is somewhat slipshod and inaccurate as to those events concerning which he had to gather his information from others. Hence his chronology is often erroneous: and when he is separated by a considerable distance of time from his subject, it seems clear that he cannot always have used the best material which contemporary historians might have afforded him. He has also an extreme love of historical gossip, and generally leans to the ill-natured view of a man's character. But the reader will see by the references how large a part of our knowledge of the Vandal settlement in Africa is derived from this source, only partially trustworthy as we must admit it to be.

BOOK III. VICTOR VITENSIS, an African bishop, who was driven into  
 CH. 2. banishment for the faith by Huneric, son of Gaiseric, wrote  
 about 486 a History of the Persecution of the African Province  
 in five books. He is therefore an all but contemporary authority  
 even for the early part of the Vandal settlement.

He used to be cited as Victor *Uticensis*. It is now admitted  
 that *Vitensis* is the correct form. Vita appears to have been a  
 city in the Byzacene province, but its exact position is unknown.

The Life of St. Augustine by POSSIDIUS, Bishop of Calama, his  
 disciple and friend, gives us some particulars as to the siege of  
 Hippo and the death of the great African Father.

Another authority which the student will sometimes find  
 quoted is VICTOR CARTENNENSIS, but this name raises a curious  
 question of literary good faith. It is admitted that there was  
 a Victor, bishop of Cartenna in Mauretania, who lived at the  
 time of the Vandal invasion and engaged in controversy with the  
 Arians. Some theological works of his are preserved, but they  
 contain nothing of importance for history. In 1836, however,  
 a French author named Marcus published an 'Histoire des Van-  
 dales,' containing numerous and important quotations from Victor  
 Cartennensis concerning the political institutions of the Vandals.  
 These quotations profess to be made from a work published at  
 Madrid (1653) called 'Mientras' Schediasmata Antiqua.' The  
 curious part of the story is that no other scholar has yet been  
 able to find a copy of these 'Schediasmata,' though the libraries  
 of Paris, Madrid, Rome, Naples, Florence, London, Oxford, Berlin,  
 Vienna, Göttingen, and Munich have all been searched for the  
 precious volume. Was it then a literary forgery on the part of  
 Marcus? That natural suggestion is to some extent rebutted by  
 a statement of Professor Waitz (*Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*,  
 I. 231, n. 3: third edition) that he met Marcus at Dijon, who  
 seems to have satisfied him that he had veritably handled the  
 apocryphal Mientras. Professor Hübner (in a paper published  
 in the proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy for 1861)  
 suggests that the work consulted by Marcus was really a MS.  
 now extant at Madrid, called 'Schediasmata Latina de rebus  
 diversis,' written by a certain Tomas Tamayo de Vargas, and this  
 suggestion is adopted by Wattenbach (*Deutschlands Geschichts-  
 quellen*, II. 396). But why Marcus should have said Mientras  
 when he meant de Vargas is not very clear. Nor does the sug-



gestion really help the authority of the so-called Victor Cartennensis, for de Vargas, though personally honest, appears to have been the disciple and unwitting accomplice of the Jesuit Geronimo de la Higuera, who beguiled the tedium of the last years of the seventeenth century by forgeries, on a most extensive scale, of the missing works of chroniclers of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. There is thus a double chance of fraud. Marcus the Frenchman may be laughing at us by citing a non-existent 'Schediasmata,' or Higuera the Spaniard may have foisted on de Vargas a spurious Victor. In this state of things the student will for the present do wisely to accept no assertion as to Vandal polity which is made on the authority of 'Victor Cartennensis.'

*Guides:—*

The best guide to the history of the Vandals is *Dr. Felix Papencordt's* 'Geschichte der Vandalischen Herrschaft in Afrika' (Berlin, 1837)—an admirable specimen of a German monograph of the best type. This book received the prize of the 'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres' in August, 1836. Cardinal Wiseman, in his 'Recollections of the last Four Popes' (pp. 148-9), gives an interesting sketch of this 'most promising young German scholar, cut off before he had time to fulfil the expectations of his friends.'... 'His acquaintance with mediæval history,' says the Cardinal, 'was amazing: he remembered the dates of the most insignificant events, and would make excursions into the desolate border tracts in the mountains between Rome and Naples to visit the theatre of the most puny action between pugnacious barons in Central Italy.' In my copy of Roncalli's 'Chronica' I find the autograph 'Papencordt,' with the note '2 Scudi Rom, 8 August, 1836.'

*Dahn's* 'Könige der Germanen' (part 1), and 'Urgeschichte der Germanischen und Romanischen Völker' (vol. 1), will also be found very useful by the student.

IN the *Germania* of Tacitus, the best contribution made by any Roman writer to the science of ethnology, the author says (cap. ii.):

The Vandals mentioned by Tacitus,

'My own opinion is that the Germans are the aboriginal inhabitants of their country, with the least

BOOK III. possible admixture of any foreign element. For in old  
 CH. 2. times all national migrations were made by sea rather than by land, and the inhospitable ocean which washes the shores of Germany has been seldom visited by ships from our world. Besides, putting the perils of a tempestuous sea out of the question, who would leave behind him the pleasant shores of Asia, Africa, or Italy, and set sail for Germany, with its ugly landscape, its rigorous climate, its barren soil ; who, I mean, except a native of that land, returning thither ?

‘ In ancient songs, the sole kind of annals possessed by this people, they celebrate the name of a certain Tuisco, an earth-born deity, and his son Mannus, as the original founders of their race. To Mannus they assign three sons, after whom are named three tribes, the *Ingaevones*, who live nearest to the ocean, the *Hermiones* in the middle of the country, the *Istaevones* who occupy the remainder. Some, however, presuming on the antiquity of their tribes, affirm that the aforesaid god had many other sons, from whom many gentile appellations are derived, *e.g.* Marsi, Gambrivii, Suevi, *Vandalii*. These, they say, are the real and ancient names, that of Germans is a modern one, first given in fear by the vanquished Gauls to the warriors who crossed the Rhine to invade them, and afterwards proudly assumed by the conquerors.’

This interesting passage, besides showing us the *Deutsch* nationality in its earliest stage, then as now called German by the foreigner but not in its own home ; besides giving us the name of the primeval *Mann*, who corresponds to the Adam of the Hebrews, and suggesting some other interesting ethnological speculations ; brings before us the Vandals as already



BOOK III. and they were more cruel after victory. On the other  
 CH. 2. hand, they were conspicuous even among the chaste  
 Teutonic warriors for their chastity, and both in Spain  
 and Africa their moral standard was, and for some time  
 continued to be, far above that of the uncleanly-living  
 Roman provincials.

Early  
 history  
 of the  
 Vandals.

The home of the Vandals, when we first meet with them in history, appears to correspond with the central and eastern part of Prussia, but a loose aggregation of restless tribes must not be too definitely assigned to any precise district on the map<sup>1</sup>. While they were settled here they fought under their two leaders, Ambri and Assi, a memorable battle with their neighbours, the Langobardi. The legends concerning this battle, which resulted in the complete defeat of the Vandals, are reserved for the Lombard portion of this history<sup>2</sup>. As the Roman Empire grew weaker, the Vandals pressed southward, and eventually they gave their name (*Vandalici Montes*) to the Riesen Gebirge (Giant Mountains) between Silesia and Bohemia.

Marco-  
 mannic  
 War.  
 167-175  
 and  
 177-181.

The southward movement of the barbarians, of which this Vandal migration formed part, brought on that great struggle known as the Marcomannic War,

crafty nation of the Vandals.' Salvian (vii. 7) says that 'God, by handing over the Spanish nation to the Vandals for punishment, showed in a double degree his hatred of the sins of the flesh, since the Spaniards were conspicuous for their immorality and the Vandals for their chastity, while on the other hand the latter were the weakest of all the barbarian tribes.' Their rapid decline in martial vigour after the death of Gaiseric points to the same quality in their character.

<sup>1</sup> Jordanes (*De Rebus Geticis*, iv) speaks of the Vandals at this period of their history as pressed upon by the victories of the Goths during their settlement by the Baltic.

<sup>2</sup> See Paulus Diaconus: *Hist. Langobard*, i. 7, 10.

in which the German tribes on the Middle Danube strove, almost successfully, to pierce the gap between Pannonia and Dacia, and to establish themselves permanently within the limits of the Empire. In the heroic contest which Marcus Aurelius, the philosopher-Emperor, waged against these barbarians, a contest which well-nigh over-taxed both his energies and those of the Empire, he seems to have had at first the Vandals for his foes<sup>1</sup>; but, at the conclusion of the war, we find the Asdingi, whom we know to have been a Vandal tribe, making their peace with Rome, and receiving from the Emperor settlements in Dacia<sup>2</sup>. When, upon the death of Marcus, his son Commodus made his unsatisfactory peace with the Marcomanni, the Vandals were one of the tribes taken under Roman protection, against whom the Marcomanni were forbidden to declare war.

A generation later, the Emperor Caracalla, in one of his boastful letters to the Senate, prided himself on the fact that whereas the Vandals and Marcomanni had previously been friendly to one another, he had succeeded in setting them at variance<sup>3</sup>. If we look at that curious specimen of map-making, the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (which is thought to have been originally executed in the time of Caracalla's father Severus<sup>4</sup>),

<sup>1</sup> This is inferred from the language of Capitolinus, 'Pannonias ergo et Marcomannis, Sarmatis, *Wandalis* simul etiam Quadis extinctis, servitio liberavit' (Vita M. Ant. Phil. xvii).

<sup>2</sup> Dion Cassius, lxxi. 12. His account of the movements of the Vandals under their leaders Räus and Raptus is very obscure, but the result is that indicated above.

<sup>3</sup> ἐμεγαλοφρόνει δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ Βανδύλου καὶ τοῦ Μαρκομάνου φίλου ὄντας ἀλλήλοις, συγκεκροκέναι (Dion Cass. lxxvii. 20).

<sup>4</sup> Or perhaps his cousin Severus Alexander. See Mannert's Intro-

BOOK III. we shall see a striking comment on these words : for  
 CH. 2. there, immediately on the other side of the broad  
 liminary stream of the Danube, we see in straggling  
 letters the name VANDVLI, and a little beyond, but  
 almost intermingled therewith, the name MARCOMANNI.  
 Such close juxtaposition was very likely to breed  
 hostility between two barbarous tribes.

Aurelian.  
 271.

More than half a century passes : and the Emperor Aurelian, the great restorer of the Roman power in the Danubian lands, gains a signal victory over the Vandals. We know nothing concerning the battle ; we only hear of the negotiations which followed it. The Vandals sent ambassadors to sue for peace. After hearing their lengthy harangues, on the following day Aurelian mustered his army and asked for its advice whether he should accept or reject the terms of the barbarians. With one consent the army shouted for peace, which was accordingly granted, the Kings of the Vandals and several of their chief nobles, readily giving their sons as hostages for its due observance. The mass of the Vandal host returned to their Dacian home, the Emperor granting them sufficient provisions to last them till they reached the Danube. Notwithstanding this concession, 500 men, straggling from the main body of the returning host, committed cruel devastations on the plains of Moesia. For this breach of the treaty all the marauders who could be caught were put to death by their King<sup>1</sup>.

duction to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (p. 15). The insertion of Constantinople in the *Tabula* is believed to be the work of a mediaeval copyist (p. 18).

<sup>1</sup> See Dexippus (*Excerpt 2, de Bellis Scythicis*, p. 19, ed. Bonn) and Priscus (*Excerpt 11, p. 126, ibid.*).

A select portion of the Vandal host remained in the Imperial camp. One of the conditions of the peace was that they should supply 2000 horsemen as *foederati* to the Roman army; and this stipulation seems to have been faithfully observed, for the army list of the Roman Empire at the commencement of the fifth century shows us 'the Eighth Wing of the Vandals serving in Egypt<sup>1</sup>.' It was probably in this way that in the next century Stilicho, a man of Vandalic extraction, entered the service of that Empire which he afterwards ruled.

A few years later a fragment of the Vandal nation, which seems to have wandered to the Rhine in company with a troop of Burgundians, was by adroit tactics defeated by the Emperor Probus. Many were slaughtered, but some were taken prisoners; Igil, the Vandal leader, being one of the latter class. These prisoners were all sent to the island of Britain, where, in some obscure insurrection against the Emperor, they did good service to their recent conqueror<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Sub dispositione viri spectabilis comitis rei militaris per Aegyptum:—

*Ala Octava Vandilorum Neae.'*

Notitia Imperii, Oriens, cap. xxv.

The situation of Nea is not known. The number of the *Ala* is stated by Joannes Lydus (*De Magistratibus*, i. 46) to have been 600 men. It was always composed of cavalry.

<sup>2</sup> "Ὅσους δὲ ζῶντας οἰῶς τε γέγονεν ελεῖν, εἰς Βρεττανίαν παρέπεμψεν οἱ τὴν νῆσον οἰκήσαντες ἐπανάστάντος μετὰ ταῦτά τινος γεγόνασι βασιλεῖ χρησιμοῖ (Zosimus, i. 68. Cf. Vopiscus: *Vita Probi*, xviii). The statement sometimes attributed to Camden, that there was a fortress near Cambridge, on the Gogmagog Hills, built by these Vandal captives and named after them Vandlebury, is not made in that form by Camden, and does not really rest on his authority, but on that of Gervase of Tilbury, from whom he quotes it; nor does it seem to be more than a piece of fantastic etymology. The words of Gervase 'the Vandals, who made a camp here when they ravaged part of Britain and cruelly

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.Defeat by  
the Goths,  
between  
331 and  
337.Settlement  
in Pan-  
nonia.

Near the end of the reign of Constantine there came a crisis in the fortunes of the Vandal nation. They were then dwelling in Moravia and the north-west of Hungary, having the Marcomanni of Bohemia as their western neighbours, and the Danube for their frontier to the south. Geberich, king of the Goths, whose territory bordered upon theirs to the east, determined to get him glory upon the Vandals, and sent a challenge to their king, Visumar. The two armies met by the Hungarian river Maros<sup>1</sup>, and fought through a long day doubtfully. At length the Goths prevailed, and Visumar, with a great part of his host, lay dead upon the field. The scanty remnant of the nation entreated Constantine to permit them to enter the limits of the Empire, and settle as his subjects in the province of Pannonia. The position was not unlike that in which the Visigoths themselves were placed forty years later when they sought the Moesian shore of the Danube, flying from the terrible Huns. The permission was granted, and for nearly seventy years the Vandals were obedient subjects of the Roman Emperors<sup>2</sup>. During this time it is likely that they made some advances in civilization; they probably often served in the Roman army, and learnt something of the legionary's discipline.

massacred the Christians,' show the thoroughly unhistorical character of his information, which, moreover, has nothing to do with the exiles under Probus (see Camden's *Britannia* by Gough, ii. 213, ed. 1806).

<sup>1</sup> That is, supposing the name given by Jordanes, *Marisia*, to be correct. The *Marus*, now March, a river of Moravia, which flows into the Danube above Presburg, would suit the rest of his geographical description better.

<sup>2</sup> [Vandali] 'Pannoniam sibi a principe Constantino petiere, ibique, per LX annos plus minus sedibus locatis, imperatorum decretis ut incolae famularunt' (Jordanes de Reb. Get. c. 22).



It was without doubt during the same period that they embraced Christianity under that Arian form which Ulfilas was teaching to their Gothic neighbours and conquerors. At a later date, when they were invading Spain, we are told that they carried the Bible with them and consulted it as an oracle<sup>1</sup>. It was of course the translation of Ulfilas which thus became the Urim and the Thummim of the Vandal.

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.  
337-406.

At length, in the year 406<sup>2</sup>, the Vandals, or a portion of the confederacy which went by that name, left their Pannonian settlements, and linking their destinies with those of the Turanian tribe of Alans and with their High-German kinsmen the Suevi, they marched north-westwards for the Rhine, intent on the plunder of Belgic Gaul. There is no need to accept the suggestion<sup>3</sup> that 'Stilicho invited them.' After the fall of that statesman, everything that had gone wrong in the Empire for the last twenty years was conveniently debited to his account. But no invitation was needed to set any Germanic tribe in motion towards the

406.  
The Vandals enter Gaul.

<sup>1</sup> Salvian, vii. 11. This appears to be the meaning, but the good Presbyter is rhetorically obscure. 'Nam cum armis nos atque auxiliis superbiremus, a parte hostium nobis liber divinae legis occurrit. Ad hanc enim praecipue opem timor et perturbatio tunc Waudalica confugit, ut seriem nobis eloquii coelestis opponeret et adversum venientes aemulos suos sacri voluminis scripta quasi ipsa quodammodo divinitatis ora reseraret.'

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 739 (note) for the chronology of this important event.

<sup>3</sup> Made by 'Tiro' and by Orosius (Hist. vii. 38), and apparently echoed by St. Jerome (Epist. ad Ageruchiam): 'Non vitio principum sed scelere semibarbari accidit proditoris.' Papencordt suggests that Stilicho may, with perfect loyalty to the Empire, have invited the Vandals into Gaul, intending to use them as a counterpoise to the Franks.

BOOK III. Empire in the year of the Nativity 406. The foun-  
 CH. 2.  
 406-409. tains of the great deep were broken up. Radagaisus  
 and Alaric, with their mighty nation-armies, had crossed  
 the Alps and poured down into Italy. One, indeed,  
 had failed, and the other had only partially succeeded,  
 but both had shown plainly to all 'Varbaricum' that  
 'Romania' was now at its last gasp, and would have  
 enough to do to defend itself in Italy, without any hope  
 of permanently maintaining its hold on its rich outlying  
 provinces, such as Gaul and Spain. The Teuton ad-  
 venturer was swept across the Roman boundary by a  
 current as strong as that which drew the Spanish  
 adventurer across the Atlantic in the days of Cortez  
 and Pizarro.

Battle  
 with the  
 Franks.

Of the struggles of the Vandals with the Franks we  
 have only dim rumours. We hear, however, of a great  
 battle, in which 20,000 Vandals were slain, their king  
 Godigisclus, himself of the royal lineage of the Asdings,  
 being among the number of the dead<sup>1</sup>. It is said,  
 indeed, that only the timely arrival of their allies, the  
 Alans, saved them from utter destruction; but, how-  
 ever this may be, they crossed the Rhine frontier, and  
 after three years of war and probably of wild ravage of  
 the cities of Gaul, drawn southwards by the impulse  
 which ever attracted the barbarian to the sunnier  
 climate, and powerfully helped by the dissensions  
 among the Romans themselves, which had arisen out of  
 the sudden elevation of the upstart British soldier  
 Constantine<sup>2</sup>, they stood, after three years' time, at the  
 foot of the Pyrenees and thundered at the gates of

<sup>1</sup> We get our fullest information as to this battle from Gregory of  
 Tours, quoting from Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 9).

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. pp. 741-745.

Spain<sup>1</sup>. The kinsmen of Honorius, Verenianus and Didymus, who had loyally struggled to guard this rampart against usurpers and barbarians, had been, rather more than a year before, treacherously slain by Constantine, and thus but a feeble resistance, or no resistance at all, was opposed to the fierce tide of Vandals, Alans, Suevi, which swept through the Pyrenean passes and ravaged the Hither and Farther Spain without mercy.

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.  
28 Sept.—  
13 Oct. 409.  
They enter  
Spain.

Of the twenty years which followed, some mention has already been made in describing the career of Ataulfus. It may be remembered that in 414, five years after the Vandals had entered Spain, the Visigothic chieftain followed them thither. There he and his successors carried on a long and bloody struggle with their fellow-Teutons, during part of which time the Goths professed to fight as champions of Rome, and for the remainder on their own account. The provinces, lately fertile and flourishing, were so harried by friend and foe that the Vandal soldiery were fain to buy wheat at thirty-six shillings a pint, and a mother slew and ate her own children.

Struggles  
with other  
invaders.

At length the barbarians and the representatives of the Empire concluded some sort of peace or truce, of which a hint is given us by the declamation of Orosius<sup>2</sup>, and a somewhat more detailed but still perplexing account in the pages of Procopius. 'Then,' says he, 'Honorius made an agreement with Godigisclus<sup>3</sup>, on condition that they [the Vandals] should settle

Truce  
between  
the Van-  
dals and  
the Empire.

<sup>1</sup> The leader of the united host was Guntheric or Gunderic, King of the Vandals. For the chronology see vol. i. p. 824, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See i. 837.

<sup>3</sup> If Gregory is right this name is an error for that of Guntheric, son of Godigisclus.

BOOK III. there, not for the devastation of the country. And  
 CH. 2. — whereas the Romans have a law that if men do not keep their property in their own hands, and an interval of time elapses which amounts to thirty years, then they have no longer the right to proceed against those who have dispossessed them, but their recourse to the Courts is barred by prescription. The Emperor passed a law that the time during which the Vandals should sojourn in the Roman Empire should by no means be reckoned towards this thirty-years prescription.' Difficult as it is to see how such a law would work out in the actual experience of Roman or Vandal land-holders, it well illustrates the attitude of Imperial statesmen and jurists towards all the barbarian intruders. Every peace made with them was considered to be really only a truce. However securely the Visigoth might seem to reign at Toulouse, the Ostrogoth at Ravenna, or the Vandal at the New or the Old Carthage, the Roman Augustus and his counsellors looked upon their dominion as only a parenthesis, an unfortunate parenthesis, in the age-long life of the great Republic, and in their own counsels admitted no derogation thereby to the imprescriptible rights of the sovereign Empire<sup>1</sup>.

Geographi-  
cal distri-  
bution of  
the con-  
querors of  
Spain.

The settlement of the barbarian nations in Spain seems to have been on this wise. The Suevi were in the North-west of the peninsula, the Visigoths in the North-east, the Alans in Portugal, while the Vandals occupied two widely-sundered allotments. One tribe which seems to have borne the same name as the royal clan, that of *Asdingi*<sup>2</sup> was settled close to the Suevi in

<sup>1</sup> See Dahn (*Könige der Germanen*, i. 145, n. 4), whose view, I think, nearly coincides with that here expressed.

<sup>2</sup> Though this, as Papencordt remarks (p. 17), is nowhere expressly

Gallicia; the other and probably the larger tribe, that of the *Silingi*, took up its quarters in Baetica, the modern Andalusia <sup>1</sup>. BOOK III.  
CH. 2.

In the year 416 Constantius, then the accepted suitor of Placidia, by some cunning stratagem captured a king of the Vandals named Fredibal, and sent him as a captive to Honorius <sup>2</sup>, before whose chariot he may possibly have walked in chains when the phantom-Emperor in the following year celebrated his triumph at Rome. But on the whole it was the hand of Wallia the Visigoth that fell most heavily on the Vandals and their allies. In 418 the Silingian Vandals in Baetica were absolutely 'extinguished' by the Goths, and the Alans were so terribly cut to pieces by the same people, that the few survivors willingly merged their nationality in that of the Gallician Vandals, whose king is said to have assumed thenceforward the title 'King of the Vandals and Alans' <sup>3</sup>.

stated, but is a very probable conjecture of Mascou's from Dio Cassius, lxxi. 12.

<sup>1</sup> The derivation of Andalusia from the Vandals must now be considered more than doubtful. Papencordt (p. 16, n. 1) quotes Casiri as his authority for the assertion that the true form of the name is Handalusia, the Arabic equivalent for Hesperia, and that it was originally given by the Moors to the whole country of Spain.

<sup>2</sup> As we hear nothing of Fredibal's relationship to Guntheric or Gaiseric he was probably King of the Silingian Vandals. It seems to me more probable that Constantius was Fredibal's captor than Wallia, though the entry in Idatius is not clear. It is as follows:—

'(Anno Honorii) xxii.

'Constantius Placidiam accepit uxorem.

'Fredibalum regem gentis Wandalorum sine ullo certamine ingeniose captum ad Imperatorem Honorium destinat.

'xxiii. Wallia rex Gothorum, Romani nominis causâ, intra Hispanias caedes magnas efficit barbarorum.'

<sup>3</sup> Idatius s. a. xxiv Honorii. 'Wandali Silingi in Baetica per Wal-

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.War with  
the Suevi.  
419.

420.

In 419 war broke out between this latter, newly-  
united people and their neighbours the Suevi. Gun-  
theric apparently gained a victory over the Suevic king  
Hermanric, and drove him and his followers into the  
fastnesses of the Asturias<sup>1</sup>, where they were subjected  
to a strict blockade. In the following year, however,  
under pressure from Asterius, the Roman governor of  
Spain, Guntheric broke up this mountain-siege, left  
Suevi and Romans alike to work their will in the North  
of Spain, and marched across the Peninsula to Baetica.  
There the Asdingian Vandals settled themselves in the  
fair land lately occupied by their Silingian brethren  
(some remnants of which nation may possibly have  
joined them), and there gazing Eastward and Westward  
over the waters of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic,  
they began to dream of maritime greatness.

Campaign  
of Castinus  
in Baetica.  
422.

In the closing years of Honorius, the Court of  
Ravenna, moved by some strange impulse of spasmodic  
energy, made an attempt to recover Baetica from the  
Vandals. Castinus, Master of the Soldiery (the same  
officer who in the following year set up the Arch-notary  
Joannes as Emperor in derogation of the claims of the  
son of Placidia), set sail with a large body of troops,  
and, having effected a junction with the Goths, invaded

liam regem omnes extincti. Alani qui Wandalis et Suevis potentabantur, adeo caesi sunt a Gothis ut extincto Atace rege ipsorum, pauci, qui superfuerant, abolito regni nomine de Gunderici regis Wandalarum, qui in Galloecia resederat, se patrocinio subjugarent.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Inter Gundericum Wandalarum et Hermericum Suevorum reges certamine orte. Suevi in *Nervasis montibus* obsidentur a Wandalis' (Idatius). There can be little doubt that some of the mountains of Asturias are here referred to. Dahn (*Könige der Germanen*, vi. 547) quotes Masdeu as suggesting the mountains of St. Maria de Arvas between Leon and Oviedo, which agree well enough with the geographical requirements of the history.

Baetica. But there were jealousies and divided counsels at the Imperial head-quarters. We have seen how Bonifacius, the second in command, although, by the admission of all men, one of the bravest soldiers of the day, unable to bear the petty jealousy and insulting arrogance of his incapable superior, hastily travelled from Ravenna to Porto, and thence set sail for Africa, which province he afterwards held for Placidia and her children against his rival's puppet-Emperor Joannes<sup>1</sup>. Still, notwithstanding this defection, the Imperial arms in Spain seemed likely to be victorious. The Vandals were besieged, apparently in one of the cities of Baetica, and suffered such severe privations that they were on the point of surrender. Castinus, however, 'that inept commander<sup>2</sup>,' rashly engaged in battle with men made desperate by famine, was deceived by his Gothic allies, sustained a signal defeat, and fled in disorder to Tarragona<sup>3</sup>.

At length, after the Vandals had sojourned nearly twenty years in Spain, came the day when Count Bonifacius, ill-requited for his loyalty to Placidia and her children, slandered, outlawed, and driven to the brink of destruction, sent that fatal Embassy, fatal for himself and for his country, by which he invited the barbarians into Africa. The Vandals had already, without this invitation, shown that they were not disposed to accept the frontiers of Baetica as the fate-fixed limit of their dominion. In 425, after sacking Cartha-

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.  

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Invitation  
of Count  
Bonifacius,  
428.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 872, 889, and 890.

<sup>2</sup> 'Inepto et injurioso imperio' (Prosper).

<sup>3</sup> The account of this expedition against the Vandals, chiefly important on account of its bearing on the after-history of Bonifacius, is given us by Idatius and Prosper.

BOOK III. gena and Seville, and roaming for plunder over the  
 CH. 2.

whole Tarraconensian province, they had laid waste the Balearic Isles—which came perhaps at this time permanently under their rule—and had invaded Mauretania, but apparently without then gaining any foothold south of the Pillars of Hercules<sup>1</sup>. The messengers of Bonifacius found Guntheric and his bastard brother Gaiseric at the head of the Vandal state. They proposed<sup>2</sup> (it is said) that the conquests to be effected in Africa should be considered as made on joint account, and should eventually be divided into three parts, one for each of the barbarian kings, and one for the Roman Count. The proposal was accepted, and the Vandals began to prepare ships and men for the great expedition. But before the enterprise was set in hand, Guntheric died. A century after the event, a rumour<sup>3</sup> obtained credence that he, like Bleda, the brother of Attila, was slain by the partner of his throne. But the contemporary chronicler Idatius, writing as he does in Spain, gives no hint of any such an imputation, but in some mysterious manner connects the death of the Vandal king with an act of sacrilege at Seville. ‘Guntheric, king of the Wandals, having taken Hispalis [Seville], when, in his impious elation, he had stretched

Death of  
 King Gun-  
 theric.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Wandali Balearicas insulas depraedantur: deinde Carthagine Spartariâ [Spartaria is an epithet of Carthago Nova] et Hispali eversâ et Hispaniis deprædati, Mauritaniam invadunt.’ Idatius, s. a. 425.

<sup>2</sup> This story of the tripartite division rests only on the authority of Procopius, which is not first-rate for this period.

<sup>3</sup> This rumour is mentioned by Procopius, who, however, discredits it and says that the Vandals would not admit its truth. Procopius adds, ‘I have myself heard from men of this nation that Gontharis was taken prisoner in Spain by the Germans and crucified by them.’



forth his hand against the church of that city, speedily perished, being by the judgment of God attacked by a demon.' A fever (Spain's natural revenge upon her northern invaders), followed by raging madness and death, is perhaps the historical equivalent of this rhetorical statement.

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.  
428.

But, whatever the cause of the death of Guntheric, the result was that the chief power in the Vandal state, and the sole conduct of the African invasion, were thereby vested in the hands of his bastard brother. For fifty years that brother was, except during the short meteoric career of Attila, the foremost figure in Europe, and we pause therefore for a moment to collect such light as the faint tapers of the chronicles afford us on the character and aspect of *Gaiseric*<sup>1</sup>.

Gaiseric  
(Genseric)  
sole King  
of the Van-  
dals.

<sup>1</sup> His name is commonly written Genseric; but there can be little doubt that the great Vandal's real name was *Gaiseric*, and that is the form which I have therefore preferred to use.

Idatius (5th century) calls him . . . . Gaisericus.

Prosper of Aquitaine (5th century) and Victor Vitensis (5th century) } . . . Gensericus.

At the end of Prosper's Chronicle he is called Genseric. This is probably an alteration by a later hand.

Jordanes and Procopius (6th century) . . . Gizerichus.

Chronicon 'Cuspiniani' (end of 5th century) . Gensericus.

Malchus and Cassiodorus (early part of 6th century) . . . . Gensericus.

Marcellinus (6th century), Victor Tunnunensis (6th century), and Historia Miscella (8th century ?) } Gensericus.

The incorrect form which has been accepted by History seems to have been that which was current at Byzantium.

It will perhaps be objected that we have coins bearing Genseric's name spelt in the usual manner. But Julius Friedländer, the chief authority on the subject of Vandal Numismatics, shows strong reasons

BOOK III.

CH. 2.

428.

Character  
of Gaiseric.

Till he arose, his nation, though willing enough to join in the great plundering expeditions of the North, can scarcely be said to have prevailed in any encounter with an enemy. Defeated long ago by Geberich in Moravia, defeated more recently by the Franks on the borders of the Rhine, generally worsted in Spain by the Visigoths, the nation seemed upon the whole to be gradually losing ground, and justifying the general impression of 'Varbaricum,' that the Vandals were less warlike than their neighbours. During the long lifetime of Gaiseric this imputation at any rate was never made against them. His nimble mind<sup>1</sup> and his unshaken courage proved to be the steel point needed to give penetrating power to the Vandal impact. He was cruel, not a doubt of it; his savage deeds look ghastly by the side of the knightly career of Alaric or Ataulfus. He was greedy of gain, but none of the northern invaders was greatly superior to him in this respect. But he had that power of estimating his own resources and the resources of his foe, that faculty of inventing useful political combinations, that transcendent ability in adapting his means to his chosen ends, which denote the successful man of business in the marketplace of Empire. In his strong, remorseless commonsense, in the awe-struck tone with which, a century after his death, people still spoke of him as the cleverest

for reducing the three so-called copper coins of Genseric to one, and for believing that this one is not Vandal at all but Byzantine of the 8th or 9th century, with the inscription, not 'Geuser. Augus.' but 'Mense Augus.' He concludes emphatically 'We know of no coins of this king.' (*Die Münzen der Vandalen*, p. 18.) Friedländer, apparently approving the spelling Gaiseric, derives the name from Gais 'a javelin' and Reiks 'a king' (p. 6).

<sup>1</sup> Ἀγίνοια (Procopius, *Bell. Vand.* i. 4).

of all men <sup>1</sup>, there is something which reminds us of his fellow-Teuton (we might almost say his fellow-Prussian), who, like him, besieged and took the chief city of the Latin races. If Attila was the Napoleon of the fifth century, we may perhaps look upon Gaiseric as its Bismarck.

Yet the outward presentment of the Vandal king was by no means like that of the stalwart Prussian colonel of cuirassiers. 'A man of moderate stature,' says Jordanes, 'and limping in his gait, owing to a fall from his horse.' He goes on to say that this man, 'most renowned in the world by his slaughter of the Romans, was deep in mind, sparing of speech, a despiser of luxury, tempestuous in his wrath, greedy of gain, full of far-reaching schemes for harassing the nations, ever ready to sow the seeds of contention, and to play upon the animosities of mankind.'

Another Byzantine rhetorician <sup>2</sup>, speaking of the change which came over the Vandal nation after the death of their mightiest king, says, 'they fell into every kind of effeminacy and had no longer the same vigour in action, nor kept together their former reserves, which Gaiseric <sup>3</sup> always held in readiness for every expedition, so that he was quicker in striking than any one else in making up his mind to strike.'

The resources wielded by this iron will and remorseless heart were pertinaciously directed to two great objects, the humiliation of the Roman Empire and the extirpation of the Catholic faith. His hatred towards

<sup>1</sup> Γιζέριχος τά τε πολέμια ὡς ἄριστα ἐξήσκητο καὶ δεινότητος ἦν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων (Procopius, Bell. Vand. i. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Malchus (Excerpt 5, p. 240, ed. Bonn).

<sup>3</sup> Γωζεριχος.

BOOK III. the professors of the orthodox creed was, according to  
 CH. 2. the Spanish Bishop, Idatius, attributed by some persons

428. to the fact that he was himself an apostate from their ranks<sup>1</sup>. If this story be true (it will be seen that Idatius himself does not vouch for its accuracy), it may be owing to the fact that the Vandal prince as the son of some Gaulish or Spanish concubine of Godigisclus was brought up in his mother's form of faith which, on attaining manhood, he abjured in favour of the Arian creed of his martial forefathers<sup>2</sup>.

428.  
 A parting  
 thrust at  
 the Suevi.

Such was the man, who, in the month of May, 428<sup>3</sup>, mustered all the families of his nation and of the Alans on the northern shore of the Straits of Gibraltar in obedience to the call of Bonifacius. But before he set sail on his new enterprise, he struck one parting blow at an old enemy. Hearing that Hermigarius<sup>4</sup>, King of the Suevi, was devastating some of the provinces near to his line of march, he turned back with a troop of his followers, pursued the pursuing marauder, and came up with him near the city of Merida. Many of the Suevi were slain; Hermigarius fled from the field, mounted on a steed which as he trusted should carry him swifter than the east wind, but was whelmed in the rapid waters of the Gaudiana<sup>5</sup>. He died almost in sight of

<sup>1</sup> Chronicon (s. a. 428) 'Gaisericus succedit in regno: qui, ut aliquorum relatio habet, effectus apostata de fide Catholicâ in Arianam dictus est transisse perfidiam.'

<sup>2</sup> This explanation is suggested by Papencordt (p. 63).

<sup>3</sup> The date chosen by Tillemont. Pagi, followed by Gibbon and Clinton, prefers 429. See Note E on Vandal Chronology.

<sup>4</sup> Not the same as Hermanric who, having been mentioned by Idatius under the year 419, is again met with in 430 and 433, and whose death is recorded in 438.

<sup>5</sup> This story is told, but not very clearly, by Idatius.

the towers of Merida, and the churchmen of that city saw in his fall a divine judgment for an insult which he had offered to their saintly patroness Eulalia, one of the child-martyrs in the persecution of Diocletian <sup>BOOK III. CH. 2.</sup> <sup>428.</sup> <sup>1.</sup>

The Suevi thus punished, Gaiseric again addressed himself to the invasion of Africa. Before embarking, in order doubtless to facilitate the orderly transport of the assembled multitude, the king had all the males of his nation numbered, 'from the feeble old men to the babe born yesterday,' and found that they amounted to 80,000 persons. Such a number, representing at the utmost 50,000 fighting men, encumbered with women, children, and dotards, should not have been formidable to the once well-garrisoned and well-stored provinces of Africa <sup>Numbering of the people.</sup> <sup>2.</sup> But the line to be defended was a long one, there was discord in the camp of the defenders, and although twelve legions of Infantry and nineteen 'vexillations' of Cavalry were nominally assigned to the defence of Africa, in the attenuated state of the Imperial army in the fifth century, that force, even if it were all enlisted on the side of loyalty, probably composed a less powerful army than two legions in the <sup>Number of the Imperial troops in Africa.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> St. Eulalia's is one of the most beautiful faces in the procession of virgin-martyrs represented on the north wall of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna. She is said to have miraculously prevented Theodoric II from sacking her native city in 456 (Idatius s. a.).

<sup>2</sup> Victor Vitensis expressly mentions that some erroneously supposed that 80,000 was the number of the fighting men. However, I think we must understand, in accordance with the strict interpretation of Victor's words ('Quia reperti sunt senes, juvenes, parvuli, servi vel domini octoginta millia numerari') that females were excluded from the reckoning, in order to get anything like an approximation to the 50,000 soldiers mentioned by Procopius (καίτοι οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς μυριάδας πέντε τὸ τῶν Βανδιλῶν τε καὶ Ἀλανῶν πλῆθος ἔν γε τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ ἐλέγετο εἶναι: Proc. de B. V. i. 5).

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.

428.

days of Caesar the Dictator<sup>1</sup>. It should be stated, however, that there were certain limitary garrisons, probably composed in great part of barbarian *foederati*, whose warriors, from the analogy of the troops who defended the frontier walls of Britain and Germany, may well have amounted to a very considerable number<sup>2</sup>.

Survey of  
Roman  
Africa.

Let us briefly survey the political and social condition of the vast territory for which Gaiseric and his Vandals have set sail, determined to reap from it a harvest of plunder, and possibly hoping to erect in it an enduring empire. The whole coast line from the Pillars of Hercules to the borders of the Cyrenaic Pentapolis was under Diocletian divided into seven provinces.

- 1 Mauretania Tingitana.
- 2 Do. Caesariensis.
- 3 Do. Sitifensis.

<sup>1</sup> At the time of the *Notitia* (Occ. vii. compared with v.) we find stationed 'intra Africam'—

- Three Legiones Palatinae,
  - Armigeri propugnatores seniores
  - Armigeri propugnatores juniores
  - Cimbriani.
- One Auxilium Palatinum,
  - Celtae juniores.
- One Legio Pseudo-Comitatensis of uncertain name.
- Seven Legiones Comitatuses,
  - Secundani Italiciani
  - Primani
  - Secundani
  - Tertiani
  - Constantiaci
  - Tertio Augustani
  - Fortenses,

and (as above stated) nineteen 'vexillations' of Cavalry.

<sup>2</sup> From the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Occ. xxiii, xxix, and xxx, ed. Böcking) we learn that there were sixteen limitary garrisons in Proconsular Africa, eight in Mauretania Caesariensis, and fourteen in Tripolitana.

- 4 Numidia.
- 5 Africa Proconsularis or Zeugitana.
- 6 Byzacena.
- 7 Tripolitana.

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.  
—  
428.

(1) With the westernmost province, that of which Tingitana. Tangiers was the capital and which corresponds with the modern kingdom of Fez, we have now no concern. At the time of Diocletian's reconstitution of the Empire it was separated from the other African provinces, and assigned to the diocese of Spain and the prefecture of the Gauls<sup>1</sup>. The reason for this arrangement doubtless was<sup>2</sup> that the province comprised nothing but a strip of Atlantic coast-line reaching from Tangiers to Sallee, separated by more than 200 miles of roadless desert from the next province on the east, and therefore, as accessible only by sea, most naturally connected with the great and civilized country on the northern side of the Straits of Gibraltar. Probably, then, from all that is about to be said touching the Vandal conquests in Africa, Tingitana may be safely excluded. We may infer that, in so far as it had any government at all and was not abandoned to mere Moorish barbarism, it still formed a part of the Roman Empire.

(2 & 3) The two next provinces, *Mauretania Caesar-* Caesariensis and Sitifensis. *iensis* and *Sitifensis* once belonged to the kingdom of Bocchus (who in the great Civil War took the side of Caesar against the Senate), and for more than seventy years after his death were governed by his descendants, but under Caligula they were formally annexed to the Empire, the general employed in suppressing the revolt, which was occasioned by this change, being the same A. D. 40.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 619.

<sup>2</sup> As pointed out by Mommsen (*Römische Geschichte*, v. 636).

BOOK III. Suetonius Paulinus who, twenty years later, was to lead  
 CH. 2. his legions against the black-robed Furies of Anglesea, and to pierce the dense masses of Britons that swarmed round the indignant Boadicea.

These two provinces, which occupied about three-quarters of the modern territory of Algiers, had shared very imperfectly, if at all, in the civilising influence of Carthage, and though there were in them probably large breadths of cornland between the mountains and the sea, there were not many towns besides the great commercial city of Caesarea, once the capital of the Mauretanian kings. No doubt these provinces formed a part, but neither the most highly prized nor the most hardly won part of the new heritage of the Vandals<sup>1</sup>.

Tripoli-  
tana.

(7) The same description would probably suit the easternmost province, which from its three chief cities<sup>2</sup> derived that name of *Tripolitana* by which it is still known. Fourteen 'limitary' bodies of Imperial troops attested the difficulty with which the long and straggling frontier was guarded from the invasions of the Garamantes and the other nomadic tribes of Fezzan, who, from the ambush of their oases, poured fitfully across the desert to attack the cities of the sea-borne stranger. A strange and mysterious region it is: almost unknown in history except for the fact that it gave the Emperor Severus to Rome; but one of which

<sup>1</sup> See Mommsen (u. s. vol. ii. p. 321 of the English translation), 'Caesarea' (formerly called Iol) 'remained a considerable commercial town; but in the province the fixed settlement was restricted to the northern mountain-range, and it was only in the eastern portion that larger inland towns were to be found. Even the fertile valley of the most considerable river of this province, the Shelif, shows weak urban development.'

<sup>2</sup> Leptis Magna, Oea and Sabrata.



we may possibly hear more, if ever the pressure of population or the means of subsistence should force the Italian or some other nation on the opposite shore of the Mediterranean to see what harvests may be reaped in the land of the Lotus-eaters of the Odyssey.

(4, 5 & 6) The three provinces which have not yet been described, *Numidia*, *Proconsularis* or *Zeugitana*, and *Byzacena*, formed the very heart and centre of the Roman dominion in Africa. On this subject I cannot do better than quote the words of the great German scholar<sup>1</sup> who has written, with a fulness which no future historian is likely to surpass, the history of the Imperial provinces. ‘Roman civilisation entered upon the heritage partly of the city of Carthage, partly of the kings of Numidia, and if it here attained considerable results, it should never be forgotten that it, properly speaking, merely wrote its name and inscribed its language on what was already there. Besides the towns, which were demonstrably founded by Carthage or Numidia, both states guided the Berber tribes, which had some inclination to agriculture, towards fixed settlements. Even in the time of Herodotus the Libyans westward of the bay of Gabes were no longer nomads, but peacefully cultivated the soil; and the Numidian rulers carried civilisation and agriculture still further into the interior. Nature, too, was here more favourable to husbandry than in the western part of North Africa; the middle depression between the northern and the southern range is indeed here not quite absent, but the salt lakes and the steppe proper are less extensive than in the two Mauretanas. The military arrangements were chiefly designed to

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.  
Numidia,  
Proconsu-  
laris,  
Byzacena.

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, book viii. cap. 13 (Prov. of Roman Empire, vol. ii. p. 316, English translation).

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CH. 2.

plant the troops in front of the mighty Aurasian mountain-block, the Saint-Gotthard of the southern frontier-range, and to check the irruption of the non-subject tribes from the latter into the pacified territory of Africa and Numidia. . . . Of the details of the warfare [against these tribes of the desert] we learn little; it must have been permanent, and must have consisted in the constant repelling of the border-tribes, as well as in not less constant pillaging raids into their territory.'

Economic  
condition  
of these  
provinces.

The plains between the Aurasian mountains and the sea, well-irrigated and rich in grain, in oil, and in wine, so far back as in the days of Agathocles, had probably increased in fruitfulness during at least the earlier centuries of the Empire. Carthage herself, indeed, lay in ruins for the greater part of the two centuries which intervened between the Third Punic War and the dictatorship of Julius Caesar<sup>1</sup>; but there seems no reason to suppose that even during this interval the smaller cities (such as Utica and Hippo, which had sided with Rome against Carthage), or the bright villas which dotted the plain, and attested the long influence of the Carthaginians, were abandoned to desolation. At any rate, when the new Roman Carthage arose in all her luxury and pride, the three provinces nearest her, or so much of them as was embraced between the mountains and the sea, basked in the sunshine of her prosperity. An unfavourable element in the condition of the African provinces was probably the vast estates belonging to the Imperial exchequer. Enormous confiscations were practised in the days of Nero, and that

<sup>1</sup> The prosperity of the colony sent to Carthage by Caius Gracchus (B.C. 122) was of short duration.

the process had not ceased in the days of Honorius is BOOK III.  
CH. 2. evident from the fact that a special Count was appointed to administer 'the patrimony of Gildo<sup>1</sup>,' whose rebellion was suppressed by Stilicho in the year 398<sup>2</sup>. These *latifundia*, cultivated by slaves and administered too often by corrupt and oppressive functionaries, were probably a blot upon the general prosperity of the province. And no doubt, here as elsewhere throughout the Empire, the process of the degradation of the cultivator into a serf, and the cruel impoverishment of the middle classes by ruinous taxation had been going on throughout the fourth century. Still, from the pages of Salvian and Augustine we may safely infer that there was, at any rate relatively, a large amount of wealth, and culture, and prosperity in the three most important African provinces, up to the day when the first footprint of the Vandal was seen on the Numidian sands.

It would be an interesting enquiry, had we sufficient evidence on which to form a judgment, how far the civilisation which prevailed in Africa in the fifth century of our era was Aryan, and how far still Semitic in its character. The language of the Phoenician settlers who first founded cities and established markets on the Libyan shore, the language in which Hiram spoke to Solomon and Jezebel to Ahab, was still spoken from Tangier to Tripoli at the time of the Christian era, and was even used in the days of Tiberius by the colonies which prided themselves on their derivation

Was there still a Semitic element in the civilisation of Carthage?

<sup>1</sup> In the *Notitia* (Occ. xii.) we find—

'Sub dispositione viri illustris comitis privatarum  
. . . Comes Gildoniaci patrimonii.'

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. pp. 665-670.

BOOK III. from Rome<sup>1</sup>. Gradually, however, Punic gave way to  
 CH. 2. Latin, first in official then in social life. At the end of the fourth century the relative position of the two languages seems to have resembled that of English and Welsh in our own day in the Principality. Latin was the language of the wealthy and fashionable, but a priest who was unacquainted with Punic was in danger, at least in the country districts, of becoming isolated from his congregation. Just in the same way, too, as the representatives of the earlier race in our own land call themselves not Welsh but Cymry, so the true old national name, that name which recalled to a Hebrew the contemporaries of his forefather Abraham, the name of *Canaanites* was still naturally applied to themselves by the Punic contemporaries of St. Augustine<sup>2</sup>.

Latin  
 Fathers of  
 the African  
 Church.

But upon the whole there can be no doubt that during the five centuries of the Empire the Latin language and literature had been striking deeper and deeper roots in the African world. It is one of the common-places of Church history that in the early ages of Christianity the chief of the Latin-speaking champions of her cause were African provincials. Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, all men of African birth,

<sup>1</sup> I am here depending on the authority of Mommsen (Prov. of Roman Empire, ii. 327), 'Perhaps already under Caesar, certainly under Augustus and Tiberius the towns of the Roman province and of the Mauretanian kingdom employed in official use the Phoenician language. . . . But this limited recognition of the Phoenician language did not long subsist. There is no proof of the official use of Phoenician after Tiberius, and it can hardly have survived the first dynasty.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Interrogati rustici nostri quid sint, punicè respondentes, "Canani, corrupta una littera quid aliud respondent quam Cananaei?"' Augustini Expositio Apostolica ad Romanos (quoted by Papencordt).

were conspicuous as Christian apologists in the third and fourth centuries, and the catalogue ends with the name of the greatest of all, Augustine of Hippo. The first translation of the Bible into Latin, the so-called 'Itala,' is generally supposed to have been due in great part to the labours of African ecclesiastics; and—a less enviable distinction—the first great schism, Novatianism undoubtedly originated in the Church of Carthage.

A century after the Vandal invasion of Africa it was still the opinion of the men of letters at Constantinople that the Roman provincials, in that continent, spoke Latin more fluently than the citizens of Rome itself<sup>1</sup>. It is very likely true that there was an affected prettiness, a want of spontaneity and naturalness about this Carthaginian Latin<sup>2</sup>; still, the fact that Roman rhetoric was so extensively and successfully taught in the African provinces—a fact which receives abundant confirmation from the 'Confessions' of St. Augustine—throws an important light on the progress of Roman civilisation in that region.

Such then, in brief outline, was the state of the African provinces in the fifth century after Christ; and their prosperity—for after making every necessary

Prosperity  
and great-  
ness of  
Imperial  
Carthage.

<sup>1</sup> So says Joannes Lydus (*De Magist.* iii. 73), *Λίβυον ἐπιζητῶν [διδάσκαλον τῆς Ἰταλίδας φωνῆς] αὐτοὺς γὰρ ἔφασκεν ἐγνωκέναι στωμιλωτέρως παρὰ τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς διαλέγεσθαι.* The generous Prefect Phocas, though really able to speak Latin perfectly, professed to want an African master of the language in order to assist the destitute Speciosus.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen says (*l. c.* p. 342), 'But the black spot of the African literary character is just its scholasticism. . . . The language swarmed partly with scholastic reminiscences, partly with unclassical or newly-coined words and phrases. There is a lack of both the graceful charm of the Greek and of the dignity of the Roman. Significantly we do not meet in the whole field of Africano-Latin authorship a single poet who deserves to be so much as named.'

deduction we must still believe them to have been prosperous—was all summed up and symbolised in the glory and magnificence of their capital, the ‘happy Carthage<sup>1</sup>’ of her Roman lords. We have already seen<sup>2</sup> the picture drawn by the stern Salvian of the seductive immorality of the great African city, but even through all his denunciations there runs a reluctant acknowledgment of her surpassing beauty. Topographers dispute, and will perhaps long dispute, as to the exact limits of the old Phoenician city, but there cannot be much doubt as to the general position of its Roman successor, and the main features of the landscape around it are still unchanged. There Carthago lay upon her superb isthmus looking forth upon her lake and her sea, even the sea land-locked and with the two-horned mountain of the Hot Springs<sup>3</sup> rising to the south of it. Below, was her harbour the celebrated Cothon, once blocked up by the mole constructed by Scipio during the last fatal siege, but now probably again opened to the commerce of the world. Northwards, the long sad street of tombs stretched up to the Hill of Camart. In the city itself, besides the baths, the forum, the amphitheatre, and all the other accustomed splendours of a Roman city, were five temples bearing witness by the names of their tutelary gods to that antique civilisation of the sons of Canaan which Rome might crush but could not obliterate. These were the temples dedicated under the Empire to Aesculapius, to Saturn, to Juno, to Hercules, and to Mercury, but which had once borne the means of Ashmon, of Moloch, of Ashtaroth, of

<sup>1</sup> ‘Felix Kartago’ is a frequent legend on the Imperial coins.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 931.

<sup>3</sup> *Aquae Calidae*, now Hammam Elenf.

Melkarth, and of Baal-Ammon. Some of these, it is true, may have been destroyed in the outbreak of Christian zeal which marked the close of the fourth century in Africa; but the temple of Juno Coelestis at any rate still remained, for it was consecrated in 425 by Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, as a temple of the newer faith which had come forth from Palestine to claim all the shores of the Mediterranean for its heritage.

On an eminence within the city rose the stately Byrsa, the Acropolis of Carthage, bounded by a wall two miles in circumference<sup>1</sup>. Here, according to the legend transmitted by the Greeks, was the scene of Dido's famous purchase from the natives of 'a hide of land' which she interpreted to mean so much land as could be encompassed by a bull's hide<sup>2</sup> cut into strips. Modern philologists, struck with the obvious absurdity of supposing that Dido and her Phoenicians would resort to the Greek language for the name of their new city, have preferred to connect Byrsa with Bozra, a name well known to us from the Hebrew Scriptures as descriptive of the mountain fortress of the Edomites<sup>3</sup>.

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.

The Byrsa  
of Car-  
thage.

<sup>1</sup> So says Orosius, who, on account of his friendship for St. Augustine, is probably a good witness at any rate as to the Carthage of the fifth century. 'Arx, cui Byrsae nomen erat, paulo amplius quam duo millia passuum tenebat. Ex unâ parte murus communis erat urbis et Byrsae imminens mari, quod mare Stagnum vocant quoniam objectu protentae linguae tranquillatur' (Hist. iv. 22). I must confess that there seems to me considerable force in the arguments of Dr. Davis (Carthage and her Remains, chap. xvii.) against the identification of the Byrsa with the hill of St. Louis, though the site which he contends for will not altogether suit the above passage in Orosius.

<sup>2</sup> Βύρσα = a hide.

<sup>3</sup> But בֹּצְרָה Botsrah requires some gentle violence to press it into Bursa. I cannot help thinking that the old Greek derivation may be nearer the truth than modern scholars admit. Gesenius postulates the

Here, at any rate, appear to have been situated the chief buildings not only of Punic Carthage, but of its Roman successor: here was the Temple of Ashmon, or Aesculapius, and here in all probability the lordly *Praetorium*, once inhabited by the great Proconsul of Africa, but soon to receive the retinue of the Vandal king.

Relative position of the Proconsul and the Comte of Africa.

I have said that the Proconsul of Africa once dwelt in the *Praetorium* of Carthage, and this was certainly his abode in the first century of the Christian era, but at the time which we have now reached, he may have been thrust out of his palace, or if still dwelling there, he may have been reduced almost to insignificance by the overshadowing might of his military rival, the Count. The position of the Proconsul was a somewhat peculiar one. The whole diocese of Africa, including all its six provinces, bounded by Tingitana on the West, and Cyrenaica in the East, was, as we have already seen, part of the Prefecture of Italy. According to analogy it should have been all subject to its own Vicarius, who should have been responsible for the whole to the *Praefectus Praetorio Italiae*. In fact, however, at the time of the Diocletianic reorganisation of the Empire, only five provinces (the two Mauretanas, Numidia, Byzacena, and Tripolitana) were placed under the Vicarius Africae, while the Proconsul of Zeugitana (otherwise called the Proconsul of Africa, as his, though the smallest, was by far the richest and most important of all

existence of an unused root בָּרַשׁ (barash), 'to cut' (especially to cut into slices, see בָּרוֹשׁ). If the legend about Dido's bargain was, as seems probable, home-grown, Byrsa may have been derived from a kindred root to this. The similarity with the Greek *βύρσα* was, of course, a mere coincidence.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 619.



the Provinces) was retained under the immediate order of the Praetorian Prefect of Italy. If, as seems highly probable, the Vicarius as well as the Proconsul had his residence at Carthage<sup>1</sup>, there was already some material provided for jealousies and heart-burnings between the civil governors of the Diocese. But, from what we know of the cause of affairs throughout the fourth and fifth centuries, and especially from the glimpses vouchsafed to us of the history of Roman Africa during that time, we may safely say that the Proconsul, venerable as was the name of his office and great as his theoretical authority, was ever losing more of the substance of power, and that his losses were the gains of the military ruler of the Diocese, the far-feared Count of Africa<sup>2</sup>.

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.

<sup>1</sup> This is made probable, but is not actually proved by the language of Salvian (*De Gubern. Dei*, vii. 16) which is, in itself, an interesting description of the condition of Carthage on the eve of the Vandal invasion.

‘I speak of Carthage, once the mightiest enemy of Rome, and now like another Rome in the world of Africa. She alone is sufficient for my purpose as an example and a witness, since she contained within herself all the resources whereby throughout the whole world the good order of the commonwealth is established or maintained. For there are all the appliances of the offices of State, the schools of the liberal arts, the lecture-rooms of the philosophers, in short, all the institutions for training students either in literature or in morals. There, too, are the military forces and the authorities in command of the army, the honour of the proconsul, that daily judge and ruler, proconsul, indeed, in name but a very consul in power (‘*illic honor proconsularis, illic iudex cotidianus et rector, quantum ad nomen quidem proconsul, sed quantum ad potentiam consul*’); there, finally, are all the distributors of wealth, the rulers, so to speak, of every street and square, who, with every imaginable variety of rank and name, govern all the regions of the city and all the members of the nation.’

<sup>2</sup> The official staff of the *Proconsul Africae* is described in the 17th chapter of the *Notitia Occidentis*: that of the *Vicarius Africae* in the 19th, and that of the *Comes Africae* in the 23rd chapter. Papencordt

BOOK III. This was the office which, in the middle of the reign of  
 CH. 2. Honorius had been held by Heraclian, and which was  
 Heraclian now held by Bonifacius.  
 Comes

Africae,

408-413.

Bonifacius

Comes

Africae,

422(?) - 432.

From this sketch of Roman Africa we return to trace the fortunes of its Vandal invaders. We have seen that in the month of May, and probably in the year 428, Gaiseric, with the whole body of his countrymen (the males alone of whom numbered 80,000 souls), set sail in the ships of Bonifacius for the coast of Africa. Of the details of their first conquests we know nothing<sup>1</sup>. All that we can say is that in the early part of 430, only three cities remained which had not been sacked by the barbarians, but these three were the strongly-fortified towns of Hippo, Cirta<sup>2</sup>, and the capital of the province, Carthage. We know not when Cirta fell. A peculiar interest attaches to the Vandals' siege of Hippo, which was commenced about the end of the month of May, 430. This town, situated on the sea-coast about 180 miles west of Carthage, and represented by the modern French-Arabic city of Bona, was, as every

Siege of  
 Hippo.

(p. 29) considers that all three dignitaries, Vicarius, Proconsul, and Comes resided at Carthage.

<sup>1</sup> Papencordt (p. 69) points out that we have in the Theodosian Code (xii. 6. 33) an ordinance entrusting the care of the magazines of provisions in the Proconsular and Byzacene provinces to the *Curiales*. This ordinance being dated from Ravenna, 15 Feb., 430, looks as if at that time the Imperial Court did not consider these two provinces in danger from Gaiseric's movements. Perhaps it was framed in some interval of truce obtained by the mediation of Bonifacius.

<sup>2</sup> There can be little doubt that this is the place meant by Possidius, the biographer of St. Augustine, when he says, 'Vix tres superstites videbat ex innumerabilibus ecclesiis, hoc est Carthaginensem, Hipponensem et Circensem.' Possidius, it is true, speaks of churches, but we may conclude that if the Vandals had ruined all the other churches, they had also taken the towns.

one knows, the abode of the great bishop and father, Augustine. There he was busily employed, adding a Confutation of Julian of Eclana, the Pelagian heretic, to the vast library of books<sup>1</sup> which already owned him as author, when the news came of the Vandal invasion. He heard of the burnings, the massacres, the torn-up fruit-trees, the churches levelled to the ground, which everywhere marked the progress of the barbarian hosts through the orderly and quiet province, the beautiful land which from every side seemed smiling upon the stranger<sup>2</sup>. Bishop after bishop asked his counsel whether they should stay in their sees or fly to one of the few remaining strongholds. His first advice was, 'Remain with your flocks and share their miseries.' 'What,' said one, 'is the use of our remaining, simply to see the men slain, the women ravished, the churches burned, and then to be put to the rack ourselves to make us disclose the hiding-place of treasures which we have not?' They pleaded the words of Christ, 'When they persecute you in one city, flee into another,' and Augustine, reflecting on the examples of Cyprian and Athanasius, who had for a time quitted their bishoprics, with some hesitation, and with some limitations, admitted the plea. So it came to pass that Possidius, Bishop of Calama, to whose pen we are indebted for this account of the last days of his master, with many other bishops from all the country round, were shut up in Hippo, sitting at the feet of the great doctor of the

BOOK III.

CH. 2

430.

<sup>1</sup> 'Two hundred and thirty-two books, besides innumerable epistles, an exposition of the Psalter and the Gospels and popular *tractates*, called *Homilies* by the Greeks, the number of which it is impossible to ascertain' (Victor Vitensis, i. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Victor Vitensis, i. 1.

BOOK III. African Church, and listening to 'that river of eloquence  
 CH. 2. which had once flowed forth abundantly over all the  
 430. meadows of the Church, but was now almost dried up  
 with fear, to that fountain sweeter than honey which  
 was being turned into the bitterness of wormwood<sup>1</sup>. So  
 the good bishops sat, 'often talking together over these  
 calamities, and reflecting on the tremendous judgments  
 of God daily exhibited before us, saying, 'Righteous  
 art thou, O Lord, and thy judgment is just,' mingling  
 our tears, our groans, and our sighs, and praying the  
 Father of Mercies and the God of all Consolation that  
 he would see meet to deliver us from this tribu-  
 lation<sup>2</sup>.'

Count  
 Bonifacius.

But, shut up in the same town of Hippo, was one  
 man more sad at heart and more weary of life than  
 Augustine himself, the author of all this misery, and  
 the betrayer of his trust, Bonifacius Count of Africa.  
 It has been already told<sup>3</sup> how, by the intervention of  
 his friends, his character was cleared at Rome, and he  
 returned to his old loyalty to Placidia. Too late, how-  
 ever, for the desolated province. 'When with the  
 most earnest entreaties and a thousand promises he  
 besought his late allies to depart from Africa, they  
 would not listen to his words, but thought he was  
 making fools of them<sup>4</sup>.' A battle followed, in which  
 he was defeated, and in consequence we find him now  
 within the walls of the old capital of the Numidian  
 kings (Hippo Regius) directing the defence of the  
 beleaguered city, and listening to the tragic stories  
 told by each fresh fugitive, of the ruin wrought in his

<sup>1</sup> Victor Vitensis, i. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Possidius, cap. 28, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. p. 878.

<sup>4</sup> Procopius, De Bell. Vand. i. 3.

province by his own invited guests. He had re-BOOK III.  
 pented, CH. 2.

‘Ay, as the libertine repents who cannot  
 Make done undone, when thro’ his dying sense  
 Shrills “lost through thee<sup>1</sup>.”’

430.

It is strange to reflect that this, the most miserable man in all Africa, whose treason had brought such innumerable woes upon his people, was the same man who had sighed after a monastic life, and had scarcely been persuaded to continue to discharge the duties of a husband and a general. A conscience, this, which was always above or below the average common-sense morality of ordinary men.

The generalship of Bonifacius, or the prayers of Death of St. Augustine. Augustine, or the natural unskilfulness of the northern barbarians in the siege of walled cities, enabled Hippo to make a successful defence. For fourteen months the Vandals blockaded the town, from May 430 till July 431. In the third month of the siege, the great Bishop August 28, 430 (Prosper). of Hippo died, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the fortieth of his episcopate. He had often uttered the maxim<sup>2</sup> that even the aged and experienced Christian ought not to depart out of the world except in a state of profound penitence for all sins committed after baptism ; and acting on his own principle, he had the penitential Psalms of David copied for him by his friends, and gazed constantly at the wall to which the sheets thus inscribed were affixed. For ten days before his death he ordered that, except when the doctor visited him, or his meals had to be brought to his bedside, no one should enter his chamber, in order that all his waking thoughts might be given to prayer. So,

<sup>1</sup> Tennyson, *Harold*, iii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Possidius, cap. 31.

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.

431.

amid the sorrows of the siege, in silence and contrition, passed away the spirit which, more mightily than any other since the age of the Apostles ended, has moulded the thoughts of the European nations concerning the dealings of the Almighty with mankind.

Siege of  
Hippo  
raised.

In the fourteenth month of the siege the Vandals, pressed by famine, broke up from before the walls of Hippo. Soon after, Bonifacius, being joined by large reinforcements from Rome and Byzantium (the latter under the command of the veteran Aspar), tried conclusions once more with Gaiseric in the open field<sup>1</sup>. The Romans were again defeated. Aspar returned to Byzantium and Bonifacius to Rome, where (as has been before related) he received his death-wound from Aetius<sup>2</sup>.

435-  
Treaty be-  
tween Va-  
lentinian  
and Gai-  
seric.

Three years passed. It became clear to the Imperial Court that the Vandals would never be forced to relinquish their prize. It had also become clear to the mind of Gaiseric that it would be wise to consolidate his conquests, that Carthage would not easily be wrested in fair fighting from a watchful foe, and that it was time for his people to desist from mere marauding ravages and to settle down as lords of the soil in such part of Africa as the Emperor might be forced to surrender. Accordingly, on the 11th February<sup>3</sup>, 435, peace was concluded between the Emperor and the Vandal, the chief conditions being apparently that the latter was to leave unmolested the city of Carthage, and that part of the Proconsular Province which lay

<sup>1</sup> Papencordt (p. 69) quotes 431 for the date of this battle. I have assigned it to 432 (vol. i. p. 878). I do not think we can fix the date with certainty.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 879.

<sup>3</sup> Not 30th January, as inadvertently stated in the first edition.

immediately around it; was to pay a yearly tribute, and to send his son Huneric to Rome as a hostage for his fidelity. On the other hand, Gaiseric's rule over the part of Africa which he had already conquered, and which probably included the remainder of the Proconsular Province, Byzacena and Numidia, was recognised under the formula probably in frequent use on similar occasions that 'this portion of the Empire was given to the Vandals to dwell in.' The treaty was signed at Hippo, which city appears to have fallen into the hands of the Vandals, and to have been burned by them<sup>2</sup>. Probably it may have been rebuilt, re-occupied by an Imperial garrison, and now handed over to Gaiseric, but as to these vicissitudes in its history we cannot speak with certainty<sup>3</sup>.

Procopius greatly praises the forethought and moderation which Gaiseric showed in concluding this peace. He says that he had reflected on the possibility that Rome and Byzantium might again combine their forces against him, and that another time he might not be able to resist their united strength, that he was sobered rather than puffed up by the good fortune which he had already experienced, and remembered

Gaiseric's  
reasons for  
concluding  
the treaty.

<sup>1</sup> 'Pax facta cum Vandalis, datâ eis ad habitandum per Trigetium Africae portione. III Idus Februarii, Hippone,' Prosper. s. a. 435. Trigetius, the negotiator of this peace, was afterwards Prefect and one of the ambassadors sent in 452 with Pope Leo to the camp of Attila (see p. 157). Papencordt (p. 344) proposes to read 'per Trigennium' for 'per Trigetium,' and to make the Imperial concession ostensibly limited to a period of thirty years, but this does not seem probable.

<sup>2</sup> 'Licet post ejus [Augustini] obitum urbs Hipponensis incolis destituta ab hostibus fuerit concremata.' Possidius, Vita S. Aug. 28. I am indebted to Papencordt for this quotation.

<sup>3</sup> The statement in the first edition (ii. 252) as to the surrender of Hippo to the Vandals under the treaty of 435 is too positive.

BOOK III. how often the gods delight to trip up human prosperity.  
 CH. 2.

No doubt this was the attitude which the Vandal wished to assume, but considering how easily the tribute might be left unpaid, the hostage enabled to escape, the promise broken, and on the other hand of what immense importance to the establishment of the Vandal rule was the recognition of its legitimacy even for a few years by the only source of legitimate authority in the Western Empire, we shall not find much difficulty in believing that the moderate and sober-minded barbarian got the best of the bargain.

439.  
 Capture of  
 Carthage.

In point of fact, the promise to desist from further attacks on the Proconsular Province held good for rather less than five years. We have already had occasion briefly to notice<sup>1</sup> those vain and futile battlings to and fro in Southern Gaul between the Romans at Narbonne and the Visigoths at Toulouse, which preceded by about twelve years the far wiser confederacy of both nations against the terrible Attila. While all the energies of Rome, and all the intellect of Aetius, who was the brain of Rome, were concentrated on the next move in this purposeless struggle, suddenly, without warning, Gaiseric, (says Prosper) 'of whose friendship no doubt was entertained, attacked Carthage, under cover of peace, and converted all its wealth to his own use, extorting it from the citizens by various kinds of torments<sup>2</sup>.' This happened on the 19th October, 439. We may conjecture that the

<sup>1</sup> p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> 'Aetio rebus, quae in Galliis componebantur, intento, Geisericus, de cujus amicitia nihil metuebatur, xiv Kal. Novembris Carthaginem dolo pacis invadit, omnesque opes ejus, exeruciatis diverso tormentorum genere civibus, in jus suum vertit.' Marcellinus puts the date four days later, on the 23rd of October.



hostage Huneric had been before this upon some pretext or other recalled from Italy.

Now at length the great prize was won, and the Vandals were undoubted masters of Africa. Their chief, who for ten years or more had been leading them from victory to victory, seems now for the first time to have assumed the full title of king<sup>1</sup>. His true statesmanlike instinct is shown by the fact that as soon as he touched the coast, or at least as soon as the docks and harbours of Hippo and Carthage were in his power, he, the leader of a tribe of inland barbarians, who had been indebted to the friendly offices of Bonifacius for the transport of his people across the Straits of Gibraltar, turned all his energies to ship-building, and soon possessed incomparably the most formidable naval power in the Mediterranean. The remaining thirty-seven years of his life, especially the later ones, were made merry by perpetual piratical expeditions against Italy, against Sicily, against Illyria, against the Peloponnesus, against the rich and defenceless islands of the Aegean<sup>2</sup>. There was a joyous

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.  
439.  
Gaiseric's  
rule in Car-  
thage.

<sup>1</sup> Victor Vitensis ascribes the capture of Rome (455) to the fifteenth year of Gaiseric's reign, and says that he continued in his kingship thirty-seven years and three months, evidently reckoning this reign, which ended in Jan. 477, from the date of the capture of Carthage. Prosper and Procopius also date his reign from the same event. What title, then, did he now assume? In the decrees quoted by Victor Vitensis he styles himself 'King of the Vandals and Alans;' but this looks as if he may also have styled himself 'King of Carthage' or 'King of Africa.' Theophanes (s. a. 449) says that he called himself 'King of the land and the sea,' but he is a late writer.

<sup>2</sup> Gaiseric even rounded the pillars of Hercules and attacked the coasts of Gallicia in Spain. 'Wandali navibus Turonio (?) in litore Gallaeciae repenté advecti, familias capiunt plurimorum' (Idatius, s. a. 445).

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.

439.

impartiality in these expeditions, an absence of any special malice against the victims of them, a frank renunciation of all attempts to find a pretext for making them, which is thoroughly characteristic of their author. Once when his armament was lying in the harbour of Carthage, all ready for sailing, and when the brigand-king had come limping down from the palace which had been dwelt in for centuries by the Proconsuls of Africa, as soon as he set his foot on board, the pilot asked for orders to what land he should steer. The object of the expedition was the only point which the king had not yet troubled himself to determine. 'For the dwellings of the men with whom God is angry,' he said, and left the decision of that question to the winds and the waves. This was the true counterpart of the stories about 'the scourge of God,' with which Legend has falsely invested the history of Attila<sup>1</sup>.

The Car-  
thaginian  
Nemesis.

So it came to pass that again after nearly six centuries of quiet submission to the rule of Rome, the name of Carthage became terrible to the dwellers by

<sup>1</sup> In the *Novellae Valentiniani III.* (Tit. ix. ed. Haenel) under the date 440, occurs the following interesting reference to the piratical excursions of Gaiseric: '*Geisericus hostis imperii nostri non parvum classem de Karthaginensi portu nuntiatum est eduxisse, cujus repentinus excursus et fortuita depraedatio cunctis est litoribus formidanda.*' The object of the decree which was entitled '*De reddito jure armorum*' was to convey to 'our most loving Roman people' the Imperial permission and command to use arms and band themselves together for the defence of the threatened coasts. Valentinian at the same time states that 'the army of our father, the unconquered Theodosius (II), is drawing nigh,' that 'we believe the most excellent man, our Patrician Aetius, to be at hand with a great power,' and that 'the most illustrious master of the soldiery, Sigisvuld, ceases not to array both *milites* and *foederati* for the defence both of the cities and the coasts.'

the Tiber. The poets of the period described Gaiseric's invasions of Italy as a fourth Punic War<sup>1</sup>, and it was scarcely a license of poetry so to speak of them. We are reminded of the mediaeval superstitions about Vampire-spirits inhabiting the bodies of the dead and sucking the blood of the living, when we find this Teutonic people entering the long-buried corpse of the Punic nationality, and striking, from its heart, deadlier blows at Rome than ever were delivered by Hamilcar or Hannibal. We know not on what scale God writes his lessons for the nations, and we fear to push too far the paradox expressed in the old proverb, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge.' But, remembering the ignoble jealousy, the cruelty born of fear, with which the Romans prepared for and consummated the 'deletion' of their fallen enemy, in the Third Punic War, we cannot but feel that there is something like a judgment of the Eternal Righteousness in the conspicuous part assigned to the city and harbour of Carthage in harassing and embittering the dying days of Rome.

During the years immediately following the fall of Carthage, Sicily appears to have been the main object of the Vandal expeditions. Gaiseric was, in the year 440, moving up and down through the island, cruelly wasting her fruitful valleys, when the tidings brought to him that Sebastian, a brave man and son-in-law to Bonifacius, had landed in Africa, caused him to return to Carthage. Sebastian,

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.  
440.  
The Vandals in Sicily.

<sup>1</sup> Thus Sidonius—

'Heu facinus! in bella iterum *quartosque labores*  
Perfida Eliseae crudescunt classica Byrsae.'

(Panegyric of Avitus, 444-5.)

BOOK III. however, as we shall hereafter see, came not as an  
 CH. 2. enemy but as a suppliant, and Gaiseric, we may pre-  
 441. sume, returned to his career of spoliation. Next year  
 an expedition fitted out by the Eastern Emperor under  
 the command of Areobindus and two other generals, came  
 to dispute the sovereignty of the Western seas with the  
 Vandal king. But as was so often the case with these  
 laboriously prepared Byzantine armaments, the generals  
 wrangled and procrastinated; the favourable moment—  
 if there were one—for striking was lost, and the ex-  
 pedition failed to accomplish anything for the recon-  
 quest of Africa, and did much to increase the miseries  
 of the unhappy Sicilians<sup>1</sup>.

Treaty be-  
 tween Gai-  
 seric and  
 Valenti-  
 nian.

In the next year (442) the army was recalled to  
 defend the Eastern Empire from one of Attila's inroads,  
 and Valentinian, feeling it hopeless to continue the  
 contest single-handed, concluded another treaty with  
 Gaiseric by which possibly Sicily or some portion of it  
 was surrendered<sup>2</sup>, and Africa was divided by certain  
 fixed limits between the Emperor and the Vandal<sup>3</sup>.  
 Unfortunately these 'fixed limits' have not been men-  
 tioned by the historians, and it must remain doubtful  
 how much of Mauretania on the west and Tripolitana  
 on the east may still have owed a precarious allegiance  
 to the Roman Empire.

Fate of  
 Sicily.

But the fate of Sicily is less doubtful. It is clear  
 that either at this time or some years later, it became  
 a recognised part of the Vandal dominions, and so  
 remained till there was no longer a Western Emperor

<sup>1</sup> Prosper, s. a. 441. The disputes of the generals may fairly be  
 inferred from what Prosper tells us of their long delays.

<sup>2</sup> This is not expressly stated by Prosper.

<sup>3</sup> 'Cum Geiserico autem ab Augusto Valentiniano pax confirmata,  
 et certis spatiis Africa inter utrumque divisa est' (Prosper).

to claim it. Then probably in the year 477, the greater part of it was ceded by Gaiseric to Odovacar, the barbarian ruler of Italy, on condition of his paying an annual tribute. But already, as we see, the great island is falling into that condition of partial detachment from the great peninsula, which generally marked its history under its Greek lords, and which was so frequently again to prevail in the Middle Ages, and even down to the days of our fathers<sup>1</sup>.

As for Gaiseric, though peace was formally concluded between him and Valentinian, we need not suppose that the buccaneering exploits of the Vandal king were ended. Pretexts were doubtless still found for the visits paid with each returning spring to some 'nation with whom God was angry,' and if serious war was not being waged, life was still made exciting by light-hearted piracy.

The few details which are preserved as to the internal administration of Gaiseric, and his manner of parcelling out the conquered territory among his followers, are of great value, as affording one of the earliest illustrations of that great land-settlement of the victorious Teutons which was one day to form the basis of the Feudal System.

'He arranged,' says Procopius<sup>2</sup>, 'the Vandals and Alans into regiments<sup>3</sup>, over whom he set no fewer than eighty colonels, whom he called Chiliarchs (captains of thousands), so creating the belief that his forces amounted to 80,000 men. Nevertheless the number of the Vandals and Alans was said in the

<sup>1</sup> See Note F. Vandal Dominion over the Islands of the Mediterranean.

<sup>2</sup> De Bello Vandalico, i. 5. (I have transposed the order of the two paragraphs.)

<sup>3</sup> Λόχοι.

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CH. 2.

477.

previous time (in the time before the invasion) not to amount to more than 50,000 ; but the natural increase of the population, together with their practice of admitting other barbarians into their confederation, had enormously added to their numbers. The names, however, of the Alans, and of every other barbarous tribe in the confederacy except the Moors, were all merged in the one designation of Vandals.

Land-  
settlement  
after the  
conquest.

‘ Among the provincials of Africa, if he saw any man flourishing in reputation and wealth, he gave him, with his lands and other possessions, to his sons Huneric and Genzo, as servile property<sup>1</sup>. From the other Africans he took away the largest and best part of their lands, and distributed them among the nation of the Vandals ; and from that time these lands are called the Vandal Allotments (*Sortes Vandalorum*) unto this day. The former possessors of these lands were for the most part left poor and free—at liberty, that is, to take themselves off whither they would. Now all these estates which Gaiseric had bestowed upon his sons and the other Vandals were, according to his orders, free from the payment of all taxes. But all the land which seemed to him to be of poorer quality, he left in the hands of the former owners, so burdened however with taxes and public charges that nothing beyond a bare subsistence could be reaped by the nominal possessors. Many of these tried to flee, but were arrested and put to death ; for sundry grievous crimes were laid to their charge, the greatest of all, according to his estimate, being the attempted concealment of treasure. Thus did the African provincials fall into every kind of misery.’

<sup>1</sup> Ἐν ἀνδραπόδων μοίρα.

We are able to supplement the information as to the land settlement given by Procopius by an important sentence from Victor Vitensis<sup>1</sup>. 'He' [Gaiseric] thus disposed of the several provinces: reserving to himself the Byzacene and Abaritan provinces, Getulia and a part of Numidia, he portioned out the Zeugitana or Proconsular province to his army by the tie of inheritance<sup>2</sup>. The Proconsular province, as has been said, was that corner of the coast line in the middle of which Carthage was situated, the smallest of all the provinces, being only about a hundred miles wide by fifty long, but doubtless also by far the richest. Numidia bordered it on the west, the Byzacene province<sup>3</sup> on the south. No such province as Abaritana was known to the Imperial geographers: but it was probably a small district in the Proconsular province.<sup>4</sup>

The historical student who considers the account thus given by Procopius and Victor of the Vandal land-settlement will see that we have here the germs of the same state of society which prevailed in France under the Karolingian monarchs and out of the inevitable decay of which arose the Feudal System.

1. We have first a vast Royal Domain (*dominicum*)<sup>Domain land.</sup> the land of 'Dominus noster, Gaisericus.' If we take the expression of Victor literally, this domain included

<sup>1</sup> de Pers. Vand. i. 4.

<sup>2</sup> 'Disponens quoque singulas quasque provincias, sibi Byzacenam, Abaritanam atque Getuliam et partem Numidiae reservavit, exercitui vero Zeugitanam vel Proconsularem funiculo hereditatis divisit.' Ibid. i. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Or Byzacium.

<sup>4</sup> This is Papencordt's suggestion (p. 181). He says that the way in which Abara is mentioned in the list of African churches shows that it was near to Carthage.

nearly the whole of the two great provinces of Numidia and Byzacena, as well as some part of Proconsularis. Probably, however, we may interpret it by the light of Procopius' explanations, and infer that Gaiseric chose for himself and his sons all the valuable estates in these provinces<sup>1</sup> leaving the poorer soils in the hands of the old cultivators. The immense domain so chosen was cultivated of course entirely by slaves, and Gaiseric chose especially those who have been the richest and most influential proprietors, appropriating them and their slaves to service on his domain land. The insolence of the barbarian was gratified by thus reducing the proudest, wealthiest, and most refined of the provincials to the condition of menials absolutely dependent on his will. But in course of time no doubt superior education and the old habits of command would assert themselves. These aristocratic slaves would become intendants, stewards, managers of their fellow-slaves. If the experiment had been continued for a sufficient length of time (which it was not in the case of the Vandals) these highly-educated slaves would have become supple courtiers, and would have perhaps proved a formidable counterpoise to the descendants of Vandal chiefs, who once looked upon Gaiseric himself as scarcely more than first among his peers. In fact, very soon after the settlement (in 442) there was an actual conspiracy among the nobility against what they considered the overgrown power and pride of their king: but the plot was detected and the conspirators atoned for their share in it by a death of torture. The suspicions and

<sup>1</sup> This process is, I believe, called in Australia 'picking out the eyes' of a district. Dahn's explanation of Victor (*Könige der Germanen*, i. 205) substantially agrees with the above.



jealousies engendered by this conspiracy were very detrimental to the Vandal state<sup>1</sup>.

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2. The Vandal Allotments (*Sortes Vandalarum*) denote the next class of lands, those which are divided among the warriors of the conquering nation. Divided, surely, by lot<sup>2</sup>, in a manner which suited well the ardent love of games of hazard inherent in these Teutonic nations, and in accordance with a custom widely diffused among them, as is testified by the occurrence of the same word, *sors*, among the Visigoths in Spain, among the Burgundians on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, and among the Ripuarian Franks of the Rhine. The estates were hereditary—this we learn from Victor's express testimony<sup>3</sup>—but though hereditary they doubtless carried with them some obligation of service in that 'army' to which they were originally 'portioned out.' Except for this implied obligation of military service they were free from all taxes. These *Sortes Vandalarum* were, as before said, chiefly to be found in the rich Proconsular province, where they must have clustered thickly, perhaps overflowing a little into

Allotments  
of the  
soldiers, or  
*Sortes Van-*  
*dalarum.*

<sup>1</sup> 'In Geisericum apud suos de successu rerum superbientem quidam optimates ipsius conspiraverunt: sed molitione detectâ, multis ab eo suppliciis excruciatî atque extincti sunt. Cumque idem audendum etiam aliis videretur, multis regis suspicio exitio fuit, ut hac sui curâ plus virium perderet, quam si bello superaretur.' Prosper s. a. 442.

<sup>2</sup> Hallam seems to doubt whether the partition really took place by lot, and would make *sors* simply the equivalent of the Greek κλήρος (Supplemental Notes, p. 71). But Binding, who has examined the subject very carefully, pronounces decidedly in favour of the meaning which is etymologically the obvious one, viz. that the *sors* implied 'sortilege,' an 'allotment,' a casting of lots (Geschichte des Burgundisch-Romanischen Königreichs, 18).

<sup>3</sup> 'funiculo hereditatis divisit.'

BOOK III. the neighbouring Numidia<sup>1</sup>. Here doubtless the power  
 CH. 2.

of the old Vandal nobility was greatest, and the spirit of Vandal nationality the strongest. Here, if it had been written in the book of Fate that an enduring German kingdom of North Africa should be founded, would the speech of the Vandals have struck the deepest root, and the songs of Vandal minstrels as to the bye-gone ages spent in the forest of the Elbe and the Danube would have been the longest preserved.

Lands left  
to the pro-  
vincials.

3. There remain the poor, the unimproved, the outlying lands, abandoned half-contemptuously to the Roman provincials, who tilled, and crouched, and paid where their fathers fought, and ruled, and robbed. Would this kind of holding in the course of centuries have sunk down into the 'base-tenure' whence our copyholds sprang, or would it have slowly risen into what our ancestors called *free-socage*? In other words, would these down-trodden provincials have developed into villeins or freeholders? That is an interesting question, the answer to which is drowned by the trumpets of Belisarius. But, nevertheless, it is worth while noticing that we have here in Africa, half way through the fifth century after Christ, a division of the nation into two distinct classes, a burdened, tax-paying, toiling commonalty, and a lordly, untaxed, warrior class above them—that same division which in France lasted on to the days of our grandfathers, and was shattered by the oath of the Tiers Etat in the Tennis-Court of Versailles.

Enslaved  
provincials.

But it is not to be supposed that a majority of the subject population were left, even in this degraded state, to enjoy the blessings of freedom. The vast estates of the king, his sons, and the Vandal warriors,

<sup>1</sup> Gaisericus sibi *partem* Numidiae reservavit. Victor Vit. l. c.

required vast tribes of slaves to cultivate them, and to slavery accordingly, as has before been said, the bulk of the provincial population were reduced. A story which is told us by Procopius<sup>1</sup>, and which has something in the ring of it that reminds one of the far-distant legendary moralities of Herodotus, brings this wholesale enslavement of the people clearly before us. 'The Byzantine general Aspar, as was before said, brought help to the Roman Provincials of Africa, but was defeated by the barbarians. After the battle, Gaiseric ordered all the captives to be mustered in the courtyard of his palace that he might allot them masters suitable to their several conditions. There then they were collected in the open air, and as the noonday sun '—the fierce sun of Libya—'beat hotly on their heads, most of them sat down. But one among them, who was named Marcian, carelessly composed himself to sleep; and while he lay there an eagle, so they say, with outspread wings, hovered over him, now rising, now falling, but always contriving to shelter him, and him only, from the sun by the shadow of her wings. From the window of an upper chamber Gaiseric watched this occurrence, and being a quick-witted man, at once perceived that there was in it something of the nature of an omen. So he sent for the man, and asked him who he was, and whence he came. He replied that he was a confidential servant, or *domesticus*, as the Romans call it, of Aspar. On hearing this, and reflecting what the bird had done '—the typical Eagle of Rome—'and comparing it with the influence which Aspar possessed at the court of Byzantium, Gaiseric saw clearly that the captive before him would attain to some high career.

432.

<sup>1</sup> De Bello Vandalico, i. 4.

To kill him, however, did not appear to be at all the right thing to do: for that would only show that the omen had no significance, since certainly the bird would never have taken the trouble to overshadow, as future Emperor, a man who was just on the point of dying. And besides, he had no just cause for putting him to death. Nor could he do it if he was really destined to wear the purple, since what God has resolved upon, Man will never be able to hinder. He therefore bound him by an oath that if he was restored to freedom he would never bear arms against the Vandals. Thus was Marcian liberated, and came to Byzantium, where, not long afterwards, upon the death of Theodosius II, he was made Emperor.' He is the same Marcian with whom we have already made acquaintance as the husband of Pulcheria, the courageous defender of the Empire against Attila, the prince who saw in his dreams the broken bow, on the night when the mighty Hun expired. 'And, though (says Procopius) in all other respects he made an excellent ruler, he never seemed to take any thought for the province of Africa,' mindful as he was of his vow not to bear arms against the Vandals.

The land-settlement, the outlines of which are thus preserved to us, was probably completed soon after the capture of Carthage in 439. We have seen that by the peace of 442 some fragments of African dominion, probably in Tripolitana and Mauretania were still left to the Empire, but after the death of Valentinian III (455) the Vandal dominion spread unchallenged over these as well as over all the islands of the Western Mediterranean<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> After enumerating (in the extract previously quoted) the Byzacene and Abaritan provinces, Getulia, a part of Numidia and Zeugitana,

As to the administration of government in this wide territory, there are not wanting indications that here, as in so many other portions of the Empire, much was still left in the hands of the trained Roman officials. Doubtless the lawless will of the Vandal king could make itself felt wherever it pleased. Doubtless, subject to that omnipotent will, the great nobles, each in his own circle, could exercise unchecked dominion. Still there remained an infinite number of details of daily government in a community which, though half ruined was still civilised, and these details the German conquerors had neither intellect nor patience to arrange. They remained therefore in the hands of the Roman bureaucracy, and hence it is that we still, even under the Vandal kings, meet with a Proconsul of Carthage<sup>1</sup>, a *Primarius Provinciae*<sup>2</sup>, and a *Praepositus Regni*<sup>3</sup>, though to attempt now to settle the exact functions of these governors would be a hopeless task.

With all the barbarous violence and contempt of the rights of the subject population which characterised the Vandal conquest, it deserves one praise: it was not financially oppressive. While the Imperial government, with phrases of law and right for ever on its lips, was practically sucking the life-blood out of the people by its Indictions and its Superindictions, its *Angaria* and its *Chrysargyron*, Gaiseric, though

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Some parts  
of the Ro-  
man ma-  
chine of  
govern-  
ment still  
preserved.

Absence of  
financial  
oppression.

Victor Vitensis proceeds (i. 4): 'Valentiniano adhuc Imperatore, reliquas licet jam exterminatas Provincias defendente. Post cujus mortem, totius Africae ambitum obtinuit, necnon et insulas maximas, Sardiniam, Siciliam, Corsicam, Ebusam, Majoricam, Minoricam vel alias multas superbiâ sibi consuetâ defendit.'

<sup>1</sup> Victor Vitensis, v. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Vita S. Fulgentii, cap. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Victor Vitensis, ii. 5. (I owe these references to Papencordt.)

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helping himself and his soldiers to all the fairest lands in the province, did leave to the poor provincial liberty to live on the sterile soil which he contemptuously abandoned to him. Procopius expressly assures us that when the Emperor Justinian regained Africa it was no longer possible to discover in the public archives the amount of taxes which ought to be paid by each property, since Gaiseric, in the beginning of his reign, had thrown up the whole system and destroyed the registers<sup>1</sup>.

At first sight this seems contradictory to the same author's statement previously quoted, that the lands abandoned to the Romans were 'so burdened with taxes and public charges that nothing beyond a bare subsistence could be reaped by the nominal possessors.' On reflection, however, we may perhaps come to the conclusion that in that passage Procopius is speaking chiefly of the great Roman land-owners, whom it was evidently part of the Vandal policy to worry out of existence. The mass of cultivators and the little burghesses in the towns, who were known under the Empire as *Curiales*, were, it seems, practically untaxed. The grievous discontent which arose in the province when this operation was reversed by the Roman re-conquest, and when the people found that in their liberator they had gained a relentless task-master, is a striking testimony to the general lightness of the financial yoke of the Vandal kings.

Whence comes the stigma of 'Vandalism'?

In all that has yet been said concerning the career of this people, little has appeared to justify that charge of senseless and brutal destructiveness with which the word 'vandalism' makes us familiar. We have heard

<sup>1</sup> De Bello Vandalico, ii. 8.

of the pillage of towns—that, of course, is one of the commonplaces of barbaric conquest; of populations reduced to slavery—but the slave-dealer followed also in the track of the Roman armies; even of the fruit-trees being rooted up—but that was consistent with the cruel logic of war, being done in order to prevent the inhabitants from deserting the towns and prolonging a guerilla campaign in the country on such support as they could derive from the produce of the orchards. We have yet, however, to see the Vandal in his most repulsive aspect, that of a religious persecutor; and when we have beheld him in this capacity, the kernel of truth and the large envelope of passionate exaggeration which both together make up the common idea of ‘vandalism’ will be more clearly perceived and more easily separated from one another.

The Vandals, like almost every other Teutonic nation, had shared in that great process of religious change of which the bishop Ulfilas was the most conspicuous instrument. Little as their deeds savoured of Christianity, they were, by profession, Christians, holding, as a matter of course, the Arian creed of their great apostle.

They came then with all the rancour of the Arian-Catholic feud, which had now endured for more than a century, bitter in their hearts. And they came into a province which was, beyond all the other provinces of the Roman Empire, undermined by hot volcanic fires of theological passion and bigotry. There is much in the religious controversies of Africa in the fourth and fifth centuries which reminds us of the bloody disputes between Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Independent at the time of our own ‘Great Rebellion.’ Even the very names of men, not of one party only, have a

BOOK III. Puritan sound about them: 'What-God-wills,' 'Thanks-  
 CH. 2. to-God,' 'Given-by-God<sup>1</sup>,' and so forth, recall the  
 'Praise-God Barebones' and his piously named con-  
 federates of those stormy days. In Africa, over and  
 above the ordinary religious dissensions of the fourth  
 and fifth centuries, there was a special strife, the  
 Donatists. Donatist, which had arisen out of the cowardly conduct  
 of some bishops and presbyters during the persecution  
 303-313. of the Church by Diocletian and his successors.  
 A hundred and twenty years had elapsed since that  
 time, and it might have been thought that purely  
 personal questions, such as whether this bishop had  
 under terror of death delivered up the sacred books  
 to the Imperial officers, or whether that presbyter had  
 with too great eagerness grasped the crown of martyr-  
 dom, might have been now allowed to slumber in  
 oblivion. But sects and churches have long memories,  
 and the Donatists, the Cameronians of Africa, were still  
 as earnest in discussing the election of the so-called  
 'traditor<sup>2</sup>' Caecilian to the see of Carthage, as if that  
 event had happened yesterday instead of four genera-  
 tions ago. Round the Donatists, and in more or less  
 close connection with them, were grouped the wild,  
 fanatical Circumcelliones, savage boors, whose zeal,  
 where it was not assumed as a cloak for rapine and  
 lust, must have been hovering on the verge of insanity,  
 who carried fire and sword through the villages of  
 Africa, and whose war-cry, 'Praise be to God<sup>3</sup>,' was

Circumcel-  
 liones.

<sup>1</sup> Quod-vult-Deus, Deo-gratias, A-deo-datus.

<sup>2</sup> The name given to those who in time of persecution surrendered their Bibles to be burnt by the executioner.

<sup>3</sup> 'Deo Laudes.' The battle-shout of the Catholic party was 'Deo Gratias.'



heard in those villages with greater terror than the roar of the Numidian lion. The portrait of all these fanatics, being drawn only by their antagonists, must be received with much caution, but after making every conceivable allowance for exaggeration, we cannot avoid the conclusion that in this instance Christian common sense was represented by the party which successfully maintained its title to the envied designation, Catholic. But, Donatists and Catholics having both appealed to the state, and judgment having gone in favour of the latter, they, not unnaturally, according to the ideas of that age, but most unwisely according to our manner of thinking, brought down the iron hand of Imperial despotism with all its weight upon their foes.

It happens that the greater part of the laws against the Donatists<sup>1</sup> which are preserved to us belong to the reign of Honorius and the first twenty years of the fifth century, and we are thus able to see clearly mirrored in the Roman statute-book the theological animosities and the petty persecutions which preceded the advent of the Vandals into Africa<sup>2</sup>. The power of

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Legislation of Honorius against the African heretics.

<sup>1</sup> In many of the edicts the Donatists are coupled with the Manicheans, who asserted the combined agency of two eternal principles, Good and Evil, in the Creation. Thus one of the most special and technical of sectarian squabbles was coupled with the oldest, the strongest, and the most alluring form of unfaith.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Book xvi of the Theodosian Code, Tit. v, Laws 37 to 54. By Law No. 54 the scale of fines was fixed thus :—A man who had filled one of the highest offices of state, Proconsul, Vicarius, or Comes, 'if found in the Donatist flock,' was to pay 200 lbs. weight of gold (about £8000); a Senator 100 lbs. weight (about £4000); one who had held the Pagan dignity of Sacerdos, the same sum; one of the leading ten men in a corporation (Decemprimi Curiales), 50 lbs. of silver (about £133 sterling); a Common-Council-Man (Decurion), 10

buying, selling, and bequeathing property was denied to the Donatists, 'whom the patience of our Clemency has preserved until now, but who ought to be branded with perpetual infamy, and shut out from all honourable assemblies, and from every place of public resort.' Their churches were to be taken from them and given to the Catholics. They were to pay fines, varying, according to their condition in life, from £25 to £8000 sterling (those wild boors, the Circumcelliones, were to pay £25 a head); and these fines were to be repeated as often as the offender renewed his communion with the Donatist Church. The slaves and the semi-servile agricultural labourers were 'to be prevented from audacious acts of this kind by the severest punishment;' 'to be recalled from their evil religion by more frequent blows'—if blows still proved ineffectual, to lose the third part of their accumulated savings (*peculium*). We have here, it is true, not a ruthless or bloodthirsty persecution, but we have a great deal of injustice of a very galling kind, perpetrated under the name of religion, just the kind of quiet, crushing, monotonous intolerance by which the Hapsburgs extirpated the Protestantism of Styria, and the English Parliament strove to extirpate the Papistry of Ireland. There can be no doubt that the Catholics had thus earned a rich legacy of hatred and revenge, which was punctually paid to them when the Vandals, heretics like the Donatists, entered Africa<sup>1</sup>.

lbs. of silver, a little more than £25 sterling. After one of the officials of higher rank had paid the fine five times, 'if he be not then by his losses recalled from the error of his ways, let him be referred to our Clemency, that we may pass some more severe sentence concerning the capital which belongs to him, and concerning his rank in life.'

<sup>1</sup> We might naturally expect to find the Donatists, though ortho-

We will now hear a little of what Victor Vitensis has to tell us of the Vandal persecutions in the reign of Gaiseric. His style is declamatory and he is full of prejudices, both national and ecclesiastical, but he is all but a contemporary—writing, as he does, ‘in the sixtieth year after that cruel and savage nation reached the boundaries of our miserable Africa,’—and he gives us that life and colour which we ask for in vain from the meagre and cautious annalists.

‘The wicked rage of the Vandals was especially directed against the churches and basilicas, the cemeteries and the monasteries, and they made bigger bonfires of the houses of prayer than of whole cities and towns. If by chance they found the door of the holy house fast closed, it was who should soonest force an entrance by thumping it down with his right hand ; so that one might truly say, “They break down the carved work thereof at once with axes and hammers. They have cast fire into Thy sanctuary ; they have defiled by casting down the dwelling-place of Thy name to the ground.” Ah, how many illustrious bishops and noble priests were put to death by them with divers kinds of torments in the endeavour to compel them to reveal what treasures they had of gold or silver, belonging to themselves or to their churches. If, under the pressure of the torture, they easily revealed their possessions, the persecutors plied them with yet more cruel torments, declaring that part only had been surrendered, not the whole ; and the more they gave up the more they were supposed to

dox, taking sides with the Arians against their Catholic persecutors : but Papencordt (pp. 284–286) shows some ground for believing that this was not the case either before or after the Vandal Conquest.

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Victor  
Vitensis  
on the  
Vandal  
persecu-  
tions of the  
Catholics.

De Perse-  
cutione  
Vanda-  
lorum,  
i. 1.

i. 2.

be keeping back. Some had their mouths forced open with stakes and crammed with noisome filth. Some were tortured by having strings tightly twisted round the forehead or leg-bone<sup>1</sup>. Some had bladders filled with sea-water, with vinegar, with the dregs of the olive-presses, with the garbage of fishes, and other foul and cruel things laid upon their lips. The weakness of womanhood, the dignity of noble birth, the reverence due to the priesthood—none of these considerations softened those cruel hearts; nay, rather, where they saw that any were held in high honour, there was their mad rage more grievously felt. I cannot describe how many priests and illustrious functionaries had heavy loads piled upon them, as if they were camels or other beasts of burden, nor how with iron goads they urged them on their way, till some fell down under their burdens and miserably gave up the ghost. Hoary hairs enwrapping the venerable head like whitest wool won for the bearer no pity from those savage guests. Innocent little children were snatched by the barbarian from the maternal embrace and dashed to the ground. Well might our captive Zion sing “The enemy said that he would burn my borders and slay my infants and dash my little ones to the earth.” In some large and stately buildings [probably churches], where the ministry of fire had proved insufficient to destroy them, the barbarians showed their contempt of the edifice by levelling its fair walls with the ground; so that now those beautiful old cities have quite lost their former appearance, and many whole towns are now occupied by a scanty remnant

i. 3.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Nonnullos in frontibus et tibiis, nervis remugientibus torquendo cruciabant.’ (Translation doubtful.)

of their former inhabitants, or even left altogether desolate. BOOK III.  
CH. 2.

‘Yea, and even to-day, if any buildings remain, they are continually laying them waste, as, for instance, the Temple of Memory, that worthy appendage to the Theatre of Carthage, and the street called the Street of Heaven<sup>1</sup>, both of which they have destroyed from top to bottom. Then too, the large basilica, where the bones of the blessed martyrs Perpetua and Felicitas are laid, the church of Celerina, and others which they have not destroyed, they have, with the license of tyrants, enslaved to their own religious rights. Did they see any strongholds which they were unable to carry by the rush of their barbarian fury, they collected vast multitudes around the walls and slew them with the bloody sword, leaving their carcases to putrefy under the ramparts, that they might slay with the stench those whom their arms were powerless to assail.’

This last sentence may serve as an example of the style in which the indictment against the Vandals has been framed. It is evident that they committed all the excesses which might be expected from a horde of triumphant barbarians, greedy beyond measure of gold, and utterly reckless of human life, but it is also evident that the very blunders of their savage warfare have been made to appear as parts of a diabolical machinery of cruelty by the ecclesiastical pamphleteer<sup>2</sup>. Untrust-  
worthy  
character  
of this  
account.

When we come to the details of the Vandal perse-

<sup>1</sup> ‘Via Coelestis.’

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon sensibly remarks, ‘I cannot believe that it was a usual stratagem to slaughter great numbers of their prisoners before the walls of a besieged city, for the sole purpose of infecting the air and producing a pestilence, of which they themselves must have been the first victims.’ (Vol. iv. p. 182, ed. Smith.)

BOOK III. CH. 2.  
 Very few clear cases of martyrdom.

cution of the Catholics under Gaiseric (for we have no present concern with that which happened in the next generation), we find further reason to suppose that there has been some exaggeration in the passages already quoted. Two bishops, Papinianus and Mansuetus, seem to have been burnt, but there is something in the language of the historian here which leads us to conjecture that this was the work of cruel pillagers rather than a solemn state-sanctioned martyrdom. The Bishop of Carthage, 'What-God-wills<sup>1</sup>,' and a great multitude of his clergy, were put on board unsound ships and sent out to sea, but they were favoured with a prosperous wind, and arrived in Campania, safe in body, though stripped of all their possessions. The churches of Cathage were claimed for the Arian worship, among them two stately and noble edifices outside the walls, which commemorated respectively the martyrdom and burial<sup>2</sup> of St. Cyprian. 'But who,' says the good Victor, 'can bear to remember without tears that Gaiseric ordered us to bear the bodies of our dead, without the solemnity of hymns, in silence to the grave?' When this silent-burial grievance of the African Catholics assumes so prominent a place in the catalogue of their woes, we may perhaps conclude that the religious persecution, considered apart from the mere rapine of the barbarians, was not extremely severe.

Victor. Vit.  
i. 5.

A deputation of bishops and leading men of the

<sup>1</sup> Quod-vult-Deus.

<sup>2</sup> The latter church was called *Mappalia*, 'the Huts,' showing the humble origin from whence it had sprung. It is interesting to meet again this word *Mappalia*, which Sallust mentions as the name of the long, hull-shaped dwellings of the Numidian rustics in the time of Jugurtha.

provinces which the Vandals had divided among themselves, waited upon the King, when he had gone down, as his custom was, to the coast of Numidia<sup>1</sup>, perhaps to inhale such freshness as might be found in the sea-breezes. They pleaded with him to restore to the Orthodox some places in which they might worship God. 'What? Are you here still?' he bade his interpreter<sup>2</sup> say to the bishops. 'I decreed the banishment of your whole name and race: and yet you dare to ask for such things.' And so great was his anger that he would fain have drowned them all at once in the Mediterranean at his feet, had not his counsellors after long entreaty persuaded him to abandon his purpose. They departed and continued their service of God in such lowly dwellings as they could obtain, not unlike probably to those in which Paul had discoursed till break of day, and the elders of Ephesus had fed the flock of God. For some years, we infer from the language of the historian, this unobtrusive worship of the Catholics was permitted, if not expressly sanctioned. Then came denunciations and calumnies, especially against those priests who officiated 'in the regions which paid tribute to the Palace.' If one of these, in his sermons to his flock, happened to mention the name of Pharaoh, or Nebuchadnezzar, or Holofernes, or any similar tyrant—and we may conjecture that these references were rather more frequent than were absolutely needful to explain the Lessons for the day—he was accused of speaking against the person of the King, and banishment was his immediate sentence. For this cause a whole batch

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.

Victor Vit.  
i. 7.

<sup>1</sup> 'To the place which is commonly called Lugula.' I cannot find any trace of this name.

<sup>2</sup> 'Internuntium.'

BOOK III. of bishops (among whom we find 'He-has-God,<sup>1</sup>' Bishop  
 CH. 2. of Teudala) was banished at once, and the Holofernes of  
 their denunciation would not allow the consecration  
 of any successors to their sees. At length, on the  
 i. 8. urgent entreaty of Valentinian, he permitted the Ortho-  
 dox Church of Carthage to ordain for itself a bishop,  
 the gentle and charitable 'Thanks-to-God,<sup>2</sup>' who for  
 454-457. three years governed the Metropolitan See with general  
 approval. On his death there was another long interval  
 of widowhood for the Churches, till at last, about the  
 year 475, towards the very end of the reign of Gaiseric,  
 on the intercession of Zeno, Emperor of the East, the  
 surviving bishops were permitted to return from the  
 widely-scattered seats of their long banishment.

Other op-  
 pressions  
 of the  
 Catholic  
 congrega-  
 tions.

Vict. Vit.  
 i. 12.

Besides the exile, and in some cases the enslavement  
 of the bishops, other oppressions were practised upon  
 the Orthodox. The demand made in the time of  
 Diocletian for the surrender of sacred books and vessels  
 was repeated. The officer of the barbarians, a man  
 with the Roman name of Proculus, who was sent to  
 enforce this demand, finding his authority resisted, laid  
 violent hands on all the treasures of the sacristies that  
 he could find, and adding contumely to rapine, caused  
 the beautiful altar-cloths which were already used in  
 the Churches to be cut up into shirts and drawers for  
 his followers. The sacrilege was remembered, and was  
 deemed to have been divinely punished when, not long  
 after, Proculus died of cancer in the tongue. In a town  
 called Regia a battle took place between Catholics and  
 Arians for the possession of the Church, which reminds  
 us of the last fatal fray in St. Mark's Chapel at Florence  
 at the time of the downfall of Savonarola. It was

i. 13.

<sup>1</sup> 'Habet-Deum.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Deo-gratias.'



Easter-time : the Catholics were celebrating the festival, and the Arians finding the doors of the Church closed against them, under the guidance of a Presbyter named Andiot<sup>1</sup>, got together a band of armed men and proceeded to hammer at the doors, to mount the roofs of the neighbouring houses, to shoot their arrows through the windows of the Church. The people within the Church loudly chanted the defiant Alleluia; especially one *Lector*, who was sitting in the pulpit, made his voice heard above the tumult. An arrow which was shot through the window transfixed his throat, still quivering with the holy hymn; the roll from which he was singing dropped at his feet, and the *Lector* fell down dead. In rushed the assailant Arians and slew around the altar nearly all the survivors from the previous fight, the older men being especially selected as victims of their wrath.

We have seen how it fared with churches and churchmen at the hands of the Vandals; let us now see how individual laymen were dealt with. Sebastian, the before-mentioned son-in-law of Bonifacius, a keen-witted counsellor and brave warrior, had shared the ill-fortune of his kinsman, and after the fatal conflict between him and Aetius, had been driven forth from Ravenna and wandered over the face of the earth. First Constantinople and then the Visigothic court had been his asylum, and he had won Barcelona from the Empire for Theodoric. At last in 440<sup>2</sup> he quarrelled with the Visigoths also and sought refuge in Africa. Gaiseric, who had feared him as a foe, welcomed him as a suppliant, and would gladly have promoted him to

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.  

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The king's  
behaviour  
to Sebas-  
tian.  
Vict. Vit.  
i. 6.

<sup>1</sup> Or Adduit. Is this a Teutonic name?

<sup>2</sup> Prosper gives this date: Idatius 445.

BOOK III. great honour. But he was a Catholic, and for that  
CH. 2.

reason formidable to the Arian king who could not reckon upon him with certainty while he belonged to the rival Church. One day, in the presence of his courtiers and Arian bishops, Gaiseric said to Sebastian, 'I know that your faith is firmly pledged to me and mine, but it would make our friendship more lasting, if here, in the presence of these holy men, you would profess yourself a follower of the same religion which is dear to me and to my people.' Sebastian answered, 'I beseech you, oh king, order that a loaf of the finest and whitest flour be now brought hither.' The king, wondering what could be his meaning, gave the order: the bread was brought, and Sebastian said, 'Oh king! to prepare this white bread and make it fit for the royal table, the wheat had to be separated from the chaff, the flour to be carefully bolted from the bran, the mill-stone, water, and fire had each to do their work upon it before it attained this spotless purity. Even so have I been from my youth up separated from all heretical contagion, the Church has made me hers by the water of baptism, and the fire of the Holy Spirit has purified me. Now if by crumbling up this bread into little pieces and baking it afresh you can increase its whiteness, then I will take up with another faith and become an Arian as you desire me. But if not I remain a Catholic.' The king saw that he had the worst of the argument for that time, 'but afterwards he tried a different sort of logic and put that brave man to death.'

The same command 'to pass over to the sect of the Arians' was given to four men of Spanish birth, Arcadius, Probus, Paschasius, and Euty chius, who had

served Gaiseric with fidelity and stood high among his counsellors. Their persistent refusal was punished by exile, tortures, and eventually by martyrdom. A young lad named Paulillus, brother of Paschasius and Euty-chius, whose beauty and talents had gained him a high place in the royal household, was for the same reason cruelly flogged and then sent into vile bondage. The crown of martyrdom was not awarded him, that the king might be spared the disgrace of being vanquished by a boy of such tender years <sup>1</sup>.

Eventually the order was given that none but Arians should be tolerated about the Court and person of the king. A certain Armogast, who must have been a Teuton by his name, and who seems to have been a Count <sup>2</sup> by office, refused to conform to the Courtly religion. The persecutors tried to change his resolution with the rack and the cord, but the cords, we are assured, broke like spider's webs when the saint looked towards heaven. They hung him head downward by one foot from the ceiling, and he slept as sweetly as if he had been on a feather bed. His master, Theodoric, the king's son, wished to slay him out of hand, but was wisely warned by his Arian chaplain, 'If you kill him with the sword, the Romans will preach him up as a martyr.' The former Count was therefore sent into the fields to dig ditches and to keep sheep. There he soon died, but not before he had disclosed to a faithful disciple the approaching day of his death, and the place destined for his burial, a place apparently obscure and sordid, but where the obedient disciple,

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.

Persecu-  
tion of  
Armogast.  
Vict. Vit.  
i. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Prosper s. a. 437.

<sup>2</sup> Victor's expression, 'Comes bonae confessionis de hâc vitâ migravit,' I think implies this.

BOOK III. when he came to dig, found a sarcophagus of the most  
 CH. 2. splendid marble prepared for the reception of the saint's  
 body.

The Come- An example of firm adherence to the faith was found  
 dian-Con- where it would scarcely have been looked for, among  
 fessor. the comic actors who performed before the new barbaric  
 Vict. Vit. Court. A certain 'arch-mime,' named Masculanus, had  
 i. 15. been long pressed by the king, with flatteries and pro-  
 mises, to join the religion of the dominant caste. As  
 he ever stood firm, Gaiseric gave public orders for his  
 execution, but, with his usual hard craftiness, being  
 determined not to present the Catholic Church with a  
 single martyr more for her veneration, he gave the fol-  
 lowing secret commands to the executioner. 'If he  
 flinches at the sight of the sword and denies his faith  
 then kill him all the more <sup>1</sup>, for then he cannot be con-  
 sidered a martyr. But if he remains firm, sheathe your  
 sword again and let him go free.' Perhaps the acting  
 of the executioner, perplexed by such intricate orders,  
 failed to deceive the practised eye of the arch-comedian.  
 At any rate he stood 'firm as a pillar on the solid rock  
 of Christ,' and saved both life and truth. 'And thus,'  
 says the historian, 'if that envious enemy refused to  
 allow us a martyr, he could not prevent our having a  
 confessor <sup>2</sup>, and a glorious one.'

Vict. Vit. In a similar manner a certain Saturus, steward over  
 i. 16. the house of Huneric, the king's son, who had made  
 himself conspicuous in many discussions with the  
 Arians, was ordered to change his religion. Riches

<sup>1</sup> 'Magis eum occideret.'

<sup>2</sup> A Christian who lived in the Imperial persecutions remained true to his faith, but from any cause escaped the extreme penalty of death, was generally called a 'confessor.'

and honours were promised him in the event of his compliance ; tortures for himself, poverty for his children, another and apparently a hated husband for his wife, were to be the punishments of his refusal. That wife joined her entreaties to those of the persecutors, begging him not to subject her to the yoke of a base and unworthy husband, 'while the husband Satorus, of whom I have so often boasted, still lives.' 'Thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh,' replied the African Job. 'If thou truly lovedst thy husband, thou wouldst not seek to entice him to his second death, I am ready to give up wife and children, and house, and lands, and slaves<sup>1</sup>, that I may continue to be a disciple of Christ.' The cruel and unjust sentence was executed. 'Satorus was spoiled of all his substance, was worn down with punishment, was sent away into beggary. His wife was given to a camel-driver. He was forbidden to return to the Court ; they took every thing from him, but they could not take away the white robe of his baptism.'

The reader has now before him the chief evidence against the Vandals as religious persecutors during the first generation after their conquest of Africa. He may reasonably ask why there should be set before him, with so much detail, facts which have no direct bearing on the History of Italy. The answer is that our information as to the social aspects of the struggle between Romans and Barbarians in Italy itself during the fifth century is so miserably meagre, we might almost say

The African persecutions illustrate the relations of Catholics and Arians throughout the Empire.

<sup>1</sup> As Papencordt remarks, this clause in the sentence pronounced on Satorus is important, as showing that the Provincials who were attached in a servile capacity to the royal household had slaves of their own.

BOOK III. so absolutely non-existent, that we must be content to  
 CH. 2. supply the deficiency to the best of our power from what we know of the mutual relations of conquerors and conquered, of Arians and Orthodox, in other provinces of the Empire, especially in Africa and Gaul. And this peculiar attitude of the Teutonic nations towards their Catholic subjects in the dawn of the Middle Ages, tending as it did to sever for a time the connection of the Orthodox Clergy with the State, and to throw them back into somewhat of their old position as men of the people, and sympathisers with the people, is so important with reference to the subsequent growth and development of the Spiritual Power, that it cannot be said we are wasting time in considering it a little more closely.

Character  
of the  
persecu-  
tion.

Reviewing then the indictment which has been framed by Victor Vitensis against the persecutor Gaiseric, we come to the following conclusions:—

Churches  
demo-  
lished.

1. It is clear that the Churches were as a rule either handed over to the Arians for their worship, or else destroyed. And it is this wanton demolition and desecration of ecclesiastical buildings which more than anything else has caused the name of Vandalism to be synonymous in later days with senseless destructiveness.

Bishops  
banished.

2. The bishops were for the most part banished, and their flocks were forbidden to elect successors to them. The Vandal king, himself surrounded by Arian bishops, knew, better probably than Decius or Diocletian, how sore a blow, according to the prevailing theories of ecclesiastical organization, he was thus dealing at the very existence of the Church. But under the influence of occasional solicitations from Rome and from Byzantium, he wavered more than once in the execution of this

stern policy ; and even had he been always constant to it, one cannot easily see how the mere mandate of the king could have permanently and universally prevented the consecration of at least some bishops, and the transmission of the episcopal prerogatives, throughout the whole province of Africa.

3. Individual Catholics were not as a rule persecuted on account of their faith. Occasionally the headstrong arrogance of the king or his sons was roused into fury by the discovery that the officers of their household, or the menials who ministered to their amusement, would not yield servile obedience to their nod in all things, but claimed a right in matters appertaining to God to act according to the dictates of their own consciences. But even in these cases, from mere motives of expediency, Gaiseric was intensely anxious to avoid making new martyrs for the Catholic Church. And as to the great mass of the people, the down-trodden slaves who tilled the vast domain lands of the crown, or the hungry *coloni* who eked out a scanty subsistence on the edge of the desert, or even the traders and artisans of Hippo and of Carthage, Gaiseric was too much of a statesman to attempt to convert them wholesale, by persecution, to Arianism, and probably too little of a theologian to care greatly whether truth, or what he deemed to be error, was being supplied as food to the souls of all that base-born crew. In the heart of the Teuton invader there perhaps lurked the thought that the confession of Nicaea was good enough for slaves, and that it was well for the free-born warrior of the north to keep his own bolder speculations to himself. The willingness to persecute was clearly in the hearts of these Vandals. They did not in the slightest degree recognise the right of the

BOOK III. individual conscience to decide for itself how best to  
 CH. 2. express its loyalty to the Great Maker. But they had some dim perception what it was worth while for the ruler to attempt, and what he had better leave to itself. And, above all, their action in the Church, as in the State, was rude, fitful, and ill-sustained. The quiet, grinding oppression which the Roman Caesars practised upon the Donatist and the Arian, bore to the spasmodic outbreaks of Vandal bigotry the same relation which the pressure of a hydraulic ram bears to the random strokes of a child's hammer<sup>1</sup>.

Gaiseric receives Eudoxia's message.

Such then was the state of the Vandal kingdom, when, in the year 455, twenty-seven years after the passage of the Barbarians into Africa, and sixteen after their conquest of Carthage, the cry of the widowed Eudoxia for help reached the court of Gaiseric<sup>2</sup>. Little stimulus did the great Buccaneer need to urge him to the spoil of the capital of the world. It was clear that 'the city with which God was angry' this time was Rome, and the pilot had not to ask his master twice for sailing orders. It was in the early days of June when the sentinels at Ostia saw the Vandal fleet in the offing. The helpless consternation which prevailed at Rome has been already described,—no attempt to man the walls, not even courage enough to parley with the enemy, only a blind universal *sauve qui peut* which the Emperor himself would fain have joined in, had he not been arrested by the indignant people, and torn limb

<sup>1</sup> It is to be remarked, however, that Huneric, son of Gaiseric, copied exactly the Imperial decrees against heresy, and launched them against the Catholics. (See Papencordt, 196.) But his reign was short, and on his death the persecution was much relaxed.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 204.



from limb by the Imperial domestics, a sacrifice to the *Manes* of Valentinian.

On the third day<sup>1</sup> after the death of Maximus, Gaiseric, with his yellow-haired Vandal giants, appeared before the gates of the defenceless city. Utterly defenceless, as far as the weapons of the flesh were concerned; but the majestic Bishop Leo, followed probably by a train of venerable ecclesiastics, met him outside the gates of the city, eager to discover whether the same spiritual weapons which he had wielded so well three years before against the mighty Hun by the banks of the Mincio would avail now by the banks of the Tiber against the yet more dreaded Vandal. The Pope's success was not complete, yet it was something. Gaiseric's sole object was booty, not power now, nor revenge, only that simple and intelligible motive which led Pizarro and his adventurers to the capital of the Incas, and which made their eyes gleam when they gazed upon Atahualpa's room of gold. This being Gaiseric's one desire, he could well afford to concede to the Pope that there should be no putting to death, no burning of public or private buildings, and he also granted, what it must have been harder for a Vandal to yield, that no torture should be applied to compel a discovery of hidden treasure. Having framed this secular Concordat with the occupant of the chair of St. Peter, the Vandal king passed in, and rode slowly through the unresisting city. For fourteen days—that interval at least was distinctly fixed on the memories of the Romans, and every chronicler reports it as the same, whatever their variations on other points—for fourteen

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.  
455.  
The Vandals at the gates of Rome.

Intercession of Pope Leo.

<sup>1</sup> So says Victor Tunnunensis, not our best authority. This would be the 15th of June, according to Anon. Cuspiniani, 3rd of June according to Prosper, 25th of May according to 'Incerti Chronicon.'

days the city was subjected to 'a leisurely and unhindered'<sup>1</sup> examination and extraction of its wealth. The gold, the silver, and the copper were carried away from the Imperial Palace, and stored with business-like thoroughness in the Vandal galleys. The churches were probably despoiled of their ornaments and plate. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was pillaged, and half of its roof was stripped off, 'which was made of the finest copper, with a thick coating of gold over it, magnificent and wonderful.' Why only half should have been taken we know not; such moderation is surprising and almost painful to behold. Possibly the Barbarians commenced the laborious process in the belief that they were stripping off solid gold, and desisted from it when they found that their reward would be only copper gilt. Statues too, good store of them, were carried off and loaded upon one of Gaiseric's vessels. Most unhappily, this one ship, out of all the fleet, foundered on the return voyage. The marble limbs of many a Nymph and Faun, of many a dweller on Olympus, and many a deified dweller on the Palatine, must have been lying for these fourteen centuries, fathoms deep in the Sicilian or Carthaginian waters. If the engineers of the electric cable in spinning their marvellous web from continent to continent should come across the sunken cargo of that Vandal trireme, may it be in our own day, and may we see that harvest from the deep!

But on the whole it is clear from the accounts of all the chroniclers that Gaiseric's pillage of Rome, though insulting and impoverishing to the last degree, was in no sense destructive to the Queen of cities. Whatever

<sup>1</sup> 'Per quatuordecim dies *secura et libera* scrutatione omnibus opibus suis Roma vacuata est' (Prosper).

he may have done in Africa, in Rome he waged no war on architecture, being far too well employed in storing away gold and silver and precious stones, and all manner of costly merchandise in those insatiable hulks which were riding at anchor in the Tiber. Therefore, when you stand in the Forum of Rome or look upon the grass-grown hill which was once the glorious Palatine, blame if you like the Ostrogoth, the Byzantine, the Lombard, blame above all, the Norman, and the Roman Baron of the Middle Ages, for the heart-breaking ruin that you see there, but leave the Vandal uncensured, for, notwithstanding the stigma conveyed in the word 'vandalism,' he is not guilty here <sup>1</sup>.

Among the spoils which were carried in safety from Rome to Carthage were, we are told, the sacred vessels of the Jewish Temple with the sculptured effigies of which, on the Arch of Titus, we are all familiar. No contemporary historian refers to them, and we might have been disposed to reject the story of their capture as a romance of later writers, but that in the next century we find Procopius, the friend and companion of Belisarius, distinctly asserting that on the fall of the Vandal monarchy, these vessels with countless other treasures, golden saddles, golden carriages for the ladies of the court, hundreds of thousands of talents of silver, and all kinds of ornaments inlaid with precious stones, were found in the palace of Gelimer, great grandson of Gaiseric. All the rest of the glittering spoil was taken to Byzantium, and having given lustre to the triumph

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.  
455.

Vessels  
of the  
Temple  
carried off.

534.

<sup>1</sup> Evagrius, the ecclesiastical historian, accuses Gaiseric of setting fire to the city, but he lived more than a hundred years after the capture, and his testimony may be disregarded, the contemporary authorities so clearly speaking of pillage, not fire.

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.

of Belisarius, was there retained ; but the vessels which had been consecrated to the service of Jehovah were carried back to Jerusalem, and placed in the Christian churches there, a Jew, who saw them among the spoil, having pointed out to a friend of the Emperor's that their presence (like that of the Ark in the towns of the Philistines) had brought capture and desolation first on Rome and then on Rome's Vandal conquerors.

Captivity  
of Eudoxia  
and her  
daughters.

But the fortunes of the sacred vessels of the Jewish worship have carried us eighty years away from our present moorings. We return to Gaiseric and his treasure-laden fleet. He took back with him to Carthage Eudoxia, the widow of two Emperors and the daughter of a third. It was probably a greater kindness to take her as a captive to Carthage than to leave her face to face with the exasperated people of Rome, upon whom her blind desire for revenge on Maximus had brought so much misery. In the captive train also were her two daughters, Eudocia and Placidia, and (strange companion of their adversity) the son of Aetius, Gaudentius, who had once aspired to the hand of one of them. But the match upon which Aetius had set his heart so earnestly was not to be brought about by their common captivity. Gaiseric gave the elder princess, Eudocia, in marriage to his son Huneric, being the second princess of the house of Theodosius who was wedded to a Teutonic prince. One would like to believe that the young Vandal, while a hostage in Rome, had won the heart of the daughter of the Emperor ; but as he must certainly have returned before the surprise of Carthage (439) this cannot be. His future wife was but a babe in arms when he was loitering in the palace of her father. The other princess, Placidia, with her mother, after seven

years detention at Carthage, where they were treated with all honour and courtesy, was sent to Constantinople, on the earnest entreaty of the Emperor Leo. She married the Roman Senator Olybrius, whose name we shall meet with among the last Emperors of Rome.

BOOK III.  
CH. 2.  
462.

Besides the Empress and her daughters, the Vandal host carried a great multitude of Roman citizens back with them into captivity. It was like one of the great transportations of unwilling multitudes which we read of in the Jewish Scriptures as practised by a Shalmaneser or a Nebuchadnezzar. The skilful craftsman, the strong labourer, the young and handsome cup-bearer, the experienced house-steward, were all swept away, all ruthlessly sundered from one another, husbands from wives, and parents from children, and distributed as bondslaves through Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis<sup>1</sup>. It is a strange thought, how many drops of pure Roman blood may now be flowing through the veins of the half-civilized inhabitants of Northern Africa. A Kabyle robber from Mount Atlas, with cotton *burnous*, such as I remember to have seen in captivity on the Isle St. Honorat, near Cannes, spreading his carpet, turning his face towards the setting sun, and jabbering out his long and rapid prayer from the Koran, may be a truer descendant of the Fabii and the Camilli than any living inhabitant of the Eternal City.

Other  
Roman  
captives.

The sufferings of the unhappy captives from Rome were to some extent, but it could only be to a small extent, alleviated by the charity of the saintly Bishop of Carthage, '*Deo-Gratias.*' He sold all the gold and

Charity of  
Deo-Gratias.

<sup>1</sup> 'They took many thousands of captives, according as each by their age or their skill (*arte*) pleased them,' are the words of Prosper.

BOOK III. silver vessels of his church in order to ransom such  
CH. 2. captives as he could, and as much as possible to  
455. prevent the disruption of the family ties of those  
whom he could not ransom. There were no proper  
warehouses for receiving all this vast human live-stock  
which the freebooters had brought back with them.  
He placed two large basilicas at their disposal; he  
fitted them up with beds and straw; he even took  
upon himself the heavy charge of the daily com-  
missariat. Sea-sickness, pining for home, the sad and  
awful change from the luxury of the Roman villa to  
the miseries of a Vandal slave-ship, had prostrated  
many of the captives with disease. He turned his  
church into an infirmary: notwithstanding his ad-  
vanced age and his tottering limbs, day and night he  
went the round of the beds of his patients, following  
the doctors like a careful nurse, making himself  
acquainted with the state of each, seeing that each  
received the food and medicine which was suited  
to his condition. Often, while he was thus moving  
through the wards of his basilica-hospital, intent on  
his work of mercy, must the words '*Deo Gratias*'  
have risen to the feeble lips of the sufferers, who,  
perhaps, scarcely knew themselves whether they were  
expressing gratitude to Heaven or to Heaven's fitly-  
named representative on earth. Before his charit-  
able work was complete, his life, which had been  
threatened more than once by the violence of the  
Arian party, who were jealous even of his goodness,  
came to a peaceful close; and when they heard that  
he was taken from them, the captive citizens of Rome  
felt as if they were a second time delivered into the  
hands of the Barbarians. He was buried secretly in

an unusual place, to guard his body from the pious BOOK III.  
irreverence of relic-hunters, who would have dis- CH. 2.  
membered the venerable corpse in their eagerness  
to obtain wonder-working memorials of so great a  
saint.

And so we leave the many thousands of Roman  
captives to the unrecorded sorrows of their house of  
bondage.

## NOTE E. CHRONOLOGY OF THE VANDAL KINGS.

NOTE E. There are some difficulties besetting the subject of the Chronology of the Vandal dominion in Africa, and though no question of importance turns upon them, and I have no reason to dissent (except in one particular where I follow Tillemont) from the ordinary chronology as given in Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall,' it may be worth while to point out what these difficulties are, and on what foundation the received chronology rests.

The first point, the only one that can now be considered a matter of controversy, is the date of the *Passage of the Vandals into Africa*. As to this it may be well to quote the entry of Prosper in full.

"HIERIO ET ARDABURE COSS [= 427].

"Bonifacio, cujus potentia gloriaque in Africâ augebatur, bellum ad arbitrium Felicis, quia ad Italiam venire abnuerat, publico nomine illatum est, ducibus Mavortio et Galbione et Sinoce, cujus proditione Mavortius et Galbio, cum Bonifacium obsiderent interempti sunt: moxque ipse a Bonifacio dolo detectus occisus est. Exinde gentibus, quae uti navibus nesciebant, dum a concertantibus in auxilium vocantur, mare pervium factum est, bellique contra Bonifacium coepti in Sigisvultum Comitem cura translata est.

"Gens Vandalorum ab Hispaniis ad Africam transiit."

FELICE ET TAURO COSS [= 428].

Then follow the events of this year which do not relate to Africa.

The author of the Chronicon Imperiale, or the so-called '*Tiro*,' says 'VIII Theodosii II post mortem Honorii [= 431], Wandali in Africam transfretantes, ingentem, laceratâ omni provinciâ, Romanis cladem dedere.' (This is evidently wrong, as Augustine's death during the siege of Hippo by the Vandals is quite clearly fixed to 430.)



*Idatius* writes 'V Theodosii II post mortem Honorii, Gaisericus rex de Baeticae provinciae litore cum Wandalis omnibus eorumque familiis mense Majo ad Mauretanium et Africam relictis transit Hispaniis.' NOTE E.

Clinton truly remarks that, according to *Idatius'* chronology, the fifth year of Theodosius II after the death of Honorius would be 429, since he gives Honorius' reign a year more than its due, and thus puts his death in 424 instead of 423.

Still, as a matter of fact, the fifth year of Theodosius II after his uncle's death would be not 429 but 428; and it is clear that some of *Idatius'* dates require correction. Take, for instance, the papal accessions. Celestine I's accession is four years too late, 426 instead of 422; that of Sixtus III two years, 434 instead of 432; that of Leo I one year, 441 instead of 440. Evidently there is a tendency at this part of *Idatius'* *Chronicon* to bring down his dates too low, and this may be in part owing to his having made the reign of Honorius too long by one year (*Tillemont* makes this remark. 'Idace ne le met néanmoins qu'en 429, mais ce serait s'éloigner beaucoup de S. Prosper. Et peut-être cela ne vient-il que de ce qu'il a mis la mort d'Honoré un an trop tard, *ce qui brouille beaucoup sa suite*').

*Cassiodorus* here, as elsewhere, for the most part, does little more than transcribe Prosper.

*Marcellinus* has no entry on the subject.

*Victor Tununensis* does not begin till 444.

*Isidore*, in his '*Historia Wandalorum*,' has under 'Era quadringentesima sexagesima septima' [the 467th year of the Spanish Era corresponding with A. D. 429]. 'Gericus frater Gunderico succedit in regno annis quadraginta. Qui ex Catholico effectus Apostata in Arianam primus fertur transisse perfidiam. Hic de Baeticae provinciae litore cum Wandalis omnibus eorumque familiis ad Mauritaniam et Africam relictis transit Hispaniis.'

*Isidore* appears here to be transcribing *Idatius*, and therefore adopts his chronology. *Isidore's* own Vandal chronology, as we shall see further on, is an inconceivable muddle of errors.

The *Chronicon Paschale* (seu *Alexandrinum*) has the entry '11th year of the 20th Indiction [428] Consulship of Felix and Taurus. Under these Consuls the Vandals entered Africa.'

This date, 428, I believe to be the true date of the Vandal in-

NOTE E. vasion of Africa. Herein, I follow Tillemont, and differ from Pagi, Gibbon, and Clinton, who put it in 429.

My reasons for this view are—

(1) The Paschal Chronicle, which seems to be accurate in its dates at this point, is the only one, except Prosper, which mentions the *names of the Consuls* under whom the event occurred. Any one who studies the principle on which these lists are composed, will see how extremely easy it is for an event to be dated a year too high or too low, when only the *number* of the regnal year is given. Much less is the chance of error when the date is linked with the names of the Consuls.

(2) It is generally admitted that Prosper's apparent date (427) is too early, since the war waged by the Court of Ravenna against Bonifacius, which was the cause of the invitation, only began in that year, and there is some reason to respect the statement of Idatius that the Vandals crossed in May.

I am not sure, however, that Prosper is really an adverse authority to the date 428. It will be seen that he describes under 427 at some length the war against Bonifacius, and then at the end of this entry, and immediately before 'Felice et Tauro Coss,' says 'Gens Vandalorum ab Hispaniis ad Africam transiit.' He perhaps, therefore, means to describe under 427 rather the events which led up to the crossing of the Mediterranean than the crossing itself.

The over-running of at least four African provinces, and the capture of all their cities but three, are events quite sufficient to fill up the two years between 428 and the siege of Hippo.

The next event of importance in Vandal chronology is the *Taking of Carthage*. This is fixed by the consenting voice of Prosper, Idatius, Cassiodorus (who must be looked upon as only an echo of Prosper), Marcellinus, and the Paschal Chronicle to the year 439 (Consulship of Theodosius and Festus). 'Tiro,' who assigns it to 444, may be safely pronounced inaccurate. Idatius and Marcellinus agree that the capture was in the month of October, Idatius placing it on the 19th and Marcellinus on the 23rd of that month. The Paschal Chronicle also places it *μηνὶ Ὑπερβερεταίῳ*, which corresponds with October.

Prosper says that Carthage was taken by the Vandals 'Anno postquam Romana esse coeperat DLXXXV' (alias DLXXXIII). The Vatican MS. of Prosper says 'Cartago capitur a Vandalis anno

postquam Romana esse coeperat quingentesimo octogesimo quarto.' As the year of the Roman capture of Carthage was B. C. 146, these dates correspond to 439, 437, and 438 respectively.

Still, as before said, there can be no doubt that the true date is near the end of October, 439.

*The Death of Gaiseric* took place on or about the 25th January, 477. We get this date from Victor Vitensis (I. 17), who says (reckoning from the capture of Carthage), 'Duravit in regno annis triginta septem mensibus tribus': and who is confirmed by the appendix to Prosper (Augustan MS. in Roncalli's *Chronica* I. 702). 'Post consulatum' (this, as Clinton remarks, must be corrected to 'Consulatu') 'Theodosii XVII et Festi, Geisericus Wandalorum Rex Carthaginem ingressus est die xiv Kalendarum Novembrium [=19 October, 439; the date given by Idatius]. 'Qui regnavit eandem Africam civitatem annis xxxvii, mensibus iii, diebus vi.'

Gaiseric therefore died 25 January, 477.

*Reigns of Gaiseric's successors.* From the same appendix to Prosper (Roncalli I. 702) we get our most accurate chronology of these reigns.

'Post hunc regnavit Hunerix, filius ejus annis vii, mensibus x, diebus xviii.'

Accession of HUNERIC, 25 Jan. 477.

Death of " 13 Dec. 484.

'Post eum regnavit Guntamundus Gentunis ejusdem Hunerici Regis fratris filius annos xi, menses ix, dies xi.'

Accession of GUNTAMUND, 13 Dec. 484.

Death of " 24 Sep. 496.

'Post quem regnavit Trasamundus Gentunis filius annos xxvi, menses viii, dies iv.'

Accession of THRASAMUND, 24 Sep. 496.

Death of " 28 May, 523.

'Post quem regnavit Hildrix filius Hunerici annos viii, dies viii.'

Accession of HILDERIC, 28 May, 523.

Dethronement of " 5 June, 531.

'Quo regnante assumptâ tyrannide Geilamer regnum ejus invadit in quo sedit annos iii, menses iii.'

Accession of GELIMER, 5 June, 531.

End of reign of " 5 Sep. 534.

NOTE E. But this brings down the dethronement of Gelimer a year too low, as we know that the expedition of Belisarius against Carthage sailed in June, 533, and had accomplished all its work, including the captivity of Gelimer himself, by March, 534. We find also that we have one year too many, from the summation made by Prosper's continuer himself. 'Fiunt ergo ab exordio Regis Geiserici usque ad exitum Wandalorum anni xciii, menses x, dies xi.'

But the numbers above given add up to 94 years, 10 months, and 16 days. We therefore reduce the reign of Gelimer to ii years and iii months (agreeing herein with the tenour of the narrative of Procopius), and thus the end of the reign of Gelimer is brought to 5th September, 533: almost the exact date of Belisarius' landing in Africa. According to the view of an Imperialist chronicler the Vandal domination in Africa would end *de jure* as soon as Justinian's army entered the province.

Upon the whole it must be admitted that this chronology has been preserved with great accuracy, and it accords with the general course of the history.

Very different is the judgment which must be passed upon the only system of Vandal chronology, which has any pretension to compete with that of Prosper and his continuer<sup>1</sup>, namely, that of Isidore of Seville. This Spanish bishop (who lived from about 560 to 636) in his 'Historia Wandalorum,' which is compiled chiefly from Idatius and Victor Tunnunensis, gives us a series of dates, which is apparently very complete, but which must be the result of some bewildered back-reckoning of events, and is entirely and hopelessly inaccurate. His dates are given according to the Spanish Era or Era of Augustus, which corresponds with 38 B. C.; but translating them into dates of the Christian Era they are as follows:—

Irruption of the Vandals and allied		
nations into Gaul . . . .	A. D.	366 <sup>2</sup> should be 406.
Their entry into Spain . . . .		408 „ 409.
Division of Spain between Vandals,		
Alans, and Suevi . . . .		411

<sup>1</sup> Not the author who is technically known as 'Continuator Prosperi' in the Copenhagen MS. edited by Hille.

<sup>2</sup> 'Era quadingentesima quarta,' but the omission of 'quadregesima' is probably due to a transcriber's error.

Reign of Gunderic . . . . .	18 years		
Accession of Gaiseric . . . . .	429		
(who reigned 40 years <sup>1</sup> ).			
Accession of Huneric . . . . .	463 should be	477	
(who reigned 7 years and 5 months).			
Accession of Gunthamund . . . . .	476	„	484
(who reigned 12 years).			
Accession of Thrasamund . . . . .	488	„	496
(who reigned 27 years and 4 months).			
Accession of Hilderic . . . . .	515	„	523
(who reigned 7 years and 3 months).			
Accession of Gelimer . . . . .	522	„	531
Fall of the Vandal monarchy . . . . .	525	„	534

NOTE E.

‘Africa was recovered by Belisarius in the 97th year of the entry of the Vandals.’ This agrees sufficiently well with Isidore’s reckoning (525–429=96). ‘The kingdom of the Vandals had lasted 113 years from King Gunderic to the death (interitum) of Gelimer.’ According to Isidore’s reckoning this interval was 114 years (525–411=114), and moreover it was not terminated by the death of Gelimer, but by his defeat and captivity. It will be seen that the dates of Huneric’s and Gunthamund’s accessions do not correspond with the periods allotted for the reign of their predecessors. And the whole chronology is so hopelessly at variance with history that the expedition of Belisarius against Carthage is brought to the year 524–5, *two years before the accession of Justinian to the Empire*. It is clear that Isidore did not understand the rudiments of the subject about which he professed to inform his readers, and that his scheme of chronology is absolutely worthless.

Of the other chroniclers, *Marcellinus Comes* does not mention the accessions of the Vandal kings, but is of course acquainted with the true date of the completion of the conquest of Africa (534). He puts it, however, in the 96th year after the capture of Carthage by the Vandals. According to his own dates it should have been the 95th year.

*Victor Tununensis* is utterly wrong in his earlier Vandal chronology, but struggles into accuracy for the later period. He has evidently been the chief author of confusion to Isidore.

<sup>1</sup> The lengths of the Vandal reigns are those given by Isidore himself, though inconsistent with his chronology.

NOTE E. He puts the death of Gaiseric 'Anno Regni xl' in the year 464 instead of 477.

This mistake, which vitiates all this part of his chronology, perhaps arises from a confusion between the accession of Gaiseric (which *may* have happened in 424) and the capture of Carthage in 439. But, even so, it is only in round numbers that Gaiseric can be said to have reigned at Carthage for 40 years.

The reign of Huneric is said by Victor to have lasted 7 years and 5 months (7 years, 5 months, and 18 days, according to Prosper's continuer), but to have ended in 479, though his accession is placed in 464. By this arithmetical blunder 8 years of the redundant 13, arising from the ante-dating of the death of Gaiseric, are silently cancelled and Huneric's death is made only five years too early.

Gunthamund comes to the throne in 479, reigns 12 years (instead of 11 years, 9 months, and 11 days), and dies in 497. The whole of the redundant years are now cancelled, and Thrasamund actually comes to the throne a year too late (497 instead of 496).

Thrasamund reigns 27 years and 4 months (instead of 26 years, 8 months, and 4 days), and dies in 523, the correct year.

Hilderic comes to the throne in 523, and reigns 7 years and 3 months (instead of 8 years and 8 days). This would probably bring his deposition to 530, but Victor agrees with Prosper's continuer in fixing it for 531. The fall of Gelimer is assigned to the year of Belisarius' landing in Africa, 533.

Probably these inaccuracies of the ecclesiastical chroniclers and their desperate attempts to remedy them by a suspension of the laws of arithmetic, are due to the fury of the Vandal persecution, which had caused the registers of the churches to fall into hopeless confusion.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE LETTERS AND POEMS OF APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources:—*

APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS: edited and translated by Grégoire and Collombet (3 vols., Lyons and Paris, 1836). The notes are full, but both in them and the translation the editors have a disagreeable habit of evading the real difficulties of their author. BOOK III.  
CH. 3.

A somewhat more scholarly edition, but without notes, has recently been put forth by C. Baret (Paris, 1878).

The edition by Christian Luetjohann, which forms the eighth volume of 'Auctores Antiquissimi' in the 'Monumenta Germaniae Historica' (1887), must now be considered as superseding all others, at least as far as the text is concerned.

##### *Guides:—*

Dr. Fertig's 'Apollinaris Sidonius und seine Zeit' (Würzburg and Passau, 1845, 6 and 8) is an interesting and helpful sketch. 'Saint Sidoine Apollinaire et son Siècle' (2 vols.) by Abbé Chaix (Clermont-Ferrand, 1866) has some useful information, especially as to ecclesiastical affairs, and is pervaded by a healthy local patriotism, but is too diffuse. The use which Guizot makes of the works of Sidonius in his 'Histoire de la Civilisation en France,' is known to every student.

EIGHT Emperors, and a space of twenty-one years, 455-476. separate the capture of Rome by Gaiseric from the familiar date of the fall of the Empire of the West,

BOOK III.  
CH. 3.

It is worth while to do more than enumerate the mere names of these shadowy Emperors, of whom only one, Majorian, has anything of the dignity of manhood, and who might all, with that one exception, share the title of the last of them, Augustulus, 'The Little Emperor'. Is not Avitus as Severus, and Glycerius as Nepos? May we not take for granted all this history of monotonous feebleness, these sham elections and involuntary abdications, this burlesque of the awful tragedy of the earlier Caesars, and planting ourselves at once in the year 476, learn amid what accompaniments the twelve centuries of Roman dominion expired?

Reasons  
for not  
leaving the  
story of the  
last  
twenty-one  
years  
of the  
Empire  
untold.

Such is naturally one's first thought, but it may well be modified on further reflection. If physiologists have found the study of the humblest forms of life useful, as illustrating the connection between the animal and vegetable worlds, and if some of them have descended into the lowest zones of organic existence in the hope of bringing up from thence some further light on the great problem of Life itself, it may well be, in like manner, that from the study of these, the lowest types of an Emperor which Rome has to set before us, we may learn something as to that inextinguishable *idea of the Caesar* which not all the storms of the Middle Ages were able utterly to destroy. We shall observe how, even in his deepest degradation, there was something which marked off the Roman Emperor from the Barbarian King. Above all, we shall see how reluctantly even the world of the Northern Invaders parted from the idea of Caesarian rule; how willingly they would have kept the pageant Augustus in his place, if he had been simply able to sit upright in his world-too-wide throne; how, notwithstanding all the



rude blows of Goth, and Hun, and Vandal, the Roman Empire rather died of internal decline than was slain by the sword of an enemy.

Unfortunately the materials out of which we have to reconstruct the history of this quarter of a century are singularly meagre and unsatisfactory. Had the genius of a Tacitus, or even the clear, calm intellect of a Sallust, thrown its light over this troublous time, much more had it been possible for a De Tocqueville to have analysed the causes, and a Carlyle to have painted the scenes of this revolution, we might have learned from it many a lesson, useful even in our own day to those who labour to preserve an aged empire from falling. But what can we do when the only really trustworthy authorities for the events of the time are the Annalists, that is to say, some six or seven men, who having the whole history of the world from Belus and Nimrod downwards to relate, can spare only a line or two, at the outside a paragraph of moderate length, for the occurrences of the most eventful years in their own lives. The history of modern Europe, if told by Annalists of this type, would run into some such mould as this —

‘A.D. 1851. The Queen reigning in England, and Louis Bonaparte being President of the French Republic, there was opened in a certain park near to London, a great market-place for all the wares of the world. That was the Palace of Crystal. The Queen of England gave birth to a son, who was named Arthur. Bishops, in obedience to the see of the Holy Peter, had been sent to England. Whom the adherents of the other Church, which is called the Protestant Church, being unwilling to receive, passed a law for-

Unsatis-  
factory  
character  
of our ma-  
terials.

bidding any man to say "God speed" unto them, or to salute them by the names of their dioceses. That was called the Ecclesiastical Titles Act. In Paris, the President of the Republic bade many persons to be shot.

'A.D. 1852. The Republic of France was changed into an Empire, Louis Buonaparte being declared Emperor. He was nephew of the Emperor Napoleon.

'A.D. 1853. The Emperor of Russia sent a proud man, named Menschikoff, as an ambassador, to the Sultan of the Ottomans. There was much dissension between the Emperors of Russia and France touching a certain silver star in the sanctuary at Bethlehem.

'A.D. 1854. It was fought most bloodily between the nation of the Russians on the one side, and those of France, England, and Turkey on the other, in the peninsula which is called the Chersonesus Taurica.

'A.D. 1855. After much slaughter the August City (Sebastopolis) in the Chersonesus Taurica was taken by the armies of France and England, whom the island of Sardinia had also joined.

'A.D. 1856. Peace was made in Paris between the nations which were at war. That was called the Peace of Paris. The treaty was signed by all the ambassadors, using a feather which had been plucked from the wings of a certain eagle. Now the eagle is the emblem of power in France and in Russia, but not in England, for in England the lion is the National emblem. That feather had a silver handle fastened to it, beautiful and costly, and it was given to the wife of the Emperor Napoleon. She was a very beautiful woman, and was named Eugenia.'

No one who has read the chronicles of Idatius, of

Prosper, and of Marcellinus will consider this an unfair specimen of their mode of writing annals. After all, the most important events are there, and we are grateful to the patient scribes who have preserved even so much for us from the sea of oblivion which was rising high around them, but from such scanty chronicles as these it is impossible to deduce with certainty the true proportions of those events or their exact relation to one another. We can excuse the brevity of the Annalists, but it is much harder to excuse their occasional prolixity. When we find one of the best of them (Marcellinus) devoting only four lines to the capture of Rome by Alaric, and fifty-four to an idle legend about the discovery at Emesa of the head of John the Baptist, it is difficult not to grumble at the want of appreciation of the relative importance of things which must have existed in the mind of the writer, though he was no monkish recluse but a layman and a governor of a Province.

It is perhaps not surprising that in Italy itself there should have been this utter absence of the instinct which leads men to record the events which are going on around them for the benefit of posterity. When History was making itself at such breathless speed and in such terrible fashion, the leisure, the inclination, the presence of mind, necessary for writing History, might well be wanting. He who would under happier auspices have filled up the interval between the bath and the tennis court by reclining on the couch in the winter portico of his villa, and there languidly dictating to his slave the true story of the abdication of Avitus or the death of Anthemius, was himself now a slave keeping sheep in the wilderness under the hot Numidian sun, or

BOOK III.  
CH. 3.  
Mingled  
meagreness  
and pro-  
lixity of  
the Anna-  
lists.

Why His-  
tory was  
not written  
in the fifth  
century.

BOOK III. shrinking under the blows of one of the rough soldiers  
 CH. 3. of Gaiseric.

We find it much more difficult to understand why the learned and leisurely Provincials of Greece, whose country for more than a century (396–517) escaped the horrors of hostile invasion <sup>1</sup>, and who had the grandest literary traditions in the world to inspire them, should have left the story of the downfall of Rome unwritten. But so it was. Zosimus, seeing and foreseeing the inevitable decay, commenced the lamentable history, but none of his compatriots (if we except the slight references of Procopius) seems to have had the spirit or the inclination to finish it.

Intellect of  
 the age  
 wasted on  
 theological  
 squabbles.

The fact seems to be that at this time all that was left of literary instinct and historiographic power in the world had concentrated itself on theological, we cannot call it religious, controversy. And what tons of worthless material the ecclesiastical historians and controversialists of the time have left us! Blind, most of them <sup>2</sup>, to the meaning of the mighty drama which was being enacted on the stage of the world, without faith enough in a living God to believe that he could evolve a fairer and better order out of all the chaos round them, anticipating perhaps, the best among them, the speedy return of Christ and the end of the world, they have left us scarcely a hint as to the inner history of the vast revolution which settled the Teuton in the lands of the Latin; while they force upon us details, endless and wearisome, as to the squabbles of self-seeking monks

<sup>1</sup> Except in so far as the plundering raids of Gaiseric might be termed invasions.

<sup>2</sup> I except from this condemnation Salvian, the author of the treatise 'De Gubernatione Dei.'

and prelates over the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon. They describe to us how with stealthy step Timothy the Weasel crept into the Patriarchate of Alexandria; his brawls, his banishments, and his death. They are anxious to inform us that Peter the Stammerer succeeded Timothy the Weasel in the Egyptian see, and that Peter the Fuller, his contemporary at Antioch, obtained his episcopate by bloodshed, and signalled it by adding four words to a hymn<sup>1</sup>. Who really cares now for the vulgar bickerings which the ecclesiastical historians relate to us with such exasperating minuteness? The Weasels, the Fullers, and the Stammerers, are all deep in mummy-dust. To the non-Christian the subject of their controversies is imaginary; to the Christian the pretensions of these men of violence and blood to settle anything concerning the nature of the spotless Son of Man are a blasphemy.

To sum up then; from the Annalists we get some grains of fine gold, from the Literati of Greece we get nothing, from the Ecclesiastical Historians we get chiefly rubbish, concerning the history of these eventful years. One man alone, he whose name stands at the head of this chapter, gives us that more detailed information concerning the thoughts, characters, persons of the actors in the great drama which can make the dry bones of the chronologers live. This is Caius Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius, man of letters, Imperial functionary, country-gentleman and bishop, who, notwithstanding much manifest weakness of character, and a sort of epigrammatic dulness of style, is still the most interesting literary figure of the fifth century.

Sidonius  
our chief  
authority  
for the  
inner life  
of this  
period.

<sup>1</sup> He added, 'Who wast crucified for us' to the 'Holy! Holy! Holy!'

BOOK III.  
CH. 3.His birth  
and ances-  
tors.

Sidonius was born at Lyons about the year 430. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had each held the high office of Praetorian Prefect in Gaul. Upon the whole they had been faithful to the line of Theodosius, though one of them, the grandfather, had derived his office from the usurper Constantine. Such high honours, enjoyed for three generations without any serious reverses, would alone have carried the family of Apollinaris high among the noble houses of Gaul at a time when the hierarchy of office, reaching from the Emperor to the Notary, was incomparably the most important factor in the social system of the provinces. But besides this official position, the wealth, the culture, and the respectable, if not heroic, character of most of the near ancestors of Sidonius placed him at the outset of life on a vantage-ground, from which, whatever he had of literary ability could soon make itself recognised. A man thus situated, born near the centre of the national affairs, and surrounded from his cradle with influential and hereditary friends, knows nothing of that difficulty of 'emerging' which is so forcibly described in the well-known lines of a Roman poet<sup>1</sup>.

His educa-  
tion.

Sidonius received at Lyons as good an education probably as a young Roman noble of the fifth century could have met with anywhere in the Empire. It was an education however in words rather than things. Men had ceased to believe in the Olympian gods; so the schoolmasters taught their scholars the name of every Nymph and every Muse. All earnest thought about the nature of the world and the mind of man ran in Christian channels; so they taught elaborately the

<sup>1</sup> 'Haud facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat  
Res angusta domi.' Juvenal, iii. 164-5.

speculations of every Greek philosopher from Thales to Chrysippus. The sword of the barbarian was carrying everything before it in the world of politics ; so they went on teaching all the arts of rhetoric by which brilliant orators had won honour for themselves or exile for their adversaries from the sovereign multitude in the cities of free Greece. But though it is easy for us to see how little the teaching of these schools can have done in helping the student to face any of the real difficulties of his after-life, we must, on the other hand, do justice to the vast amount of intellectual activity which still remained in the Empire and which this teaching both denoted and fostered. Sometimes we think of the hundred years between Theodosius and Theodoric as wholly filled with rapine and bloodshed. Sometimes we carry back into the fifth century the thick darkness which hung over the intellectual life of Merovingian France or Lombard Italy. In both these estimates we are mistaken. A careful perusal of the three volumes of the Letters and Poems of Sidonius reveals to us the fact that in Gaul at any rate the air still teemed with intellectual life, that authors were still writing, amanuenses transcribing, friends complimenting or criticising, and all the cares and pleasures of literature filling the minds of large classes of men just as though no Empires were sinking and no strange nationalities were suddenly rising around them. We need not believe, upon the authority of the highly-wrought panegyrics of Sidonius, that he had a score of friends all more eloquent than Cicero, more subtle than Plato, and diviner poets than Homer or Virgil ; but the interesting fact for us is that such forgotten philosophers and poets did exist in that age, and that their works, produced in

BOOK III. lavish abundance, seem to have had no lack of eager  
 CH. 3. students.

Impulse  
 towards  
 rhetoric  
 from the  
 oration of  
 Nicetius.

The impulse towards rhetoric, which was conspicuous in every part of the career of Sidonius, may very likely have been communicated by an oratorical display which he witnessed, in early adolescence, at Arles the Roman capital of Gaul. There, at the commencement of the year 449, the general Asturius was to assume the office of Consul. A crowd of Roman dignitaries assembled to witness the ceremony. In the centre, on a curule chair, sat Apollinaris, Praetorian Prefect of Gaul, and by his side stood his son, the young Sidonius. As one after another of the great persons of the State, *consulares*, *praesides*, masters of horse, and masters of foot, tribunes, bishops, notaries, advanced to kiss the purple robe of the representative of the Emperor, each one doubtless spared a less formal salutation for the bright, highly-cultured lad who was watching the scene with eager interest, and with a mind keenly conscious, as it ever was, of the great difference between those who have rank and position and those who have them not. The new Consul was proclaimed, the slave, who was always forthcoming on these occasions, received the buffet from his hand which bestowed freedom<sup>1</sup>, the largesse (*sportula*) and the ivory tablets, upon which the names of the two new magistrates had been inscribed, were distributed to the people. Then stood forth Flavius Nicetius, and in brilliant, well-chosen words, pronounced the customary panegyric on the virtues and capacities of Consul

<sup>1</sup> This curious custom, which seems to have been peculiar to the last ages of the Empire, is mentioned by Claudian (*De Quarto Consulatu Honorii*, 615, and *In Eutropium*, i. 310), also by Sidonius himself (*Panegyric of Anthemius*, 545).



Asturius. The pompous periods, the applause which followed, the compliments paid and received by the smooth-tongued orator, produced a profound impression on the boyish imagination of Sidonius, and we may perhaps conjecture that he secretly resolved that he too would one day be a Prefect like his father, an orator like Nicetius, and a Consul like Asturius. The first two of his aspirations were realised.

‘The rest the gods dispersed in empty air.’

Sidonius was probably about twenty-one years of age when the blast of Attila's invasion swept over Belgic Gaul. Sheltered behind the walls of Lyons he felt, in all likelihood, not even the outskirts of the storm. But he may have conversed with Lupus, Anianus, and others of the chief actors in the defence of Gaul, and no doubt his imagination was powerfully impressed by all that he saw and heard of that ‘horde of many-nationed spoilers’ who, according to the lines which have been already quoted from him <sup>1</sup>, hewed down the trees of the Thuringer Wald to bridge with their rafts the bosom of the Rhine. There was even a possibility that Sidonius might have been the historian of that eventful campaign. His friend Prosper, successor of Anianus in the see of Orleans, urged him to undertake the task. He began to write, apparently in prose, and occupied himself with the origin of the barbarians who composed the host of Attila. But his genius was all for epigram or pompous panegyric. Plain historical narrative wearied him, and moreover the duties of his episcopate (for the work was commenced in the later period of his life) seemed to call him to other occupations. Even the

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Attila's  
invasion.  
451.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 107 and 108.

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fragment which he wrote has perished, and we regret its loss, for though he was not well-fitted by nature or education to be the historian of such a war, he would assuredly have preserved for us some interesting details with reference to that year of terror.

Marriage  
of Sidonius.

About the time of the Hunnish invasion, or soon after, Sidonius married. His wife, Papianilla, was the daughter of the most powerful citizen of Auvergne, of that Avitus whom we have already met at the court of Theodoric, cementing the alliance between the Romans and the Visigoths against Attila, and whom we are shortly to meet again in a more exalted station. Sidonius was related by descent to the family of Avitus, and this new tie linked him very closely to the mountainous land of the Arverni (the modern Auvergne) with which henceforward his life became more nearly associated than with his own foggy city of Lyons. His marriage also brought him more decisively forward on the broad stage of Imperial politics, and during the years which intervene between 455 and 469 we shall have frequently to rely on his letters and poems for our sole information as to the events which occurred at the court of the Western Emperors.

He retires  
to Avita-  
cum.

In the year 469 he finally retired from public life and from the court of the Caesars, and took up his abode at the charming villa of Avitacum in Auvergne, part of his wife's dowry, a place of which he has given us, evidently in imitation of the younger Pliny, a description which, though prolix and too much laboured, is not devoid of interest. In this description, notwithstanding one or two minor discrepancies, which may be easily accounted for by the changes in the configuration of land and water wrought during the course of fourteen centuries,

we can still recognise the characteristic features of the shores of the Lac d'Aydat. This little lake, which is about twelve miles to the south-west of Clermont-Ferrand, lies near the junction of the two great volcanic ranges of the Monts Dôme and the Monts Dore. From two summits of the former range (the Puy de la Vache and the Puy de Lassolas) descended, in that far distant age when the volcanoes of Auvergne were still glowing against the midnight sky, a great stream of molten lava, which has left a wilderness of rock five miles long and in some places a mile wide, sprawling over the once fruitful valley. This stony cataract, with its significant Celtic name, La Cheyre<sup>1</sup>, though ugly and desolate itself, has been the cause of beauty to the landscape, for the little stream of Pontava coming down from some other mountains on the west, and finding its course impeded by this barrier of lava, has formed the lovely little lake of Aydat, at the south-western corner of which (if this identification be correct) once stood the villa of Sidonius. There is, of course, no trace of that stately dwelling now. A few humble cottages cluster round the little Romanesque Church, which dates from the twelfth century, and has three round buttress-towers on each side, built apparently only for strength not for ornament. Inside the church, high up on the north wall of the chancel, is a long flat stone coffer built into the wall, and bearing on its front the words

HIC S̄T̄ [SUNT] DVO IÑOCENTES ⊕ ET S. SIDONIUS.

There is a mystery about 'the two Innocents,' nor is it probable that this is the actual burying-place of the poet-bishop, but it may very probably contain some

<sup>1</sup> Crégut refers this name to the Celtic word Car = Stone.

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relic of the saint, to whom in fact the church appears to be dedicated. There is a deep well in an adjoining house said to be of Roman excavation, and a few strokes of the pickaxe in the soil of the little village street bring to light pieces of undoubtedly Roman cement, an evidence probably of a once existing pavement.

But leaving these faint archaeological traces of a past which almost eludes our research, it is pleasant to climb the most easterly of the two hills between which Aydat nestles, and there with the unchanged, or but slightly changed, face of Nature before us, to read the description of his villa given by the Gallo-Roman nobleman. He writes to his friend Domitius, and says <sup>1</sup>:—

‘ We are now at Avitacum : that is the name of this property, which having come to me in right of my wife, is even sweeter than a paternal inheritance. A mountain on the west, steep though not rocky <sup>2</sup>, sends forth lower hills, as if from a double focus, which are about four acres apart. But while the ground broadens out sufficiently to afford a fitting vestibule for the house, the sides of the hills hold straight on their course through the valley up to the margin of the villa, which has two fronts, one to the north and the other to the south <sup>3</sup>.’ Sidonius then goes on to describe with much detail the bath-house, the fish-pond, the women’s apartment (*triclinium matronale*), the pillared portico over-

<sup>1</sup> Epist. ii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Quanquam terrenus, arduus tamen.’

<sup>3</sup> ‘Sed donec domicilio competens vestibuli campus aperitur, mediam vallem rectis tractibus prosequuntur latera clivorum usque in marginem villae, quae in Boream Austrumque conversis frontibus tenditur.’ This obscure sentence is one of the difficulties in the identification of Avitacum. But the real difficulty is in the Latin of Sidonius rather than in the configuration of the country round Aydat.

looking the lake, the winter-parlour (*hiemale triclinium*), the little dining-room (*coenatiuncula*), and the summer-parlour (*diversorium aestivum*), looking towards the north. 'This room,' he says, 'lets in the daylight, but not the sun, a narrow closet being interposed' (apparently between it and the south face) 'where the drowsy grooms of the chamber sit nodding, though they may not lie down to sleep <sup>1</sup>. How pleasant it is here to let the chirp of the cicadas beat upon one's ear at noon, the croak of the frogs in the twilight, the swans and geese calling upon their mates at night, the cocks crowing in the small hours of the morning, the crows with their augural voice, three times repeated, saluting the ruddy face of rising Aurora, and at daybreak Philomela trilling among the fruit-trees, or Progne (the swallow) twittering upon the palings. To this concert you may join the pastoral Muse, goddess of the seven-holed reed, for oftentimes in their nightly rivalry of song the sleepless Tityri of our mountains make their notes heard in the meadows above the tinkling bells of their flocks. And yet, believe me, all this strife of varied sounds only plunges one into the deeper slumber.

'Below us lies the lake, winding down towards the east, and sometimes when the winds ruffle it, it moistens the stones of the villa, whose foundations are laid in its sandy shores. Its right bank is abrupt, winding and wooded, its left open, grassy, and level. By nautical measurement it is seventeen furlongs in length. A stream enters it which has foamed over the rugged rocks that seek to bar its passage, but which has a short period of tranquillity before it mingles with the

<sup>1</sup> A guess at the meaning of 'interjecto consistorio perangusto, ubi somnolentiae dormitandi potius quam dormiendi locus est.'

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lake. Its exit is through hidden subterranean channels, which afford a passage to the water, but not to the fish, and these latter, forced back into the lake's slothful tranquillity, grow fat in their prison, and daily swell out a greater extent of pink flesh under their gleaming bellies. Sometimes from the villa we see the fisherman launching forth into the deep, spreading out his nets with their corks floating on the water, or arranging his hook-armed cords at certain well-marked intervals, in order that the greedy trout in their nightly prowlings through the waters may fall into the snares which are laid for their cannibal tastes. For surely it is a fitting stratagem that fish should be tempted by fish to rush upon their own destruction. Sometimes, when the winds have fallen, the surface of the fickle deep is cloven by a whole fleet of pleasure-boats. In the middle of the lake is a little island, where, upon a natural heap of stones, rises a goal often worn by the blades of the rowers' oars in their nautical contests. For this is the point round which they must steer when they would imitate the Sicilian boat-races of our Trojan ancestors, and many a comic shipwreck takes place here as one boat dashes into another.'

Such, greatly abbreviated and freely translated (for it is hardly possible to translate Sidonius literally), is the description, the not unpleasing description, of the home of a great Gaulish noble under the Empire<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that I have adopted the theory that the Avitacum of Sidonius is the modern Aydat. The only other site whose claims are worth considering is the lake of Chambon, about twenty-five miles south-west of Clermont, and immediately under the range of Mont Dore. Having only seen Lac d'Aydat and not Lac Chambon, I have no right to express any opinion of my own as to the respective claims of the two sites, but certainly the arguments of Abbé Crégut in his

After a year or two of seclusion Sidonius re-entered public life in a new capacity. He was elected Bishop of the chief city of the Arverni (now called Clermont-Ferrand), and he continued in the same see for the remaining eighteen years of his life<sup>1</sup>. This election seems to have been a voluntary tribute of respect on the part of his fellow-citizens to an unstained private character, and to the memory of an official career which, if not signalised by any brilliant services to the State, had at least not been abused to sordid and ignoble ends. His position in the literature of the age was both a recommendation and a stumbling-block. It was an honour for a rural diocese in the mountains to have as its president a man who had recited amid the applause of the multitude the panegyrics of three Emperors, whose statue in brass stood between the Greek and the Latin Libraries in the Forum of Trajan, whose letters were humbly prayed for and treasured up as invaluable literary possessions by all the rhetoricians and philosophers of Gaul. Yet, on the other hand, his very panegyrics were crammed full of the conceits of Pagan mythology; his Epithalamia, though morally pure, turned, according to the fashion in such compositions, on the voluptuous splendours of the dwelling of Venus.

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Sidonius  
elected  
Bishop of  
Arverni  
47<sup>1</sup> or 47<sup>2</sup>.

Essay on Avitacum (Clermont-Ferrand, 1890), seem to me very convincing on behalf of Aydat. The similarity of name (the earlier form of Aydat is Aydac) and the persistent local *cultus* of St. Sidonius are both of them arguments of weight, but the strongest point is, in my judgment, the character of the exit of the river from the lake. Owing to the nature of the wild jumble of rocks (la Cheyre) which form the eastern end of the lake, the Pontava does escape from it 'per colla subterranea,' a feature of the landscape which we are told is entirely wanting at Chambon.

<sup>1</sup> His wife Papianilla was still alive at the time of his elevation to the episcopate.

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on the charms of the bride, surpassing those of all the heroines of classical antiquity, and on the success of Cupid in piercing with his arrows the bridegroom's heart. This was not exactly the kind of composition which it was considered safe or decorous for a Christian Bishop to indulge in, so soon after the great struggle between the new and the old faiths, and while the religion of the Olympian gods, though prostrate and wounded to the death, still, by a few convulsive spasms, showed signs of a vitality not yet wholly extinct. Sidonius felt the incongruity as strongly as any one, and as, unlike the Cardinal de Retz<sup>1</sup>, he was determined to bring his private life into conformity with the sacred character which he had assumed, he broke off abruptly and finally from the service of the Muses. He could not indeed bring himself to suppress poems which were in his view so charming as his Panegyrics and Epithalamia, but he wrote no more verses of this description. Invocations to the Holy Spirit take the place of invocations to Apollo, and the names of the Martyrs meet us

<sup>1</sup> These are De Retz's words with reference to his appointment as Coadjutor-Archbishop of Paris: 'I was not ignorant of the necessity there is for a Bishop to live regularly . . . . But at the same time I found that it was not in my power to live in that manner, and that all the reasons which conscience or honour could suggest to me against an irregular life would prove but insignificant and weak. After six days' deliberation, I chose to act ill, designedly, which as to God is beyond comparison the most criminal, but which is without doubt the wisest as to the world. The reason is, that when you act in that manner you always take some previous measures that will cover part of the ill action, and that you avoid besides the most dangerous sort of ridicule that persons of our profession can be exposed to, which is the mixing preposterously sin with devotion. . . . However, I had fully resolved to discharge exactly all the outward duties of my profession, and to take as much care of other people's souls as I took little of my own' (Memoirs, book ii).



instead of those of the Argonauts. The result is not a happy one, and to a taste formed by the Christian hymnology of subsequent ages, the later poems of Sidonius are rather less attractive than his earlier ones.

Sidonius appears to have made an excellent Bishop, according to the notions of his day, which scarcely expected every prelate to rise to the saintliness of a Polycarp, but would not have tolerated his sinking to the infamy of a Borgia. He applied himself with earnestness to the study of the Scriptures, in which he had probably not been well instructed as a child. He steered through the theological controversies of a difficult time with an unimpeached reputation for orthodoxy. His experience as a Roman official helped him to govern his diocese with the right apportionment of firmness and suavity. His unfailing good-nature joined to a certain ingredient in his character, which can only be described as fussiness, made him the willing counsellor and confidant of his people even in their business difficulties, in the law-suit, and the family quarrel. Above all, his hearty sympathies with the Romanised population of Gaul, and his antipathies, national and religious, to their Arian and barbarian conquerors, made him willing to risk life and fortune, and even his dearly-loved social position, on behalf of the liberties of Auvergne. During the years while the struggle between the Arverni and the Visigoths was going on, the courtier and the rhetorician were lost in the patriot, and his life rose into real grandeur. At the close of the struggle (475) Sidonius had to feel the full weight of the displeasure of the Visigothic king, Euric, who was now undisputed master of Auvergne. He was banished from his diocese, and kept, probably for about a year, in captivity in the

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CH. 3.

His success as a Bishop.

His banishment.

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fortress of Livia, not far from Carcassonne<sup>1</sup>. His confinement was not of the most rigorous description; he was allowed to employ himself, if he wished, in literary labour, and his quarters for the night seem to have been appointed him in a private dwelling-house. But his days were occupied with harassing duties, and both study and sleep were driven away from his evening hours by the clamours of two Gothic hags, whose window looked upon the court-yard of his lodging, and whose life was passed in one perpetual round of scolding, intoxication and gluttony. The fastidious Roman noble, forced into hourly companionship with these scenes of barbarian vulgarity, passed his nights in sighing for the seclusion of his mountainous Auvergne, for the baths, the lake, and the fish-ponds, the airy summer apartment, and the chorus of rural voices of his own beloved Avitacum.

His return  
from exile

At length, by the mediation of his friend Leo, a Roman, a lover of literature<sup>2</sup>, and the chief minister at

<sup>1</sup> His biographers seem generally to treat this as an ordinary imprisonment, but there are some indications that Sidonius was entrusted with some difficult and disagreeable commission at Livia, no doubt with the intention of taking him away from his faithful Arverni. Compare especially Ep. ix. 3, '*Nam per officii imaginem vel, quod est verius, necessitatem solo patrio exactus, hic relegor variis quaquaversum fragoribus, quia patior hic incommoda peregrini, illic damna proscripti.*'

<sup>2</sup> Partly as an act of friendship, and partly by way of ransom, Sidonius translated for Leo the life of Apollonius of Tyana, the Paracelsus-Cagliostro of the first century, whose marvellous career was by some of the opponents of Christianity claimed as a counterpoise to the Gospel-history of Jesus. Sidonius does not seem to be aware of this polemical use of the biography: at least, he speaks of Apollonius in terms of unqualified praise, and pays court to Leo by drawing a very strange parallel between the philosopher and the minister.

the court of Euric, he was restored to his home and diocese; and the remaining years of his life were passed in comparative tranquillity, but probably with an impaired fortune, and certainly with an ever-present pang of humiliation at the enforced subjection of his high-spirited Arverni to the degrading yoke of the barbarians. He had probably not reached his sixtieth year when (about 489)<sup>1</sup> he was carried off by a fever. He died with Christian calmness and hope. When he felt his end approaching he desired his attendants to carry him to the church where he had been wont to officiate, and lay him before the altar. A multitude of men, women, and children crowded into the church after his bearers, and filled it with their passionate lamentations. 'Why art thou deserting us,' they cried, 'O good shepherd? Who will take care of us, thy orphans, when thou art gone? Who will feed us with the salt of the true wisdom? Who will guide us into the fear of the Lord as thou hast done.' He gently rebuked their want of faith, and said, 'Fear not, my people. My brother Aprunculus still lives, and he will be your Bishop.' Then with a prayer to his Creator he yielded up his life. His dying words were verified by the election of Aprunculus (a fugitive for the sake of the Catholic faith from the wrath of the Burgundian king) to fill the vacant see<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This is Tillemont's date, but it is possibly too late. Mommsen (in the Introduction prefixed to Sidonius' letters in the 'Monumenta,' p. xlix) argues strongly for 479, but this seems hardly to leave time enough for that part of his life which followed his imprisonment at Livia. And several of the expressions used by Sidonius seem to point to a more advanced period of life than his fiftieth year.

<sup>2</sup> The particulars of the death of Sidonius are given us by Gregory of Tours, ii. 23.

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Conflict of  
the Bishop  
and the  
Poet in the  
character  
of Sidonius.

The end of Sidonius was in harmony with the dignified thoughtfulness which had marked his whole episcopal life. He played his part as a Christian Bishop well; and yet, without imputing to him any shade of conscious insincerity or hypocrisy, it is difficult when reading his letters and pre-eminently his letters to his brother Bishops, to resist the conviction that he was, in a certain sense, playing a part throughout; that he was essentially an author or a courtier, and only accidentally a divine. That strong bias of the mind towards the Invisible which impelled St. Augustine, through all his immoralities, through all his years of Manicheanism, to ponder continually on the relation of his soul to the God of the Universe; that keen intellectual interest in the Scriptures which drew St. Jerome into Palestine, and supported him through all the heroic toil of his translations and his commentaries; these are qualities which it would be absurd to mention in connection with the character of Sidonius. But though his taste probably preferred the mythology of Greece, his reason accepted the doctrines of Christianity. The career of secular office was closed to him by the hard circumstances of those stormy times. The Church offered him a safe and honourable retreat from war and revolution. The voices of his fellow-citizens called him to a post of dignity in that Church; and he therefore accepted the retreat and the dignity, and made his life harmonise fairly well with his new vocation. If some sprays of the poet's laurel were still seen under the mitre of the bishop, if his thoughts were sometimes running on Helicon and Parnassus when he was celebrating the Divine mysteries in the basilica of Arverni, at least he kept his secret well, and made his actions

congruous to his character as a shepherd of the Christian flock. BOOK III.  
CH. 8.

He was by the general voice of his people recognised as a saint after his death, and the Church of Clermont still, upon the 21st of August, the day of his death, celebrates the festival of Saint Sidonius. The only reason for any hesitation about canonising him would appear to be that he had never claimed any power of working miracles, that he was not, as a biographer<sup>1</sup> says, 'one of those great thaumaturgic pontiffs whose glory was made common property, and whose virtues were immortalised by the generous instincts of Gaul;' but the entire absence of all pretensions of this kind will not be accounted a demerit by the present age. In his attitude towards men of other faiths than his own, he showed a tolerance of spirit more like the eighteenth century than the fifth. He could not but deplore and condemn the fury of the Arian persecutors, but he speaks with some kindness of the Jews. 'Gozolas is the bearer of these letters of mine, a Jew by nation, and a man for whose person I should feel a cordial regard if he did not belong to a sect which I despise<sup>2</sup>.' And again, 'This letter commends a Jew to your notice. Not that I am pleased with the error in which that nation is involved, and which leads them to perdition, but because it becomes us not to call any one of them sure of damnation<sup>3</sup> while he yet lives, for there is still a hope that he may turn and be forgiven<sup>4</sup>.' This is the language of an orthodox Catholic, but certainly not of a man who is by nature a persecutor.

Of the literary style of Sidonius it is difficult to speak

<sup>1</sup> Abbé Chaix, ii. 401.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. iii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ex asse damnabilem.'

<sup>4</sup> Ep. vi. 11.

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literary  
style.

with fairness. His obscurity, his long and uncouth words, often clumsily coined from the Greek, his constantly-recurring epigrams, which, when examined, generally turn out to have as much point in them as the clever things which a man utters in his dreams, his preposterous and monotonous adulation of his correspondents, evidently dictated by the desire to receive their adulation in return, his frigid conceits, his childish display of classical learning, which after all was neither deep nor thorough<sup>1</sup>,—all these qualities make much study of the works of this author emphatically a weariness to the flesh. But it is doubtful how far he is to be blamed individually, and how far his age is responsible for the faults of his style. Latin poetry had fallen during the fourth century into the hands of elegant triflers, of the composers of triple and quintuple acrostics<sup>2</sup>, and the manufacturers of vapid centoes<sup>3</sup>. Claudian had snatched the Latian lyre out of the hands of these feeble poetasters, and made it give forth some manlier harmonies; but even Claudian, with his courtier-like exaggerations, and his creaking mythological machinery, was not a very safe guide to follow. Suffice it to say, without attempting further to apportion the blame of a most miserable style between the author and his age, that in his poems, Sidonius bears the same re-

<sup>1</sup> Sidonius is guilty of such false quantities as Euripides, philosophus, and diastēma (διάστημα). He puts Babylon on the Tigris and the rocks of the Symplegades hard by Corinth.

<sup>2</sup> Like Optatian's Panegyrics on Constantine, things distracting even to look at.

<sup>3</sup> Like Faltonia Proba's, telling, after a fashion, the story of the Fall and Redemption of Man in a poem of some 650 lines entirely drawn from the Aeneid of Virgil, and laboriously twisted from their original meaning.

lation to Claudian that Claudian bears to Virgil, and that in his letters he is as far from attaining the purity of style of the younger Pliny as the latter is from rivalling the easy grace of Cicero. It remains to reproduce from the pages of Sidonius some of his most striking pictures of social life among the Romans and Barbarians.

BOOK III.  
CH. 3.

I. ROMAN LIFE. *The Church Festival, and the Game at Tennis*<sup>1</sup>.

‘Sidonius wishes health to his friend Eripius.

‘You wish me to send you the verses which I made to please that most respectable man your father-in-law. I will do so ; but as, in order to understand this trifle, you wish to know the scene and the cause of its composition, you must not complain if the preface is more long-winded than the work itself.

‘We had assembled at the Sepulchre of St. Justus [at Lyons]; there was a procession before dawn, to celebrate the yearly festival of the saint, and a great multitude had assembled, larger than the basilica could hold, though it was surrounded with spacious arcades. When the office of Vigils was ended (chanted by monks and clergy in alternate choruses) we parted from one another, but did not go far, that we might be in readiness for *Tierce*, when the priests should return to celebrate it. The crowd in the church, the many lights, and the closeness of the weather (for it was summer, though just passing into autumn) had made us feel as

<sup>1</sup> Ep. v. 17. This letter is quoted by Guizot (*Hist. de la Civilisation en France*, Leçon iii). He is probably in error in treating it as a scene in the life of a *Bishop* of the fifth century, for everything seems to show that the letter was written several years before Sidonius' elevation to the episcopate.

if we were being stewed, and we longed for the fresh air. So when the various ranks of citizens dispersed, we who belonged to the first families of Lyons, decided to make our rendezvous at the tomb of Syagrius, which was scarce a bowshot from the church. Here some reclined under the shade of a trellis-work covered with the leaves and clusters of a vine ; others, of whom I was one, sat on the green sward, which was fragrant with flowers. The conversation was full of light fun and banter ; and what was best of all, there was no talk about great people or the incidence of taxation, not a word to compromise anybody, not a person whom anybody else thought of compromising. Any one who could tell a good story, and adorn it with proper sentiments, was listened to most eagerly. But really there was such general merriment that it was not easy to hear any story distinctly to the end. At length we got tired of idleness, and discussed what we should do. The young men voted for tennis, the elder ones for the tables [backgammon]. I was prime champion of the ball, of which, as you know, I am as fond as of my books. On the other side, my brother<sup>1</sup> Domnicus, a man full of wit and courtesy, shook the counters about in the tables, and thus, as with a sound of a trumpet, summoned his party to the dice-box. I played for a long time with a troop of students till my limbs, which had grown numb, were made supple again by the healthful exercise. Then the illustrious Philimatus, as Virgil says<sup>2</sup>,

‘ He too adventuring to the task  
That matches younger years,’

<sup>1</sup> Apparently, this is a title of courtesy. Domnicus was not probably the actual brother of Sidonius.

<sup>2</sup> *Aeneid* v. 499 (Conington’s translation).



boldly joined the group of tennis-players. He had once played the game well, but that was when his years were fewer. Poor man! he was often forced from the place where he was stationed, by the mid-current of eager players; then, when he had to keep the middle of the ground, he could neither ward off nor dodge the quickly-flying ball. Moreover he often met with a catastrophe and fell flat on the ground, from which he raised himself slowly and laboriously. So that the upshot of the matter was that he was the first to retire from the rush of the game, which he did with deep sighs and a fearful stitch in his side. Very soon I left off too, out of kindness to him, that he might not be mortified at so soon showing signs of distress. So, when we were seated again, the sweat running down his face obliged him to ask for a basin of water. It was brought him, and with it a thick cloth which, cleaned from yesterday's dirt, happened to be hanging on a pulley behind the door of the porter's lodge. While he was slowly drying his cheeks he said, "How I should like you to dictate four lines of poetry on the cloth which does me this service." "It shall be done," said I. "But so as to bring in my name in the metre?" "What you ask for is possible." "Dictate them, then." To which I answered, smiling, "You know the Muses will not like it if there are any by-standers when I commune with their holy band." He said, very politely, but with that jocosely passionate manner of his, "Take care, Mr. Sollius, that you don't much more exasperate Apollo if you ask for secret interviews with his young ladies." Imagine the applause which greeted this sally, as sudden as it was happily conceived. Then, without more delay, I called to my side his amanuensis, who was

BOOK III. standing near with his tablets in hand, and dictated the  
 CH. 3. following epigram :

‘Oh Towel! in the early morn, when the bath has made him  
 glow,  
 Or when with heated brow he comes at noontide from the  
 chase,  
 Into thy thirsty reservoirs let the big sweat-drops flow,  
 When Philimatus shall wipe on thee his handsome face.’

‘Scarcely had our friend Epiphanius read over what had been written, when word was brought us that the time was come for the bishop to leave his private apartment, and we all rose up. Pray pardon the verses which you asked for. Farewell.’

## 2. ROMAN LIFE. *The Country-house*<sup>1</sup>.

‘Sidonius wishes health to his friend Donidius.

‘You ask me why, though I set out for Nismes some time ago, I have not yet returned home. I will tell you the agreeable cause of my delay, since I know that the things which please me please you too.

‘The fact is that I have been spending some days in a very pleasant country with two most delightful men, my hereditary friend Tonantius Ferreolus, and my cousin Apollinaris. Their estates adjoin one another and their houses are not far apart, a long walk but a short ride. The hills which rise behind are covered with vineyards and oliveyards. The view from each house is equally charming; the one looks upon woods, and the other over a wide expanse of plain. So much for the dwellings; now for the hospitality shown to us there.

‘As soon as they found out that I was on my return

<sup>1</sup> Ep. ii. 9.

journey, they stationed skilful scouts to watch not only the high-road but every little track and sheep-walk into which I could possibly turn aside, that I might not by any chance escape from their friendly snares. When I had fallen into their hands, not very reluctantly I must confess, they at once administered to me a solemn oath not to entertain one thought of continuing my journey till seven days were over. Then, every morning a friendly strife arose between my hosts whose kitchen should first have the honour of preparing my repast, a strife which I could not adjust by a precisely equal alternation of my visits, although I was bound to one house by friendship and to the other by relationship, because Ferreolus, as a man who had held the office of Prefect, derived from his age and dignity a claim beyond that of mere friendship to take precedence in entertaining me. So we were hurried from pleasure to pleasure. Scarce had we entered the vestibule of either house when lo! on one side the pairs of tennis-players stood up to oppose one another in the ring<sup>1</sup>; on the other, amid the shouts of the dicers, was heard the frequent rattle of the boxes and the boards. Here too were books in plenty; you might fancy you were looking at the breast-high book-shelves of the grammarians, or the wedge-shaped cases of the Athenaeum, or the well-filled cupboards of the book-sellers<sup>2</sup>. I observed however that if one found a manuscript beside the chair of one of the ladies of the house, it was sure to be on a religious

<sup>1</sup> 'Et ecce huc sphaeristarum contra stantium paria inter rotatiles catastropharum gyros duplicabantur.' Perhaps some future researches into the tennis of the Romans may elucidate these mysterious words.

<sup>2</sup> The three words used in this sentence, *plutei*, *cunei*, and *armaria*, were all technical terms in Roman libraries.

BOOK III. subject, while those which lay by the seats of the fathers  
 CH. 3. of the family were full of the loftiest strains of Latin eloquence. In making this distinction, I do not forget that there are some writings of equal literary excellence in both branches, that Augustine may be paired off against Varro, and Prudentius against Horace. Among these books Origen, 'the Adamantine,' translated into Latin by Turranius Rufinus, was frequently perused by readers holding our faith. I cannot understand why some of our Arch-divines should stigmatise him as a dangerous and heterodox author.

'While we were engaged, according to our various inclinations, in studies of this nature, punctually as the water-clock<sup>1</sup> marked 5 [11 a.m.], there would come into the room a messenger from the chief cook to warn us that the time for refreshment had arrived. At dinner we made a full and rapid meal, after the manner of senators, whose custom it is to set forth a large banquet with few dishes, though variety is produced by sometimes cooking the meat dry and sometimes with gravy. While we were drinking we had merry stories told, which at once amused and instructed us. To be brief, the style of the repast was decorous, handsome, and abundant.

'Then rising from table, if we were at Voroangus (the estate of Apollinaris) we walked back to the inn where was our baggage, and there took our *siesta*<sup>2</sup>); if at Prusianum (the name of the other property) we had

<sup>1</sup> Clepsydra.

<sup>2</sup> It may be observed that the very word 'siesta' (at the sixth hour) marks the permanence of Roman customs in the lands bordering on the Mediterranean. As the 'prandium' was at the fifth hour, the repose would naturally be at the sixth.

to turn Tonantius and his brothers—nobles as they were, and our equals in age—out of their couches, as we could not easily carry our sleeping-apparatus about with us.

‘When we had shaken off our noontide torpor, we rode on horseback for a little while to sharpen our appetites for supper. Both of my hosts had baths in their houses, but neither of them happened to be in working order. However, when my attendants and the crowd of their fellow-revellers, whose brains were too often under the influence of the hospitable wine-cup, had made a short pause in their potations, they would hurriedly dig a trench near to the fountain or the river. Into this they tossed a heap of burnt stones, and over it they would weave a hemisphere of hazel-twigs. Upon this framework were stretched sheets of coarse Cilician canvas, which at once shut out the light, and beat back the steam rising from the hot flints sprinkled with water. Here we often passed hours in pleasant and witty talk, while our limbs, wrapped in the fizzing steam, gave forth a wholesome sweat. When we had spent as long as we chose in this rude *sudatorium*, we plunged into the heated waters to wash away the perspiration; and, having so worked off all tendency to indigestion, we then braced our bodies with the cold waters of the well, the fountain, or the river. For I should have mentioned that midway between the two houses flows the river Vuardo<sup>1</sup>, red with its tawny gravel, except when the melting snow makes pale its waters, gliding tranquilly over its pebbly bed, and well-stocked with delicate fish.

‘I would also describe the luxurious suppers which

<sup>1</sup> The Gard of the celebrated ‘Pont du Gard.’

BOOK III.  
 CH. 3.  
 we used to sit down to, if my talkative vein, which knows no check from modesty, were not summarily stopped by the end of my paper. And yet it would be pleasant to tell over again their delights if I did not blush to carry my scrawl over to the back of the sheet. But now, as we are really in act to depart, and as you, with Christ's help, are going to be good enough to pay us an immediate visit, it will be easier to talk over our friends' suppers when you and I are taking our own; only let the end of this week of feasting restore to me as soon as possible my vanished appetite, since no refinements of cookery can so effectually soothe an overcharged stomach as the remedy of abstinence. Farewell.'

### 3. ROMAN LIFE. *The new Basilica*<sup>1</sup>.

The Bishop Patiens, an earnest and liberal-handed man, raised in his city of Lyons a magnificent church, which was dedicated to the popular Gallic saint, Justus. Sidonius and two other poets, the most eminent of their age and nation, were requested to write three inscriptions which were to be engraven on tablets at the west end of the building. The church itself, after witnessing some interesting passages of mediaeval history, was destroyed in the religious wars of the sixteenth century; and these lines written by Sidonius, and by him transcribed at the request of a youthful admirer, alone remain to testify of its departed glories. The chief reason for quoting them is the proof which they afford that the use of mosaics on the walls and of golden decorations on the ceiling was not

<sup>1</sup> Ep. ii. 10.

confined, as we may have been inclined to suppose, to those places where Byzantine taste was predominant. Many touches in the following description would suit some of the still surviving churches of Ravenna. The Atrium or oblong porch in front of the church, the triple doorway from the Atrium into the nave, and from the outside of the building into the Atrium, the 'forest of columns' within, and the slabs of marble in the windows, are all also characteristic of the ecclesiastical architecture of Constantine and his successors<sup>1</sup>.

Sidonius uses the metre called hendecasyllabic

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to which he was very partial, and which has been employed in the following translation :

'Stranger! come and admire this temple's beauty,  
 Know, 'twas reared by the zeal of Bishop Patient.  
 Here put up the request that earns an answer:  
 Here shall all of thy heart's desires be granted.  
 See how shines from afar the lofty building  
 Which, square-set, nor to left nor right deflected,  
 Looks straight on to the equinoctial sunrise.

Inly gleams there a light: the golden ceiling  
 Glows so fair that the sunbeams love to wander  
 Slowly over the sun-like burnished metal.  
 Marbles varied in hue, with slabs resplendent,  
 Line the vault and the floor, and frame the windows<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> All these points occur in the description of Constantine's 'Church of the Saviour' at Jerusalem, and Justinian's Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, given in Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, art. Church.

<sup>2</sup> 'Distinctum vario nitore marmor  
 Percurrit cameram, solum, *fenestras*.'

'The windows (of St. Sophia) are filled with slabs of marble, pierced with square openings filled with thick pieces of cast glass' (Smith's Dict. of Christ. Antt. l. c.).

And, in glass on the walls, the green of spring-tide  
Bounds the blue of the lake with winding margent<sup>1</sup>.

Here a portico, three-arched, fronts the gazer,  
Reared on pillars from Aquitanian quarries.  
There its counterpart stands, an inner portal,  
At the Atrium's end, three-arched and stately ;  
While within, and around the floor of worship  
Rise the stems of a slender marble forest.

Fair it rises, between the Road and River ;  
Here it echoes the horseman's clanging footfall  
And the shout of the slave who guides the chariot.  
There, the chorus of bending, hauling bargemen,  
As they pace by the turgid Arar's waters  
Send to heaven the joyful Alleluia !

Sing thus ! Wayfarers sing by land or water,  
Sing at sight of the house which all may enter,  
Where all learn of the road that leads to safety.'

4. ROMAN LIFE. *The family setting out for the country*<sup>2</sup>.

Evodius had asked Sidonius to furnish him with twelve verses to be engraved on the inside of a large shell-shaped silver basin which he was about to present to Ragnahild the Visigothic queen. Sidonius replies as follows :—

' Sidonius wishes health to his friend Evodius.

<sup>1</sup> ' Ac sub versicoloribus figuris  
Vernans herbida crusta sapphiratos  
Flectit per prasinum vitrum lapillos.'

As the meaning of these lines is not very clear, I have ventured to interpolate a memory of Ravenna. In the vaulted roof above the tomb of Galla Placidia, one sees a bright mosaic picture of two stags drinking, and the pool between them is blue, lined with emerald-green grass ('sapphirati lapilli' surrounded with 'prasinum vitrum').

<sup>2</sup> Ep. iv. 8.



‘ When the messenger brought me your letter, inform- BOOK III.  
ing me that you were about soon to visit Toulouse at CH. 3.  
the command of the king, we too were leaving the town  
for a place in the country some way off. From early  
morning I had been detained by one cause or another,  
and the arrival of your letter only just gave me an  
excuse to shake off the crowd of attendants and try to  
satisfy your request while I was either walking or  
riding. At the very break of day my family had gone  
forward, meaning to pitch the tent when they had  
accomplished eighteen miles of the journey. The spot  
which they would then reach was one which many  
reasons combined to make desirable for the purpose of  
a halt; a cool spring in a shady grove, a level lawn  
with plenty of grass, a river just before our eyes well  
stocked with fish, and a favourite haunt of water-birds;  
and besides all this, close to the river’s bank stood the  
new house of an old friend, so immensely kind that  
neither by accepting nor by refusing can you ever get  
to the end of his civilities.

‘ Hither then my people had gone before me and here  
I stopped for your sake, that I might send your slave  
back by the shortest way from the chief town in the  
district. By this time it was four hours and more after  
sunrise; already the sun which was now high in the  
heavens had sucked up the night-dews with his increas-  
ing rays; we were growing hot and thirsty, and in the  
deep serenity of the day a cloud of dust raised by our  
horses’ feet was our only protection against the heat.  
Then the length of the road stretching out before us  
over the green and sea-like plain made us groan when  
we thought how long it would be before we should get  
our dinner. All these things, my dear Sir, I have

BOOK III. mentioned to you that you may understand how ad-  
 CH. 3. verse the circumstances of my body, my mind, and my  
 time were to the fulfilment of your commission.'

Sidonius then gives the verses, twelve in number, which were to be engraved in twelve grooves, reaching from the centre to the circumference of Queen Ragnahild's silver basin. The heat and the remoteness of the prospect of dinner must have been unfavourable to his courtship of the Muse, for the verses are vapid, and there is scarcely a thought in them which would survive translation<sup>1</sup>.

#### 5. ROMAN LIFE. *The Fortune-hunter*<sup>2</sup>.

In the early days of the Episcopate of Sidonius a certain Amantius asked him for letters of introduction to Marseilles. With his usual good-nature Sidonius gave him a letter to Graecus, Bishop of that city, describing him as a poor but honest man, who transacted what we should call a commission-business in the purchase of cargoes arriving at the seaports of Gaul. He

<sup>1</sup> These are the verses in the original—

‘Pistigero quae concha vehit Tritone Cytheren  
 Hac sibi collata cedere non dubitet.  
 Poscimus, inclina paulisper culmen herile,  
 Et munus parvum, magna patrona, cape:  
 Evodiumque libens non aspernare clientem,  
 Quem faciens grandem tu quoque major eris.  
 Sic tibi cui rex est genitor, socer atque maritus,  
 Natus rex quoque sit cum patre postque patrem.  
 Felices lymphae, clausae quae luce metalli,  
 Ora tamen dominae lucidiora fovent!  
 Nam cum dignatur regina hinc tingere vultus,  
 Candor in argentum mittitur e facie.’

<sup>2</sup> Ep. vii. 2.

had been lately appointed a Reader in the Church—a post which was not incompatible with his transactions in business—and this gave him an additional claim on the good offices of the two Bishops<sup>1</sup>. The letter concluded with the expression of a hope that Amantius might meet with splendid success as a merchant, and might not regret exchanging the cold springs of Auvergne for the fountain of wealth flowing at Marseilles<sup>2</sup>.

BOOK III.  
CH. 3.

Not long after, Sidonius discovered that he had been imposed upon by a swindler, that the modest young man who desired an introduction to Marseilles was in fact too well known at Marseilles already, and that the honest broker was an impudent and mendacious fortune-hunter. Having occasion to write again to Graecus, who had asked him for ‘one of his long and amusing letters,’ he thought that he could not do better than send him the history of Amantius, though the Bishop of Marseilles must have been already in good part acquainted with it, and the Bishop of Arverni must have been conscious that the part which he had played did not reflect great credit on his shrewdness. After a complimentary preface, the letter proceeds thus :

‘His native country is Auvergne ; his parents are persons in a somewhat humble position in life, but free and unencumbered with debt ; their duties have been in connection with the service of the Church rather than of the State. The father is a man of extreme frugality, more intent on saving up money for his children than on pleasing them. This lad accordingly left his home

<sup>1</sup> As a *lector* he was entitled to receive ‘*litterae formatae*’ from the Bishop, a certificate which was given to no one who was not in some sense *clericus*.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. vi. 8.

and came to your city with a very slender equipment in all respects. Notwithstanding this hindrance to his ambitious projects he made a fairly successful start among you. Saint Eustachius, your predecessor, welcomed him with deeds and words of kindness, and put him in the way of quickly obtaining comfortable quarters. He at once began to cultivate assiduously the acquaintance of his neighbours, and his civilities were well received. He adapted himself with great tact to their different ages, showing deference to the old, making himself useful to his coëvals, and always exhibiting a modesty and sobriety in his moral conduct which are as praiseworthy as they are rare in young men. At length, by well-timed and frequent calls, he became known to and familiar with the leading personages of your city, and finally even with the Count himself. Thus the assiduous court which he paid to greatness was rewarded with ever-increasing success; worthy men vied in helping him with their advice and good wishes; he received presents from the wealthy, favours of one kind or another from all, and thus his fortune and his hopes advanced "by leaps and bounds<sup>1</sup>."

'It happened by chance that near the inn where he was lodging there dwelt a lady of some fortune and high character, whose daughter had passed the years of childhood, yet had scarcely reached the marriageable age. He showed himself very kind to this girl, and made, as her youth allowed him to do, trifling presents to her of toys and trash that would divert a girl, and thus, at a very trifling expense, obtained a firm hold on her affections. Years passed on; she became old enough

<sup>1</sup> 'Raptim saltuatimque.'

to be a bride. To make a long story short, you have on the one side a young man, alone, poorly off, a stranger, a son who had skulked away from home not only without the consent, but even without the knowledge of his father; on the other, a girl not inferior to him in birth, and superior to him in fortune; and this fellow, through the introduction of the Bishop because he was a Reader, by favour of the Count because he had danced attendance in his hall, without any investigation as to his circumstances by the mother-in-law because his person was not displeasing to her daughter, woos and wins and marries that young lady. The marriage articles are signed, and in them some beggarly little plot of ground which he happened to possess near our borough is set forth with truly comic pomposity. When the solemn swindle was accomplished, the poor beloved one carried off his wealthy spouse, after diligently hunting up all the possessions of his late father-in-law, and converting them into money, besides adding to them a handsome gratuity drawn from the easy generosity of his credulous mother-in-law, and then, unrivalled humbug that he was, he beat a retreat to his own native place.

‘Some time after he had gone, the girl’s mother discovered the fraud, and had to mourn over the dwindling proportions of the estates comprised in her daughter’s settlement, at the very time when she should have been rejoicing over the augmented number of her grandchildren. She wanted to institute a suit for recovery of her money, on the ground that he had fraudulently overstated his property; and it was in fact in order to soothe her wrath that our new Hippolytus<sup>1</sup> set forth for

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the affair of Hippolytus and his step-mother Phaedra.

BOOK III. Marseilles, when he first brought you my letter of intro-  
 CH. 3. duction.

‘Now, then, you have the whole story of this excellent young man, a story, I think, worthy of the Milesian Fables or an Attic comedy. It remains for you to show yourself a worthy successor of Bishop Eustachius by discharging the duties of patronage to the dear youth whom he took under his protection. You asked me for a lengthy letter, and therefore if it is rather wordy than eloquent you must not take it amiss. Condescend to keep me in your remembrance, my lord Pope<sup>1</sup>.’

What was the issue of the quarrel between the amatory Amantius and his mother-in-law we are not informed, but as he acted twice after this as letter-carrier<sup>2</sup> between Sidonius and Graecus, we may conjecture that the affair of the settlement took some time to arrange.

6. ROMAN LIFE. *The Master murdered by his Slaves*<sup>3</sup>.

‘Sidonius wishes health to his friend Lupus.

‘I have just heard of the murder of the orator Lampridius, whose death, even if it had been in the course of nature, would have filled me with sorrow on account of our ancient friendship. Long ago he used, by way of joke, to call me Phoebus, and I gave him the name of the Odrysian bard [Orpheus]. Once, when I was going to visit him at Bordeaux, I sent forward to him

<sup>1</sup> *Papa* was the common form of address used towards all Bishops at this time.

<sup>2</sup> *Nugi-gerulus* is the curious term used by Sidonius.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. viii. 11 (much abridged in translation).

a poem, like a soldier's billet, claiming his hospitality for Apollo.' BOOK III.  
CH. 3.

Then follows the poem in hendecasyllabics. Phoebus directs his favourite Muse, Thalia, to go before him to Bordeaux, to knock at the door of one Orpheus whom she will find there, charming all nature by his minstrelsy, and to tell him that Phoebus has left his home, that already his oars are splashing in the rapid Garonne, that he will soon be at the house of his friend. The remembrance of these long-past, merry days draws from Sidonius a sentence in prose, which comes nearer to poetry than anything else written by him. 'O necessitas abjecta nascendi, vivendi misera, dura moriendi<sup>1</sup>!' He proceeds—

'See whither the fickle wheel of Fortune leads us. I confess I loved the man, though in his character there were mingled some traits unworthy of his real virtues. He was of a hasty temper, easily moved to anger by slight offences, and there was a taint of cruelty in his nature, though I used to seek to extenuate it by calling it severity. . . .

'The worst and most fatal fault which he committed was in resorting to astrologers in order to learn what the end of his life should be. They were natives of some of the cities of Africa, men whose dispositions were as burning as their sun. They concurred in naming to him the year, the month, and the day which, in their jargon, would be "climacteric" for him; and when they had cast his nativity they predicted for him a bloody fate, because all the planets which had risen prosperously upon his birth set in sinister aspects and

<sup>1</sup> Oh humiliating necessity of birth, sad necessity of living, hard necessity of dying!

BOOK III.  
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with lurid fires. However false and deceptive the predictions of these mathematicians as a rule may be, in the case of our friend they were strictly correct both as to the time and manner of his death. For having been held down in his own house, and strangled by his own slaves, he died by the same death as Lentulus, Jugurtha, Sejanus, and even Scipio of Numantia. The least melancholy part of the business is that the parricidal deed was discovered as soon as morning dawned. For no one could be so dull as not to see the signs of foul play on first inspection of the corpse. The livid skin, the starting eyes, the yet lingering traces of anger and pain in the face told their own tale. The earth too was wet with his blood, because after the deed was done the villains had laid him face downwards on the pavement to make it seem as if he had died of hæmorrhage. The chief agent in the crime was taken, tortured, and confessed his guilt. Would that I could say that our friend was altogether undeserving of his fate. But he who thus pries into forbidden mysteries, deviates from the safe rule of the Catholic faith, and while he is using unlawful arts must not complain if he is answered by some great calamity.'

7. ROMAN LIFE. *The Oppressive Governor*<sup>1</sup>.

'Sidonius wishes health to his friend Pannychius.

'If you have not already heard that Seronatus is returning from Toulouse, let this letter inform you of the fact. Already Evanthius<sup>2</sup> is on his way to Clausetia, and is forcing people to clear away the rubbish

<sup>1</sup> Ep. v. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Some subordinate official under Seronatus.



from the works that have been let out on contract, and to remove the fallen leaves from his path<sup>1</sup>. Poor man! if there is an uneven surface anywhere, he himself, with trembling hand, brings earth to fill up the trenches, going before the beast whom he is escorting from the valley of Tarmis, like the little mussels who pioneer the mighty body of the whale through the shallow places and rocky channels of the sea.

‘Seronatus, however, as quick to wrath as he is unwieldy in bulk, like a dragon just rolled forth from his cave, comes towards us from the district of Gabala, whose inhabitants he leaves half dead with fright. This population, scattered into the country from their towns, he is now exhausting with unheard-of imposts<sup>2</sup>; now entangling them in the winding meshes of false accusations, and scarcely permitting the labourers at length to return home, when they have paid him a year’s tribute in advance. The sure and certain sign of his approaching advent is the gangs of unhappy prisoners who are dragged in chains to meet him. Their anguish is his joy, their hunger is his food, and he seems to think it an especially fine thing to degrade before he punishes them, making the men grow their hair long, and the women cut theirs. If any here and there meet with a chance pardon, it will be due to a bribe, or to his flattered vanity, but never to compassion.

‘But to set forth all the proceedings of such a beast would exhaust the rhetoric of a Cicero and the poetry of a Virgil. Therefore, since it is said that this pest is approaching us, (whose ravages may God guard us from!) do you forestall the disease by the counsels of

<sup>1</sup> Translation doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Indictionibus.’

BOOK III.  
CH. 3.           prudence ; compromise your lawsuits if you have any ; get security for your arrears of tribute ; do not let the wicked man have any opportunity of hurting the good, or of laying them under an obligation. In fine, do you wish to hear what I think of Seronatus ? Others fear his fines and his punishments : to me the so-called benefits of the robber seem even more to be dreaded.'

We do not know what was the subsequent history of this oppressive governor, nor how long the crushed provincials had to endure his yoke. In another letter<sup>1</sup> Sidonius speaks of him as 'the Catiline of our age, fawning on the barbarians, trampling on the Romans, joking in Church, preaching at the banquet, passing sentence in bed, sleeping on the judgment-seat ; every day crowding the woods with fugitives, the villas with barbarians, the altars with criminals, the prisons with clergymen ; insulting prefects, and conniving at the frauds of revenue-officers, treading under foot the laws of Theodosius, and exalting those of Theodoric' [the Visigoth], 'every day bringing forth old accusations and new exactions.' And he states in conclusion that if Anthemius, the then reigning Emperor, affords them no assistance against the tyranny of Seronatus, 'the nobility of Auvergne have resolved to sacrifice either their country or their hair,' that is, to retire either into exile or into monasteries.

#### 8. ROMAN LIFE. *The Country Magnate*<sup>2</sup>.

'Sidonius wishes health to his friend Industrius.

'I have just been visiting the Right Honourable Vectius<sup>3</sup>, and have studied his actions at my leisure, and

<sup>1</sup> Ep. ii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. iv. 9.

<sup>3</sup> 'Vectio illustri viro.'

from close quarters. I think the result of my investigations is worth recording. In the first place I will mention what I consider the highest praise of all; the house and its master both exist in an atmosphere of unsullied purity. His slaves are useful; his rural<sup>1</sup> labourers well-mannered, courteous, friendly, obedient, and contented with their patron. His table is as ready to welcome the guest as the retainer; his civility is great, and yet greater his sobriety.

‘Another and less important matter is that he of whom I speak is inferior to none in the arts of breaking horses, training dogs, and managing falcons. There is the utmost neatness in his raiment, elegance in his girdles, and splendour in his accoutrements. His walk is dignified, his disposition serious: the former well maintains his private dignity, the latter is set upon preserving public faith. He is equally removed from spoiling indulgence and from bloody punishments, and there is a certain austerity in his character, which is stern without being gloomy<sup>2</sup>. Moreover he is a diligent reader of the sacred volumes, with which he often refreshes his mind while in the act of taking food for the body. He frequently peruses the Psalms, and yet more frequently chants them, and thus, in a novel fashion, acts the monk, not under the habit of a recluse, but under the uniform of a general<sup>3</sup>. He abstains from game, though he consents to hunt, and thus, with a delicate and unobtrusive religiousness, he

<sup>1</sup> *Rustici*. These are evidently the *coloni*, free-born, yet dependent on their *patronus*, the precursors of the villeins ‘*adscripti glebae*’ of later centuries.

<sup>2</sup> ‘*Quae non sit tetra sed tetrica*,’ an untranslatable pun.

<sup>3</sup> ‘*Non sub palliolo sed sub paludamento*.’

BOOK III. uses the processes of the chase but denies himself its  
 CH. 3. produce.

‘ One only daughter was left to him on her mother’s death as the solace of his widowerhood, and her he cherishes with the tenderness of a grandfather, the assiduity of a mother, and the kindness of a father. As to his relations towards his household, when he is giving orders he “forbeareth threatening ;” when he receives their advice he does not spurn it from him as valueless ; when he discovers a fault he is not too persistent in tracing it ; and thus he rules the state and condition of those who are subject to him, more as a judge than as a master ; you would think that he rather administered his house as a trust than owned it as an absolute possession.

‘ When I perceived all this industry and moderation in such a man, I thought it would be for the common good that the knowledge of it should be thoroughly and widely spread abroad. To follow such a life, and not merely to don a particular [monastic] habit, whereby the present age is often grievously imposed upon, would be a useful incitement for all the men of our profession’ [the clerical]. ‘ For—let me say it without offending my own order—when a private individual shows such excellent qualities as these, I admire a priest-like layman more than a priest himself. Farewell.’

9. ROMAN LIFE. *The Juvenile Sexagenarian*<sup>1</sup>.

[This letter is addressed to the subject of the preceding one.]

‘ Sidonius wishes health to his friend Vectius.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. iv. 13.

‘Lately, at the request of the Hon.<sup>1</sup> Germanicus, I inspected the church of Cantilla.

BOOK III.  
CH. 3.

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‘He himself is certainly one of the most noteworthy men of the district, for although he has already put sixty years behind him, every day, in dress and manners, he becomes, I will not say more like a young man, but actually more boyish. His robe is closely girt around him, his buskin tight-laced, his hair is cut so as to make it look like a wheel, his beard is cropped close to the chin by pincers which pierce to the bottom of each fold of his skin. Moreover, by the blessing of Providence, his limbs are still strongly knit, his sight is perfect, he has a firm and rapid gait, in his gums there is an untouched array of milk-white teeth. With no weakness in his stomach, no tendency to inflammation in his veins, no perturbation of his heart, no distress in breathing, no stiffness in his loins, no congestion of his liver, no flabbiness in his hand, no bending of his spine, but endowed with all the health of youth, he claims nothing that belongs to age but reverence.

‘In consideration of all these peculiar benefits which he has received from God, I beg you, as his friend and neighbour, and one whose example justly exerts a great influence over him, to persuade him not to trust too much in these uncertain possessions, nor to cherish an overweening confidence in his own immunity from disease; but rather to make a decided profession of religion, and so become strong in the might of renewed innocence. Let him thus, while old in years, be new in merit; and since there is scarcely any one who is devoid of hidden faults, let him openly show his penitence and give satisfaction for those wrong things

<sup>1</sup> ‘Spectabilis viri.’

BOOK III. CH. 3. which he has committed in secret. For a man in his position, the father of a priest and the son of a bishop, unless he lead a holy life himself, is like a briar, rough, prickly and unlovely in the midst of roses, from which it has sprung, and which it has itself produced.'

10. ROMAN LIFE. *Teachers and Pupils,  
Masters and Slaves*<sup>1</sup>.

'Sidonius wishes health to his friends Simplicius and Apollinaris.

'Good God<sup>2</sup>! how do the emotions of our minds resemble a sea strewn with shipwrecks, the tempests which sweep over them being the evil tidings which messengers sometimes bring to us. A little while ago I was, together with your son<sup>3</sup>, Simplicius! revelling in the delicate wit of the Hecyra of Terence. I sat beside the young student forgetting my clerical profession in the delight which the human nature of the play afforded me. In order that I might help him to follow the flow of the comic verses more easily, I kept before me a story with a similar plot, the Epitrepontes of Menander. We read at the same pace, we praised our authors, we laughed over their jokes, and, according to

<sup>1</sup> Ep. iv. 12.

<sup>2</sup> 'Deus bone!' Sidonius is very fond of this exclamation. If it was especially affected by the Christians of Gaul, it may help to explain the frequency of the French 'Bon Dieu!'

<sup>3</sup> This is how I understand the expression 'ego filiusque communis.' We know from one of Sidonius' letters (v. 4) that the sons of Simplicius studied as pupils with him. He complains that on account of his too great kindness to them at first, they did not treat him with proper respect.

our respective tastes, he was captivated by the reading, and I by his intelligence.

‘ Suddenly there stood by my side a slave of my household, pulling a very long face. “What is the matter?” said I. “I have just seen,” said he, “at the gate the reader<sup>1</sup> Constans, returning from my lords Simplicius and Apollinaris; he says that he delivered your letters to them, but has lost the replies which were entrusted to his care.” When I heard this the calm, bright sky of my gladness was overspread with a cloud of sorrow, and so much was my bile stirred by the untoward intelligence thus brought me, that for many days I inexorably forbade that most stupid Mercury to venture into my presence. For I should have been vexed if he had lost any ordinary letters entrusted to him by anybody, but how much more, yours, which, so long as my mind retains its vigour, will always be deemed least common and most desirable.

‘ However, after my anger had gradually abated with the lapse of time, I enquired of him whether he had brought me any verbal message from you. Trembling and prostrate before me, stammering and half-blind with the consciousness of his offence, he answered that all those thoughts of yours, by which I had hoped to be charmed and instructed, were committed to those unlucky letters which had disappeared on the way.

‘ Go back therefore, dear friends, to your tablets<sup>2</sup>, unfold your parchments and write over again what you wrote before. For I cannot bear with equanimity

<sup>1</sup> The slave who was called *Lector* was apparently also the letter-carrier.

<sup>2</sup> *Pugillares*, the little wax-covered tablets, meant to hold in the hand, upon which hasty memoranda were inscribed.

BOOK III. this unlucky failure of my hopes unless I know that  
 CH. 3. you are assured that your written speech has never  
 reached me. Fare you well.'

11. ROMAN LIFE. *Husbands and Wives, Parents  
 and Children*<sup>1</sup>.

'Sidonius wishes health to his wife Papianilla.

'The quaestor Licinianus, who has just arrived from Ravenna, as soon as he had crossed the Alps and touched the soil of Gaul, sent letters forward to announce his arrival, stating that he was the bearer of an imperial ordinance, bestowing the honour of the Patriate on your brother and mine Ecdicius<sup>2</sup>, whose titles will rejoice you as much as mine. This honour comes very early if you consider his age, though very late if you look to his merits. For he has long ago paid the price for his new dignity, not with gold but with steel, and though a private individual, has enriched the treasury, not with money, but with trophies of war.

'This debt, however, under which your brother, by his noble labours, laid the Emperor Anthemius, has now been honourably discharged by his successor Julius Nepos, a man whose character, no less than the success of his arms, entitles us to hail him as Supreme Augustus. The promptitude of the act makes it all the more praiseworthy, for one Emperor has at once done what the other a hundred times promised to do. Henceforward, therefore, our best men may with joyful certainty spend their strength in the service of the

<sup>1</sup> Ep. v. 16. This letter was written in 475. Sidonius was probably at Lyons; his wife at Auvergne.

<sup>2</sup> Ecdicius had done good service in defending Auvergne against the Visigoths.



Commonwealth, knowing that even if the Emperor dies, the Imperial Dignity will faithfully perform every promise by which their devotion has been quickened. BOOK III.  
CH. 3.

‘Meanwhile you, if I rightly read your affectionate heart, will derive, even in these gloomy times, great solace from these tidings, and will not be diverted from sharing in our common joy even by the terrors of the siege which is going on so near you. For I know right well that not even my honours, which you legally share, will bring you so much gladness as this intelligence; since though you are a good wife you are also the best of sisters. Wherefore I have made haste to inform you in this congratulatory letter, of the augmented dignity which, through the favour of Christ our God<sup>1</sup>, has been bestowed upon your line, and thus I have at the same time satisfied your anxiety and your brother’s modesty, to which, and not to any want of affection on his part, you must attribute his silence respecting this promotion.

‘For myself, great as is my rejoicing at the added honours of your family for which you have hitherto sighed impatiently, I rejoice even more at the harmony which reigns between Ecdicius and me. And I pray that this harmony may continue as the heritage of our children, for whom I put up this prayer in common, that even as we two have, by God’s favour, added the Patrician dignity to the Praefectorial rank which we inherited from our fathers, so they may yet further enhance it by the office of Consul<sup>2</sup>.

‘Roscia<sup>3</sup>, our common charge, salutes you. Favoured

<sup>1</sup> ‘Propitio Deo Christo.’

<sup>2</sup> This gradation of ranks, Familia Praefectoria, Patritia, Consularis, is worth noticing.

<sup>3</sup> His daughter.

BOOK III. above most other grand-children, she is fondled in the  
 CH. 3. kindest embraces of her grandmother and aunts, while  
 at the same time she is being strictly trained, and  
 thereby her tender age is not rendered infirm while her  
 mind is healthily informed<sup>1</sup>. Farewell.'

12. ROMAN LIFE. *Debtor and Creditor. The  
 Courtier turned devout*<sup>2</sup>.

'Sidonius wishes health to his friend Turnus.

'Well indeed with your name, and with your present  
 business, harmonises that passage of the Mantuan  
 poet—

'Turnus! what never god would dare  
 To promise to his suppliant's prayer,  
 Lo, here, the lapse of time has brought  
 E'en to your hands, unasked, unsought<sup>3</sup>.'

Long ago, if you remember, your [late] father Turpio, a man of tribunician rank, obtained a loan of money from an officer of the palace named Maximus. He deposited no security either in plate or in mortgage on land; but as appears by the written instrument prepared at the time, he covenanted to pay twelve<sup>4</sup> per cent. to the lender, by which interest, as the loan has lasted for ten years, the debt is more than doubled. But your father fell sick, and was at the point of death: in his feeble state of health the law came down

<sup>1</sup> 'Tenerum non infirmatur aevum sed informatur ingenium.'

<sup>2</sup> Ep. iv. 24. It will be seen that Sidonius plays upon the name of his correspondent, which recalls the antagonist of Aeneas.

<sup>3</sup> Aeneid ix. 6, 7 (Conington's translation).

<sup>4</sup> 'Cauta centesima est foeneratori.' Interest, by the Romans, was reckoned monthly; and this expression, therefore, means one per cent. per month, or twelve per annum.

upon him harshly to compel him to refund the debt : he could not bear the annoyance caused by the Collectors <sup>BOOK III.</sup> <sup>CH. 3.</sup> <sup>1,</sup> and therefore, as I was about to travel to Toulouse, he, being now past hope of recovery, wrote asking me to obtain from the creditor, at least, some moderate delay. I gladly acceded to his request, as Maximus was not only an acquaintance of mine, but bound to me by old ties of hospitality. I therefore willingly went out of my way to my friend's villa, though it was situated several miles from the high-road. As soon as I arrived he himself came to meet me. When I had known him in times past he was erect in his bearing, quick in his gait, with cheery voice and open countenance. Now how greatly was he changed from his old self! His dress, his step, his bashfulness, his colour, his speech, all had a religious cast : besides, his hair was short, his beard flowing : the furniture of his room consisted of three-legged stools, curtains of goat's hair <sup>2</sup> canvas hung before his doors : his couch had no feathers, his table no ornament ; ven his hospitality, though kind, was frugal, and there was pulse rather than meat upon his board. Certainly, if any delicacies were admitted, they were not by way of indulgence to himself, but to his guests. When he rose from table I privily enquired of his attendants what manner of life was this that he was leading, a monk's, a clergyman's, or a penitent's. They said that he was filling the office of priest which had been lately laid upon him by the goodwill of his fellow-citizens, notwithstanding his protests.

‘ When day returned, while our slaves and followers

<sup>1</sup> ‘ Exsecutorum ; ’ as we should say, ‘ the sheriff's officers.’

<sup>2</sup> ‘ Cilicium,’ the kind of fabric that St. Paul used to manufacture.

were occupied in catching our beasts of burden, I asked for an opportunity for a secret conversation with our host. He afforded it: I gave him an unexpected embrace, and congratulated him on his new dignity: then with my congratulations I blended entreaties. I set forth the petition of my friend Turpio, I urged his necessitous condition, I deplored the extremities to which he was reduced, extremities which seemed all the harder to his sorrowing friends because the chain of usury was tightening, while the hold of the body upon the soul was loosening. Then I begged him to remember his new profession and our old friendship, to moderate, at least, by a short respite the barbarous insistence of the bailiffs barking round the sick man's bed; if he died, to give his heirs one year in which to indulge their grief without molestation; but if, as I hoped, Turpio should recover his former health, to allow him to restore his exhausted energies by a period of repose.

'I was still pleading, when suddenly the kind-hearted man burst into a flood of tears, caused not by the delay in recovering his debt, but by the peril of his debtor. Then suppressing his sobs, "God forbid," said he, "that I as a clergyman should claim that from a sick man which I should scarcely have insisted upon as a soldier from a man in robust health. For his children's sake too, who are also objects of my pity, if anything should happen to our friend, I will not ask anything more from them than the character of my sacred calling allows. Write then to allay their anxiety, and that your letters may obtain the more credit, add a letter from me in which I will engage that whatever be the result of this illness (which we will still hope

may turn out favourably for our brother) I will grant a year's delay for the payment of the money, and will forego all that moiety which has accrued by right of interest, being satisfied with the simple repayment of the principal."

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'Hereupon I poured out my chief thanks to God, but great thanks also to my host who showed such care for his own conscience and good name: and I assured my friend that whatsoever he relinquished to you he was sending on before him into heaven, and that by refraining from selling up your father's farms, he was buying for himself a kingdom above.

'Now, for what remains, do you bestir yourself to repay forthwith the principal at least of the loan, and thus take the best means of expressing the gratitude of those who, linked to you by the tie of brotherhood, haply by reason of their tender years, scarcely yet understand what a boon has been granted them. Do not begin to say, "I have joint-heirs in the estate: the division is not yet accomplished: all the world knows that I have been more shabbily treated than they: my brother and sister are still under age: she has not yet a husband, nor he a *curator*, nor is a surety found for the acts and defaults of that *curator*." All these pretexts are alleged to all creditors, and to unreasonable creditors they are not alleged amiss. But when you have to deal with a person of this kind who foregoes the half when he might press for the whole, if you practise any of these delays you give him a right to re-demand as an injured man the concessions which he made as a good-natured one. Farewell.'

From these glimpses of the social life of the Roman

BOOK III. Provincials in the middle of the fifth century, we turn  
 CH. 3. — to consider what light of a similar kind the correspondence of Sidonius throws on the internal history of the Barbarians with whom he was brought in contact. His first description is kindly and appreciative: so much so, that it has been conjectured that it was meant to be shown to the gratified subject of the portrait. In his other character-sketches of the Barbarians, as we shall find, the shallow contempt of the heir of civilisation for the untutored children of Nature is more distinctly visible.

### 13. BARBARIAN LIFE. *The Visigothic King*<sup>1</sup>.

‘Sidonius wishes health to [his brother-in-law] Agricola.

‘You have many times asked me to write to you a letter describing the bodily appearance and manner of life of Theodoric<sup>2</sup>, king of the Goths, whose love for our civilisation is justly reported by common fame. I willingly accede to your request, so far as the limits of my paper will allow, and I praise the noble and delicate anxiety for information which you have thus exhibited.

‘Theodoric is “a noticeable man,” one who would at once attract attention even from those who casually beheld him, so richly have the will of God and the plan of nature endowed his person with gifts corre-

<sup>1</sup> Ep. i. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Theodoric II, son of the veteran who fell at the battle in the Mauriac plains, ascended the throne in 453, having won the crown by the murder of his brother Thorismund, and was himself slain by order of his brother and successor Euric, 466. The letter is a difficult one, and I have therefore translated it more literally than usual.

sponding to his completed prosperity. His character is such that not even the detraction which waits on kings can lessen the praises bestowed upon it<sup>1</sup>. If you enquire as to his bodily shape, he has a well-knit frame, shorter than the very tallest, but rising above men of middle stature. His head is round and dome-like, his curling hair retreats a little from the forehead towards the top. He is not bull-necked<sup>2</sup>. A shaggy arch of eyebrows crowns his eyes; but if he droops his eye-lids the lashes seem to fall well-nigh to the middle of his cheeks<sup>3</sup>. The lobes of his ears, after the fashion of his nation, are covered by wisps of over-lying hair. His nose is most beautifully curved; his lips are thin, and are not enlarged when the angles of his mouth are dilated<sup>4</sup>: if by chance they open and show a regular, but rather prominent set of teeth, they at once remind you of the colour of milk. He cuts every day the hairs which grow at the bottom of his nostrils. At his temples, which are somewhat hollowed out, begins a shaggy beard, which in the lower part of his face is plucked out by the roots by the assiduous care of his barber. His chin, his throat, his neck, all fleshy without obesity, are covered with a milk-white skin, which when more closely inspected, is covered with a youthful glow. For it is modesty, not anger, which so often brings this colour into his face.

<sup>1</sup> Did Sidonius not believe in Theodoric's participation in the conspiracy against Thorismund, or had he forgotten, or did he deliberately ignore it?

<sup>2</sup> (?) 'Cervix non sedet nervis.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Si vero cilia flectantur, ad malas medias palpebrarum margo prope pervenit.' (!)

<sup>4</sup> This is questionable sense, but what is the meaning of the Latin 'Labra subtilia, nec dilatatis oris angulis ampliata'?

‘His shoulders are well-turned, his arms powerful, his fore-arms hard, his hands wide-spread: he is a well set-up man, with chest prominent and stomach drawn in. You can trace on the surface of his back the points where the ribs terminate in the deeply recessed spine. His sides are swollen out with prominent muscles. Strength reigns in his well-girded loins. His thigh is hard as horn: the leg joints have a very masculine appearance: his knee, which shows but few wrinkles, is especially comely. The legs rest upon full round calves, and two feet of very moderate size support these mighty limbs<sup>1</sup>.

‘You will ask, perhaps, what is the manner of his daily life in public. It is this. Before dawn he attends the celebration of divine service by his [Arian] priests, attended by a very small retinue. He shows great assiduity in this practice, though if you are admitted to his confidence you may perceive that it is with him rather a matter of habit than of religious feeling. The rest of the morning is devoted to the care of the administration of his kingdom. Armed nobles<sup>2</sup> stand round his chair: the crowd of skin-clothed guards are admitted to the palace in order to ensure their being on duty; they are kept aloof from the royal presence that their noise may not disturb him, and so their

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon points out that this curiously minute appraisalment of the bodily frame of Theodoric was composed by an author and perused by readers who had probably frequented the markets where naked slaves were exposed for sale. It is such a singular indication of the kind of flattery which a Roman provincial thought it prudent to bring to a barbarian king, that I have not thought it desirable to curtail it.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Circumsistit sellam comes armiger.’ The term ‘circumsistit’ seems to require the plural meaning. It is impossible to render the exact force of *comes*, not yet fully developed into the feudal ‘Count,’ but certainly more than ‘Companion.’



growling talk goes on before the doors, shut out as they are by the curtain, though shut in by the railings<sup>1</sup>. Within the enclosure are admitted the ambassadors of foreign powers: he hears them at great length, he answers in few words. In negotiation his tendency is to delay, in action to promptitude.

‘It is now the second hour after sunrise: he rises from his throne and spends his leisure in inspecting his treasury or his stables. If a hunting day is announced, he rides forth, not carrying his bow by his side—that would be beneath his kingly dignity—but if in the chase, or on the road, you point out to him beast or bird within shooting distance, his hand is at once stretched out behind him and the slave puts into it the bow with its string floating in the air, for he deems it a womanish thing to have your bow strung for you by another, and a childish thing to carry it in a case. When he has received it, sometimes he bends the two ends towards one another in his hand, sometimes he lets the unknotted end drop to his heel, and then with quickly moving finger tightens the loose knot of the wandering string<sup>2</sup>. Then he takes the arrows, fits them in, sends them forth, first desiring you to tell him what mark you wish him to aim at. You choose what he has to hit, and he hits it. If there is a mistake made by either party, it is more often the sight of the chooser than the aim of the archer that is at fault.

<sup>1</sup> ‘*Cancelli*,’ the lattice-work partition which marked off the royal precincts, whence ‘*cancellarius*,’ the door-keeper, and our Lord High *Chancellor*: also the chancel of a church.

<sup>2</sup> ‘*Igitur acceptum modo insinuatis e regione capitibus intendit, modo ad talum pendulum, nodi parte conversâ, languentem chordae laqueum vagantis digito superlabente prosequitur.*’ I cannot pretend to translate this obscure passage quite literally.

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‘If you are asked to join him in the banquet, which, however, on non-festal days, is like the entertainment of a private person, you will not see there the panting servants laying on the groaning table a tasteless heap of discoloured silver. The weight then is to be found in the conversation rather than in the plate, since all the guests, if they talk of anything at all, talk of serious matters. The tapestry<sup>1</sup> and curtains are sometimes of purple [cloth], sometimes of cotton. The meats on the table please you, not by their high price, but by the skill with which they are cooked, the silver by its brightness, not by its weight. The cups and goblets are so seldom replenished that you are more likely to complain of thirst than to be accused of drunkenness. In short, you may see there Greek elegance, Gallic abundance, Italian quickness, the pomp of a public personage, the assiduity of a private citizen, the discipline of a king’s household. Of the luxury which is displayed on high-days and holidays<sup>2</sup> I need not give you any account, because it cannot be unknown even to the most unknown persons. Let me return to my task.

‘The noontide slumber, when the meal is ended, is never long, and is frequently omitted altogether. Often at this time he takes a fancy to play at backgammon<sup>3</sup>: then he collects the counters quickly, views them anxiously, decides on his moves skilfully, makes them promptly, talks to the counters jocularly, waits his turn patiently. At a good throw he says nothing, at a

<sup>1</sup> ‘Toreuma;’ literally, ‘work executed in relief,’ ‘embossed with the needle.’ Perhaps it should be rendered ‘cushions.’

<sup>2</sup> ‘De luxu sabbatario,’ opposed to ‘diebus profestis.’

<sup>3</sup> ‘Tabula.’

bad one he laughs ; neither good nor bad makes him lose his temper or his philosophical equanimity. He does not like a speculative game either on the part of his adversary or himself, dislikes a lucky chance offered to himself, and will not reckon on its being offered to his opponent. You get your men out of his table without unnecessary trouble, he gets his out of yours without collusion<sup>1</sup>. You would fancy that even in moving his counters he was planning a campaign. His sole anxiety is to conquer.

‘When a game is on hand, he drops for a little time the severity of royal etiquette, and invites his companions in play, to free and social intercourse. To tell you what I think, *he fears to be feared*. At the end he is delighted to see the vexation of a conquered rival, and takes credit to himself for having really won the game, when his opponent’s ill-temper shows that he has not yielded out of courtesy. And here notice a strange thing : often that very complacency of his, arising from such a trifling cause, ensures the successful carriage of serious business. Then petitions, which have well-nigh been shipwrecked by the injudiciousness of those who favoured them, suddenly find a harbour of safety. In this way, I myself, when I have had somewhat to ask of him, have been fortunate enough to be beaten, and have seen my table ruined with a light heart, because I knew that my cause would triumph.

‘About the ninth hour [3 o’clock] comes back again all that weary turmoil of kingship. The suitors return, the guards return whose business it is to remove them. Everywhere you hear the hum of claimants, and this is protracted till nightfall, and only ceases when it is cut

<sup>1</sup> ‘Sine motu evaditur, sine colludio evadit.’

BOOK III. short by the royal supper. Then the petitioners, follow-  
 CH. 3. ing their various patrons, are dispersed throughout the palace, where they keep watch till bedtime arrives. At the supper sometimes, though rarely, comic actors are introduced who utter their satiric pleasantries: in such fashion, however, that none of the guests shall be wounded by their biting tongues. At these repasts no hydraulic organs blow, no band of vocalists under the guidance of a singing-master intone together their premeditated harmony. No harpist, no flute-player, no choir-master, no female player on the tambourine or the cithara, makes melody. The king is charmed only by those instruments under whose influence virtue soothes the soul as much as sweet sounds soothe the ear. When he rises from table the royal treasury receives its sentinels for the night, and armed men stand at all the entrances to the palace, by whom the hours of his first sleep will be watched over.

‘But what has all this to do with my promise, which was to tell you a little about the king, not a great deal about his manner of reigning? I really must bid my pen to stop, for you did not ask to be made acquainted with anything more than the personal appearance and favourite pursuits of Theodoric: and I sat down to write a letter, not a history. Farewell.’

#### 14. BARBARIAN LIFE. *Syagrius and his Germanic neighbours*<sup>1</sup>.

‘Sidonius wishes health to his friend Syagrius.

‘As you are grandson of a Consul, and that on the

<sup>1</sup> Ep. v. 5. The Syagrius, upon whose relations to his German neighbours this strange side-light is thrown by a letter from Sidonius,

paternal side, as you are sprung (which is more to our present purpose) from a poetic stock, descended from men who would have earned statues by their poems if they had not earned them by their services to the state, all which is shown by those verses of your ancestors which the present generation studies with unimpaired interest,—as these are your antecedents, I cannot describe my astonishment at the ease with which you have mastered the German tongue. I remember that in your boyhood you were well trained in liberal studies, and I am informed that you often declaimed before a professional orator with force and eloquence. But since this is the case, pray tell me whence your soul has suddenly imbibed the oratory of an alien race, so that you who had the phraseology of Virgil flogged into you at school, you who sweated over the long and stately sentences of Cicero, now swoop down upon us like a young falcon from the German language as though that were your old eyrie.

‘You cannot imagine how I and all your other friends laugh when we hear that even the barbarian is afraid to talk his own language before you lest he should make a slip in his grammar<sup>1</sup>. When you are interpreting their letters, the old men of Germany, bent with age, stand in open-mouthed wonder, and in their transactions with one another they voluntarily choose you for arbitrator and judge. A new Solon when you have to discuss the laws of the Burgundians, a new

is apparently the same person as the son of Aegidius, the so-called ‘Roman King of Soissons,’ whose defeat in 486 was one of the first steps in the upward career of Clovis.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Te praesente formidet facere linguae suae barbarus barbarismum.’

BOOK III.  
CH. 8. Amphion when you have to evoke music from their three-stringed lyre, you are loved and courted, you please, you decree, you are obeyed. And though the barbarians are equally stiff and lumpish in body and mind, yet in you they learn and love the speech of their fathers, the disposition of a Roman.

‘It only now remains for you, oh most brilliant of wits, to bestow any spare time which may still be yours on reading [Latin], and so to retain that elegance of style which you now possess. Thus while you preserve your Latin that we may not laugh at you, you will practise your German that you may be able to laugh at us. Farewell.’

15. BARBARIAN LIFE. *Roman Intriguers at the Burgundian Court*<sup>1</sup>.

A young kinsman of Sidonius, also named Apollinaris, had been brought into some danger through the calumnies of informers who represented to the Burgundian prince Chilperic that he was secretly plotting for the surrender of Vaison, a border fortress, to ‘the new Emperor,’ Julius Nepos.

Sidonius writes concerning these informers to Thaumastus, the brother of the calumniated man, with sympathetic indignation.

‘These are the men, as you have often heard me say, under whose villanies our country groans, longing for the more merciful barbarians. These are the men before whom even the great tremble. These are they whose peculiar province it appears to be to bring calumnious accusations, to carry off men from their

<sup>1</sup> Ep. v. 7.

homes, to frighten them with threats, to pillage their substance. These are the men who in idleness boast of their business, in peace of their plunder, in war of their clever escapes, in their cups of victories. These are they who procrastinate your lawsuit if you engage them, who get it postponed if you pass them by, who are annoyed if you remind them of their engagement, and forget it—after taking your fee—if you do not. . . . These are the men who envy quiet citizens their tranquillity, soldiers their pay, post-masters their tariffs, merchants their markets, ambassadors their functions, tax-farmers their tolls, the provincials their farms, the burgesses their guild-dinners<sup>1</sup>, the cashiers their weights, the registrars their measures, the scribes their salaries, the accountants their fees, the guards their largesse, the cities their repose, the publicans their taxes, the clergy their reverence, the nobles their birth, their betters their precedence, their equals their equality, the officials their power, the ex-officials their privileges, the learners their schools, the teachers their stipends, the taught their knowledge.

‘These are the men drunken with new wealth, who by the vulgar display of their possessions show how little they are accustomed to ownership, the men who go in full armour to a banquet, in white robes to a funeral, in hides to church, in black to a wedding, in beaver-skin to the litany. No set of men suits them, no time seems to hit their humour. In the market they are very Scythians, in the bed-chamber they are vipers, at the banquet buffoons, in confiscations harpies,

<sup>1</sup> *Flaminia*, literally ‘their priesthoods.’ But probably these old heathen dignities were only kept up for the sake of some convivial practices connected with them.

in conversation statues, in argument brute-beasts, in business snails, in enforcing a contract usurers. They are stone if you want them to understand, fire if they have to judge, quick to wrath, slow to pardon, panthers in their friendship, bears in their fun, foxes in their deceit, bulls in their pride, Minotaurs in their rapacity.

‘Their firmest hopes are founded on the uncertainties of the times ; they love to fish in troubled waters ; yet fearful both from natural cowardice and from an uneasy conscience, while they are lions at court they are hares in the camp, and are afraid of a truce lest they should be made to disgorge, of war lest they should have to fight.’

The good bishop's invective rolls on still through some sentences, which need not be inflicted on the reader. Though well-nigh out of breath with following Sidonius' headlong rhetoric, he may still have gathered from it the important fact that the chief instruments of such oppression as was practised by the barbarian invaders upon the provincials were men who were themselves of Roman origin.

#### 16. BARBARIAN LIFE. *The physique of the Burgundians.*

While our poet was residing at Lyons (apparently) he was asked by one of his friends, an ex-consul named Catulinus, to compose an epithalamium, perhaps for his daughter's marriage.

In a short, humorous poem of apology Sidonius incidentally touches off some of the physical characteristics of the Burgundians, by whom he was surrounded, and who, it is important to observe, troubled him, not by



their hostility, but by their too hearty and demonstrative friendship<sup>1</sup>. BOOK III.  
CH. 3.

‘ Ah me! my friend, why bid me, e’en if I had the power,  
To write the light Fescennine verse, fit for the nuptial bower?  
Do you forget that I am set among the long-haired hordes,  
That daily I am bound to bear the stream of German words,  
That I must hear, and then must praise with sorrowful grimace  
(Disgust and approbation both contending in my face),  
Whate’er the gormandising sons of Burgundy may sing,  
While they upon their yellow hair the rancid butter fling?

Now let me tell you what it is that makes my lyre be dumb:  
It cannot sound when all around barbarian lyres do hum.  
The sight of all those patrons tall (each one is seven foot high),  
From my poor Muse makes every thought of six-foot metres fly.  
Oh! happy are thine eyes, my friend: thine ears, how happy  
those!

And oh! thrice happy I would call thine undisgusted nose.  
’Tis not round thee that every morn ten talkative machines  
Exhale the smell of onions, leeks, and all their vulgar greens.  
There do not seek thy house, as mine, before the dawn of day,  
So many giants and so tall, so fond of trencher-play  
That scarce Alcinous himself, that hospitable king,  
Would find his kitchen large enough for the desires they bring.  
They do not, those effusive souls, declare they look on thee  
As father’s friend or foster-sire—but, alas! they do on me.

But stop, my Muse! pull up! be still! or else some fool will  
say

“Sidonius writes lampoons again<sup>2</sup>.” Don’t *you* believe them,  
pray!’

The tenor of these verses reminds us of an epigram<sup>3</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> Carm. xii. The metre of the original is hendecasyllabic.

<sup>2</sup> For the explanation of this allusion see Chap. 5.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Inter *hails* Goticum, *skapjam jam matjam jad driggkam*,  
Non audet quisquam dignos educere versus.  
Calliope madido trepidat se jungere Baccho  
Ne pedibus non stet ebria Musa suis.’

This epigram is quoted from the *Anthologia Latina* by Massmann and other editors of Ulfilas. It is valuable as containing four Gothic

BOOK III. unknown authorship, but composed probably in the  
 CH. 3. fifth century.

‘Round me the *hails* of the Goths, their *skapjam* and *matjam*  
 and *drinkam*,  
 Harshly resound: in such din who could fit verses indite?  
 Calliopé, sweet Muse, from the wine-wet embraces of Bacchus  
 Shrinks, lest her wavering feet bear her no longer aright.’

17. BARBARIAN LIFE. *The young Frankish  
 chief and his retinue*<sup>1</sup>.

‘Sidonius wishes health to his friend Domnitius.

‘You are fond of inspecting armour and armed men. What a pleasure it would be for you could you see the royal youth Sigismer, decked out like a suitor or a bridegroom, in all the bravery of his tribe, visiting the palace of his father-in-law, his own horse gorgeously caparisoned, other horses, laden with blazing gems, going before or following after him; and then, with a touch of modesty which was especially suitable to his circumstances, in the midst of his outriders and rear-guard, he himself walked on foot, in crimson robe with burnished golden ornaments and white silken mantle, his ruddy cheeks, his golden hair, his milk-white skin repeating in his person those three colours of his dress. Of all the petty kings and confederates who accompanied him, the appearance was terrible

words—*hails*, ‘your health’ (the drinking shout, also found in ‘was-sail’); *skapjan*, ‘to make or frame;’ *matjan*, ‘to eat;’ *drinkan*, ‘to drink,’ together with *jah*, the Gothic ‘and,’ which takes at the end by assimilation the letter of the following word.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. iv. 20. The assignment of a Frankish nationality to Sigismer is only a probable conjecture. Domnitius or Domnicus, the correspondent to whom this letter is addressed, is the enthusiastic dice-player of the first letter. (See p. 322.)

even in their peaceful garb; they had the lower part of the foot down to the heel bound about with boots of bristly ox-leather, while their knees and their calves were without covering. Above, they had garments coming high up the neck, tight-girdled, woven of various colours, scarcely approaching their bare legs; their sleeves draped only the beginning of their arms, they had green cloaks adorned with purple fringes; their swords, depending from their shoulders by baldrics, pressed in to their sides the reindeer's skins<sup>1</sup>, which were fastened by a round clasp. As for that part of their adornments which was also a defence, their right hands held hooked lances and battle-axes for throwing, their left sides were overshadowed by round shields whose lustre, silvery at the outer circumference and golden at the central boss, declared the wealth as well as the taste of the wearers. All was so ordered that this wedding procession suggested the thought of Mars not less emphatically than of Venus.

'But why spend so many words on the subject? All that was wanting to the show was your presence. For when I remembered that you were not looking upon a sight which it would have so delighted you to behold, I translated your feelings into my own, and longed for you as impatiently as you would have longed for the spectacle. Farewell.'

It is interesting, but somewhat perplexing, to observe that some of the details of the dress of these undoubtedly Teutonic warriors would fit equally well with the Celtic Highlanders of Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> The 'rheno,' or reindeer's skin, seems to have answered the same purpose as the 'waterproof' of modern civilisation, and, like it, when not actually in use, would be rolled up and slung over the shoulder.

18. BARBARIAN LIFE. *The Saxon Sea-rovers*<sup>1</sup>.

At the end of a long letter, written by Sidonius to his friend Nammatus, after dull compliments and duller banter, we suddenly find flashed upon us this life-like picture, by a contemporary hand, of the brothers and cousins of the men, if not of the very men themselves who had fought at Aylesford under Hengest and Horsa, or who were slowly winning the kingdom of the South Saxons.

‘Behold, when I was on the point of concluding this epistle in which I have already chattered on too long, a messenger suddenly arrived from Saintonge with whom I have spent some hours in conversing about you and your doings, and who constantly affirms that you have just sounded your trumpet on board the fleet, and that, combining the duties of a sailor and a soldier, you are roaming along the winding shores of the Ocean, looking out for the curved pinnaces of the Saxons<sup>2</sup>. When you see the rowers of that nation you may at once make up your mind that every one of them is an arch-pirate; with such wonderful unanimity do all at once command, obey, teach, and learn their one chosen business of brigandage. For this reason I ought to warn you to be more than ever on your guard in this warfare. Your enemy is the most truculent of all enemies. Unexpectedly he attacks, when expected he escapes, he despises those who seek to block his path, he overthrows those who are off their guard, he

<sup>1</sup> Ep. viii. 6. In the early part of this letter Sidonius gives that description of the inaugural oration of Nicetius which has been already quoted. (See p. 306.)

<sup>2</sup> ‘Contra Saxonum pandos myoparones.’

always succeeds in cutting off the enemy whom he follows, while he never fails when he desires to effect his own escape. Moreover, to these men a shipwreck is capital practice rather than an object of terror. The dangers of the deep are to them, not casual acquaintances, but intimate friends. For since a tempest throws the invaded off their guard, and prevents the invaders from being descried from afar, they hail with joy the crash of waves on the rocks, which gives them their best chance of escaping from other enemies than the elements.

‘ Then again, before they raise the deep-biting anchor from the hostile soil, and set sail from the Continent for their own country, their custom is to collect the crowd of their prisoners together, by a mockery of equity to make them cast lots which of them shall undergo the iniquitous sentence of death, and then at the moment of departure to slay every tenth man so selected by crucifixion, a practice which is the more lamentable because it arises from a superstitious notion that they will thus ensure for themselves a safe return<sup>1</sup>. Purifying themselves as they consider by such sacrifices, polluting themselves as we deem by such deeds of sacrilege, they think the foul murders which they thus commit are acts of worship to their gods, and they glory in extorting cries of agony instead of ransoms from these doomed victims.

‘ Wherefore I am on your behalf distraught with many fears and various forebodings; though on the other hand I have immense incitements to hope, first,

<sup>1</sup> Compare with this statement the classical legend concerning the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis to procure favourable winds for the Grecian fleet.

because you are fighting under the banner of a victorious nation ; secondly, because I hold that the power of chance is limited over wise men, among whom you are rightly reckoned ; thirdly, because it is often when our friends at a distance are the safest that our hearts are filled with the most sinister presentiments regarding them. . . . .

‘I send you the *Libri Logistorici*<sup>1</sup> of Varro, and the *Chronology* of Eusebius, a kind of literary file with which, if you have any leisure amidst the cares of the camp, you may rub off some of the rust from your style after you have wiped the blood from your armour. Farewell.’

19. BARBARIAN LIFE. *The woman wrongfully enslaved.*

The following account of the captivity and bondage of a poor woman of Auvergne incidentally illustrates the troubled condition of Gaul, while it astonishes us by the legal doctrine contained in it. Apparently the maxim with which our own courts are familiar, that ‘a *bonâ-fide* purchaser of stolen property, without notice of the theft, may justify his holding,’ even applied to the most outrageous of all thefts, that of liberty ; and a woman wrongfully enslaved, but in the hands of a *bonâ-fide* purchaser, could not claim her freedom.

‘Sidonius wishes health to “Pope” Lupus<sup>2</sup>.

‘After that expression of homage which is endlessly

<sup>1</sup> A lost work, satirising the manners of the time.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. vi. 4. This is Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, the fascinator of Attila. (See p. 122.)

due, though it be unceasingly paid, to your incom- BOOK III.  
parably eminent Apostleship, I take advantage of our CH. 3.  
old friendship to set before you the new calamities of  
the humble bearers of this letter, who, after having  
undertaken a long journey, and at this time of the  
year, into the heart of Auvergne, have returned with  
no fruit of their labour. A woman who was nearly  
related to them was by chance carried off by an inroad  
of the Vargi<sup>1</sup>—a name borne by some local banditti—  
and was taken some years ago into your district and  
there sold. This they ascertained on indubitable evi-  
dence, and followed tardily but surely the indications  
which they had received. But in the meantime, before  
they arrived upon the scene, she, having been sold in  
market overt, was living as a household slave in the  
family of our friend the merchant<sup>2</sup>. A certain Prudens  
who, they say, is now living at Troyes, appeared to  
vouch for the contract of her sale, which was effected  
by men unknown to me, and his subscription, as  
that of a fit and proper witness<sup>3</sup>, is now shown  
attached to the deed of sale. You who are present  
on the spot will, from your exalted position, be easily  
able to test each link in this chain of wrongful acts.  
The affair is all the more criminal because, as I am  
informed by the bearers of this letter, one of the  
woman's fellow-travellers was actually killed when she  
was carried off.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently these were Teutonic depredators. *Vargs* is found in Old High German with the signification 'an outlaw,' and *vargitha* in the Gothic translation of the Bible by Ulfilas = 'condemnation' (Romans xiii. 2).

<sup>2</sup> 'Negotiatoris nostri,' apparently an allusion to some merchant known both to Sidonius and Lupus.

<sup>3</sup> Or guarantor, 'adstipulator.'

BOOK III.  
CH. 3.

‘But since the relations, who brood over this criminal affair, desire that your judgment should apply the remedy, I think it will be befitting both to your office and your character to devise some compromise whereby you may at the same time assist the grief of one party and the peril of the other. By some wise and well-considered sentence you may thus make the former less distressed, the latter less guilty, and both more secure; lest otherwise, such is the disturbed state of the times and the district, the affair go on to an end as fatal as was its beginning. Condescend to remember me, my lord Pope.’

20. BARBARIAN LIFE. *The ‘Levite’ of Auvergne*<sup>1</sup>.

Another illustration of the sufferings of the poorer inhabitants from the storms of barbarian conquest, is afforded by the following letter of intercession on behalf of a man of ‘the Levitical order.’ By this term Sidonius probably means to indicate a person who, though married, and working for his livelihood, filled (like Amantius the fortune-hunter) the office of *Lector* (reader) in the church.

‘Sidonius wishes health to Pope Censorius [Bishop of Auxerre].

‘The bearer of this letter is dignified by an office which raises him into the Levitical order. He with his family in avoiding the whirlpool of Gothic depredation, was swept, so to say, by the very weight of the stream of fugitives, into your territory; and there, on the possessions of the church over which your holiness presides, the hungry stranger threw into the half-

<sup>1</sup> Ep. vi. 10.



ploughed sods his scanty seeds, the produce of which he now begs that he may be allowed to reap without deductions. If you should be inclined to grant him as a servant of the faith this favour, namely, that he shall not be required to pay the quota which is due to the glebe, the poor man, whose notions are as bounded as his fortune, will think himself as well-off as if he was again tilling his native fields. If, therefore, you can let him off the lawful and customary rent, payable out of his very trifling harvest, he will return from your country as thankful as if he had been splendidly entertained. If you will also by his hands bestow upon me with your wonted courtesy a reply to this letter, I and my brethren living here will receive that written page as if it had come straight down from heaven. *Condescend to remember me, my lord Pope.*'

With this notice of the poor expatriated 'Levite' we finish our study of the social life of the falling Empire as portrayed from the works of Apollinaris Sidonius. But little effort is required to draw the necessary inferences from the condition of the Gallo-Romans to that of the Italians. From the shores of Como or Maggiore, as from the mountains of Auvergne, may many a needy tiller of the soil have been 'swept away by the tide of flight from the conquering Visigoths.' Many a Neapolitan or Tarentine woman of Greek descent and Italian nationality may have been carried away like the poor Gaulish woman by wild marauders following in the track of the invading armies, sold as a slave, and not even the place of her bondage discovered for years by her friends. The habits of the Saxon freebooters may help us to understand the life of bold piratical adventure led by the

Vandals, though we must not attribute the harsher features of heathen savagery to the Arian followers of Gaiseric. And in the pictures of the court and retinue of Theodoric and Sigismer we have probably some strokes which will be equally applicable to every Teuton chief who led his men over the Alpine passes into Italy, from Alaric to Alboin.

It is impossible not to think with regret of the wasted opportunities of Apollinaris Sidonius. Here is a man who evidently hungered and thirsted for literary distinction even more than for consular dignity or saintly canonisation. Yet he has achieved nothing beyond a fifth-rate position as a 'post-classical' author, and with difficulty do a few historical enquirers, like Gibbon, Guizot, Thierry, keep his name from being absolutely forgotten by the world. Had he faced the new and strange nationalities which were swarming forth from Germany, in the simple, enquiring, child-like attitude of the Father of History, he might have been the Herodotus of Mediaeval and Modern Europe. From him we might have learned the songs which were sung by the actual contemporaries of Attila and Gundahar, and which formed the kernel of the *Nibelungen-Lied*; from him we might have received a true and authentic picture of the laws and customs of the Goths, the Franks, and the Burgundians, a picture which would have in turn illustrated and been illustrated by the poetry of Tacitus' *Germania*, and the prose of the Black-letter commentators on English Common Law. He might have transmitted to us the full portraiture of the great Apostle of the Germanic races, Ulfilas, the secret causes of his and their devotion to the Arian form of Christianity, the Gothic

equivalents of the mythological tales of the Scandi-BOOK III.  
navian Edda, the story of the old Runes and their CH. 3.  
relation to the Moeso-Gothic Alphabet. All these  
details and a hundred more, full of interest to Science,  
to Art, to Literature, Sidonius might have preserved  
for us, had his mind been as open as was that of  
Herodotus to the manifold impressions made by  
picturesque and strange nationalities. But he turned  
away with disgust from the seven-foot high barbarians,  
smelling of leeks and onions, and by preference told  
over again for the hundredth time and worse than any  
of his predecessors, the vapid and worn-out stories  
of Greek mythology. Most truly has our own Words-  
worth said,

‘ We live by Admiration, Hope, and Love,  
And even as these are well and wisely fixed  
In dignity of being we ascend <sup>1</sup>.’

For want of the first two qualities and others which  
spring up around them, Sidonius has missed one of the  
grandest opportunities ever offered in literature.

<sup>1</sup> Excursion, book iv.

## CHAPTER IV.

### AVITUS, THE CLIENT OF THE VISIGOTHS.

#### Authorities.

#### Sources :—

BOOK III. OUR chief authority is of course SIDONIUS, the son-in-law and  
CH. 4. flatterer of the Emperor.

The chroniclers IDATIUS, VICTOR TUNNUNENSIS, and (especially) ANONYMUS CUSPINIANI, notice this reign in their usual brief terms. MARCELLINUS is silent about it, reflecting probably the hostile feelings of the Eastern Court towards the new Emperor. A new chronicler, MARIUS, Bishop of Aventicum (Avenches in Switzerland), takes up the work of Prosper and continues it down to the year 581. He appears to have been born about 530, and to have died after a twenty years' episcopate in 594. (See Monod's *Études critiques sur les sources de l'Histoire Mérovingienne*, p. 153.) He is thus in no sense a contemporary, but he occasionally supplies some useful details, especially as to the movements of the Burgundians, who were masters of Switzerland at the period which we are now considering.

JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, an Eastern chronicler of the seventh century, throws some additional light on the fall of Avitus.

GREGORY of Tours, born probably in 538, who began his History of the Franks about 576, and died about 595<sup>1</sup>, adds some little information, of a questionable kind.

<sup>1</sup> The new edition of Gregory of Tours, in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, accepts the date of 594, which Monod assigns for the death of Gregory (op. cit. p. 38). But the arguments for the date 595, alleged by Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, i. 834, do not seem to me to be fully answered.





A/



MARCIAN.



A/



LEO.



A/



ZENO.



A/



BASILISCVS.



A/



AVITVS.



A/



MAJORIAN.



A/



LIB. SEVERVS.



A/



ANTHEMIVS.



A/



OLYBRIVS.



A/



GLYCVS.



A/



IVLIVS NEPOS.



A/



ROMVLVS AVGVSTVS.

J. J. Pons Delit

For the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

EASTERN AND WESTERN EMPERORS.

FIFTH CENTURY. A.D. 450-476.

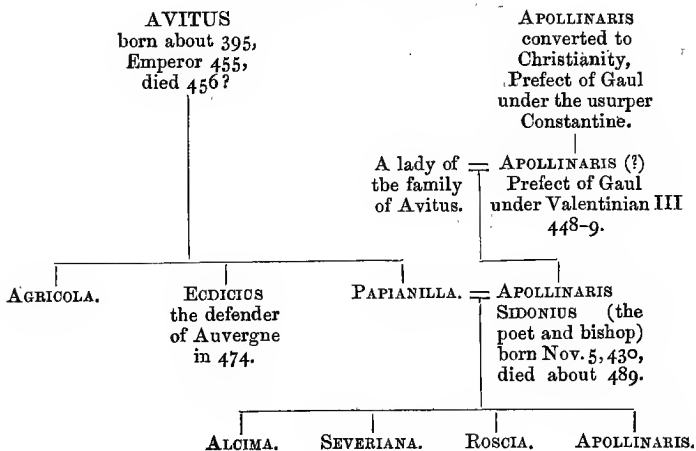
WHEN Gaiseric and his Vandal horde withdrew from the scene of their depredations, silence and prostration seem to have fallen upon the city of Rome. There was no attempt to raise a new Emperor to the dignity which had been held by the murdered Valentinian and the murdered Maximus: possibly no one was found courageous enough to offer himself for so perilous a preëminence. So in the heart of the once arrogant Queen of the World reigned for two months the apathy of despair. At length on the fourteenth of August, some two months after the capture of the city, the news arrived that the Gaulish provinces had raised to the vacant throne a nobleman of Auvergne, named Avitus<sup>1</sup>, who had assumed the purple at Arles on the tenth of July. The Imperial City bowed her head and accepted her new lord without remonstrance.

BOOK III.  
CH. 4.  
455.  
State of Rome after the departure of the Vandals.

Avitus had already once played a conspicuous part in Imperial politics when it had devolved upon him to cement that alliance between Rome and the Visigoths by which the power of Attila was shattered on the

Birth and childhood of Avitus.

<sup>1</sup> FAMILY OF AVITUS.



BOOK III.  
CH. 4.

395.

Mauriac plains. We are in possession of some other details of his previous life, but they come to us from the pen of a great manufacturer of indiscriminate panegyric, and it is not easy to say what are the actual events to which they correspond. He was descended from a family, several members of which had held high commands in the army and the state, and which was, by the labours of antiquaries, connected with the old patrician families of Rome<sup>1</sup>. He was born, in all probability, about the time of the death of Theodosius, and would therefore be close upon his sixtieth year when he arrayed himself with the Imperial purple<sup>2</sup>. It was told of him that in early boyhood he came one day upon a she-wolf, rabid with hunger, and snatching up a fragment of rock which lay close by, hurled it at the savage creature and broke her skull. To the studies of Cicero and Caesar which engaged his childhood, succeeded in youth the delights of boar-hunting and falconry. Yet his reading had perhaps not been wholly fruitless, for he had scarcely arrived at man's estate, when, being chosen by his neighbours to head a deputation to Constantius, he pleaded so eloquently for

<sup>1</sup> This is the explanation I would suggest of the difficult lines—

‘Gentisque suae, te teste, Philagri,

Patricius resplendet apex.’

Sidonius, Carm. vii. 156–157.

Philagrius was a man of letters, renowned for the magnificence of his library (Carm. xxiv. 93). Unless the question related to the *ancient* Patriciate of Rome and Avitus' shadowy descent therefrom; it is difficult to see why Philagrius should be avouched as an authority.

<sup>2</sup> We get the approximate date of the birth of Avitus from the fact that he was a very young man (‘ephebus’) when he was sent on a deputation to Constantius, who was not yet married to Placidia, probably therefore about 415. This points to 394 or 395 for the year of his birth.



some remission of taxation that the admiring Governor granted all his requests.

BOOK III.  
CH. 4.

In middle life he served with some credit under the greatest captain of the age, Aetius, in the wars which he waged in Belgic Gaul, and in Noricum, on the Lower Rhine, and the Middle Danube. Once at least he exposed his person to some danger in a hand-to-hand encounter. The Roman generals were at this time (about the year 439) with marvellous impolicy bringing the Hunnish hordes into Gaul to fight their battles against less barbarous barbarians. Litorius, that rash and feather-headed general, was marching a troop of these squalid auxiliaries through Auvergne, on his way from Brittany, which he had conquered, to the Gothic capital Toulouse, which he hoped to conquer. The so-called auxiliaries of Rome carried fire and sword, insolence and robbery, through the province which was conspicuous above all others by its fidelity to Rome. One of these wild mercenaries happened to quarrel with a man engaged in the service of Avitus, and struck him a mortal blow. The man in dying breathed his master's name, and coupled with it a prayer for vengeance. Avitus, when informed of his servant's death, at once donned his armour and sought the Hunnish camp. We need not believe the strained language of the Panegyrist, who solemnly informs us that in his rage for his murdered servant he slew as many of the Huns as Achilles slew Trojans after the death of Patroclus: but we seem bound to accept his story of the future Emperor's single combat with the murderer, which ended, after the third passage of arms, in Avitus breaking the Hun's breastplate, and transfixing his breast with his spear, which being thrust

His  
military  
exploits.

BOOK III. vigorously home, stood out behind the back of the  
 CH. 4. caitiff. 'The blood and the life together ebbed away  
 through the double wound.'

His retire- Shortly after this event, Avitus, who had already  
 ment to held three commands in the army, was raised to the  
 Auvergne. high civil office of Praetorian Prefect in Gaul, an office  
 which may perhaps have occupied six years of his life,  
 from 439 to 445. From these duties he retired to his  
 estate in the heart of Auvergne, to that very villa of  
 Avitacum overlooking the lake, and overlooked by the  
 mountains, of which we have already heard a de-  
 scription from the pen of its next possessor, Sidonius.  
 For the family of Avitus consisted of two sons, Ecdicius  
 and Agricola, and one daughter, Papianilla. This  
 daughter is the lady whom Sidonius married about  
 the year 452, and most of our information about the  
 career, as well as the dwelling-place of the Arvernian  
 Emperor, is derived from the verses or the letters of  
 his fluent son-in-law.

His  
 influence  
 at the  
 Visigothic  
 Court.

The connection which most powerfully influenced  
 the life of Avitus, and which alone gave him any  
 chance, a small one at the best, of being remembered  
 in history, was a friendship which, while still a boy, he  
 formed with the Visigothic monarch at Toulouse, and  
 which on the side of the barbarian was continued into  
 a second generation. A brother of the young Arvernian,  
 named Theodorus, had been sent as a hostage to  
 the court of Theodoric I. Avitus went to Toulouse to  
 visit Theodorus, and by some unexplained charm of  
 manner, or beauty of character, so won upon the  
 Gothic king that he offered him large sums of money  
 if he would renounce his Gallo-Roman nationality, and  
 take up his permanent residence at the court of

Toulouse. This offer was rejected, scornfully rejected, says his panegyrist; but there is some reason to think that Avitus may have discharged for a time the duties of Governor to the young Visigothic princes<sup>1</sup>. His powerful intercession is said to have saved Narbonne (436) when sorely blockaded by the barbarian arms, and at the last stage of famine. And on a more eventful day (in 451), as has been already described, Avitus was the chosen intermediary between Rome and Toulouse, the man who by his personal influence with Theodoric I, did more than any other single individual to mould the great Roman-Gothic alliance against Attila, which saved Europe from becoming Tartar.

That alliance had done its work, and apparently was dissolved, when the terror from the Hun was over. But the thought probably suggested itself both to the new Visigothic king, Theodoric II, and to his Gaulish friend, that it might be revived, and might serve a useful purpose for both of them in the troubled state of Roman politics after the murder of Valentinian III. Avitus had been drawn by the Emperor Maximus from his retirement, and invested with the office of *Magister utriusque Militiæ* (Captain-General of horse and foot), which gave him complete control over all military matters in Gaul. The three-months' reign of Maximus had been well employed by the new general in checking the inroads of the tribes dwelling by the lower Rhine, and his credit with the soldiers and the provincials was

BOOK III.  
CH. 4.

Utilised for  
the forma-  
tion of a  
new Triple  
Alliance.

<sup>1</sup> Sidonius makes Theodoric II say to Avitus—

‘Mihi Romula dudum

Per te jura placent, *parvumque* *ediscere jussit*

*Ad tua verba pater*, docili quo prisca Maronis

Carmine molliret Scythicos mihi pagina mores.’

Carm. vii. 495–8.

BOOK III.  
CH. 4.

455.

Chief  
barbarian  
nations of  
Western  
Europe at  
this time.

at a high point, when tidings arrived in Gaul of the Vandal sack of Rome and the vacancy of the Empire. Possibly the young oratorical son-in-law, Sidonius, was employed to furbish up the old friendship with the Visigoth, and he may have gained a point or two for the aspirant to the purple by diplomatically losing a few games on the backgammon-board of Theodoric.

Four great Germanic nations were at this time supreme in Western Europe: the Vandals, the Visigoths, the Burgundians, and the Suevi. A fifth, that of the Franks, one day to be the mightiest of them all, was as yet scarcely peeping over the horizon. The Vandals, as we know, ruled Africa from Carthage, the Visigoths South-Western France from Toulouse, the Burgundians were settled in the valley of the Rhone, and their chief capital was Lyons; the Suevi held the greater part of Southern and Western Spain, and their capital was Astorga. The Vandals and Visigoths were sworn foes ever since the cruel outrage practised by Gaiseric on his Visigothic daughter-in-law. The Burgundians and Visigoths lived in a state of simmering unfriendliness, not often passing into vindictive war. The Suevi, who were now by the departure of the Vandals the only barbarian power left in the Peninsula, carried on a desultory warfare with Roman Spain, but at this time were living at peace with their Visigothic neighbours from whom they were divided by the Pyrenees, and their king Rechiarius had married a sister of the reigning Theodoric.

Such being the position of affairs, the transaction which suggested itself, at some time in the summer of 455, to the minds of the most powerful men at Arles and Toulouse must have been something of this nature,

‘Let us join forces and form a Triple Alliance. To you, Avitus, shall fall the Imperial Purple: we Visigoths will assert your claims against any other competitor, and if need be, protect you against the hated Vandal. In return for this you shall lend us the sanction of the name and the rights of the Empire for an enterprise which we are meditating against the Suevi. Though we have been settled for the last half century chiefly on the Northern side of the Pyrenees, we have never entirely renounced the hope of including Spain in our dominion. That was the vision of the great Ataulfus, brother-in-law of Alaric, that and the welding of Roman and Visigoth into one harmonious commonwealth; and if we can now make this compact with you, our nobler and firmer Attalus, his vision may yet become a reality. And lastly, if you, Burgundians, instead of harassing us by your aimless warfare, will join our great expedition, the territories in the valley of the Rhone, which you now hold by a friendly compact with the Empire, shall be enlarged—does not the new Augustus consent to this?—and it may be that you shall reach even to the Mediterranean Sea.’

Such was probably the honest prose of the transaction which raised the noblesman of Auvergne to the headship of the Empire; but in diplomacy and in poetry it of course assumes a very different aspect. The Visigothic king, no doubt in collusion with Avitus, threatened an invasion of Roman Gaul. The Master of the Soldiery assembled his troops, but consented to assume once more the office of ambassador to Toulouse, in order to avert the horrors of war from the provincials. He sent before him Messianus, a high functionary of Gaul. At the appearance of this messenger,

BOOK III.  
CH. 4.

455.  
The Visigoths aspire to conquests in Spain by the help of the Roman name.

The league veiled under a pretended war.

BOOK III.  
CH. 4.

455.

many a sturdy Visigoth, intent on the rapture of coming war, foreboded that the magical influence of Avitus would again prevail, and that they would be balked of the hoped-for struggle. Soon their fears were confirmed. The Master himself appeared on the scene erect and stately. Theodoric came forth to greet him, attended by his brother Frithareiks<sup>1</sup> (the king of peace). His welcome to the Roman was eager but confused; and the three, with joined hands, entered the gates of Toulouse. It was a fortunate coincidence (if it was a mere coincidence) that just as they entered the town the news arrived of the murder of the Emperor Maximus, and the capture of Rome by Gaiseric—news which considerably improved the prospects of the new partnership.

The  
Visigothic  
Council.

On the next day a grand council of the Visigothic warriors was held. From necessity rather than choice, the veteran chiefs who assembled there did not reflect the magnificence of the sovereign. Their robes were threadbare and greasy, their scanty skin-cloaks scarcely reached down to the knee, and their boots, made of horse's hide, were hitched up around the calf by a shabbily-tied knot<sup>2</sup>. So were the men attired whose 'honoured poverty' was welcomed into the councils of the nation.

The Gothic king questioned the Roman officer as to the terms of the peace which he was come to propose

<sup>1</sup> Our 'Frederick.' But it may have been Euric, or another brother.

<sup>2</sup>

'Squalent vestes ac sordida macro  
Linteæ pinguescunt tergo, nec tangere possunt  
Altatæ suram pelles, ac poplite nudo  
Peronem pauper nodus suspendit equinum.'

Sidonius, Carm. vii. 454-7.

between the two nations. Avitus replied, dilating on the old friendship which had existed between him and the first Theodoric. ‘He, I am sure, would not have denied my request. You were a child then, and cannot remember how he, in compliance with my advice, withdrew his blockading army from Narbonne, when that city was already pale with famine, and was forced to feed upon the most loathsome victuals.’

BOOK III.

CH. 4.

455.

‘E’en thou—as well these hoary chieftains know—  
 In those young days beheld’st in me no foe.  
 Oft have I pressed thee, weeping, to my heart,  
 When thy nurse came, refusing to depart.  
 Now once again I come thy faith to prove,  
 And plead the rights of that ancestral love.  
 If faith, affection, filial reverence die,  
 Go! hard of heart, and peace to Rome deny.’

So far Avitus: a murmur of rough voices through the council testified their approbation of his pleadings for peace. The next lines in the play fell to Theodoric; and he spoke his part with great animation and correctness. He enlarged on his old friendship for Avitus, his reluctance to break off that friendship, his willingness to serve ‘the venerable might of Rome and the race which, like his own, had sprung from Mars,’ his desire even to wipe out the memory of the guilt of Alaric by the benefits which he would confer on the Eternal City. But there was one price which must be paid for his services. If Avitus would assume the diadem, the Empire should have in the Visigoth the most faithful of allies: if not, the war once proclaimed must rage on. If the General wished to save the world, he must govern it<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>

Ni pereat.’

‘Tibi pareat orbis

(Sidonius, Carm. vii. 517-18.)

BOOK III.  
CH. 4.

455.  
Return of  
Avitus to  
Arles,

and eleva-  
tion to the  
Imperial  
dignity.

No details  
as to the  
reign of  
Avitus.

The Master of the Soldiery heard these words, which were ratified by the solemn oath of the royal brothers, with an appearance of profound sadness. He returned to Arles, whither the tidings preceded him, that the desired peace with the Goths could only be obtained by the elevation of Avitus to the Imperial dignity. The chief officials of Gaul were hastily summoned to the Castle of Ugernum (now Beaucaire, on the Rhone, a few miles above Arles); the proposal to declare Avitus emperor was carried by acclamation, vanity perhaps concurring with policy in the scheme of giving a Gaulish ruler to Rome<sup>1</sup>. On the third day after the assembly at Ugernum Avitus appeared upon a high-heaped *agger*<sup>2</sup> surrounded by the soldiery, who put upon his head a military collar, to represent the true Imperial diadem, which was probably in safe custody at Ravenna. The new Augustus wore still the same melancholy countenance with which he had first listened to the flattering proposal of Theodoric; and it is possible that by this time the sadness may have been not all feigned, some conviction of his own inability to cope with the weight of the falling Commonwealth having already entered his soul.

The story of Avitus' elevation to the throne has seemed worth telling, because it illustrates the manner in which the great barbarian monarchies influenced the

<sup>1</sup> I have not thought it worth while to extract Sidonius' description of the Roman, as well as the Gothic, assembly, but a few words in the speech of a Gaulish noble are worth transcribing—

'Has nobis inter clades ac funera mundi

*Mors vixisse fuit.'*

<sup>2</sup> An earthen mound. In the bas-reliefs on the column of Trajan, the Emperor is generally represented as standing on such a mound when addressing his soldiers.



fortunes of the dying Empire, the degrees in which Force and Art were still blended in order to secure obedience to its behests, and the nature of the tie which bound those later 'Shadow-Emperors' to their by no means shadowy Patrons. But of the reign of this Emperor, which lasted only sixteen months, we have but a few faint details from the Annalists, which leave us little more to say than that he reigned, and that he ceased to reign.

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455.

The autumn of 455 was probably employed in an expedition to the province of Pannonia, an expedition which, we are asked to believe, reunited to the Empire regions which had been lost to it for generations. It is possible that in the complete collapse of Attila's power, Rome may have successfully reclaimed some portions of her ancient dominion by the Danube; but it is difficult to conjecture the motives which could have sent the new Emperor forth on so distant an expedition, while the terrible and unsubdued Vandal was still crouching at his gates ready to repeat his spring.

On the first day of the year 456 Rome witnessed the usual splendid pageant which announced that the supreme Augustus condescended to assume the historic office of consul, and to mark the year with his name<sup>1</sup>.

Consulship  
of Avitus.

<sup>1</sup> There is an explained puzzle here. Avitus' name does *not* appear in the Consular Fasti for the year 456, except in the Chronicles of Idatius the Spaniard. All other chroniclers assign the year to 'Joannes and Varanes.' Tillemont suggests that Marcian, Emperor of the East, refused his sanction to the elevation of Avitus; but this does not seem a probable solution of the difficulty, especially as Idatius says, 'Marcian and Avitus enjoyed the headship of the Roman Empire in concord.' Can there have been on the fall of Avitus some judicial process like the English attainder, erasing his name from the lists both of consuls and patricians? This might help to explain the

BOOK III. Among the solemnities of the day, the young Sidonius  
 CH. 4. recited, in the hearing of the Senate and the people<sup>1</sup>, a  
 456. panegyric 602 lines long, after the manner of Claudian,  
 Panegyric of Sidonius. which he had composed in honour of his father-in-law<sup>2</sup>.

This panegyric is the source—the doubtful source, it must be admitted—from which have been drawn the facts previously related concerning the private life of the Arvernian Senator and the manner of his elevation to the throne. The attempt to emulate Claudian's panegyrics on Honorius and Stilicho is evident, but the failure to reach even Claudian's standard of excellence is equally evident. The old, worn-out mythological machinery is as freely used, and with even less of dramatic fitness and truth. Jupiter convokes an assembly of the gods; all the Olympians of the first and second rank attend it. Thither also come all the great river-gods of the world<sup>3</sup>, the Rhine, the Po, the Danube, the Nile. And thither at last, with bent head and flagging steps, without a helmet, and scarce able to drag the weight of her heavy lance, comes unhappy

difficulty as to the non-patrician rank of the family of Avitus. See note to p. 376.

<sup>1</sup> 'Sistimus portu geminae potiti  
 Fronde coronae  
 Quam mihi indulsit populus Quirini  
 Blattifer vel quam tribuit Senatus  
 Quam peritorum dedit ordo consors  
 Judiciorum.' (Ep. ix. 16.)

Is it possible that the last two lines can refer to a still existing order of knights, still theoretically invested with the *Judicia*?

<sup>2</sup> This is now seventh of the 'Carmina' of Sidonius, which are not arranged in order of date.

<sup>3</sup> The last of these is happily enough described—

'The Nile whom all know for his source unknown.'  
 '— et ignotum plus notus Nile per ortum.'

Rome. She begins at first with some naturalness and spirit, longing for the happy days when she was still small, obscure, and safe, before greatness had brought its harassing penalty. She recurs with dread to the omen of the twelve vultures seen by the Etrurian augur on Mount Palatine at the foundation of the city. If those twelve vultures did truly mean, as some supposed, that she should have twelve centuries of greatness, her day is done, for the allotted time expired eight years ago (in A. D. 447).

Soon, however, the unhappy Queen of the World wanders off into mere Roman history. She repeats to great Jove a versified compendium of Livy, and condenses the lives of the first twelve Caesars into an equal number of lines, which might have been prepared as a *Memoria Technica* by a Roman schoolboy.

The father of gods and men takes up the tale, and shows that he is not to be outdone in knowledge of Livy and Tacitus. Then, having vindicated his scholarship, he tells her that he has prepared a man for her deliverance, born in Auvergne, a land fertile in heroes. This destined deliverer is Avitus, whose respectable life and fortunes Jupiter describes in 460 lines of unbroken monologue. We listen in weariness to the long, level narrative, and think what a change has come over the Court of Olympus since, in a few majestic words, the Thunderer granted the earnest prayer of silver-footed Thetis. Then Jupiter nodded, now his hearers.

To the taste of the Romans of the fifth century, however, the fluent hexameters of the young Gaulish poet probably appeared really meritorious. At any rate they were written by the son-in-law of Augustus, and consequently every good courtier was bound to

BOOK III.

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456.

Sidonius  
rewarded  
by the  
erection of  
a statue.

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456.

War be-  
tween Visi-  
goths and  
Suevi.

admire them. The Senate decreed that 'an everlasting statue' of brass should be raised in honour of Apollinaris Sidonius, which should stand between the Greek and Latin libraries in the Forum of Trajan<sup>1</sup>.

While the new Emperor was thus inaugurating his reign at Rome, his powerful patron at Toulouse was using the new alliance for his own purposes. Embassies passed to and fro between the king of the Visigoths and the king of the Suevi. The former, whose messengers were accompanied by the Gaulish Count Fronto, as representative of Rome, called upon his Suevic brother-in-law to cease from the attacks which he had been lately making on Roman Spain, the Empire and the Visigothic monarchy being now united in mutual league, and the invaders of the one being the enemies of the other. To this embassy Rechiarius returned a haughty answer: 'If thou complainest of what I am doing here, I will come to Tholosa where thou dwellest; there, if thou art strong enough, resist me.' This insolent defiance hastened the warlike preparations of Theodoric. Early in the year 456 (apparently) he invaded Spain with an enormous army, to which the two kings of the Burgundians, Gundiok and Chilperic, brought their promised contingent; and he was able to assert (probably thereby commanding some assistance from wavering provincials) that he came 'with the will and by the ordinance of Avitus the Emperor.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Cum meis poni *statuam perennem*  
Nerva Trajanus titulis videret  
Inter auctores utriusque fixam  
Bibliothecae.' (Sidonius, Ep. ix. 16.)  
'Nil vatum prodest adjectum laudibus illud  
Ulpia quod rutilat porticus *aere meo.*'  
(Sidonius, Carm. viii. 7-8.)

This campaign destroyed the greatness of the Suevic kingdom<sup>1</sup>. Rechiarius was defeated in a great battle at the river Urbicus, twelve miles from Astorga (5th October). Theodoric pushed on to Braga, took that place on the twenty-eighth of October, and though that day was a Sunday, and the victory had been a bloodless one as far as his host was concerned, he used his success in a manner which horrified his contemporaries; carried off vast numbers of men, women, and children into captivity, stripped the clergy naked, filled the holy places 'with horrors of horses, cattle, and camels,' and in short repeated all the judgments which the wrath of God had suffered to fall on Jerusalem. The fugitive Rechiarius was taken prisoner next year 'at a place called Portucale' (Oporto), and after some months' captivity, was put to death by his vindictive brother-in-law, who could not forget his insulting message about the visit to Toulouse.

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456.

While Theodoric was thus engaged with the Suevi, news was brought to him of an important victory which his Imperial ally had gained over the Vandals. Sixty of their ships had set sail from the harbour of Carthage; they had reached Corsica and cast anchor there, seeming to threaten Italy and Gaul at once. The brave and capable Count Ricimer followed them thither, outmanœuvred and surrounded them with his fleet, and slew of them a great multitude<sup>2</sup>.

Ricimer's  
victory  
over the  
Vandals.

<sup>1</sup> It lingered on, however, in an enfeebled condition for more than a century longer, till it was in 584 finally overthrown by Leovigild, king of the Visigoths.

<sup>2</sup> Idatius, s. a. 456, gives us this information: 'Hisdem diebus Rechimeris Comitis circumventionem magna multitudo Wandalorum, quae se de Carthagine cum LX navibus ad Gallias, vel ad Italiam

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CH. 4.

456.

Disaffec-  
tion of  
Ricimer.

So far all seemed going well with the Romano-Gothic confederation, and the moment when Hesychius, the Imperial ambassador, presented himself at the camp of Theodoric in Galicia with these tidings, with presents from the Emperor, and with the further intelligence that his master had come to Arles, probably to meet his Visigothic ally,—this moment was probably the apogee of the new combination. But there was a worm at the root of this apparent prosperity. Ricimer was after his late victory the idol of the army and the most powerful man in the Empire, and Ricimer had determined to shatter the new alliance. Nor was such a determination wonderful, since this strange and perplexing character who, for the next sixteen years, played the part of King-maker at Rome, was himself the son of a Suevic father, though of a Visigothic mother, and was not likely to hear well-pleased the tidings of the sack of Braga and the countless horrors which had befallen his countrymen at the hand of the ally of Avitus.

Deposition  
of Avitus.

He resolved that the Arvernian Senator must lay aside the purple, and he probably had the popular voice with him when he pronounced Avitus unfitted for the emergencies of the Empire. The Gaulish nobleman was a man of unspotted private character, and had once possessed some courage and capacity for war, but he was fond of ease, perhaps of luxury, and the almost childlike simplicity and openness of his nature, to say nothing of his sixty years, unfitted him to cope with the lawless intriguers, Roman and Barbarian, by whom he was surrounded. Famine broke out in Rome, and for moverat, regi Theudericō nunciatur occisa per Avitum.' 'Per Avitum' depends, I think, on 'nunciatur,' not on 'occisa.'

this the people blamed Avitus (who had now returned into Italy) and the crowd of hungry dependents whom he had brought with him from Gaul. Under popular pressure he was compelled to dismiss his Visigothic body-guard. Having no funds in his treasury wherewith to pay them, he stripped the public buildings in Rome of their copper (completing perhaps the half-finished Vandal spoliation of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus), and turned the copper into gold for his Gothic friends. All this of course increased his unpopularity in Rome<sup>1</sup>. The revolt, now openly headed by Ricimer and his young comrade Majorian, spread to Ravenna. On the 17th of September, Remistus, the Patrician (an official who is otherwise unknown to us), was killed in the palace at Classis. The Emperor fled from Rome, hoping to reach his native and friendly Gaul. But he was taken prisoner at Placentia by Ricimer, who now held the all-important office of Master of the Soldiery. On the 17th of October, the Patrician, Messianus, a Gaul, and probably the intimate friend of Avitus, the same who had acted as his *avant-courier* to the court of Theodoric the year before, was put to death. Avitus himself was spared. Even the stern Ricimer could not bring himself to take the life of the innocent old man. But he was stripped of the purple, and (strange fate for an Augustus) was consecrated Bishop at Placentia. Of the name of his See<sup>2</sup> and of his subsequent fate we have no certain information. It seems probable that he died by a natural

BOOK III  
CH. 4.  
456.

His consecration as Bishop,

<sup>1</sup> These particulars are derived from Joannes Antiochenus, fragment 202.

<sup>2</sup> It does not seem quite clear whether the chroniclers mean to describe him as ordained Bishop *at* or *of* Placentia.

BOOK III.  
CH. 4.

456.  
and death.

death, though possibly hastened by disappointment and alarm, within a twelvemonth after he had abdicated the Empire<sup>1</sup>. A tradition, recorded by Gregory of Tours (who was himself a native of Auvergne), related that the forlorn Bishop-Emperor, fearful for his life, left Italy by stealth to repair to the tomb of Julian the martyr, an Arvernian saint, whose protection he hoped to purchase by rich presents, the wreck it may be of his Imperial splendour ; that he died on the road, but that his body was taken and buried at the feet of the martyr in the village of Brioude in Auvergne. Few things in the fitfully-illuminated history of the times are stranger than the fulness of information which is given us as to the rise of this unfortunate Emperor, and the barrenness of the history of his fall. And yet he was the keystone of a great and important political combination, a combination which, had it endured, would certainly have changed the face of Europe, and might have anticipated the Empire of Charles the Great in favour of a nobler nation than the Franks, and without the interposition of three centuries of barbarism.

<sup>1</sup> According to Joannes Antiochenus he was either starved to death or strangled.



NOTE F. ON THE ALLEGED IMMORALITIES OF AVITUS.

THE charges made by Gibbon (cap. xxxvi. note 25), and repeated by his copyists, against the moral character of this Emperor, rest on no solid basis of evidence. NOTE F.

1. In the contemporary chroniclers there is no hint of anything of the kind.

2. Victor Tunnunensis, who, though not a contemporary (he died 569), seems to have had access to full and trustworthy sources of information, calls Avitus 'a man of entire simplicity' ('vir totius simplicitatis'). It is true that the MSS. waver here between Anitius and Avitus, but the latter is evidently intended. Again, he says that Ricimer, 'sparing the inoffensiveness of Avitus' ('cujus innocentiae parcens'), allowed him to live after he had dethroned him. No doubt these expressions are meant to be somewhat contemptuous of the intellect of Avitus, but they would hardly be used of a man who was guilty of the wanton profligacy which Gibbon ascribes to him.

3. The very fact of his ordination as bishop, at that period of the Church, and under such a strict disciplinarian as Pope Leo I, is almost a guarantee for the correctness of his private life.

What then are the opposing testimonies?

4. Gregory of Tours (ii. 11) says—'Avitus, one of the Senators, and, as is very manifest, a citizen of Auvergne, when he had schemed for the Imperial dignity of Rome, wishing to act luxuriously (*luxuriôsè agere volens*) was cast forth by the Senate, and ordained Bishop at the city of Placentia. But finding that the Senate, still indignant, wished to deprive him of life he sought the Basilica of St. Julian, &c.'

Gregory (who died about 595) is in no sense a contemporary, and is not a first-rate authority for what happened in Italy at

NOTE F. this period, Gaul, under the Frankish kings in the sixth century, being the ground upon which he is really strong. In this particular instance it is almost certain that he has over-stated the share of the Roman Senate and under-estimated that of Ricimer in the deposition of Avitus. It is true that Gregory, as being himself a native of Auvergne, might have some special information as to the life of his countryman. But let his authority be taken for what it is worth ; it establishes, at the worst, a charge of 'luxury' against Avitus.

5. An anonymous epitomiser of Gregory, said by some to be Fredegarius (who lived in the middle of the seventh century), but of whose name and date we really know nothing, tells a disagreeable story about the capture of Trier by the Franks, which was occasioned by the dishonour inflicted by the Emperor Avitus on the lovely wife of the Senator Lucius, a crime about which the Emperor was foolish enough to jest in the hearing of the outraged husband, who, in revenge, delivered up the city to the Franks ('*Dom Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules,*' ii. 395). But it is quite clear that this story, whatever its truth may be, relates to events which occurred more than forty years before Avitus' accession to the Empire, and that the insertion of his name is a mere slip on the part of the epitomiser. Paragraph VI describes the usurpation of the Imperial title by Jovinus (about 411). Paragraph VII contains the above-mentioned story about the cause of the fall of Trier, and that event, as we know from Gregory (ii. 9), also occurred in or about the year 411. Paragraph VIII mentions a campaign of Castinus against the Franks (417). Paragraph IX gives the accession of Chlodeo, assigned to 428, and the reign of his son Meroveus. Then at last in Paragraph X we have a short notice (in the words of Gregory of Tours) of the real Avitus, his luxurious life, ordination as a bishop, and death.

It is plain therefore that Paragraph VII does not relate to Avitus the Emperor, and that his name has been substituted for that of some other Roman Emperor residing at Trier, probably Jovinus, by a clerical error of the epitomiser. Gibbon's attempt to transfer the story to Rome by the remark that 'it seems more applicable to Rome than to Trier' is quite inadmissible. The story is an account of the circumstances which led to the fall of Trier, or it is nothing.

Muratori's criticism (*Annali d' Italia*, iii. 174) is here sounder NOTE F.  
than that of Gibbon or even of Tillemont.

Upon a review of the whole evidence it is contended that, except for a vague and feebly-supported charge of 'luxury,' the moral character of Avitus is without a stain.

[It is satisfactory to find so careful a writer as Holder-Egger entirely concurring in the view here taken: 'Avitus as Emperor can never have been in Trier, as Fredegarius represents him to have been. If a germ of historic truth, as is probable [?], lurks in this story, some confusion of persons, due to a similarity of names, must have caused it to assume its present shape. We must not follow Gibbon in considering this tale as historic fact.' *Neues Archiv*, ii. 274, n. 1.]

## CHAPTER V.

SUPREMACY OF RICIMER. MAJORIAN.

### Authorities.

*Sources* :—

BOOK III. IT will be seen that our chief information as to this reign is  
CH. 5. again drawn from the Poems and still more from the Letters of  
SIDONIUS.

Of the Annalists IDATIUS is perhaps the least meagre, and as the turning-point of Majorian's career was in Spain, this Spanish bishop may be quoted with some confidence for that event.

The ANONYMUS CUSPINIANI, as usual, supplies us with dates and PROCOPIUS with romance.

Analogy  
between  
the fall of  
the Roman  
and that  
of the  
Ottoman  
Empire.

THERE is danger in endeavouring to illustrate the history of a long-past age by the vivid light of modern politics ; danger from the incompleteness of our knowledge of the present, and danger from the heat of controversy with which every topic debated by men struggling for place and power in the world of action around us, must necessarily be environed.

But the correspondence between the position of Old Rome at the point of her history which we have now reached, and that of 'New Rome,' or Constantinople, at the present day, is in some respects so close that we are almost compelled to notice it. The obvious differences between the conditions of the two Empires are many, but the resemblances are more, and more striking. The Roman, like the Turk, having been the terror of the world, had become its pity. He had lost,

like the Turk, his once pre-eminent faculty of founding Empires; he had lost the faculty of generalship, and, unlike the Turk, he had lost the mere animal courage of the common soldier. A world of new and alien nationalities was seething round him, nationalities which had a prophetic instinct that to them and not to him belonged the Future of Europe; nationalities whose gentlest and most friendly touch meant ruin to the old order of things, yet nationalities which, strange to say, did not, with one exception, wish to destroy his Empire if by any means the breath of life could still be preserved in it. What 'the Frank' is to the Ottoman of to-day, the Barbarian was to the subjects of Honorius and Valentinian.

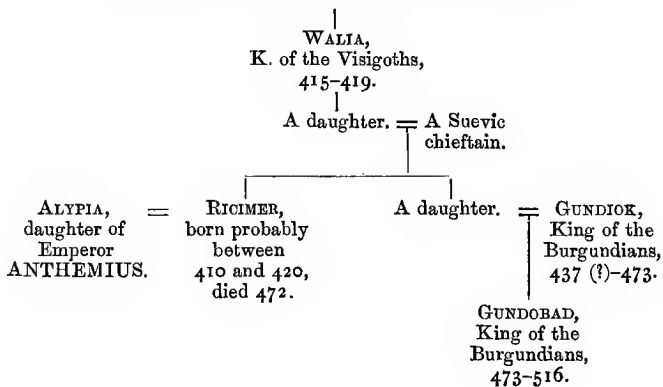
I have said that there was one exception. The Vandal, during the last quarter of a century of the independent life of Rome, was her one implacable enemy. He had had his hour of triumph in 455; intent on pillage rather than on conquest he had not then sought permanently to annex Italy to his Empire, but he remained watching her death-struggles, gloating over her feeble misery, and perhaps speculating on the day when she would fall without effort into his hands, and Rome be ruled as a dependency from Carthage.

We have seen some reasons for supposing that this result was dreaded by the other Teutonic nations in the West of Europe, and that political combinations, rude and well-nigh forgotten, were formed in order to keep Rome for the Romans, even as they have been formed in our own day to keep Stamboul for the Turks. But a more undoubted point of resemblance is the career of the many Teutonic adventurers who brought their knowledge of war, their energy, their courage, and

BOOK III. sometimes their unscrupulousness to the service of the  
 CH. 5. dying Empire. Merobaudes and Bauto, Arbogast and Gainas, were the prototypes of the German and English officers who in our own day have reorganised the armies or commanded the fleets of the Sultan, and led the expeditions of the Khedive. Not more strange to us probably is the affix of Pacha to an English surname than were, in the ears of the men of that generation, the titles of Consul or Patrician when borne by a full-blooded Barbarian. And these alien administrators of the State and Army of Rome resembled those 'Frankish' admirals and generals employed by the Ottoman Porte, in the knowledge that, however great the actual power which they might possess, the appearance of sovereignty would always be denied to them. As none but a lineal descendant of Othman can sit on the throne of Soliman, so, even in the most degenerate days of Rome, public opinion, if not positive law, forbade that any one who was the son of a barbarian father and a barbarian mother should be robed in the Imperial purple.

Ricimer. Such a Romanised Teuton was *Ricimer*<sup>1</sup>, the man

<sup>1</sup> FAMILY CONNECTIONS OF RICIMER.



who for sixteen years after the deposition of Avitus BOOK III.  
CH. 5. was virtually head of the Roman commonwealth. It 456-472. is worth while to notice how intimately he was connected with two if not three of the ruling barbarian families. He was the son of a Suevic father, who His family probably enough was sprung from the royal family of his nation. His mother was daughter of Walia, king of the Visigoths, the successor and avenger of Ataulfus; and his sister was married to Gundiok, king of the Burgundians. A man thus connected, and concentrating in his hand whatever yet remained of the forces and the treasure of Rome, was well placed for repelling that storm of Vandal invasion which was the most pressing danger of the Empire.

Historians are unanimous in condemning the cha- and  
character. racter of Ricimer, and, as we shall see, not without reason. He raised his unhappy puppets one after another to the Imperial throne, and one by one, as he grew tired of their subservience or was irritated by their opposition, was cast aside and broken by his hand. There is not a word in the Chroniclers, not a line in the venal panegyrics of Sidonius, to suggest that he had a heart accessible to any generous or tender emotion. A cold, self-seeking player with men as with counters he appears from first to last. But let us endeavour to understand what he was and why Rome bore with him. There can be little doubt that as a general he was the greatest whom the Empire could produce. That destruction of the Vandal fleet off Corsica <sup>1</sup>, of which the Chroniclers give us such scanty details, was probably a great achievement, and one which liberated Italy and Gaul for years from the fear of another regular inva-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 389.

BOOK III.  
CH. 5.

sion. He thus succeeded, as it were of right, to that great position in the State which had been held before him by Stilicho and Aetius. But both these generals had served the Emperors only too well for their own safety. The feeble Honorius had compassed the death of Stilicho; the dissolute Valentinian had planned the assassination of Aetius. Ricimer resolved that his life should not be at the mercy of any similar palace intrigue, and as soon as any of the retainers, whom he permitted to use the name of Caesar, showed signs of acquiring an independent authority in the State which might be dangerous to *his* authority and life, he gave the word to some trusty barbarian henchman, and the purple robe was found to be enveloping a corpse. There is only one thing to be said in mitigation of our abhorrence for this man; and that is that he does seem to have been faithful to Rome. We do not find any trace of that disposition to make a separate bargain for himself, which so often comes out in the lives of the statesmen of a collapsing monarchy. Rome seems to have understood this, to have accepted him, with all his odious qualities, as 'the necessary man' for the situation, and she may have owed it to this acquiescence in his rule that the Vandal invasion, often threatened, never actually arrived during the sixteen years of his domination.

Ricimer<sup>1</sup> was probably already a man in middle life

<sup>1</sup> The name is, perhaps, the same as that of Count Richomer who fought in the battles of Ad Salices and Hadrianople (see vol. i. pp. 261 and 269). The beginning seems to be the Gothic *reiks*, which terminates *Alaric*, *Theodoric*, *Childeric*, and many other Teutonic names. The ending syllable is that which we find in the Ostrogothic *Wala-mir*, the Frankish *Sig-mer*, &c., and probably



when he thus came to the helm of the Roman State. BOOK III.  
CH. 5.  
He was simply Count Ricimer when he achieved his 457.  
Corsican victory. That exploit it was, in all likelihood, which earned for him the office of Master General of the Soldiery. A pause ensued upon the deposition of Avitus, perhaps in order to allow time for communications with Byzantium, but during this interval there can be no doubt that the Master of the Forces wielded the whole powers of the State. In four months' time (on the 28th February, 457) Ricimer abandoned his office of Master of the Soldiery in favour of a young general named Majorian, while he himself assumed the proud title of Patrician<sup>1</sup>. This title carried with it the right to be called the father of the Emperor (as soon as an Emperor should be declared) and practically a life-tenure of the office of Prime Minister.

The extraordinary development of the power of 'the Patrician' is one of the unexplained changes in the constitutional history of the last days of the Empire. Office of the Patrician. The *caste* of Patricians had, as every one knows, lost their exclusive civil privileges long before the close of the Republic. Under the Empire most of the still surviving Patrician families perished by slow decay, or fell victims to the terrible trade of the *delator* (informer). The Emperor Constantine revived the name, not now as an hereditary order in the State, but as a personal dignity, conferring high honour on the wearer but probably no power. The words of Zosimus (the only

means 'famous' (compare the Gothic '*vaila-merjan*,' to proclaim glad-tidings: '*meri-tha*,' fame). Thus Ricimer = 'famous ruler.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Constantino et Rufo Coss. Ricimer Mag. Mil. Patricius factus est prid. Kl. Marcias. Et factus est Majorianus Mag. Mil. ipso die' (Anon. Cuspiniani).

BOOK III. historian apparently who describes this innovation) are  
 CH. 5. these<sup>1</sup>: 'The dignity of Patrician was first introduced  
 457. by Constantine, who passed a law that those who were  
 honoured by it should take precedence of the Praetorian  
 Prefects.' This enactment is lost. Only one law in  
 the whole Theodosian Code<sup>2</sup>, which decrees that 'even  
 the splendour of the Patriciate' is to be considered  
 subordinate in rank to the Consular office, mentions the  
 name of the new dignity, which moreover does not occur  
 from beginning to end of the 'Notitia Dignitatum.'  
 Evidently 'the Patrician' of the fifth century, like 'the  
 Premier' and 'the Cabinet' of our own day, was a  
 term more familiar to the mouths of ordinary men than  
 to the written documents of the constitution.

For the last twenty years of his life the great Aetius wore the name of Patrician; and we may perhaps conjecture that it was during that time that men, seeing him ever the foremost figure in the state, of which he was the real ruler, came to look upon the new designation as something more than a mere title of courtesy, and upon the holder of it as an irremovable depository of power above the moving, changing throng of Consuls and Praetorian Prefects. The words of a contemporary chronicler, describing the deposition of Avitus, 'And

<sup>1</sup> ii. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. vi. tit. 6. The order of precedence established by Gratian in this enactment still prevailed 150 years later, when Cassiodorus compiled his 'Formulae.' The gradation was still (i) Consul, (ii) Patrician, (iii) Praetorian Prefect. 'The great distinction of the Patriciate' (King Theodoric is made to say) 'is that it is a rank held *for life*, like that of the priesthood from which it sprang. The Patrician takes precedence of Prefects and of all other dignities except the Consulship, and that is one which we ourselves sometimes assume.'

*his* Patrician Messianus was killed <sup>1</sup>, seem to imply an especial connection between the Patrician and the Emperor, just as we should say 'a Colonel and his Major,' but not 'a Colonel and his Captain.' But howsoever and whensoever the peculiar pre-eminence of the Patrician began, there can be no doubt that it existed during the period which we are now considering, and that citizens of Rome must have spoken of the Patrician with at least as much awe as the citizens of Constantinople speak of the Grand Vizier, or the subjects of Louis XIII. spoke of the Cardinal.

BOOK III.  
CH. 5.

457.

The official 'Father of the Emperor' was not long in providing himself with a son. His young comrade, Majorian, 'was raised to the Empire on the 1st of April in the camp at Columellae, at the sixth milestone' no doubt from Ravenna <sup>2</sup>. The Emperor Leo, who, two months before, upon the death of the brave old Marcian, had been in a somewhat similar manner raised by *his* barbarian patron Aspar to the Eastern throne, approved the choice, and the two Emperors, between whose characters there was no little resemblance, reigned together with more harmony and more unity of purpose than had often marked the counsels of Ravenna and Constantinople.

Elevation  
of Majorian to the  
Empire.  
457.

The new Emperor, *Julius Valerius Majorianus*, came of an official stock. His maternal grandfather, Majorian, was Master General of the Soldiery in 379 when Theodosius was raised to the Empire. The elevation of that

Previous  
history of  
Majorian.

<sup>1</sup> 'Et occisus est Messiam (*sic*) Patricius ejus XVI Kal. Nov.' Anon. Cuspiniani, s. a. 456.

<sup>2</sup> Anon. Cuspiniani. Rubeus, the historian of Ravenna, does not throw any light on the position of Columellae, though he unhesitatingly places it at six miles *from Ravenna*.

BOOK III. Emperor took place at Sirmium (not far from Belgrade),  
 CH. 5. and Majorian's head-quarters were then at Acincus, well-known to us under its modern name of Buda as the western half of the capital of Hungary. The son-in-law of the elder, and father of the younger, Majorian was a faithful comrade of Aetius, and reached the 'respectable' office of Quaestor. The future Emperor served his apprenticeship to arms under his father's friend, and was rising high in the service when suddenly Aetius dismissed him from his military employments. No reason was assigned for this harsh step, but the young officer and his friends maintained that it was solely due to the envy of the Patrician's wife, who feared that the fame of her husband and son would suffer eclipse by Majorian's growing reputation<sup>1</sup>. He retired for the time to his estate, and to the pursuits of agriculture, but when Aetius himself fell under the dagger of the assassin, his fortunes naturally revived, and Valentinian III. called him forth from his seclusion to bestow upon him one of the highest posts in the army. In this position he probably co-operated with Ricimer in the overthrow of Avitus<sup>2</sup>. What is more certain is that, as already related, he was raised on the last day of February, 457, to the dignity of Master of the Soldiery, and on the 1st of April in the same year was saluted as Augustus.

At once a flash of something like the old defiant spirit

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the prosaic kernel of Sidonius' declamation. Through 131 angry hexameters he makes the wife of Aetius rave on, recounting the exploits of the young Majorian, and urging her husband to slay both him and Ricimer, who are both too illustrious not to arrive at supreme power.

<sup>2</sup> As we are informed by the chronicler Marius, 'Dejectus est Avitus Imperator a Majoriano et Ricimere Placentiâ.'

of Rome shewed her enemies that she had again a soldier for Emperor. In the short interval between February and April, Majorian had sent an expedition which successfully repelled an inroad of 900 Alamanni, who had forced their way over the Rhaetian Alps to the northern shore of Lake Maggiore. He was next summoned to Campania, to whose rich plains Gaiseric had this year directed his piratical fleet. The lordly Vandal, fat with luxurious living, sat lazily in his galley while the Mauretanian peasant, himself a slave, ravaged the country, dragging off captives, cattle, spoil, everything that could be carried away, and swept them into the holds of the Vandal war-ships. Such was the picture of arrogant and indolent rapacity when the troops of Majorian appeared on the scene. In an instant all was changed ; horses were landed, suits of mail were donned, poisoned arrows were fitted to the string, and fiery darts were brandished in the hand. On both sides the trumpets sounded, and the dragon ensigns floated sinuously to the breeze. Then came the clash of opposing squadrons, soon followed by the flight of the Vandals. Horses and men crowded into the water in an agony of fear, and only the strongest swimmers succeeded in reaching the ships. When the fight was over, Majorian roamed over the battle-field examining the bodies of the slain. Among them was a well-known corpse, that of the husband of Gaiseric's sister. All the wounds of the Roman soldiers were in front ; all those of the Vandals in the back. Such is the account which Sidonius gives of the encounter. After making every deduction for rhetorical amplification, we are bound to believe that the Vandal was worsted in a skirmish, and retired from the shores of Campania.

BOOK III.  
CH. 5.457.  
Campaign  
against the  
Alamanniand the  
Vandals.

BOOK III.  
CH. 5.

457.

A campaign in Pannonia apparently followed; the obscure details of which need not be given here. But it may be observed that among the subject nations who are represented as following the standards of Majorian are mentioned the Rugian and the Ostrogoth<sup>1</sup>. So invariable was the course of barbarian movement into Italy. The tribes who were to be the next conquerors of Rome always first figured as her stipendiaries.

45  
Majorian  
Consul.

The second year of Majorian's reign was signalled by his accepting the office of Consul in conjunction with his Byzantine colleague, Leo. Scarcely since the palmy days of the Republic had two men so worthy of that famous dignity ridden behind the Lictors and Fasces and given their names to the year. The address of Majorian to the Senate, written at Ravenna and preserved among his laws, makes a show of moderation and deference for that ancient body, which though it was probably understood by all concerned to be only a piece of acting, was yet gracious and dignified acting. He says that having been elected by the free choice of the Senate, and by the will of his valiant army, he consents to assume a dignity for which he has himself no desire, in order that he may not be accused of ingratitude to the Commonwealth, nor seem to wish to live only to himself. He implores the favour of Heaven, and asks

His letter  
to the  
Senate.

Novellae  
Majoriani,  
Tit. III.

<sup>1</sup> Here is the list from Sidonius, to be taken for what it is worth. Strict ethnological accuracy is not to be looked for from so declamatory a writer—

‘ Bastarna, Suevus,  
Pannonius, Neurus, Chunus, Geta, Dacus, Alanus,  
Bellonothus, *Rugus*, Burgundio, Vesus, Alites,  
Bisalta, *Ostrogothus*, Procrustes, Sarmata, Moschus,  
Post aquilas venere tuas.’

(Sidonius, Carm. v. 474-478.)

for their co-operation with the Emperor of their choice. BOOK III.  
 ‘Let them take heart as to their own fortunes. As a CH. 5.  
 private man he always condemned the infamy of in- 458.  
 formers, and he is not going to encourage them now  
 that he is Emperor. The military affairs of the State  
 shall receive the ceaseless attention of himself and his  
 father and Patrician Ricimer. They two together by  
 hard service in the field have freed the State of the  
 Roman world from foreign foes and civil broil, and with  
 the help of Providence they will yet preserve it.’

‘Fare ye well, Conscript Fathers of the most vener-  
 able order.’

The years 458 and 459 were probably spent in war Transactions in  
 with the Visigothic king, naturally indignant at the Gaul.  
 overthrow of his candidate for Empire. It would  
 necessarily be waged in Gaul, but we know nothing  
 concerning it but the result, a glorious one for Majorian.  
 In the year 459 ‘Ambassadors were sent to the Galli-  
 cians by Nepotian, Master of the Soldiery, and Sunieric  
 the Count, announcing that Majorian the Augustus, and  
 Theodoric the King, have ratified with one another the  
 firmest bonds of peace, the Goths having been overcome  
 in a certain conflict<sup>1</sup>.’

But though we know nothing else of these campaigns Majorian  
 in Gaul, they have a certain interest for us as having and Sido-  
 nius.  
 been the means of bringing Majorian within the orbit  
 of the universal panegyrist, Sidonius. That unfor-  
 tunate courtier must have seen with deep chagrin all  
 his hopes of official advancement blasted by the de-

<sup>1</sup> Idatius (sub anno). Observe the interesting Gothic name  
 Sunieric = Sunja-reiks, the king of truth. So in Ulfilas’ translation  
 of John xviii. 38, ‘Thanuk quth imma Peilatus, “Wa ist so *sunja* ?”’  
 ‘Then quoth Pilate to him, “What is the *truth* ?”’

BOOK III.  
CH. 5.

458.

thronement of his father-in-law. Apparently he did not accept the triumph of the party of Ricimer without a struggle. Did he actually join himself to the Visigoths, and fight under their banners against Rome? Did he stir up revolt among the Gaulish provincials, and strive to maintain the cause of some other claimant to the purple? Did the city of Lyons join the revolt, and was she only reduced to obedience by the motley army of Majorian after a stubborn resistance? Such are some of the conclusions drawn by commentators from a few obscure passages<sup>1</sup> in the works of Sidonius, who naturally describes the conversations of the Olympian deities with much greater minuteness than his own exertions on behalf of an unsuccessful cause.

<sup>1</sup> Evidence that Sidonius resisted the Ricimer-Majorian party with the sword—

‘Sic mihi *diverso nuper sub Marte* cadenti  
Jussisti erecto, victor, ut essem animo.’

(Carm. iv. 11–12, addressed to Majorian.)

Hint of a conspiracy (date uncertain)—

‘Quum de capessendo diademate conjuratio Marcelliana co-  
queretur.’ (Ep. i. 11.)

Evidence that Lyons had suffered in war, possibly civil war—

‘Bove, fruge, colono  
Civibus exhausta est [Lugdunus]; stantis fortuna latebat;  
Dum capitur vae quanta fuit! . . . .  
Etsi concidimus, veniens tamen omnia tecum  
Restituis; funus vestri quia causa triumphii  
Ipsa ruina placet.’ (Carm. v. 580–6.)

These last words are generally interpreted as a piece of abject flattery, addressed to Majorian by the leader of a revolt which he had quelled. But they would be equally suitable and less base if Lyons had fallen into the hands of the Burgundians or Visigoths, and had been recaptured by Majorian after an obstinate siege. The passage

‘Nostrae de moenibus urbis

Visceribus miseris insertum depulit ensem.’ (Ib. 572–3.)

seems to me rather to favour the latter conjecture.



The provoking silence of the chroniclers prevents us from either affirming or denying these conclusions. One can only say that it is extraordinary that a civil war, and the reduction by force of so important a city of the empire as Lyons (if these events really occurred) should have been left altogether unnoticed by the historians.

However this may have been, there is no doubt that Sidonius was in disgrace, that the triumphant Emperor was at Lyons, and that a hint was given that a panegyric would be the price of the poet's restoration to favour. The broker in this transaction was the Emperor's secretary, Petrus, himself a man of letters and a distinguished diplomatist. The panegyric was accordingly composed and recited, no doubt in the Emperor's hearing, amidst the applause of the courtiers. It was a hard task for the son-in-law of Avitus to bring his flowing rhetoric to glorify the rival, perhaps the executioner of his relative. But the instinct of reverence for success carried Sidonius safely through his perilous undertaking. In 603 lines (one more than he had given to his father-in-law) he sang the joy of Rome in the triumphs of Majorian, and the very difficulty of the enterprise invigorated his Muse. The personifications are decidedly less tedious, the imagery more imaginative, the flow of declamation more animated, in this work than in the panegyric on Avitus<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The poem is prefaced by two dedications, one to Petrus and one to the Emperor, in which a natural comparison is made between the author's position and that of Virgil and Horace. Majorian is obviously another Augustus, Petrus another Maecenas. There is some literary interest in these dedications, if it be true, as stated by M. Monfalcon (quoted by Grégoire), that they are our sole authority for the

BOOK III:  
CH. 5.  
458.

Sidonius  
atones for  
his treason  
by a  
panegyric.

BOOK III.  
CH. 5.

458.  
Plan of  
the poem.

This is the plan of the poem. Rome sits on her throne, and receives the homage and the appropriate presents of the nations from India to Spain. To her enters Africa, 'the third part of the world,' her black cheeks scarred, and the ears of corn which crowned her bending forehead all broken. She complains that she is made miserable by the insolent happiness of one man (Gaiseric), the robber, the maid-servant's son, who has insinuated himself into her home, and made himself master of her resources. She calls on Rome to deliver her from this hateful vassalage; on Rome, now able to strike by the strong arm of Majorian, whose parentage and past exploits she recounts at considerable length. That Rome may not think the exploit beyond her strength, she informs her that Gaiseric is now sodden and enervated by the life of vicious luxury which he has been leading. His pale cheeks and bilious habit show that his endless banquets have at last begun to tell upon his health. What Capua was to Hannibal, the cook-shops of Carthage have been to the Vandal.

Rome, in a few dignified words, assures Africa of coming succour. Gaul, which for nearly eighty years has been left unvisited by Emperors, has now been visited by Majorian, who has corrected the disorders caused by that long absence, and who is now coming 'through these wars to thy war. Why waste we our time in speaking? He will arrive: he will conquer.'

Here ends the allegorical part of the poem. Then, in his own person, and with some poetic fire, Sidonius recounts the later exploits of the Emperor; the fight universally received tradition that it was the good offices of Maecenas, that procured the pardon of Horace after the battle of Philippi.

by Maggiore, the defeat of the Vandal pirates, the passage of the Alps by his motley armament.

BOOK III.  
CH. 5.

458.

Description of Majorian crossing the Alps.

'Twas Winter. Through the marble-shining Alps  
The rocks affronting Heaven, the cliffs whose brows  
Threaten incessantly the wayfarer  
With the dry deluge of the avalanche',  
Through these thy foot first passes: thou the first  
Dost plant thy pole upon the slippery slopes.

And now the host has reached the midmost pass:  
Their limbs begin to stiffen with the cold;  
Blocked in the narrow windings of the way,  
To walk, or e'en to creep incapable,  
So great the glassy smoothness of the ground.

Then one, by chance, from out that straggling file,  
Whose wheel the frozen Danube once had worn,  
Exclaims, "I choose instead the gory sword  
And the chill awfulness of quiet death.

Murmurs of his barbarian followers.

A rigid torpor binds my stiffening limbs,  
With fire of frost my parchèd frame consumes<sup>2</sup>.  
We follow one who labours without end,  
Our stripling leader<sup>3</sup>. Now the bravest brave,  
Monarch or people, safe are housed in camp,  
And, e'en in camp, lie under shaggy hides.  
But we—we change the order of the year.  
What he commands transcends e'en Nature's laws.  
He bends not ever from his ruthless schemes  
And grudges Victory to the angry sky.  
Oh, where and of what nation was he born  
Whom I, the Scythian, cannot cope with? Where,  
Under what rock Hyrcanian did he grow,  
Sucking the milk of tigers? To this pitch

<sup>1</sup> 'Siccamque miuantes  
Per scopulos pluviam.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Quodam mihi corpus adustum  
Frigoris igne perit.'

So Milton—

'The parching air  
Burns froze, and cold performs the effect of fire.'

<sup>3</sup> The picture of the young Napoleon crossing the Alps on his way to Marengo will suggest itself to every reader.

BOOK III.  
CH. 5.

458.

What drearier clime than mine has hardened him?  
Lo, where he stands upon that topmost peak,  
Urges his shivering ranks, and laughs at cold,  
Hot with his spirit's ardour. When I heard,  
Long since, the bugles of a Northern king,  
They told me the Imperial arms of Rome  
And Caesar's household dwelt in soft repose,  
Lapped in perennial luxury. For me  
Nought boots it to have changed my former lords  
If this be Roman kingship."

His proud  
answer.

More he had said,  
But from thy cliff thou hurlest thy words of scorn,  
"Whoe'er thou art whom daunts the difficult way,  
Cut with thine axe the hanging water's hide<sup>1</sup>,  
And make thee steps out of the frozen wave.  
Stop those unmanly murmurs. Sloth is cold,  
But work will warm you. Soldiers! look on me!  
Hath Nature given me the Centaur's limbs;  
The wings of Pegasus; the plumèd heels  
Of Zetes or of Calais? Yet I crunch  
E'en now the snowy summit of the Pass.  
You groan beneath a winter in the Alps.  
I promise you a soldier's recompense—  
A summer 'neath the sun of Africa."  
Thus with thy voice thou cheerest the fainting ranks;  
Thus thine example stirs them. Every toil  
By thee ordained is first by thee endured.  
The crowd with eagerness obey thy laws,  
Seeing their author is their promptest slave.'

Passing on from the story of Majorian's campaigns, the poet here interweaves a little skilful panegyric on his friend Petrus, and then comes to the practical part of his effusion. 'Look upon the ruined estate of our city of Lyons, and lighten her load of taxation.'

'And since to these o'erwearied hearts of ours,  
Our only Hope, thou comest, help our fall:

<sup>1</sup> 'Frange cutem pendentis aquae, scalptoque fluento  
Sit tibi lympha, gradus.'

And while thou passest turn a pitying eye  
 On this thy city, Lyons' Conqueror!  
 Broken with toil, she looks to thee for rest.  
 Peace hast thou given: give hope for days to come.  
 The ox, after short respite from the plough,  
 Better resumes his struggle with the soil.  
 Our Lyons sees herself bereft of all,  
 Oxen and corn, the serf, the citizen.  
 While still she stood she felt not all her bliss:  
 Captive, she knows her past prosperity.

BOOK III.

CH. 5.

458.

Oh Emperor! when Delight is ours once more,  
 'Tis sweet to muse on vanished Misery.  
 Though sack, though fire have laid our glories low,  
 Thy coming pays for all. Ruin herself  
 Shall please us if she make thy triumph more.'

The word triumph suggests the thought of the Emperor's car climbing the Capitolian slope, of the mural and civic crowns encircling his forehead, of all the spoils of the defeated Vandal borne proudly before him. 'I will go before thee through the struggling crowds. I will make my feeble note heard through all their noisy shoutings. I will say that thou hast conquered seas and mountains, the Alps, the Syrtes, and the Libyan hordes; but I will say that before and beyond all these victories, thou hast conquered my heart by thy clemency.'

Who could resist such energy of praise? Not Majorian, whose frank and hearty nature accepted the flattery with all goodwill, and who appears to have not merely pardoned the poet, but received him into the circle of his friends. Emboldened by the success of his first petition, Sidonius essayed another of a more personal kind than that which he had already preferred on behalf of his fellow-citizens. He himself individually was groaning under the weight of a heavy assessment,

Sidonius,  
 received  
 into favour  
 by the  
 Emperor,  
 petitions  
 for a reduc-  
 tion of his  
 assessment.

BOOK III.  
CH. 5.

458.

perhaps imposed upon him as a penalty for some insurrectionary movements after the downfall of Avitus. We are not able to ascertain the precise mode of this assessment, but it is clear that it was denoted by heads (*capita*), and that a wealthy or an obnoxious citizen paid taxes upon so many more *capita* than his poorer or more loyal neighbours. Sidonius considered that he had at least three *capita* too many; that is, probably, that his taxes were fourfold what they ought to be. In a short epigrammatic poem he reminds the Emperor of a certain fortunate hunting excursion of his, in which he had killed three animals on one day—a stag, a boar, and a serpent<sup>1</sup>, and hints that another day's sport of the same kind would now be acceptable. Hercules killed the three-headed monster Geryon; let Majorian, the new Hercules, knock the three *capita* from the poet's taxability, and give him a chance of unharassed life. The answer to this curious petition is not stated, but it was probably favourable, since the author included the epigram in the list of his published poems.

The banquet at Arles, and the lampoons of Sidonius.

Majorian's war with the Visigoths detained him for more than a year in Gaul, which he afterwards revisited, and Sidonius had frequent access to the Imperial presence. To the end of his life but slight solicitation was needed to draw from him the story of the high doings which he witnessed 'in the times of Augustus Majorian.' One of these anecdotes, though trifling in itself, may serve to introduce us into the private life of a Roman Emperor of the last days. The scene is laid at Arles,

<sup>1</sup> This feat is also referred to in the Panegyric—

'Tribus hunc tremuere sagittis

Anguis, cervus, aper.'

(153-4.)

the capital of Roman Gaul ; the time is the year 461 <sup>1</sup>. BOOK III.  
CH. 5.  
There had suddenly appeared in the city a copy of 461.  
anonymous verses, bitterly satirising some of the chief persons in the Imperial Court, cleverly hitting off the favourite vices of each, and all but mentioning their names. The nobles were furious, and none more so than a certain Paeonius, a demagogue turned courtier, a man who had played a little with revolutionary intrigue and then sold himself for office, a slave to money-getting till the time came when he saw an opportunity of bartering money for position, and purchasing a highly-placed husband for his only daughter by a lavish and unusual dowry. This was the person who, born in obscurity though not in poverty, had clambered up, no one exactly knew how, during the troubles and anarchy at Rome, to the distinguished position of Prefect of the Gauls. This was he who, having been among the courtiers most severely lashed by the anonymous satirist, was the keenest in his endeavours to find out and punish the author. That author, there can be little doubt, was Sidonius himself. He affects to consider it a great injustice that the piece should have been fathered upon him ; but in the letter <sup>2</sup> (written several years later) in which he tells the story, he nowhere expressly repeats his denial, and the impression left on our minds is that though, as a nobleman and a bishop, he deemed it decorous to disavow the lampoon, as an author he was very proud of the excitement which it had occasioned.

<sup>1</sup> Clinton's date 461 is put beyond a doubt by the mention of Severinus as Consul Ordinarius. The year of his Consulship was 461.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. i. 11.

BOOK III.  
CH. 5.

461.

At the time when the satire appeared, Sidonius was still at his country-house in Auvergne ; but public opinion, guided by Paeonius, tried him for the authorship, and found him guilty, in his absence. When he appeared at Arles shortly afterwards, and, having paid his respects to the Emperor, descended into the Forum, what unaccountable change had come over his former friends ? One came up to salute him, bowed profoundly, so as almost to touch his knees, and passed on ; another, with gloomy face, stalked past him without uttering a word ; the greater number skulked behind a column or a statue, so as to avoid the disagreeable necessity of either saluting or ignoring him. Sidonius professes to have been utterly bewildered by this strange conduct, till at length one of the number, deputed by the rest, approached and saluted him. ‘Do you see those men ?’ said he. ‘Yes, I see them, and view their odd conduct with wonder, but certainly not with admiration.’ ‘They know that you have written a lampoon, and all either detest or fear you in consequence.’ ‘Who ? What ? Where ? When ? Why ?’ Sidonius asked in well-simulated wrath. Then, with greater composure and with a smile on his face, ‘Be good enough to ask those angry gentlemen whether the base informer who dares to accuse me of such an offence pretends to have seen the lampoon in my handwriting. If he does not, they will do well to retract their charge, and behave a little less offensively.’ With this equivocal denial, the courtiers were, or professed themselves to be, satisfied, and they came forward promptly and in a body to clasp his hand and kiss him on the cheek.

The next day the Emperor gave a banquet in connection with the games of the amphitheatre. Among the



invited guests were the consul of the year, two ex-BOOK III  
CH. 5. consuls, two other men of high rank, and Paeonius and Sidonius, whose black looks at one another no doubt caused much secret amusement to their fellow-guests and to the Emperor himself. Host and guests, eight in all, reclined upon the *triclinium* (triple couch) with the table in the midst. It is interesting to observe the order of precedence. The most distinguished guest, Severinus (the consul for the year), reclined at the end (or 'horn,' as it was called) of the left-hand couch. Opposite to him, at the first seat of the right-hand couch, reclined the Imperial host. The other guests lay according to their order of precedence, counting from the seat of Severinus; and so it came to pass that Paeonius, as ex-prefect of Gaul, reclined in the fourth place, at the middle couch, and that Sidonius, who as yet had no official rank, was the lowest placed among the guests, but by that very inferiority was brought into the closest contact with the Emperor.

When the banquet was nearly ended, Majorian began to talk. First, in few words, to the Consul Severinus. Then ensued a more lively dialogue on literary subjects with the consular who lay next him. Camillus came next, a consular, and nephew of a consul. 'Brother Camillus,' said the Emperor, 'you had an uncle, for whose sake I think I may congratulate myself on having given you a consulship.' 'Do not say *a* consulship, Lord Augustus! Call it a *first* consulship.' This clever hint, that further favours of the same kind would be welcome, was received with a tumult of applause, notwithstanding the Emperor's presence. Then passing Paeonius by unnoticed, the Imperial host put some question to Athenius, the fifth in order of the

BOOK III. CH. 5.  
461.

guests. Paeonius rudely interposed a reply. The Emperor noticed the discourtesy, and the peculiar smile which played upon his face (for he greatly enjoyed a joke, and had a happy way of sharing in it without compromising his dignity) amply avenged Athenius<sup>1</sup>. The latter, who was a wily old fellow, and who already had a grudge against Paeonius for taking precedence of him at the banquet, silyly said, 'I don't wonder, Emperor, that my neighbour has stolen my place, since he is not ashamed to take the words out of your mouth.' 'A fine opening this for satirists!' said the sixth guest, whose turn in the conversation was now come. Thereupon the Emperor turned his head round to his next-door neighbour and said, 'I hear, Count Sidonius, that you are a writer of satires.' 'I *hear* it, too,' he answered.

*Majorian* (laughing). 'Spare ourselves at any rate.'

*Sidonius*. 'In refraining from forbidden jests I spare myself.'

*Majorian*. 'And what shall we do to those who molest you?'

*Sidonius*. 'My lord Emperor! let my accuser accuse me in public. If he makes good his charge, I am ready to pay the penalty: but if, as is probable, I succeed in refuting it, let me have the leave of your Clemency to write what I like against him.'

The Emperor glanced at Paeonius, to see if he consented to the conditions; but the ex-prefect sat silent, with a blush of anger and shame upon his face. 'I will grant your request,' said Majorian, 'if you will this

<sup>1</sup> 'Subrisit Augustus, ut erat auctoritate servatâ, cum se communioni dedisset joci plenus, per quem cachinnum non minus obtigit Athenio vindictae, quam contigisset injuriae.'

moment put it into verse.' 'Agreed,' answered Sidonius. He turned round and looked at the servant as if asking for water to dip his fingers in. There was an instant's pause while the nimble slave ran round the *triclinium*. Then said the Emperor, 'The verses are to be improvised, remember :'

BOOK III.  
CH. 5.  
461.

'Who says I write Satires? Dread sovereign! I cry,  
Let him prove his indictment, or pay for his lie';

was the immediate repartee of Sidonius. There was again a tumult of applause, and the Emperor, in a tone perhaps of mock solemnity, called God and the Commonwealth to witness that the poet should henceforth write whatever he chose, adding that he considered it to be the duty of the wearer of the purple to repress this kind of vague and unproven accusation, brought by malice against innocent members of the nobility. Sidonius bowed his head and modestly uttered his thanks; Paeonius turned pale, dejection succeeded to rage, and he looked like a criminal on his way to execution. Soon after, the guests rose up. When they had donned their cloaks (*chlamydes*) and gone a few steps from the Imperial presence, the consul fell on the neck of the favoured courtier, the two consulars<sup>2</sup> kissed his hand, and Paeonius, with fawning and pitiable gestures, implored pardon. On the intercession of the other members of the party, Sidonius consented to grant it, and to promise that he would leave Paeonius unlashd by his satires if he would take warning by the miserable

<sup>1</sup> 'Scribere me Satyram qui culpat, maxime princeps,  
Hanc rogo decernas aut probet aut timeat.'

<sup>2</sup> Literally the ex-prefects, but they were consulars also, and Paeonius was not.

BOOK III. success of this attempt to blacken his character and  
 CH. 5. cease to molest him for the future.

461.

Social de-  
 ference  
 still paid  
 to the  
 Emperor.

The story of this banquet at Arles is no doubt trivial enough, and may seem scarcely worth the telling, but it illustrates the immense social deference which was still paid to the name of Augustus, and the glamour of the purple robe. When we are reading the history of far-distant times, we are sometimes disposed to marvel how men could be found willing to take prominent positions in the world, when the state of affairs was so hopeless that they must inevitably become either the pity or the laughing-stock of the universe. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the fact that so long as Power commands the reverence of the few score of persons with whom it comes into daily contact, it will have irresistible attractions for mankind. Further than its own immediate environment it need not and will not look: least of all will it trouble itself about the sort of figure that it will make in History. Here was Julius Majorianus, struggling bravely it is true, but almost desperately, for the last tatters of the Roman inheritance that were left to him by the Rhone and the Ebro; yet his favour still gave life, a harsh word from his lips or a frown on his brow sent the unhappy object of his displeasure out of the Imperial presence, pale, trembling, half-choked with terror; the courtiers still contended for the smile of 'the Purple-wearer' as eagerly as when he was the master of sixty legions, and when none could escape his wrath or stay his hand, from Cheviot to Caucasus.

Legisla-  
 tion of  
 Majorian.

458.

The short reign of Majorian was a time of considerable legislative activity. Especially was the year of his consulship (during which his head-quarters seem

to have been at the palace in Ravenna) marked by his additions ('*Novellae*') to the Theodosian code. But the laws all tell one tale; all speak, in one relation or another, of the desperate misery which was engulfing the inhabitants of Italy. Population was decreasing so fast that the Emperor, notwithstanding the strong feeling of the Church in favour of virginity, and against second marriage, found himself compelled to forbid women to take the veil under forty years of age, and to command all childless widows to marry a second husband within five years of the death of the first, or else to forfeit half their property to their relatives or to the exchequer. The cost of maintaining a family was so great, the rivalry for the paternal inheritance so keen, that in many instances an unpopular son or brother was forced into the ranks of the clergy and actually ordained Priest against his will. Where such an offence was proved to have been committed, the unjust parents were condemned to forfeit a third of their property to the unwillingly consecrated son, who was permitted to return into the world, a forced ordination having no binding power. The Archdeacon who might have wittingly co-operated in the offence, was liable to a fine of ten pounds of gold (£400). A curious provision that if a Bishop had been consecrated without his consent the ordination could not be impugned, is perhaps a concession to the harmless comedy of the *Nolo Episcopari*, which was so commonly played in those days. Or possibly it may have proceeded from an uneasy consciousness of the Legislator's own share in the forced consecration of his predecessor at Placentia.

BOOK III.  
CH. 5.

Laws  
against  
celibacy.

Novellae  
Majorian,  
Tit. VII.

Tit. II.

Majorian's laws are remarkably outspoken as to the rapacity of the tax-collectors, especially those who were

BOOK III. clothed with military authority, whose extortions he  
 CH. 5. denounces in the strongest terms. 'Raging against the  
 Against rapacious Tax-collectors. bowels of the unhappy Provincials, they are safe from  
 Nov. Maj. punishment, for none cares to accuse them before a pro-  
 Tit. IV. vincial judge, too often supine and cowardly and ready  
 to cringe and fawn at the mere sight of an officer's belt,  
 while the expense and vexation of an appeal to the Im-  
 perial court is so great that most men will submit to  
 any injustice rather than resort to it.' A change in ad-  
 ministration, bringing fiscal questions under the more  
 immediate notice of the Governor of the Province, was  
 meant to remedy this evil, which may have been partly  
 relieved by another short but emphatic edict concerning  
 The De- the election of the *Defensor*, that singular official of  
 fensor. whose functions some account has been already given <sup>1</sup>  
 Tit. V. and who was perhaps the only functionary whom Power  
 has ever avowedly created as a safeguard against its  
 own exorbitances. The harassed citizens were daily  
 leaving the towns, to pick up a precarious subsistence  
 in the remote country districts, where they were at  
 least safe from the hated presence of the *Apparitor* <sup>2</sup>  
 and the *Canonicarius* <sup>3</sup>. In order to check this process  
 of depletion, Majorian ordained that in accordance with  
 ancient usage, the magistracy and people of each con-  
 siderable town should assemble and choose a *Defensor*,  
 who, when confirmed in his office by the Emperor,  
 might avail to keep the insolence of the revenue officers  
 in check and tempt back the scattered citizens to their  
 homes.

Laws  
 about the  
 Currency.

The exactions of the tax-gatherers, themselves very  
 likely (as is the custom in decaying States) often

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i, pp. 626-628.

<sup>2</sup> Magistrate's officer.

<sup>3</sup> Tax-collector.

defrauded of their lawful salaries, were sometimes so BOOK III.  
extravagant as to be almost amusing. Thus continual CH. 5.  
objection was made to taking the Imperial *Solidus* Nov. Maj.  
(twelve shilling piece), even though it was of full Tit. I.  
weight; and some strange tricks, the nature of which  
we can but faintly conjecture, were played upon the  
popular partiality for gold pieces with the head of  
Faustina<sup>1</sup>, coins which, if they represented the pure  
undepreciated currency of the Antonine period before  
the terrible debasements of the coinage in the third  
century, were not undeserving of a high place in public  
favour. All this elaborate machinery of injustice was  
destroyed, as far as mere decrees could destroy it, by  
Majorian, and the officers of the Tribute were ordered  
to take all coins alike which were of full weight, ex-  
cept those minted of Gaulish gold, which was admitted  
to be of an inferior quality.

Some other unwarranted importunities of the official Illegal  
hierarchy were repressed by the same series of decrees. exactions.  
Servants of the Governors asking for New-Year's Nov. Maj.  
Gifts<sup>2</sup>, Presents on the first day of the month<sup>3</sup>, or Tit. I.  
Drink-money<sup>4</sup> (literally Dust-money, an indemnifica-  
tion for the dust which the messenger had contracted  
on his journey), all these were punished by a fine of  
£40 for each offence. Governors of Provinces were not

<sup>1</sup> 'Illis quoque fraudibus obviandum est, quas in varietate ponderum exactorum calliditas facere consuevit, qui vetustis caliginibus abutentes Faustinae aliorumque nominum nescientibus faciant mentionem.' Ritter in his note understands this passage as relating to Faustina, the third wife of Constantius II; but surely the two Faustinae, the wives of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, whose coins we possess in such abundance, are far more likely to be meant.

<sup>2</sup> Strenae (the lineal ancestor of the French *Étrennes*).

<sup>3</sup> Kalendae.

<sup>4</sup> Pulveraticum.

BOOK III. to be at liberty to half-ruin a city by taking up their  
 CH. 5. quarters therein for an indefinite time, and calling upon the inhabitants to bring a constant supply of rare and costly delicacies to their table. Three days' provisions for himself and suite, on a scale of expense to be settled by the Prefect, were all that the Governor might require annually from each city.

Tit. IV. These enactments, together with a remission of arrears of tribute of more than eleven years' standing, seemed to show a generous consideration for the poverty of the exhausted people. They were however

Tit. I. to some extent counterbalanced by a little clause in the longest edict, which stated that now that the cultivator was relieved from so many presents to governors and other illegal exactions, he could not think it burdensome if his land-tax<sup>1</sup>, which now stood at two per thousand on capital (equivalent perhaps to two per cent. on income<sup>2</sup>), was increased by one quarter so as to stand thenceforward at two-and-a-half per thousand.

Destruction of public buildings. One more law must be noticed, since it shows the disintegrating influences which were already at work upon the buildings of old Rome, influences internal and domestic, which, far more than the transitory visits of Goth or Vandal, have brought about her present desolation.

Nov. Maj. 'We, as Rulers of the Republic, are determined to  
 Tit. VI. remedy the detestable process which has long been going on, whereby the face of the venerable city [of Rome] is disfigured. For it is too plain that the public edifices, in which all the adornment of the city

<sup>1</sup> 'Canon.'

<sup>2</sup> Taking the average rate of interest at 10 per cent.



consists, are being everywhere pulled to pieces at the suggestion of the city officials, on the pretence that stones are wanted for the public works. Thus the stately piles of our old buildings are being frittered away, and great constructions are ruined in order to effect some trifling repair. Hence, too, it arises that private individuals engaged in house-building, who are in a position to curry favour with the city judges, do not hesitate to supply themselves with materials from the public buildings, although these which have so much to do with the splendour of the city ought to be regarded with civic affection, and repaired rather than destroyed.

‘We therefore decree that no buildings or ancient monuments raised by our forefathers for use or beauty, shall be destroyed by any man; that the judge who orders their destruction shall pay a fine of fifty pounds of gold [£2000]; and that the clerks and other subordinates who have fulfilled his orders shall be beaten with clubs and have their hands struck off—those hands that have defiled the ancient monuments which they ought to have preserved.

‘The buildings which are altogether past repair shall be transferred, to adorn some other edifice of a not less public character.’

It is interesting to observe that this decree, so purely Roman and local in its character, was like the others issued from Ravenna (10th July, 458).

But it was not for legislation, nor for administrative reform, but for war that Julius Majorianus had been robed in the mantle of the Caesars. To him all the Roman world looked with hope, to exorcise the cruel

BOOK III. and mocking fiend that had entered the corpse of Car-  
 CH. 5. thage. If the Vandals could be subdued, he was surely  
 460. the man to do it. He had felled the forests of the  
 Apennines, and filled the harbours of the Upper and  
 Lower Sea with Roman triremes. His campaign in  
 Gaul had been successful, and the haughty Visigoth  
 was now his submissive ally. It might have been  
 expected that he would repeat the exploit of Scipio  
 Africanus, transport his troops to the Libyan shore,  
 and fight another Zama within a week's march of  
 Carthage. For some reason not clearly explained to  
 us, possibly because he knew of disaffection among  
 the Mauretanian and Numidian allies of Gaiseric, he  
 adopted a different course. He determined to make  
 Spain his base of operations, and to assemble his navy,  
 consisting of 300 ships<sup>1</sup>, in that magnificent bay, one of  
 the finest natural harbours in the Mediterranean, which  
 we call Carthage, and which then still bore the  
 name of 'the New Carthage.' It seemed as if history  
 was about to repeat itself, and as if Spain might play  
 the same part now, in the thirteenth century of Rome,  
 which she had played in the sixth century, when the  
 Hasdrubals and the Scipios fought there. But while  
 all Europe was watching the movements of the Roman  
 triremes in that spacious bay, suddenly the enterprise  
 collapsed. Gaiseric first laid waste with fire and sword  
 the provinces of Mauretania which Majorian meant to  
 make his base of operations, and poisoned the wells  
 along his expected line of march. Then by some  
 stratagem, of which we know nothing, the Vandals,  
 'warned by traitors,' carried off the ships from out of  
 the Bay of Carthage. One chronicler<sup>2</sup> places the

<sup>1</sup> So Priscus, fr. 13 (ed. Bonn).

<sup>2</sup> Marius.

scene of this mysterious event not at Carthagera itself, but at Elice (now Elche), a sea-side town about forty miles north of Carthagera, often visited by modern travellers who wish to see the forests of palm-trees which impart to it a thoroughly Oriental aspect, and have earned for it the name of 'the Palmyra of Europe.' 'No Palm of Victory for me,' may have been the thought of Majorian as he sadly turned his face northwards—the preparations of three years wasted, and vengeance on the Vandal indefinitely postponed.

This happened in May, 460. On the second of August in the following year he was dethroned and put to death near the city of Tortona (in the south-east corner of the modern Duchy of Piedmont). No cause is assigned by any of the chroniclers for his fall, except 'the jealousy of Ricimer, acted upon by the counsels of envious men;' nor is anything told us of the circumstances of his death. Probably enough, the early successes of Majorian were the real cause of his ruin, for which his final disaster furnished the pretext.

The high estimate usually formed by historians of the character of Majorian, and of what, under happier auspices, he might have accomplished for the restoration of the fortunes of Rome, is justified by nothing so much as by the impression which he produced on his most unwearied enemies, the Vandals. The Byzantine historian, Procopius, writing a century after these events, and describing the overthrow of the Vandal Empire by Justinian, gives us the following paragraph about Majorian, which must surely have been derived from Vandal sources, and may possibly have formed part of some song or Saga about Gaiseric. Scarcely a

BOOK III.  
CH. 5.

460.

Deposition  
and death  
of Ma-  
jorian.

The Majorian-Saga of the Vandals as told by Procopius.

BOOK III. detail in the picture is historically true, and the chief  
 CH. 5. event recorded—the visit to Carthage—is almost certainly fictitious, but the portrait, taken as a whole, and especially if drawn by enemies, is undoubtedly the likeness of a hero.

De Bello  
 Vandalico,  
 I. 7.

‘I ought also to make mention of Majorian<sup>1</sup>, who some time before [Anthemius] occupied the Western Throne. For this Majorian, who surpassed all that had been emperors of Rome in every virtue, could not tamely endure the misery of Africa, but collected in Liguria a most potent armament against the Vandals, and determined to head the expedition himself, being a man eager to take his full share in every hardship, and especially in every danger.

‘Now, thinking it would be expedient to ascertain previously the forces of the Vandals, the temper of Gaiseric, and the good or bad dispositions towards him of the Libyans and Moors, he took this duty upon himself. He therefore sent himself as his own ambassador, under a feigned name, to the court of Gaiseric; and, fearing lest he might be discovered, and so ruin both himself and his enterprise, he hit upon this plan. As all men knew that his hair was so yellow as to be likened to pure gold, he applied to it a wash invented expressly for the purpose, and was able within the appointed time to turn it into a bluish black.

‘Now, when he came into the presence of Gaiseric, among other devices of that king to strike terror into the soul of the supposed ambassador, he was led as a friend into the arsenal where all the weapons were collected, which were many and extremely wonderful. At his entrance, say they, all these arms stirred of

<sup>1</sup> The form of the name adopted by Procopius is ‘Majorinus.’

their own accord, and made such a clash and uproar that Gaiseric thought an earthquake was happening. But when he came forth and enquired about the earthquake, and could meet with no one who knew anything about it, great fear fell upon him, though he was still far from conjecturing *who* had been the cause of this portent.

‘Majorian then, having accomplished all that he intended, departed to Liguria, and leading his army by land, marched to the Pillars of Hercules, intending to cross by those straits, and so conduct his troops from thence to Carthage. Now when Gaiseric heard this, and perceived that he had been imposed upon in the matter of the embassy, great fear fell upon him, and he set everything in readiness for war. The Romans, on the other hand, relying on the proved valour of Majorian, were in good hopes that they should win back Africa for the Empire. But all these hopes were foiled by the death of Majorian, who was attacked by dysentery. He was a man in all things gentle to his subjects, but terrible to his enemies.’

## CHAPTER VI.

SUPREMACY OF RICIMER (continued). SEVERUS II, THE LUCANIAN, A. D. 461-465. ANTHEMIUS, THE CLIENT OF BYZANTIUM, A. D. 467-472.

### Authorities.

#### *Sources :—*

BOOK III. THE Panegyric and Epistles of SIDONIUS, as quoted in the  
CH. 6. text.

The Chroniclers as before, with the addition of CASSIODORUS, minister of Theodoric the Ostrogoth (480-575). Now that he no longer has Prosper to copy from, his chronicle becomes valuable as an independent authority.

We are also compelled here, in the great dearth of contemporary information, to rely occasionally on THEOPHANES, though a Byzantine historian of a poor type. Theophanes was born in 758 and died in 817. He was of noble birth, embraced the monastic life, and took part in the Iconoclastic controversy as a vehement upholder of the worship of images. His 'Chronographia' extends from the accession of Diocletian to the second year of the Emperor Michael I. (284-813).

For the life of Marcellinus our chief authority is the Lexicon of SUIDAS (of uncertain date, possibly not later than Theophanes).

For the quarrel between Anthemius and Ricimer the main authority is ENNODIUS, *De Vitâ Epiphaniî*, described in the text. Ennodius, Bishop of Ticinum, lived from about 473 to 521.

For the close of the reign of Anthemius some valuable details are furnished by the recently discovered fragments of the history

of JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS. The author was an orator of Antioch, probably of the seventh century, who wrote the history of the Empire from the Creation to the great earthquake and fire at Antioch in 526. Holder-Egger (*Neues Archiv*, I. 295) considers that Joannes had before him the history of Priscus and thence drew some valuable information. The few remains of his work which have been discovered are published in Müller's '*Fragmenta veterum Historicorum Graecorum.*' PRISCUS, of Panium (described Book ii, Chap. 2), gives the diplomatic history of the times with some fulness. Unfortunately we have his work only in fragments, relating to the negotiations in which the Empire was engaged, but as far as his information goes we may trust him thoroughly, as a contemporary and a man of truthful character.

BOOK II.  
CH. 6.

PAULUS DIACONUS (about 720 to 790) in his *Historia Romana*, a continuation of Eutropius, gives us some valuable fragments of information, but cannot be considered a first-rate authority for this period, though he will be invaluable for later centuries.

*Guide:—*

From this point onwards to the close of the Western Empire I am under constant obligation to Pallmann, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*. His second volume deals with the cycle of events which led to the elevation of Odovacar to supreme power in Italy, and with his subsequent overthrow by Theodoric the Ostrogoth.

LIBIUS SEVERUS, 'a Lucanian by nation,' was the man whom Ricimer had selected to wear the diadem snatched from the head of the murdered Majorian. He was proclaimed Emperor at Ravenna, on the nineteenth of November, 461. He died at Rome on the fifteenth of August, 465. These two dates sum up in truth the whole of our knowledge respecting this faint shadow of an Emperor. It should, perhaps, be added that one authority states that he 'lived religiously <sup>1</sup>.'

Accession  
of Severus  
II, the  
Lucanian.

Anonymus  
Cuspiniani.

<sup>1</sup> 'Severus Romae imperavit annis quatuor: ibique religiosè vivens decessit' (*Catalogus Imperatorum*, ed. Roncalli).

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.

461-465.  
His meek  
character

To one who is familiar with the name of the Lucanians, and who remembers the part which this stern Sabellian tribe, dwelling in the extreme south of Italy, played in three of Rome's greatest wars (the Pyrrhic, Second Punic, and Social), it seems strangely incongruous that the only contribution which Lucania furnished to the list of Roman Emperors should have been this meek inoffensive cipher-Augustus, who 'lived religiously,' and died quietly at Rome after four years of sovereignty, neither by his life nor by his death making a ripple on the downward stream of the Empire's fortunes.

and death.  
Did Ricimer  
poison  
him?

The only question which can raise a momentary interest in connection with this Emperor is as to the manner of his death. Was it due to the ordinary course of nature or to the hand of Ricimer? Cassiodorus, who is a good authority, and who wrote about half a century after these events, says cautiously, 'as some aver, by the hand of Ricimer, Severus was taken off by poison in the palace at Rome.' On the other hand, all the other chroniclers, one or two of whom are yet nearer in date than Cassiodorus, tell us simply that 'Lord Severus died;' and Sidonius, in a poem recited in the presence of Ricimer and his next succeeding puppet, says,

'August Severus now by *Nature's Law*  
Hath mingled with the company of gods!'

Though it is hazardous to determine what a poet bent on praising Power will *not* say, it seems probable that had the common voice of fame in the year 467 con-

'Auxerat Augustus naturae lege Severus  
Divorum numerum.' (Carm. ii. 317-318.)



nected the death of Severus with the poison-cup in the hand of Ricimer, that subject would have been judiciously evaded by Sidonius<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.  
461-465.

The four years of the nominal reign of Severus seem to have been a time of desultory and exhausting strife. The rule of Ricimer, if accepted as a disagreeable necessity by the inhabitants of Italy, was regarded with aversion by their neighbours, and we may infer that the hatefulness of the man more than counterbalanced the undeniable capacity of the general and the statesman. To understand the course of events during this obscure<sup>2</sup> time, we must look at the relations existing between the court of Ravenna and those of the four following cities, Constantinople, Carthage, Soissons, and Spalato.

Foreign  
relations of  
Italy—

I. Leo, 'the Emperor of the Eastern Romans,' beheld, evidently with deep displeasure, the downfall and murder of Majorian, a kindred spirit to his own, and the substitution of the puppet-Emperor Severus. The chronicler, who most faithfully represents the sympathies of the Byzantine Court<sup>3</sup>, uses such expressions as these: 'Severus invaded the place of Majorian,' 'Severus, who snatched the sovereignty of the West,' and refuses to insert him in his proper year in the list of Consuls. When the 'Romans of the West' applied for ships to replace the three hundred destroyed at Carthagena, the loss of which left them at the mercy of Gaiseric's invasions, Constantinople

with Leo,  
Emperor of  
the East;

<sup>1</sup> Holder-Egger (*Neues Archiv*, i. 303, n. 1) pronounces without hesitation for the natural character of the death of Severus.

<sup>2</sup> Obscure, but fitfully enlightened by the fragmentary information preserved by Priscus.

<sup>3</sup> Marcellinus.

BOOK III. coldly replied that the existing treaties with the Van-  
 CH. 6. dals would not allow of its rendering this assistance.

461-465. It despatched indeed during this interval one or two embassies to the court of Gaiseric, exhorting him to abstain from invading Sicily and the Italian provinces; but an embassy more or less was a matter of no concern to the Vandal monarch, and he continued his depredations unmoved by the Byzantine rhetoric.

with Gai-  
 seric, king  
 of the  
 Vandals;

2. Gaiseric himself had his reasons for viewing the course of events at Rome with displeasure. He had a candidate of his own for the Imperial Purple, and was deeply offended at that candidate's rejection. It will be remembered that after the sack of Rome he carried the Empress Eudoxia and her two daughters as state-prisoners to Carthage. Incessant embassies<sup>1</sup> from Byzantium had prayed for the surrender of these royal ladies whose captivity, like that of Placidia half a century before, was felt to be an especial insult to the majesty of an Augustus. At length, in the  
 462. seventh year of their exile, Gaiseric sent the widowed Empress with one daughter to Constantinople, and this was no doubt the occasion of that treaty of alliance between Africa and the East which Leo refused to endanger when the Romans applied to him for help.

<sup>1</sup> About the year 456, Marcian, as we are informed by Priscus, sent on this errand 'an ambassador named Bledas, a Bishop of Gaiseric's own sect (for it so happens that even the Vandals adhere to the religion of the Christians). This Bledas, when he found that his embassy was not going to be successful, took a bolder tone and said, "It will not turn out to your advantage, Gaiseric! if, puffed up by your present prosperity, you challenge the Eastern Emperor to war and refuse to give up the royal ladies." But neither his former blandishments nor his present threats availed to bring Gaiseric to reason, for he sent Bledas about his business and again despatched his forces to ravage Sicily and Italy' (Priscus, p. 216, ed. Bonn).

The other daughter, Eudocia, Gaiseric had already given in marriage to his son Hunneric—an ill-assorted union, for the lady was a devout Catholic and her husband a most bitter Arian. Placidia, the sister who was allowed to retire to Constantinople, was the wife of a Roman Senator, named Olybrius, and it was this man, bound to him by a somewhat loose tie of affinity, as being his son's brother-in-law, whom Gaiseric desired to place, and as we shall see, eventually did place for a few months on the Western throne.

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.  
461-465.

Here then was one grievance of the Vandal against Ricimer. Another was the refusal to comply with his claim to have all the property of Valentinian III and Aetius given up to him. The claim to the late Emperor's wealth of course rested on the alliance between his daughter and the Vandal prince. The more preposterous demand for the property of Aetius was probably in some way connected with the fact that his son Gaudentius had been also carried captive to Carthage. But, whatever the foundation for them, these two demands were urged by the Vandal king with insolent pertinacity, and were the occasion of countless embassies. As they were not complied with, and as the friendship now established between Carthage and Constantinople forbade him to molest the coasts of Greece, Gaiseric decided that 'the nation with whom God was angry<sup>1</sup>' was the Italian. Every year, with the return of spring, he sailed his piratical fleet to the coasts of Campania, or Sicily, or Apulia. He avoided the large towns, fearing to find there sufficiently large bodies of troops to check his advance, and fell by preference on the villages and unwalled towns, carrying off all

<sup>1</sup> See p. 252.

BOOK III the moveable wealth, and making slaves of the inhabit-  
 CH. 6. ants. This man's instincts were essentially those of  
 461-465. the robber rather than the conqueror. He was, so to  
 speak, the representative of that brood of pirates whom  
 Pompey exterminated, the forerunner of those count-  
 less spoilers of the sea, Saracen, Moorish, Algerian, by  
 whom the Mediterranean coasts have been wasted,  
 almost down to our own day.

with  
 Aegidius,  
 'tyrant' of  
 Soissons ;

3. The romantic and mysterious career of Aegidius,  
 comrade of Majorian, Master of the Roman Soldiery,  
 voluntarily chosen king of the Franks during the exile  
 of an unpopular chieftain, lies beyond our proper limits,  
 and some of its chief events rest on too doubtful autho-  
 rities to make it desirable here to describe it at length.  
 But we are fully warranted in saying that he ruled as  
 an independent governor, possibly with the title of  
 king, at Soissons (in Belgic Gaul), that he bitterly  
 resented the death of his old companion-in-arms, Ma-  
 jorian, and was preparing to avenge it upon Italy—  
 that is, upon Ricimer—that, probably in order to further  
 these purposes of revenge, he sent ambassadors 'across  
 the Ocean to the Vandals,' and that Rome <sup>1</sup> remained for  
 a considerable time in the greatest terror and distress  
 in anticipation of this new Gaulish invasion. Event-  
 463. ually however he was 'drawn off from war with the  
 Italians by a difference with the Visigoths respecting  
 frontiers, which led to a campaign, in which Aegidius  
 performed acts of the greatest heroism <sup>2</sup>.' In this war  
 464. Frederic, brother of the Visigothic king, was killed, and  
 apparently Aegidius himself died (or was treacherously

<sup>1</sup> Priscus (p. 156) is our authority for attributing so much im-  
 portance to the hostile enterprises of Aegidius and Marcellinus.

<sup>2</sup> Priscus (as quoted above).

slain) soon after. The Visigoths annexed a large part of his territory, but the city of Soissons and his strange ill-defined power descended to his son Syagrius, whose acquaintance we have already made as a correspondent of Sidonius, and with whose overthrow by Clovis every student of French history is familiar, as one of the earliest incidents in the career of the young Merovingian <sup>1</sup>.

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.  
461-465.

Possibly the English reader is more familiar with the name of Aegidius than he is aware of. For some unaccountable reason the French have modified that name into Gilles. Saint Gilles, the hermit of Languedoc, who lived about a hundred years after Count Aegidius, attained great renown both in France and England. The parish of St. Giles' in London and the name Giles, once so common, especially in the rural districts of England, are thus linked certainly, if somewhat obscurely, with the memory of the 'Tyrrannus' of Soissons and the friend of Majorian.

4. We pass from Soissons by the Aisne to the long arcades of Spalato, among the bays and islands of the Dalmatian coast. Here <sup>2</sup>, in the vast palace of Diocletian, lived and reigned Marcellinus <sup>3</sup>, 'Patrician of the East,' 'ruler of Dalmatia and of the Epirote Illyrians.' The pupil of Aetius and the counsellor of Majorian, he had in the deaths of those two men a double reason for withdrawing from the blood-stained

with Marcellinus,  
Dynast of Dalmatia.

<sup>1</sup> This was the event which led to the quarrel between Clovis and one of his soldiers. 'Thus didst thou serve the vase of Soissons.'

<sup>2</sup> The assignment of Spalato as the scene of the Court of Marcellinus is only a conjecture, but it seems probable that a ruler of Dalmatia would make that place his head-quarters.

<sup>3</sup> Not to be confounded with the chronicler of that name.

BOOK III. circle of Roman politics. Yet he does not seem, like  
 CH. 6. Aegidius, to have broken with Ricimer immediately  
 461-465. upon the death of his friend. He fought in Sicily at  
 the head of the Imperial troops, and achieved some  
 considerable successes over the Vandals. Finding how-  
 ever that Ricimer was endeavouring, by bribes, to steal  
 away the hearts of his soldiers, and knowing that  
 he could not hope to vie in wealth with the Suevic  
 Patrician, he retired to Dalmatia, and there founded  
 an independent and hostile principality. 'A reasonable  
 and noble man,' we are told<sup>1</sup>, 'learned, courageous, and  
 statesmanlike, keeping his government free, not serving  
 the Roman Emperor, nor any prince or nation, but  
 ruling his own subjects in righteousness.' Apparently  
 one of the few men in high office who still clung to  
 the old Pagan religion and worshipped Jupiter Capi-  
 tolinus, while all the rest of the world was ranging  
 itself for or against the Council of Chalcedon; prac-  
 tising divination and holding long conversations with a  
 certain philosopher Sallust, who shared his most secret  
 counsels and dwelt in his palace; this relic of an earlier  
 world, deposited by the vicissitudes of the times upon  
 the shores of Dalmatia, is one of the most unique figures  
 of the age, and we would gladly know more of his  
 history. What concerns our present purpose however  
 is the settled hostility which he displayed for some  
 years to the domination of Ricimer, and the constant  
 fear which pervaded Italy during that time of an inva-  
 sion from the opposite coast of the Adriatic. At length  
 (probably about 465) the good offices of Byzantium  
 were asked and obtained; an ambassador was sent by

<sup>1</sup> By Suidas, himself a late writer, but almost certainly here pre-  
 serving in his Dictionary some scraps of contemporary tradition.

the Eastern Emperor to entreat Marcellinus to lay aside his plans of revenge; he complied with the request, and, as we shall soon see, even co-operated once more with Rome against the Vandals.

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.  
461-465.

Neither of these two men, Aegidius and Marcellinus, founded any enduring monarchy out of the fragments of the Empire; nor did any other Roman succeed in the attempt. All the political reconstruction was the work of barbarian hands. Yet on the dissolution of Alexander's Empire, states and monarchies innumerable were established throughout Asia and Africa by Greek adventurers. When the Khalifate fell, Saracen chiefs profited by the ruin. When the Mogul Empire of Delhi lost its vitality, Mohammedan as well as Hindoo Rajahs founded sovereignties which endured for many generations. In the early part of this century the Ali Pasha of Egypt entirely succeeded, and the Ali Pasha of Albania all but succeeded, in rendering themselves virtually independent of the Ottoman Porte. Reasons might probably be easily assigned why no such success was attainable by a Roman Prefect of the Praetorium, or Master of the Soldiery, but we cannot wonder that the experiment was made, nor should we have been surprised if it had been made more frequently.

No Roman adventurer succeeded in founding a kingdom for himself in the breaking up of the Empire.

Other enemies besides those whom we have enumerated were probably making Ricimer's position at the helm of the Commonwealth a difficult one. In the year 464 Beorgor, king of the Alans, was routed and killed by the Patrician, 'at Bergamo, at the foot of the mountains<sup>1</sup>.' We hear nothing more about this

Invasion of Alans.

6 February.

<sup>1</sup> Cuspiniani Anon.: 'Rustico et Olybrio Coss. occisus est Beorgor Rex Alanorum Bergamo ad Peden Montis VIII Idus Februarias.' Though Bergamo is in the district which we now call the Milanese, does not this description look like the beginning of the name Piedmont?

BOOK III. descent of the savage half-Tartar tribe into the plains  
 CH. 6. of Lombardy. Possibly Beorgor was the successor of  
 461-465. that Sangiban, king of the Alans, who fought, with doubtful fidelity, under Aetius on the Mauriac Plains, and he may have forced his way over the Splugen from Coire to Chiavenna, and thence to Bergamo. For one invasion of this kind, leading to a pitched battle, which has claimed a place in the meagre pages of the chroniclers, there were probably many lesser inroads and skirmishes of which no record has been preserved.

Interregnum of twenty months after the death of Severus.

It was in August, 465, as was before said, that the unnoticeable Severus died. For a year and eight months from that time no man was saluted as Augustus in the Western half of the Roman Empire. This absolute vacancy of the Imperial office tells a far more striking tale in a pure autocracy, such as the Roman Government had become, than in a constitutional state, where the powers of the sovereign may be, so to speak, 'put in commission.' During all those twenty months, the Patrician must have been avowedly the sole source of power, legislative, military, judicial, and the question must have forced itself on many minds, 'What is the use of wasting the dwindling income of the state on the household of an Emperor, when all the work of ruling is done by the Patrician?' Thus the interregnum of 465-467 prepared the way for the abolition of the dignity of Augustus in 476. It is doubtful, however, whether Ricimer at this period entertained any thoughts of dispensing with the '*fainéant*' Emperors. It seems more probable that he was balancing in his mind the respective advantages to be derived from an alliance with Carthage or with Constantinople, the isolated position which Italy had



occupied for the last six years being obviously no longer tenable. If this view be correct, there is perhaps a slightly greater probability of his innocence of the death of Severus. An inoffensive and almost useful tool would hardly have been removed by force, if his employer had not decided how he was to be replaced.

However this may be, the interregnum was terminated by a decision in favour of Constantinople. Not Olybrius, the brother-in-law of the son of Gaiseric, but Anthemius, the son-in-law of the deceased Emperor Marcian, was selected by Ricimer to be the wearer of the purple; and great was the Vandal's rage in consequence. The equivalent which the Eastern Empire was to pay for the still-coveted honour of giving an Augustus to Rome was hearty support against the African enemy, with whom it is probable that her own relations had for some months been growing less friendly. A great combined campaign of 468 against the Vandals—a campaign in which Leo, Marcellinus, and Ricimer all joined their forces—was the fruit of this alliance, and it will be well first to describe this campaign, postponing for the moment the merely complimentary proceedings connected with the new Emperor's accession to the Western throne.

The Court of Constantinople must have been at this time a curious study for any unprejudiced observer who could keep his head cool in the whirlpool of its contending factions. Passions and ambitions as old as humanity were there, striving side by side with special theological formulæ whose very names are almost forgotten among men. While the mob of Constantinople were eagerly discussing Bishop Timothy the Weasel's revolt against the Council of Chalcedon, or Bishop Peter

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.  
467.

Ricimer allies himself with Constantinople and gives the purple to Anthemius.

Factions at the Byzantine court.

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.

467.

the Fuller's addition of four words to the Trisagion, Basilicus, the brother of the Emperor's wife, and Zeno, the husband of the Emperor's daughter, were playing their stealthy, remorseless, bloody game for the succession to the throne of the Emperor, Leo.

Aspar and  
his sons.

When Ricimer's proposals for an alliance reached Constantinople, power was slipping from the hands of the general who had for forty years been the most powerful man in the Eastern Court—Aspar, the son of Ardaburius. An Alan by extraction, he, with his father, had been sent as long ago as 424 on the expedition to Italy, which overthrew the usurper Joannes and established the young Valentinian on the throne of his uncle Honorius<sup>1</sup>. Since then he had been a consul (434), and the father of consuls (447, 459, 465). He was called 'First of the Patricians'<sup>2</sup>; he stood on the very steps of the throne, and might have been Emperor himself, but he was an Arian. Being therefore by his theological tenets, which he had probably inherited from his barbarian ancestors, and was too proud to forego, disqualified from himself reigning over 'the orthodox Romans,' he made it his care that the purple should at least be always worn by men subservient to his interests. The brave young soldier who stretched himself to sleep in the courtyard of Gaiseric's palace, whom the hovering eagle overshadowed, and whom the Vandal dismissed with a true presage of his future greatness, was Marcian, '*domesticus*' of Aspar<sup>3</sup>. So long as he reigned (450–457) the influence of his patron appears to have remained unshaken. On his death there seems to have been some expectation that

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 846.<sup>2</sup> Marcellinus, s. a. 471.<sup>3</sup> See p. 261.

his son-in-law, Anthemius, would succeed him<sup>1</sup>, but the predominant influence of Aspar and his son Ardaburius again secured the election of a dependant, their *curator*, Leo.

But, whatever might be the manner of a man's elevation to the supreme dignity of the state, even though, as in the cases of Marcian and Leo, something like domestic service might be the ladder of his promotion, when once he was hailed Augustus, the elaborate court-ceremonial of Byzantium enveloped him in the eyes of acclaiming crowds and literally adoring courtiers with all 'the divinity that doth hedge a king.' We have an apt illustration of this in one of those anecdotes with which the chroniclers so curiously diversify their otherwise meagre pages. A few years after Leo's accession, as we are informed by Marcellinus, he fell sick of a fever. Jacobus, a man of Greek nationality and Pagan faith, and one in whom a great natural genius for the healing art had been enriched by a long course of study, was called in to prescribe for the Imperial patient. When he entered 'the sacred bed-chamber,' he presumed to take a seat by the Emperor's bedside without having received any sign that he was at liberty to do so, and then proceeded to make his diagnosis of the case. When he returned at noon to 'the sacred couch,' he found the possibility of such impertinence averted by the removal of the chair. He perceived the meaning of the hint, and at once, with awful 'intrepidity,' sat down upon the Imperial couch itself, explaining to the sick Emperor that he did so in conformity with the rules

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.

Accession  
of Leo.  
Servility  
of the  
Eastern  
Courtiers.

462.

<sup>1</sup> Sidonius represents Anthemius as refusing the diadem and as not choosing to be indebted to his wife for the purple (Carm. ii. 210-219), but it is quite possible that they were never offered to him.

BOOK III. laid down by the old masters of his art, and not out of  
 CH. 6. any disrespect to him.

Breach be-  
 tween Leo  
 and Aspar.

457.

To Leo the servility of the Byzantine Court was perhaps useful, as giving him courage to resist the too imperious mandates of his old master. It happened, apparently in the first year of his reign, that Aspar asked him to appoint one of his brother Arians to the post of Prefect of the City. Cowed by his long habit of deference Leo assented, but regretted his compliance the moment afterwards. That night he sent for an orthodox senator, and installed him, stealthily and with haste, in the vacant office. Great was Aspar's wrath when he heard of this act of disobedience on the part of his sovereign. He came black-browed into the purple presence-chamber, and grasping the Emperor's robe, said to him, 'Emperor! it is not fitting that he who is wrapped in this purple should tell lies!' To which Leo replied, 'Yea, rather, it is not fitting that the Emperor should be bound to do the bidding of any of his subjects, especially when by his compliance he injures the state <sup>1</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> This characteristic story rests directly upon nothing but the poor authority of Cedrenus (11th or 12th century). But it harmonises with the circumstances of the Byzantine court at this time, and it receives, I think, quite sufficient confirmation from the following passage of the contemporary historian Candidus (quoted by Photius, *Bibliotheca Cod.* lxxix), 'He also speaks [at the beginning of Leo's reign] concerning Tatian and Vivianus, and *how there was a dispute between Aspar and the Emperor concerning them, and what words they uttered to one another.*' One may almost venture to assign the parts to the two rivals. Tatian, a trusted and orthodox counsellor (who presided at the Council of Chalcedon), is probably the Senator who was installed in the dead of night as prefect; Vivianus the disappointed competitor for this post, is soothed by being appointed consul in the year 463. The whole of this excerpt of Photius is of great value for the history of the Emperor Leo.

For thirteen years the breach between the First of the Patricians and his late *curator* went on widening. Yet Aspar was still a great power in the State, and it seemed not improbable that one of his three sons, Ardaburius, Patricius, or Hermenric, would succeed the sonless Leo who was already passing the prime of life. To strengthen himself against the anger of his former patron, the Emperor began to cultivate the friendship of some of the Isaurian adventurers who at that time abounded in Constantinople, wild, rugged, unpopular men from the highlands of Asia Minor, but men who were not likely to fail him 'when hard came to hard.' One of these men, who was known by the barbarous appellation Tarasicodissa, son of Rusumbladeotus, changed his name to Zeno, and received the Emperor's daughter Ariadne in marriage. Thenceforward it was understood that Zeno was the head of the party opposed to Aspar, and that he would, if possible, compass for himself, or at least for the younger Leo, his son by Ariadne, the succession to the Imperial throne.

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.  
458-471.

New  
favourites.

Zeno the  
Isaurian.

On the other hand, a powerful counterpoise to the influence of Zeno was found in Basiliscus, the brother of the Emperor's wife Verina. This man's craving to wear one day the Imperial diadem was so passionate and so ill-concealed, that it made him almost the laughing-stock of the Court; but it was well-known that he was the confidant of the still influential Aspar, and that in the fierce resentment of himself and his party against the Council of Chalcedon, they were willing to accept help even from the Arians in order to annul its decrees. Basiliscus, the Monophysite, practically denied the true Manhood of Jesus Christ; Aspar, the Arian, denied his true Godhead; but they were ready to co-operate in

Basiliscus.

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.

468.

Great armament against the Vandals under the command of Basiliscus.

order to drive out of Church and State the men who, in obedience to the Council of Chalcedon, maintained the combined Manhood and Godhead of the Saviour.

Such was the state of parties at Constantinople when in the spring of 468 Leo despatched his long prepared armament against the Vandals. It was meant to deal a crushing blow. The Western Empire contributed probably some supplies both of men and money; Marcellinus left his Dalmatian palace and his independent principality to serve as a general under the orders of the Roman Emperors; but the chief weight of the preparations fell, as was natural, on the comparatively unexhausted Empire of the East. Leo, who was a man of courage and capacity, was determined to spare neither trouble nor expense on this great enterprise. A thousand ships, a hundred thousand men, a hundred and thirty thousand pounds' weight of gold (£5,850,000 sterling), had been collected at Constantinople<sup>1</sup>. All seemed to promise well for the success of the armament, but all was ruined by the selection of its head. Basiliscus was appointed Generalissimo: and showed such miserable weakness in his command that later generations believed that Vandal gold, or the secret orders of

<sup>1</sup> Joannes Lydus, who as an official had good means of ascertaining the facts, though he wrote in the following century, puts the expenditure on this expedition at 65,000 lbs. weight of gold and 700,000 lbs. of silver, say a little over £5,000,000 sterling. He quite confirms the view taken by Procopius as to the mismanagement of the expedition, and the ruinous result of its failure. He says *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάντα ναύαμιον τῆς πολιτείας*. (De Magistratibus, iii. 43.) Candidus, who is an even better authority than Joannes Lydus, says that the treasure collected for this expedition amounted to 47,000 lbs. weight of gold and 700,000 lbs. of silver, and that this was partly raised from the sale of confiscated estates, partly contributed by Anthemius.

Aspar, anxious that his Arian fellow-believers should not be too hardly pressed, caused his failure. Either hypothesis may be true, but historians are too apt to forget the infinite depths of simple human stupidity.

Marcellinus sailed to Sardinia, and expelled the Vandals from that island. Heraclius, another Byzantine general, made a successful descent on Tripolis, took the cities of the Vandals in that region, and marched from thence westwards to the city of Carthage. The proceedings of Basiliscus and the main body of the host shall be told in the very words of the historian Procopius, who is here our only authority. Though he wrote more than half a century after the event, yet as he was an Eastern Roman, and served in that very campaign against Carthage, in which Belisarius did what Basiliscus failed to do, we may listen to his story with some confidence in its general correctness.

‘Basiliscus meanwhile, with his whole force, sailed for a town about thirty-five miles from Carthage, called Mercurion, from an old temple of Hermes there ; and if he had not with evil purpose lingered at that place, but had at once commenced his march to Carthage, he would have taken the city at the first shout, annihilated the strength of the Vandals, and reduced them to slavery ; so thoroughly was Gaiseric now alarmed at the irresistible might of the Emperor Leo, who had taken from him Sardinia and Tripolis, and had sent against him such an armament under Basiliscus as all men said the Romans had never fitted out before. All this was now hindered by the general’s procrastination, which was due either to cowardice or treachery. Profiting by the supineness

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.  
468.

533.

Success at  
the outset.

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.

468.

of Basiliscus, Gaiseric armed all his subjects as well as he could, and put them on board troop-ships. Other ships, fast-sailors and carrying no soldiers, he held in reserve. Then sending ambassadors to Basiliscus he begged for a delay of five days, pretending that if this were granted him he would consider how he might best comply with the wishes of the Emperor. And some say that he sent a large sum of money to Basiliscus, unknown to his soldiers, in order to purchase this armistice. He devised this scheme in the expectation, which was justified by the event, that in the meantime a wind would spring up which would be favourable to his purposes. Basiliscus then, either in obedience to the recommendation of Aspar, or as having been bribed to grant this truce, or because he really believed that it would be better for the army, stayed quietly in his camp waiting the convenience of the enemy. But the Vandals, as soon as ever the wind arose which they had been patiently expecting, unfurled their sails, and, taking the empty ships in tow, sailed against the enemy. As soon as they came near they set the empty ships on fire, and sent them with bellying sails full against the anchorage of the Romans. The ships of the latter, being tightly packed together in the quarter to which the fire-ships were directed, soon caught fire, and readily communicated it to one another.

Vandal  
Fire-ships.

‘When the fire was thus kindled, great terror naturally seized the Roman host. Soon, the whistling of the wind, the roar of the fire, the shouts of the soldiers to the sailors, and of the sailors to the soldiers, the strokes of the poles with which they strove to push off the fire-ships or their own burning companions, created a wild hubbub of discordant noises. And now were the



Vandals upon them, hurling javelins, sinking ships, or stripping the fugitive soldiers of their armour. Even in this crisis there were some among the Romans who played the man, most of all Joannes, second in command to Basiliscus, and quite guiltless of all his treachery. For when a great multitude of the enemy surrounded his ship, he from the deck killed numbers of them with his furious blows right and left; and when he saw that the ship was taken, he sprang in full armour from the quarter-deck into the sea. Then did Genzo, the son of Gaiseric, earnestly importune him to surrender, offering him assistance and promising him safety, but he none the less committed his body to the sea, with this one cry, "Never will Joannes fall into the hands of dogs."

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.

468.  
Roman  
Defeat.

' With this the war was ended. Heraclius returned home. Basiliscus, when he arrived at Byzantium, seated himself as a suppliant in the temple which is dedicated to the great Christ and God, and which is called Sophia [Wisdom] because the Byzantines think that epithet the most appropriate to God. On the earnest entreaty of his sister, the Empress Verina, he escaped death, but his hopes of the throne, for the sake of which he had done all these things, were for the present dashed <sup>1</sup> by the soon following fall of Aspar and Ardaburius.

Basiliscus  
pardoned  
on his  
return to  
Constanti-  
nople.

Truly in reading Procopius' account of all the valour and treasure wasted in this campaign, one can heartily echo the saying of a more recent Byzantine historian <sup>2</sup>, 'Better is an army of stags led by lions than an army of lions led by a stag.'

In some mysterious manner the close of this campaign

<sup>1</sup> Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, i. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cedrenus.

BOOK III. CH. 6. was connected with the fall of the brilliant and courageous Marcellinus. We are told that he 'perished by the treachery of one of his colleagues<sup>1</sup>,' that he was killed in Sicily<sup>2</sup>, that 'while bringing aid and succour to the Romans fighting against the Vandals near Carthage, he was guilefully struck down by the very men whom he was coming to help<sup>4</sup>.' We know that the Dalmatian palace was left empty, that there were no more talks by the shore of the plashing Adriatic between the general and his philosopher friend Sallust, concerning the nature of the gods and the causes of the ruin of this perplexing world. But why or by whom Marcellinus died remains a mystery.

468.  
Death of  
Marcellinus.  
Aug. 468<sup>3</sup>.

Entry of Anthemius into Rome. The unsuccessful campaign against Carthage occurred, as has been said, in the spring and summer of 468. We return to the events of the preceding spring in Italy. On the 12th of April 467, the population of Rome poured forth to meet the new Emperor who was henceforth to rule over them in firm alliance with his brother Augustus of Constantinople. At the third milestone from the city<sup>5</sup> Anthemius was solemnly proclaimed Emperor of Rome in the presence probably of a brilliant escort from Byzantium, including his wife Euphemia, daughter of an Emperor, and now Empress herself, of his three sons, Marcian, Romulus, and Procopius, and a daughter, Alypia<sup>6</sup>, who was to play an important part in cementing the new alliance between

<sup>1</sup> Procopius, as quoted above.

<sup>2</sup> Cassiodorus, s. a. 468.

<sup>3</sup> Cuspiniani Anon. s. a.

<sup>4</sup> Marcellinus, s. a. 468.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably on the road to Ostia, and 'at a place called Bron-totus,' says Cassiodorus. I have not found any other passage which throws light on this name.

<sup>6</sup> The name of Alypia is mentioned by Joannes Antiochenus, frag. 209.

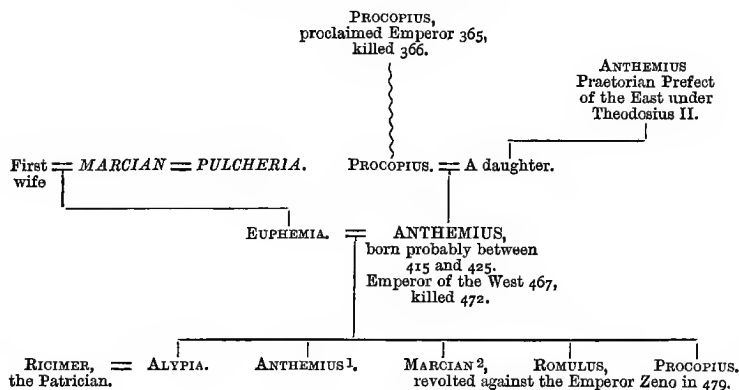
East and West. The Patrician Ricimer was there doubtless, scanning the features of the new sovereign, and endeavouring to find an answer to the question, 'To rule or to be ruled?' There too were the Senate, the copious German guards, the dwindled ranks of the legionaries, and the Roman populace, those jaded and dissipated sons of slaves who still called themselves Quirites, and talked of Father Mars and the She-Wolf's nurslings.

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.  
467.

The new Emperor was not merely son-in-law of Marcian, but in his own right a great Byzantine noble. On his father's side he was descended from that Procopius,

Pedigree and early history of Anthemius.

FAMILY OF ANTHEMIUS.



whose revolt against Valentinian and whose short-lived sovereignty were described at the beginning of this

<sup>1</sup> Ariadne begged her husband the Emperor Anastasius to bestow on this Anthemius the office of Praetorian Prefect, but he refused, with some anger, saying that it ought to be held only by men of letters (Joannes Lydus, De Magist. iii. 50).

<sup>2</sup> Marcian married Leontia, daughter of the Emperor Leo. He was therefore brother-in-law of Ariadne, and through her, of the Emperors Zeno and Anastasius (Evagrius, iii. 26).

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.

457.

history<sup>1</sup>. On his mother's side he traced his descent from Anthemius, Praetorian Prefect of the East, and virtual Regent during the early years of the minority of Theodosius II. Both this Anthemius (his maternal grandfather) and Procopius (his father) had been employed in important embassies to the Persian Court<sup>2</sup>. He himself, aided no doubt by his fortunate marriage to Euphemia, had in early manhood attained the successive dignities of Count of Illyricum, Master of the Soldiery, Consul (455), and Patrician. The expectation of some of the courtiers had marked him out as a probable successor of Marcian, but when the all-powerful voice of Aspar decreed the diadem to Leo, Anthemius sensibly took the disappointment in good part, attached himself loyally to the fortunes of the new Emperor, and was soon entrusted by him with an important command on the Lower Danube. Walamir the Ostrogoth, and Hormidac the Hun, were apparently both threatening the Roman inhabitants of the country which we now call Bulgaria. The populous city of Sardica (now Sofia), upon the northern slope of the Balkans, was in especial danger. Anthemius distinguished himself by the strict discipline which he maintained among his troops—often in those degenerate days more terrible to friend than foe—and in a pitched battle with Hormidac, he

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 139–160.

<sup>2</sup> The embassy of Anthemius, which was before 405, is mentioned by Theodoret (*de Vita Patrum*, cap. 8), that of Procopius by Sidonius (*Carm.* ii. 75 et seq.)—

‘Huic [Procopio] quondam juveni reparatio credita pacis  
Assyriae: stupuit primis se Parthus in annis  
Consilium non ferre senis’ &c.

But I confess that I doubt whether Sidonius has not made a blunder between the grandfather and the father of his hero.

obtained, we are told, a decisive victory, notwithstanding the treacherous conduct of a subordinate—probably a barbarian—officer, who in the very crisis of the battle drew off all his cavalry, and left the Imperial flank exposed. After the victory the Roman general imposed one indispensable condition of peace upon the conquered Huns—the surrender of his traitorous colleague, who was put to death in the sight of both armies<sup>1</sup>.

Such was the past history of the richly-clothed Byzantine official who, in the spring of 467, rode proudly in through the gate of Rome, amidst the acclamations of soldiery and populace. ‘Long live Anthemius Augustus! Long live Ricimer, the Patrician! Long live the Concord of the Emperors!’

When the tidings of these Roman pageants reached the banks of the Rhone, one can imagine what envy they raised in the heart of Sidonius. ‘An Emperor acclaimed, and I not there to weave his praises into hexameters!’ was a bitter reflection for the Gaulish poet. He had still some unused metaphors in his head; the necessary compliments to the Eastern Empire would give a motive entirely different from those of his two previous panegyrics; there was always the possibility of turning a few chapters of Livy into sonorous verse, and, in short, he resolved to resume the ‘useful toil’ of a Panegyrist. A deputation of citizens of Auvergne was appointed to congratulate Anthemius on his accession, perhaps to solicit the redress of grievances, or help against the Visigoths; but it is plain from Sidonius’ letters<sup>2</sup> that the message entrusted to the

Sidonius  
hears of the  
accession of  
Anthemius  
and meditates  
a new  
Panegyric.

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps slain by the Huns and his corpse delivered to the Romans. ‘Atque peregrino cecidit tua victima ferro’ (Sidonius, Carm. ii. 298).

<sup>2</sup> Sidonius, Ep. i. 5 and 9.

BOOK III. deputation was the last thing in his thoughts; the real  
 CH. 6. business to him was the Panegyric.

467.  
 His  
 journey  
 to Rome.

His errand having received the sanction of 'the sacred autograph,' he was entitled to travel at the public charge, by that admirably-organised postal service (the *cursus*) which was probably about the last to perish of the Imperial institutions. In a letter to a friend, he describes his journey with a few life-like touches, though some sentences reveal the rhetorician. But the friendly aspect of the well-known villas by the Rhone, the short climb up the torrent-beds and over the snows of the Alps, the voyage from Ticinum (*Pavia*) down the Ticino and the Po, past cities which recalled the honoured name of Virgil, and through woods of oak and maple alive with the sweet song of birds, are all vividly brought before us. He admired the situation of Ravenna<sup>1</sup>, so strong for defence, so convenient for commerce, and was in doubt whether to say that the city and the harbour (*Classis*) were connected or divided by the long 'Street of Caesar' which passed between them. But, though provisions of all kinds were to be had at Ravenna in abundance, he found, as other poets had found before him, that water fit for drinking was an unattainable luxury in that city, and he suffered the pangs of thirst though surrounded by streams<sup>2</sup>. Across the historic Rubicon and Metaurus, through the plains of Picenum and the valleys of Umbria, the Gaulish poet journeyed, no doubt with the lines of the fateful Panegyric churning in his head. But either the Sirocco blowing over the plains, or (as was probably

<sup>1</sup> This description of Ravenna was quoted in vol. i (p. 859).

<sup>2</sup> 'In medio undarum sitiēbamus.' I need not quote the parallel passage from the 'Ancient Mariner.'

the case) the imperfect drainage of Ravenna<sup>1</sup>, had by this time touched him with a fever. Alternately burning and shivering, he quaffed, but in vain, the waters of every stream and fountain near which his journey led him; and when the towers of Rome appeared upon the horizon, his feeling was that all the aqueducts of the City, and all the mimic seas of the amphitheatres<sup>2</sup>, would be insufficient to quench his thirst.

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.  
467.

However, before entering the city he visited the tombs of the Apostles, and after he had prostrated himself there, he felt that the languor of the fever departed from his limbs. He found the whole city in an uproar, on account of the wedding between the Patrician Ricimer and the daughter of the Ever-August Emperor; an union which, while it reversed the relations between 'the Father of the Emperor' and his new father-in-law, was avowedly based on state considerations, and was looked upon as affording a new guarantee for the public tranquillity by cementing the alliance between Byzantine legitimacy and the rough strength of Ricimer's barbarians. Theatres, markets, temples, were all resounding with the Fescennine verses in which the populace, sometimes not too decorously, expressed their congratulations to the wedded pair. The bridegroom, with a crown upon his head, and the flowered robe (*palmeta*) of the Consular upon his shoulders, went to fetch the bride from the house of

Sidonius finds Rome en fête on account of the marriage of Ricimer.

<sup>1</sup> Sidonius himself speaks of the 'Cloacalis puls fossarum discursu lintrium ventilata.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Inter haec patuit et Roma conspectui: cujus mihi non solum formas, *verum etiam naumachias* videbar epotaturus' (Sidonius, Ep. i. 5).

BOOK III. her father. In the universal hubbub, no one had any  
 CH. 6. ears for the Gallic deputation, and the Transalpine  
 467. poet, seeking the comparative quiet of his inn, drew, for the benefit of his correspondent at Lyons, an amusing picture of the 'earnest holiday'<sup>1</sup> of the humming city.

Sidonius  
 chooses a  
 patron.

When he next took up the pen he was able to announce a brilliant success. The great poem had been recited on New Year's Day (468), and had earned for its author applause and a high office in the state. As soon as the wedding turmoil was over, and the riches of two empires had been sufficiently displayed to public view, the affairs of the state resumed their ordinary course. The Gallic deputies met with entertainment and a courteous reception at the house of one Paulus, a venerable man and an ex-prefect. Sidonius describes with amusing *naïveté* how he then set to work to attach himself to a patron, Paulus being presumably too old to give him efficient assistance. The choice lay between two men, both of consular rank, and confessedly the most influential persons in the state after the Emperor, 'always excepting the predominant power of the military party'—a most significant exception, which probably included Ricimer and all his immediate followers.

Characters  
 of Avienus  
 and Basilius.

These two possible patrons were Gennadius Avienus and Caecina Basilius. Avienus had obtained the consulship in 450, and had been congratulated by all his friends on his early promotion. Basilius had been made consul in 463, and all the City had said, 'Why was not so good a man raised to the office before?'

<sup>1</sup> 'Occupatissimam vacationem totius civitatis.'



Either nobleman saw his gate thronged with suitors, and was followed through the forum by a crowd of obsequious clients; but the composition of the two bands of retainers was very different, and so was the nature of their hopes. Avienus was most successful in pushing the fortunes of his sons, his sons-in-law, and his brothers: when all this had been accomplished, there was not much court-influence left for more distant clients, whom he accordingly charmed with his affable demeanour, but who somehow found that they were not drawing any nearer to the goal of their wishes, notwithstanding all the hours that they spent at their patron's vestibule. Basilius had far fewer of his own friends to provide for, and his manner with those whom he admitted into the circle of his dependents was much more reserved, almost haughty; but when he did accept the homage of a client, he was almost certain to obtain for him the fulfilment of his desires. Upon this estimate of their respective characters, Sidonius wisely decided to attach himself to the *clientèle* of Basilius, while not omitting to pay frequent visits of ceremony at the door of Avienus.

Favoured by the efficient help of Basilius, the affairs of the Arvernian deputation were soon in good train for settlement. One day the Patron said to the Poet, 'Come, my Sollius! The Kalends of January are at hand, and the name of our Emperor is to be inscribed on the Fasti of this New Year. Though I know that you are weighed down with the responsibility of your deputation, can you not call upon your old Muse to inspire you with some lines in honour of the new consul? It is true that in so short a time they will have to be almost the result of improvisation, but I can

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.  
467.

Basilius proposes to Sidonius the production of a panegyric on Anthemius.

BOOK III. promise you a hearing for your verses, and at least my  
 CH. 6. hands for their applause.'

468.  
 The Panegyric re-  
 cited on  
 New Year's  
 Day.

It needs not to be said that the suggestion of Basilius was eagerly accepted, and that upon the morning of the first day of 468 Sidonius was ready with an 'impromptu' of 547 lines in praise of Anthemius. There is no need to describe this poem with any fulness of detail, since the reader can easily imagine its character from the two similar performances by the same hand in praise of Avitus and Majorian. There is an eloquent passage in praise of Constantinople<sup>1</sup>, and a graphic account of the manners of the Huns<sup>2</sup>, very closely corresponding with the pictures drawn by Jordanes and Ammianus. The lineage of Anthemius is described; the conventional prodigies which marked his birth and infancy; the events of his military and official career; and great stress is laid on his unwillingness—real or imaginary—to accept the Western Crown, till commanded to do so by Leo. The real interest of the poem for us lies in its hints as to the course of contemporary politics, in its portraiture of Gaiseric and Ricimer.

'Each Emperor that on Western soil is born  
 Fails from the helm and perishes forlorn.  
 Here the stern Vandal spreads his thousand sails  
 And yearly for our ruin courts the gales.  
 Strange fate! Upon our shores swart Afric throws  
 The nations reared amid Caucasian snows<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'At tu circumflua ponto  
 Europae atque Asiae commissam carpis utrimque  
 Temperiem nam Bistonios Aquilonis hiatus  
 Proxima Chalcidici sensim tuba temperat Euri,' &c.

Carm. ii. 46-49.

<sup>2</sup> Carm. ii. 243-269.

<sup>3</sup> This is mere poetic generalisation. Of course the Vandals had

Alone, till now, with Mars his only friend,  
 He on whose arm the fates of Rome depend,  
 Unconquered Ricimer has held at bay  
 The Freebooter<sup>1</sup> who makes our fields his prey,  
 Who skulks from battle, yet can still contrive  
 To reap the victor's spoils, a fugitive.  
 Whose strength by such a foe would not be spent  
 Who gives nor Peace nor War's arbitrament?  
 "No peace with Ricimer," his watchword dire,  
 And *this* the cause that fills his veins with fire.  
 He knows himself the offspring of a slave,  
 The sire he knows not who his being gave.  
 Hence envy gnaws him, that his rival springs,  
 Great Ricimer, on either side from kings.  
*His* sire a Sueve, a royal Gothic dame  
 His mother, who of Walia's lineage came;  
 The noble Walia, whose redoubted sword  
 Drove forth from Spain the motley, mongrel horde  
 Of Vandals, Alans, worsted in the fray,  
 And with their corpses covered Calpé's bay<sup>2</sup>?

But Ricimer alone, says the poet, can no longer ward off the perils of the Empire. There is need of an Emperor of the old type, one who can not only order wars, but wage them. Such an Emperor the East can furnish, and, on the intercession of Rome, she does furnish, in the bronzed veteran Anthemius. He and his son-in-law have prepared fleets and armies which will surely reduce Africa to its ancient obedience. In some future year, when Anthemius shall be consul for a third, or Ricimer for a second time, Sidonius promises himself the delight of again appearing before them to chant the fall of Gaiseric.

The florid Panegyric was received, its author tells us,

had nothing to do with Caucasus. For their Alan confederates the reference is less incorrect.

<sup>1</sup> Gaiseric.

<sup>2</sup> Carm. ii. 346-365.

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.

468.  
Success  
of the  
Panegyric.

Sidonius  
appointed  
Prefectus  
Urbis.

His  
duties and  
anxieties  
in that  
capacity.

with rapturous applause. Shouts of 'Sophos! Sophos!'<sup>1</sup> (the Greek equivalent of 'bravo') resounded from the benches where sat the senators conspicuous by their purple *laticlaves*<sup>2</sup>, and from the higher tiers of seats where swarmed the common people, the representatives of the once omnipotent Roman tribes<sup>3</sup>. A more striking proof of approbation was given by the Emperor, who, on the recommendation of Basilius, named Sidonius Prefect of the City of Rome<sup>4</sup>. Thus, as he himself piously expresses it, 'I have now, by the help of Christ and an opportune use of my pen, arrived at the Prefecture.' In modern states (China and the great American Republic alone excepted) it would be hard to find an instance of honours such as this conferred on the votaries of literature.

Sidonius was now in theory the third personage in the Empire, on a level with the Praetorian Prefects of Italy and Gaul, inferior only to the Emperor and the Patrician. In practice, however, it is probable that many a rude Herulian centurion or tribune counted for more than the versatile thin-minded poet. Besides his presidency over the Senate, the aqueducts, the market-places, the fore-shores, the harbour, the statues, were all under his care<sup>5</sup>. But his chief business—an infinitely harassing one in those dying days of the Empire

<sup>1</sup> σοφῶς.

<sup>2</sup> A broad stripe on the tunic.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ad *Sophos* meum non modo laticlavi sed tribulium quoque fragor concitaretur' (Sidonius, Ep. i. 9).

<sup>4</sup> Sidonius' words are 'egit cum consule meo ut me praefectum faceret senatui suo.' But the Presidency of the Senate was one of the functions of the *Praefectus Urbi*.

<sup>5</sup> See the 'Notitia Dignitatum in partibus Occidentis,' cap. iv, for a sketch of the duties of the *Praefectus Urbis*. See also vol. i. p. 608.

—was the care of the provisioning of the City, which rested upon him and his subordinate, the Commissary General (*Praefectus Annonae*), as the Earthly Providence of Rome. It is curious to read a letter from the new Prefect to a Gaulish friend, in which he expresses his fear lest, when he next visits the amphitheatre, he should hear a harsh cry of rage from the assembled multitude<sup>1</sup>, imputing their hunger to his incapacity. A gleam of hope shines upon him when he is informed that five ships, laden with corn and honey, have arrived at Ostia from Brindisi, and he despatches his *Praefectus Annonae* with all speed, to receive and distribute the precious cargoes.

BOOK III.  
Ch. 6.  
468.

Sidonius retained his new dignity only for one year, but on laying it down he probably received the title of Patrician<sup>2</sup>—a title which was in his case purely honorary, conferring no power and imposing no responsibility. The short tenure of his office does not exactly imply disgrace, but it may probably be asserted that if the Gaulish man of letters had shown any conspicuous ability in his Prefecture, his office would have been renewed to him at least for two or three years<sup>3</sup>. He

His retirement from office.

<sup>1</sup> Like the 'Pretium pone carnis humanae,' which was shouted by the people in the Colosseum, in 410, when Attalus was Emperor.

<sup>2</sup> This is inferred by his biographers from the letter to his wife, Papianilla, quoted above (p. 347), in which he speaks of himself as having achieved Patrician honours.

<sup>3</sup> In the list of Prefects of the City from 254 to 354, published by Mommsen (*Abhandlungen der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1850, pp. 627-630), there is one instance of the office being held for four years. A tenure of two years is the most frequent, one of three years is not uncommon. About forty-five Prefects in the century did not hold office for two consecutive years; but these more frequent changes generally coincide with periods of unsettlement and revolution in the Empire.

BOOK III. CH. 6.  
 469. quitted Rome in the year 469, never to return to that scene of petty intrigues and worn-out splendours—pigmies masquerading in the armour of giants—a scene which must have filled a thoughtful man with sadness and a cynic with a rapture of scorn.

Trial of  
 Arvandus,  
 Praetorian  
 Prefect  
 of Gaul.

But before he went he witnessed the commencement of a process which attracted his deepest interest, and filled him with varied emotions—the trial and condemnation of Arvandus. This man, a fellow-countryman of Sidonius, had for five years held the office of Praetorian Prefect of Gaul. The popularity which marked his earlier years of office had utterly deserted him before its close. He had become involved in debt, from which he sought to free himself by the most unjust exactions from the provincials; he had grown moody, suspicious, implacable; and finally, knowing the universal disfavour with which the Roman population regarded him, he had commenced a traitorous correspondence with the Visigothic king. Three Gaulish noblemen were sent as a deputation to Rome to impeach Arvandus before the Senate on charges of extortion and high treason (*rerum repetundarum et laesae majestatis*).

The arrival of this deputation, and of the accused governor, placed Sidonius in an awkward position. The deputies were all of them acquaintances of his, and one (Tonantius Ferreolus) was his relative and intimate friend<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, Arvandus had been long known, though never liked by him, and he says that he would have thought it base and barbarous to desert him in the day of his calamity. This difficulty however was soon solved by the accused himself, who,

<sup>1</sup> See the letter, quoted on p. 324, describing the visit to his house.

when Sidonius and a fellow-noble ventured to give him some hints as to the necessity of tact and moderation in the conduct of his case, flamed out upon them with the words, 'Away with you, ye degenerate sons of Prefects! Who wants your fussy anxiety on my behalf? Arvandus' conscience suffices for Arvandus. I can scarcely bring myself even to hire an advocate to defend me from the charge of extortion.'

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.  
469.

All the rest of his conduct was of a piece with this outburst of petulance. While the Gaulish deputies were walking about in sad-coloured garments, with downcast faces, as men who had a painful duty to perform on behalf of the oppressed, Arvandus, in a white toga, with scented hair and pumice-stoned face, gaily promenaded the Forum, nodding to his friends as if his salutation were still of the highest value, frequenting the jewellers' shops, chaffering over the price of fashionable knick-knacks, and all the while keeping up a running fire of complaints against the Emperor, the Senate, and the laws, for allowing a person of his quality to be subjected to the indignity of a trial.

The eventful day arrived. The Senate-house was crowded. The defendant, fresh from the hair-dresser's hands, walked boldly up to the benches of the 'prefectorians,' and took his seat, as if of right, in the most honourable place among his judges. Ferreolus, on the contrary, equally entitled to a seat among the 'prefectorians,' placed himself, along with his fellow-deputies, on one of the lowest benches of the Senate-house. The deputation set forth their case, and read the mandate which they had received from their fellow-citizens. Instead of lingering over the outworks of the indict-

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.

469.

Condemna-  
tion of  
Arvandus.

ment, the charges of peculation and extortion, they went rapidly to the heart of the matter, the accusation of treasonable intrigues with the Barbarians. A letter was produced, in the handwriting of the amanuensis of Arvandus, addressed to the Visigothic king. It tended to dissuade him from making peace with 'the Greek Emperor' (Anthemius), suggested that he should attack the Bretons<sup>1</sup>, who were allies of the Empire, and recommended that 'the Visigoths and the Burgundians should divide Gaul between them, according to the law of nations.' There might have been some difficulty in tracing the composition of this letter to Arvandus, but the infatuated culprit aimed the weapon against himself by at once boldly proclaiming that he was the author. 'Then you are guilty of high-treason' (*laesa majestas*), said every voice in the assembly. He then tried to retract and to qualify his previous admissions, for with incredible folly<sup>2</sup> he had hitherto supposed that nothing short of the actual assumption of the Imperial purple would have justified a condemnation for high-treason. But it was too late; his guilt was manifest. He was stripped of all his dignities, and the delicately-dressed and scented culprit was hurled, with every mark of disgrace, into a squalid dungeon on the Insula Tiberina, sentenced to be there killed by the executioner, to have his body dragged by an iron hook through the streets, and then to be cast into the Tiber.

<sup>1</sup> 'Britannos super Ligerim sitos impugnari oportere.'

(Sidonius, Ep. i. 7.)

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the dislocated relations of all the members of the Western Empire at this time might have afforded some precedents as a basis for this wild notion.



By the wise and merciful legislation of Theodosius, due to the suggestion of Ambrose<sup>1</sup>, an interval of thirty days necessarily elapsed between the utterance and the execution of a capital sentence. This interval Sidonius employed in pleading for a mitigation of the punishment of the fallen Prefect, though, as he contemptuously remarked, 'No greater calamity can befall him than that he should wish to live, after all the ignominy that has been heaped upon him.' An entry in one of the Chroniclers<sup>2</sup> seems to justify the inference that the intervention of Sidonius was successful, and that the capital sentence was commuted into one of perpetual exile.

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.

469.  
Sidonius  
pleads for  
a mitiga-  
tion of the  
sentence.

It is not improbable that one cause of Sidonius' departure from Rome may have been that he saw the political horizon darkening with the impending rupture between Ricimer and Anthemius. The great enterprise against Carthage, which should have united them, had failed, as was before stated (468); and thus, both Rome and the Suevic chief had humbled themselves before Byzantium for nothing. Anthemius was hot-tempered, and probably felt himself by intellect as well as by birth fitted for something better than to be the mere puppet of a barbarian. We have no hint as to the part taken by his daughter, in soothing or in exciting the combatants, but we can imagine that she let the middle-aged Patrician, her husband, see too plainly how vast she considered her condescension in becoming the wife of a barbarian. In 470 another event added fuel to the

Anthemius  
and Ricci-  
mer at  
feud.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 533.

<sup>2</sup> Cassiodorus s. a. 469, 'Marcianus et Zeno. His cons. Arabundus imperium temptans jussu Anthemii exilio deportatur.' The old reading Ardaburius is no doubt rightly rejected by Mommsen.

BOOK III. fire. The Emperor, who found his health failing him,  
 CH. 6.  
 471. believed that he was the victim of magical arts, and  
 arrested many persons upon the charge of thus com-  
 passing his death. A certain Romanus, an adherent of  
 Ricimer, himself bearing the title of Patrician as well  
 as that of Master of the Army, was among the persons  
 put to death on this accusation. Thereat Ricimer, in a  
 fury, flung out of Rome and called to his standards  
 6000 men who had served under him in the Vandal war<sup>1</sup>.

Ricimer's  
 head-quar-  
 ters at  
 Medio-  
 lanum.

In the spring of the year 471<sup>2</sup> Ricimer was at Milan,  
 surrounded, no doubt, by the Teutonic auxiliaries, and  
 leaning perhaps somewhat on the aid of his brother-in-  
 law, the king of the Burgundians, who held all the  
 northern passes of the Western Alps, since he ruled in  
 Valais and Savoy, in Dauphiné and the Lower Valley of  
 the Rhone. Anthemius was not at Ravenna, but in  
 Rome, relying on the favour with which he was re-  
 garded by the populace of the City<sup>3</sup>, on the sympathies  
 of the official class, and on the patriotism of whatsoever  
 purely Roman and Italian elements might be left in the  
 legions. Between these two men, all Italy perceived  
 with horror that war was inevitable.

Such being the state of things, the nobles of Liguria

<sup>1</sup> Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 207; Cassiodorus, s. a. 470.

<sup>2</sup> Or 472; but as Epiphanius returned from his embassy on the  
 14th day before Easter, as he was for the time successful and as  
 Olybrius was raised to the throne by Ricimer in April, 472, it seems  
 almost certain that we must refer the first outbreak of civil war and  
 the mediation of Epiphanius to 471. Easter fell on the 16th of April  
 in the year 472 (see 'l'Art de vérifier les Dates'). Tillemont assigns  
 the embassy of Epiphanius to 469, but, I think, on insufficient grounds.  
 It *might* be 470.

<sup>3</sup> Joannes Antiochenus expressly says that 'on the side of Anthe-  
 mius were ranged those in office and the people, and on that of  
 Ricimer the multitude of his own barbarians.'

assembled at the palace of Ricimer, and adoring the Suevic Patrician with self-prostration, after the manner of the Orientals, besought him to consent to an accommodation with his father-in-law. Ricimer was, or professed to be, mollified by their arguments. 'But whom will ye send as mediator?' said he; 'Who can bring this hot-headed Galatian<sup>1</sup> prince to reason? If you ask him for the smallest favour he bubbles over with fury, and there is not a man living who can remain in a passion so long as he.' 'There is a person in this province,' said the nobles, 'to whom you may safely entrust this commission; a man to whom even wild beasts would bow their necks; a man whom a Catholic and a Roman must venerate, and whom even the little Greek Emperor cannot help loving if he is privileged to behold him<sup>2</sup>.' And then they proceeded to sketch the life and recount the virtues of Epiphanius, the saintly young Bishop of Pavia, in somewhat similar words possibly to those in which they are now recorded for us by his admiring disciple Ennodius, from whom we derive our knowledge of this incident.

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.

471.  
The Ligurian nobles interpose.

In the life of Epiphanius we meet of course with many incidents and traits of character common to a saint of that period of the Church. A supernatural light shone round his cradle when he was still busy with

Life of Epiphanius the chosen mediator.

<sup>1</sup> There is some sting in this word Galatian which we cannot explain. Possibly it is connected with the fact that the ancestral Procopius, who assumed the purple in the year 365, was '*in Cilicia natus et educatus*' (Ammianus, xxvi. 6. 1), Cilicia and Galatia being provinces not far distant from one another.

<sup>2</sup> 'Est nobis persona nuper ad sacerdotium Ticinensis urbis adscita, cui et belluae rabidae colla submittunt . . . cui est vultus vitae similis, quem venerari possit quicumque, si est Catholicus et Romanus; amare certe, si videre mereatur, et Graeculus.'

BOOK III. the rattle and the baby's-bottle<sup>1</sup>. On the strength of  
 CH. 6. this omen he was at eight years old received into the  
 47<sup>r</sup>. Ministry of the Church as a Reader (*lector*), and before  
 long distinguished himself by the rapidity and accuracy  
 with which he practised the art of an ecclesiastical  
 short-hand writer (*exceptor*). Ordained a Deacon at  
 twenty, Priest at twenty-eight, and almost immediately  
 afterwards elected Bishop of Pavia, he was already in  
 his early manhood marked out for the veneration of his  
 contemporaries. 'He knew not that he was a man,'  
 says his biographer, 'except by his power of enduring  
 toil; he forgot that he was in the flesh except when he  
 meditated on his mortality.' No great miracles are re-  
 corded of his earlier years, but the saintly patience and  
 dignity with which he, a young Ligurian of noble blood,  
 endured the cudgelling administered to him by a rustic  
 boor named Burco, who had a dispute with the Church  
 of Pavia about boundaries, endeared him to his fellow-  
 citizens, and enabled him to plead successfully for the  
 life of his antagonist when the indignant populace  
 clamoured for his execution. Altogether, though the  
 robes of these ecclesiastical personages are beginning to  
 fall stiffly, and though the fifth-century type of holiness  
 lacks, to our thinking, the freshness of a true humanity,  
 we cannot but feel that Epiphanius was one of those  
 men to whom mere goodness gives a wonderful magnetic  
 power over all who come in contact with them. His  
 sweet and pure figure is a refreshing contrast to the  
 wild passions and base treacheries with which his age  
 is filled.

Mission of  
 Epipha-  
 nius.

Such was the man who, on the invitation of the  
 Ligurians, with the assent of Ricimer, while greatly

<sup>1</sup> 'Dum esset in crepundiis lactentis infantiae.'

doubting his own sufficiency for the task, undertook the mission to Anthemius. When he reached Rome, all the officers of the household went forth to meet him without the gates. They brought him into the Imperial hall of audience, where the flash of gems and the sombre magnificence of the purple still, as in the mightiest days of the Empire, attested the presence of Augustus. But all eyes were fixed, not on the Emperor, but on the tall ecclesiastic, with brow of marble whiteness and delicately formed limbs<sup>1</sup>, who, sparing of words in his ordinary conversation, was about to speak on behalf of Italy and Peace.

‘Dread sovereign!’ he began, ‘we recognise the hand of God in calling to the highest place in this commonwealth you who have shewn yourself a faithful adherent to the teaching of the Catholic faith, in permitting you to eclipse the triumphs of war by the arts of peace, and to restore the interrupted harmony of the Roman world. Be this still your glory, oh Emperor! Still blend gentleness with force, and thereby make your rule a copy of the heavenly kingdom<sup>2</sup>. Remember how David, by sparing King Saul when he was in his power, earned more glory than would have accrued from the most righteous vengeance. This is the request of Italy, this the message which Ricimer has entrusted to the mouth of my Littleness. Earn for yourself a bloodless victory, overcome even this proud Goth by your benefits. Or,

BOOK III.  
CH. 6.  
471.  
Speech of  
Epiphanius  
to the  
Emperor.

<sup>1</sup> See the description of the personal appearance of Epiphanius in the beginning of the life by Ennodius.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Supernae namque dominationis instar possidet, qui imperium suum pietate sublimat.’

‘And earthly power doth then show likest God’s  
When Mercy seasons Justice.’

BOOK III. if you are still in doubt, consider all the chances of  
 CH. 6. war, war in which you may be defeated, and in which  
 471. even victory must lessen the resources of your Empire,  
 while by a peaceful compact with Ricimer you might  
 have enjoyed them undiminished.'

Reply of  
 Anthemi-  
 us.

He ended, and Anthemius, raising his eyes, saw that the hearts of all the by-standers were won by the words of peace. With a deep sigh he said, 'Holy Bishop! The causes of my anger against Ricimer are such as cannot be fully set forth in words. I have loaded him with benefits; I have not even spared my own flesh and blood, but have given my daughter to this skin-clothed Goth<sup>1</sup>, an alliance which I cannot think upon without shame for myself, my family, and my kingship. But the more I have distinguished him with my gifts, the more bitterly has he become mine enemy. He has stirred up foreign nations to war against the Commonwealth; where he could not himself hurt, he has suggested to others schemes for hurting me. I myself believe that it is better to treat such a man as an open foe. To feel your enemy is the first step towards overcoming him, and anything is better than the machinations of secret hatred. But since you interpose your venerable office and your holy character as a pledge for his sincere desire for peace, be it so. I cannot resist anything which such a man as you pleads for. If your perceptions have been deceived, and if he still have war in his heart, on him shall rest the guilt of renewing

<sup>1</sup> 'Quis hoc namque veterum retro principum fecit unquam, ut inter munera quae *pellito Getae* dare necesse erat, pro quiete communi filia poneretur?' Of course the 'skin-clothed Goth' is a figure of speech. Probably the toga of Ricimer was as faultless as that of his father-in-law.

the combat. I commit and commend myself and the commonwealth, whose pilot I am, entirely into your hands, and I grant to you the pardon which Ricimer himself should not have obtained, no, not if he had been grovelling in the dust before my feet.'

BOOK III.  
Ch. 6.  
471.

The Bishop thanked God for having put these peaceful counsels into the heart of him whom he had chosen as the Vicar of his supreme power among men<sup>1</sup>; he then took a solemn oath from Anthemius to hold fast the newly re-cemented alliance, and departed in all haste for Liguria. He travelled so rapidly, although his strength was reduced by a rigorous Lenten fast, that he returned to Pavia on the sixth day after he had quitted it, and the joyful shouts of the people surrounding his house, and learning from his own mouth the news of the ratified treaty of peace, were the first intimation to Ricimer that his messenger had quitted Rome.

Return of  
Epiphanius to  
Liguria.

However, the peace between the two rival Powers in the State was of short duration. Some expressions in the narrative would lead us to suppose that the position of Anthemius, at the time of the embassy, was slightly the stronger of the two, and that Ricimer showed his usual cunning in accepting the good offices of the Bishop. Within fourteen months (possibly within two months) after the negotiations at Milan, we find the two parties again in arms against one another. Ricimer proclaimed Olybrius Emperor, thereby conciliating the support of the Vandal king, and perhaps neutralising the opposition of the friends of Anthemius at Constantinople, for Olybrius was also a Byzantine, and also

The  
quarrel  
breaks out  
anew.

472.

Proclamation of  
Olybrius,  
April 472.

<sup>1</sup> 'Princeps, quem ad instar superni dominatus vicarium suae potestatis voluit esse mortalibus.'

BOOK III. allied to the Imperial family<sup>1</sup>. He marched to the  
 CH. 6. outskirts of Rome and pitched his camp near a bridge  
 472. over the Anio, probably the Ponte Salaro<sup>2</sup>. Within  
 Siege of the walls opinion was divided, some even of the citizens  
 Rome. ranging themselves on the side of Ricimer, though the  
 majority no doubt adhered to Anthemius. For five  
 months the siege lasted, Ricimer keeping a strict watch  
 upon the upper and lower waters of the Tiber, and suf-  
 fering no provisions to enter the city. The pressure of  
 the famine was so great that (as Theophanes tells us)  
 'the soldiers were reduced to feed upon leather and  
 other unusual articles of food.' Then an unexpected  
 auxiliary appeared upon the scene<sup>3</sup>. 'Bilimer, ruler  
 of the Gauls' (we have no clue to the true character  
 of this mysterious personage), 'hearing of the con-  
 spiracy against Anthemius, came to Rome earnestly  
 desiring to give him assistance. He joined battle with  
 Ricimer by the bridge of Hadrian' (the bridge leading  
 to the castle of S. Angelo) 'and was immediately over-  
 come and slain. On his death Ricimer entered the city  
 as conqueror, and slew Anthemius with the sword.'  
 Death of Another authority (Joannes Antiochenus) tells us that  
 Anthemius 'the followers of Anthemius opened the gates to the

<sup>1</sup> Paulus Diaconus (Hist. Romana, xv. 3) makes Leo himself send Olybrius to Rome to wrest the crown from Anthemius. Perhaps the concurring testimonies of Theophanes and the Paschal Chronicle may be accepted as showing that this was the received version of the story at Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> There can be little doubt that the '*Pons Anicionis*' of Paulus is equivalent to *Pons Anienis*.

<sup>3</sup> Paulus, whose sources of information are here unusually good (see Neues Archiv, i. 307), is our authority for this element in the story. He says also that from the famine which was raging in Rome two 'regions' were exempt in which Ricimer dwelt with his followers. Perhaps these were on the West of the Tiber.



barbarians, leaving their master defenceless, that he mixed with the crowd of mendicants, and sought refuge at the tomb of the martyr Chrysogonus<sup>1</sup>, and being there discovered was instantly beheaded by Gundobad, the nephew<sup>2</sup> of Ricimer. He received a royal burial at the hands of his enemies.' Anthemius perished on the 11th July, 472; and only five weeks afterwards his turbulent son-in-law followed him to the grave. On the 18th August, Ricimer, the Patrician, who had held supreme power in Italy for sixteen years, died of a sudden hemorrhage, and thus the stage was left clear for new actors. What they will make of the defence or extension of the Roman Empire we shall see in the following chapter.

BOOK III.

CH. 6.

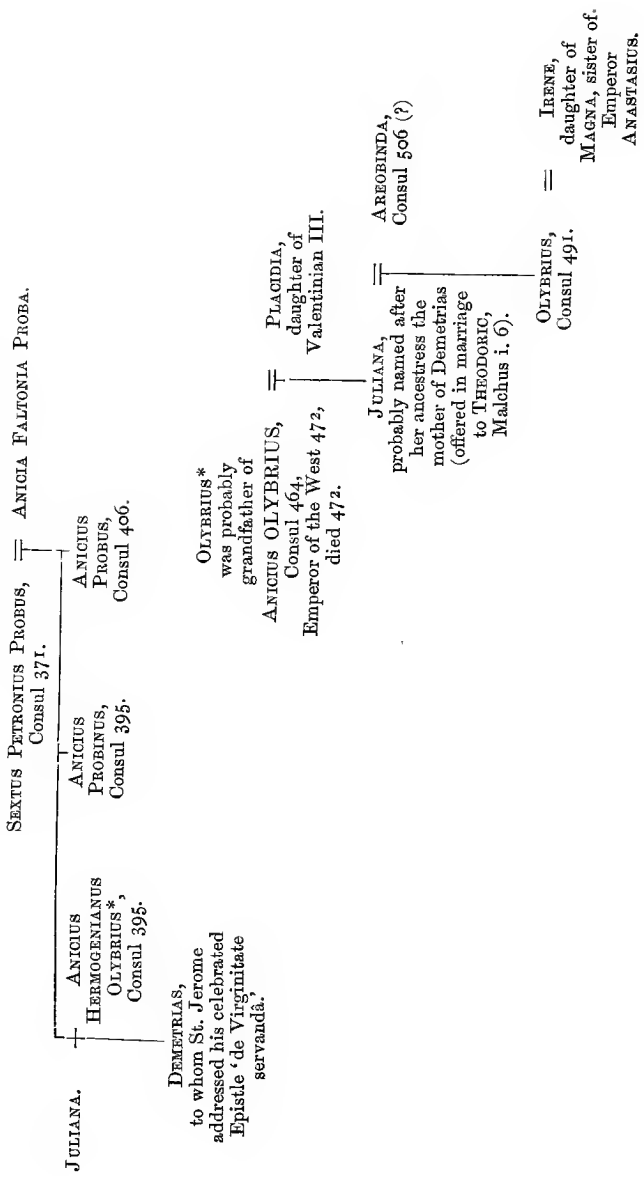
472.

and of  
Ricimer.

<sup>1</sup> The Basilica of Chrysogonus (one of the martyrs under Diocletian) stands in the Trastevere, about a quarter of a mile west of the Ponte Rotto.

<sup>2</sup> Joannes says 'brother,' but this is an error.

# GENEALOGY OF OLYBRIUS.



## CHAPTER VII.

OLYBRIUS, THE CLIENT OF THE VANDAL, A.D. 472.  
GLYCERIUS, THE CLIENT OF THE BURGUNDIAN, A.D.  
473-474. JULIUS NEPOS, THE CLIENT OF BYZAN-  
TIUM, A.D. 474-475. ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS, SON  
OF ORESTES, A.D. 475-476.

### Authorities.

#### *Sources :—*

CASSIODORUS, THEOPHANES, and JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS have been described in previous chapters. MARCELLINUS and the ANONYMUS CUSPINIANI give the versions of the facts current at Constantinople and Ravenna respectively.

A new and most valuable source is opened out to us by the writer called the ANONYMUS VALESII. The two fragments which pass under this name were published by Henricus Valesius (Henri de Valois, 1603-1676) in his edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, and they have since been generally appended to the history of that author, with which however they have no natural connection. The first fragment deals with the history of Constantine the Great; the second and much longer fragment describes, in a very peculiar style, the affairs of Italy from the accession of Nepos in 474 to the death of Theodoric in 526. It is tolerably certain that the two fragments which are thus classed together are by two different authors. With the question of the authorship of the first we need not here concern ourselves. Waitz<sup>1</sup> has argued with much probability that we have in the

<sup>1</sup> Nachrichten von der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, &c., zu Göttingen, 1865, p. 112.

BOOK III. second an actual portion of the Chronicles of Maximian, Bishop  
 CB. 7. of Ravenna, from 546 to 556 (see vol. I. p. 913-914). In  
 472. favour of this conjecture is the fact of the author's evident close  
 connection with Ravenna and his knowledge of Eastern affairs,  
 since we know from the story of his elevation that he was for  
 some time a resident at Constantinople. Holder-Egger (*Neues  
 Archiv*, I. 324) argues, on the other hand, that the poor style  
 and frequent barbarisms of the Anonymus Valesii do not corre-  
 spond with what Agnellus tells us<sup>1</sup> of the learning of Bishop  
 Maximian, and his care to secure accurate copies of the Scriptures  
 and other ecclesiastical books. There is no doubt some force in  
 this argument, but on the whole Waitz's theory seems to me a  
 very probable guess: higher value than this we cannot assign to  
 it. One feature in the Anonymus Valesii, which it is not easy  
 fully to account for by any theory, is his strong bias in favour of  
 the Eastern Emperor Zeno.

*Guides:—*

Besides Pallmann, *Binding* in his 'Geschichte des burgundisch-romanischen Königreichs' (Leipzig, 1868) gives some useful comments on this portion of history.

THE new Emperor, Anicius Olybrius, might possibly have procured some breathing-space for the exhausted commonwealth, if he had worn the purple for any considerable length of time.

Pedigree  
 and con-  
 nections of  
 Olybrius.

Of the great Anician family, and probably descended from one of those brother consuls, Olybrius and Probinus, whose accession to office in the year 395 Claudian celebrated with such courtly enthusiasm; the husband of the great grand-daughter of Theodosius, and the representative, as far as there could be a representative, of the claims of that Imperial house; on good terms with the Eastern Augustus, perhaps openly supported by him; above all, the brother-in-law of the heir-apparent to the Vandal crown, the long proposed and

<sup>1</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, 81.

at last successful candidate of Gaiseric ; Olybrius, as to whose personal qualities the page of history is a blank, possessed in these external circumstances exceptional advantages for a Roman Emperor in the year 472. But whether the care of ruling a troubled court, which had made Petronius Maximus sigh for the happier lot of Damocles, or the air of Rome, so often fatal to alien rulers, overpowered him, we know not. So it was that on the 23rd October 472, little more than three months after the death of his rival, Olybrius died at Rome of dropsy<sup>1</sup>. Had Ricimer been still living, this death would of course have figured in his catalogue of crimes, but the rough-handed Sueve had gone before Olybrius, as has been already stated, on the 18th of August.

During his short reign Olybrius conferred the dignity of Patrician on the young Burgundian prince Gundobad, whose mother was sister to Ricimer, and who apparently had come to Italy to push his fortunes by the help of his all-powerful uncle<sup>2</sup>. It is conjectured with much probability that the barbarian element in the Roman army, which knew something of its strength, and was suspicious of any but a barbarian leader, transferred its fealty, or its attachment, or its obedience (it is difficult to find a word to express the nature of the tie which bound these troops to their leader) from Ricimer to his nephew, and that this transference brought with it, almost as a matter of course, his elevation to the rank of Patrician and 'Father of the Emperor.'

<sup>1</sup> A recently-discovered fragment of Joannes Antiochenus gives the nature of the maladies both of Ricimer and Olybrius ('*αίματος ἀντῶ* ('*Ρεκίμερι*), *πλείστον ἐξεμηθέντος* . . . '*Ολύβριος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον γ' ἰμόνας ἐπιβιοὺς ἡμέρας ὑδέρῳ συσχεθεὶς μεταλλάττει*').

<sup>2</sup> It was Gundobad, who, as mentioned at the close of the last chapter, dealt the actual deathstroke to the fugitive Anthemius.

BOOK III.  
CH. 7.473.  
Elevation  
of Glyce-  
rius.

For five months Gundobad allowed himself the luxury of an interregnum ; then, on the fifth of March, 473, he raised a certain Glycerius to the throne, at Ravenna. This election of Glycerius, though he had held the high office of *Comes Domesticorum*<sup>1</sup> (Commander of the Household Troops) was not approved of, nor apparently recognised, at Byzantium. Our chief Eastern chronicler (Marcellinus) tells us that Glycerius was made Caesar at Ravenna 'more by presumption than by election ;' and steps were soon taken to furnish a successor to Olybrius whom the Easterns could recognise as legitimate.

Affairs of  
the East.Murder of  
Aspar and  
his family.

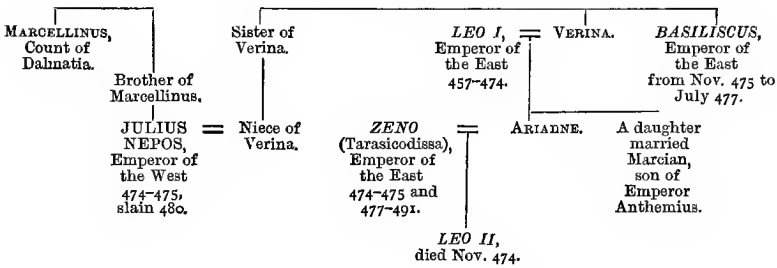
Some changes had taken place at the Court of Constantinople since the councils preceding the elevation of Anthemius, and the expedition against Carthage. In the year 471, Aspar and his sons were murdered in the palace by the swords of the eunuchs of the Emperor's household. 'An Arian father with his Arian offspring,' is the pious comment of Marcellinus ; but all the inhabitants of Constantinople were not disposed to consider the heterodoxy of Aspar sufficient justification for the deed. They remembered that it was by Aspar's hand that Leo himself had been lifted to the throne ; that something had been whispered of a secret compact, according to which one of the sons of Aspar was to succeed in the Imperial dignity, and that, in fact, his son Patricius, who appeared susceptible of conversion to the Catholic faith, had been formally recognised as Caesar, and thereby designated as next in succession to the throne. It might be convenient to cancel all these liabilities by the swords of the eunuchs of the house-

<sup>1</sup> So says Joannes Antiochenus, 209, § 2. The *Comes Domesticorum* was entitled to the appellation *Illustris*.

hold; it was, no doubt, a relief to know that that terrible Patrician would never again shake his sovereign's purple robe and remind him of obligations which Orthodoxy would not suffer him to discharge; but, upon the whole, the popular instinct condemned the transaction, and branded the Emperor Leo with the epithet *Macellus* (the butcher), a term derived from the meat-markets of Rome.

When the news of the 'presumptuous' elevation of Glycerius to the throne reached Constantinople, in the summer of 473, the Emperor Leo was probably in fail-

GENEALOGIES OF EASTERN AND WESTERN EMPERORS<sup>1</sup>.  
(474-475).



ing health. (He died in January of the following year.) The rivalry for the succession between Basiliscus, with his firm persuasion that he should one day be Emperor, and Tarasicodissa, the Isaurian, always addressed by his flatterers as Zeno, was, no doubt, becoming more intense than ever. But the threads of this and of every intrigue about the Court of Byzantium were in the hands of her who was sister of one candidate and mother-in-law of the other, Verina, the wife of the dying Augustus. Influenced, no doubt, by her, the choice of a Western Emperor fell upon Julius Nepos, by birth nephew of the

Julius Nepos, a kinsman of the Empress Verina, chosen Emperor of the West.

<sup>1</sup> Emperors of the West in roman capitals, of the East italic.

BOOK III. brave Marcellinus of Dalmatia, and by marriage nephew  
 CH. 7. of the Empress Verina.

473.

The new Emperor was proclaimed in Constantinople in August, 473<sup>1</sup>, but, delayed apparently by the complications connected with the illness and death of his patron, did not land in Italy till the spring of the following year. Meanwhile Leo died; his grandson, the younger Leo, succeeded him, and being but a boy, associated his father, the Isaurian Zeno, with him in the Empire. The son-in-law had won, for the present at least, in the race for the Eastern throne.

Leo I  
 succeeded  
 by Leo II  
 and Zeno.

Ostro-  
 gothic  
 invasion  
 of Italy  
 diverted  
 to Gaul.

Before we start with Nepos on his quest of the Western sovereignty, let us see how matters have fared with the occupant whom he means to displace—with Glycerius. In 473, the year of his accession, a new enemy to Rome appeared upon the northern horizon. The Ostrogothic brother-kings, who served under Attila at the battle in Champagne, on the overthrow of the Hunnish Empire obtained for themselves a goodly settlement in Pannonia, on the western bank of the Danube. For nearly twenty years they had been engaged in desultory hostilities with their barbarian neighbours, with Suevi and Rugians on the north and west, with Huns and Sarmatians on the south and east. Now, as their countryman, Jordanes, tells us<sup>2</sup> with admirable frankness, ‘the spoils of these neighbouring nations were dwindling, and food and clothing began to fail the Goths. Therefore to these men, who had long

<sup>1</sup> This hypothesis (which nearly coincides with that of Pallmann, *Völkerwanderung*, ii. 280) seems best to explain the frequent abridgment by the chroniclers of the reign of Glycerius from sixteen months to five. The ‘legitimist’ writers know nothing of Glycerius as Emperor after Leo had raised Nepos to the throne.

<sup>2</sup> *De Rebus Geticis*, cap. lvi.



found their sustenance in war, peace began to be hateful.' They clustered round their kings, and clamoured to be led forth to war—whither they cared not, but war there must be. Theudemir, the elder king, took counsel with his brother Widemir, and they resolved to commence a campaign against the Roman Empire. Theudemir, as the more powerful chieftain, was to attack the stronger Empire of the East; Widemir, with his weaker forces, was to enter Italy. He did so, but, like so many of the northern conquerors, he soon found a grave in the beautiful but deathly land. His son, the younger Widemir, succeeded to his designs of conquest, but Glycerius approached him with presents and smooth words<sup>1</sup>, and was not ashamed to suggest that he should transfer his arms to Gaul, which was still in theory, and partially in fact, a province of the Empire. The sturdy bands of Widemir's Ostrogoths descended accordingly into the valleys of the Rhone and the Loire; they speedily renewed the ancient alliance with the Visigothic members of their scattered nationality, and helped to ruin yet more utterly the already desperate cause of Gallo-Roman freedom.

It may be that this ignominious mode of dealing with an invader served to sink the insignificant Glycerius yet lower in the eyes of his people. He seems to have been keeping close under the skirts of Mont Blanc and Monte Rosa, that he might not be too far removed from the

BOOK III.  
CH. 7.

473.

Unpopularity of  
Glycerius.

<sup>1</sup> A curious pamphlet was published by a certain Baron von Ickstadt towards the close of last century, professing to contain the actual text, in Gothic, of the letter written on this occasion by Glycerius to Widemir. But though it was accepted as genuine by J. C. von Aretin, Librarian of Munich, who wrote about it in the *Neuer Literarischer Anzeiger*, 1806, it is now generally admitted to be a forgery and not a very clever one.

BOOK III.  
CH. 7.

474.

Burgundian countrymen of his patron, Gundobad. In Pavia, we are told, his mother was so insultingly treated by the populace—perhaps in order to mark their contempt for her son—that he would have inflicted severe punishment upon them if he had not been dissuaded by the saintly peace-maker Epiphanius<sup>1</sup>.

Nepos  
triumph-  
ant.

Such was the state of things when Nepos, the Byzantine candidate for empire, landed in Italy, in one of the spring months of 474. Did the barbarian auxiliaries, headed by the young Burgundian Gundobad, the heir of the power of Ricimer, go forth to meet him, and did battle follow? The silence of the chroniclers rather seems to indicate that the affair was settled without a resort to arms<sup>2</sup>. And as we find Gundobad, shortly after this time, peaceably reigning with his brothers over their paternal kingdom on the banks of the Rhone, the inference drawn by some of the most careful inquirers into the history of the period<sup>3</sup> is that, the death of his father Gundiok having occurred shortly after that of his uncle Ricimer, he had weighed the solid advantages of his Burgundian inheritance against the prestige of a Roman king-maker, and found the former preponderate. Therefore, and as he also well knew the hostile designs of the Byzantine Court, he quietly marched back across the Alps with the young warriors of his *comitatus*, leaving the luckless Glycerius to fight and lose his own battles alone. This may be accepted as the most probable explanation of Gundobad's disappearance from the scene;

<sup>1</sup> 'Nam sancto viro inlatam matri a ditionis suae hominibus concessit injuriam' (Ennodius, Vita Epiphani, p. 219, ed. Migne).

<sup>2</sup> Joannes Antiochenus (fr. 209) expressly asserts that Rome was taken without resistance.

<sup>3</sup> Pallmann and Binding.

but it must be pointed out that it is not the only one. He may have stood by his client, have fought and lost some unrecorded battle, and only then have made his way over the unmelted April snows of the St. Bernard or the Mont Genevre to his Burgundian kingdom.

Let the causes of the non-resistance, or unsuccessful resistance of the barbarian Auxiliaries have been what they may, the result is undoubted. The efforts of the Eastern candidate were crowned with complete success, but his triumph was not stained with cruelty. The fortified harbour-town at the mouth of the Tiber, opposite to the modern Ostia, which under the name of *Portus Augusti et Trajani* commemorated the names of two of Rome's most famous Emperors<sup>1</sup>, witnessed in the summer of 474 two very different spectacles. There, on the 24th of June, Julius Nepos was solemnly raised to the dignity of Emperor, the Senate and the People of Rome being no doubt duly represented on the ground, and acclaiming the new Augustus. There also, a few days earlier or later, Glycerius, Ex-Count of the Domestics and Ex-Emperor, received the oil of consecration as a Bishop. The merciful conqueror, who had spared his life, vouchsafed to him also a sphere for the exercise of his new functions. The Church of Salona, the capital of the dominions of Marcellinus, was at this juncture in need of a head. Thither Glycerius was sent, and he who had lately held power nominally supreme in the Western world, subsided, apparently without a murmur, into the condition of Bishop of a Dalmatian town. Even so, after a long and costly contest for the heirship to a dukedom, the successful litigant might solace his beaten rival by

BOOK III.  
CH. 7.  
474.  
Deposition  
of Glycer-  
ius, who  
is conse-  
crated  
Bishop of  
Salona.

<sup>1</sup> 'Augustus' here = Nero who dedicated the port of Claudius.

BOOK III. assigning to him one of the family livings. With this  
 CH. 7. consecration at Portus, Glycerius but for one doubtful  
 474+ allusion disappears from history. There have been  
 many worse Emperors, doubtless, than the 'not dis-  
 reputable' person whom Gundobad advised to become  
 Augustus, and whom Nepos advised to become a  
 Bishop.

Affairs of  
 Gaul.

The only memorable events in the fourteen months' reign of Julius Nepos are those which relate to the affairs of Gaul, that country which gave her first province to the Republic, and whose allegiance was the last jewel hacked from the fingers of the dying Empire.

Accession  
 of Euric to  
 the Visi-  
 gothic  
 throne.

466.

The Visigothic throne at Toulouse was now no longer filled by the jovial and tolerant Theodoric II, to whom Sidonius lost so many games at 'the tables.' Eight years before the period which we have now reached, that prince was slain and replaced by his equally able, but narrower and harsher, brother Euric<sup>2</sup>. Though it is true that he employed as his chief minister of state the polished and learned Gallo-Roman Leo, we can trace in Euric a bitterer Arianism and a more acrid and anti-Roman barbarianism than was shown by Theodoric, the inattentive listener to the ministrations of his heretical clergy, the staunch upholder of the alliance with Avitus.

Arian in-  
 tolerance  
 of Euric.

Of the religious intolerance of Euric, Sidonius, who now looked at these questions with the eyes of a

<sup>1</sup> ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἀδόκιμος is the character given of him by the chronicler Theophanes.

<sup>2</sup> The crime of fratricide deeply stained the annals of these early Visigothic kings. Thorismund was killed (in 453) by his brothers Theodoric and Frederic, and now again (in 466) Theodoric was killed by his brother Euric.

Churchman (having been elected Bishop of Clermont<sup>1</sup> in the year 472), draws a repulsive picture. 'I fear,' he says<sup>2</sup>, 'that this Gothic king, though he is truly formidable by the resources which he wields, is plotting not so much against the walls of Roman cities as against the laws of Christian Churches. So sour, they say, to his lips, so hateful to his heart, is the very mention of the Catholic name, that you can hardly tell whether to consider him primarily as king of the Visigothic nation or as leader of the Arian sect. Moreover, he is a strenuous warrior, in the vigour of his intellect, in the prime of life; the only mistake which he makes is to attribute to the Divine blessing on his misguided zeal, those successes which are really due to his own skill and good fortune.' Sidonius then goes on to describe the melancholy condition of the Catholic Churches of Aquitaine. Bordeaux, Limoges, Perigueux, and many more, whose Bishops had died, were forbidden to elect their successors; the churchway paths were stopped up with thorns and briars, the gates wrenched from their hinges, the roofs left open to the sky, and cattle fed on the grass-grown steps of the altar.

Some of these touches recall similar passages in the Vandal persecutions—though those upon the whole were far more bloody and severe—and it is therefore not surprising to find that there was at this time a considerable drawing together of the courts of Carthage and Toulouse. There had been time for the old cruel outrage upon the daughter of Theodoric I to be forgotten, and accordingly, when Gaiseric found East and

Vandal  
and Visi-  
goth draw  
together.

<sup>1</sup> In the language of the times *Civitas Arvernorum*.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. vii. 6.

BOOK III. West Rome uniting to invade his pirate kingdom, he  
 CH. 7. appealed, and not altogether in vain, to the Visigothic  
 474. monarch to join hands with him in defence of their  
 common interests as Teutons and as Arians <sup>1</sup>.

Euric's in- The weight of Euric's invasion, which apparently took  
 vasion of place in the spring of 474, fell upon the two provinces  
 Roman which we now know as Berri and Auvergne, all that  
 Gaul. was still left to the Romans of the country south of the  
 Loire. Of Berri they appear to have made an easy  
 Conquest of Berri ; conquest ; Auvergne, the mountain-land, defended by  
 Brave defence of Auvergne. the stout hearts of the still undegenerate nation of the  
 Arverni, made a much more stubborn resistance. There,  
 in the midst of his diocese, was Bishop Sidonius, ani-  
 mating the people by his rhetoric and, yet more,  
 encouraging them to hope in the miraculous efficacy  
 of 'the Rogations,' a kind of litany or special series  
 of prayers for times of calamity, which he adopted from  
 the Church of Vienne. There, too, was his brother-in-  
 law, Ecdicius, the son of the Emperor Avitus, a brave  
 and noble-hearted man, though Sidonius trumpets forth  
 his praises with so much bombastic exaggeration that  
 we are in danger of not allowing to him the credit  
 which he really deserves.

Exploits of Ecdicius. 'How did we all gaze upon you,' he says <sup>2</sup>, 'from the  
 walls of Arverni [Clermont]. All ranks and ages, and  
 both sexes, looked at you with wonder from our half-  
 ruined walls, and saw you in the open plain, in the  
 middle of the day, pierce with scarce eighteen horsemen  
 through a troop of some thousand Goths. At the sound  
 of your name, at the rumour of your presence, a kind

<sup>1</sup> Jordanes, cap. xlvi, vouches for this *rapprochement* between Gaiseric and Euric.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. iii. 3.

of stupor fell upon that highly-disciplined host, so that the generals themselves in their blind wonderment perceived not how many followed their standards, how few yours. They withdrew up the brow of a hill and left all the plain to you, though you had scarcely as many men to post in the plain as one seats guests at a banquet.

BOOK III.

CH. 7.

474.

‘You came back at leisure to the city. How we all poured forth to meet you, with greetings, with plaudits, with laughter, and with tears! The courts of your vast house were filled with your welcomers. They kissed the very dust of your feet, they handled your heavy curb-chain, clotted with blood and foam, they lifted the saddles, steeped in sweat, from the horses of your warriors, they unclasped the fastenings of your hollow helmet, they vied with one another in loosening the foldings of your greaves, they counted and measured with trembling fingers the terrible dints in your coat of mail.

‘Need I say how, after this, you, with your own private resources, collected a public army and chastised the enemy for their incursions; how in several encounters you slaughtered whole squadrons of the barbarians, and when you came to number your own troops after each battle, found but two or three missing. So heavy was the blow struck at the enemy in these unexpected conflicts, that they concealed the number of their slain by an artifice more ghastly than the very battle-field. All whom the approach of night prevented them from burying they beheaded, that the mutilated trunk might not by its flaxen locks reveal the nationality of the slain warrior. When day dawned they perceived that even this brutal outrage had not availed

BOOK III. to hide their losses<sup>1</sup>; so then they set about their  
 CH. 7. funeral rites in haste—haste which was as useless to  
 474. conceal their trick as their trick had been to conceal  
 the slaughter. The bodies were unwashed, unceremented; no mound of earth was heaped above them. They lay here and there about the field, carried to their respective heaps on the gory waggons, till you, pressing down afresh and unceasingly on your beaten foe, compelled them to give up the thought of burial, and to light their funeral pyres with the fragments of the waggons which had been their moving homes.’

Miseries of  
 the Arverni  
 relieved  
 by Bishop  
 Patiens.

History and romance are no doubt blended in this singular extract, in what proportions it is now impossible to determine. So much, however, seems clear, that by the brave defence of the Arverni, with Ecdicius at their head, the tide of Visigothic invasion was for that season (474) rolled back from their country. But the walls of the city were half in ruins<sup>2</sup>, and the harvests, not only of Auvergne, but of a large part of Provence, had been swept away by the enemy. Under this imminence of famine, Patiens, the Bishop of Lyons, (the builder of the basilica commemorated in the verses of Sidonius<sup>3</sup>), with wise and noble munificence, collected vast stores of grain in the northern district of Gaul, transported them down the rivers Saone and Loire, and across the mountains of Auvergne, presented them as a free gift to the famishing provincials, and thus, out of his own episcopal revenues, (helped probably by the contributions of the wealthy city in which he dwelt,)

<sup>1</sup> Because of course the Romans would infer that all the headless trunks were Gothic.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Semiruti’ (Sidonius, Ep. iii. 3).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 329.



‘like another Triptolemus or another Joseph <sup>1</sup>,’ saved a nation from famine.

In the following year (475) there seems to have been a change in the Gothic strategy. As determined as ever to add Auvergne to his dominions, Euric saw that the fight for its possession could best be waged in Provence, or even if need were, in the valley of the Po. He again crossed the line which had become the frontier of the Empire, again occupied or laid waste the ‘Provincia’ at the mouth of the Rhone, and threatened apparently to cross the Alps, or to march by what we now call the Riviera, into Italy. For these aggressions the rapid changes in the person of the Roman Emperor suggested the occasion, and seem in some mysterious way to have served as a justification <sup>2</sup>. Perhaps a pretence was set up of vindicating against Nepos the claims of the Burgundian *protégé* Glycerius, whom he had dethroned. In these circumstances the ‘Council of Liguria,’ an assembly of whose precise nature and constitution we are ignorant, but which was probably composed of the chief civil and ecclesiastical officials of the province, again assembled, as they had assembled

BOOK III.  
CH. 7.

475.  
Change in  
Visigothic  
strategy.

Euric  
threatens  
Italy.

<sup>1</sup> Sidonius, Ep. vi. 12.

<sup>2</sup> That some such argument was alleged seems clear from the testimony of Ennodius, who distinctly connects Euric’s invasion with the accession of Nepos. ‘Post quem [Glycerium] ad regnum Nepos accessit. Tunc inter eum et Tolosae alumnos Getas, quos ferrea Euricus rex dominatione gubernabat, orta dissensio est: dum illi Italici fines imperii quos trans Gallicanas Alpes perrexerat, *novitatem* spernentes non desinerent incessere: e diverso Nepos, ne in usum praesumptio malesuada duceretur, districtius cuperet commissum sibi a Deo regnandi terminum vindicare.’ There is much which must remain unexplained in this passage, but the coincidence of ‘*novitatem imperii*’ with the term ‘*novus princeps*,’ applied (most probably) to Nepos by Sidonius (Ep. v. 6), is suggestive.

BOOK III. four years before when civil strife seemed to be im-  
 CH. 7. pending between Anthemius and Ricimer, to devise  
 475. means for averting the storm of war from their  
 country.

Epipha-  
 nius again  
 deputed as  
 mediator.

Again, as before, all eyes were turned upon the saintly Epiphanius, Bishop of Pavia, the ideal peacemaker of his age. He again undertook the office, relying on heavenly assistance. The journey was one of about 600 (Roman) miles, by way of Turin, Briançon, Nîmes, and involved a climb over the steep pass of the Mont Genevre. But the saint was determined to make it yet more arduous by his austerities. For the mules' sake they tarried long at the different posting-houses (*mansiones*), and all these long halts were occupied with vigorous psalmody or with industrious reading; and when engaged in the latter employment he always stood. Then at night he would choose the chilliest nook of the forest, whither the noonday sun never penetrated, and there, instead of in the comfortable *mansio*, would he spread his couch, watering the ground with the tears which accompanied his night-long prayers, 'and so making fertile in spiritual blessings the soil which could never bring forth fruits of its own.'

Euric  
 appeased.

There is no need to transcribe from his admiring and prolix biographer the exhortation to meekness and charity which Epiphanius delivered to King Euric in his Court at Toulouse. The Visigothic king's reply, delivered by the mouth of an interpreter, contains some characteristic expressions. 'Though the coat of mail never leaves my breast, though my hand is ever at the brazen hilt of my sword, and the iron guards my side, I have found a man who, for all my armour, can

vanquish me with his words. They err who say that the Roman's tongue is not worth a good sword and shield, for they can turn back the words which we send against them, while their words pierce to our very vitals. I will do therefore, holy father, all that you desire, though more from esteem for the messenger than from respect for the power of him who sends him. Promise me, therefore, that Nepos will keep unbroken concord with me—since a promise from you is equivalent to an oath—and my warlike designs shall be laid aside.' After giving the required pledge, the Bishop, refusing an earnest invitation to meet the king at a banquet, ('which would have been,' says his biographer, 'polluted by the presence of *his* priests') started at once on his homeward journey, 'attended by so great a crowd that Toulouse seemed to be almost deserted of her inhabitants.'

BOOK III.  
CH. 7  
475.

When we read the terms of peace as they were finally arranged between Euric and the four Bishops of Provence<sup>1</sup>, we doubt whether the eloquence of Epiphanius had really been so triumphant as his biographer describes it. For it is evident that Auvergne and Berri

Auvergne  
abandoned  
to the  
Visigoths.

<sup>1</sup> Graecus of Marseilles, Leontius of Arles, Basilius of Aix and Faustus of Riez.

The history of the negotiations between Nepos and Euric is obscure, and it has not seemed necessary to trouble the reader with all their details; but it seems probable that there were three embassies: (1) that of the Quaestor Licinianns described by Sidonius (Ep. iii. 7). It was apparently on this occasion that he brought Ecdicius his promotion to the Patriciate, upon which Sidonius congratulates his wife Papianilla (sister to Ecdicius) in Ep. v. 16 (translated p. 340). This embassy was probably unsuccessful. (2) The embassy of Epiphanius of Pavia, successful in laying down the general basis of an agreement. (3) That of the four Bishops mentioned above, who drew out the exact terms of the accommodation.

BOOK III.  
CH. 7.

475.

were ceded to the Goths, and the Romans seem practically to have retained of all their magnificent Gaulish possessions only the strip of territory between the Mediterranean and the River Durance, which, still under its well-known name of *Provence*, perpetuates the remembrance of the *Providentia* of the Roman Republic.

Sidonius'  
anger at  
this  
desertion.

Bitterly does Sidonius lament this desertion by Rome of her brave Arvernian subjects. In the letter which he addressed to Bishop Graecus, after the negotiation of the treaty, his usual tone of bland deference towards a brother-prelate is replaced by something like a snort of defiance and indignation.

'Alas!' he says, 'for this unhappy corner of the land, whose lot, if fame speak truly, is to be made yet worse by peace than ever it was by war. Our slavery is to be the price paid for other people's freedom. Yes, the slavery of us the Arverni who, if the story of the past is to be retold, once dared to claim Trojan blood in our veins, and to call ourselves brothers of Latium. If you look at more recent days, we are the men who by our own private efforts have held in check the public enemy, who did not use our walls as a defence against the Goth but made him tremble in his camp, who, when our neighbours moved their army into the field, could show as many generals as we had soldiers<sup>1</sup>. . . . Are these the wages that are due to those who have endured hunger, fire, and pestilence, to the swords that are fat with slaughter, to the warriors who are lean with fasting? It was in prospect of this glorious peace of yours, of course, that we lived upon the herbs that grew in the chinks of our walls, and that some died,

<sup>1</sup> A doubtful advantage in an army.

unable to distinguish the poisonous from the harmless. For all these daring experiments of our devotion our reward, as I hear, is that we are to be thrown overboard by the Empire. Oh! blush, I pray you, for this peace which is neither expedient nor honourable. Through you the embassies come and go. The beginnings and the endings of the negotiations, in the Emperor's absence, are in your hands. Pardon the roughness of these words of truth; the pang with which they are uttered should take away their sting.

'You, in the Provincial Council, are not really deliberating for the benefit of the Commonwealth. You are each of you thinking how you can mend your private fortunes, and it is by this policy that the first Province of Rome has become her last. . . . The ancestors whom we used to talk of so proudly will soon, at this rate, have no descendants. Break off then, break off by whatever device you can think of, the treaty for this shameful peace. We, if needs be, shall be delighted still to suffer siege, still to do battle on the wall, still to famish in our homes. . . . But if not, if while other regions are content with slavery, Auvergne may not have the martyrdom for which she sighs, then I can only say, keep our seed still alive on the earth, be ready with your ransoms for us as slaves, open your gates to us as pilgrims. If our cities must be open to the Goth, you must in charity open yours to the guest<sup>1</sup>. Condescend to remember me, my lord Pope!' If we compare this passionate outburst with the similar utterances of the inhabitants of Nisibis, a

<sup>1</sup> 'Si murus noster aperitur hostibus, non sit clausus vester hospitibus' (Sidonius, Ep. vii. 7). One of the paronomasiae so dear to the heart of Sidonius.

BOOK III. little more than a century before, when they were  
 CH. 7. abandoned by Rome to the King of Persia<sup>1</sup>, we shall  
 475. be forced to conclude that notwithstanding the frightful  
 misery brought upon the world by the rapacity and  
 incompetence of Roman governors, the Eternal City  
 laid a spell, not of power only, but of love, upon the  
 vast and various populations under her sway, such as  
 some other races, ruling far more righteously than she  
 ever did, have been unable to exercise.

Obscurity  
 of the his-  
 tory of the  
 fall of  
 Nepos.

Fourteen months after Julius Nepos ascended the throne, he was pushed down from it by a Roman officer named Orestes. This revolution is one of the most obscure passages in all the obscure history of this time. Jordanes tells us<sup>2</sup> that Ecdicius (whom he calls 'Decius') was obliged 'to leave his country, and especially the city of Arverna<sup>3</sup>, to the enemy and betake himself to safer quarters. Which, when the Emperor Nepos heard, he ordered Decius to leave the Gauls and come to him.' Possibly it may have been on the elevation of Ecdicius to the Patriciate that the next change occurred. 'In his room Orestes was ordained Master of the Soldiery, which Orestes, having taken the command of the army, and marching forth against the enemy, arrived at Ravenna from Rome, and there remaining made Augustulus his son Emperor. Which being ascertained Nepos fled into Dalmatia, and there, as a private man, lived devoid of royalty<sup>4</sup> [this is not quite accurate], where already Glycerius the former Emperor exercised the Bishopric of Salona. But Augustulus was ordained Emperor by his father Orestes at Ravenna.'

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. xlv.

<sup>3</sup> Arverna is the form of the name used by Jordanes.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ibique defecit privatus regno.'

Other chroniclers<sup>1</sup> supply us with the dates of two of these transactions. The flight of Nepos took place on the 28th of August 475, and the proclamation of Augustulus as Emperor on the 31st of October in the same year. But what is the meaning of the transactions recorded, why we should hear of this mysterious appearance and disappearance of Ecdicius in Italy, against what enemies Orestes was leading the army (not Euric, for peace had been only just concluded with him; possibly the Burgundians or the Ostrogoths), and what was the pretext or the motive for the sudden rebellion against the authority of Nepos?—these are questions which can be but conjecturally answered, and unless further documentary evidence should be discovered, never settled.

BOOK III.  
CH. 7.  
475.  
Orestes  
heads the  
mutiny  
and pro-  
claims his  
son Em-  
peror.

A German historian<sup>2</sup> suggests that the barbarian auxiliaries in the army saw in the order to march 'against the enemy' a covert design to remove them from Italy, and therefore revolted. This seems a not improbable conjecture, but we must remember that nothing is said here expressly about 'barbarian auxiliaries,' or about 'leading them beyond the frontiers of Italy.' As Orestes himself was not of barbarian origin, but would be called at that time a Roman, it is open to us to suggest that dislike of a second 'Graeculus Imperator,' and indignation at the surrender of Auvergne to the Visigoths, may have had some share in the result. But the history can here be only guessed at, not related.

Of Orestes, the chief actor in the new revolution, we have, thanks to those invaluable fragments of Priscus, Previous history of Orestes.

<sup>1</sup> Anonymus Cuspiniani and the continuer of Prosper.

<sup>2</sup> Pallmann, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, ii. 287–289.

BOOK III. a little more certain knowledge. In the great diplo-  
 CH. 7.  
 475. matic campaign of 448, between Byzantium and Hun-  
 land, he figured in a somewhat inferior position among  
 the envoys of Attila<sup>1</sup>. Himself of Roman origin, that is  
 to say, being an Illyrian provincial, he had taken service  
 under Attila, and considered himself the equal of his  
 fellow-envoy, Edecon, and other nobles of his Court.  
 But Vigilas, who knew the social code of the barbarians  
 well, judged differently, and pronounced that Orestes as  
 'a secretary, a mere squire of Attila, was greatly inferior  
 to Edecon, a mighty man of war and a Hun by extrac-  
 tion<sup>2</sup>.' However, in the twenty-seven years which had  
 elapsed since he was sitting with the Byzantine ambas-  
 sadors among the ruins of Sardica, Orestes (who was by  
 marriage, if not by birth, connected with the official  
 hierarchy of the Empire) had succeeded in somewhat  
 improving his position, and he now, without any hint  
 of what may have been his intervening fortune, emerges  
 in the full splendour of Master of the Soldiery, and,  
 after his successful insurrection, virtual lord of the  
 Western Empire.

Why did  
 he not  
 assume the  
 diadem  
 himself?

There can have been no reason in the nature of  
 things why Orestes should not have placed himself on  
 the vacant throne. Unlike Stilicho and Ricimer he  
 was a full-blooded Roman provincial, at least as eligible  
 for the Imperial dignity as Trajan or Diocletian. It  
 must therefore be taken as an indication how much the  
 majesty of the title of Emperor had suffered by twenty  
 years of revolution that he bestowed that title on his

<sup>1</sup> See p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> 'Αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ ὀπίανά τε καὶ ὑπογραφία εἶναι Ἀττήλα, Ἐδέκωνα δὲ τὰ  
 κατὰ πόλεμον ἄριστον, ὡς τοῦ Οὐννον γένους, ἀναβεβηκέναι τὸν Ὀρέστην πολὺ'  
 (Priscus, p. 171, Bonn edition). See p. 63.



son, reserving for himself the rank only of Patrician, nominally inferior in dignity, but more associated in men's minds with the idea of power, perhaps also somewhat less likely to injure his popularity with the army. It is possible moreover that the remembrance of the almost menial office which he had held in the court of Attila, and the apparently higher position of his son's maternal ancestors, may have conduced to the same result.

BOOK III.  
CH. 7.

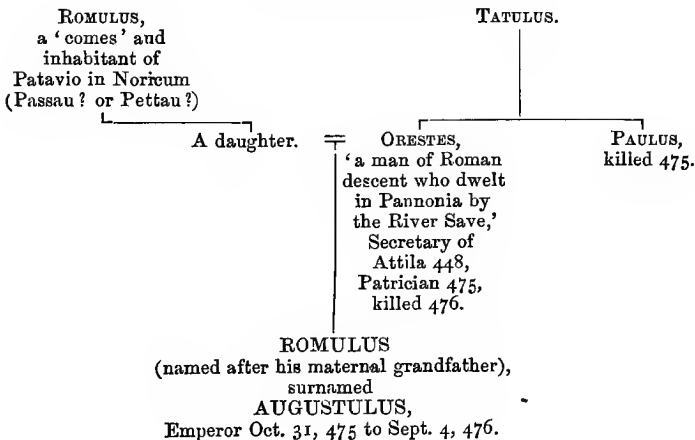
475.

The name, and the face, and the age of the last Emperor of the West are all that is memorable in his history. Every one knows the strange turn of fate (as we call it) which gave to the last puny Emperor of Rome the same name that was borne by her first and mightiest king, the she-wolf's nursling. It is interesting to observe that the poor lad's fateful name came to him in the most natural manner possible from his maternal grandfather in his home beside the Danube. What may have been the precise origin of his epithet August-

Romulus  
Augustu-  
lus.

GENEALOGY OF AUGUSTULUS.

(Chiefly from Priscus.)



BOOK III.  
CH. 7.

475.

tulus cannot be stated; whether given by his loyal soldiers as a term of endearment to the fair boy clothed in the purple, or by his barbarian conquerors as a term of contempt for the new kind of Emperor whom the Romans had raised over them. The latter suggestion however seems the most probable. Augustulus was a mere lad, probably about fourteen<sup>1</sup> years of age, and possessed great personal beauty<sup>2</sup>. The duration of his nominal reign was about ten months. Of course his father was the real ruler of the Empire.

In this capacity Orestes concluded a treaty with Gaiseric<sup>3</sup> the terms of which are not disclosed to us, but it seems probable that one of the chief conditions imposed on the Roman Emperor was the cession of Sicily. In the same year probably in which this event occurred (475), peace, a peace which lasted for two generations, was concluded between the Vandal kingdom and the Eastern Empire. The ambassador chosen by the worn and harassed Emperor, Zeno, who had only just donned his painful diadem, was a senator named Severus, a man whose justice and moderation had won him the respect of all his fellow-citizens, and whom, to give greater honour to his embassy, Zeno raised to the dignity of Patrician. A hostile raid which Gaiseric made on the Epirote city of Nicopolis seemed at first sight to promise ill for the success of the negotiations, but Gaiseric in reply to the complaints of Severus

<sup>1</sup> *μειράκιον*, the word used by Procopius, generally means a lad of about that age.

<sup>2</sup> 'Et quia pulcher erat' (Anonymus Valesii, 38).

<sup>3</sup> 'Annali deinceps circulo evoluta cum rege Wandalarum Geiserico foedus initum est ab Oreste patricio' (Paulus, xv. 7). The meaning of the first four words is apparently that the treaty was concluded within a year from the elevation of Augustulus.

explained that such an attack was only a way of emphatically stating that he was still at war with the Empire. Now that an ambassador had actually reached his court he was quite willing to discuss with him the conditions of peace. And in fact the pure and simple character of Severus, his frugal manner of living, and his absolute inaccessibility to the lavishly offered bribes of the Vandal, so impressed Gaiseric that he not only concluded, as has been said, a firm and durable peace with Constantinople but consented to liberate all the Roman captives who were in bondage to him or his sons, having heard from the lips of Severus that such a concession would be more gratifying to him than any present of money or jewels. The captives who had been allotted to the warriors of the Vandal host Gaiseric declared that he could not liberate without the consent of their new lords, but he would throw no obstacle in the way of their redemption. The generous-hearted Severus not only restored to freedom without price the captives whom Gaiseric presented to him, but sold by public auction the costly vessels and magnificent robes by which he had set forth the majesty of Byzantium, and with the proceeds purchased the liberty of as many as he could of the slaves of the soldiers. Even the bitter Arianism of the old king was softened by the conversation of the friendly ambassador and a breathing-space, though as it proved only a short breathing-space, between the persecutions of Gaiseric and of his son, was secured by the good offices of Severus<sup>1</sup>.

The treaty with Gaiseric is almost the only public act that we hear of in the short reign of Augustulus.

<sup>1</sup> Malchus, Excerpt ii. 3 (pp. 260-261, ed. Bonn), and Victor Vitensis, i. 17.

BOOK III.  
CH. 7.Nepos in  
exile.The two ex-  
Emperors  
at Salona.

Before witnessing the downfall of the boy-Emperor, the last act in this long series of successful rebellions, let us follow the dethroned Nepos across the Adriatic to his Dalmatian capital Salona. No doubt he there possessed, *de facto*, the same petty sovereignty which his uncle Marcellinus had held before him. It seems probable also that he still claimed to be *de jure* Emperor of the Western world, still wore the diadem, the purple mantle, the jewelled sandals. Strange turn of fortune, which thus brought two dethroned Emperors of Rome (Nepos and Glycerius) to end their lives in the same Dalmatian city, one as its civil, the other as its religious ruler! In the modern town of Spalato, the temple which Diocletian erected to Jupiter has been converted, with as little change as the Pantheon at Rome, from a heathen fane into a Christian cathedral. If we may assume that this change took place before the end of the fifth century, we have here a subject which might be worthy of an artist's embodiment—the classic edifice reared by the great persecutor, crowded with priests and worshippers on the day of some high 'function'; two successors of Diocletian within its walls; two heads which had worn the wreath of the Emperor bowing in prayer to the Nazarene; two men who had once been engaged in what was like to have been the death-grapple for a throne, imparting and receiving 'the kiss of peace' at the celebration of the Supper of the Lord.

Assassina-  
tion of  
Nepos.  
Was it  
with the  
connivance  
of Glycer-  
ius?

Notwithstanding a report of a different kind which once obtained general credence, it is probable that the two rivals ended their days in mutual charity. Nepos outlived the Western Empire four years, and perished by the hands of assassins on the 15th of May, 480.

Two of his Counts, Viator and Ovida, killed him 'at his villa' (probably a part of Diocletian's palace) 'not far from Salona<sup>1</sup>.' As we find Odiva (or Ovida) next year in Dalmatia, waging war with, and conquered by the ruler of Italy, it is reasonable to suppose that he murdered Nepos in order to succeed to his power. There is, however, an obscure sentence in the note-book of Photius the Patriarch, which seems to throw the burden of the crime upon Glycerius. He describes his reading of the 'Byzantine History' of the Sophist Malchus, who lived at the time of the fall of the Western Empire. 'Malchus finishes the last book,' says Photius, 'with the death of Nepos, who, driving Glycerius from the kingdom, assumed to himself the Roman power, and having cut his hair like a cleric's, made him high-priest instead of Emperor, *by whom also, being conspired against, he was slain*<sup>2</sup>.' The accusation seems distinct enough: but (1) Malchus *may* have erred. (2) The erudite Patriarch who records in this note-book (the Bibliotheca) his remembrances of 280 books—all read during his embassy to Assyria—*may* have misunderstood or forgotten his author's meaning. (3) The amanuensis, in his intensely concise telegraphic style, *may* have given a wrong idea of what his master dictated to him. Any one of these suppositions seems more likely than that the other chroniclers should have omitted to notice so flagrant an instance of ingratitude as the murder of Nepos by the

<sup>1</sup> Marcellinus.

<sup>2</sup> This is the passage in the original: Καὶ τέλος τοῦ ἑβδόμου λόγου ποιεῖται τὸν Νέπωτος θάνατον, ὃς ἐκβαλὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς Γλυκερίου τὴν τε Ῥωμοϊκὴν ἰσχὺν περιεβάλετο, καὶ εἰς σχῆμα κείρας κληρικοῦ ἀντὶ βασιλείας ἀρχιερέα κατέστησεν ὑφ' οὗ καὶ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀνήρηται. Bibliotheca Cod. lxxviii.

BOOK III.  
CH. 7.  
rival whose life he had spared; that a Bishop, in that age of the Church, should have perpetrated so great a crime without calling forth a shout of execration from every chronicler of the period; and that Theophanes (a late writer, but not quite so late as Photius) having the proof of this terrible accusation before him, should still call Glycerius 'a not disreputable person' (*οὐκ ἀδόκιμος ἀνὴρ*).

## NOTE G.

### VANDAL DOMINION OVER THE ISLANDS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN.

It is clear that the Vandal domination (which, like that of the Athenians in the fifth century before Christ, was essentially a maritime domination) extended over several islands of the western Mediterranean, but it is not easy, from the scattered notices of the chroniclers, to draw up a precise account of the different stages of its growth. NOTE G.

Our chief information on this subject is derived from Victor Vitensis, who says that 'after the death of Valentinian III Genseric obtained the circuit of the whole of Africa, and moreover the largest islands—Sardinia, Sicily, Corsica, Ivica, Majorca, Minorca, and many others—and defended them with his wonted arrogance: one of which, that is Sicily, he afterwards granted to Odoacer, King of Italy, by tributary right, out of which Odoacer at certain times paid him tribute as to his lord, [Genseric] however reserving some part to himself<sup>1</sup>.'

It seems clear, however, that, at any rate as regards Sicily, there was no *complete* conquest of it by Gaiseric so early as 455 (the date of the death of Valentinian III). In 456, and again in 465, we find him ravaging Sicily, as if it were a hostile country<sup>2</sup>. At the time of the great combined expedition of 468 against Gaiseric, Sicily seems to have been made a base of operations by

<sup>1</sup> See the original passage, quoted p. 263 (note). Victor continues, 'Quarum unam illarum id est Siciliam, Odoacro Italiae regi' (observe this title) 'postmodum tributario jure concessit; ex qua ei Odoacer singulis quibusque temporibus, ut domino tributa dependit: aliquam tamen sibi reservans partem.' De Pers. Vand. i. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Priscus, Excerpts vii and x (pp. 216 and 218, ed. Bonn).

NOTE G. the Imperial flotilla<sup>1</sup>: and it was in Sicily, after the failure of the expedition, that Marcellinus was murdered by one of his colleagues<sup>2</sup>. All these facts seem to show that at any rate the Vandal domination was not yet securely established over the whole of Sicily, though it is probable enough that Lilybaeum, and perhaps Palermo, may have been conquered and held firmly during these years of strife by Gaiseric<sup>3</sup>. Apparently this is our last information as to Sicilian affairs until (as above stated) we find Gaiseric in 476 dealing with the whole island as his undoubted possession, and assigning it 'tributario jure' to Odovacar.

It is this fact which leads me to conjecture that in the treaty of 475 between Orestes and Gaiseric the island of Sicily may have been formally ceded to the Vandal king. The 'aliqua pars,' which Gaiseric reserved to himself at the time of his cession to Odovacar, was most probably the western corner of the island, including the fortress of Lilybaeum, though this does not seem to be anywhere distinctly stated.

Briefly to describe the later fortunes of Sicily, it evidently all formed part of the kingdom of Theodoric, till on the marriage of his sister Amalafrida with Thrasamund, king of the Vandals (circa 500), Theodoric ceded Lilybaeum and the adjacent territory to Thrasamund as part of the marriage-dowry<sup>4</sup>. To this period, doubtless, belongs the inscription recorded by Muratori (Thesaur. Inscriptt. p. 494. 4)<sup>5</sup> on a stone near Marsala, 'Fines inter Vandalos et Gothos. Mil. IIII.' On the fall of the Vandal kingdom Justinian claimed Lilybaeum (which had meanwhile been taken possession of by the Goths) as part of his prize of war, and the Goths' refusal to surrender it was one of the pretexts of the war, which for a time re-united not only Sicily but Italy also to the Empire.

As for the other islands mentioned by Victor—Sardinia, Cor-

<sup>1</sup> Papencordt (p. 102) infers this from the words of Priscus as to the Emperor Leo (*ἐν μείζονι φροντίδι τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ συνενεχθέντα πασιόμενος*, fr. 22), but the argument seems rather weak.

<sup>2</sup> Cassiodorus and Marcellinus, s. a. 468.

<sup>3</sup> Tillemont (vi. 224) and Baronius (s. a. 454, xxii.) infer the capture of Lilybaeum from the captivity of its bishop, Paschasinus, who wrote a plaintive letter as to his sufferings to Pope Leo. Idatius tells us that 'Gaisericus Siciliam depredatus Panormum diu obsedit' in 440, but we do not seem to be distinctly told of his capture of the city.

<sup>4</sup> See vol. iii. p. 356.

<sup>5</sup> I take this quotation from Papencordt.



sica, and the Balearic isles—they appear to have been earlier and more firmly attached to the Vandal kingdom than Sicily. Sardinia was indeed recovered for the Empire by Marcellinus in 468<sup>1</sup>, but it probably fell back under Vandal dominion soon after the failure of the expedition of that year, since, at the conference between Catholics and Arians at Carthage in 484, the names of several bishops from Sardinia and the Balearic isles are mentioned, and these were undoubtedly subjects of the Vandal king. After that conference forty-six Catholic bishops were sent to Corsica to hew wood for the royal navy, a proof (if proof were needed) that this island also owned the sway of the son of Gaiseric<sup>2</sup>.

NOTE G.

All these islands were easily won back to their allegiance to the Emperor after the fall of the Vandal monarchy in 533<sup>3</sup>, though at a later period Sardinia and Corsica were for a few years subject to the Ostrogothic king Totila (circa 545–552)<sup>4</sup>.

The foregoing faint outline of the history of the Mediterranean islands seems to be all that it is possible to extract from the secular historians. Probably a careful study of ecclesiastical documents would enable us to supply much that is here missing.

<sup>1</sup> Procopius (*De Bello Vandalico*, i. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, ii. 611, 612.

<sup>3</sup> Procopius (*De Bello Vandalico*, ii. 5), and see vol. iii. p. 687.

<sup>4</sup> See vol. iv. pp. 698–9.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### ODOVACAR, THE SOLDIER OF FORTUNE.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources :—*

BOOK III. CH. 8. THE two mysterious chroniclers, ANONYMUS CUSPINIANI and ANONYMUS VALESII, are our best authorities for this most meagrely furnished epoch. Cuspinian's MS. gives us all our dates, and that of Valois nearly all our personal details as to the dethroner of the last Roman Emperor.

It will be seen however that ENNODIUS' Life of Epiphanius is again a valuable source of information. So is the somewhat similar Life of Saint Severinus by EUGIPPIUS' (published in the first volume of the 'Auctores Antiquissimi' in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Berlin, 1877). JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS and JORDANES also contribute some facts. The details as to revolutions and embassies at Constantinople rest chiefly on the authority of MALCHUS and CANDIDUS, two Byzantine historians of the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century. They were read and abstracted by the all-devouring Photius. Fragments of their works are published in the Bonn edition of the Byzantine historians.

##### *Guides :—*

Mascou's History of the Germanic Nations is an exceedingly valuable guide over this portion of the ground. He was perhaps the first scholar who thoroughly apprehended the fact that the Empire fell, not before an invasion but before a mutiny of its own troops. Gibbon, with his wonderful historic instinct, followed Mascou's guidance.

<sup>1</sup> Head of the monastery of the Lucullanum (near Naples), who is said to have written this book about 510.

It will at once be seen that throughout the whole of this chapter large use has been made of the labours of the industrious Pallmann (*Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, vol. ii).

BOOK III.  
CH. 8.

‘WHILE Epiphanius, with this severe self-discipline, was approving himself a workman of Jesus Christ that needed not to be ashamed, the old Enemy of our race, that restless Schemer of Evil, was busy adding affliction to affliction, and devising new sufferings wherewith to torment the soul of the saint. With this view he stirred up the army against the Patrician Orestes, and sowed the seeds of discord and suspicion between him and them. He excited the minds of abandoned men with the wild hope of revolution; he breathed the desire for sovereign power into the soul of Odovacer. And then, in order that the calamity might fall upon the city of Ticinum [Pavia], he allured Orestes thither to take shelter under its strong fortifications.’

476.  
Ennodius' account of the Revolution of 476.

So writes the episcopal biographer of the Bishop of Pavia. We may not share his intimate acquaintance with the counsels of the Prince of Darkness, but we are bound to express our gratitude for the information which he, all but a contemporary, has given us in this paragraph concerning the immediate cause of the final catastrophe of the Western Empire. Fortified by this authority, we can unhesitatingly assert that Rome fell at last, not by an invasion of the Herulians or any other Transalpine nation, but by a mutiny of the troops who were serving under her own eagles, and were paid out of her own military chest. We are thus carried back to the remembrance of the time, a century before that which we have now reached, when the Goths on a large scale entered the Roman armies as *foederati*<sup>1</sup>, and at

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 313.

BOOK III. the risk of a little repetition we may again consider  
 CH. 8. — the same subject.

Rome's use  
 of non-  
 Roman  
 soldiers.

Few things in the upward career of Rome are more wonderful than the skill with which she made her last-<sup>and England</sup>vanquished enemies the instruments of achieving yet another conquest. By the help of the Latins she subdues the Samnites; with Italian soldiers she conquers Spain; the dwellers around the Mediterranean shore carry her standards through Gaul; the Romanised Gaul beats off the German. In our own country, on the desolate moorlands between the Solway and the Tyne, were encamped Batavians from Holland, Asturians from Spain, Tungrians from the Rhine, and many another representative of far-distant lands, from which, even in these days of quickened intercourse between nations, not one in a century now sets foot beside 'the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus.' From the point of view of the subjugated and tamed provincial, this constant interchange of military service throughout that enormous Empire had much to recommend it, as bringing many widely-scattered nationalities face to face with one another, as breaking down the barriers of race and creed, and as enabling one thought to vibrate unchecked from the Euphrates to the Atlantic. But viewed from the stand-point of a nationality not yet subdued, and still fighting hard for liberty, the use which Rome made of the arms of her conquered foes may well have seemed the device of some malign deity, bent on darkening the whole heaven and on destroying the happiness of the human race. Especially must this thought have forced itself on the mind of the barbarian patriot when he heard that the people of Rome itself, the men who preëminently styled themselves Quirites,

and who shouted for wars and triumphs, no longer served in the legions themselves, but passed their useless lives between the Bath and the Amphitheatre, leaving all the toil of the ceaseless campaigns with which Rome vexed the universe, to men who knew the seven hills of Rome but as some cloud-built city in a dream.

Amply would such a barbarian patriot—an Arminius, a Caractacus, or a Decebalus—have been avenged, could he have foreseen the part which these same auxiliaries were to play in completing the ruin of Rome. We have seen the young Alaric learning his first lessons in the invasion of Italy as an Irregular in the army of Theodosius. We have seen the Hunnish forerunners of the host of Attila introduced as auxiliaries into the heart of Gaul by Aetius—the same Aetius who was afterwards to behold them in their myriads arrayed against him on the Catalaunian plains. We are now to see the death-blow dealt at the dotting Empire by men of Teutonic speech and origin, who had taken the *sacramentum*, the military oath of allegiance, and had been enlisted as defenders of Rome.

The meagre annals of the fifth century do not enable us to state what were the relative proportions of native Italians and of barbarians in the armies of Valentinian III and his successors. We may conjecture however that the former had become a very slight ingredient in the mass, and that the Germans no longer served merely as ‘auxiliaries’ in the wings of the army, but were now the backbone of the Legion itself. We have a few slight indications of the progress of this change. The reader may remember that one of the vexations which made the short-lived Emperor Maximus

BOOK III.  
CH. 8.

Part which they played in hastening the ruin of Rome.

Proportion of barbarians in the army enormously increased.

BOOK III.  
CH. 8.

sigh for the fate of the happier Damocles was 'the turbulence of the *foederati*'<sup>1</sup>. When war broke out between Anthemius and Ricimer, the men in authority and the mob of Rome clave to the former, but 'the multitude of naturalised barbarians'<sup>2</sup> (evidently soldiers) to the latter. And now, in the passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter, we find 'the army' spoken of as rising collectively against Orestes, though, as we shall soon see, the ground of quarrel was that they as Barbarians made a demand which he as a Roman could not grant. As before said, therefore, it may be conjectured, if it cannot be absolutely proved, that in the year 476 a very small number of true Roman citizens was serving in the dwindled armies of the Western Empire.

Recruiting  
ground be-  
yond the  
Danube.

The chief recruiting ground for auxiliaries during the quarter of a century after the death of Attila, seems to have been the lands on the further side of the middle Danube, including parts of Bohemia, Moravia, the archduchy of Austria, and the kingdom of Hungary. Here dwelt (in positions which are approximately indicated on the accompanying map) four nations with the uncouth and harsh-sounding names of the Rugii, the Scyri, the Turcilingi, and the Heruli<sup>3</sup>. The ante-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> 'τῶ δὲ Ῥεκίμερι τὸ τῶν οἰκείων βαρβάρων πλῆθος συνεμάχει' (Joannes Antiochenus, frag. 209).

<sup>3</sup> The position assigned to the Turcilingi on the map is purely conjectural. The other tribes are in the quarters marked out for them by Pallmann (*Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, vol. ii), whose guidance I have also chiefly followed in the few remarks made as to the earlier history of these races. His theory of the existence of two portions of the Heruli, an Eastern and a Western, seems to lessen some of the difficulties in the ordinary accounts of the migrations of that puzzling people. But Pallmann's own learned and exhaustive

cedent history of these tribes, even during the second and third centuries of the Christian era, is not clearly ascertained. According to some ethnologists the island of Rugen in the Baltic still preserves the name of the first. A more certain memorial of the second tribe is furnished by an inscription found at Olbia (in the South of Russia, near Odessa), which shews that as early as the second century *before* the Christian era, the inroads of the Scyri were formidable to the Hellenic settlers round the shores of the Black Sea. Though a comparatively unimportant tribe, they are thus brought into contact with the world of classical antiquity considerably earlier than the Goths themselves. Of the Turcilingi we really know nothing. The Heruli were the most widely extended of the four nations. In the latter part of the third century, we are told, they sailed with 500 ships forth from the Sea of Azof to the shore of Pontus, and thence through Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to the coasts of Attica, when Athens itself suffered conflagration at their hands<sup>1</sup>. At the time of the Fall of the Western Empire they appear to have been settled on the southern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains, the most easterly in position, and the most powerful of the four tribes.

treatise, failing, as I think it fails, to give any clear and thoroughly satisfactory explanation of the history of these tribes in the fourth and fifth centuries, is an argument the more for that scientific co-ordination of the labours of antiquarian enquirers for which he so justly pleads. I would add another preliminary work as an indication to antiquaries what they have to look for; an edition of Tacitus' 'Germania,' and a commentary on the 'De Rebus Geticis' of Jordanes, at once more accurate and more exhaustive than any that we have yet had.

<sup>1</sup> Georgius Syncellus (fl. about 800) i. 717 (Bonn edition), quoted by Pallmann.

BOOK III.  
CH. 8.

Fortunes  
of the  
Rugii,  
Seyri,  
Turcilingi,  
and Heruli,  
after the  
death of  
Attila.

Whatever may have been the previous fortunes of these races, they were probably for a time subject to the loosely-jointed dominion of the Huns; and in fact, we met with the names of some of them among the invaders of Gaul under the banner of Attila. After his death they may very likely have taken part in the great War of Independence which culminated in the battle of Nedao; at any rate, they shared in its reward, the breaking of the Hunnish yoke from off their necks. The Gepidae, whose king Ardaric had been the leader in the work of liberation, occupied the wide expanse of Dacia; the Ostrogoths took Pannonia; to the north and north-west of these two great nations stretched the domains which, as has been already said, were occupied by the four tribes with whose fortunes we are now concerned. On their southern frontier their strong Teutonic neighbours interposed an invincible obstacle to the wandering and predatory impulses which were partly instinctive, partly the result of contact with and subjection to the Huns. But on the south-western horizon no such barrier presented itself. There, at a distance of perhaps a week's march, lay Venetian Italy; the fortress of Aquileia which had once been its defence, was still the ruined heap to which Attila had reduced it; and thither stretched the still undestroyed Roman roads over the passes of the Wipbach-thal, the Predil, Pontebba, and the Sexten Thal. To reach this Land of Promise the Rugian or Herulian mercenary had but to cross the Province of Noricum (Styria, Salzburg, Carinthia); and that unhappy Province, not wholly cast off by the Empire nor regularly appropriated by the barbarians, was in the same relation to them which unpartitioned Poland





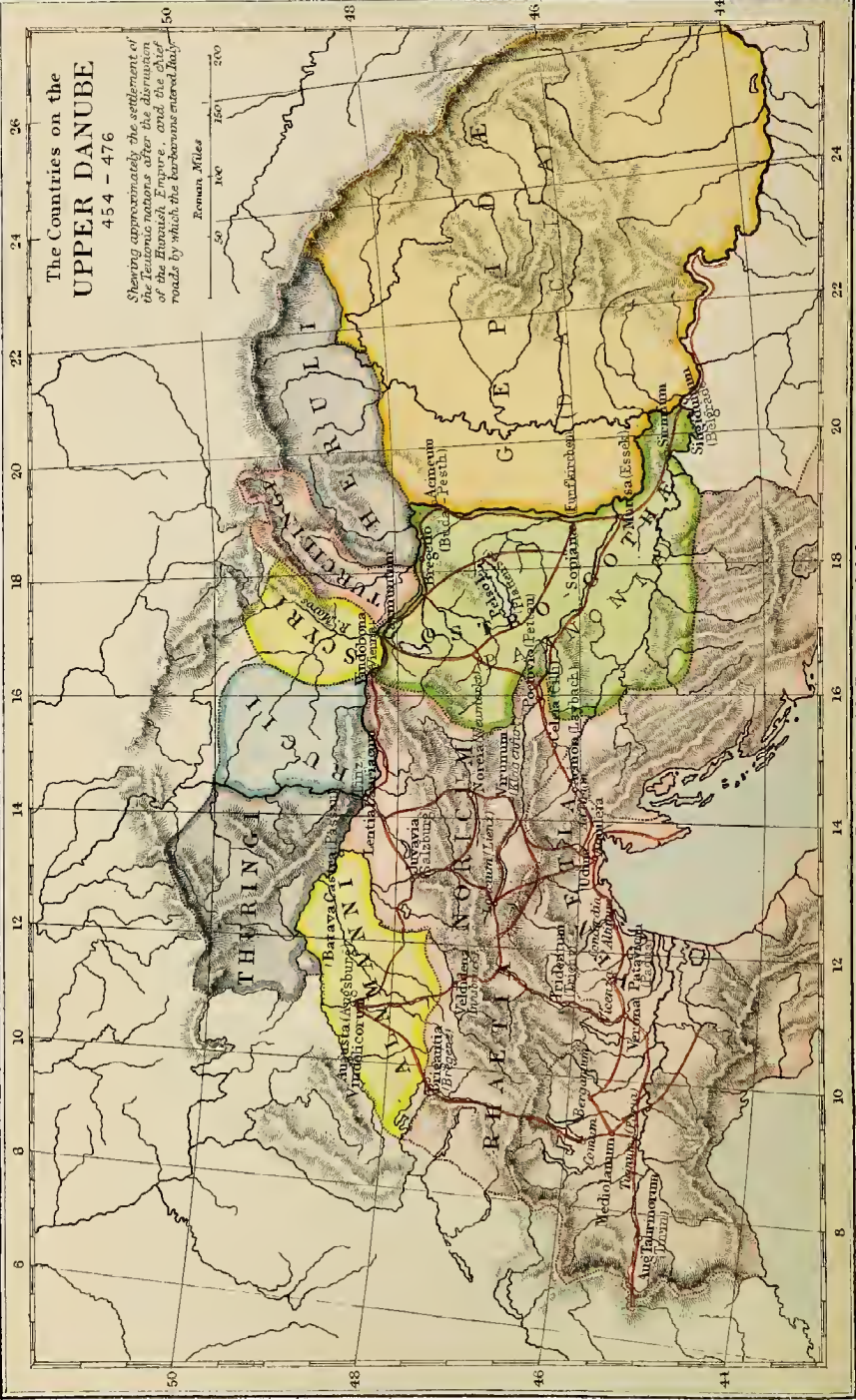
# The Countries on the UPPER DANUBE

454 - 476

Showing approximately the settlement of the Teutonic nations after the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire, and the roads by which the barbarians entered Italy.

Roman Miles

50 150 250



For the Teutonic nations of the Danube, see page 513.

occupied towards Russia in the days of the Empress Catharine, 'My door-mat upon which I tread whenever I wish to visit Europe.'

BOOK III.  
CH. 8.

We may therefore imagine, during all the sixteen years of Ricimer's ascendancy, bands of the strongest and most restless-spirited of the warriors of the four tribes, streaming south-westwards through Noricum, under the shadow of the high rock of Juvavum<sup>1</sup> or over the fair plain of Virunum<sup>2</sup>, and so on out of the last defiles of the Julian Alps into the broad valley of the Po, their final goal being Ravenna, Rome, or Milan; any place where the great Patrician had set up his standard, and where the Tribune or the Centurion—himself perhaps a barbarian kinsman—would be in readiness to receive the young Teuton's 'Sacramentum.' It seems pretty clear that whatever differences of costume or of arms may have separated these four tribes from one another, they all bore a general resemblance to the great Gothic nation, and spoke the Gothic language, for which reason some of the Byzantine historians call their leader a Goth, and confuse the heterogeneous kingdom which they established, with the purely and truly Gothic monarchy which succeeded it.

These tribes flocked into Italy as adventurers

It was not then an invasion in the strict sense of the word, this slow infiltration of the Heruli and their neighbours into the Italian peninsula. They came ostensibly to succour and to serve Rome. But so did the Swedes and the French come to help Germany in the two last decades of the Thirty Years' War; and we may well imagine that, unwelcome as the troopers of Turenne and Wrangel were in Germany in the year

but not strictly as invaders.

<sup>1</sup> Salzburg.

<sup>2</sup> Now the Zoll Feld near Klagenfurt.

BOOK III. 1648, even more unwelcome to the Italian citizen  
 CH. 8. (when he could speak his mind freely without fear of being overheard by the myrmidons of Ricimer) was the continuous advent of these many-nationed deliverers from beyond the Danube. It was not an invasion in form, but in substance perhaps it was not greatly different.

The miseries of Noricum assuaged by Saint Severinus.

We return for an instant to the half-ruined Province of Noricum, through which these swarms of Rugian and other adventurers were yearly pouring. The long-continued suffering of the inhabitants during thirty years of anarchy (from about 453 to 482) was somewhat soothed by the beneficent activity of Saint Severinus, a holy man who suddenly appeared amongst them, none knew from whence, and who, by his gentle wisdom and by the ascendancy which the simple earnestness of his nature obtained for him over the minds of the barbarians, was often able to interpose for the help of the plundered provincials. In his little cell on the banks of the Danube, round which, in the course of time, other hermits, his disciples and imitators, built their lowly dwellings, he practised all the regular austerities of a monk of the fifth century, fasting till he had reached the utmost limits of emaciation, and walking barefoot when even the Danube was a mass of ice. Here, in his lonely meditations, the Saint was believed to be sometimes filled with

‘The spirit of the fervent days of old  
 When words were things that came to pass, and thought  
 Flashed o’er the future, bidding men behold  
 Their children’s children’s doom already brought  
 Forth from the abyss of things that were to be!’

<sup>1</sup> Byron, *The Vision of Dante.*

and amid the visible wreck and ruin of the kingdoms of the world, Severinus, it was thought, could foretell something of the form and fashion of those which were to succeed them. BOOK III.  
CH. 8.

A band of young soldiers of fortune from across the Danube, on their way to Italy, came one day to the cell of this holy man to receive his blessing. They were Christians, though of the Arian type, and the candidates for enlistment in the Imperial army evidently did not fear the Saint's condemnation of their enterprise. Among them was a young man, with thick yellow moustache<sup>1</sup>, in sordid garb, but of commanding height, and, it may be, with something in his mien which marked him out as a born leader of men. As soon as this young man stepped inside the cell, (the lowly roof of which obliged him to bow his head in the presence of the Saint,) Severinus, it is said, perceived by an inward intimation that the youth was destined to achieve high renown. The blessing was given and the young Teuton said 'Farewell.' 'Fare forward<sup>2</sup>,' answered the Saint, 'fare forward into Italy; thou who art now covered with a mean raiment of skins, but who shalt soon bestow on many men the costliest gifts.'

The name of the tall recruit who received and fulfilled this benediction was Odovacar, commonly called Odoacer, the son of Edecon. The name has a Teutonic ring about it, and is thought by the great German philologist Grimm to signify 'rich in watchfulness,' or Odovacar's  
name.

The shape of the moustache, infrequent on purely Roman faces, is portrayed on Odovacar's coins. The colour is of course the conventional 'flavus' of the Goths.

<sup>2</sup> 'Vade' for 'Vale.'

BOOK III. 'a good watcher'<sup>1</sup>. He suggests that it may have  
 CH. 8. been a favourite name for a watch-dog, and thence transferred to a man-child in whom vigilance in war was looked for by his barbarian parents. It seems better to retain, as the German historians generally do, the *Odovacar* of the contemporary authorities in all its primeval ruggedness, instead of softening it down with later historians (chiefly the Byzantine annalists) into the smooth and slippery *Odoacer*.

Odovacar's  
 origin.

The origin and ancestry of the young soldier, who stalked into the cave of Severinus, are among the unsolved riddles of history. He is called by the Annalists and by Jordanes a Goth, a Rugian, and a Scyrian<sup>2</sup>, and his name is also sometimes coupled both with the Turcilingi<sup>3</sup> and the Heruli, as if he were their especial leader<sup>4</sup>. The conclusion which it seems best to draw from all these conflicting testimonies is that he was a Teuton (and that fact alone, according to Byzantine usage, would entitle him to be called a Goth); that he was not of royal descent (and here the story of the mean appearance which he presented in the cave of Severinus comes in as an additional confirmation), and that, for this reason, after he had by an unexpected stroke of fortune attained to one of the foremost positions in the world, each of the four tribes which formed his motley host claimed him as of its own especial kindred.

<sup>1</sup> *Audags*, Gothic for 'rich' or 'blessed;' *vakir*, Gothic for 'watcher.'

<sup>2</sup> Dahn (*Könige der Germanen*, ii. 35) pronounces in favour of the Scyrian origin of Odovacar.

<sup>3</sup> Jordanes, *de Rebus Geticis*, 'Odoacer rex Turcilingorum.'

<sup>4</sup> Prosper's continuator calls him 'rex Erulorum.'

This view does not absolutely preclude the commonly received opinion that Odovacar was the son of the same Edecon who was associated with Orestes in the embassy to Constantinople, and who listened, or seemed to listen, with too favourable an ear to the scheme for the assassination of Attila. It is true that in the wrangle about precedence between the two ambassadors, the interpreter Vigilas said that the secretary Orestes was 'not to be compared in social position with Edecon, a mighty man of war and a *Hun by birth*.' But these last words need not, perhaps, be interpreted with ethnological precision. Priscus himself speaks of the discontented Roman who had *turned Hun*, and in the same way probably any of the Teutonic warriors—Gepidae, Ostrogoths, Rugians, Herulians—whose fathers or grandfathers had accepted the rule of that 'Anarch old,' the Hunnish King and Generalissimo, would, by comparison with a Roman provincial, be spoken of as 'a Hun by birth.' And if this be the true account of Odovacar's parentage, the breaking-up of the Hunnish power after Attila's death might easily cause such a change in the position of the courtier, Edecon, as to account for the humble garb in which his son presented himself before the Saint of Noricum. It must be confessed that there is a touch of dramatic completeness in the working out of the squabble for precedence between Edecon and Orestes in the persons of their sons, the first barbarian King and the last Roman Emperor in Italy, which, until the theory can be actually proved to be untrue, will always commend it to the artistic instincts of the Historian<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK III.  
CH. 8.

Was  
Edecon the  
father of  
Odovacar  
the same  
as Edecon  
the courtier  
of  
Attila?

<sup>1</sup> The point is, and Pallmann insists upon it with due emphasis, that no one author mentions the Edecon of the Embassy and the

BOOK III.  
CH. 8.

Odovacar  
rises in the  
Imperial  
service.

Odovacar was born in the year 433<sup>1</sup>, but we are not able to fix the precise date of his first appearance in Italy and entrance into the Imperial service. It was probably, however, between 460 and 470, since by the year 472 he had risen so high that his adhesion to the party of Ricimer against Anthemius is considered worthy of special mention by the historian Joannes Antiochenus<sup>2</sup>. For four years from that time we hear

Edecon, father of Odovacar, and says or implies that they are the same person. Priscus gives us the first, the 'Anonymus Valesii' the second, and they may be speaking of two different persons.

De Rebus  
Geticis,  
cap. liv.

There is yet a third, Edica, king of the Scyri, mentioned by Jordanes, whose history Gibbon (following Buat, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples*) has combined with that of Attila's ambassador and Odovacar's father. It is very difficult to believe that this combination is the true one, though there are also great difficulties (chiefly arising from the mention of a certain *Onulf*, son of Edecon or Edeca, and brother of Odovacar) in rejecting it. At present the whole question seems so hopelessly entangled—being, moreover, one of secondary importance—that I have not thought it necessary to trouble the reader with it at length. But it is right that he should know that the smoothly-flowing narrative of Gibbon as to the early history of Odovacar rests upon *two* combinations, one unproved and the other highly improbable.

I cannot think that Pallmann has made out even a *prima facie* case for the *Rugian* origin of Odovacar. Jordanes states it in one of his works (*De Regnorum Successione*), but contradicts it in the other (*De Rebus Geticis*). Joannes Antiochenus (fragment 209) says that he was 'of the nation of the Scyri.' The passage which Pallmann has inadvertently quoted from the same author in defence of his *Rugian* theory (fragment 214) says that the Emperor Zeno '*stirred up against Odovacar the nation of the Rugians*' ('*Ὁ Ζήνων πρὸς τὸν Ὀδοάκρον τὸ τῶν Ῥόγων ἐπανέστησε γένος*'). It is precisely this bitter war of Odovacar with the Rugians, 486–7, which, to my mind, makes it most improbable that that should have been the tribe from which he really derived his origin.

<sup>1</sup> This we know from Joannes Antiochenus (fr. 214), who tells us that he was sixty at the time of his death in 493.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 209.



no more of him, but his name evidently became a word of power with his countrymen in the Imperial army. BOOK III.  
CH. 8.

Soon—we know not precisely how soon—after Orestes had placed the handsome boy, his son Romulus, upon the throne of the exiled Nepos, his own troubles began with the army, whose discontent he had so skilfully fomented. The *foederati* presented themselves before the Patrician at Ravenna, with a startling demand. ‘Assign to us,’ said they, ‘one third of the land of Italy for our inheritance.’ The proportion claimed was, no doubt, suggested by the Imperial system of billeting, according to which the citizen upon whom a soldier was quartered was bound to divide his house into three compartments, of which he kept one himself, his unbidden guest was then entitled to select another, and the third portion as well as the first remained in the occupation of the owner. It may be said also that the four tribes were more reasonable in their demands than some of their Teutonic kinsfolk, since the Visigoths had claimed two-thirds of the lands of Gaul; the Vandals had not limited themselves even to that portion, and even the Burgundians, although the mildest and most civilised of the invaders of the Empire, had taken half of the moorland, orchards, and forests, and two-thirds of the arable land <sup>1</sup>.

The  
Foederati  
demand  
a third of  
the land  
of Italy.

<sup>1</sup> This important fact, of the barbarian soldiers’ demand for a division of the lands of Italy, is made known to us by Procopius (*De Bello Gotthico*, i. 1): ‘In proportion as the barbarians increased in consideration, did the credit of the Roman soldiers decline; and under the specious name of alliance the State fell under the tyrannical sway of the intruders. Thus many acts of unrestrained violence were perpetrated by the latter on their unresisting entertainers, and at length they demanded a settlement upon the soil of Italy. Of this

BOOK III.

CH. 8.

476.  
The  
demand  
refused.

But whatever arguments may be urged to give a certain plausibility to the demand of the *foederati*, it was none the less a demand which no Roman statesman with a shadow of self-respect could possibly grant. Analogies drawn from the conduct of the Visigoths in Gaul and the Vandals in Africa, only proved what every Emperor since Honorius had tried to turn away his eyes from seeing, that the so-called Roman army was in fact a collection of aliens and enemies to Rome, trained, it might be, with some of the old legionary discipline, and armed from the Italian arsenals, but only so much the more dangerous to the country which it professed to defend.

The  
Foederati  
rebel and  
proclaim  
Odovacar  
their king.

Orestes, who ended his career with more dignity than he had displayed in any previous portion of it, utterly refused to despoil the subjects of his son in order to enrich the mercenaries. Possibly he placed some dependence on old habits of military obedience in the army and on the mutual jealousies of the foremost officers, the result of which might be that the mutineers would remain without a head. But in this calculation he was mistaken. Odovacar came forward and offered, if he were made leader, to obtain for the soldiers the land for which they hungered. The bargain was at once struck. On the 23rd of August, 476, Odovacar was raised upon the shield, as Alaric had been raised eighty-one years before, and from that day the allegiance to Augustulus of the barbarians, the backbone of the Roman army, was at an end.

Ticinum  
besieged  
and taken.

Events marched rapidly. In twelve days the whole campaign—if campaign it could be called—was over.

they ordered Orestes to give them one third, and when he asserted that he would do nothing of the kind, they straightway slew him.'

Orestes took refuge within the strongly-fortified city of Pavia (or, as it was then called, Ticinum), the city of which the saintly Epiphanius was Bishop. The defence must have been an extremely short one, but the biographer of Epiphanius (our sole authority here) gives us no details concerning it. Everything, however, seems to indicate that the army, when the barbarian adherents of Odovacar were subtracted from it, was a miserably feeble remnant, utterly unable to cope with the revolters. The barbarians burst into the city, plundering, ravishing, burning. Both churches and many houses of Pavia were consumed in the conflagration. The sister of Epiphanius, a nun, whose reputation for holiness was almost equal to his own, was dragged off by the soldiers into captivity. The chiefs of many noble families shared the same fate. At first there seems to have been some disposition to treat Epiphanius himself with harshness, on account of the insufficiency of the sum which he offered for his ransom. The soldiery could not understand that a Bishop of Ticinum could be so poor as his continual almsgiving had made him. 'Oh, wickedness! that crude barbarity sought the treasures upon earth which he had sent forward to the recesses of heaven.' Soon, however, the transparent holiness of his character exerted its wonted influence even upon these infuriated plunderers. 'He rescued his venerable sister before the fatal light of that day glided into evening;' and he also procured by his earnest intercessions the liberation of many of the citizens, exerting himself especially to lessen the horrors of that terrible time for the women who were about to become mothers.

An interval of just two generations had elapsed since

BOOK III. Pavia saw a somewhat similar scene of mutinous riot,  
CH. 8.

476.  
Contrast to  
the mutiny  
of Roman  
soldiers at  
Ticinum  
in 408.

robbery, and murder. That was in the year 408, when the intrigues of the party of Olympius against Stilicho burst forth into a flame. Then the cry was 'Down with the barbarians! Down with the Vandal, Stilicho! Slay the *foederati!*' And so the best bulwark of the Empire was sacrificed to the unworthy jealousy of the Roman party who were utterly unable to replace him by any tolerable substitute. In a certain sense it might be said that the evil deed of 408 brought about the punishment of 476, and that Odovacar avenged the blood of Stilicho.

Sack of  
Ticinum.

For part of two days, apparently, the work of devastation went on in Pavia, and all the time the perpetual enquiry of the enraged soldiery was, 'Where is Orestes?' At length news was brought that the Patrician, who had escaped from the city, had been discovered at Placentia, and with that the tumult subsided, and something like peace was restored to the plundered city.

Death of  
Orestes  
and his  
brother  
Paulus.

It was upon the 28th August, 476, only five days after the elevation of Odovacar, that Orestes was taken at Placentia, and being taken was at once beheaded with a sword. His brother Paulus for a few days longer defended the lost cause at Ravenna, but apparently had too few men under his command to hold even that almost impregnable fortress. On the 4th of September, Paulus, who was perhaps trying to make his escape by sea, was slain by order of Odovacar, 'at the Pineta outside Classis by Ravenna<sup>1</sup>.' Within the walls of that city Odovacar found his helpless boy-rival

<sup>1</sup> Anonymus Valesii, 37.

Augustulus. Pitying his tender years, and touched with admiration of the beautiful face of the purple-clad suppliant, the successful Teuton, who was now strong enough to be merciful, spared the 'little Augustus,' and assigned to him a palace and a revenue for the remainder of his life. The splendid villa which, at a lavish cost, Lucius Lucullus, the conqueror of Mithridates, had erected for himself near the city of Naples, was allotted as the residence of Romulus, with the members of his family whom the war had spared; and an annual pension of 6,000 solidi (equal to £3,600 sterling, and perhaps corresponding to about twice that amount in our own day) was granted for his maintenance. How long this pension was drawn, how many years the son of Orestes lived among the woods and fish-ponds of the 'Lucullanum,' whether he saw the downfall of his conqueror, or even, as he may very possibly have done, survived that conqueror's conqueror, Theodoric<sup>1</sup>, on all these points History is silent<sup>2</sup>, and her silence is an eloquent testimony to the utter insignificance of the deposed Emperor.

BOOK III.  
CH. 8.

476.

Augustulus spared and sent to Campania.

Our ignorance as to the close of his career.

The details, few and imperfect as they are, which we possess respecting the seventeen years' reign of Odovacar in Italy will be best given in connection with the history of that Ostrogothic invasion which brought it to a premature and bloody close. But a few words remain to be said as to transactions which happened at Carthage and Constantinople at the time or soon after the time when these events were occurring in Italy.

Early in the year 477, only half a year after the 477.

<sup>1</sup> Odovacar was slain in 493 by Theodoric, who died in 526.

<sup>2</sup> But for one doubtful allusion in the letters of Cassiodorus (*Variarum*, iii. 35).

BOOK III. dethronement of Augustulus, died the king of the  
 CH. 8. Vandals, Gaiseric. For more than fifty years had he  
 Death of Gaiseric. been warring against Rome, and as if the energy of his  
 hate had sustained him under the infirmities of age,  
 now that the Western Empire was dead he died also.  
 It was soon seen how largely the might of the Vandal  
 name had been due to his destructive genius and  
 tenacity of purpose. The strength of the kingdom  
 rapidly declined under his son and grandson, and little  
 more than half a century after his death it fell an easy  
 prey to the arms of the Emperor Justinian. Gaiseric  
 had destroyed the fortifications of all the cities in his  
 dominions, in order to prevent their giving harbourage  
 to rebellious Africans or invading Byzantines; 'a  
 measure,' says Procopius, 'which was greatly praised  
 at the time, and which seemed in the safest way  
 possible to have promoted the tranquillity of the  
 Vandals. Afterwards, however, when the absence of  
 walled towns so greatly facilitated the invasion of  
 Belisarius, Gaiseric was the subject of much ridicule,  
 and his vaunted prudence was accounted foolishness.  
 For men are perpetually changing their minds as to  
 the wisdom of any given course, according to the light  
 which Fortune throws upon it.' These words of Pro-  
 copius would have been fittingly spoken of some of the  
 fluctuations of European opinion in our own century,  
 veering wildly round from the extravagance of glorifi-  
 cation to the extravagance of contempt.

Byzantine  
 affairs.

The years which witnessed the elevation and the fall  
 of Augustulus in the West saw also the climax of the  
 long struggle between Zeno and Basiliscus in the East.  
 Aided by the stratagems of the ever-intriguing Empress  
 Verina, his sister, Basiliscus succeeded (475) in de-

throning his rival who fled to his native Isauria, among the mountains of Asia Minor. Two years after, by the treachery of the general Harmatius, who was sent to destroy him, Zeno succeeded in turning the tables on his antagonist, and found himself again reigning, as undisputed Augustus, in the palace by the Bosphorus. The promise which he had given to save the life of the deposed Basiliscus was fulfilled by sending him, his wife, and children, in the depth of winter, to banishment in Cappadocia, where, deprived of every comfort and almost of necessary sustenance, they soon perished miserably of cold and hunger.

BOOK III.  
CH. 8.  
Final  
triumph of  
Zeno over  
Basiliscus.

Soon after the return of Zeno to his palace two embassies waited upon him to express their congratulations on his restoration to the throne. First of all appeared the deputies of the Roman Senate, sent by the command of Augustulus, which evidently was in truth the command of Odovacar, to say 'that they did not need a separate royalty, but that Zeno himself as sole Emperor would suffice for both ends of the earth. That Odovacar, however, a prudent statesman and brave warrior, had been chosen by them to defend their interests, and they therefore requested Zeno to bestow on him the dignity of Patrician, and entrust to his care the diocese of Italy.' In confirmation of their message and as a visible proof that the sovereignty was to be henceforth lodged at Constantinople, these Western deputies brought with them the Ensigns of Imperial dignity<sup>1</sup>.

477-8.  
Embassies  
to Zeno  
from the  
Roman  
Senate

A few days after arrived from Salona the ambassadors of the titular Emperor Nepos (these events happened

and from  
Nepos.

<sup>1</sup> Ornamenta palatii (Anon. Vales. 64).

BOOK III. two years before his assassination), and they, while also  
 CH. 8. — congratulating Zeno on his restoration, besought him to sympathise with their master, like him expelled from his lawful sovereignty, and to grant him supplies of men and money to enable him to reconquer the Empire of the West.

It would seem that each embassy touched a responsive chord in the soul of the Eastern Potentate. The thought that the world needed no other Emperor but him gratified his vanity, but the fugitive's appeal to his brother fugitive excited his sympathy. He therefore, in true diplomatic style, gave an answer which was no answer, lecturing the weak, flattering the strong, and leaving the whole question in the same uncertainty in which he found it.

Ambiguous  
 reply of  
 Zeno.

To the messengers from the Senate he replied, 'You have received two Emperors from the East, Anthemius and Nepos, one of whom you have killed and the other you have driven into banishment. What your duty prescribes you know very well. While Nepos lives there cannot be two opinions about the matter; you ought to welcome his return.'

The precise nature of the reply to Nepos is not stated, but a message was sent to Odovacar, praising him for his judicious subservience to the wish of the Roman Emperor, exhorting him to seek the much-desired title of Patrician from Nepos, and to work for the return of that sovereign, but expressing, at the same time, the willingness of Zeno to grant him the title if Nepos should persist in withholding it. And, after giving all this admirable advice, he sent by the ambassadors a private letter with the superscription, 'To the Patrician Odovacar.' An extraordinary mysti-



fication truly, and a piece either of great vacillation or of great duplicity, but which is perhaps susceptible of explanation when we remember that Ariadne the wife, and Verina the mother-in-law of Zeno, were related to the wife of Nepos and zealous on his behalf. The admirable legitimist sentiments, and the exhortations to everybody to co-operate for the return of the Dalmatian, were probably uttered aloud in presence of those Imperial ladies. The private note with the all-important superscription, which was meant to mitigate the hostility of the terrible barbarian, was no doubt delivered to his ambassadors at some secret interview in the final moments before their departure <sup>1</sup>.

It would be a mistake to see in this curious scene at the Court of Byzantium only a solemn farce enacted by Odovacar and Zeno, to amuse the people of Italy, and soothe them with the thought that they still remained under Roman dominion. The minds of men were really unable to grasp the fact that so vast and perdurable a structure as the Roman Empire could utterly perish. If it seemed to have suffered ruin in the West it still lived in the East, and might, as in fact it did under Justinian, one day send forth its armies from the Bosphorus to reclaim the provinces which the City by the Tiber had lost. This belief in the practical indestructibility of the Empire, and the consequences which flowed from it, three centuries after the deposition of Augustulus, in the elevation of Charles the Great, have been re-established in their proper place <sup>2</sup>,

BOOK III.  
Ch. 8.  
Odovacar  
recognised  
as Patri-  
cian.

Contem-  
poraries did  
not recog-  
nise that  
Roman  
dominion  
in the  
West was  
at an end.

<sup>1</sup> We owe our information concerning this curious diplomatic encounter to Malchus (Byzantine Historians, pp. 235-6, Bonn edition). Candidus also makes a slight allusion to it (Ibid. p. 476).

<sup>2</sup> Pre-eminently by Mr. Bryce, in his 'Holy Roman Empire.'

BOOK III. one might almost say, have been re-discovered, by the  
 CH. 8. historical students of our own times, and the whole history of the Middle Ages has been made marvellously clearer by this one central fact.

Yet Odo-  
 vacar did  
 not rule  
 Italy  
 solely as  
 Patrician  
 appointed  
 by Zeno.

But we must not allow ourselves to consider Odo-  
 vacar, even after this Byzantine embassy, as the mere lieutenant of Zeno, ruling with an authority delegated from Byzantium. It was well pointed out by Guizot<sup>1</sup> that in Mediaeval Europe we scarcely ever find one theory of life or of government worked out to its logical end, and allowed to dominate uncontrolled, like the eighteenth century theories of the Rights of Man, or the nineteenth century theories of the Rights of Nationalities. In the Middle Ages, upon which, after the year 476, we may consider ourselves to be entering, fragments of political theories, which are opposed to one another, and which should be mutually destructive, subsist side by side, neither subduing nor subdued, and often in apparent unconsciousness of their irreconcilable discord. So it was with the position of Odovacar, so, in part at least, with his far greater successor, Theodoric. Among the barbarians, the warrior who had conquered Orestes and deposed his son would be known as *Thiudans*, 'the King,' simply. If any further definition were asked for he would perhaps be called the king of the Rugians, or the king of the Herulians, the king of the Turcilingi, or the king of the Scyri, according to the nationality which happened to be most largely represented in the camp of the mercenaries when the discussion was going forward. But it is more likely that all would contentedly acquiesce in an appellation

<sup>1</sup> Lectures II and III on the History of Civilisation in Europe.

which would be understood by all, though it might not be consistent with strict ethnological accuracy, 'Thiudans BOOK III.  
CH. 8.  
*Gut-thiudos,*' 'The King of the Gothic people<sup>1</sup>.' It is not certain that the title 'King of Italy' was ever assumed by him. On the other hand, among the Latin-speaking inhabitants of Italy, the vast majority of his new subjects, Odovacar probably preferred to be known as 'the Patrician,' and it would be in this capacity that he would control the organisation and wield the powers of the still undestroyed bureaucracy of Imperial Rome.

Looking back, as we now do, over an interval of fourteen centuries at Odovacar's position in history, we find it impossible to assign him a place exclusively in the old order of things, or exclusively in the new; to say whether he was in truth the successor of Aetius and Ricimer, or the forerunner of the Kings of Italy, Pepin, Boso, and Victor Emmanuel. And if this be our doubt now, we may be sure that at least an equal doubt existed in the minds of his contemporaries, not lessened by the fact that there was always, for the space of at least one generation, a chance that the old order of things might after all be restored, and that the rule of the Teuton king might turn out to have been only an interregnum between two Emperors, such as had occurred more than once under the ascendancy of Ricimer. At the time of the embassy to Zeno there were still in the world three men who had worn the Imperial purple, and coined money as Emperors of Rome. We have reason to believe that one at least of these deposed Emperors lived through the whole reign

The *de facto* claim of the Barbarian and the *de jure* claim of the Emperor were both blended in Odovacar.

<sup>1</sup> Of the annalists, Bishop Marius and Marcellinus call Odovacar 'rex Gothorum.' The reader will remember that both are nearly contemporary authorities.

BOOK III. of Odovacar, perhaps to a much later period. Let us  
 CH. 8. transfer now to the subjects of the new Teutonic king some of the same feelings of unsettlement and of half-acquiescence in change, with which a large part of the English nation regarded 'the Protestant Succession' during the reigns of Anne and the First George, or the feelings with which we ourselves have witnessed the establishment of a new French Republic with three hostile dynasties sitting as angry watchers by its cradle; and we shall a little understand the mental attitude, partly of perplexity, partly of listless unconcern, which contemporary statesmen assumed towards an event which seems to us so momentous as the Fall of the Western Empire.

Insignifi-  
 cance of  
 the actual  
 events of  
 476,

For, in truth, the facts of the final struggle had little in them to attract the attention of bystanders. The sack of Rome by Alaric in 410 sent a shudder through the whole civilised world, and the echo of her dirge was heard even from the caves of Bethlehem. The nations held their breath with affright when in 452 Attila wreaked his terrible revenge upon Aquileia. In comparison with these events, what was the short flurry of the citizens of Pavia, or the death of Paulus in the pine-wood by Ravenna? Indisputably we ourselves have witnessed catastrophes of far greater dramatic completeness than this, far better calculated, according to the old definition of Tragedy, 'to purify the emotions by means of Pity and Terror.' It is not a storm, or an earthquake, or a fire, this end of the Roman rule over Italy: it is more like the gentle fluttering down to earth of the last leaf from a withered tree.

and infi-  
 nite im-  
 portance

And yet the event of 476 was, in its indirect consequences, a Revolution, which affected most powerfully

the life of every inhabitant of Mediaeval and even of BOOK III.  
Modern Europe. For by it the political centre of CH. 8.  
gravity was changed from the Palatine to the Lateran, of their  
and the Bishop of Rome, now beyond comparison the results.  
most important personage of Roman descent left in  
Italy, was irresistibly invited to ascend the throne,  
and to wrap himself in the purple, of the vanished  
Augustus.

## CHAPTER IX.

### CAUSES OF THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.

WE have now followed the fortunes of Italy from the days when it was the stronghold of an apparently resistless Empire to the time when there was no longer an Emperor in Italy, and when the highest representative of law and government was the leader of the Herulian mercenaries, Odovacar.

Why did the Roman Empire fall? An adequate answer to that question would fill many volumes, and would need to spring from a deep and minute knowledge of the Roman mind, the Roman laws, and the Roman armaments, to which no pretension is here made. The answer suggested in the following pages will be confessedly imperfect and inadequate, but even the fragments of a reply to such a question can hardly be quite devoid of interest.

For the happiness of the human race it was necessary that the Roman Empire should fall.

The Roman Empire of the West fell because it had completed its work, and the time had come for it to be cut down, and to cumber the ground no longer. Its rise, its extension over nearly the whole civilised world, had been a vast blessing to humanity; its prolonged existence, even had it been governed by an endless succession of Emperors like Trajan and Marcus, would have been a bane as great as the blessing. To all the

nations around the Mediterranean sea it had brought peace, discipline, the reign of law, the preparation for Christianity ; but it had robbed them of liberty, and as century was added to century, the virtues of the free man were being more and more effaced by the habit of blind submission to authority. It was time for the Teutonic nations to rejuvenate the world, to bring their noisy energy into those silent and melancholy countries, peopled only by slaves and despots. It was time to exhibit on the arena of the world the ruder virtues and the more vigorous vices of a people who, even in their vices, showed that they were still young and strong ; it was time that the sickly odour of incense offered to imbecile Emperors and lying Prefects should be scattered before the fresh moorland-air of liberty. In short, both as to the building up, and as to the pulling down of the world-Empire of Rome, we have a right to say, 'It was, because the Lord God willed it so.'

Of course, this manner of stating the problem cannot hope for acceptance from an influential school of thinkers at the present day. 'What!' they will at once exclaim, 'would you bring back into historical science those theological terms and those teleological arguments from which we have just successfully purified it? Are you not aware that history, like astronomy, like physics, like every other science, spends its infancy in the religious stage, its adolescence in the metaphysical, and when it has reached its full maturity and become thoroughly conscious of its powers and of its aims, passes into the positive, or materialistic stage—that stage from which the Will of God, the Freewill of Man, Final Causes, and every other metaphysical or theological conception is excluded, and in which Law, fixed

BOOK III. and immutable, however hard to discover, must reign  
 CH. 9. supreme?'

Such, it may be admitted, is the utterance of the 'Zeit-Geist,' of that convergence of many minds towards a single thought, which we call by the less forcible English equivalent, 'the Spirit of the Age.' But, looking back over many past ages, and seeing the utter death and decay of many a 'Zeit-Geist,' once deemed omnipotent and everlasting, the *Zeit-Geist* of Egyptian Hierophants, of Spanish Inquisitors, of the Schoolman, of the Alchemist, of the Jacobin, one is disposed to look the present Time-Spirit boldly in the face and ask why it, any more than its predecessors, must be infallible and eternal.

There was a time when Final Causes were the bane of all the sciences, when men attempted to deduce from their crude notions of what God ought to have done, a statement of what He has done, and thus easily evaded the toil of true scientific enquiry. Our great master, Bacon, recalled the mind of Man from these fruitless wanderings, and vindicated, for the collection of facts and the observation of law, their true place in all philosophy. But he did not share that spirit of Agnosticism, that serene indifference to the existence of an ordering mind in the Universe, which is professed by many of his followers in the present day. It could not have been said of him, as it may, perhaps, hereafter be said of some of his greatest disciples, 'Blindness in part has fallen upon the Physical Philosopher. While groping eagerly after the How of this visible universe, he has missed the clue to the vaster and more momentous questions of its Why and its By Whom.'

The belief

The present writer belongs to the old-fashioned school,



which still dares and delights to speak of God in Nature and of God in History. To declare, as we venture to do, with all reverence and confession of our dim-sightedness, that we believe we can trace the finger of the Creator and Lord of the world in events like the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire, is by no means to assert that we can explain the ways of Providence in all the occurrences either of the present or of the past; it by no means commits us to the proposition that 'all things have happened for the best in the best of all possible worlds.' For one who believes in the God of whom the Christian Revelation speaks, or even in the God whom Socrates felt after and found, neither optimism nor pessimism would seem to be the rational frame of mind. We look back over our own lives; we see faults and blunders in them past counting. Assuredly it would have been better for us and for our little fragment of the world that these should not have been committed—so much the pessimist truly urges. But then, we can also see, as we think—but here each individual of the race must speak for himself—traces of a higher Power contending with us in our blindness, sometimes bringing good out of our follies and mistakes, always seeking to educate us and to raise us

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.  
—  
that we can trace the workings of God in History does not commit us to the statement that all things have happened visibly for the best.

‘On stepping-stones  
Of our dead selves to higher things.’

In all this we do but ratify the statement of one who had meditated on human nature at least as deeply as any modern sociologist :

‘There’s a divinity that shapes our ends  
Rough-hew them as we will.’

So much the optimist may claim. Why the divinity

BOOK III. has not shaped the whole world's career to nought but  
CH. 9.  
a good end is confessedly inexplicable, and will perhaps be for ever unintelligible to us. Meantime, therefore, we hold the two unreconciled beliefs, in the Almighty-ness of God and in the existence of evil which is his enemy. To discard either of these beliefs, or to harmonise them, we find equally impossible, and therefore we desist from the attempt, and let both grow together till the harvest. If this be true in the Universal, of the whole 'scheme and constitution of things,' we may reasonably expect to find in the Particular—for instance, in the course of European history—some events of which we may confidently say, 'God brought them to pass in order to promote the welfare of Humanity,' and others of which we can only say, 'Why this irretrievable ruin, in which apparently there lurked no germ of benefit to the Human Race, was permitted, is a mystery.' To apply these general principles to the case before us, we assert with confidence that both the arising and the fall of the Roman Empire were blessings to the human race, and that we are justified in regarding them as the handiwork of an Unseen Power, the Maker and the Friend of Man. But that every step in the upward career of Rome was beneficial to man, or was accomplished with the smallest possible amount of human suffering, we do not believe. Nor, conversely, would we assert that the foundation of the new Teutonic kingdoms might not conceivably have come to pass at a time and in a way which would have been more beneficial to humanity. It is impossible to read the history of the Early Middle Ages without feeling that, for the first six centuries after the fall of the Western Empire, there is little or no progress. The night grows

darker and darker, and we seem to get ever deeper into the mire. Not till we are quite clear of the wrecks of the Carolingian fabric, not till the days of William the Norman and Hildebrand, do we seem to be making any satisfactory progress out of Chaos into Cosmos. It is possible to imagine many circumstances which might have prevented the waste of these six centuries, and perhaps have started Europe on her new career with the faith of the thirteenth century joined to the culture of the age of the Renaissance. Had the sons of Theodosius possessed half the vigour of their father; had Stilicho and Aetius not been stabbed in the back by the monarchs whom they were labouring to defend; had the Arian controversy not made its ineffaceable rift between conquerors and conquered; had the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy and the Visigothic kingdom of Aquitaine not been overthrown by Justinian and by Clovis; had a very slight change in the obscure politics of the Arabian tribes cut short the preaching of Mohammed son of Abdallah; it is possible that centuries of human suffering might have been mitigated, and that the freshness of heart which so many of the European nations seem to have lost in the ages since the Renaissance might still be theirs.

But our business is with the events that were, not with those that might have been. Let us, therefore, proceed to consider some of the secondary causes which in the ordering of the Providence of God, brought about the transfer of the sceptre of Rome into the hands of the Barbarians.

§ 1. *The Foundation of Constantinople.*

The Perso-  
phobia of  
Roman  
statesmen.

There is perhaps no more striking illustration of a nation's powerlessness to discern the dangers that are really most menacing to its future, than the *Persophobia* (if we may coin a word for history from politics), which, down to the very days of the Visigothic invasion, and even beyond them, seems to have haunted the minds of Roman statesmen. True, the Parthian or Persian Monarchy was the only other civilised or semi-civilised state which rose above the horizon of Roman consciousness. The defeats of Crassus and Valerian, the ignominious peace concluded by the successor of Julian in the plains beyond the Tigris, no doubt alarmed as well as humbled every Roman. Still, after making full allowance for the impressions produced by these events, it is difficult to understand why, when Hun and Vandal and Visigoth were actually streaming into the very heart of the Empire, the Persian should still have been the favourite bugbear of poets and orators. But Claudian, for example, continually speaks of 'the Mede' as Rome's most terrible foe; and when he rises into his highest heaven of prophetic rapture over the glories of Honorius, he always predicts the conquest of Babylon or Ecbatana.

Thus, at the end of his poem on the third Consulship of Honorius, he says to the Imperial brothers,

'E'en now great Babylon despoiled I see,  
In fear unfeigned the Parthian horsemen flee;  
The Bactrian cons the Roman legist's lore,  
Ganges grows pale between each subject shore,  
And Persia spreads her gems your feet before.'

And so, in many similar passages, involuntary homage

is rendered to the Sassanian monarchs of Persia, by representing them as the most formidable of the antagonists of Rome.

It was this fear of the Persian monarchy which doubtless partly induced Constantine to plant his new capital at the meeting-point of Europe and Asia. In a certain sense it may be said that the measure was justified by its consequences. Except for the disastrous retreat of Julian's army—and even his expedition was a triumph, only converted into a defeat by the over-eagerness of the General—Persia won no considerable victories over Eastern Rome, and in the seventh century she was utterly overthrown by the Emperor Heraclius. Moreover, the wonderful political prescience of the founder of Constantinople was clearly shown by the tenacity with which, through the greater part of eleven stormy centuries, the Empire, which had that city for its brain, clung to life. Avars, Bulgarians, Saracens, Russians, Seljouk Turks, Latin Crusaders, foamed over the surrounding provinces and dashed themselves to pieces against its walls, but none except the Crusaders effected an entrance, and none effected a durable conquest till the terrible day when the dynasty of Palaeologus succumbed to the dynasty of Othman. And the fact that Stamboul is to this day a spell of such portentous power in the incantations of modern diplomatists, is the most powerful of all testimonies to the genius of the young prince who was hailed Emperor by the legionaries at York.

But if the question be asked, 'What was the effect of the building of Constantinople on Italy and Old Rome?' if it be considered that the true object of a statesman of the Lower Empire should have been, not to protract

BOOK III. the existence of a semi-Greek, semi-Asiatic dominion,  
 CH. 9. a kind of bastard Rome, but to keep the true Rome, the City of the seven hills, in her high place at the forefront of humanity, or, if she must needs fall, to make her fall as honourable and her transformed spirit as mighty as possible,—then our answer will be widely different, and we shall have to rank the founder of Constantinople foremost among the destroyers of the Empire.

Jealousy  
 between  
 East and  
 West one  
 great cause  
 of Rome's  
 downfall.

We have seen in the course of this history the infinite mischief wrought by the rivalry between the Ministers of the Eastern and Western Empires. At the critical moment of Alaric's preparations for his invasion Stilicho alone might probably have crushed him; but the subtle Goth

'Sold his alternate oaths to either throne.'

Each Empire trusted that the blow was about to fall on the other—a blow which the sister-realm would have witnessed with Christian resignation—and thus the time for anticipating it and for destroying the destroyer passed away.

Claudian's  
 picture  
 of the  
 courtiers of  
 Constanti-  
 nople.

The sort of jealousy which had sprung up between the two capitals is well illustrated by the following lines of Claudian. The passage<sup>1</sup> also gives us a picture of the populace of the New Rome, which, though no doubt charged with hostile feeling, connects itself sufficiently with the Athens of Alcibiades, and the Nika rioters of the days of Justinian, to justify us in accepting its main features as correct.

In consequence of Tribigild's revolt, Eutropius, then chief minister of Arcadius, convenes a sort of Council of War.

<sup>1</sup> In Eutropium, II. 325-341.

'Pert youths came there and grey beards lecherous,  
Whose glory was in trencher-combats won.  
A *menu* subtly changed from yesterday's  
Is a most noble exploit in their eyes.  
By costly fare they tickle appetite  
And give to those insatiate maws of theirs  
The starry birds that drew great Juno's car,  
And India's emerald prattlers of the woods.  
Far realms supply their dainties: their deep greed  
The Aegean sea and blue Propontis' lake  
And Azof's straits with all their denizens  
Soothe for an hour, but fail to satisfy.  
Then with what art they wear their scented robes  
Silken, but heavy for those delicate limbs!  
The highest praise is his whose vapid jokes  
Move loudest laughter. See their ornaments,  
Fitter for girls than men, their shaven cheeks,  
And mark them on the days of spectacle.  
The Hun, the Goth may thunder at the gates,  
The dancers will not have one gazer less.  
*Rome's name they ever scorn, and can admire  
Only the mansions which the Bosphorus laves.*  
Yet there are arts in which e'en these excel:  
Deftly they dance and drive a chariot well.'

Of course there is spite in this description, but the fact that such a picture of the Byzantine Court was acceptable to the dwellers by the Tiber shows the estrangement which had sprung up between the Old Rome and the New.

Had the Mistress of the World, when she found herself on all sides begirt by the 'bark<sup>1</sup> of savage nations,' deliberately withdrawn to her own ancient citadel, put her fleets in order at Classis and Misenum, so as to command the upper and the lower seas, and sent her hardiest troops to garrison the difficult passes of the Alps, she might have lost many fair provinces, but the

Probable course of events if Rome had been the only centre.

<sup>1</sup> See Claudian's words as quoted on p. 586.

BOOK III. heart of the Empire could hardly have been pierced.  
 CH. 9. — It was the diffusion of her vital force over several nerve-centres, Carthage, Alexandria, Antioch, but above all, Constantinople, that ruined her. Some of the suckers lived on, but the old tree perished.

### § 2. *Christianity.*

Christianity and the Roman State were necessary foes.

It was not by an accidental coincidence that the great historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire was also one of the ablest opponents of the Christian Revelation to whom the last century gave birth. The sound of the vesper-song of barefooted friars in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which seemed to call him to his great enterprise, suggested to him, not untruly, that an irreconcilable antagonism between the Genius of the Emperors and the Genius of Christianity had caused the ruins which were piled around him. And what seems to call for particular notice here is the fact that both the good and the evil in Christianity contributed to this result; both those great spiritual truths which made the essence of the new Religion when it came forth from the hands of its Divine Founder, and those foreign elements which it borrowed from philosophies and idolatries in the act of battling with them,—all fought against the Rome of the Caesars.

Opposition between the original ideas of the Roman and the Christian *civitas*.

First, as to the essential opposition between the uncorrupted spirit of Christianity and the continuance of the Roman State. The religious ideas of the Latin and Sabine tribes among whom the great Republic was born, were poor and homely enough, without the Hellenic grace, or the Jewish sublimity, or the Teutonic



tenderness; but, such as they were, they absolutely moulded the character and institutions of the Roman people. The Church did not encroach upon the province of the State, it simply was the State. No order of priests contended for power or privilege with the officers of the Republic; those officers themselves, as they reached certain stages in their upward progress, became ministers of the gods, and, without any question as to spiritual fitness, only with so much pretension to morality as an originally moral people naturally required in its chief magistrates, they were clothed, *ex officio*, with a certain sacred character. The word *Religio* itself, whatever be its precise etymological significance, was understood to express the binding, cementing force which a constant reference to unseen supernatural Powers exerts upon a commonwealth. Hence the same myth-making faculty which in the brain of

‘The lively Grecian, in a land of hills,  
Rivers, and fertile plains, and sounding shores’;

created Nymphs and Naiads and Oreads, was employed by the more prosaic Roman to invent fresh gods for every fresh development of the social, the political, even the financial life of Man the Citizen. Thus, according to the curious catalogue of St. Augustine<sup>2</sup>, ‘they commended children in the act of birth to the goddess Ops, children crying to the god Vaticanus, lying in their cradles to Cunina, sucking to Rumina, standing to Statilinus, arriving<sup>3</sup> to Adeona, departing to Abeona. They commended them to goddess Mens that they might have a good mind, to Volumnus and

<sup>1</sup> Wordsworth: Excursion, Book IV.

<sup>2</sup> De Civitate Dei, iv. 21.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Deae Adeonae adeuntes, Abeonae abeuntes.’

BOOK III. *Volumna*, god and goddess, that they might have a  
 CH. 9. good volition, to the nuptial gods that they might marry well, to the rurals, and especially to goddess *Fructesca*, that they might receive plenteous fruits, to *Mars* and *Bellona* that they might wage war well, to *Victoria* that they might conquer, to the god *Honor* that they might be honoured, to the goddess *Pecunia* that they might have plenty of money, to the god *Aesculanus* and his son *Argentinus* that that money might be both of bronze and silver. For *Aesculanus* was made the father because bronze money was coined before silver; and, in truth, I cannot understand why *Argentinus* did not beget *Aurinus*, since the silver coinage has been followed by one of gold.'

Such a religious system as this subjects itself easily to ridicule, as easily as the faith of a modern Italian peasant in his own particular *Madonna* or *Bambino*, in the *San Cristoforo* of one village, or the *San Lorenzo* of another. Like this latter development, too, it probably glanced lightly over the minds of the upper classes of society, and was tenaciously held in all its grotesque minuteness only by the lower. Still this was substantially the religious system under which the Great Republic had grown from youth to manhood; by its Pontiffs had been declared the days for the assembly of the people in the forum, by its augurs had the omens been taken in every one of its battle-fields. The deification of *Julius* and *Augustus* was the national expression of the feeling that the greatness of Rome was the peculiar care of the Eternal Gods, and that the spirits which had wrought conspicuously at this grand task during their earthly career, must still survive in the society of the Immortals, to watch over the work

of their own hands. It was with this faith—for faith BOOK III.  
CH. 9. we must surely call it—in their hearts that the legions of Rome had marched on from victory to victory. Their anticipations of reward or punishment in a future life might be vague and varying, but at least they felt that the Great City with which they had linked their fortunes was eternal, and the confidence that she would survive all shocks of adverse fortune, and would treasure the names of her defenders with undying reverence, gave strength, doubtless, not only to a Decius or a Curtius, but also to many a simple Roman legionary at the moment of facing death for her sake.

The whole of this fabric of national faith, with whatsoever in it was noble, and whatsoever in it was puerile, had to fall before the Apostolic proclamation, 'To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.' If there was any hint in the Christian Scriptures of one nation favoured above all others, that nation was the Jewish, if any notion of a city chosen by the Eternal 'to put his name there,' that city was Jerusalem. But the latest and prevailing utterance of the new religion was, 'All nationalities are on the same level before God. He has made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth. Your citizenship, the true *civitas*, which is the highest condition that man can attain to, is in heaven. This *civitas* is within reach of all men, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free, and makes brothers of us all.'

There was an incurable opposition between teaching such as this, and the root-idea of the Roman Commonwealth. The rulers of the State felt it, and were forced into persecution, almost against their will. Gladly

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.

would they have consigned Christianity to the peaceful Pantheon of the tolerated religions (*religiones licitae*), in which already the worship of Astarte and Mithras, of Isis and the Dea Syria, flourished happily, side by side. But they perceived—the wisest Emperors the most clearly—that this was a religion which would have all or nothing, and they hunted it into the catacombs to bar it from the throne.

Strange  
jumble  
which  
resulted  
from their  
union.

The persecutions failed: they enlisted pity, generosity, love of justice, all the nobler feelings of our nature, on the side of the votaries of the new religion, and to these latter they gave a drill, a discipline, we must also in truth add a bitterness of temper, which they had not possessed before. A time came when the Christians found that they were the majority in the Empire, a time when the young Emperor Constantine, with his foot upon the ladder of fortune, was half-convinced of the truth of Christianity, and wholly convinced of the policy of embracing it. For three generations the Emperors, with the exception of the short reign of Julian, were the Christian masters of a household whose traditions were still Pagan. Some of the anomalies which resulted from this position of theirs have been glanced at in previous pages. We have seen that no Emperor till the accession of Gratian dared to refuse the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, which marked him as head of the State-Church of Heathenism. We have also noticed the incongruity between the acts of Theodosius as Defender of the Catholic Faith and the conventional language of the court poet, who makes him the favourite of Mars and Jupiter during his life, and turns him into a star after his death.

That this strange medley of contending faiths had

no effect in enfeebling the resolution of Rome, and making her stroke uncertain, that the regiment which had fought so long under one flag would fight just as well when that flag was replaced by another, as hostile to it as the Lilies to the Tricolour, is what no one would conjecture beforehand. And that the substitution of Christianity for the worship of the deities of the Capitol had something to do with the crumbling away of the Empire in the fifth century, is a conviction which forces itself on our minds, and never so irresistibly as when we are listening to the most eloquent and the most subtle apologist for Christianity, Augustine, endeavouring to prove to us in his book on the City of God that the thing was not so. One turns over page after page of that immortal treatise—that Encyclopaedia of the whole religious thought of the age; one feels the absurdity of the Pagan theory, the grandeur of the Christian conception of the vast unseen City of God, but, through it all, the antagonism between the true Roman ideas and the ideas of Christianity rises more and more definitely before the mind, and when we are called upon finally to adjudicate on the question ‘Would the Rome of the Fabii and the Scipios, the Rome which heartily believed in and worshipped Jupiter and Quirinus, Mavors, Ops, and Saturnus, have fallen as the Christian Rome fell before the hordes of Alaric?’ we are bound in our historical conscience to answer, No.

Secondly. In the course of its three hundred years’ struggle for existence the new religion had assimilated some elements, foreign as I venture to think, to its original essence; and by these also it made war on Rome. The spirit of intolerance was one of these

Elements foreign to the original conception of Christianity which were also hostile to

BOOK III. extraneous elements, at any rate in so far as it relied  
CH. 9.  
 the Roman State. on the sword of the civil magistrate to carry its sentences into effect. The words of St. Paul about heretics, 'With such an one, no, not to eat,' and of St. John, 'Receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed,' were aimed apparently at men whose immorality was bringing the new society into reproach, and contemplated exclusion from that society as the heaviest punishment to be inflicted. The general attitude towards the heathen or the unbelieving Jew was 'What have I to do with them that are without?'; and the proposal to arrange the worldly affairs, even of Christians, authoritatively, was met by 'Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?' 'Whiles it remained was it not thine own, and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power?' In practice, the relation of the professors of the new faith to 'them that were without' during the second century seems to have been reasonable and friendly. Justin Martyr and Quadratus still wore the philosopher's cloak after their conversion to Christianity, and endeavoured to persuade their fellow-countrymen by an appeal to 'the voice of the soul, who is herself naturally Christian<sup>1</sup>,' that the glad tidings which they had to proclaim, though marvellous, were not incredible, and were in harmony with the truest presentiments of man's own moral nature. Would that the new religion had always thus calmly addressed herself to the consciences of mankind, that she had never shouted nor shrieked, nor tortured, in order to enforce the acceptance of her message! Earth would

<sup>1</sup> 'Testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae.' The phrase belongs to the following century, but the line of argument indicated by it to this.

be by many degrees more like Heaven at this day, BOOK III.  
 if she had thus remained true to her first gentle CH. 9.  
 instincts.

But the persecutions came and went, and they i. Intolerance.  
 changed, though they should not have changed, the  
 temper of the Christian champions. So was rendered  
 possible that utterance of Tertullian's (destined to an  
 evil immortality), in which he consoled his brethren  
 for their conscientious abstinence from the pleasures of  
 the Hippodrome by promising them far greater spec-  
 tacular pleasures in the life to come, when from the safe  
 security of Heaven they should behold so many proud  
 prefects, so many jeering philosophers, writhing in agony  
 under the tortures of the never-dying fires of hell. It  
 may be admitted that the stern, almost morose, tem-  
 perament of Tertullian is answerable for some of this  
 bitterness, but it would not be difficult to quote  
 passages of a similar tendency from Lactantius and  
 other fathers of the Ante-Nicene Church. In truth,  
 it was not in human nature (though it should have  
 been in the divine that was intermingled with it) to  
 see parents, brothers, sisters, dragged off to an insult-  
 ing and cruel death, for refusing to sacrifice to the  
 Genius of the Emperor, without some scowl of hatred  
 becoming fixed above the eyes which witnessed these  
 things. And so persecution did not, as was once  
 alleged, always and entirely fail of its end. 'The  
 blood of the Martyrs was the seed of the Church;' 1. Intolerance.  
 but it was a Church of different habit of growth,  
 and producing more acrid fruit than that which it  
 replaced.

For seventy years, however, after Constantine's edicts  
 in favour of Christianity, the new religion showed

herself but little as a persecutor, at least of heathens. The tolerant spirit of Constantine had something to do with this; the internal divisions of the Christian Church, especially the long and fierce Arian debate, still more. The Caesars of Rome, with the exception of Julian, settled down comfortably into their anomalous position, each being at once *Pontifex Maximus* of the old religion, and Moderator in the doctrinal controversies of the new. It was as if the Ottoman Sultan, still retaining his claim to the Caliphate, were to become a member of the Greek Church, and to throw himself earnestly into the discussions about the Procession of the Holy Spirit.

We have heard Theodosius, at the Council of Constantinople in the year 381, pronouncing the final triumph of the Trinitarian party within the Church, and we have seen something of the increased stringency of his determination to secure for that Church, by the power of the State, the victory over her external foes, whether Heathens or Heretics. True, these persecutions lacked the ferocity of those which were set on foot by Decius and by Galerius; still they *were*; and for some generations, with quiet, earnest deliberateness, the whole power of the Emperors was employed in making all Christians think alike, and in preventing non-Christians from thinking at all.

353. Constantius had said, 'We will that all men should abstain from sacrifices, and if any shall hereafter offend against this law, let him be punished by the avenging sword<sup>1</sup>.' But the decree seems to have remained a dead letter, and the heathen sacrifices went on nearly as before. Theodosius enacted new laws

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theod. xvi. 10. 4.



against heathen worship, and by such acts as the demolition of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria, gave them practical effect. At the same time appeared upon the statute book a cloud of edicts (some of which have been already quoted) against 'the noxious Manicheans and their execrable meetings,' against 'the heretics of the Donatist superstition,' against 'the teachers and leaders of the crime of the Eunomians, especially their clergy whose madness has brought about this great aberration,' against 'all who are tormented by the error of divers heresies, viz., the Eunomians, the Arians, the Macedonian deniers of the Holy Ghost, the Manicheans, the Encratites, the Apotactites, the Saccofori, the Hydroparastatae.' Fine, imprisonment, loss of office, prohibition to assemble in the town or to give to their places of meeting the appearance of churches, restriction of their testamentary power—these are the penalties thundered forth in many an edict against men who had committed no crime against the State, but whose theology was different from the Emperor's. The ferocity and the terror of Diocletian's persecutions have passed away, but we find ourselves breathing the same atmosphere of petty ecclesiastical tyranny which produced the Five Mile Act and Conventicle Act of Charles II, the Penal Laws against the Irish Catholics of William III and Anne. If there were nothing more to be said against it, this attempt to harass men into uniformity of religious opinion was an enormous waste of power, at a time when the energies of the State were scarcely sufficient for its own proper work of administration. But what made the matter worse, from the point of view of a Roman statesman, was that the religion which was being maintained in domination

BOOK III.  
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at the cost of all this legislative combat, was itself in no way essential to, nay, rather as has been before said, was of necessity antagonistic to, the root-idea of the Roman Commonwealth. A Mohammedan Sultan pressing heavily on the Giaour, an Israelitish monarch slaying the priests of Baal, a Most Catholic king of Spain burning Jews or expelling Moriscoes, were all acting more or less in accordance with the spirit of which their royalty was the expression. But a Roman Emperor harassing the Encratites or the Apotactites because the building in which they assembled for divine worship too closely resembled a church of the orthodox, was an utterly un-Roman Roman, an anomaly not only vexatious but ridiculous<sup>1</sup>.

Yet it is probable that to the somewhat narrow, martinet mind of Theodosius, and still more to the dazed intellects of his sons, these measures of religious persecution appeared solemn duties; nay more, that they regarded them as peace-offerings, which would ensure the secular safety of the Empire. The increasing calamities which befell the State were taken as manifestations of the wrath of God; and no more obvious means of conjuring away that wrath suggested themselves than the enactment of a new and sharper law against the Manichean pravity or the Arian madness.

In the mist and darkness which have gathered over the history of the fifth century, a mist and a darkness through which only the bare forms of events are dis-

<sup>1</sup> The story of Generidus the heathen, and his refusal to continue in the Emperor's service unless the edict against his fellow-heathens were repealed, well illustrates the baneful effect of this persecuting legislation in the defence of the Empire (see vol. i. p. 764).

cernible, while thoughts and feelings are utterly hidden, we know little indeed of the mood of mind in which these successive Acts of Uniformity were received by the objects of them. Heathenism and Heresy, like wounded creatures, crept back to their caves and died there, but after what conflicts or with what struggles we know not. The name 'Paganus' (villager), for the worshipper of the old gods, is one among many indications that Christianity conquered first the great cities, the centres of intellectual and commercial activity, and then gradually, and we can hardly say how slowly, pushed her way into lonely glens or wide unfrequented pasture-lands, and made the dwellers there bow before the cross. Yet even in the cities and at the Imperial Courts the victory was not fully won in the reign of Theodosius. It is a noteworthy fact how many of the small band of literary men, who flourished in the latter days of the Empire, remained faithful to the old superstitions. Ammianus Marcellinus, Zosimus, Priscus, the chief historians of this period, are all Pagans, one at least of them a bitter Pagan. Nor is it by any means certain that Procopius, the great historian of the reign of Justinian, ought not to be added to the list.

Two other elements of the Christianity of the third and fourth centuries co-operated in a subordinate degree towards the decay of the Empire. These were the Priestly Hierarchy and the Monastic Self-seclusion.

The fires of Roman persecution had, doubtless, much to do with hardening and shaping, as into a point of tempered steel, that marvellous episcopal organisation which was one day to penetrate the world. As the soldiers who survive on a well-fought battle-field look towards the officers who have been with them in the

thickest of the fray, so we may imagine the hearts of the believers to have glowed with fresh loyalty towards the rulers of the Church, when the rage of the Decian or the Galerian persecution was at length abated, and they had leisure to count their losses. Thus, here also to the repressive measures of the Emperors must be attributed some involuntary share in the change which came over the spirit of the Church between the first century and the fourth, and which separates the simple and scarcely differentiated Overseers and Elders of the Acts of the Apostles from the full-grown Bishops and Priests of the time of Constantine. It is not likely that such a well-disciplined and compact organisation as the Christian hierarchy can have grown up within and yet outside of the Empire without impairing somewhat of its strength. And such victories as were won by Athanasius over Constantius, or by Ambrose over Theodosius, though they command our fullest sympathy as noble triumphs of the moral over the material, had probably some effect in lessening the reverence which men felt for the Augustus as a kind of 'present<sup>1</sup> divinity,' and so in loosening the fabric of the Empire. Yet possibly we ought not to attribute large results to this cause. The great strifes between Bishop and Sovereign belong to a later age, to the barbarian monarchies or to the Eastern Empire. Except indirectly, in so far as it may have favoured the persecution of heathens and heretics, the Christian hierarchy need not be held responsible for a large share in the pulling down of Imperial Rome.

3. Monasticism.

Probably we may come to a similar conclusion with

<sup>1</sup> According to the often-quoted words of Horace, 'praesens divus habebitur Augustus.'

reference to that other great phenomenon of the religious life of the fourth and fifth centuries, the rise and progress of the monastic system. It is interesting to see how this was viewed by an educated, though certainly not unbiassed Pagan. Zosimus, speaking of the riots at Constantinople in connection with the exile of Chrysostom (401), says (v. 23), 'The city was filled with uproar, and the Christian church was occupied by the men who are called Monks. Now these men renounce lawful wedlock, and fill large colleges in the cities and villages with unmarried persons, profitless for war and for any other of the State's necessities. Yet have they, in the interval between that time and the present' [perhaps half a century], 'made great advances, so that they have now appropriated a large part of the land, and under pretence of distributing all their substance to the poor, have, in a manner, made all poor alike.'

The withdrawal of so many men in the prime of life from the pursuits of industry and the defence of the state, must undoubtedly have lessened the resources of the Empire, especially as these monks were not, like their successors in the Middle Ages, the restorers of the waste places, the doctors, engineers, and journalists of the community. At a time when the manliest virtue was required to stem the torrent of corruption within and barbarism without, men of noble soul and cultured intellect, like St. Jerome, retired into the caves of Bethlehem, leaving the world a prey to hypocrites and rogues, such as Olympius and Eutropius. As the latter class of men, despairing of the Roman state, sought to build up their own fortunes on the general ruin, so the former class, with the same despair of

BOOK III. the republic in their hearts, determined at least to  
 CH. 9. secure their own soul's salvation, and to live for this alone. The selfishness was of a higher kind, but it would be hard to deny that it was selfishness, and that the true Christian impulse would have been to struggle on undaunted, and persist in the endeavour to leave the world better than they found it.

But, having admitted this negative charge against monkery, we cannot assign to it, in the Western Empire at least, any great active influence for ruin. In the East, during the fifth century, the power of the monks was no doubt far more hurtful to the State. 'Armies of mad monks rushing through the streets of Alexandria<sup>1</sup>,' and their brethren in Constantinople stirring up the people to shout for the deposition of the 'Manichean tyrant,' whenever an Emperor swerved by a hair's breadth from the razor-bridge of orthodoxy as defined in the Council of Chalcedon—these were undoubtedly disintegrating and dangerous forces; and when they were predominant, the government of the Empire might truly be styled a government by lunatics. In the West we see no such spectacles at the time which we are now discussing, and it would be a scandalous injustice to class the calm Paulinus of Nola and the learned Claudianus Mamertus of Vienne with the turbulent Eutyches, or the blood-stained Barsumas of Constantinople.

### § 3. *Slavery.*

'It was no accidental catastrophe which patriotism and genius might have warded off: it was old social evils—at the bottom of all, the ruin of the middle class by the slave proletariat—that

<sup>1</sup> Kingsley, Roman and Teuton.

brought destruction on the Roman commonwealth' (Mommson, BOOK III. History of Rome, book iv. chap. 11). CH. 9.

The men of our generation, who have read the story of General Sherman's march through Georgia, are in a better position than their ancestors for estimating the part played by slavery in bringing about the ruin of Rome. The short-lived Southern Confederacy in America had many points of resemblance to the Roman republic. It was administered by wealthy cultivators of the soil, born warriors, born orators, a proud and courageous people. All that mere fighting could do to preserve its existence was ably and, at first, successfully done; but Slavery, that rock of offence which the Planters had made the corner-stone of their new edifice, proved its ruin. The truth had been suspected for some little time before, but was fully proved when Sherman's scarcely-resisted march through three hundred miles of the enemy's country showed the hollowness of a political organisation which had been massing its armies, by hundreds of thousands at a time, on the banks of the Potomac, but which could not reckon on its own inhabitants to resist or seriously to harass an invader who had once broken through the wall of steel on the frontier. It could not reckon upon them, because the majority of them were themselves a hostile nation, made so by the institution of slavery. True, in America as in Italy, the oppressed class waited long before they dared to show on which side their sympathies lay. This is, for a time, that which turns the scale in favour of the slave-holder, that his chattels are too debased to be capable of self-organisation, too ignorant to understand the great movements in the world of politics and war, too

Effect of slavery in weakening the defence of the Empire illustrated by the American War of Secession.

BOOK III. servile-hearted to dare to embrace what may not prove  
 CH. 9. the winning side. But if there comes at length such a time as came in Georgia lately, and in Etruria long ago, when the slave sees with his own eyes a man, mightier than his master, come to overthrow all that existing order which has weighed on him so heavily, and saying, 'Help me, and I will give you freedom,' then is seen the strange magic which lies in that word freedom for even the heaviest clods of humanity; then the comfortable persuasion of the self-deceived slave-owner, that his chattel will fight for the luxury of continuing to be a chattel, vanishes like snow in summer.

Flight of  
 slaves to  
 Alaric.

We have had to record one instance—many more have probably been left unrecorded—of the readiness of the Roman slaves to turn against their masters. In the interval between the first and second sieges of Rome by Alaric, the slaves, to the number of 40,000, fled to the barbarian camp. In his usual tantalising way Zosimus forgets to tell us the *dénouement* of the story, but it may be conjectured that the greater part of these slaves, if they ever returned to Rome, returned with the army of Alaric through the blazing Salarian Gate to guide their new friends to the plunder of their old oppressors <sup>1</sup>.

No accurate  
 account of  
 the number  
 of slaves  
 in the  
 Empire.

It would have been interesting to know what was the total number of slaves in existence at any particular period of the Empire, but a complete census of the whole population of the Roman world, free and servile, if it ever existed, has not survived to our day. Gibbon <sup>2</sup> guesses the number of the slaves all over the Empire at the

<sup>1</sup> Zosimus, v. 42. See vol. i. p. 794.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 179 (ed. Smith).



time of Claudius at sixty millions ; and it seems to be impossible either to prove or disprove his conjecture. We are told, in round numbers, that some citizens possessed 10,000 or 20,000 slaves apiece, and with more apparent accuracy that a certain freedman under Augustus, although he had been impoverished by the civil wars, left at his death 4,116 slaves<sup>1</sup>. From other sources we learn that in the days of Augustus, 200 slaves were not considered at all an exorbitantly large establishment, and that he who had only five or ten was looked upon as either very poor or very mean. In view of these facts, 40,000 seems a very small number for even the mere house-slaves in Rome at the time of its siege by Alaric. Possibly the removal of the Court to Ravenna, and the troublous character of the times, had led to the withdrawal of most of the wealthy slave-owners from Rome ; or the crowds of freedmen and paupers supported by the public distribution of wheat may, in Rome itself, have thinned, by a kind of competition, the number of actual bondsmen. Or, which is perhaps the most likely supposition of all, Zosimus, the writer from whom the story of the fugitive slaves is extracted, is speaking in his usual somewhat inaccurate style when he says, that 'nearly all' the slaves in Rome deserted to the camp of Alaric.

As mention has been made of slavery as it existed down to our own days in the United States of North America, and as this is that type of the 'peculiar institution' which most readily suggests itself to our minds, it may be well to remind the reader of a few

Comparison  
between  
Roman and  
American  
slavery.

<sup>1</sup> Athenaeus (vi. 104) is the authority for the first of these statements, Pliny (Hist. Naturalis, xxxiii. 10, § 47) for the second.

BOOK III. obvious points of dissimilarity between the two forms  
 CH. 9. of servitude, the Roman and the American.

I. It seems probable that the condition of a slave under a Roman master was harder than that of the negro in the Southern States of America. Cruel men of course abused their dangerous power in both countries, while, under men of exceptional gentleness, the lot of the slave may have lost almost all that made it to differ from that of a hired labourer. But the great mass of masters, the men of average character, had in the United States a conception of duty towards their fellow-men which was, at least in some degree, influenced by the spirit of Christianity, while the Roman derived his notions of duty from such teachers as Cato the Censor, who, in a well-known passage, uttered his opinion that whenever a slave was not asleep he ought to be at work, and that a master should always sell off his aged slaves as well as his broken-down horses. Certainly this cannot have been either the theory or the practice in Virginia or Tennessee, hardly even, one would hope, in Mississippi or Alabama. It is true that the tendency of legislation under the Emperors had been towards greater mildness in the treatment of slaves. The master's absolute power of life and death was taken away; in cases where he had practised extreme cruelty he might be compelled to sell the victim of it; and the huge gloomy *ergastula*, the prisons in which the slaves had been locked up at night after their labour in the fields (which, if not subterraneous, were always lighted by windows high up in the walls, from which there was no chance of escape), were legally abolished, and perhaps practically disused. Still, the life of the Roman's slave, especially of him who was

engaged in agriculture, seems to have been hard and dismal beyond even the hardness and dismalness of ordinary negro slavery<sup>1</sup>. BOOK III.  
CH. 9.

II. Yet in two aspects, more important perhaps than all beside, the condition of the Italian bondsman was better than that of the American. Love and hope were left to him. The breeding of slaves for sale was an unusual though not unknown practice; and consequently though families must sometimes have been separated, even as they are now by the ordinary economic laws of supply and demand, that great blot on the American system, the systematic tearing away of the wife from her husband and the mother from her child, did not disgrace the Roman slave-owners. Manumission also must have been a far more frequent incident of servile life among the ancients, and when it came it opened up a far happier and more unhindered career. Family ties  
not so often  
severed.  
Manumis-  
sion more  
frequent  
in Rome  
than in  
America.

This difference between the two systems is chiefly due to the obvious and fundamental distinction, that in Rome there did not, as in America, yawn the wide chasm of absolute diversity of race between bond and free. All nations, even the noblest of antiquity, were represented in the slave market at Rome. The Greek doctor, or pedagogue, or scribe, the lusty Cappadocian who bore the litter, the Hebrew of whose nation Titus sold 97,000 into bondage, the Syrian, the Celt, the

<sup>1</sup> Since writing this sentence, I have met with the following striking words of Mommsen (*Hist. of Rome*, book iv. chap. 2): 'The abyss of misery and woe, which opens before our eyes in this most miserable of all proletariats, we leave to be fathomed by those who venture to gaze into such depths: it is very possible that, compared with the sufferings of the Roman slaves, the sum of all negro suffering is but a drop.'

Dacian, the German, were all in their various ways ministering to the luxury or providing for the wants of the Roman master. From such a motley throng combination was little to be dreaded, and on the other hand there was in them no great inferiority of race to prevent the slave, once liberated, from standing side by side with his old master. Hence, and from motives of pride and profit which made the freedman often a more desirable appendage to the family of the Roman noble than the slave himself, arose the great frequency of manumission, which was indeed slightly checked in the time of Augustus<sup>1</sup>, on account of the number of debased citizens with whom it was flooding the Commonwealth, but which remained a sufficiently common practice sensibly to ameliorate the condition of the Roman slave by introducing into it the vast medicament of Hope.

We turn to American slavery, and we see at once a mighty contrast. There every member of the servile caste belonged to one race, and that race one separated by wide ethnological interspaces from the dominant one, and far below it in intellectual energy. It is said that a proposition once made in the Roman Senate, to order all the slaves to wear a distinctive dress, was rejected, on the ground that it would be dangerous thus to reveal to them their superiority in numbers. What the Senate had denied in that case, Nature had done ineffaceably in the case of 'persons held to bondage' under the American laws, by clothing them all with one sable livery. Hence arose, on the one hand, the pride of race which placed the meanest of 'the mean whites' above the most honest and capable man

<sup>1</sup> By the *Lex Aelia Sentia*.

of African descent, and which denied to the latter, BOOK III.  
CH. 9. however large his share of European blood, *ex parte paternâ*, any share in the duties and rewards of civil life. Hence, on the other hand, arose the fear of race, causing the State to throw the whole weight of its influence into the scale against manumission, and imposing upon every man, whose skin bore witness to the servile condition of his ancestors, the burden of proof that he was not himself a slave. This state of the law and of public feeling was of course utterly absent in old Rome.

III. And, yet again, there was a difference which Slavery not  
felt to be so  
intolerably  
unjust in  
the Old  
World. probably made the position of the negro, when he began to reason and to reflect, more intolerable than that of the Dacian or the Syrian in a Roman villa or on an Italian farm. In the fifth century the conscience of the whole civilised world acquiesced in the fact of slavery; in the nineteenth it protested against it. The Roman legislator said that this abrogation of the natural rights of man was an institution of the universal law of nations<sup>1</sup>, and his saying was confirmed by the fact that there was in all probability not one nation then existing, civilised or barbarian, wherein Slavery, in one form or another, did not exist. And so the bondsman of those days submitted to his servile condition, as men now submit to poverty or disease, grumbling indeed that they have drawn a bad number in the lottery of life, but without any intolerable feeling of injustice, without any indignant questioning,

<sup>1</sup> 'Libertas . . . est naturalis facultas ejus quod cuique facere libet, nisi si quid vi aut jure prohibetur. Servitus autem est *constitutio juris gentium*, qua quis dominio alieno contra naturam subjicitur' (Institutes of Justinian, book i. tit. 3).

BOOK III. 'Why was this horrible fate ever placed for me or for  
 CH. 9. — any one among the possible conditions of existence?'

In America we all know what far different thoughts rankled in the breast of a high-spirited and intelligent slave. Great nations were living and flourishing without this institution which made his life hateful to him. Wide sections of the Christian Church condemned it as a crime against God and man. A week perhaps, or two weeks of nightly journeying towards the North Star, would take him to a land where no slaves toiled; a few weeks more would set him beyond the possibility of recapture. Assuredly this ever present thought that Liberty was in the world, was near, but was not for him, must have made the chains of many an American slave more galling, must have raised, sometimes almost to madness, his exasperation against the social system which was his foe.

Roman  
 Slavery  
 therefore  
 probably  
 excited less  
 bitterness  
 of feeling  
 than  
 American.

IV. Upon a review therefore of the main points of likeness and unlikeness between these two conditions of society, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the men who were owned by Roman masters were less dissatisfied with their lot than those who belonged to the American planters, and that Slavery as a disruptive force was more fatal to the Southern Confederacy than to the Western Empire.

But in Rome it had been working through twelve centuries, in the United States for less than three, and therefore its evil effects were less lasting, one may venture to hope, in the latter instance than in the former. Slavery had aided in the massing together of those 'wide farms' which were the ruin of Italy<sup>1</sup>. Slavery had emptied the fields and villages of the hardy

<sup>1</sup> 'Latifundia perdidere Italiam.'

rustics who had once been the backbone of Roman power. Slavery had filled the cities with idle and profligate babblers. Slavery had indoctrinated these men, themselves often freedmen or the sons of freedmen, with the pestilent notion that manual labour was beneath the dignity of a citizen. And lastly, Slavery had surrounded the thrones of the Emperors with men like Eutropius and Chrysaphius, who, by the favour of a fatuous master, crept from the position of a menial to that of a Prime Minister, and who, when their turn came, bitterly revenged upon Society the wrongs which they had suffered at its hands.

A new and happier world was to arise out of the ruins of the old. Slavery was to be softened into Serfdom, and Serfdom was slowly to disappear, both changes being largely attributable to the benign influence of the Christian Church. The fine old mediaeval motto,

‘By hammer and hand  
All arts do stand,’

was to drive out, at any rate from the cities, the old, irrational, scorn of handicraft; and the *ergastulum* and the scourge were to vanish like an evil dream. And so if Slavery was a cause, the Abolition of Slavery was to be a result, though by no means an immediate result, of the Fall of the Empire.

§ 4. ‘*Panem et Circenses,*’ or the *Pauperisation of the Roman Proletariat.*

The Roman State at the beginning and the end of its career pursued towards its poorer classes two opposite lines of policy, both unjust, one of which might

BOOK III. reasonably have been expected to strangle the rising  
 CH. 9. nationality in its childhood, while the other certainly hastened the ruin of its old age.

The poorer citizens in the earlier ages of the Republic were oppressed by the State,

In the first ages of the Republic the plebeian soldier was expected to leave his farm or his business to serve for a short campaign against the Aequians or Volscians, and to return to a home which had in many instances suffered from the depredations of the enemy, enriched only by a precarious portion of the booty, which, by the fortune of war or the unfairness of the dividing general, might turn out to be worth little or nothing. The real gain of the most successful wars, the public land, was farmed out often at little more than a nominal rent to the senators or a few wealthy plebeians. Thus the whole tendency of the incessant wars of the Republic was to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, a tendency aggravated by the high rates charged for interest and by the stern attitude of the Roman law towards the defaulting debtor. The well-known picture drawn in the Second Book of Livy of the brave old centurion, whose farm had been plundered during his absence with the army, and who, under the crushing load of debt and taxation, had been obliged first to part with the inheritance of his ancestors and then to surrender his person into the hands of his cruel creditor, and who at length escaped from his place of torment into the Forum, where his squalid garb, his long unkempt hair, his old and honourable scars received in battle with the enemy, and the new and shameful scourge-marks upon his back inflicted by the slave of a Roman senator, stirred the people to fury :—this picture may not be precisely and historically true of the 259th year of the city, yet doubtless it is a type of many a



similar occurrence in those early days of the tyranny of BOOK III.  
wealth. CH. 9.

The characteristic of Roman Legislation at this period is its contempt for the rights of the individual, its frightfully unfair notion of the partnership between him and the State—a partnership in which he gave his time, his blood, his heroism, to promote the glory of Rome, and received in return nothing, not even permission to live on the land of his fathers.

In the later phases of the Roman Commonwealth in the later ages, pampered. the opposite error was committed. After the Second Punic War the State really asked nothing of the poor citizen of Rome, and gave him everything that was necessary for life, and, in so giving, deprived him of

‘Man’s first, noblest, birthright, Toil.’

The pauperising legislation of Rome first wore the insidious form of a gentle intervention to lower the price of corn. When Spain, Sicily, and Africa were pouring in their tributes of corn or money to the exchequer of the Republic, it was not an unnatural suggestion that the wealth thus acquired might fairly be expended in easing the material condition of the Roman citizens, of the men on whom had fallen the heaviest weight of all the blows from Regillus to Cannae, by which the Roman State had been fashioned into greatness. Not an unnatural thought; and yet if the remembrance of the scourged veteran in the Forum, and of all the cruel wrongs of the early Plebeians, had anything to do with ripening it into action, we have here an instance of that strange Nemesis of Unrighteousness, which sometimes leads statesmen in the very excess of their penitence for an injustice in the past to prepare a new and greater

BOOK III. injustice for the future. It had been a cruel wrong to  
 CH. 9. send forth the Roman Plebeian to fight the Volscian or  
 Aequian, and not even to keep his homestead free from  
 the exactions of the creditor, who would not have been  
 a creditor but for the military service of the bread-  
 winner. It was not less a wrong to make the Spaniard  
 or the Sicilian toil, in order to enable the descendants  
 of that same Plebeian to prolong a life of idleness and  
 dissipation in the Roman Forum.

Economic  
 absurdity  
 of the grain  
 distribu-  
 tions.

And, indirectly, this interference with true economic  
 laws injured Italy no less than the Provinces. How  
 was the Etrurian or Sabine farmer to grow his corn to  
 a profit, when the whole machinery of the administra-  
 tion of the Republic was being employed to sell corn  
 from beyond the seas at far less than cost price in the  
 Roman capital? This was not Free Trade; it was, if  
 we may use the expression, Protection turned inside  
 out; it was a systematic exclusion of the Italian corn-  
 grower from his own natural market. Of course the  
 Italian farmer, already sorely harassed by the necessity  
 of competition with slave-labour, succumbed, and  
 virtually disappeared from the scene. The *latifundia*,  
 the vast domains worked by celibate slaves, took the  
 place of the small yeomen's holdings; the horrible  
*ergastulum* replaced the free and happy homestead;  
 sheep-walks, vine-yards, and olive-yards occupied the  
 ground once employed in the growth of corn, and, more  
 important by far than even the disappearance of her  
 waving corn-fields, Italy ceased to produce men as she  
 had once done, just when the need of men to bear the  
 world-wide burden of her Empire was the greatest.

Market  
 price of  
 corn.

There were great fluctuations in the market price of  
 corn under the Republic. In the Second Punic War

it rose as high as 51 shillings the quarter ; in the wars between Marius and Sulla as high as 102 shillings, during a great famine under Augustus to 115 shillings. But these were simply famine prices. On the other hand, during a year of great plenty near the close of the Second Punic War, the price was as low as two shillings and eight pence a quarter. A little later, according to Polybius, it was frequently sold in the valley of the Po for two shillings and eleven pence a quarter<sup>1</sup>. As between these wide fluctuations it appears to be admitted that about 21 shillings a quarter was the ordinary market price. Now, by the legislation of Caius Gracchus, each citizen had the right to claim every month a bushel and a quarter of corn from the public stores for seventeen pence, that is to say at the rate of nine shillings a quarter, or less than half the average market price<sup>2</sup>. The rest of the legislation of the younger Gracchus died with him, but this, its worse feature, remained. When supreme power passed from the Senate and the Assembly of the People to the Caesars, these latter rulers, though in many respects the champions of the Provincials against Rome, did not dare to withdraw the supplies of cheap corn from the citizens, though they did limit—eventually to 200,000—the number of persons who were entitled thus to purchase it. Gradually the form of sale and purchase was done away with, and the distribution became simply

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.

Price fixed  
by legisla-  
tion of  
Gracchus.

<sup>1</sup> Four Obols ( $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ ) for the Sicilian Medimnus. The Attic Medimnus was a bushel and a half. We cannot be quite certain that the Sicilian Medimnus was the same quantity, and therefore this calculation is liable to some doubt.

<sup>2</sup> More precisely, the citizen was entitled to claim five modii at the rate of  $6\frac{1}{3}$  asses per modius, the *modius* being equivalent to the quarter of a bushel, and the *as* to  $\frac{1}{53}$  of a penny.

BOOK III. gratuitous. By the middle of the second century of  
 CH. 9. our era, the monthly supplies of corn had been changed  
 Gratuitous distribu- for the far more convenient and even more pauperising  
 tion sub- distribution of wheaten loaves, baked perhaps two or  
 stituted for three times a week.  
 sales under market price.

<sup>270.</sup>  
 Conduct of Aurelian with reference to the largess of bread.

When Aurelian ascended the throne, the loaf which the Roman citizen was thus entitled to receive (we know not for how many days' consumption), weighed one *uncia* (that is  $\frac{1}{16}$ ) less than two pounds<sup>1</sup>. As he went forth from the gates of the city on his expedition against the Queen of Palmyra, he announced to the people that if he should return victorious he would present each one of them with a crown of two pounds' weight. The citizens expected that these crowns would be of gold (worth more than £80 apiece), a donative which was beyond the power and the inclination of Aurelian. Yet were they not altogether disappointed, for when he had been drawn in triumph up the Sacred Hill, preceded by the weeping Zenobia, he commanded that wheaten loaves<sup>2</sup>, shaped like crowns and weighing each two pounds, should be distributed to the people. Through the remainder of his life and apparently during the reigns of his successors, these larger loaves were given to those who possessed the needful *tessera* or out-door relief ticket, and this *uncia* added to the civic rations seems to have been seriously regarded by the patriotic but ill-advised Emperor as one of his chief titles to greatness. In writing to Arabianus the Public Commissary-General (*Praefectus Annonae*), he says, 'Of all the good deeds which by the favour of the

<sup>1</sup> The Roman pound weighed a little less than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of our pound avoirdupois.

<sup>2</sup> Called *Siliginei*.

Immortal Gods I have wrought for the Commonwealth BOOK III.  
 none is more splendid than this, that I have increased CH. 9.  
 the distribution of corn to every citizen by one *uncia*.  
 To ensure the perpetuity of this benefit I have appointed  
 more ship-masters for the Nile and for the river-traffic  
 of Rome. I have raised the banks of the Tiber and  
 deepened the channel of its head-strong current<sup>1</sup>. I  
 have paid my vows to Perennity and the other Gods,  
 I have consecrated a statue of the gracious Ceres.  
 Now be it thy task, my dearest Arabianus, to see that  
 these arrangements of mine be not unfruitful. For  
 there is nothing in the world more cheerful than the  
 Roman people when they have well eaten<sup>2</sup>.’ This same  
 Emperor, though fond of repressing what he considered  
 inordinate luxury (forbidding his wife to wear a silken  
 dress because silk was then worth its weight in gold,  
 and proscribing the use of gold threads and gilded  
 ceilings, whereby he considered that a metal which  
 ought to be as plentiful as silver was unnecessarily  
 wasted), nevertheless added to the rations of the Roman  
 people, articles which can hardly be considered as of  
 prime necessity. He gave them pork and oil and wine ;  
 at least as to the last gift he had taken measures for  
 planting extensive vineyards in Etruria, and cultivating  
 them with slave-labour for the sake of a gratuitous  
 distribution of wine to the citizens, but according to  
 one story the scheme was frustrated by the intervention  
 of the Praetorian Prefect who told the generous Emperor  
 that if he gave them wine he would have to supple-  
 ment his gifts with roast ducks and chickens. He also  
 gave them white tunics with long sleeves imported

<sup>1</sup> ‘Tiberinas extruxi ripas : vadum alvei tumentis effodi.’

<sup>2</sup> Life of Aurelian, by Flavius Vopiscus, chap. xlvi.

BOOK III. from various provinces of the Empire, and linen gar-  
 CH. 9. ————— ments from Africa and Egypt. A generous and popular  
 Emperor doubtless, but Communism thus robed in the  
 purple is an excellent destroyer of Commonwealths.

Legislation  
 of the Va-  
 lentinians  
 on the same  
 subject.

Let us now traverse an interval of a hundred years, and see what shape this system of out-door relief had assumed under the dynasty of the Valentinians. A long Title of the Theodosian code<sup>1</sup> is devoted to the subject. It contains fifteen laws, chiefly the handiwork of the Emperors Valentinian and Valens, partly of Theodosius I and his sons. The first point which strikes us is, that Rome no longer enjoys a monopoly of the often lauded 'Imperial Munificence.' Constantine in founding his new capital by the Bosphorus has conferred upon it also the doubtful boon of the *Annona* or free largess of corn; and in order to meet the requirements of this largess, the corn-ships of Alexandria—as was remarked on a previous occasion—are now diverted from Rome to Byzantium. The City by the Tiber has now practically only the corn-fields of that province of which her ancient rival, Carthage, is the capital, to look to for her supplies. Antioch and Alexandria seem also to have shared in the public distributions, but the edicts relating to these cities do not appear in the code, possibly because their largesses were left to be regulated by the local authorities.

In Rome and Constantinople the Theodosian code presents us with a lively but strange picture of this organisation of pauperism. Three great classes are the recipients of that which is called by a courtly fiction 'the bounty of the Emperors.' These classes are the *Palatini*, the *Militares*, and the *Populares*, that is to

<sup>1</sup> Lib. xiv. tit. 17.

say, the servants of the palace, the soldiers, and the mass of the people. The last class receive their rations strictly *as householders*. The law is very decided on this point, 'Aedes sequantur annonae' (the rations must follow the houses); that is to say, if a citizen who has been receiving the ration alienates his house, he loses the right to his daily loaf. At Constantinople special stress is laid on the great Founder's desire to encourage house-building in his new city, and an attempt is made (apparently not a successful one) to limit even the soldiers' share in the *annona* to those who possess houses in the capital.

The three classes seem to have received their rations seated on some of the great public staircases in which the City of the Seven Hills abounded, and yet abounds. Some have thought that they were all collected for this purpose in the Colosseum, but it seems more probable that each of the fourteen Regions of the City had its own flight of steps on which the applicants seated themselves, as well as its own bakery, from which they were supplied. Each class of recipients is mustered apart; the *Palatini*, the *Militares*, the *Populares*, have each their own tiers of seats. The bread which is distributed to them is called 'the Step-Bread' (*Panis Gradilis*), and the separate classes are known as 'Steps.' Stringent laws forbid the transference of the *Panis Gradilis* from one 'Step' to another, and the Public Commissary-General (*Praefectus Annonae*) is warned that the severest penalties hang over him, if he suffers this regulation to be infringed. The prohibition can hardly relate to the mere physical transportation of a loaf of bread from one stone stair to another. It probably means that each class of recipients was to be

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.

The Panis  
Gradilis.

BOOK III. considered as complete in itself, and that in case of  
 CH. 9. death or removal, the lapsed ration of a *Palatinus* was to be transferred only to another *Palatinus*, that of a *Popularis* to another *Popularis*.

Continual evasions of the laws regarding the *Panis Gradilis*.

But from such an inversion of the great industrial laws upon which Society is founded, abuse was inseparable. The holders of the *Tessera*, or relief-ticket, eager to accept the alms of the State, but anxious to escape from the ignominy of asking for them, used to present themselves at the great public bakeries, and there, probably by bribery, obtain the loaves to which they were entitled. This practice was forbidden, and it was ordained 'that all men should receive their step-bread from the steps, and that none should be handed out by the shop-keepers, lest thereby any fraud should arise concerning the *Panis Gradilis*.'

A brazen tablet was to be affixed to the wall, near to the steps of distribution, and on it the name of the receiver and the measure of bread due to him were to be engraved. 'And if any one's impertinence should carry him so far that he shall usurp for himself or his family the right of that bread, and get his name wrongfully inserted in the brazen tablet, he shall receive chastisement according to his condition.'

The meaning of these last words is made more clear by a savage decree of the Emperor Valentinian (370). It seems that some of the Senators and great men of Rome were guilty of the meanness of sending members of their households to receive this public bread, which was of course intended only for the poorer class of free citizens. Thereupon the edict runs: 'Should the steward or slave of any Senator wrongfully obtain the *Panis Gradilis* by direct purchase from the clerk of distribu-



tion, or by bribery, or even by his mere connivance, let such steward or slave be subjected to the torture of the *equuleus*<sup>1</sup>. If it appears that he was prompted to this illegality by his own impudence, without the knowledge of his master, let him serve in chains in that bakery which he has been defrauding. Should, however, complicity in the offence be traced to his master, let the house of that Senator be confiscated for the use of the treasury.

‘In other ranks of life, if any one who is possessed of private resources shall confess the aforesaid crime, let him and all that he has be bound over to the service of the bakery.

‘If he shall be of the very poorest classes’—a provision which shows that this demoralising largess did not even answer the purpose of a Poor-law since ‘the very poorest’ were not all entitled to it—‘he shall be forced to labour as if he were a slave.

‘As for the clerks of distribution who shall be proved to have perpetrated this forbidden wickedness, the sword which is the vindicator of the laws shall be drawn against them.’

It would weary the reader were we to trace in further detail the intricacies of the legislation concerning the *annonae*. There are arrangements for changing stale loaves (*sordidi panes*) for new, edicts granting a certain supply of oil to persons designated by the Prefect of the City ‘for the refreshment of their frames,’ edicts forbidding the soldiers of the Imperial Guard to transmit their right to the ration as a hereditary claim to their children, and again, other edicts repealing these<sup>2</sup>.

A labyrinth  
of worse  
than useless  
legislation.

<sup>1</sup> An instrument of torture shaped like a horse.

<sup>2</sup> Some of this legislation has reference to Constantinople, but similar arrangements would probably be in force at Rome.

BOOK III. It is a labyrinth of Imperial legislation, and all leading  
 CH. 9. to what end? To the maintenance in idleness of the  
 worthless population of four great cities, a population  
 which every wise legislator would have sought by every  
 means in his power to divert from the cities, to lead  
 back into the country, to marry to the land, to raise to  
 something of the dignity of manhood by that wrestling  
 with Nature for her blessings, which makes up the daily  
 life of Agriculture. But no: the old legal fiction of the  
 sovereignty of the Roman people still survived, and  
 therefore the so-called citizen of Rome—the descendant  
 in all probability of a Syrian or Cappadocian slave—  
 must be allowed to spend his days in lordly idleness,  
 seeing the charioteers drive, and the gladiators die, and  
 then presenting himself at the appointed time at the  
 steps of his 'regio' to receive his *Panis Gradilis* from  
 the bounty of the Emperor. And, to accomplish this  
 desirable end, the administrative energies of the declin-  
 ing Empire must be weighted with the duties of a vast  
 and complicated commissariat alike in peace and in war.

§ 5. *Destruction of the Middle Class by the fiscal  
 Oppression of the Curiales.*

Fiscal ruin  
 of the  
 Middle  
 Classes  
 in the  
 provincial  
 towns.

We have seen how the social and political system of  
 Rome tended to destroy the free labourers in the  
 country, and to degrade them in the great cities. We  
 have now to consider that system of fiscal oppression  
 by which the Empire crushed out the life of the middle  
 classes in the provincial towns. A great French states-  
 man<sup>1</sup>, who has treated of this subject with a fulness of

<sup>1</sup> *Guizot* in his 'Essais sur l'histoire de France. Du régime  
 municipal dans l'Empire Romain au v<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'ère chrétienne,'

knowledge drawn both from books and from practical politics, considers that this cause was more powerful than all others in bringing about the ruin of Rome.

The civilisation of the great Republic was essentially a municipal civilisation. An urban community herself, she naturally associated herself with other urban communities, and wherever her influence has profoundly and permanently modified the life of any modern people, it will be found that that people is, by choice and not from the mere force of economic laws, urban in its tastes and its habits. The towns of Italy and of the provinces possessed, during the ages of the Republic, very various privileges, and stood in very various relations to the sovereign City. Some were *coloniae*, own children of Rome, some were *municipia*, stranger towns, gathered within the circle of 'the Roman friendship or subjection.' But as the power of the Emperors grew, and as the forms of popular government by assemblies of the citizens at Rome faded into insignificance, the diversities of privilege between the various cities of the Empire faded also. Political power was now all gathered up into one centre, and lodged in the hands of one single man, the Augustus at Rome, who might delegate it to prefect or vicar, as he chose. But municipal freedom still existed—that is to say, during the first three centuries after the Christian era—and municipal power was lodged in the hands of magistrates, freely chosen by the persons who owned as much as

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.

Origin of  
the Muni-  
cipia.

a fine demonstration of the morbid anatomy of a state. Guizot founds himself chiefly upon Roth 'de Re Municipali Romanorum,' Stuttgart, 1801. The Theodosian Code is the quarry from which both authors derive their materials. Marquardt, in his *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 463-512, expands, and in some details corrects, Guizot's sketch of the earlier history of the municipalities.

fifteen acres (twenty-five *jugera*) in the borough or district round it. The affairs of the little republic were managed by an assembly modelled upon the Senate of Rome itself. It was called sometimes the Senate, sometimes the *Curia*, and its members, who obtained a seat as the Roman Senators did, by filling some office in the State, were called *Decuriones*, possibly because there were originally ten minor *Curiae* of ten members each, thus furnishing a total of one hundred members to the Senate. In the large towns, however, this number was often exceeded. Marquardt points out that at Antioch the number of *Decuriones* varied from 1200 at its best estate to sixty at its worst. The sepulchral inscriptions, which we now see in such numbers in the Italian museums, recording that the dead man was a *Decurio* of his native town, show that the title was, for several centuries, one which conferred a certain amount of social distinction on the holder, and we may perhaps say that the D E C of these Latin epigraphs corresponds to the Esq. of an English churchyard.

Local self-government existed side by side with the Imperial system.

Thus, during these early centuries of the Empire, the local government of the towns was both in name and in fact republican. We need only recur to some familiar examples in the Acts of the Apostles, to understand how these municipal liberties existed side by side with the great machine of the Imperial administration, independent in their own sphere, yet trembling lest by any unauthorised proceeding they should be brought within its far-reaching and heavy stroke. The Praetors of Philippi are afraid when their lictors bring them word that the men whom they have scourged and thrust into prison are Roman citizens. The seven *politarchs* of Thessalonica are troubled when the mob

of lewd fellows of the baser sort come surging round them, accusing the inmates of Jason's house of acting contrary to the decrees of Caesar, and teaching that there is another king, one Jesus. The Recorder of Ephesus is anxious that the dispute between Paul and the silversmiths should be determined in a legal manner before the tribunal of the Proconsul of Asia, and that the authorities of the city should not have to answer difficult interrogatories as to the cause of the tumultuary assembly in the theatre. Continually we find ourselves in presence of real and living, though somewhat precarious, forms of local self-government.

The first two centuries and a half of the Empire may be perhaps considered as the golden age of the *municipia*, and the large amount of prosperity and happiness thus secured to the middle classes of society was probably the chief cause of the admitted success of the Imperial administration during the greater part of that period. Numerous laws were passed in favour of the municipalities. They were permitted to receive, and probably did receive, large gifts and bequests of property from their members. Fraud practised upon them by one of their officials was made equivalent, not to simple theft, but to the heavier offence of peculation. The Decurions were exempted from capital punishment for every crime but that of parricide. Finally, the municipal treasury, devoted to the construction and maintenance of great public works, roads, bridges, temples and theatres, and to the celebration of the solemn public sacrifices, was easily kept full, and had not as yet attracted the avaricious regards of the Emperors, who 'found the treasures of Rome and the ordinary contributions of the provinces suffice for the

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.

Golden Age  
of the Mu-  
nicipalities.  
B. C. 30-  
A. D. 220.

BOOK III. needs, and even for the follies, of the central power<sup>1</sup>.  
 CH. 9.

From the brightness of this picture some abatement must doubtless be made, as regards the seventy years of anarchy and confusion which intervened between the death of Caracalla and the accession of Diocletian (217–284). It is not possible that when mutiny, rebellion, and civil war were the chronic condition of the Empire, the municipalities can have enjoyed the full measure of their former prosperity. But whatever they may have suffered in this way was probably irregular and exceptional. It could scarcely yet be said, as far as the *curiales* were concerned, that the throne of the Emperors was ‘a throne of iniquity framing mischief by a law.’

Diocletian's reorganisation of the Empire fatal to local liberty.

This last and fatal phase in the history of the municipalities was probably, in great measure, the result of the remodelling of the Empire by Diocletian<sup>2</sup>. That great statesman saw that some change was needed if

<sup>1</sup> Guizot, *Essai*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Guizot lays the whole blame of this legislation on Constantine. No doubt the edicts on the subject in the Theodosian Code chiefly bear his name, but the cause was surely the more burdensome administration of the Empire, and it would take at least twenty years (from Diocletian's accession in 284 to Constantine's accession in 306) to bring about that great change which Guizot so well describes, by which a coveted dignity became an odious charge. And, in fact, the oppression of the municipalities by the central power had probably been going on for a much longer period. Marquardt, (*Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 511) points out that as early as the time of Trajan (99–117), in what Guizot considers the golden age of the municipalities, there are already slight traces of persons ‘*qui invitè fiunt decuriones*’ (Trajan's Letter to Pliny in *Plinii Epistolae*, x. 113). And the same author seems inclined to place the beginning of the ‘*Verfall der Curien*’ as early as the beginning of the third century. But he admits that this decline did not become utter ruin till the age of Constantine.

the Empire was not to be rent asunder by the hands of its own children. The changes which he accordingly introduced have been already briefly described<sup>1</sup>. These changes answered their immediate purpose. The Roman Empire was held together for another century and a half, but it gained life at the cost of the means of living. According to the old fable<sup>2</sup>, Phaethon, when entrusted with the chariot of the Sun-god, drove it too near to the earth and began rapidly to dry up all the pools and fountains of waters. Even so now, the Imperial Majesty, of which flatterers had made a kind of god upon earth, appearing in all the vigour of its new administrative powers close to every portion of the Empire, began at once to dry up many a reservoir of wealth which had escaped the rapacity of former Emperors. Especially was this true of the funds hitherto devoted to the purposes of local self-government. These, which the *Curiae* had hitherto not only raised, but administered, were now diverted to the Imperial Exchequer to provide for the pomp of the palace, the salaries of the swarms of new officials, and the donatives to the legions, while the strictly useful and reproductive expenditure on roads and bridges, and other local needs, fell day by day into abeyance<sup>3</sup>.

In the happier days of the municipalities, plenty of citizens had generally been found ready and anxious to discharge, even at some cost to themselves, the civic

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 14-15.

<sup>2</sup> 'Cum procul insanae traherent Phaethonta quadrigae,  
Saeviretque dies, terramque et stagna propinqui  
Haurirent radii.'

Claudian, De IV Cons. Honorii, 63-65.

<sup>3</sup> This must be taken as an inference from the general course of legislation rather than as an established fact.

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.

Christianity diverts the stream of philanthropy from municipal to religious objects.

functions of their little republics. The example of England, and still more that of America, proves that where there exists a large and flourishing middle class, endowed with local self-government, money is for the most part freely forthcoming for the wants of the community. When the State is at peace, that healthy emulation which exists between citizens, and that desire to emerge from the ranks, which is natural to men, leads one to build a bridge, another to establish a library, a third to endow a school, a fourth to spend lavishly on the duties of his mayoralty, and so on. The same disposition had, no doubt, existed in the *Curiae* throughout the Roman Empire. But now a new competitor for the generosity of the citizens appeared in the shape of the Christian Church, perpetually increasing the sumptuousness of her worship, perpetually widening the sphere of her duties as public almoner, and, for both objects, claiming and receiving large oblations from the wealthy. The parish now competed with the *Curia*, and the benevolent citizen who would have built an aqueduct in the second century, founded a church in the third.

The Emperors begin to look upon the *Curia* as a mere taxing-machine.

And simultaneously with this new diversion of the funds of the charitable, the great Imperial mendicant drew nigh to the impoverished *Curia*, but speaking now with an altered tone, and saying no longer 'If you like,' but 'You must.' We see the results of the pressure which now began to be put upon the municipalities, but the exact manner of its working does not seem to be disclosed to us. An impost called the '*Aurum Coronarium*,' which had once been purely a free-will offering occasionally given by the cities to the Roman generals, was now a regular tax paid by the



Decurions as such, and by them only. The other taxes, which were assessed afresh every fifteen years throughout the whole Empire, were levied upon the *Curia* in its collective capacity, and if any member made default, his fellow-decurions must make good the deficiency. Under the pressure of this continually-increasing taxation, some lands went out of cultivation altogether, since there was no profit left for the proprietor after the claims of the State were satisfied. So much the more taxes must the surrounding proprietors pay, to make up for the loss to the treasury from those unsown acres<sup>1</sup>. It is evident that when once this process had reached a certain stage, the load of taxation on the proprietors who still endeavoured to bear it would increase, not in arithmetical, but in geometrical proportion, and life would become nothing but a cruel race between the tax-collector and his victim.

The inevitable result followed. The *Curiae*, which had once been honoured and envied communities, bearing the weight of their public duties, and dispensing comfort and happiness to the district round them, were now mere gaols in which the middle classes were shut up from birth till death, to toil for the Imperial Treasury. The dignity of Decurion, or *curialis* as he was now often called, was no longer bestowed on the

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.

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The office of Decurio from a coveted dignity becomes a hated charge.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly, as far as each particular district was concerned, this burden might be to some extent relieved at the next assessment (*indictio*) at which, theoretically at least, account was taken of the productive capacities of every province in the Empire. But as the taxes were not diminishing, but increasing, if this process of throwing lands out of cultivation on account of the rapacity of the tax-gatherer was going on extensively throughout the Empire, it is evident that the landholders who remained must have had to bear a rapidly accumulating burden.

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.Codex  
Theodo-  
sianus,  
Liber xii,  
Titulus 1.

most worthy by the suffrages of his fellow-citizens. It was a charge descending from the father to the son, which the son, however anxious to be freed from it, could not renounce<sup>1</sup>. The longest 'title' (as it is called) in the Theodosian Code, is that which contains the 188 laws, passed during 150 years, concerning the rights and duties of the Decurions. Of their rights perhaps eight laws speak, of their duties the remaining 180, and that in tones of inflexible severity. The perpetually recurring expression, 'the son of a Curial must be *bound* to the Curia,' formulated as it is with the word *mancipetur*, which we know so well by its opposite, emancipation, shows sufficiently how grievous a burden the service of the municipalities was considered. It is true that more than once we meet with a proviso that no one is to be condemned to enter the ranks of the Decurions as a punishment<sup>2</sup>. 'The splendour of the Curiae' is said to be dear to the Imperial heart, and 'a criminal should be visited with punishment, not with an accession of dignity;' but this hypocritical pretence can deceive no one who reads the laws by which this enactment is preceded and followed, and who sees therein the perpetual struggle of the middle classes to escape from their connection with the Curiae, and the ruthless determination with which Emperors and Prefects force them back into that hateful prison-house.

<sup>1</sup> It would seem probable that with this degradation in the rank of the Decurions, the body which they formed lost the position of a local Senate which it had previously occupied. This, however, we cannot prove from the language of the laws. Only, a new class among the Decurions, the *Principales*, seems to hold something like the same position towards the rest of the community which the Decurions held formerly.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 66 and 108.

No provincial governor on his own authority might excuse a Decurion from his municipal obligations on the score of poverty<sup>1</sup>. The Emperor reserved to himself alone the exercise of this prerogative. Small, certainly, was the probability that a citizen, too poor to pay his curial dues, would be able to defray the expense of a journey to Rome in order to obtain this exemption. And yet their chronic misery may have urged many to undertake this painful pilgrimage, for we find another edict<sup>2</sup> whereby they were forbidden to visit the Emperor on public or private business without the leave of the Governor of the Province in which they dwelt. The prohibition went further: they were forbidden to take any kind of journey, lest they should defraud the Curia of their services, and for the same reason they were forbidden to leave the cities and take up their residence in the country<sup>3</sup>. That free circulation of the citizens, which makes the life of modern states, was a crime in the eyes of the Imperial legislator, because it interfered with his machinery of fiscal extortion.

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.  
Restrictions on the freedom of the Curiales.

Nothing gives us a more convincing proof of the utterly unbearable condition of the Curiales than the continual efforts which they made to divest themselves of their status, and the storm of Imperial edicts by which they were constantly met and driven back into their Curiae. In truth, the whole series of this legislation seems like an attempt to compress an incompressible fluid, or in some similar way to violate the fundamental laws of physics.

The Decurion was not to be allowed to rise into the profession of an advocate, lest he should thereby obtain

Careers closed to them.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xii. 1. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. xii. 1. 143, 144; xii. 18.

BOOK III. exemption from his curial obligations ; for the same  
 CH. 9.

reason he was not to be allowed to descend into the guild of the rag-collectors<sup>1</sup> ; nor should he be permitted to farm the taxes of the province, lest in case of his default, the Emperor and the Curia might find themselves opposing creditors of a bankrupt estate. If a Decurion married a female slave, as the offspring of such a marriage would be incapable of representing him in the Curia, he himself was to be banished to a distant island, his slave-wife to be sent to work in the mines, and his property to pass to his next of kin, upon whom would devolve his obligations to the Curia.

Prohibition  
 to enter  
 the Army

It might have been thought that when every Teutonic and Scythian nationality from the Caspian to the Scheldt was pouring down upon the Empire, when the Romans were

‘Ringed around with barking dogs of war<sup>2</sup>,’

the mustering of men for the battle-field would have been an object of primary importance with their rulers, and that if an oppressive conscription were not resorted to, at least every volunteer would be eagerly welcomed. By no means : the maintenance of the Curia, as a taxing-machine in a state of efficiency, was the first consideration, for upon this depended the splendour of the Imperial household, and the rapid fortunes of Prefects and Counts.

To escape from the misery of their lot as bondslaves of a bankrupt municipality, the Decurions, who were legally bound to serve in a kind of local force, the

<sup>1</sup> *Centonarii*. The meaning of the word is doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Septi latrantibus undique bellis.’

(Claudian, In Eutropium, ii. 486.)

*militia cohortalis*, thronged in multitudes into the regular army, the *militia armata*. Law after law was passed with tedious reiteration, forbidding the officers to enlist any man who is under curial obligations, prescribing the form in which each recruit is to declare his freedom from such liability, and insisting on the dragging back into the Curia of such Decurions as might after all have crept through all this mesh-work of opposing edicts into the army. True, if any had already served for fifteen years in the army, he was to be safe from further pursuit; but then, on the other hand, look at this provision, 'If any man of military descent shall enlist in the *militia cohortalis*<sup>1</sup>, and if, with strength yet unbroken, he shall put forward the plea of advanced age, or by reason of weakness shall be judged unfit for the work of war, he shall be drawn forth from the lurking-place of his cowardice, and bound over to the duties of the Curiae.' The bondage of the Curia—that was the Chelsea Hospital which Rome provided for her broken-down soldiers in the year 380 under the auspices of Theodosius.

The Church as well as the Army offered a door of escape from Curial obligations. We are not surprised at finding the Pagan Emperor Julian closing this door and decreeing<sup>2</sup> that 'Decurions, who as Christians' [whereby clergymen are probably intended] 'decline the offices of their township, are to be recalled.' But if any different strain of legislation was hoped for from a pious Emperor like Theodosius, the Convener of the Second Council, the glory and defence of the Catholic

or even the  
Church.

<sup>1</sup> 'Si quis militaris prosapiae se officio Cohortis adgregarit.' (Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 83.)

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 50.

BOOK III. Church, such hopes were doomed to disappointment.

CH. 9.

‘Those Curiales,’ says he<sup>1</sup>, ‘who prefer to serve the Churches rather than their Curiae, if they wish to be that which they simulate, let them scorn to withdraw their property from the service of their country. For we will certainly not liberate them on any other condition than this, that they renounce their patrimonies. Since it is not becoming that souls which are devoted to the contemplation of God should feel any regret at the loss of their ancestral property’ (383).

It is true that some years later (390) an exemption is made on behalf of those who have already entered the ranks of the clergy. ‘He who before the second Consulship of my Mildness<sup>2</sup>’ [the mildness of him who in that very year ordered the massacre at Thessalonica] ‘has reached the eminence of Presbyter, or undertaken the ministry of Deacon, or the office of Exorcist, may keep all his patrimony safe and free from curial bonds. But he who, under whatever name, shall have betaken himself to the religious ministrations of divine worship after the date of my aforesaid Consulship, let him know that he must give up the whole of his patrimony<sup>3</sup>.’

Other laws, of an earlier as well as a later date than those which have been quoted, enacted that the curial Cleric should be withdrawn from his sacred profession and restored to the civic duties from which he had absconded. Such a provision, which shows that the ecclesiastical hierarchy, however powerful, was still far from occupying the position which she held in the days of Hildebrand, must surely have clashed against even the then existing Canons of the Church. No instances

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 104.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 388.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 121.

however seem to be forthcoming, to show in what way this conflict of laws was settled.

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.

The monks, if Curiales, were handled by the State even more roughly than the clergy. It should be stated however that the decree which is next to follow was issued by the Emperor Valens, who, as an Arian, had special reasons for hating the enthusiastically Athanasian monks of Egypt at whom it is principally aimed (365).

Curial  
Monks  
even more  
roughly  
handled  
than the  
Curial  
Clergy.

‘Certain lovers of idleness, deserting their civic duties, affect solitary and secret places, and under the guise of religion are collected together with the assemblies of the Lonely-Livers (*Monazontes*). We have therefore, on deliberation, commanded that all these, and men like them, if taken in Egypt, shall be drawn forth from their hiding-places by the Count of the East, and shall be recalled to undergo the charges of their native districts, or else, by virtue of this law, shall be deprived of the delights of their possessions<sup>1</sup>, which, it is our pleasure, shall be claimed by those who have to undertake the charge of the public functions<sup>2</sup>.’

Besides the Church and the Army another career, if he only could succeed in entering it, seemed to promise to the aspiring Curial an exemption from the crushing load of municipal liability. This was service in the vast Imperial households, for the *Palatinus* of whatever rank was not only entitled, as has been already seen, to share in the corn-largesses; he was also, as the servant of the Emperor, free from ‘mancipation’ to any other master. And in this way, no doubt, many thousands of Decurions managed to evade the onerous

Conflict  
between  
the service  
of the  
Palace  
and the  
Curia.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Familiarium rerum carere inlecebris.’

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 63.

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.

obligations of local self-government. There is a long series of vacillating decrees bearing on the case of these men. According to one edict thirty years' prescription was necessary, according to others, five years sufficed, to prevent the dreaded sentence, 'Let him be dragged back to his Curia.' The general impression left on the mind by these decrees is that they soon became waste parchment, the theory of government requiring that the rights of the Curia should be insisted upon, while in practice the favour of the Sovereign was powerful enough to shield from curial pursuit the members of his household. Theodosius (or Valentinian II), however, once breaks forth into a strain of sublime indignation against those who trusted to this means of deliverance (386). 'Let the Curiales who have supposed that they could be defended by the privilege of our Household be dragged back to their Curia, so that they may be "mancipated" to their proper functions and may repair the public losses. *Nevertheless if any of these shall be proved to owe anything to our Divine household, let him pay it*<sup>1</sup>.' This noble sacrifice by the Emperor of everybody else to the necessities of the country, coupled with the sharpest attention to the interests of his own 'divine household,' is characteristic of the legislation of that period.

Comparison with France before the Revolution.

From this general survey of the laws relating to the Decurions it will be seen that we have here a state of things not altogether unlike that which existed in France before the Revolution. A court and a *noblesse* above<sup>2</sup>, exempt from the heaviest part of the national

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Official, it is true, rather than, as in France, hereditary.



taxation, and with their hands for ever in the national exchequer: below, a people robbed and spoiled, *taillable et corvéable à merci*, that is, without mercy and without foresight, and consequently some of the most fertile countries in the world brought by the tax-gatherer to the verge of starvation. The difference between the two cases is that in France *taille* and *corvée* reached down to the very lowest of the people: in the Roman Empire, the slaves and the 'plebeians' (as the class of freemen who lacked the curial qualification were called) were not shut up in the taxing-pen of the Curia. It was essentially an oppression of the middle classes that was thus carried on; but a century and a half of this steady, persevering tyranny had so ground down the once prosperous and thriving Decurions, that it may be doubted whether they were not, when the Western Empire fell, practically lower than the lowest of the proletariat.

M. Guizot mentions two privileges which were left to the Curiales, and which, he thinks, may have been some slight compensation for their many miseries.

1. Freedom from Corporal Punishment. We find certainly several laws which appear to concede this privilege to the Decurions. Especially is it forbidden to chastise them with the *Plumbatae*, the scourge with lumps of metal knotted into its thongs, which was ordinarily used for the chastisement of slaves. One remarkable law, passed in the year 381, says<sup>1</sup>, 'Let all Judges and Governors of Provinces abstain from usurping a power which does not belong to them, and let them know that absolutely no Principalis nor Decurion, whatever fault or error he may have committed,

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 85.

BOOK III. is to be submitted to the torments of the *Plumbatae*.  
 CH. 9.

Should perchance any judge hereafter break forth into such pertinacity of forbidden madness as to dare to subject a *Principalis* and a *Decurion*, a man who is, so to speak, *the Senator of his Curia*, to the strokes of the *Plumbatae*, let him be condemned to pay a fine of twenty pounds of gold (£800), and branded with perpetual infamy so that not even a special rescript of our own shall suffice to remove the stigma. The officer who has administered the chastisement shall be forced to pay a fine of fifty pounds of gold (£2000) inasmuch as, the command of the judge being unlawful, we give him full liberty to disobey it.' This lawgiver seems to be in earnest, and the provision for inflicting a heavier fine on the actual wielder of the lash than on his master seems cleverly contrived to prevent the perpetration of the outrage. But one may doubt, from the frequent reappearance of similar provisions in the Code, whether the immunity from stripes—which was, after all, theoretically the privilege of every Roman citizen—was practically enjoyed by 'the *Decurion*, the *Senator of his Curia*.' For by later edicts (387 and 392) Theodosius expressly enacts that *Decurions*, who have been guilty of malversation in respect of the public monies<sup>1</sup>, or 'who owe anything'<sup>2</sup>—a category which would of course include those whose taxes were in arrear—may be punished with the *Plumbatae*. As in Egypt at the present day<sup>3</sup> the bastinado, applied to the elders of the village, extracts the intolerable tax from the unfortunate *fellah*, so doubtless, many a time, in the last century of the Empire, did the cruel blows of

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. xii. 1. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Written in 1879: happily no longer true in 1892.

the *Plumbatae* wring the last denarius out of the coffers of the Decurion.

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.

2. A more substantial privilege doubtless, though from its nature attainable by few, was the prospect of entering the Senate, and so passing from the class of the oppressed into that of the oppressors. An inhabitant of one of the more important municipalities<sup>1</sup>, who was possessed of large means, and had steadily climbed the ladder of official dignities in his native town, having finally attained the rank of presiding Duumvir, was to be considered free from all further curial obligations, to hold the rank of an Ex-Count, and with the title of *clarissimus*, had the right of a seat in the innermost circle at the public games, and the Governor of the Province was bound to salute him with a kiss. Last and most important, an entrance was permitted him into the Roman Senate, 'the noblest Curia of all,' but apparently on condition of his leaving a son, or some other substitute, to represent him in the Curia from which he emerged.

Prospect of  
entering  
the Roman  
Senate.

Often it would occur that a wealthy and popular Curial, by official favour or by bribing his fellow-townsmen, would succeed in missing some steps of the slow ascent, and would present himself in the Senate-house at Rome before he was duly qualified. In such a case, said the Emperor Constantius<sup>2</sup> (361)—

'The Decurions who shirk their own duties and betake themselves to the fellowship of our Senate shall be struck off the roll of that body, and "mancipated"'

<sup>1</sup> This qualification is not expressed in the Code, but we can hardly suppose that the presiding magistrate of a mere village would be entitled to claim rank as an *ex-comes*.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Theod. xii. i. 48.

BOOK III. to their own cities. Those, however, who have served  
 CH. 9. the office of Praetor' [which involved heavy expenses in connection with the Praetorian games exhibited to the people] 'may remain in the Senate, but must restore any monies which they may have abstracted from our Imperial Exchequer, or from the bowels of the municipalities.' Many similar laws follow, some of which ingeniously fasten on such premature Senators a double pecuniary obligation, first as Curial, and, second, as Senator. A yet harsher tone is observable in the following law, passed in the year 398 by Arcadius, Emperor of the East.

<sup>1</sup> 'All the Curiales are to abide in their original Curies, their duties to which are of perpetual obligation. Those who by fraud or popular canvassing have clambered up into the place of high Administrators and Rulers of Provinces, are to be at once deprived of the honours which they have obtained, and not only with swift and strong hand drawn back to their own Curia, and made to serve all its offices from the very beginning, but shall also be mulcted in half their patrimony.' But, by an edict which was published shortly after, these stringent provisions were somewhat modified in the case of a Curial who had obtained senatorial rank 'before the Ides of November, in the fourth Consulship of Lord Honorius Augustus, *Brother of my Eternity*, and his colleague Eutychianus.'

'Brother of my Eternity:' such was the pompous style in which the imbecile Arcadius spoke of the imbecile Honorius. It was time for our Teutonic kinsman, Alaric, to tear down the purple hangings of Empire,

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 159, 160.

and let in the fresh air of reality upon those chambers reeking with flattery and falsehood.

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.

One last exemption must be noticed, which points to the dwindling state of the population of the Provinces, but which rests on a basis of humanity and good sense. It was enacted by the Emperor Julian<sup>1</sup> (363), 'He who is the father of thirteen children not only shall not be summoned to the Curia, but even though he be a Decurion, shall be left in an honoured rest' [undisturbed by the summons to undertake any curial duty].

Exemption  
for the  
father of  
thirteen  
children.

From the sketch, necessarily brief and imperfect, which has been here given of the decline and fall of the Municipalities of the Empire, the reader can in some degree estimate for himself the share which their altered condition had in bringing about the ruin of the Empire itself. In Gaul, in Spain, in Italy, the exhaustion and impoverishment of the middle classes was, in the fifth century, so great that it had become a matter almost of indifference who ruled over them, a grandson of Theodosius, the Suevic Count Ricimer, the Herulian Odovacar, or Theodoric the Ostrogoth. Their condition could not be worse under the barbarian than under the crushing, organised, relentless tyranny of the Roman bureaucracy. It might be, and as far as Odovacar and Theodoric were concerned it probably was, better.

In the East no doubt the same process of exhaustion went on, but the fortunate push from without was wanting. In Egypt and in Syria the Arabs, fresh from the desert, easily overturned, amid shouts of *Lo Allah il Allah!* the pallid resemblances of Graeco-Roman municipalities. In the other provinces of the Byzantine Empire they still cumbered the ground with the spec-

Fate of the  
Municipalities in  
the East.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theod. xii. 1. 55.

BOOK III. CH. 9.   
 ————

tacle of their decay until the close of the ninth century, when Leo VI, surnamed the Philosopher, removed from the theory of the constitution both the Senate of the Empire and the Curiae of the towns. Of the latter he said, 'The ancient laws passed as to the Curiae and Decurions impose on the Decurions intolerable burdens, and confer on the Curiae the right to nominate certain magistrates, and to govern the cities by their own authority. Now that civil affairs have taken another form, and that all things depend entirely on the care and government of the Imperial Majesty, these laws wander, so to speak, vainly and without object, around the soil of legality. We therefore abolish them by the present decree <sup>1</sup>.'

Their  
 revival in  
 the West.

In the West, the agony of the Municipia had been shorter, and the remembrance of the days of their prosperity and usefulness was therefore less easily effaced. It would be an interesting task, but one outside of our present field, to show how, under the barbarian kings, aided in many cases by the influence of the Church, the Curiae rose again, as it were, from the tomb, until, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, local self-government, as set forth in the Italian *Commune*, reached, perhaps, the noblest elevation at which the world has seen, or is likely to see it. An almost equally noteworthy tribute to the memory of the old municipal organisation is paid from a different quarter. To this day the mightiest ecclesiastical organisation in the world, that which gives birth to Popes, and defies or bargains with Emperors, calls itself the Roman *Curia*.

<sup>1</sup> Novellae Leonis, 46, quoted by Guizot, *Essais*, &c., p. 18.

6. *Barbarous Finance.*

The Local Taxation of the Empire has been dwelt upon at considerable length, because its history can be easily traced from the Statute Book, and because in tracing that history we can clearly see a powerful degrading influence at work upon an important class of the community.

The history of the Imperial Taxation is in some respects more obscure, and to give a detailed description of it would require more space than can here be afforded. But, tried by its results, it may without hesitation be condemned as wasteful, oppressive, and, in one word, barbarous. The more one examines into the subject the more one is convinced that great as the Romans were in legislation, and great in war, in finance their genius was below mediocrity. To violently wrest the whole or a large part of the lands of a conquered people from their former owners and appropriate them to the Roman State, to destroy great seats of industry and commerce like Corinth or Carthage, and bring their gold and silver and works of art home to figure in a Roman triumph, this easy system of momentary self-enrichment the Senate and its officers were able to put in practice. But to develop, as some of the Ptolemies and some of the Tudors developed, the commercial wealth of their people, to plant wisely and water diligently the tree of manufacturing or agricultural prosperity, from which the State itself might in the time of fruit-bearing pluck a golden reward, this was a kind of enterprise for which the genius of the Roman nation was little suited, and though it cannot be said to

Roman  
ignorance  
of the prin-  
ciples of  
finance.

BOOK III. have been never attempted, it certainly seldom suc-  
 CH. 9. ceeded in Roman hands.

Conjec-  
 tural esti-  
 mates of  
 Imperial  
 Revenue.

It is unfortunately quite impossible to determine with any approach to accuracy the amount of the revenue of the Empire, but the conjectures of scholars who have examined carefully into the subject point to a sum of between £20,000,000 and £30,000,000 sterling as the probable total under the Emperors. It is true that we cannot say what amount of local taxation may have existed side by side with this. But in itself the amount does not seem a crushing weight for a population of perhaps 90,000,000<sup>1</sup>, inhabiting such countries as France, Spain, and Italy are now, as Turkey in Europe, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and the northern shore of Africa were before the domination of the Mussulman had blasted them. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that a modern scientific financier, keeping a wise equipoise between direct and indirect taxation, and carefully arranging his duties so as to take only a reasonable toll from the vast commerce of the Mediterranean countries, could have easily provided for the State a revenue twice as large as she seems to have actually received, without crushing out the happiness of her subjects.

Heads of  
 Taxation.

But the Roman financiers seem to have relied most on the worst kind of taxation, and to have levied it in the most wasteful and oppressive manner. Unfortunately we have no specimen of the budget of a 'Count of the Sacred Largesses' which we can submit to a modern Chancellor of the Exchequer for his criticisms.

Customs.

But it is almost certain that the *portoria* or customs duties, varying from 2 to 5 per cent., and ultimately

<sup>1</sup> This is the result of Von Wietersheim's calculation (i. 234).



reaching as high as  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.<sup>1</sup>, did not contribute an important part of the revenues of the Empire. The *Vicesima Hereditatum*, a succession duty of 5 per cent., seems to have been enforced with some hesitation, and to have been finally abandoned in the sixth century on account of its unpopularity. Yet as the duty was not paid when the property devolved upon very near relations, few taxes, one would think, could have been more easily justified, or should have been more inflexibly demanded. The *Vicesima Libertatis*, a tax of 5 per cent. on the value of every liberated slave, was probably, in the existing state of Roman society, a wise impost, as tending to prevent the dilution of the ranks of Roman citizens by too large an accession of freedmen, and it brought in a considerable revenue to the State. It was, moreover, essentially a tax on luxuries, for to be surrounded by a troop of obsequious freedmen was one of the most common forms of ostentation among the Roman nobility. But when we read in the pages of Juvenal, Athenæus, and Tacitus, of the portentous and childish expenditure of that nobility on other luxuries, we see that here was a field from which a modern financier would have reaped an abundant harvest. He would not have issued sumptuary edicts nor attempted by legislation to check the torrent of extravagance, but he would have said in fact to these men, the owners of half a province and the lords of an army of slaves, 'Since it pleases you to spend such vast sums on all sorts of ridiculous fantasies, spend them by all means, but give the State a share of your superfluity.' The Licenses and Assessed Taxes which an English minister of Finance would have imposed

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.Succession  
Duty.Duty on  
Enfranchisements.

<sup>1</sup> Marquardt's *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 268.

BOOK III. upon the Roman Senators would have fed many  
 CH. 9. Legions.

Land Tax,  
 Tithe or  
 Tribute.

But the sheet-anchor of the Imperial Financier was evidently the share, the oppressive share, of produce which they wrested from the cultivator of the soil. In some countries this had been originally looked upon as Land-Tax properly so called, in others it had been treated as Rent for land appropriated by the Roman people but suffered to remain in the possession of the former owners as their tenants. In some it had been originally a Tithe (*Decumae*), in others it had been spoken of as Tribute (*Tributum Soli*). But it will probably be safe to say that these differences had now, in the fourth and fifth centuries, become mere matters of antiquarian interest. The various populations of the Empire, Italian and Provincial, Greek and Sicilian, Asiatic and African, were all now theoretically free and practically miserable. Every fifteen years, that great revision of taxable value, called the Indiction, took place throughout the Empire. Then the few who had prospered found themselves assessed on the higher value which their lands had acquired, while the many who were sinking down into poverty, obtained, it is to be feared, but little relief from taxation on account of the higher rate which was charged to all. They might be assessed on fewer *capita*, but each *caput* was larger on account of the increasing needs of the Imperial Exchequer. This periodical re-assessment was evidently one of the most important features of the inner life of the Empire, and was aptly expressed by the habit of dating each year from its place in the Indiction<sup>1</sup>.

The In-  
 dictions.

<sup>1</sup> The Indictions began under Constantine in the year 312. Ac-

In the breathless race between the tax-payer and the tax-gatherer which financial administration became during the decay of the Empire, the inherent vices of the Roman system of collecting the revenue grew more and more apparent. Whether because the Republic despaired of finding absolutely honest collectors among her own citizens, because she deemed it impossible for anything but the keen self-interest of a contractor to cope with the self-interest of the cultivator of the land, or because the simplicity of an auction of the taxes commended itself to the rude fiscal notions of her statesmen—whatever may have been the cause, certain it is that the Tithes and all other forms of Land-Tax seem to have been, from the beginning to the end of the Roman domination, farmed out to men who bore the well-known and hated name of *publicani*. Many familiar passages in the New Testament shew the aversion with which the subordinate ranks of this great corporation were regarded by the provincials. An often-quoted passage in Livy shews that the Senate itself, at a comparatively early period, had perceived that the vast powers for extortion wielded by the Publicans were quite incompatible with the existence of real liberty among the subject-allies of Rome<sup>1</sup>. Finlay, the historian of Greece, has traced in

ording to the usage then prevalent, 313 would be called the first Indiction, 314 the second Indiction, and so on. It was not till the twelfth century, according to Marquardt, that the obvious plan of numbering the periods (according to which 312-327 would be the first Indiction, 327-342 the second Indiction, and so on) was introduced (*Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 238).

<sup>1</sup> 'Ubi publicanus esset, ibi aut jus publicum vanum aut libertatem sociis nullam esse' was the opinion expressed by the Senate when the organisation of the province of Macedonia was under discussion, B. C. 167 (xliv. 18. 5).

BOOK III.  
CH. 9.  
Mischievous plan of farming the taxes.

BOOK III. many pages of his history the disastrous effect of the  
 CH. 9. system of tithes and tithe-farming upon both Greece and Turkey, and speaks of this system as an undoubted legacy, and a fatal one, from the Roman Empire<sup>1</sup>. If we had the materials in our possession for a complete picture of the financial administration of Constantine

<sup>1</sup> Compare particularly vol. vi. p. 13. 'From the moment that the crops began to ripen, the property of the cultivator in nine-tenths of it was treated as a matter subsidiary to the arrangement relative to the disposal of the remaining tenth which belonged to the sovereign. An industrious peasant could rarely make any profit by raising an early crop or by improving the quality of his produce. . . . No superiority of skill or increase of labour could under such circumstances secure a higher price. . . . The effects of this system of taxation on the condition of Greek agriculture may still be studied in the dominions of the Turkish sultan or the Greek king, for they rival one another in the disastrous effects of their fiscal administration [A. D. 1859].'

The wastefulness, though not the oppression, of a system of *publicani* is further shown by the following extract from a letter to the *Times*. It appears from this letter that the system is still the curse of Italy.

'Let me mention one more reason for Italian poverty—the oppressive and absurd fiscal laws and the pernicious system of farming the taxes, a system which wrenches from the most necessitous classes from 30 to 50 per cent. more taxation than is necessary. I will give one example of this, in the ruinous system of *octroi* taxes. I know a small town of about 2000 inhabitants, the taxes (*octroi*) of which are let for 16,000 francs the year. The farmer annually makes a profit of from 5000 to 6000 francs. The town is miserably poor, yet the wretched inhabitants have to pay this heavy sum more than is needful if the taxes were collected in a proper manner. Most of the other taxes are farmed in a similar fashion. The drain upon the community, and especially the poor, can be easily imagined.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Sept. 27, 1879.

SOUTHERN ITALY.

And a letter from Angora (Sept. 28, 1879) describes in the old familiar language the odious occupation of the publican and the horrible wastefulness of the tithe-farming system as practised in Asia Minor (*Times*, Oct. 18, 1879).

or Theodosius, we should no doubt find that the waste-  
 ful oppression of the *publicanus* was the main cause why  
 so large an amount of suffering among the peasantry  
 produced, comparatively, so small a revenue to the  
 State.

The phenomena of commercial life in classical anti-  
 quity are not easy to understand. We are told that  
 banking business had reached a high development both  
 in Greece and Italy; that bills of exchange were con-  
 stantly drawn and remitted from one part of the Em-  
 pire to another; that the bankers (*τραπεζίται* in Greece,  
*argentarii* at Rome) were in the habit of receiving  
 money on deposit, and relending it on overdrawn ac-  
 count. And yet, on the other hand, we hear constantly  
 of exorbitant sums being paid for interest. Twelve-  
 and-a-half per cent. is mentioned as a frequent rate in  
 Rome, and twenty-four per cent. as charged in Sicily.  
 The latter rate, it is true, was exacted by the tyrannical  
 Verres, but it is far surpassed by the righteous  
 Brutus, who exacted forty-eight per cent. from the  
 provincials of Cyprus. At all times of the Republic  
 and Empire *aes alienum* (borrowed money) is spoken  
 of as a fruitful source of danger to the State, and the  
 debtor never seems to have a fair chance of emanci-  
 pating himself from the yoke of the creditor. These  
 are all indications of a state of things in which the  
 usurer rather than the banker is the chief loan-  
 monger<sup>1</sup>, and they almost entitle us to say (whatever

The  
 constant  
 pressure of  
 debt at  
 exorbitant  
 rates of  
 Interest.

<sup>1</sup> Thus distinguished. The usurer, as such, lends from his own capital; the banker, as such, from the deposits of his customers. The usurer, therefore, if he wishes to make 15 per cent. on his capital, can only do it by charging 15 per cent. to his customers. The banker may make the same percentage while only charging 3 per cent.

indications to the contrary may be afforded by scattered passages in the classics) that the true business of a banker—the acting as a broker between those classes of the community which desire to lend and those classes which desire to borrow—cannot have been understood, or if understood, cannot have been widely practised in the Roman Empire.

What effect would a Funded Debt have had on the duration of the Empire?

It would be an interesting speculation to enquire what would have been the effect of a National Debt—that distinguishing feature of modern political finance—in retarding or accelerating the ruin of the Empire. The First and Second Punic Wars seem to have been fought out to a successful issue by the Senate chiefly by means of a loan, disguised under a gigantic debasement of the currency. The *As*, which was then the unit of monetary value, and which was coined out of a pound of copper when the quarrel with Carthage commenced, consisted of only one *uncia*, (the twelfth part of a pound,) when the dispute was settled, sixty-three years later, on the field of Zama. The disastrous effect of such a sweeping alteration in the standard of value was perhaps mitigated by the partial substitution of a silver currency for one of copper. But though the State had thus made a disguised loan from

to his customers, if a sum of money equivalent to fifteen times his capital be deposited with him at 2 per cent. The usurer's best chance of profit is in being able to foreclose on oppressive terms his debtor's mortgage. The banker, who has ever before his eyes the necessity of a prompt repayment of his deposits, dreads few things more than the necessity of foreclosing a mortgage and so 'locking up' part of the funds entrusted to him. Thus, without supposing the latter to be a bit more generous or less selfish than the former, he is led by mere self-interest into a course of dealing which gives the borrower a chance of recovering himself from the burden of *aes alienum*.

its subjects, and though at times it may have borrowed inconsiderable sums of money for short periods from the *publicani*, no such institution as a permanent National Debt ever existed, or perhaps ever suggested itself as possible to the State Financiers. On some great emergencies, such as the reception of the Visigothic refugees within the limits of the Empire in 376, a loan on a large scale might have been a prudent and statesmanlike measure. The secure investment thus offered to those provincials who were shut out from the great money markets of Rome and Alexandria, might have stimulated thrift. And it is almost certain that the rulers of the Empire, had they periodically appeared before their subjects as borrowers, would have been more amenable to the legitimate influence of public opinion. Flatterers might persuade a frantic debauchee that he was pious, and unconquered, and fortunate, up to the very moment when he was ripe for assassination; but a decline in the Imperial Funds of ten per cent. would have been an unmistakable proof that he was losing the confidence of his subjects.

Arguments like these might be advanced to show that the existence of the Empire would have been prolonged by the device of national indebtedness. On the other hand, we see, by abundant evidence in the history of our own times, that the creation of Bonds and Stock-certificates is like dram-drinking to imperfectly organised States. The brief military usurpers of the third century would probably have raised loans on the national credit as furiously and as foolishly as the Presidents of any South American Republic. And even as to the great and stable States of modern times whose acknowledg-

ments of debt command, and rightly command, for the present, as high a price as the land itself, the substratum of all national wealth, we must remember that we have as yet traced their orbit through a very small part of the World's History. We and our immediate forefathers have seen the beginning of England's borrowing, but we know not in what spirit our remote descendants may look upon its end.

### 7. *Causes, or Symptoms, of Decay.*

It is time to bring to a conclusion this examination of the causes of the Fall of the Roman Empire, which might range over the whole field of private and public life during the first four Christian centuries.

The  
Imperial  
power not  
in itself de-  
structive

Some readers may be surprised at not finding a prominent place among those causes given to the autocratic power of the Caesars. Many instances have been noticed, even in the course of this history, in which a fatuous or vicious Emperor accelerated the ruin of Rome. But, upon a survey of the whole history of the Commonwealth before and after the consolidation of the supreme power in the hands of an Imperator, it does not seem possible to look upon that measure as anything else than preservative of the life of the State. We have to compare the Imperial System, not with some ideal Republic of Plato or More, not even with a modern European monarchy of average excellence, but with the Roman Republic during the last century and a half of its existence, at a time when the government of the fairest portion of the earth was in the hands of a combination of aristocrats the most selfish, and of democrats the most senseless, that the world has per-



haps ever seen, and was being jobbed and plundered for their apparent benefit with such blind rapacity that, had Caesar not arrested the process of destruction, the provincial population must have perished in the grasp of its oppressors.

But though, upon the whole, the power of the Emperors was exerted beneficially for the Empire, the same cannot be said of the frequent and disastrous interference of the Imperial household in State affairs. While, on the one hand, there were long intervals, notably the reigns of the Adoptive Emperors, perhaps also those of Diocletian and Constantine, during which a wise and well-organised bureaucracy (to use a modern term) gave effect to the mandates of the Supreme Power, there were other periods, especially the reigns of Claudius, of Constantius, of the sons and grandsons of Theodosius, during which the personal attendants of the Monarch, his freedmen, or even his eunuchs, succeeded in grasping the helm of the State, and their steering was uniformly disastrous<sup>1</sup>. The confusion between the menial servants of the Monarch and the ministers of the Empire, though obvious in a constitutionally-governed country, generally tends to efface itself under a despotism, where the Sovereign, daily fed upon such flatteries as those which Claudian offered to Honorius, comes in time to believe that the trivialities of his daily life are matters of profound interest to his subjects, and as important to the world as the welfare of provinces. Thus it was, by playing upon the weakness of a master whom in their hearts they despised, that such men as Eutropius became the chief depositions

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but the  
inter-  
ference  
of the  
Imperial  
household  
disastrous.

<sup>1</sup> An exception should be made for the great deeds of the eunuch Narses, but they lie beyond the range of the present history.

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taries of power under such sovereigns as Arcadius; thus it was that they could sell the highest offices in the Empire<sup>1</sup>, and bitterly revenge the wrongs which they themselves had suffered in their former bondage. Whatever may be the drawbacks of a constitutional system, and they are many, it at least nullifies, if it does not destroy, the baneful influence of 'the Household' in politics. A vigorous and hard-working Bureaucrat, who finds himself eclipsed or thwarted by a showy and pretentious speaker in a popular assembly, may reflect that even this is less humiliating than the necessity of courting the favour of an uneducated domestic, who has risen into power by the performance of menial offices in the bedchamber of the Sovereign.

Demoralisation of  
the Army.

The rapid and terrible decline in the efficiency of the Army was without doubt another potent cause of the dissolution of the Empire. When we hear the military essayist, Vegetius<sup>2</sup>, lamenting the effeminate habits of the soldiers in his day, who were no longer able to bear the weight of helmet and coat of mail, and petitioned the Emperor, with success, that they might be allowed to lay aside these wearisome defences, we feel how vast a change has come over the spirit of the legionary since the hardy Sabine and Marsian followed Caesar to victory. This demoralisation may be partly due, as Zosimus<sup>3</sup> says it was, to the truckling policy of Constantine, who withdrew many of the legions from the arduous and unpopular duty of defending the frontiers and quartered them in the large cities of the Empire, where they spent their days at the Amphitheatre, and their nights in debauchery, a burden on the peaceful

<sup>1</sup> Compare Claudian, *In Eutropium*, i. 196-221.<sup>2</sup> *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, i. 20.<sup>3</sup> ii. 34.

provincials, but no longer a terror to the enemies of Rome. BOOK III.  
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But the true causes of the ruin of that wonderful machine of conquest, the Roman Army, lay deeper doubtless than in any such special mistake of military administration as this of Constantine's. Its mainspring for centuries had been the patient strength and courage, the capacity for enduring hardness, the instinctive submission to military discipline, of the populations which lined the ranges of the Apennines. Taught by their example, other races in the Empire, especially the Gauls and the friendly Germans, could do good service as *foederati* or even as actual legionaries. But after all, when the old Italian population itself was gone—and we have seen some of the economic changes which led to its disappearance before the slave-gangs of the great proprietors of Italy—there was no more reason left why the Roman army should continue to conquer. The wolves of Romulus were changed into the timid sheep of Honorius and the younger Theodosius. What had been the hammer of the nations became now their anvil.

Simple depopulation is often assigned as a cause of the fall of the Empire<sup>1</sup>. And with great truth, especially so far as the terrible plagues and earthquakes of the second and third centuries contributed to that depopulation. It is abundantly clear, and must have

<sup>1</sup> I have nowhere seen this aspect of the question more vividly presented than in Prof. Seeley's Second Essay on Roman Imperialism (published in Macmillan's Magazine, August, 1869). 'Some principle of decay,' he says, 'must have been at work [to produce the collapse which followed the prosperity of the Antonine period], but what principle? We answer: It was a period of sterility or barrenness in human beings; *the human harvest was bad.*'

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been observed by the attentive reader of this history, that there were vast solitary spaces within the border of the Empire when the barbarians streamed across it, and that their movement was one of colonisation almost as much as of conquest. Still, when one looks at the whole course of affairs after the Romans had made themselves masters of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, depopulation seems to present itself to the mind as a symptom rather than a cause of the malady which was in time to prove fatal, and one is inclined to fix upon some of the vices of the Roman polity mentioned above, the slave-system, the *latifundia*, the extortion of the tax-gatherer, as the reasons for that terrible failure of 'the human harvest.'

Will  
England  
fall as  
Rome fell?

The ruin of such a mighty fabric as the world-empire of Rome can hardly be contemplated by the citizen of any State such as our own, which has extended its dominion over alien peoples and far distant lands, without stirring some foreboding fears that of our country too it may one day be said, 'How art thou fallen from Heaven, oh Lucifer, Son of the Morning!' Even so, according to the well-known story, the younger Africanus, in the very midst of the ruined city of Carthage, which he had himself destroyed, shed prophetic tears over the fate of his own country, and repeated those verses of the Iliad—

‘Ἔσσεται ἡμῶν, ὅτ’ ἄν ποτ’ ἀλώηη Ἴλιος ἱερός,  
καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς ἑὺμμελίῳ Πριάμῳ.<sup>1</sup>

But an Englishman, though his presumption may rightly be chastened by the thought of the mortality

<sup>1</sup> 'Surely a day shall come for the fall of Ilium the holy,  
Priam, the stout-spear'd king, and all the people of Priam.'

of Rome, may derive some comfort from the reflection BOOK III.  
that she was tempted, as his country is not, by abso- CH. 9.  
lutely unbounded success. It was not till after the  
destruction of Carthage that the worst qualities of the  
Roman conqueror, his rapacity, his cruelty, his contempt  
for the rights of others began to develop themselves.  
The other powerful nations, both in the Old and the  
New World, which act as a counterpoise to our own,  
and sometimes administer a severe rebuke to our na-  
tional pride, are in truth our best friends, preserving us  
from that overweening arrogance which is unendurable  
by God and Man.

Of the causes enumerated above, which conspired for  
the ruin of the Empire, some clearly affect us not. The  
Christian religion is with us no explosive force threaten-  
ing the disruption of our most cherished institutions.  
On the contrary it has been said, not as a mere figure  
of speech, that 'Christianity is part of the common law  
of England.' And even the bitterest enemies of our  
religion will scarcely deny that, upon the whole, a  
nation imbued with the teaching of the New Testament  
is more easy to govern than one which derived its  
notions of divine morality from the stories of the dwell-  
ers on Olympus.

The partition of the Empire, the erection of a co-  
equal seat of authority in its Asiatic dependencies,  
can hardly be considered a danger for us in practical  
politics.

Slavery is not eating as a canker into the heart of  
the English State. Yet perhaps there may be some-  
thing analogous to slavery in the condition of 'the  
dangerous classes' in our great cities, men leading a  
sunless and squalid existence from the cradle to the

BOOK III. grave, serfs *adscripti* to the gaol and the workhouse.  
 CH. 9. And this thought may quicken the zeal, already so earnest, of statesmen and philanthropists to remove from us this reproach.

To the eye of an inexperienced observer there appear to be symptoms in the British administration of India, especially in the preponderating importance of land-tax as a source of revenue, and in our manner of employing the native *foederati*, which suggest some anxious comparisons with the Roman imperial system. May it prove that the resemblance is only in appearance, not in reality!

The pulverisation of the burgher-class by the fiscal oppressions practised upon the Decurions may possibly contain some warnings for benevolent administrators who, in their very zeal for the improvement of the condition of the people, may allow local taxation to attain proportions which, were any pause to occur in the onward march of the country, might be found well-nigh intolerable.

But of all the forces which were at work for the destruction of the prosperity of the Roman world none is more deserving of the careful study of an English statesman than the grain-largesses to the populace of Rome. Whatever occasional ebbings there may be in the current, there can be little doubt that the tide of affairs, in England and in all the countries of Western Europe, as well as in the United States of America, sets permanently towards Democracy. Will the great Democracies of the Twentieth Century resist the temptation to use political power as a means of material self-enrichment? With a higher ideal of public duty than has been shown by some of the governing classes

which preceded them, will they refrain from jobbing the Commonwealth? Warned by the experience of Rome, will they shrink from reproducing directly, or indirectly, the political heresy of Caius Gracchus, that he who votes in the Forum must be fed by the State? If they do, perhaps the world may see Democracies as long-lived as the Dynasties of Egypt or of China. If they do not, assuredly now as in the days of our Saxon forefathers, it will be found that he who is 'giver of bread' is also lord<sup>1</sup>. The old weary round will recommence, democracy leading to anarchy, and anarchy to despotism, and the National Workshops of some future Gracchus will build the palaces in which British or American despots, as incapable to rule as Arcadius or Honorius, will guide mighty empires to ruin, amidst the acclamations of flatterers as eloquent and as hollow as the courtly Claudian.

<sup>1</sup> *Lord* = *Hloford*, the Loaf-giver. The derivation is questioned by some scholars.





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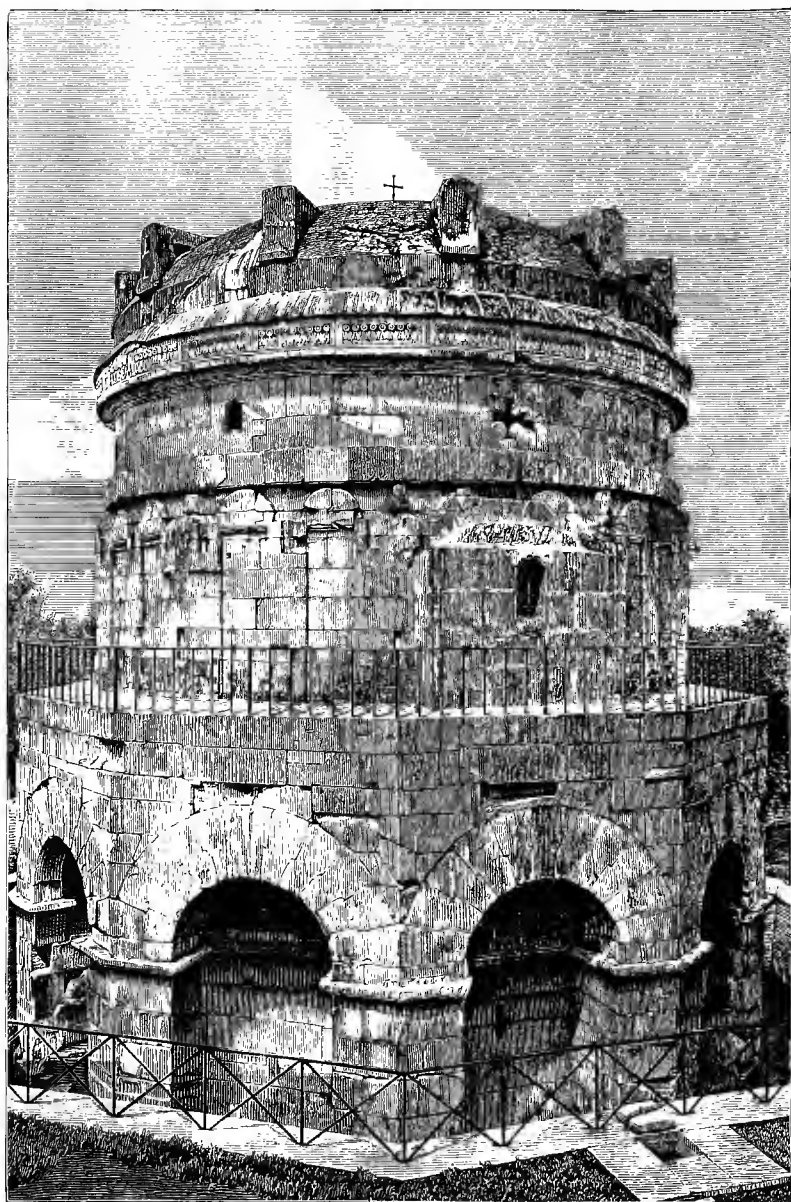
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MAUSOLEUM OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA.

# ITALY AND HER INVADERS

476—535

BY

THOMAS HODGKIN

FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

HON. D.C.L. OF DURHAM UNIVERSITY

VOL. III

BOOK IV. THE OSTROGOTHIC INVASION

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## PREFACE.

AFTER an interval of five years I offer to the public two more volumes of my history of Italy and her Invaders. I still propose to myself in the main the same objects which were described in the Preface to the previous volumes. Only, in deference to the opinion of some of my most esteemed reviewers, I have devoted considerably more attention to the affairs of the Church and the Eastern Empire than I ventured to do in the former portion of my work. Artistically the book probably suffers by the breaks thus caused in the main course of the narrative; but I hope that its scientific value may be increased by this attempt to deal with two factors so important in their influence on the age as the Pope of Rome and the Cæsar of Byzantium.

It will perhaps alarm my readers to find that in two bulky volumes I only traverse a period of seventy-six years, and especially that in the second of these an interval of only eighteen years is accounted for. But when it is remembered that in this volume I have to describe a contest not

much shorter or less important than the Peloponnesian or the Second Punic War, and that this contest is described for us by an eye-witness, not altogether unworthy to be called by the same name of historian which we accord to Thucydides and Polybius, I trust I may be acquitted of the charge of unnecessary diffuseness. At any rate, from the scanty supply of historical material, I may safely promise my readers and myself a much more rapid progress through the two centuries that lie next before me.

The same fact must also be my apology for the extremely warlike character of my fourth volume. Few persons could be less fitted than I by inclination or previous training to write a military history: and I heartily accept the condemnation passed on 'drum and trumpet histories' by some of our later critics. But after all I am obliged to tell the tale as it is told to me. The compiling historian sits in the last and lowest room of the workshop of Time, weaving his web of such materials as are furnished him by others: and if the thread reaches his hands all crimson with the stain of war, the fabric which leaves his loom must be dyed with the same terrible colour.

There are two names to which I feel bound to express an obligation which is more than can

be discharged by the few slight notices at the head of my chapters. Professor Felix Dahn of Königsberg, by his admirable book on 'The Kings of the Germans,' has earned a great debt of gratitude from all students of the history of the migration of the Barbarian Peoples. His careful analysis of every passage bearing on his great subject saves us who come after him an infinity of labour; and the essentially juristic character of his training and his pursuits entitles him to speak with authority on all questions of law and government. Occasionally the reader will discover in a foot-note a hinted doubt as to the correctness of some small point on which Dahn has expressed an opinion. Wherever this occurs, he may safely conjecture that the main propositions in the text come from Dahn's work, and are affirmed with confidence on his authority.

My other obligation is of a more personal kind. My friend and valued counsellor Mr. Bryce has been for some time preparing to write the history of Justinian, and in this preparation has of course traversed much of the same ground which I survey in these volumes. Especially the wonderful defence of Rome by Belisarius and the site of the battle between Narses and Totila have been with him favourite subjects for investigation; and he

has in the most generous way shared with me the results of his labours. I regret that he has not yet published any memoir on either of these subjects to which I can refer; but this general expression of my obligation will, I trust, be sufficient to show the true relation between his book and mine, whensoever his Parliamentary labours shall allow him to pluck the fruit which has long been ripening. It is probable that when that time comes it will be seen that Mr. Bryce takes a more favourable view of the characters both of Justinian and Theodora than I have done. I have not wished to assume the attitude of an advocate, but it is possible that I may unintentionally have done something less than justice to Justinian the persistent enemy of the Ostrogothic people, and to Theodora the oppressor of Belisarius. If this be so, I hope the balance will be redressed by the judicial impartiality of Justinian's biographer.

Many other friends have helped me in various ways, whose names, though not mentioned here, are gratefully remembered by me. I am bound, however, to express my obligation to Mr. C. F. Keary of the British Museum for his assistance in preparing the plate of Ostrogothic coins; to the executors of the late Mr. J. H. Parker for allowing me to copy some of his very valuable

Roman photographs ; and to Professor Beloch and his publishers for permission to use the beautiful map of Neapolis which accompanies his monograph on Campania.

Traversing so wide a field and with far less help from Dictionaries and Commentaries than is afforded to the student of the better known portions of Ancient History, I cannot expect to have avoided many errors. I heartily thank beforehand, and recognise as my best friends, those reviewers who shall out of the fulness of their own knowledge correct the mistakes into which I have fallen, and enable me in future volumes or a future edition to attain more nearly to my own ideal of historical accuracy.

THOMAS HODGKIN.

BENWELLDENE, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE :

*March 11, 1885.*



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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- P. 18, l. 6 from bottom, for 'Marcion' read 'Marcian.'
- P. 23, l. 19, put 'Franks' above 'SUAVI.'
- P. 66, last line, for 'Papyrium' read 'Papirium.'
- P. 110, l. 14, for 'Onöulph' read 'Onoulf.'
- P. 145, l. 8 from bottom, for 'the churches of Ticinum and Pavia' read 'the two churches of Ticinum (Pavia).'
- P. 148, note 2, for 'Gregorinus' read 'Gregorovius.'
- P. 225, marginal note (date of the battle of the Adda), for 492 read 490.
- P. 226, l. 6 from bottom, and p. 234, l. 1, for 'Clapis' read 'Classis.'
- P. 330, l. 9 from bottom. Instead of 518, 516 or 517 is the most probable date of the birth of Athalaric. There is a difference, as stated at p. 586, between Procopius and Jordanes as to Athalaric's age at the death of his grandfather. Procopius makes him eight years old at that time, Jordanes 'infantem vix decennem.' Jordanes is the more likely to be right of the two.
- P. 354. In 'The Marriages of the Amals' alter date of Sigismund's death from 524 to 523. (Godomar was proclaimed King in 524, but there was apparently an interval between his brother's death and his own accession.)
- P. 399, head-line, for 'Siege of Narbonne' read 'Siege of Arles.'
- P. 420, l. 10 from bottom, for 'five and twenty' read 'seven and twenty': and alter first date in the margin from 493 to 491.
- P. 516. *Note at end of Chapter XI:*  
'Since this Chapter passed through the press, I have read the valuable monograph by Herm. Usener on the relation of the Roman *Senate* to the Church in the days of the Ostrogoths (in 'Commentationes Philologae in honorem Theod. Mommseni': Berlin, 1877). The author claims for the Senate at this period a large

share in the practical regulation of the affairs of the Church, and even some right to be consulted as to the definition of her doctrines. The point is a most important one, especially if Usener be correct in maintaining that these functions of the Senate belonged to it as heir of the rights of the *laity* in the Primitive Church. Ecclesiastically my sympathies are entirely on Herr Usener's side: but I scarcely think he has yet made out his case, though he certainly shows cause for further enquiry.'

P. 543, l. 12 from bottom, for 'son of a consul' read 'grandson of a consul.' We may fairly assume that the Opilio who was Consul in 453 was grandfather of Cyprian. Whether the Opilio who was Consul in 523 was father or brother of Cyprian I see no means of deciding. The former is, however, slightly the more probable theory.

P. 590, l. 2, for 'the African Church' read 'the city of Carthage.'

P. 592, l. 12, for 'Theudibert' read 'Theodoric,' and l. 19, after 'Theudibert' add 'son of Theodoric.' (Theodoric died and was succeeded by Theudibert while this Burgundian war was going forward.)

P. 691, l. 10 from bottom, for 'guard' read 'general.'

*Notes on Chapter XIV.*

On the eve of going to press I have obtained through the kindness of Prof. Paspatis of Athens the following corrections of some points in my account of the insurrection of the ΝΙΚΑ. Prof. Paspatis is one of the highest authorities on all points of Byzantine archæology, and I am much indebted to my friend, Father Hirst, for placing me in communication with him.

P. 616 (last sentence in the text). All the *four* factions of the Circus are mentioned by so late an author as Constantine Porphyrogenitus (tenth century).

P. 619, note 3. *Καλόπους* and *καλοπόδιον* both mean a shoemaker's last (not 'the fine-footed one'). This makes the pun about τὰ τζαγγαρία (the shoemakers' shops) clearer.

P. 621. Prof. Paspatis throws a little doubt on this explanation of the term *ζεῦγμα* (which seems to be that adopted by Ducange in his *Constantinopolis Christiana*, p. 180). He says, 'The two gulfs near Constantinople now called the Small and Great Tjekmedjé were formerly called *ζεύγματα*.'

P. 625 (last sentence but three). The Senate House and the Baths of Zeuxippus were in the near neighbourhood of the Hippodrome on the east. The Prætorian Palace was on the west of it. The situation of the Baths of Alexander is unknown.

P. 626. The best authority as to this conflagration is Procopius. The buildings in the Augusteum (east of the Hippodrome) were all consumed. The fire did not penetrate to the Palace itself, which rose on the east of the Augusteum, but the Octagonon very near the southern wall of the Palace was consumed. The churches of St. Irene and St. Sophia which perished in this conflagration were wooden buildings.

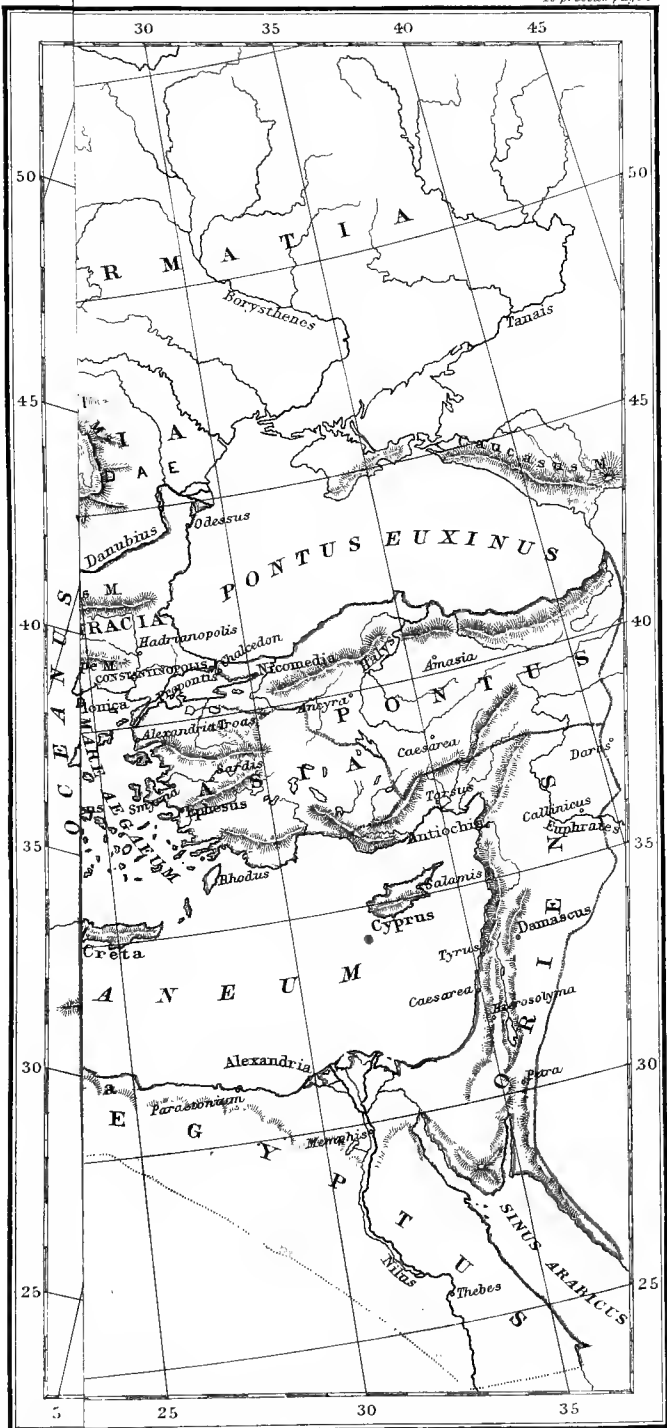
P. 626, n. 2. The hospital here mentioned *was* the earliest and the most sumptuous of its kind.

P. 630, l. 1. The ships were at the harbour of Bucoleon (a little harbour below the church of St. Irene). They could not be moored outside on account of the strength of the current of the Bosphorus.

P. 632, l. 7. The Cochlea was a narrow and very dark spiral staircase, not 'broad and stately.' Similar staircases are mentioned in a great many churches.

P. 633, l. 7. 'This gate was called πύλη νεκρά, *porta mortua*: not πύλη νεκρῶν, *porta mortuorum*.' [But what meaning are we to attach to the Dead Gate?]







# BOOK IV.

## THE OSTROGOTHIC INVASION.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### A CENTURY OF OSTROGOTHIC HISTORY.

##### Authorities.

##### Sources:—

Our sole source of information for this period is JORDANES, as I now propose to call the Gothic historian whom in the previous volumes I called, though under protest, JORNANDES. The appearance (in 1882) of that which will be henceforward the standard edition of the two treatises of this indispensable but irritating writer, revised as the text has been with the most elaborate care by Professor Mommsen, disposes of the Jornandes form of the name as well as of many other points previously in dispute. While reminding the reader of the short account of Jordanes given in the early part of this history (vol. i. pp. 43-44), I may also refer to a fuller notice contributed by me to the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

##### Guides:—

Köpke, *Die Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen* (Berlin 1859): a very carefully written monograph, the foundation of some of the best work of later enquirers. Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen, Abtheilungen 1-5* (Munich 1861, and Würzburg 1866-1870). See remarks in Preface.

BOOK IV.  
CH. I.

I have now to record the establishment of a Teutonic kingdom in Italy, which, more than any other of the new states arising on the ruins of the Roman Empire, promised to promote the happiness of the human race, which seemed likely to draw forth all that was noblest in the manhood of the barbarian, all that was most refined in the culture of the Italian, and to weld them both into one harmonious whole ; a kingdom the Arian ruler of which so wisely deferred to the feelings of his Catholic subjects, and held with so even a hand the balance between contending creeds that he all but solved the difficult problem how to construct ‘ a free Church in a free State ;’ a kingdom the preservation of which would (as I have already hinted<sup>1</sup>) have helped forward the civilisation of Europe by five centuries, and would perhaps have contributed something towards the softening and ennobling of human life even at the present day. I have then to describe through what faults and flaws in its own structure, by what craft of foreign foes, by what treachery of ungrateful subjects, by what marvels of strategic skill this fair kingdom was shattered and brought to nought. Two names, which will ever defy oblivion, connect themselves with the two acts of this mighty drama: Theodoric with the establishment of the Ostrogothic monarchy, Justinian with its fall. But while Theodoric is all ours, no part of his career being outside the limits of our subject, there are vast spaces in the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 551.



life and acts of the Byzantine Emperor which are BOOK IV. foreign to our present purpose, and upon which CH. 1. we must not allow ourselves to enter.

I proceed to sketch in brief outline the history of the Ostrogothic people until the story of the nation begins to narrow into the biography of a man, their young king Theodoric.

The Ostrogoths were that member of the great Position of the Ostrogoths in the Third Century. East-German family of nations which first attained to widely extended dominion. Through the greater part of the third century after Christ theirs was the chief controlling influence in the vast plains between the Baltic and the Euxine which form the Lithuania and Southern Russia of modern history. Like the other German nations at that time, they were probably passing or had recently passed from the nomadic to the settled form of society, from dependence on flocks and herds to dependence on the tillage of the ground as their chief means of support. The head of this powerful but loosely compacted state was Hermanric<sup>1</sup> the Hermanric: about 335-375. Amal, sprung from the seed of gods, still true to the martial religion of Odin and Thor; a Goth of Goths, and a Teuton of Teutons. Under his orders moved to battle the hosts of the Visigoths who dwelt between him and the Danube, of the Gepidae who perhaps occupied the plains of Central Russia in his rear. The forecast of European history which then seemed probable would have been that a great Teutonic Empire stretching

<sup>1</sup> Or Hermanaric. See vol. i. p. 98.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 1.

from the Danube to the Don would take the place which the colossal Slav Empire now holds in the map of Europe, and would be ready, as a civilised and Christianised power, to step into the place of Eastern Rome when in the fulness of centuries the sceptre should drop from the nerveless hands of the Caesars of Byzantium.

Hunnish  
onset.

All these possible speculations as to the future were upset and the whole course of human history to the latest generations was modified by the rush of the swarthy dwarfish Huns over the shallows of the Sea of Azof and the impetuous charge of their light cavalry upon the unwieldy masses of the army of Hermanric. The defeat of the Ostrogothic army is acknowledged by the national historian. The death of the Ostrogothic king, who was in very advanced age, is not quite so honestly related. It is attributed to a wound received from rebellious subjects, but seems to have been in truth the death of a suicide, in despair at the sudden overthrow of his power.

Subordina-  
tion to the  
Huns.

The collapse of the power of Hermanric did not bring with it so disastrous ruin to his people as would have been the case with a more highly organized state. The Hunnish monarch needed soldiers, and the Ostrogoths could supply them. He cared little about law and government, and therefore the Ostrogoths might keep such political institutions as they had. They were pushed somewhat westward, probably over the Carpathian mountains, and they no longer possessed the



BOOK IV. suzerainty over the vast and loose confederacy of

CH. I.

nations who roamed over the plains of Sarmatia. Otherwise there was little change, only their king escorted the chariot of the conqueror instead of filling it. There are even indications that the Hun, regarded at first by his Gothic antagonist with blended feelings of fear and disgust, became somewhat less hateful as he was better known. Balamber, the monarch of the Huns at the time of their great migration, married Vadamerca, an Ostrogothic princess<sup>1</sup>; and the bold attempt of *Winithar*, and, after his death, of the guardians of his infant son *Wideric*, to shake off the Hunnish yoke<sup>2</sup>, seems to have met with but a faint and partial response among their countrymen. *Hunimund* the son of Hermanric, who, as vassal of the conquerors, ruled over the great mass of the Ostrogothic people, is described as an active warrior, conspicuous for his manly beauty, and as having fought successfully against the Suevic nation, probably situated on his northern or north-western border<sup>3</sup>.

Hunimund,

375-415(?).

The reign of Hunimund, which seems to have been a time of comparative prosperity for the

<sup>1</sup> Who, however, can hardly have been, as stated by Jordanes, granddaughter of Winithar. Winithar is already two generations below Hermanric, and his grandson Theudemir died in 474, nearly a century after the Hunnish irruption. (See pedigree at beginning of chapter.) We may lessen but hardly remove the difficulty by translating *neptem* niece.

<sup>2</sup> See i. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Zeuss (*Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 457) suggests that these Suevi are perhaps the *Semnones* of Tacitus.

Ostrogothic people, probably occupied the years BOOK IV.  
between 375 and 415<sup>1</sup>. Important events were CH. 1.  
then going forward in the West of Europe, events  
in which their Visigothic kinsmen and their old  
Vandal neighbours were distinguished as chief  
movers, but in which they had no share. About Thoris-  
the year 415 *Thorismund*, son of Hunimund, suc- mund,  
ceeded his father. He is said to have been still 415-416.  
'in the flower of his youth,' which we should  
hardly have expected from a grandson of the aged  
and long since deceased Hermanric, nor from a son  
of Hunimund, who had just died after a reign of  
forty years. In the second year of his reign he  
marched with an army against the Gepidae, won a  
mighty victory over them, but, apparently in the  
moment of victory, was killed by a fall from his  
horse.

On the death of Thorismund some strange turn Inter-  
of fortune or popular caprice, the workings of regnum.  
which are evidently veiled in the narrative of  
Jordanes, obscured for a time the Amal kingship.  
We are told that, so great was the grief of the  
Ostrogoths for the loss of their young hero, that  
for forty years they would not allow any one to  
succeed in his place. His son Berismund, loathing  
the foreign dominion of the Huns and despising  
his nation for submitting to it, wandered off to the

<sup>1</sup> We get the closing date (which is only an approximation)  
from the story of Berismund (see below), who, two or three  
years after the death of his grandfather Hunimund, migrated  
to Gaul, and arrived there in 418, at the time of the death of  
King Walia (Jordanes, *De Rebus Geticis*, xxxiii and xlviiii).

BOOK IV. West and joined his fortunes to those of the Visigothic conquerors of Gaul, in which country he left descendants, one of whom<sup>1</sup> was eventually to receive in marriage the daughter of the great Theodoric. At the end of the forty years' interregnum the Ostrogoths, who considered that by this time Thorismund had been sufficiently lamented, reverted to the Amal stock, and raised *Walamir*, grandson of the patriotic but unfortunate Winithar, to the vacant throne.

Suggested explanation of the story in Jordanes.

There can be no doubt that this story of the forty years' mourning for the brave young Thorismund is mere Saga. Nations do not suspend the working of an institution so essential to their safety and well-being as was the barbaric royalty for an interval longer than a whole generation out of mere sentimental considerations. What was the real nature of the revolution which is thus poetically veiled from us we can only conjecture. A German author<sup>2</sup> has with some plausibility interwoven into this part of the history a detached notice preserved for us in the official letters of Cassiodorus<sup>3</sup> concerning a certain Gensemund. The writer is praising the quality of loyalty, when exhibited towards the boyish heirs of a great chief by leaders who have been adopted into his family<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Eutharic, grandson of Berismund and husband of Amalasintha.

<sup>2</sup> Köpke, p. 141, followed by Dahn, ii. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Variarum, viii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> As Tulum, whom he is addressing, had been into the Amal

'Of this fidelity there is a distinguished example in the Gothic race. That Gensemund, whose fame is spread abroad throughout the whole world, though only adopted as a son-in-arms [by the deceased king], joined himself with such devotion to the Amal race that he rendered service of anxious fidelity to its heirs, although he himself was besought to wear the crown. He made his own merits available for others [his wards], and with unwonted moderation reserved for children the dignity which might have been bestowed on himself. Therefore his fame lives eternally in the songs of the Gothic race: he despised transitory greatness and earned deathless renown.'

BOOK IV.  
CH. I.  
Story of  
Gense-  
mund.

It is possible that the interpolated reign of this loyal hero may be the true explanation of the fabled forty years' mourning for Thorismund. But on the other hand it is to be remarked, (1) that no word from Cassiodorus himself assigns these events to this particular period; (2) that if Cassiodorus had told the story here it would have excluded the Saga which Jordanes has without doubt copied from him; (3) that the point of the story of Gensemund is that he *refused* the crown which, in order to make the hypothesis fully fit the facts which are to be accounted for, he must have worn for forty years; and (4) that as the new Amal kings were evidently men in middle life at the end of the so-called interregnum, a loyalty which

family by the now deceased Theodoric. Cassiodorus exhorts him to be even thus faithful to the young Athalaric.

BOOK IV. exhibited itself by keeping the heirs of the de-  
 CH. 1. ceased monarch so long from the throne would  
 hardly have been recommended for imitation under  
 the circumstances of Athalaric's minority<sup>1</sup>.

Another  
 explanation.

A more probable explanation of this curious story seems to be that the Ostrogoths may really for a short time have hesitated about filling up the place left vacant by the death of their beloved young hero-king, that this hesitation may have caused them to split up into factions (since then, as so often since, Teutonic royalty and national unity were convertible terms), that this time of confusion may have been purposely prolonged by their Hunnish over-lords, in order to keep them in an enfeebled and depressed condition, but that at length, and not till after the kinsmen of Thorismund had reached and almost passed the prime of life, they succeeded in re-establishing the Amal royalty on something like its old basis.

<sup>1</sup> I am the less disposed to accept this interpolated Gensmund as the explanation of the forty years' interval between Thorismund and Walamir, because Jordanes mentions a 'Gesimund' who seems to have been Thorismund's elder brother, and who probably died in the lifetime of their father Hunimund. He is speaking of the events immediately after the proclamation of Winithar (about 376-7): 'Sed cum tali libertate vix anni spatio imperasset, non est passus Balamber, rex Hunnorum, sed ascito ad se Gesimundo Hunnimundi magni filio, qui juramenti sui et fidei memor cum ampla parte Gothorum Hunnorum imperio subiacebat, renovatoque cum eo foedere super Vinitharium duxit exercitum.' Then follow the battles with Winithar. In two the latter is victorious, in the third he is defeated and killed. Hunimund succeeds, and after his long reign Thorismund; Gensmund having probably died before his father, though this is not expressly stated.



The change which strikes us in the revived kingship of the Ostrogoths, and which makes these last qualifying words necessary, is that for the first time we find the kingly power *divided*. That splitting up of the kingdom between a whole family of brothers which we so often meet with in the case of the Franks, and which was also apparently usual with the Huns, had not till now been practised in either branch of the great Gothic nation. Now, however, we find three kings—brothers—standing at the head of their people, and it is natural to suppose that this division of power was encouraged if not commanded by their Hunnish over-lord in order to keep the nation in a state of weakness and dependence. The three brothers are *Walamir*<sup>1</sup>, *Theudemir*<sup>2</sup>, and *Widemir*, the eldest of whom, Walamir, had some sort of supremacy over his younger brothers, which is rather hinted at than explained in the flowery language of Jor-

BOOK IV.

CH. I.

Division of the kingdom.

Walamir and his brothers.

<sup>1</sup> Photius (*Bibliotheca*, 340 a) has preserved for us a story that when Walamir was still in a subordinate position in Attila's court one of the courtiers saw him [when asleep?] breathing forth sparks, a prognostic of the future greatness of his house. 'This Walamir,' says Damascius the Neo-Platonist, from whom Photius is here extracting, 'was the father of that Theodoric who now wields the greatest power in the whole of Italy.' 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀττίλαν ἓνα ὄντα τὸν Βαλίμεριν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκείου σώματος ἀποπάλλειν σπινθήρας· ὁ δὲ ἦν ὁ Βαλίμερις Θεοδερῖχου πατὴρ ὃς νῦν τὸ μέγιστον ἔχει κράτος Ἰταλίας πάσης. As we shall see, Theodoric was really the nephew of Walamir, but the Byzantine writers, who knew of his coming to Constantinople as a pledge for Walamir's fidelity, could never get it out of their heads that he was his son.

<sup>2</sup> More properly Thiudan-mir.

BOOK IV. danes: 'Of which three brothers, Walamir, by  
CH. 1. succession to his relatives, ascended the throne, the Huns still keeping a general supremacy over them, as over all the surrounding nations. And a fair sight was it then to see the union of these brothers when the admirable Theudemir fought under the orders of his brother Walamir, while Walamir helped each of the other two by the honours with which he adorned them [?], and Widemir, though serving, remembered that he served his brother<sup>1</sup>.'

Battle of  
 the Cata-  
 launian  
 Plains, 451.

Whatever may have been their mutual relations of supremacy and obedience, the three brothers served their Hunnish over-lord faithfully, followed his banners across the rivers and plains of Central Germany, and stood amid the 'crowd of kings<sup>2</sup>' who waited for his nod on the Catalaunian fields. It was a hard thing for them to fight against their Visigothic kindred, but they dared not to refuse the orders of Attila, 'for the compulsion of the master,' thinks Jordanes, 'must be obeyed, even though he should order parricide<sup>3</sup>.' And on that great day, as we have before seen<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> 'Ex quibus per successionem parentum Valamir in regnum conscendit, adhuc Hunnis eos inter alias gentes generaliter optinentibus. Eratque tunc in tribus his germanis contemplatio grata, quando mirabilis Thiudimer pro fratris Valamir militabat imperio, Valamir vero pro altero jubebat ornando (? juvabat ornando or jubebat ordinando). Vidimer servire fratribus aestimabat.' (Jord. de Reb. Get. xlvi.) It is impossible to translate Jordanes without paraphrasing him.

<sup>2</sup> 'Turba regum,' Jord. xxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. xlvi.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ii. p. 143.

Walamir the Ostrogoth, trusty, good-tempered, open-hearted, shared with the Gepid Ardaric the honour of being admitted to the inmost counsels of the moody barbarian.

Then came, close upon Attila's death, the glorious day of Netad, when the German tribes which had deemed themselves compelled to do his bidding, even though the deed were parricide, faced his sons in fight, and broke the Hunnish yoke from off their necks. Thus were the Ostrogoths once more free after eighty years of subjection, and pressing, as we may suppose, westwards and southwards, to fill up the vacuum caused by the extrusion of the Huns, they came into possession of the once flourishing but now, no doubt, grievously wasted province of Pannonia. There must have been some recognition, however faint, of the Roman right to this province, some relation of covenanted service (foederatio) to be rendered to Valentinian III in return for its occupation, for Jordanes distinctly says that 'they preferred to seek lands from the Roman realm, rather than at their peril to invade the lands of others, and thus they *accepted* Pannonia . . . a country adorned with a great number of cities, from Sirmium at one end to Vindobona (Vienna) at the other.' At this time the relation of the Ostrogoths to the Empire was probably almost the same as that of their Visigothic brethren forty years earlier, when Walia obtained possession by treaty of the district of Septimania in Aquitaine.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 1.

Yoke of the Huns thrown off, 454.

Occupy Pannonia as Foederati of the Empire.

As to the precise distribution of the Pannonian

BOOK IV. territory between the three brothers, Jordanes  
 CH. 1. does not give a very clear account. He says  
 Geographical position that 'Walamir dwelt between the rivers Scar-  
 of the king- niunga and the Black Water, Theudemir next  
 doms of the to Lake Pelso, and Widemir between the other  
 three bro- two.' Unfortunately, it seems hopeless to attempt  
 thers. to identify the two rivers; and even as to the  
 lake, there is a certain degree of hesitation be-  
 tween Neusiedler See in the north-west corner of  
 Hungary, and Platten See, more than a hundred  
 miles to the south-east of it. But till local anti-  
 quaries shall have produced some decided argu-  
 ments in favour of another hypothesis, we may  
 perhaps safely assert that Walamir occupied the  
 provinces of Slavonia and Northern Croatia  
 which lie between the rivers Drave and Save,  
 that Theudemir ruled a broad belt of country  
 between the Danube and the Platten See, and  
 that the triangle between the Platten See, the  
 Save and the Danube was allotted to the youngest  
 brother Widemir<sup>1</sup>.

Walamir's  
 fight with  
 the Huns.

Their old lords the Huns would not accept  
 the verdict of the day of Netad as final, but still  
 considered the Ostrogoths as absconding slaves.  
 The sons of Attila came with a great host against  
 Walamir, before his brothers were apprised of his

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that the Roman division between Pannonia Prima, Valeria, and Savia was adopted by the three brothers. The difficulty in the way of accepting this plausible hypothesis is that it renders it impossible to assign the Platten See to Theudemir and to place Widimir strictly between his brothers.

danger. He met them, we are told, with an army BOOK IV. greatly inferior in numbers, but so bravely with- CH. 1. stood their onset that only a comparatively small part of the invading army was able to escape to their new abodes near the mouth of the mighty stream which the Huns called in their own language Var, but which was just then beginning to be known in Europe by its modern name, the Dnieper<sup>1</sup>. The news of this successful engagement came to the palace of Theudemir on the very day on which 'the boy of good omen,' THEODORIC, was born to him by his concubine, Erelieva. Notwithstanding the word which implies the inferior position of the mother of Theodoric, he was always treated as lawful heir to his father, and the widowed Erelieva seems to have maintained the position which would belong to Queen-mother in a half-civilised people. It is probable, therefore, that, though she was of inferior birth to her husband, the union between them was one sanctioned by the Church, somewhat resembling the morganatic marriages of modern Germany, but unlike those as conveying full right of inheritance to the offspring, at any rate where there was not a subsequent marriage to a woman of higher rank<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Eas partes Scythiae peteret quas Danabri amnis fluenta praetermeant, quam linguâ suâ Hunni Var appellant.' Thus reads Mommsen instead of the old lections Danubii and Hunnivar (in one word). He remarks that the Hungarians to this day call a river *var*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Freeman's remarks on 'Danish Marriages' (Norman

Birth of  
Theodoric  
the Great,  
454.

BOOK IV.      Something must be said as to the *name* of the  
 CH. 1.      infant over whose arrival the household of Theu-  
 Name of      demir were rejoicing when the messenger of  
 Theodoric.      Walamir dashed into the court-yard of the palace  
 and shouted 'Victory!' Like the two Visigoths,  
 father and son, who reigned at Toulouse and  
 fought with Attila, his name is indelibly written  
 in the pages of history as *Theodoric*. This form  
 of the name became current so early (we meet  
 with it in the letters of Sidonius and the annals  
 of Prosper), and obtained so wide a circulation,  
 that it is useless now to seek to change it. But  
 it is right to notice that the true form of the  
 name, which is very fairly represented by the  
*Theuderichus*<sup>1</sup> of the Byzantine historians, is  
 THIUDA-REIKS<sup>2</sup>, and signifies 'the people-ruler'<sup>3</sup>.  
 It is a curious coincidence that the name is  
 nearly equivalent in meaning to that of the  
 Athenian orator Demosthenes<sup>4</sup>. One might have

Conquest, i. Note X): 'The essence of this kind of connexion seems to be that the woman is the man's wife, but that the man is not the woman's husband. He can evidently leave her at pleasure, but there is no recorded instance of her leaving him.'

<sup>1</sup> Θεωδέρικος (in Malchus, Procopius, Joannes Antiochenus, &c.). The form Theodericus with an *e* seems to be also almost invariably that which occurs in inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> In Gothic characters ΦΙΝΔΛΡΕΙΚΣ.

<sup>3</sup> On the termination -reiks, see vol. i. p. 274. This part of the name is common to it with Alaric, Genseric, and many more. Observe that *thiuda*=people, *thiudans*=king, a striking proof that the king was conceived of as representing the concentrated force of the nation.

<sup>4</sup> The precise equivalent, I suppose, would be Democrates, or rather Laocrates, if there were such a name.

expected that the courtly and scholarly Cassiodorus, who so faithfully served Theodoric as secretary, would have availed himself of this resemblance in some one of the many harangues which he prepared for his master to deliver to the Roman Senate or to the envoys of foreign courts<sup>1</sup>.

But this is an anticipation. We return to the young Teuton, with the yellow locks falling to his shoulders, playing with his toy broad-sword in his father's palace. There came a day, bitter without doubt and memorable to the childish heart, but fraught with future good, when he had to leave his mother and his brother, the Danube and the fresh air of the Pannonian highlands, his folk and the old warriors' songs at night-fall about the great deeds of his Amal forefathers, and had to spend ten years of heart-ache, but also of keen interest and thought-stimulating wonder, in the purple presence-chamber of the Caesar at Constantinople. The change came to pass on this wise. When Theodoric was seven years old the Ostrogothic brothers found that the tribute, which

His childhood.

Gothic grievances.

<sup>1</sup> It may be asked, Why was the name Thiuda-reiks so early and so persistently altered into Theodericus? I suspect that the answer is contained in the words of Sidonius (Ep. ii. 1, already quoted, vol. ii. p. 336), 'leges Theodosianas calcans, Theodoricianasque proponens.' There is really no philological connexion between *θεός* and *thiuda*, but the names of the Gothic king and the Roman emperor were so much alike already that, by a well-known process, popular speech made the resemblance still closer.

BOOK IV. under the delicate euphemism of *Strenae*<sup>1</sup> (New  
 CH. 1. Year's presents) they had been taught to look for  
 from the Emperor Leo<sup>2</sup>, was falling into arrear. They sent envoys to Constantinople to enquire into the cause of the delay, and the report which these messengers brought back made the grievance greater.

There was a certain Gothic chieftain, the son of Triarius, (of whom there will be more to say hereafter,) at the Byzantine court. This man was a kinsman of the great Aspar, had perhaps been on friendly terms with Leo, when the future Emperor was only a sort of upper steward of their common patron<sup>3</sup>, and therefore he, coming from some quite inferior stock, with no claim to Amal ancestry,

<sup>1</sup> The word which still survives in the French *étrennes*. We are told by Suetonius (Tib. xxxiv) that Tiberius by one of his sumptuary laws forbade 'strenarum commercium, ne ultra Calendas Januarias exerceretur,' an edict as suitable for Paris as for Rome. The text of Jordanes (De Reb. Get. lii.) in Mommsen's edition is as follows: 'Consueta dum tardarent dona a principe Marciano quae ad instar *strenuae* acciperent.' Gruter has the merit of striking out the word 'gentis' after 'strenuae' which obscured the meaning of the passage. The variation between the forms *strenae*, *strenuae*, and *streniae* is partly explained by the statement in Symmachus' Epistles (x. 28) quoted in White and Riddell's Dictionary (s. v.).

<sup>2</sup> Jordanes says that *Marcian* promised and then withheld these gifts (see previous note), but this seems to me exceedingly improbable when we remember his steadfast refusal to pay tribute to Attila. Moreover, Marcian died at the beginning of 457, when Jordanes was certainly under three years old, instead of seven. If Leo was on the throne, the extraordinary favour shown to Theodoric the son of Triarius, the relation of Aspar, Leo's patron, becomes also more probable.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. ii. p. 451.



was honoured with the friendship of the Romans BOOK IV.  
and was punctually receiving his yearly honora- CH. 1.  
rium, while the Amals were left to poverty and  
contempt. The insult was too exasperating; War.  
they rushed to arms, and ravaged Moesia far  
and wide<sup>1</sup>. Then the Emperor repented of his  
previous inattention to their demands. Peace  
was arranged; the arrears of *strenae* were at  
once handed over, and their punctual payment  
in future was guaranteed. On their part the Treaty.  
Ostrogoths must have undertaken to confine their  
roving to the northern shores of the Danube;  
and in pledge of their future fidelity the  
eldest Amal heir, Theodoric, was to be sent  
as a hostage to Constantinople. Theudemir de- Theodoric  
sent to Con-  
stantinople  
as a host-  
age.  
murred to this proposal, that he should send his  
boy to live among unsympathising strangers; but  
when Walamir, who might have commanded as  
his lord, besought him as a brother, and urged  
the importance of ratifying a firm peace between  
Goths and Romans, he consented. So was the  
young prince brought to Constantinople, where,  
being a handsome noble-spirited boy, he soon en-  
deared himself greatly to the Emperor Leo.

After the conclusion of the treaty with the Em- Obscure  
wars.  
pire, which the Goths appear to have observed faith-  
fully during the ten years of Theodoric's tarrance

<sup>1</sup> Jordanes says, 'Illyricum pene totum discurrentes in praedâ devastant.' But the *province* of Illyricum (Dalmatia &c.) at this time still belonged to the Western Empire. If he means the *prefecture*, 'pene totum' is one of his usual exaggerations.

BOOK IV. at Constantinople, there followed some obscure  
 CH. I. and uninteresting struggles with the barbarous  
 nations on their northern and eastern borders. The Ostrogoths moved against the Sadages, an Alan or Hunnish tribe whose geographical position we need not trouble ourselves to discuss<sup>1</sup>. Seeing them thus occupied, Dinzio, one of the sons of Attila who dwelt on their southern border, crossed the Danube with the warriors of four barbarous clans which still followed his standard<sup>2</sup> and besieged Bassiana<sup>3</sup>, once a Roman city of some importance, and containing a *gynaeceum*, or manufactory, in which a century before female slaves wove the purple robe of the Emperor and the linen tunics of his soldiery<sup>4</sup>. Now, the Hunnish chieftain, finding it inaccessible to his storming parties, drew a line of circumvallation round it and proceeded to plunder the surrounding country. While he was thus engaged, the Ostrogoths, who had turned back from their expedition against the Sadages, attacked the Huns and drove them

<sup>1</sup> 'Qui interiorem Pannoniam possidebant,' says Jordanes, (cap. liii). Zeuss (p. 709) corrects to 'inferiorem,' which certainly seems more probable. In cap. l. Jordanes places the Sadagarii (apparently the same tribe) in the Lesser Scythia and the Lower Moesia.

<sup>2</sup> Ultinzures, Angisciri, Bittugures, Bardores, according to Jordanes, who however has a genius for distorting proper names till they become hopelessly unrecognisable.

<sup>3</sup> Bassiana is placed by Mommsen (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. iii.) on the Raab in Hungary, about twenty miles east of Stein-am-Anger.

<sup>4</sup> *Notitia Occidentis*, cap. x.

forth from Pannonia, so utterly defeated, SAYS BOOK IV.  
Jordanes, that the men of that nation ever after CH. 1.  
trembled before the Gothic name.

The next encounters of the Goths were with the Position of  
the Suevi.  
Suevi or Suavi, a portion of that wide-spread confederacy of peoples which presents to us some of the most difficult problems of German ethnology. Caesar tells us of his encounters with the Suevic Ariovistus on the Rhine. Tacitus makes them stretch across Germany from the sources of the Danube to the Vistula, and paints for us the splendid but short-lived empire erected by the Suevic Maroboduus in that which we now call Bohemia. In a previous part of this history we have seen the Suevi pressing, with the Vandals, across the Rhine into Gaul, across the Pyrenees into Spain, and founding a kingdom in the latter country, which, though eventually destroyed by the Visigoths, is thought by some to have contributed a trace of separate Suevic nationality to the modern Portuguese : and we have also seen the Suevic chieftain Ricimer arrayed as a Roman patrician, disposing of the destinies of Rome at his pleasure, setting up and dethroning emperors, marrying the daughter of Anthemius, and bidding Avitus assume the tonsure of a priest. The Suevi with whom we are now concerned dwelt in the south-west corner of Germany, in the region which is now known as the Black Forest, and away eastwards along the Upper Danube, perhaps as far as the river Lech. They were already

mingled with the Alamanni of the mountains, a process which was no doubt carried yet further when, some thirty years after the time now reached by us, Clovis overthrew the monarchy of the Alamanni, whom he drove remorselessly forth from all the lands north of the Neckar. The result of these migrations and alliances was the formation of the two great Duchies with which we are so familiar in the mediaeval history of Germany, Suabia, and Franconia. Suabia, which is a convertible term with Alamannia, represents the land left to the mingled Suevi and Alamanni; Franconia that occupied east of the Rhine by the intrusive Franks. The reason for calling attention to this geographical detail here is that in the passage of Jordanes which we have now before us we see most clearly the transition from the Suevi of Caesar and Tacitus to the *Swabia* from which the great Hohenstaufen Emperors took their ducal title<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The words of Jordanes (lv) are, 'Nam regio illa Suavorum ab oriente Baibaros [=Bajoarios] habet, ab occidente Francos, a meridie Burgundzones, a septentrione Thuringos. Quibus Suavis tunc juncti aderant etiam Alamanni ipsique Alpes erectos omnino regentes, unde nonnulla fluenta Danubium influunt nimio cum sonu vergentia.' The MSS. waver between Suavi and Suevi. The geography, as usual with Jordanes, is not quite clear. The Bavarians to the east are all right, but Franks on the west should have been Burgundians. The Burgundians on the south may be perhaps partly justified by the Burgundian occupation of a large part of Switzerland: but for the Thuringians on the north we should certainly substitute the Franks, since the territory which lay to the south of the

The war between Ostrogoths and Suevi arose in this wise. Hunimund king of the Suevi made a raid on some portion of the Roman territory<sup>1</sup>, and in order to reach it had to cross the lands of the Ostrogoths, whose wandering cattle his people appropriated. Cattle, it need hardly be said, were emphatically the wealth of these early Teutonic communities<sup>2</sup>; and, just as the Fosters and Armstrongs of Northumberland resented and requited a cattle-lifting foray of the Kerrs or Scotts from the Scottish side of the Border, so did Walamir and his brothers watch their opportunity to repay the Sueves for their depredations. In the dead of

BOOK IV.  
CH. I.  
War with  
the Suevi.

Thuringians was now occupied by the Bavarians. In other words, the diagram suggested by Jordanes,

	Thuringians	
Franks	SUAVI	Bavarians
	Burgundians,	

must be replaced by this,

Burgundians	SUAVI	Bavarians
	Burgundians.	

I am inclined to think that 'the waterfall pouring into the *Danube*,' of which Jordanes speaks, is really meant for Schaffhausen. There is a source of confusion in the fact that *the Roman province of Savia*—the modern Slavonia between the Drave and Save—is called *Suavia* both by Cassiodorus (see Var. ix. 8) and his copyist Jordanes (liii, 'Dalmatia Suaviae vicina erat'). Of course this has nothing to do with Sueves or Swabians, though Jordanes confuses the two.

<sup>1</sup> Dalmatia, says Jordanes, but a march from the sources of the Danube across Pannonia to Dalmatia is highly improbable.

<sup>2</sup> *Faihu* (connected with the German 'vieh'), originally meaning 'cattle,' is used in Ulfilas also for wealth in the abstract, and the Aramaic Mammon is translated by *Faihu-thraithms*, a 'heap of treasure.'

BOOK IV. night they came upon them encamped by the lake  
 CH. I. Pelso, slew many with the sword, made a prisoner  
 of King Hunimund, and reduced the bulk of his  
 army to slavery. After a time, however, and  
 apparently after the death of King Hunimund,  
 Walamir effected some sort of reconciliation with  
 his son, and sent him back with his followers to  
 their native Suavia. The generous forgiveness,  
 which Jordanes praises, was probably due to the  
 difficulty of obtaining subsistence for the added  
 multitude and the danger of enslaving so large a  
 people, as martial probably as their conquerors.

The war  
 renewed.

After a further lapse of time (we have now  
 probably reached the year 470) the son of Huni-  
 mund, remembering the shame of the defeat rather  
 than the boasted clemency of the conqueror, made  
 a sudden assault upon the Ostrogoths, having  
 leagued himself with their northern neighbours  
 the Scyri. In the battle which ensued King  
 Walamir was thrown from his horse and at once  
 perished, pierced through and through with Suevic  
 lances. Jordanes obscures the real issue of the  
 contest by saying that in their rage for the loss of  
 their king the Ostrogoths blotted out the name  
 of the Scyri from under heaven: but it is evident  
 that the true result of these operations was not  
 only the death of Walamir but a severe defeat  
 of his people.

Death of  
 Walamir.

War with  
 the Suevi  
 and Scyri.

Theudemir, the next oldest brother, assumed the  
 chief kingship and fought a bloody battle with the  
 Suevi and Scyri, who had also confederated with

themselves the Gepidae, the Rugians, and a race BOOK IV. designated by the conveniently vague term of CH. 1. Sarmatians<sup>1</sup>. This great confederacy was defeated by the Ostrogoths, now prepared and united, upon the banks of the Bollia (perhaps the modern Ipoly). After the battle the field presented the usual spectacle of carnage on which Jordanes delights to dwell,—the wide waters of the marsh turned into a red sea, a lake of blood, and the plain for ten miles round covered with artificial hillocks formed from the unburied corpses of the slain. ‘The Goths saw this and rejoiced with unspeakable exultation, feeling that now at length their king Walamir was avenged.’

Another campaign followed, a winter campaign, in which Theudemir, crossing the frozen Danube, and Return of Theodoric, 471 (?). marching perhaps through Moravia and Bohemia, took the Suevi and their confederate Alamanni in the rear, and, falling upon them thus unexpectedly, ‘conquered, wasted, and almost subdued them<sup>2</sup>.’ Returning home the father’s heart was gladdened by the sight of his son Theodoric, now a youth of

<sup>1</sup> It is on this occasion that Jordanes mentions (liv) the names of Edica and Hunnulf, the *primates* of the Scyri. The names certainly resemble those of the father and brother of Odovacar, but I must repeat, more emphatically, the conviction previously expressed (vol. ii. p. 530, n. 1) that the resemblance is purely accidental, and that this passage throws no light on Odovacar’s parentage.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Devicit, vastavit et pene subegit’ is the curious expression of Jordanes. The ‘pene,’ which he has been truthful enough to express here, should probably be understood in connexion with many of the Gothic victories described by him.

BOOK IV. about seventeen years of age, versed doubtless in  
 CH. 1. Roman and courtly ways, if not imbued with Roman literature. The Emperor Leo had sent him back from the Bosphorus to his home with rich presents and high good-will. Scarcely had the young lion-cub reached the lair of his fathers, when he set forth again for his first taste of blood. Gathering to himself some of his father's guards and men of his nation who loved him, to the number of 10,000 men (a precise reproduction of the old Germanic *Comitatus* as described to us by Tacitus<sup>1</sup>), he stole away unknown to his father, crossed the Danube where it formed the south-eastern frontier of Pannonia, and attacked Babai king of the Sarmatians, who was just then swelling with the pride of victory, having recently defeated Camundus<sup>2</sup>, the Roman Duke of Upper Moesia, and taken from the Empire the important city of Singidunum (Belgrade). The young Ostrogoth conquered, wrested Singidunum from the Sarmatian, did not restore it to his Roman patrons, but kept it under his own sway, and returned with his joyous *Comitatus* to his father, having furnished another subject for song to the Gothic minstrels. Either at this time, or else on his return from Constantinople, he seems to have been hailed by his nation as king, of course in subordination to his

His defeat  
of the Sar-  
matians.

<sup>1</sup> 'Haec dignitas, hae vires : magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari in pace decus, in bello praesidium.' Tacitus, *Germania*, xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Jordanes is responsible for this name. If it was really borne by a Roman general, he was no doubt of barbarian origin.



father and uncle. Thirty years later (500), when he was lord of Italy, Dalmatia and Rhaetia, he rode through the streets of Rome celebrating the *tricennalia* of this, his accession to the Gothic throne<sup>1</sup>.

If the Emperor Leo had thought to attach the Ostrogoths firmly to the Empire by his friendly treatment of the young Theodoric, he was disappointed. A foretaste of that which was to come had been afforded by the retention of the Roman city of Singidunum in Gothic hands. Next year (not many months before the death of Leo) the Ostrogoths, who had for some time been coming to the conclusion that Pannonia was too strait for them, and who were hindered, perhaps by the increasing strength and solidity of the Rugian monarchy, from enriching themselves as they wished at the expense of their barbarian neighbours, clamoured to be led forth to war; whither they heeded not, but it was evidently understood that it must be war against some part of the Empire. Theudemir called his brother into council. It was decided that Widemir, as the weaker of the two, should invade Italy, then recently bereft of the

<sup>1</sup> It occurs to me that this must be the meaning of the words of the Anon. Valesii (§ 67), 'Per tricennale triumphans populo ingressus palatium.' The only difficulty is, that as that triumphal entry into Rome took place in A.D. 500, we must date Theodoric's accession not later than 471. But his birth could not be earlier than 454, and Jordanes states that he was eight years old when sent to Constantinople and resided there ten years, which would bring us to 472. It is easy to understand, however, that these are round numbers, and that Theodoric may really have returned and been proclaimed king in 471.

BOOK IV. stout heart of the unscrupulous Ricimer, and, under  
 CH. 1. the rule of the feeble Glycerius, apparently sinking  
 into a mere appanage of Burgundy. The issue of  
 this invasion has been already told<sup>1</sup>. Widemir  
 died in Italy, and his son and namesake led his  
 army into Gaul, where, waiving apparently his  
 royal dignity, he united his forces with those of  
 Euric, king of the Visigoths.

Invasion  
 of Moesia  
 and Mace-  
 donia.

To Theudemir, as the stronger of the two  
 brothers, was assigned the task of attacking the  
 Eastern Empire. He crossed the Save with a  
 formidable host, which imposed neutrality on the  
 Sarmatian borderers. Making his son's new con-  
 quest, Belgrade, his base of operations, he marched  
 a hundred miles up the valley of the Morava to  
 Naissus, now the Servian city of Nisch, where he  
 took up his headquarters. The young Theodoric,  
 with two Gothic counts, probably old and wary  
 officers, Astat and Invilia, as his counsellors, was  
 sent on a rapid southward march. He pushed up  
 the Morava valley for another hundred miles to  
 the source of that river, crossed the western ridge  
 of the Balkans, and descended by the valley of the  
 Axius (*Vardar*), having apparently, in order to  
 circumvent the foe, deviated somewhat from the  
 beaten track and traversed some passes previously  
 deemed inaccessible. Stobi and Heraclea (*Monastir*)  
 in Macedonia, possibly even Larissa in Thessaly<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 493.

<sup>2</sup> Jordanes asserts this, but there may be some confusion  
 with Theodoric's later operations in Thessaly.

fell before him, and yielded a rich booty to his followers. Theudemir, apprised of these brilliant successes of his son, quitted his camp at Naissus and moved forward with the main body of his troops to Thessalonica. That terrible push<sup>1</sup> from Vienna to Salonica, which the diplomacy of our days is so busy with, alternately affirming and denying that Austria contemplates its accomplishment, was actually made, with brisk efficiency, by Theudemir and his son in the spring of 473.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 1.

The Patrician Hilarianus who commanded in Thessalonica, seeing the siege of that city commenced by the barbarians, a wall of circumvallation built, and every sign that they were likely to succeed, opened negotiations with Theudemir. Handsome presents were given to the barbarian chiefs, the old figment of a covenant (*foedus*) between the Empire and her brave Gothic allies was furbished up again; the latter promised to abstain from further ravage, and received in return fertile lands and a group of cities at the head of the Aegean, among which figure the well-known names of Pella, Methone, Pydna, and Berea, for their possession.

The *Foedus*  
renewed.

Shortly after these events Theudemir, the last of the three Amal brethren, died, and his eldest son Theodoric, now twenty years of age, whom he had designated as his heir in the presence of a general assembly of the Goths, succeeded to the sole kingship. By some change, the cause and the

Death of  
Theu-  
demir,  
474 (?).

<sup>1</sup> 'Der Stoss sudwärts' of German politics.

BOOK IV. date of which are entirely hidden from us, the  
CH. I. settlements of the nation were transferred from  
the head of the Aegean to the western shore of  
the Black Sea, where in the region now called  
the Dobrudscha, then known as the Roman province  
of Scythia, the native land of Alaric and  
Aetius, we find them settled in the year 478,  
when we next cross the path of Theodoric.

NOTE A. ON THE ROUTE OF THE OSTROGOTHIC ARMY  
AND THEIR SETTLEMENT IN MACEDONIA.

THE sites of the towns mentioned in the 56th chapter of Jordanes are discussed by Mommsen, C. I. L. iii. p. 268, and in Jordanes, p. 132. NOTE A.

About *Naissus* (Nisch) there is no doubt. *Castra Herculis*, the next place mentioned by Jordanes, is fixed by the Itineraries 14 miles from Naissus, perhaps at the point where a road to Scupi branched off from that to Scodra.

The site of *Ulpiana* is very doubtful. Mommsen seems to think it is generally placed too far south, and that it was really the first stage from *Castra Herculis* on the road to Scupi.

*Stobi* is recovered by modern editors with the help of the Palatine MSS. from the utter confusion of the old text. This had, 'Qui venientes, tam eam, quam et opes mox in deditionem acceperunt.' The Palatine MSS. read 'quam mestobis.' Closs proposed and Mommsen reads 'quam Stobis.' The modern representation of Stobi is believed to be the village of Czerna Gratzko, near the confluence of the Czerna and Vardar (Erigon and Axios). It was an important place as, here, four roads met, from Scupi, Sardica, Heraclea, and Thessalonica. (See Tozer's 'Highlands of Turkey,' i. 376.)

As for the towns granted to the Goths the amended text of Jordanes runs thus:—

'Loca [Gothis] jam sponte, quae incolerent, tradidit, id est Cerru, Pellas, Europa, Mediana, Petina, Bereu et alia quae Sium vocatur' (cap. lvi).

These are identified by Mommsen as

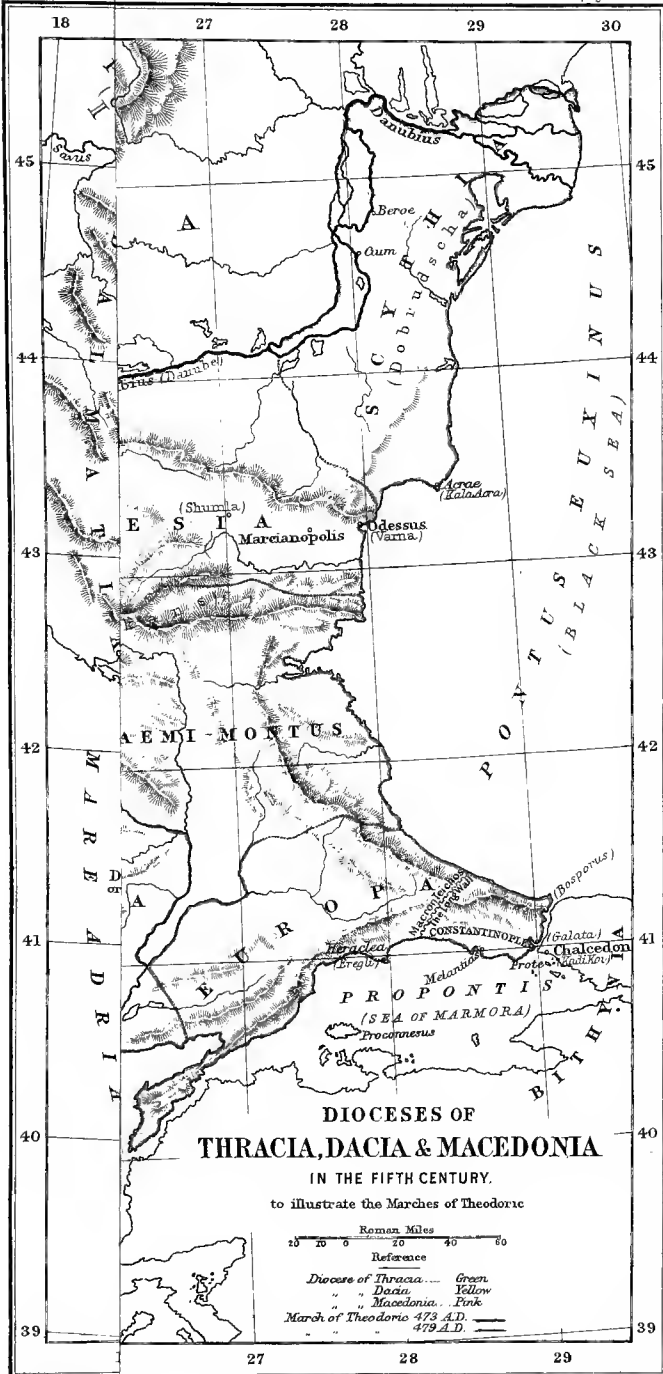
- (1) Cyrrhus.
- (2) Pella, the birthplace of Alexander the Great.
- (3) Europus.

- NOTE A. (4) Methone.  
 (5) Pydna, scene of the defeat of Perseus B.C. 168.  
 (6) Berea, mentioned in Acts of the Apostles, xvii. 10.  
 (7) For Sium he would read Dium, in the Thermaic Gulf.

These towns are all situated in Macedonia Prima near the N. W. angle of the Aegean Sea, and occupy a block of territory perhaps 60 miles long by 30 wide.

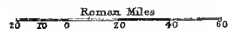
The chief part of these identifications must be right. But seeing that the Antonine Itinerary (224-225) gives us both *Beroe* and *Cium* on the eastern shore of the Lower Danube, in that very province of Scythia where we next meet with Theodoric's allotment, I am disposed to suggest that Jordanes, misled perhaps by the resemblance between Berea and Beroe, has run two lists into one, and that the words 'Bereu et alia quae Sium vocatur' belonged in Cassiodorus to the later settlement of the Goths, that in the Dobrudscha, which he probably described here but which Jordanes has omitted.

It is always safe to suspect a blunder in Jordanes, and we must remember that according to his own account all his notes from Cassiodorus had to be completed in three days.



**DIOCESES OF  
THRACIA, DACIA & MACEDONIA**  
IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.

to illustrate the Marches of Theodoris



- Reference
- Diocese of Thracia..... Green
  - "    Dacia..... Yellow
  - "    Macedonia..... Pink
  - March of Theodoris 473 A.D. ———
  - 479 A.D. - - - -





## CHAPTER II.

### THE REIGN OF ZENO.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources* :—

MALCHUS (see vol. ii. p. 517) lived probably about the end of the fifth century. He came from Philadelphia in Palestine to Constantinople, where he taught as a Sophist, and attained considerable eminence as a rhetorician. Unlike many of his fellow historians, he was a professed Christian. His history called *Byzantiaca*, in seven books, was read by Photius, who praises its purity of diction and elevation of style, and calls it the model of what a history ought to be. The portion of it with which Photius was acquainted reached from the death of Leo I (thus forming a continuation of the work of Priscus) to the death of Nepos, Emperor of the West (474-480): but there is reason to believe that the entire work reached from the reign of Constantine the Great to that of Anastasius (306-491). Unfortunately we know it only by a very short compendium in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, by a few biographical notices extracted from it by Suidas, and by the excerpts made by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his 'History of Embassies,' which are extremely valuable and interesting, but break off abruptly as soon as the story of each particular embassy is finished.

CANDIDUS the Isaurian, born in that part of Isauria which was called the Rugged (*Τραχεῖα* = *Aspera*), came to Constantinople and obtained employment as a notary or registrar (*ὑπογραφεύς*) at the time when the fortunes of his countrymen were in the ascendant. He probably left the

BOOK IV. capital at the time of the general emigration of the  
 CH. 2. Isaurians on the death of Zeno (491). He was a Christian and an adherent of the council of Chalcedon. He wrote, probably soon after 491, the history of the times from the accession of Leo to that of Anastasius (457-491). This work would have been of great value, as giving the Isaurian version of the acts of Zeno and his countrymen, but unfortunately we possess it only in the Compendium (a tolerably full one) inserted by Photius in his Bibliotheca. Photius says that the style of this author is wanting in historic composure, that he uses poetical phrases without taste and like a very young writer, and that, altogether, the effect is harsh, dithyrambic, and unpleasing. This description seems to bring before us an excited party-pamphlet written by an imperfectly educated Asiatic Highlander, after the fall of himself and his party from power. To the amusement of his critic he derives the name of his country, Isauria, from Esau.

EUSTATHIUS of Epiphania in Syria wrote a history of the events from the beginning of time down to the 12th year of Anastasius (502), shortly after which date he died. This history is known to us almost entirely by the extracts made from it by EVAGRIUS the ecclesiastical historian, who himself lived between 536 and 600. He says that Eustathius wrote 'very elegantly' (*μετὰ τῆς ἐς ἄγαν κομψείας*). Evagrius is also himself an authority of some importance, even where he does not professedly base himself upon Eustathius.

(These three authors are here quoted, as from Müller's 'Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum,' vol. iv. (Paris, 1868). They are also contained in the Bonn edition of the Byzantine Historians.)

THEODORUS LECTOR compiled an ecclesiastical history reaching from the times of Constantine to those of Justinian. He was probably a contemporary of the latter emperor, and perhaps survived till the reign of Justin II (565-578). His work is chiefly known to us by extracts made by Nicephorus Callistus (14th cent.), also by a few fragments preserved by Joannes Damascenus (8th cent.) and others.

There is reason to think that Theophanes, and perhaps other historians, borrowed largely from him. Notwithstanding the fragmentary condition in which his works have come down to us, he must be considered one of our best authorities for the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 2.

(Compare the excellent article on this writer in Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.' Considering the commonness of the name Theodore, it does not appear necessary to accept the suggestion there made that he is the same Theodore who saw the fall of a statue in the reign of Philippicus (711-713) and thus to make him an authority only of the eighth century).

JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS flourished probably in the middle of the seventh century, say between 610 and 650, and composed a history reaching from the mythological period to the reign of the emperor Phocas (602-610), of which we possess some fragments. In the earlier portions he compiles extensively from Dion, Eutropius, and other well-known authors. 'For the reign of Zeno,' as C. Müller remarks (from whose edition quotations are here made), 'he has followed some author, whom we know not, of excellent quality, and the fragments in Joannes relating to this reign are of the greatest importance.' He seems to have been in his turn copied from by Joannes *Malalas*, also of Antioch, who flourished about 700, and with whom he has been sometimes confused.

JOANNES LYDUS, an officer in the law-courts of Justinian, writing about 553, gives us an unfavourable estimate of Zeno's character.

THEOPHANES (758-816) and the PASCHAL (OR ALEXANDRIAN) CHRONICLE (about 630) furnish as usual some curious details, probably copied from contemporary authors, but which have to be used with caution on account of their late date.

The only chroniclers in Roncalli's collection who are of any service to us here are COMES MARCELLINUS (about 534) and VICTOR TUNNUNENSIS (who died in 569).

BOOK IV. *Guides* :—CH. 2.

It will be seen from the above list that we have a good deal of contemporary or nearly contemporary information for this period, but that it has reached us in a very fragmentary state. This makes it difficult to construct a continuous narrative, and is probably one reason why the reign of Zeno has been so slightly noticed, except by ecclesiastical historians. The only guide whom I have found of much value is the ever-patient Tillemont, whose accurate digest of history is especially helpful when we have to deal with such materials as these. There is also a very good article on Illus, by J. C. Meaus, in Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.'

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 CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGN OF ZENO.

CONSULS <sup>1</sup> .	EVENTS.	DATE.
LEO JUNIOR. .	Leo I died (3 Feb.). Zeno proclaimed Emperor (9 Feb.). Leo II died (Nov.)	474
ZENO (II) . .	Usurpation of Basiliscus. Flight of Zeno (Clinton says in November; but how reconcile this with the statement of Joan. Ant. that Zeno's flight was on the ninth day of his consulship?).	475
BASILISCUS (II), ARMATUS (or Harmatius).	(Deposition of Romulus Augustulus).	476
POST CONSULA- TUM BASILISCI ET ARMATI.	Fall of Basiliscus (July). Embassies from Rome.	477
ILLUS . . . .	The two Theodorics coalesce against the Empire.	478

<sup>1</sup> Those who represented the West are marked with W.

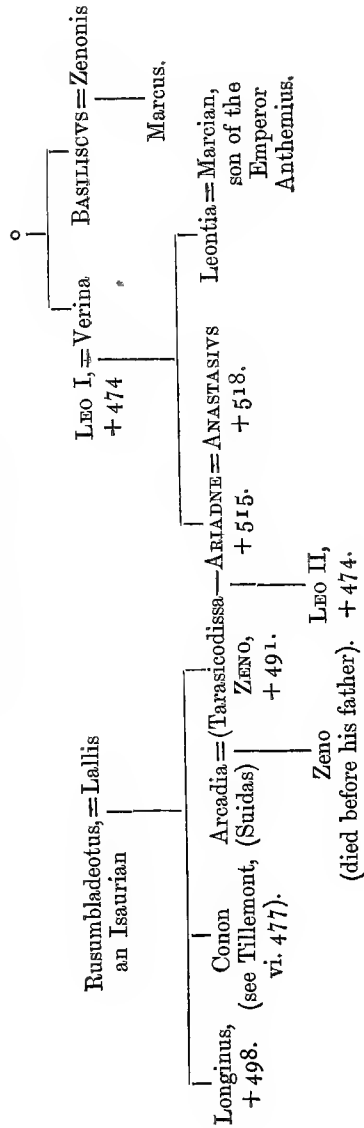
## Chronological Table.

CONSULS.	EVENTS.	DATE.	BOOK IV. CH. 2.
ZENO (III) . .	Theodoric, son of Triarius, enters Zeno's service. Revolt of Marcian. Campaign of Theodoric the Amal in Epirus Nova.	479	
BASILIUS JUNIOR. W.	Earthquake at Constantinople (24 Sep.).	480	
PLACIDUS . .	Deaths of Theodoric son of Triarius, and of Sabinianus.	481	
TROCONDUS AND SEVERINUS.	Theodoric the Amal ravages Thessaly and Macædonia. The Henoticon (according to Clinton in 483).	482	
FAUSTUS. W. .	Theodoric made <i>Magister Militiæ Praesentalis</i> .	483	
THEODORICUS AND VENANTIUS. W.	Revolt of Illus and Verina. Leontius proclaimed emperor. Enters Antioch (27 June).	484	
Q. AURELIUS SYMMACHUS. W.	Release of Longinus by Illus after ten years' captivity . .	} 485	} War with Illus and Leontius
DECIUS AND LONGINUS.	. . . . .		
FL. BOETHIUS. W.	Theodoric approaches Constantinople with his army . .		
DYNAMIUS AND SIFIDIUS.	Theodoric starts for Italy. Illus and Leontius taken and beheaded . . . . .	487	
ANICIUS PROBINUS (W.) AND EUSEBIUS.	. . . . .	488	
LÓNGINUS (II) AND FAUSTUS. W.	Zeno puts Pelagius to death. Flight of Arcadius.	489	
OLYBRIUS . .	Death of Zeno (9 April). Accession of Anastasius.	490	
		491	

(Isaurian Rebellion, 492-497.)

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 2.

GENEALOGY OF ZENO.



We have now followed the fortunes of the young Ostrogoth down to the time when he settled as a Gothic *foederatus* in the home provinces of the Eastern Empire. In order to understand his subsequent career, and even in order rightly to appreciate the scanty notices of his future rival, Odovacar, as ruler of Italy, we must grasp the connection of events in that city which was now virtually the capital of the world, the New Rome beside the Thracian Bosphorus; we must, at the cost of some little repetition, trace the outline of the reign of the Emperor Zeno.

This Emperor, as the reader may remember, bore at first the barbarous name and style of Tarasicodissa, the son of Rusumbladeotus, a name which he changed to Zeno, in memory of one of his countrymen who a generation previously had climbed up to greatness in the Roman State<sup>1</sup>. He came from Isauria, that wild upland region on the northern skirts of Mount Taurus, between Cilicia and Phrygia, which Paul and Barnabas traversed in their missionary journey to Derbe and Lystra, but which the Roman legionary for three centuries after Christ found it difficult to penetrate and impossible to subdue. The part which this obscure mountainous corner of Asia Minor played in the politics of the Lower Empire is truly extraordinary.

<sup>1</sup> τὴν προσηγορίαν προσκτησάμενον ἔκ τιως παρα τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἐς μέγα κλέος ἐληλυθότος, οὕτω προσαγορευομένου (Evagrius, ii. 15). According to Tillemont's probable conjecture this was Flavius Zeno, the Isaurian, Magister Militum in Oriente, and Consul in 448. (Compare vol. ii. pp. 100 and 104.)

BOOK IV. We shall find that Zeno and his Isaurian country-  
 CH. 2. men were, for near twenty years, the dreaded and hated lords of Constantinople. They depart and disappear for a time, but, two centuries later, another Isaurian, the hero-emperor Leo III, ascends the throne, commences and all but carries through a mighty religious reformation (the Iconoclastic), and transmits his throne to a son whose reign with his own makes up a period of sixty years, the most glorious and the most successful in the whole later history of the Roman Empire. The peculiar position thus occupied by the Isaurians is no doubt explained by the fact that these tameless mountaineers had in great measure preserved their freedom. They had not passed, like the wealthier inhabitants of the plains, between the mill-stones of the Byzantine despotism. Their country was the Switzerland of the Eastern Empire.

Leo III  
 and Con-  
 stantine V,  
 716-775.

Circum-  
 stances of  
 Zeno's ac-  
 cession.

From the ranks of the Isaurian adventurers who made their way to the capital the Emperor Leo, who needed all the support which he could obtain against the party of the domineering Aspar, selected Tarasicodissa, who was perhaps the best-born among them, and bestowed upon him in marriage his elder daughter Ariadne. At the death of Leo, his grandchild, the younger Leo, a child of seven years old, son of Zeno and Ariadne, already associated with his grandfather in the Empire and proclaimed consul for the year, succeeded without opposition to the throne. Naturally his reign would have implied for some years to come the regency of

3 Feb. 474.



his parents; but, to make sure, Ariadne instructed her child, when his father came to make obeisance before him in the Hippodrome, to place on his head the imperial diadem. The precaution was a wise one, for in nine months the child-emperor died. The charge brought against Zeno by one writer, distant from the scene<sup>1</sup>, of having procured the death of his own child, must be dismissed as unworthy of belief, since none of the Greek writers, not even those who canvass his actions the most bitterly, have dared to insinuate it.

It cannot be said that the new Emperor did anything to justify his predecessor's selection of him as a son-in-law. He was quite incapable in the field, 'not only a coward but a wretch, an emperor who could not bear even the picture of a battle,' says one of our authorities<sup>2</sup>. This author proceeds to say that Zeno's only notion of conquest was by buying off his foes, for which purpose he laid upon his subordinates the duty of raising as much money as possible by exactions and confiscations. Another historian<sup>3</sup> gives a somewhat different account of the cause of Zeno's financial misgovernment. He says that this Emperor was not so cruel, passionate, or avaricious as his predecessor, but that he was ambitious and vain, with no real knowledge of affairs nor formed habits of business. He was

<sup>1</sup> Victor Tunnunensis.

<sup>2</sup> Joannes Lydus; writing, it is true, about 550 or some sixty years after the death of Zeno, but all the less likely to have any personal prejudice against him.

<sup>3</sup> Malchus (ap. Müller, iv. 118).

BOOK IV. thus exposed to endless speculation on the part  
 CH. 2. of the officials of his exchequer, and at the same  
 time squandered with lavish hand the carefully-  
 hoarded treasures of his father-in-law among his  
 greedy Isaurian friends. This incapacity for busi-  
 ness, again, made him dependent on his underlings,  
 especially on one Sebastian, who was Praetorian  
 Prefect during a large part of his reign<sup>1</sup>, and  
 who possessed an extraordinary influence over  
 his master. Like the eunuch Eutropius, ninety  
 years before, Sebastian put up offices and govern-  
 ments for sale as in a market, and suffered no  
 business to be transacted in the palace upon  
 which he did not levy his toll<sup>2</sup>. Some part of  
 the gain of this unblushing traffic he graciously  
 shared with the Emperor, but if the latter had  
 bestowed an office on one of his own friends,  
 the favourite would insist on buying it at a small  
 price from the recipient, that he might re-sell  
 it at a high figure to one of the attenders of his  
 auction-mart.

Frequent  
 rebellions  
 against  
 him.

An Emperor thus governing, of discreditable  
 private character<sup>3</sup> and strengthened by no deep

<sup>1</sup> In 475, 480, and 484, and probably in most of the inter-  
 vening years; Tillemont, vi. 478.

<sup>2</sup> We have in Malchus (p. 120) an interesting note of the  
 tariff of prices at this time: 'The governor of Egypt (Prae-  
 fectus Augustalis?), who had previously obtained his commis-  
 sion for something under 50 lbs. of gold (£2,000), now had  
 to pay 500 (£20,000) on account of the increased prosperity  
 of the province.'

<sup>3</sup> Evagrius says (iii. 1) that Zeno, on becoming sole emperor,  
 abandoned himself to every kind of unlawful and disgraceful

roots of ancestral claim to the loyalty of his sub-BOOK IV.  
jects, was sure to find his right to rule challenged CH. 2.  
by usurpers; and in fact the history of the reign of Zeno is chiefly a history of the rebellions against him. The course of these rebellions is drearily similar. With a certain tenacity of purpose, which perhaps explains Leo's selection of him, Zeno generally succeeds in holding on to power. Some popular officer delivers him from the rival of the moment, and becomes for the time 'the man whom the king delighteth to honour.' Then he too falls under suspicion, the Emperor or Empress intrigues against his life; he is forced to make himself the mouth-piece of the popular discontent. Another rebellion and another deliverance by a champion who is doomed to experience the imperial ingratitude, and so the dismal round recommences. Add to the already enumerated causes of discontent the fires, never long smouldering in this reign, of religious bigotry, the incessant battle-cries, 'Nestorian,' 'Eutychian,' 'The Council of Chalcedon,' 'The Council of Nicaea;' add also the intrigues of Verina, the Emperor's mother-in-law, one of the most odious women who ever stepped inside the purple chamber at Constantinople, and the reader will have some idea of the events which formed the staple of the reign of Zeno.

The rebellion of Basiliscus was the first of the

pleasure, and that he scorned to practise any concealment of his vices, appearing to think that there was something grand and emperor-like in parading his immorality before the public.

BOOK IV. series<sup>1</sup>. It was on the ninth day after his accession to the office of Consul, when Zeno was sitting in the Hippodrome presiding over the games, that he received a message from his mother-in-law desiring him to come to her with all speed. He obeyed, and when he reached her chamber, Verina informed him that the generals, the senate, the people, all were united in the resolution to depose him, and that his only safety was in flight. Without a struggle he appears to have given up the prize of empire, took with him his wife Ariadne and his mother Lallis, and such of the imperial treasures as he could pile upon his horses and mules, and stole away by night accompanied by many of his Isaurian fellow-countrymen. Still wearing the rich imperial robes in which he had presided in the Hippodrome, he crossed the Bosphorus to Chalcedon, and was soon in the heart of Asia Minor. Thus did Basiliscus, Verina's brother, find himself at length in possession of the diadem which he had coveted with an insane desire<sup>2</sup>. He associated his son Marcus with him in the empire, and in their joint names issued edicts for the regulation of Church affairs<sup>3</sup>. These edicts were to the

<sup>1</sup> ii. 537-8.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 454.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the circular letters in Evagrius, iii. 4 and 7: 'The Emperor Caesar Basiliscus, pious, victorious, triumphant, supreme, ever-worshipful Augustus, and Marcus the most illustrious Caesar, to Timotheus (Solophaciolus) archbishop of the great city of the Alexandrians, most reverend and blessed of God.' In this circular he anathematizes, not only Nestorius, but also 'the so-called *tome* of Leo [Pope Leo I], and all things

utmost extent of his power in the interests of the BOOK IV.  
 Monophysite party, of which he, and still more his CH. 2.  
 wife Zenonis<sup>1</sup>, were fanatical adherents. Peter the  
 Fuller was reinstated at Antioch, Timothy the  
 Weasel at Alexandria. Everywhere the opponents  
 of the decrees of Chalcedon began to take heart,  
 and its adherents, except the dauntless Acacius of  
 Constantinople, began to despond.

But Basiliscus, raised to the throne by female Harmatius.  
 influence and intrigue, was threatened by dangers  
 from the same source. Verina had a lover, Patri-  
 cius, upon whom, rather than upon Basiliscus, she  
 had hoped that the choice of the insurgents would  
 have fallen, but who was put to death by the new  
 emperor. Zenonis, who was a woman of great  
 beauty, had also a lover, the nephew of her hus-  
 band, the handsome and effeminate Harmatius<sup>2</sup>.  
 This man, who knew more about the palaestra and  
 the hair-dresser's shop than about the art of war,  
 was, by the influence of his paramour, promoted to  
 the high office of Magister Militum in Thrace. He 476.  
 also shared the honours of the consulship with  
 Basiliscus. Puffed up with wealth and official im-  
 said and done at Chalcedon in innovation upon' the Nicene  
 symbol. Afterwards, evidently finding the influence of Acacius,  
 Patriarch of Constantinople. too strong for him, he published  
 another circular, containing an abject withdrawal of the first,  
 and anathematising not only Nestorius but also *Eutyches* (the  
 Monophysite) and every other heresy.

<sup>1</sup> Was this lady a sister of Zeno? No allusion is made to any  
 relationship between them.

<sup>2</sup> His name is spelt by Suidas both Harmatus and Harmatius.  
 He is called by the chroniclers (who are extremely loose in  
 their use and disuse of the aspirate) *Armatus*.

BOOK IV. portance, he began to imagine himself a great  
 CH. 2. soldier, and rode about the streets of the capital,  
 aping in arms and accoutrements the great Achilles. The populace followed him with their acclamations, and called him the new Pyrrhus, in allusion to his fresh pink-coloured complexion. But many doubtless thought, what the historian could safely write, that the new hero was more like Paris than Pyrrhus<sup>1</sup>.

Zeno in his  
 exile.

Meanwhile the dethroned Emperor Zeno had betaken himself to his native Isauria, and there maintained a feeble resistance to his rival. In the course of his wanderings he came to a castle situated upon a hill, and enquired the name of this place of refuge. When told that it was called (by a curious chance) Constantinople, he gave a deep sigh and said, 'Verily man is God's plaything. The prophets foretold that the month of July should see me lodged in Constantinople, and so indeed I am, in this little hill-side fort of a Constantinople, instead of in my royal city.' Brighter days, however, were at hand for the fugitive as the second July of his exile drew near. Illus and Trocundus<sup>2</sup>, the generals of Basiliscus who had been for some time besieging him, perhaps in the mountain fortress just referred to, changed sides

477.

<sup>1</sup> This curious little tirade against Harmatius, preserved by Suidas, is believed by Niebuhr to be from the pen of Malchus (see remarks in Müller, iv. 117).

<sup>2</sup> Joannes Antiochenus (Müller, iv. 619) and Marcellinus (Roncalli, ii. 300) concur in giving this form of the name. Theophanes (p. 106, Paris ed.) gives it as Procundus.

and openly espoused his cause. The money and the promises of Zeno had no doubt some share in producing this result; but they had some excuse for their defection in the fact that letters had been received from the Senate at Constantinople informing the generals that the profligacy and folly of Basiliscus had become absolutely unbearable, and inviting them to aid in his deposition<sup>1</sup>. In fact, what with political discontent and what with theological strife, the capital was almost in a state of revolution. Acacius had draped the altar and the clergy in black. Daniel, the greatest of the Stylitæ, had descended from his column to harangue and muster the people. A vast multitude of men, women, and children had assembled at the gates of the cathedral to protest against the heretical doings of the Emperor. There was a talk of burning down the city, from which Basiliscus withdrew in terror, but Daniel and the monk Olympius followed him to his retreat, and forced him to listen to their passionate invectives<sup>2</sup>.

Liberated from his long blockade and strengthened by his new allies, Zeno now set forth for the capital. Basiliscus sent Harmatius to meet the foe, having first exacted from him, possibly on account of some rumours of his doubtful loyalty, an oath 'by his holy baptism<sup>3</sup>' that he would not

<sup>1</sup> Theophanes (p. 106).

<sup>2</sup> Theodorus Lector, i. 32, 33, p. 182, ed. Migne.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ὁρκίσας αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα μὴ προδοῦναι (Theoph. pp. 106-7). Does this adjuration explain the process by which the term *sacramentum* obtained its ecclesiastical signification?

Return of  
Zeno.

BOOK IV. betray him. Harmatius took with him not only  
 CH. 2. the troops which ordinarily followed the standard  
 of the Magister Militum in Thrace, but also a levy,  
 probably a hasty levy, from the citizens of Constantinople<sup>1</sup>. This fact, together with the statement that a terrible massacre of Isaurians took place at the time of the expulsion of Zeno<sup>2</sup>, seems to indicate that the animosity against the Asiatic highlanders was especially bitter among the mob of the capital.

Treachery  
 of Harmatius.

However, neither his baptismal oath nor the rancour of his civic followers availed to keep Harmatius from entering into a transaction with the dethroned emperor, his willingness for which was doubtless increased by the consciousness of danger from the discovery of his intrigue with Zenonis. He advanced to Nicaea, where Zeno and the two generals were quartered. Great terror was at first caused in the Isaurian army by his approach. Zeno was on the point of retreating, but Illus undertook and accomplished the delicate task of detaching Harmatius from his fidelity to his uncle. The terms were high: the rank of Magister Militum Praesentalis (commander of the household troops, ranking above the other Magister Militum) for life, and the dignity of Caesar for his son Basiliscus, which assured to that son the succession to the

<sup>1</sup> We have only the somewhat doubtful authority of Theophanes for this statement: *Μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.*

<sup>2</sup> Candidus the Isaurian (ap. Müller, iv. 136).



empire on Zeno's death <sup>1</sup>. The bargain being con- BOOK IV.  
cluded, the two armies, now united, marched against CH. 2.  
Constantinople.

Basiliscus, when he heard that his rival was accepted as lawful emperor by the senate, the people, and even by the arch-intriguer Verina, saw that the game was hopeless, and took refuge in the church of St. Sophia, to which he had betaken himself nine years before on the failure of the Carthaginian expedition <sup>2</sup>. Leaving his crown on the holy table, as a sign that he renounced the sovereignty, he passed on with his wife and children into the baptistery, and there sought for shelter. Not even in the hour of her downfall can the ecclesiastical chroniclers forbear to triumph over the heretical Empress <sup>3</sup>, thus compelled to seek the shelter of the Church whose power she had dared to cope with. The patriarch Acacius came and upbraided the fallen Emperor with the impious innovations which he, the Eutychian, had sought to introduce into the Christian Church. According to Procopius <sup>4</sup> he actually delivered the suppliant into the hands of his rival; but this is so contrary to the character of the man and to the religious instincts of the

Basiliscus  
takes re-  
fuge at St.  
Sophia's.

<sup>1</sup> Zeno's own son Zeno, the offspring of his first marriage, a youth of insufferable arrogance and viciousness, whose character was ruined by the flatteries of courtiers, died miserably in consequence of his excesses, probably before his father's banishment (Malchus, p. 118).

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 458.

<sup>3</sup> Τῆ κακοδόξῃ αὐτοῦ γυναικί (Theoph. p. 107).

<sup>4</sup> De Bello Vandalico, i. 7.

BOOK IV. age, that we may safely reject such a story.

CH. 2.

Doubtless Acacius was a powerful agent, probably the most powerful in the counter-revolution which hurled Basiliscus from his throne. Probably also he was the medium of the negotiations which resulted in the fugitive's surrender of himself to his rival; but this is a different matter from the accusation that with his own hands he delivered him over, a suppliant at the Church's altar, to his enemy.

Fate of  
Basiliscus.

'The most religious emperor Zeno,' says the Paschal Chronicle, 'then gave orders that the curtain should be drawn over the amphitheatre. He mounted to his seat, exhibited the games of the circus to the citizens, and received their acclamations. Then he sent to the Great Church, stripped all the emblems of imperial dignity from the fallen Emperor, his wife and children, and induced them to come forth by a promise "that their heads should be safe<sup>1</sup>." Zeno then sent him away and those with him to the camp of Limnae<sup>2</sup> in Cappadocia. And they were thrust into one tower of the camp, and the gate was built up, and the tower and the camp itself were guarded by soldiers and by a great multitude of Isaurians. And thus Basiliscus himself and his wife and children, perishing

<sup>1</sup> Candidus (Müller, iv. 136) makes Harmatius the deceiver of Basiliscus in this negotiation for his surrender.

<sup>2</sup> Situation not identified. According to others, Cucusus, the scene of Chrysostom's exile (Theophanes), or Sasemac (?) (Vict. Tunnun.). Certainly in Cappadocia, and probably some place high up on the sides of Anti-Taurus.

by hunger, gave up their lives and were buried in the same tower of Limnae.' BOOK IV.  
CH. 2.

Procopius and some other historians<sup>1</sup> say that the banishment was in the depth of winter, that the unhappy exiles were insufficiently supplied with clothing as well as food, and that cold worked together with hunger for their destruction. Thus was Dante's terrible story of Ugolino and his children in the *Torre del Fame* anticipated by eight hundred years. That deed of horror and of perfidy was perpetrated by an archbishop<sup>2</sup>, this by an emperor, whom, in the very act of describing his wickedness, the chronicler terms 'most religious<sup>3</sup>,' because he was not tainted with the heresy either of Nestorius or of Eutyches.

Thus had Harmatius surrendered his uncle and his paramour to a death of horror. He had not long to wait for his reward, in either sense. He received the post of *Magister Praesentalis*, his son was proclaimed Caesar, had a royal seat prepared for him by the side of the Emperor, and joined in distributing the prizes to the charioteers. Soon, however, Zeno began to reflect that a man who had displayed so much perfidy to his kinsman and benefactor, and had violated his solemn baptismal oath, was not likely to serve *him* more faithfully, when his son, the young Caesar, should have

<sup>1</sup> Anonymus Valesii and Jordanes.

<sup>2</sup> Ruggieri (*Inferno*, xxxiii. 14). Here too there was the element of a promise violated in its spirit.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ο δὲ θεότατος Ζήνων (Chron. Pasch. 835, ed. Migne).

BOOK IV. grown to manhood. He argued with himself  
 CH. 2. that he had kept all his promises to his deliverer. *Magister Praesentalis* he was now, and that for life, but he had said nothing as to how long he was to live. His son had been declared Caesar, and, having once worn the imperial purple, should now be dignified with an office in the Church. The Emperor therefore gave orders that 'Harmatius the perjurer' should be slain. It was evidently no judicial sentence that was passed, but an order for a private assassination that was given. An agent for the bloody deed was soon found. Onöulf, son of Edica and brother of king Odovacar, was still in the imperial service. He had received much kindness from Harmatius when he came a poor barbarian to the capital of the East. His patron had procured for him the dignity of Count, then that of Prefect of Illyricum, and had made him handsome presents of money to enable him to give the banquets which his rank rendered necessary. At Zeno's order Onöulf laid wait for his patron at a palace ten miles from Constantinople, and stabbed him in the back when he was mounting a spiral staircase to the Hippodrome<sup>1</sup>. The fickle populace, who had forgotten the shouts of admiration with

<sup>1</sup> The Paschal Chronicle and Theophanes both record the death of Harmatius and the curious casuistry by which Zeno convinced himself that he was breaking no promise. They do not mention Onöulf, by whom Malchus (in Suidas) says that Harmatius was slain. Candidus (a friend to Zeno) says that Harmatius was cut to pieces (*ἐκρεουργήθη*).

which they once hailed the rubicund ‘Pyrrhus,’  
 as he dashed in brilliant armour along the streets,  
 now applauded his death; and remembering the  
 cruel manner in which he, in conjunction with the  
 Gothic *foederati*, had punished an insurrection in  
 Thrace during the reign of Leo, cutting off the  
 hands of the peasants who were accomplices  
 therein, they now rejoiced with rapture that  
 one so arrogant and so hard-hearted had at last  
 met with his deserts. The young Basiliscus, son  
 of Harmatius, after his brief dream of Caesarship,  
 was installed as *Lector* in the church of Bla-  
 chernae, and appears before his death to have  
 reached the dignity of bishop of the important  
 city of Cyzicus, the metropolis of the Helles-  
 pontine diocese.

The next revolt against Zeno was of a different  
 kind, and one which illustrates the peculiar ideas  
 about hereditary succession which were intro-  
 ducing themselves into the originally elective  
 sovereignty of the Empire. These ideas had  
 assumed a somewhat different shape since Pul-  
 cheria, sister of Theodosius II, had, by the be-  
 stowal of her hand, raised Marcian to the throne  
 and thus familiarised the Romans with the idea  
 of a hereditary right to the purple conveyed  
 through females. The Marcian who now, by  
 assuming the diadem, gave a rallying-point for  
 all the unsubdued discontent with Zeno and his  
 Isaurians, was, on his mother’s side, grandson of  
 that Emperor Marcian. He was also son of an

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 2.

Revolt of  
 Marcian,  
 479.

450.

BOOK IV. Emperor—of that Anthemius sovereign of the  
 CH. 2. West whom Sidonius saw riding through the  
 streets of Rome side by side with Ricimer<sup>1</sup>. Yet upon neither of these relationships did he found his pretensions to the throne. He had married Leontia, the youngest daughter of the Emperor Leo, and set up the claim so often heard of in Eastern, and sometimes in Western, monarchies, that his wife, as being *Porphyrogenita*, born after her father had attained to supreme power, was of higher dignity than her elder sister Ariadne, born while Leo was still a private person serving in the household of Aspar. Marcian raised troops and attacked the palace of his brother-in-law. A bloody battle took place; the two brothers of Marcian, Procopius<sup>2</sup> and Romulus, brought up supports at a seasonable moment; the palace and the diadem were almost won. But, inheriting the slack and indolent disposition of his father, Marcian betook himself to the banquet and the couch, let slip the golden opportunity, and adjourned till the morrow the victory which never came<sup>3</sup>. For during the night Illus, the general of Zeno, who was now holding the high rank of *Magister*

<sup>1</sup> See the genealogies, vol. ii. pp. 461 and 491.

<sup>2</sup> It will be remembered that Procopius was a favourite name in the family of Anthemius.

<sup>3</sup> Evagrius (iii. 26), or more probably Eustathius (who wrote 'very elegantly'), quoted by Evagrius, has some poetical remarks here about the critical nature of Opportunity, symbolised by a figure bald behind but with one lock in front, by which it may be grasped and held fast. The thought is precisely that of Shakespeare, 'There is a tide in the affairs of men,' &c.

*Officiorum*, brought a large number of Isaurians across the straits from Chalcedon in market boats, the regular transports having been seized by the rebels. He also practised with his bribes so successfully on the fidelity of the insurgent troops, that, when morning dawned, Marcian found himself forsaken by most of his followers, and far from capturing the palace was forced himself to flee to the Church of the Apostles<sup>1</sup>. Hence he was dragged away, and sent, like all the enemies of Zeno, into captivity in the recesses of Asia Minor. He became a monk; he escaped; he attempted another abortive insurrection. Hereupon, if not after his first downfall, he was ordained a presbyter; and henceforth Marcian, with his wife Leontia, who had escaped to the convent of 'The Sleepless Ones,' disappears from history<sup>2</sup>. It is clear that Zeno recognised, in the feeble character

<sup>1</sup> The above account is chiefly founded on Eustathius. Joannes Antiochenus adds some details which would be interesting if they could be illustrated by an archaeologist versed in Byzantine topography. The insurgents encamp near the house of Caesarius: from thence they divide their forces, one brother operating against Zeno in the palace, the other against Illus in the gardens (?) of Varanes (*ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις Οὐαράνου*). In the middle of the day, while the imperial troops are indulging in their noontide repose, the former directs his attack against 'the porch of Delphax, in which stand the Delphic columns painted in various colours.' Busalbus, perhaps Magister Militum Praesentalium (*ἡγούμενος στρατιωτικῆς τάγματος*), and Nicetas co-operated with Marcian. So too, according to Joannes, did Theodoric the son of Triarius, but this, as we shall see in the next chapter, is not exactly correct.

<sup>2</sup> Except that, as we shall see, Illus at one time entertained the thought of proclaiming him emperor.

BOOK IV. of his brother-in-law, less danger to his throne  
 CH. 2. than from other claimants of less noble birth. Procopius and Romulus, the brothers of Marcian, were caught in Constantinople while bathing in the baths of Zeuxippus. They escaped, however, from their captivity, fled to the camp of the Gothic general, who, as we shall find in the next chapter, steadfastly refused to surrender them to their enemies, and finally made their way to Rome, where these sons and grandsons of emperors disappear into the undistinguishable crowd.

Services of  
 Illus. Con-  
 spiracies  
 against his  
 life.

The last of the insurgents against the authority of Zeno was also the best and the noblest of his foes, his countryman Illus the Isaurian. Sent with his brother Trocundus by Basiliscus to conduct the campaign in the Asiatic highlands against the fugitive Emperor, he had, as we have already seen, not only gone over himself to Zeno's side, but had been the broker through whose mediation the similar defection of Harmatius and the consequent ruin of the cause of Basiliscus had been secured. Such important services should have earned the life-long gratitude of the restored Emperor; but for some reason the ladies of the imperial family pursued him with unrelenting hatred. Three times was his life in danger through their machinations. Before a year had elapsed from Zeno's return, Paulus, a slave in the imperial household, was detected, sword in hand, watching for a favourable moment to slay the



general. The Emperor abandoned the slave to BOOK IV.  
 the just resentment of Illus, upon whom next CH. 2.  
 year was bestowed the dignity of Consul. While 478.  
 he was busied with the restoration of the Royal  
 Porch, a magnificent work probably, which was  
 to have commemorated his year of office, another  
 assassin, this time a barbarian of Alan race, was  
 found in his apartments, again with a naked  
 sword in his hand. The murderer, being put to  
 the torture, confessed that Epinicus the Phrygian,  
 who, by the favour of the Empress-mother, had  
 risen from an obscure position to the successive  
 dignities of *Comes Privatarum Rerum*, *Comes*  
*Sacrarum Largitionum*, and *Praefectus Praetorio*,  
 had hired him for the bloody deed. Again was  
 a victim sacrificed to propitiate the anger of  
 Illus. The Praetorian Prefect, stripped of all  
 his honours and wealth, was handed over to the  
 man whose death he had compassed, but who  
 generously spared his life, and was satisfied with  
 banishing him to his own native Isauria. Visiting  
 him there not long after, Illus learned from the  
 ex-prefect's lips that he in turn had been stimu-  
 lated to the deed of blood by the arch-intriguer,  
 the Empress-mother, Verina.

For the time Illus held his peace, and remained Recall of  
 in honourable and self-sought exile from the court. Illus and  
 Before long, however, he was recalled<sup>1</sup> by his banish-  
ment of  
Verina.

<sup>1</sup> Joannes Antiochenus (our chief authority here) couples this recall of Illus with some catastrophe—perhaps a riot—following on the earthquake at Constantinople. His meaning is not

BOOK IV. master, who, with all the ranks of the military  
 CH. 2. and civil hierarchy, crossed the Bosphorus and  
 478. came more than six miles along the road from  
 Chalcedon to welcome the returning general. Immediately, perhaps before he would even enter the capital, Illus disclosed to the Emperor the intrigues of Verina against his life, and declared that he could never be in safety so long as that woman remained in Constantinople. Zeno, who knew that he too was never safe from the conspiracies of his mother-in-law, abandoned her without reluctance to his general. She was sent off under the care of the brother-in-law of Illus with a large retinue to Isauria, compelled to take the veil in the cathedral of Tarsus<sup>1</sup>, and then shut up in the fortress of Dalisandus. Epinicus, in return for his information, was, at the request of Illus, received again into the imperial favour, perhaps restored to his old office.

Pamprepius the friend of Illus.

Among the followers of Illus who accompanied him into the capital on that day of his triumph none probably attracted more attention than the Egyptian grammarian, poet, and philosopher, Pam-

clear. We dare not connect this statement with the entry in the Chronicle of Marcellinus, 'Urbs regia per xl continuos dies assiduo terrae motu quassata, magnopere sese afflicta deplanxit,' &c., since that belongs to the year 480, and the return of Illus must be put before 479.

<sup>1</sup> This must, I presume, be the meaning of the words of Joannes, *ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ταρσὸν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθιεροῖ*. Dalisandus, like some other places mentioned in the record of these transactions, must remain a mere name, the geography of this part of Asia having received but little attention from scholars.

prepius. Rich gifts of intellect were hidden under the unprepossessing countenance of this dark Egyptian, who was possibly a full-blooded negro. His poetical attainments in his native country (perhaps acquired in emulation of his compatriot Claudian) were rewarded by the chair of Grammar in the University of Athens. Here too he studied philosophy under the mighty mystic, Proclus, the last and some say the greatest, of the Neo-Platonists; and, in the judgment of all Athens, Pamprepius ranked pre-eminently the first among the great master's pupils. Having left Athens in consequence of an insult received from one of the local magistracy, who was himself a dilettante philosopher, Pamprepius came to Byzantium and attached himself to the fortunes of Illus, which he powerfully influenced both for good and for evil. There was certainly a strain of nobility in the character of the patron. 'Illus,' says his fellow countryman Candidus, 'conferred many benefits on the Roman state, by his brave deeds in war and by his generosity and righteous dealing in the city<sup>1</sup>.' There was also a vein of literary pursuit in him, such as we should by no means have looked for in an Isaurian highlander. When first introduced to the general, Pamprepius recited, with much grace of delivery, a long-meditated discourse, probably in the Platonic or Proclean style, on the

<sup>1</sup> Candid. ap. Muller, iv. 136. Ταῖς κατὰ πόλιν φιλοτιμίαις probably refers to such deeds as the restoration of the Stoa Basilicé, which signalled his consulship.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 2.

nature of the soul. Illus was charmed with what he heard, proclaimed the swarthy Egyptian wisest of all the professors in Constantinople, and arranged that he should be engaged at a large salary, paid by the State, to teach the choicest spirits among the young men who resorted to the 'Museums,' or, as we should call them, the colleges, of the capital. At the time when we behold him about to re-cross the Bosphorus in the train of his triumphant patron, Pamprepius has reached a higher elevation. He is now Quaestor, belongs therefore to the awful innermost circle of the Illustres, endorses the petitions of the subjects, directs them to the proper office which has to take them into consideration, and prepares the stilted sentences in which Tarasicodissa-Zeno may clothe his meagre thoughts when replying to supplications or promulgating laws<sup>1</sup>.

Pamprepius a heathen.

But there was a worm at the root of this amazing good fortune of the Egyptian, although for the present all went well with him<sup>2</sup>. Like his master Proclus, he was a *Greek*, or, as we should call it, a heathen in his creed; and made no secret of his Hellenic faith, even in Christian Constantinople itself. The avowed heathenism drew after it the

<sup>1</sup> Notitia Orientis, cap. xi: 'Sub dispositione Viri Illustris Quaestoris: Leges dictandae,

Præces,

Officium non habet, sed adiutores de scriniis quos voluerit.' These adiutores were themselves *spectabiles*.

<sup>2</sup> Τῷ δὲ Παμπρεπίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν πάσῃ εὐροίᾳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν, τιμηθέντι καὶ τῇ τοῦ κοιμιστοροῦ ἀξία (Joan. Antioch. fr. 211).

imputation of darker practices, and of a knowledge of the future obtained by unhallowed arts, an imputation to which the windy theosophy of the Neo-Platonist not unnaturally exposed him, and which Pamprepicus himself, by mysterious and enigmatical utterances, which could be claimed as prophecies if they turned out true, seems to have intentionally fostered<sup>1</sup>. It would be going too far to attribute either to Illus or his client an attempt at the hopeless task of the restoration of heathenism: but it is probable that the general as well as the philosopher may have shown a deeper interest in the Dialogues of Plato than in the endless theological squabbles of Timothy the Weasel and Timothy Solofaciolus, and that his popularity with the mob of Constantinople may have suffered accordingly.

The insurrection of Marcian, which followed shortly after these events, was partly caused, according to the representations of the rebels, by the harsh treatment of the widow of Leo<sup>2</sup>. Certainly Illus was bound to keep his master harmless from the consequences of a severity which he had himself insisted upon: yet he seems

Illus remains loyal during Marcian's insurrection.

<sup>1</sup> For information as to the life and character of Pamprepicus consult the Biographical Dictionaries of Suidas and of Dr. W. Smith. In the latter the somewhat crude and incoherent statements given in the former are sifted and arranged. The article 'Illus' in the same Dictionary is also particularly copious and helpful. Both articles are by J. C. Means. The philosophical careers of Pamprepicus and his great teacher Proclus are well brought out by Herzberg (*Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, iii. 510-513).

<sup>2</sup> Διὰ τὴν πρόφασιν Βηρίνης (*Joan. Antioch. fr.* 211).

BOOK IV. to have wavered for a moment. In his perplexity  
 CH. 2. he turned to the dark Egyptian for counsel. The  
 voice of Pamprepius was in favour of loyalty, and  
 presaged the victory of Zeno. ‘Providence is on  
 our side,’ he said oracularly; and when, notwith-  
 standing the first successes of Marcian, his standard  
 was eventually lowered, men looked with yet  
 heightened reverence on the prophetic powers of  
 the Neo-Platonist professor.

Third at-  
 tempt on  
 the life of  
 Illus,  
 482?

To Zeno’s triumph on this occasion the valour and  
 the skill of Illus, as we have seen, largely contri-  
 buted. But if the Emperor prized his services, the  
 Empress could not forget her mother’s wrongs.  
 Ariadne on this occasion belied the fair and honour-  
 able character which, as far as we can judge, she  
 generally bore in a dark and troublous time.  
 When the Master of the Offices (for this was the  
 dignity now held by Illus) was mounting the stairs  
 to view the races in the Hippodrome, a life-guards-  
 man<sup>1</sup> named Spanicius, hired by Ariadne for the  
 purpose, drew his sword and endeavoured to cut  
 off his head. The armour-bearer of Illus inter-  
 posed and struck up the assassin’s hand, but the  
 escape was so narrow that the right ear of the  
 intended victim was actually severed, and he ever  
 after wore a skull-cap when he appeared in public<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Scholarius (Theophanes): ‘Illus dignitate Magister Offi-  
 ciorum amputata apud Comitatum auricula’ (Marcellinus Comes,  
 s. a. 484).

<sup>2</sup> Quaere the date of this third attempted assassination.  
 Theophanes describes it at A. D. 480, but his chronology is ex-

It was vain to ask this time for the surrender of BOOK IV.  
the instigator of the crime, and probably from CH. 2.  
henceforward it was only a question of time how Quarrel  
soon Illus should revolt. But, according to our about Lon-  
ginus.  
chief authority<sup>1</sup>, the Emperor began the quarrel by  
insisting on the liberation of his brother Longinus.  
This person, whose previous history is almost hope-  
lessly obscure, had been for ten years kept a close  
prisoner by Illus at a castle in Isauria. So strange  
a predicament for the brother of a reigning Em-  
peror is perhaps explained by the private character  
of Longinus, which was detestably immoral. He  
may have inflicted on the general some wrong  
which in one less powerfully protected would  
have called for the punishment of death, a punish-  
ment which even in his case could be commuted  
for nothing less than life-long imprisonment. It  
would seem, however, that the Emperor's request  
was granted, and that both Longinus and the mother  
of Zeno arrived in Constantinople, having been  
voluntarily released by Illus<sup>2</sup>.

The Emperor next proceeded to strip Illus of Illus dis-  
his military command, which he bestowed on one of graced.  
the barbarian *foederati*, John the Goth. He then

tremely loose. Marcellinus puts it apparently in, but really  
before, 484. Probably it was in 482 or 483.

<sup>1</sup> Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Theophanes, who relates this circumstance, connects it with  
the events of the year 483, but attributes the liberation to Illus  
and *Leontius*, which looks as if it was later than 484. But I  
despair of introducing coherence or probability into the story  
of Zeno's Isaurian relatives.

BOOK IV. made a harangue to the people of Constantinople  
 CH. 2. —there are some indications that Zeno was vain of  
 his oratorical powers—setting forth his grievances  
 against Illus, and ordering that all his relations and  
 dependents should be banished from Constanti-  
 nople. The possessions of these men the Emperor,  
 ever thinking of his highland home, distributed  
 among the cities of Isauria.

Revolt of  
 Illus,  
 484.

Illus, thus driven to open revolt, withdrew into  
 his native Taurus-country and endeavoured to  
 strengthen himself by alliances. The kings of  
 Armenia and Persia promised help if he would  
 effect a junction of his forces with theirs. Odova-  
 car, ‘the tyrant of Western Rome<sup>1</sup>,’ was also  
 appealed to, but for the present declined to join the  
 confederacy, though two years later he showed  
 486. symptoms, or Zeno thought that he showed symp-  
 toms, of a willingness to favour the cause of Illus.  
 The insurgent general seems to have at first pro-  
 claimed Marcian<sup>2</sup> Emperor, but the attempt to  
 conjure with this name proving fruitless, he next  
 sought out his former persecutor Verina in her  
 exile. Their common hostility to Zeno brought  
 these two old antagonists together. Verina, ar-  
 rayed in imperial robes, was announced as the  
 lawful disposer of the diadem, and mounting a high  
 platform, in the presence doubtless of the assembled

<sup>1</sup> Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 214: *καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ὀδοάκρον ἔστειλλε, τὸν τῆς ἑσπερίας Ῥώμης τύραννον.*

<sup>2</sup> So says Joannes (*τότε Μαρκιανὸν ἀναζώννυσι*), but it is not easy to reconcile this with other accounts of the life of Marcian after the failure of his revolt.



army, proceeded to invest with the insignia of empire a certain citizen of Dalisandus of obscure parentage, named Leontius, whom Illus had selected for the dangerous honour. Leontius nominated the high officers of the household and the state, distributed money to the people, and established his court at Antioch, which had not, apparently, been the residence of an Augustus since the days of Valens.

Zeno, whose position was somewhat insecure, made for himself strange alliances with ecclesiastics and barbarians. He persuaded his fellow-countryman Conon, bishop of Apamea in Syria, to leave his episcopal throne and don the armour of a legionary. At the same time he bestowed the chief command in Isauria on Linges, the bastard brother of Conon, a man of high courage, and probably of great local influence. Of the share which the Goths under Theodoric and the wild Rugians from beyond the Danube took in this war as soldiers of Zeno it will be convenient to speak in the following chapter. After Leontius for little more than two months had possessed the semblance of sovereignty his fortunes began to decline. Illus, who had been worsted in the field, sent his wife, and provisions for a siege, to the fortress of Chereus. These precautions, and the messages he sent to Leontius and Verina to quit Antioch and come to him with all speed, produced a discouraging effect on his army. The officers dispersed to seek shelter in friendly fortresses, while many of the

BOOK IV.  
CH. 2.  
Leontius  
pro-  
claimed.

The revolt  
does not  
prosper.

BOOK IV. more obscure abettors of the rebellion took refuge  
 CH. 2. in the caves with which that part of Asia Minor  
 abounds.

Blockade  
 of the fort  
 of Papir-  
 ius.

The castle of Cherreus also bore the name of its builder Papirius, apparently a kind of robber chief-tain who had occupied it as a feudal baron occupied his turrets by the Rhine, in order to levy toll on passers-by and to keep his rustic neighbours in terrified subjection. Papirius was apparently now dead, but his son Indacus, a man of great courage and physical strength, who fought with his left hand and as a runner outstripped the fleetest horsemen, still held the castle and was faithful to the cause of Illus<sup>1</sup>. Here had Marcian been imprisoned, and here Verina<sup>2</sup>. Hither did the empress-mother now return, a fugitive though no longer a captive. The fatigues and anxieties of the last few months had been too much for her strength, and on the ninth day after she reached the castle her turbulent and intriguing life came to an end. She was embalmed and placed in a leaden coffin, with the hope doubtless that one day a tomb befitting her dignity

Death of  
 Verina.

<sup>1</sup> For Indacus (surnamed Cottunes) and his father Papirius see Joann. Antioch. fr. 206. 2 (combined with 214. 6), and Suidas, s. v. Indacus. Suidas says that he surpassed the greatest runners of antiquity in speed, that he would suddenly vanish from the high road, and be seen like a bird skimming over the most craggy and inaccessible precipices, that he would accomplish in one day, on foot, journeys which the fleetest horseman could not have performed, and so on.

<sup>2</sup> Theodorus Lector, i. 37, ii. 3. Verina was perhaps removed from Dalisandus to Papyrium.

might be found for her beside the Bosphorus<sup>1</sup>. After thirty days died Marsus, a faithful friend of Illus, and he by whose intervention Pamprepius was first introduced to him. The castle was strong and provisioned for a long siege, and Illus, after entrusting the details of the daily defence to Indacus, shut himself up in his library and devoted his now abundant leisure to the study of his beloved manuscripts. Leontius took the turn in his fortunes less philosophically. He macerated himself with fastings, and passed his days in unmanly lamentations.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 2.

After the siege had lasted two years, the hopes of Illus and Leontius growing ever fainter, the besiegers, under the command of John the Goth, obtained possession of a fort on an opposite hill which in some degree commanded the castle, and plied their engines with great effect<sup>2</sup>. The besieged called for a parley, and by the mediation of the Goth sent to the Emperor at Constantinople a letter reminding him of their past services and praying for forgiveness. The appeal, however, was ineffectual<sup>3</sup>, and the siege dragged on for two years longer. At length, at the end of four years,

Illus and  
Leontius  
slain.

<sup>1</sup> Βηρίνα δὲ μετ' ἐνάτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἐν φρουρίῳ καταφυγῆς πορευθεῖσα (conj. παραλυθείσα) ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐν μολιβδίνῃ ἐταριχεύθη λάρνακι (Joan. Ant. fr. 214. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Μετὰ τὸ ἐπιτυχεῖν τοῦ ἀντιφρουρίου πολλοῖς μηχανήμασι ἐχρῶντο.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. of Joannes Antiochenus here breaks off abruptly. We have to trust to imagination for the completion of the sentence and to go to Theodorus Lector for the end of the siege.

BOOK IV. treachery accomplished what fair fighting could  
 CH. 2.  
 ——— not achieve. The wife of Trocundus, the brother of Illus, privately communicated to the Emperor her willingness to betray her relative. She was sent for this purpose from Constantinople, probably with a delusive offer of pardon, entered the fortress, and succeeded in opening its gates to the imperial troops. Illus and Leontius were slain, and their heads were cut off and sent to the Emperor. Pamprepius was slain with them. All through the four years of siege he had fed his associates with hopes of ultimate triumph; and it is said that when they found that his prophecies were about to turn out false they themselves in their disappointment cut him to pieces. The authorities for this story are not of the highest class<sup>1</sup>. One would gladly disbelieve a history so inconsistent with the character of the brave philosopher-soldier Illus.

Zeno pries  
 into the  
 future.

No further rebellion disturbed the reign of Zeno. His brother, the shameless profligate Longinus, was now all-powerful. Master of the Offices in 484, Consul in 486 and again in 490, he was the head of the Isaurian faction in the capital, and doubtless intended to wear the diadem after his brother.  
 490. The health of the Emperor was now visibly declining, and he was filled with a restless desire to know how it would fare with his family and his

<sup>1</sup> Theophanes and Damascius the philosopher (in the *Life of Isidorus*). The latter is a contemporary authority, but we have his work only in the somewhat obscure and one-sided report of it by Photius (*Bibliotheca*, Cod. 242).

beloved Isaurians after his death. With this view he consulted Maurianus the Count, 'a very learned man, who was acquainted with certain mystic rites and had predicted many future events<sup>1</sup>,' and asked to be informed of the name of his successor on the throne. The answer was ambiguous: 'Your successors shall be your wife and one who has served as Silentarius'—that title being given to the guard of honour, thirty in number, who watched in the purple chamber. On hearing this Zeno at once ordered the arrest of a certain Pelagius, formerly a Silentarius but now a Patrician, and an eminent statesman, who seemed to him the most likely person to be thus indicated. Moreover, Pelagius, who was a man of high character and some literary fame (he had written in verse a history of the Empire from the time of Augustus), had dared to rebuke the misgovernment of Zeno and to oppose earnestly his project of declaring his fatuous brother Caesar<sup>2</sup>. His property was ordered to be confiscated, and soon after he was strangled by his gaolers<sup>3</sup>. When the Praetorian Prefect Arcadius<sup>4</sup> heard of this act of iniquity he rebuked Zeno for it with a freedom worthy of

<sup>1</sup> Paschal Chronicle. (A late authority, but the death of Pelagius is confirmed by the contemporary testimony of Marcellinus.)

<sup>2</sup> Cedrenus, i. 621 (ed. Bonn).

<sup>3</sup> *Eccubitores*. (Comes Marcellinus says that Pelagius was strangled 'in insula quae Panormum dicitur' (?).)

<sup>4</sup> It is possible that this faithful counsellor was really the Emperor's brother-in-law, as Zeno's first wife was named Arcadia.

BOOK IV. better times. Upon this the Emperor ordered  
 CH. 2. Arcadius also to be killed the first time that he should set foot within the palace, but the Prefect, receiving a hint of his danger, 'turned aside as if casually to pray in the Great Church [St. Sophia], claimed the right of asylum there, and so escaped bitter death<sup>1</sup>.'

Death of  
 Zeno.

Next year (April 9, 491) the life of the wretched and suspicious tyrant was ended by an epileptic seizure. Longinus claimed the throne; but now the long-suppressed indignation of the citizens broke forth; civil war raged, and the Isaurians, who had for years contemplated this event and devised their plan of action, set the city on fire with long poles prepared for the purpose, tipped with flax and sulphur<sup>2</sup>. A considerable part of the city and the Circus was burnt, but at length order was restored and the Isaurian faction owned themselves vanquished. Longinus was sent back to his native land, and many of the Isaurians accompanied him at their own request, doubtless because their lives were imperilled by the fury of the mob<sup>3</sup>.

Anastasius  
 succeeds.

The prophecy of Count Maurianus came true. The Empress Ariadne was requested to bestow the

<sup>1</sup> Paschal Chronicle.

<sup>2</sup> Evagrius, iii. 29; Comes Marcellinus (s. a. 491), combined with Malchus, fr. 19.

<sup>3</sup> The account given by Theodorus Lector (ii. 9) is not quite the same as that given above (from Evagrius): 'As the Isaurians had done many monstrous and inhuman things at Constantinople, Anastasius *ejected them all from the city*. Going forth they rushed into rebellion' (*πρὸς τυραννίδα ὄρμησαν*), &c.

diadem where she would, and she bestowed it, and her hand, on Anastasius, a native of Dyrrhachium, past the prime of life, not yet even a senator, but one of the *schola* of Silentarii. With the events of his reign of twenty-seven years, which on the whole fully justified the choice of Ariadne, we have no present concern, but it will be well briefly to follow the fortunes of the Isaurian *émigrés* before we return to the history of Theodoric. When the exiles trooped back to their rough Asiatic homes, it may be imagined that they returned in no good-humour with the new ruler of the East. Soon they were in open insurrection, Conon the militant bishop again taking up arms on behalf of his countrymen; and it is probable, though not distinctly stated, that they proclaimed Longinus Emperor. Not he, however, but a certain Athenodorus, seems to have taken the command in the war with Constantinople which broke out next year, and which lasted till the end of 497. It remained but a local affair, for the insurgents apparently never pushed their incursions further than into Phrygia; but the Emperor, who had confided the conduct of the war to two generals of the same name, John the Goth and John the Hunchback, was accused by his critics of feebleness and faint-heartedness in its prosecution. After five years of it he grew weary, and secretly confided to Euphemius, Patriarch of Constantinople, that he would gladly see it at an end. As the Isaurians, with all their savageness, were orthodox Chalcedonian Christians, and Ana-

BOOK IV.  
CH. 2.

Isaurian  
insurrec-  
tion.

and war,  
492-497.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 2.

stasius was not, Euphemius leaned somewhat towards the side of the rebels, and most improperly repeated what had been said to him to yet another John, the Patrician, father-in-law of the insurgent general Athenodorus. The Patrician hastened to Anastasius, expecting to be made the instrument of a negotiation, but found the Emperor, instead thereof, highly indignant at this betrayal of his confidence. Next year (498), prosecuting the war in a bolder and more imperial way, he obtained a complete victory over his enemies. Athenodorus and Longinus were taken prisoners and beheaded. Their heads, sent by John the Goth to Constantinople, were fixed high on poles and exhibited at Sycae opposite the city, 'a sweet sight to the Byzantines,' says a historian, 'in return for the evils which they had endured from Zeno and the Isaurians.' When the overthrow of the rebel cause was certain, Anastasius sent his Master of the Offices<sup>1</sup> to the Patriarch with the insulting message, 'Your prayers, O great man! have covered your friends with soot<sup>2</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> Evagrius.

<sup>2</sup> The authorities for the Isaurian rebellion are—

(1) Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 492-498;

(2) Theodorus Lector, ii. 9. 10;

(3) Evagrius (perhaps quoting Eustathius), iii. 29. 35.

These accounts are in the main harmonious. Probably the Theodorus of Evagrius is the same as the Athenodorus of Marcellinus and Theodorus Lector. Another Longinus, also an Isaurian, surnamed 'the Selinuntian,' was taken prisoner in 482 (Marc.) by John Hunchback and sent in chains to Constantinople, where he was led in triumph through the streets (Evagrius, iii. 35).



The remembrance of this Isaurian rebellion was maintained by a tribute called 'Isaurica,' which was thenceforward collected (probably from the malcontent province) for the imperial treasury; and we are told that from this tax, amounting to £200,000 annually, were paid the subsidies to the barbarian *foederati* <sup>1</sup>.

In the sketch which has been given of the reign of Zeno, its political aspect only has been dwelt upon. Its place in the development of religious doctrine must be alluded to, however briefly, for, as Gibbon truly remarks, 'it is in ecclesiastical story that Zeno appears least contemptible.' Throughout his reign the Emperor was a steady supporter of orthodoxy, and the patriarchs of Constantinople, who were thorns in the side of a Basiliscus and an Anastasius, served him as faithfully and as steadily as his own Isaurians. There was a great deal, however, of sheer misunderstanding of the Council of Chalcedon and much personal rancour against it in some of the Eastern dioceses, especially in Egypt and Syria. Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of great gifts and much force of character, induced the Emperor to attempt to remove these misunderstandings and to soften this rancour, by the issue of his celebrated *Henoticon*, or Letter of Union, a document which was of 482 or 483.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὰ καλούμενα πρῶην Ἰσαυρικὰ τοῖς βασιλικαῖς ἐνηνέχθη θησαυροῖς· ἦν δὲ ἄρα τοῦτο χρυσίον ἐς ἕκαστον ἔτος τοῖς βαρβάρους χορηγούμενον πεντακισχιλίας ἔλκον λίτρας. (Pounds of gold are no doubt intended.) Evagr. iii. 35.

BOOK IV. course drawn up by Acacius himself. In this  
 CH. 2. instrument the *Via Media* of Catholic orthodoxy, as distinct, on the one hand from the Nestorian doctrine that Christ's human nature was a mere robe worn by the Eternal Son, and on the other, from the Monophysite doctrine that the Godhead was weary, suffered, and died, was reaffirmed in terms which appear to the lay mind undistinguishable from the decrees of Chalcedon. A formal adherence to the utterances of that Council was, however, not insisted upon, and, with some lack of candour, the one allusion to Chalcedon which was introduced was couched in purposely disrespectful terms.

Its praise-  
 worthy  
 motives.

Such was the tenour of the Henoticon of Zeno, a document which has met with but scant favour from ecclesiastical historians<sup>1</sup>. Yet the object which it proposed to itself, the closing of a barren and profitless controversy, was one earnestly to be desired in the interests of a living faith. The mere statesman could not be blind to the fact that this Monophysite logomachy (which in fact paved the way for the conquests of Mohammed) was rending the Eastern Empire in pieces. And from the point of view of a Byzantine official, there was nothing monstrous in the idea of the Augustus preparing a symbol of religious belief for all his subjects, though no doubt, as a matter of ecclesiastical order, that symbol should have been submitted

<sup>1</sup> 'Subtle to escape subtleties' is Milman's verdict (*Hist. of Latin Christianity*, i. 248).

for discussion to a council of bishops. However, BOOK IV.  
issued as it was on the sole authority of the CH. 2.  
Emperor, it all but succeeded in its object. Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch accepted it; and thus the four great patriarchates of the East, after the discords of forty years, were again united in apparent harmony. There was but one exception, but that was world-important. The Pope of Rome, now but a precarious subject of the Eastern Caesar, unwilling to acquiesce in any further exaltation of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and determined above all things that the decrees of Chalcedon, those trophies of the victory of the mighty Leo, should not merely mould but should be recognised as moulding the faith of the whole Christian world, refused to accept the Henoticon of Zeno, and soon began to clamour for its withdrawal. It will be necessary hereafter to sketch the outlines of the controversy thence ensuing, a controversy in which it is impossible to believe that either party saw any principle at stake other than the sublime principle of self-assertion, the sacred duty of choosing the chief seats in the synagogues and the uppermost places at feasts.

But whatever its motives, this controversy led to a schism between the two great sees of Eastern and Western Christendom, a schism which lasted thirty-five years, which had important results on the earlier fortunes of the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy, and which undoubtedly prepared the way for the more enduring schisms of later years. Its unfortunate results.

BOOK IV. The Henoticon of Zeno, which was meant to  
CH. 2. reconcile the Churches by the Bosphorus and  
the Nile, laid the first courses of the wall of  
separation which now parts St. Petersburg from  
the Vatican.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE TWO THEODORICS IN THRACE.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources:—*

OUR chief source for this chapter is MALCHUS (cir. 500), BOOK IV.  
CH. 3. whose graphic touches make us continually regret that we have no longer the entire work, as it lay before Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century, when he made his Excerpts as to Embassies. I have quoted from Müller's edition (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. iv), as he arranges the fragments in a better order than that adopted in the Bonn edition. His order is that indicated in Köpke's 'Anfänge des Königthums' (pp. 155-6, n. 3).

A little further information is supplied by JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS (610-650?), and by EUSTATHIUS (502) as quoted by EVAGRIUS. ENNODIUS (Panegyric on Theodoric—about 510), JORDANES (552), and PROCOPIUS (550) describe Theodoric's negotiations with Zeno as to the Italian expedition.

##### *Guides:—*

Dahn, 'Könige der Germanen,' Part ii. 67-77 (especially helpful as to the relative position of the two Theodorics); and Köpke, 'Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen,' pp. 148-164.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY LIFE OF  
THEODORIC.

ANNO AETATIS.		A.D.
	Born the day of Ostrogothic victory over Huns (probably) . . . . .	454
7	Sent as hostage to Emperor Leo at Constantinople	461
	Remains at Byzantium, ten years, till . . . . .	471
17	Conquers Sarmatians and takes Singidunum (Bel- grade) . . . . .	471
20	Death of his father Theudemir and of Emperor Leo . . . . .	474
23	Assists Zeno against Basiliscus . . . . .	477
23	Patricius, Magister Militiae, adopted son of Em- peror . . . . .	477
24	Abortive campaign against Theodoricus Triarii . . . . .	478
24	Coalition with him against Zeno . . . . .	478
25	Theodoricus Triarii enters service of Emperor . . . . .	479
25	Campaign of Theodoric the Amal in Epirus Nova. Revolt of Marcian . . . . .	479
27	Attempt of Theodoricus Triarii against Constanti- nople. His death . . . . .	481
28	Theodoric ravages the two Macedonias and Thes- saly, and plunders Larissa . . . . .	482
29	Magister Militiae Praesentalis . . . . .	483
30	Consul. He assassinates Recitach . . . . .	484
30	Sent against Illus and Leontius, but recalled . . . . .	484
33	Ravages up to the gates of Constantinople. Burns Melantias. Returns to Nova whence he had set out . . . . .	487
34	Starts for Italy . . . . .	488

Theo-  
doric's  
aims.

SUCH as has been described in the last chapter was the wild welter of sedition, intrigue, religious rancour, military insubordination, imperial tyranny in which the young Ostrogoth was to spend the fourteen years following the death of his father

and his own elevation to sole kingship over his people. What were his own aims? Confused and uncertain enough, doubtless; but they gradually grew clearer, and the clearer they became the more they drew him away from Byzantium. What did he require? First and foremost food for his people, who were suffering, as all the world was suffering, from that movement of the nations in which they had borne so large a share; who had wandered from the Middle Danube to the Balkans, and had not yet found an unravaged land where they could dwell in plenty. For himself, he wanted, sometimes, a great place in the Roman official hierarchy, in the midst of that *civilitas* which, in his ten years of hostage-ship, he had learned to love so well. To be saluted as *Illustris*; to command the sumptuously clothed 'silentiaries' in the imperial palace; himself to wear the *laticlave* and take his seat in that most venerable assembly in the world, the Roman Senate; to stand beside Augustus when ambassadors from the ends of the earth came to prostrate themselves before him,—this was what seemed sometimes supremely to be desired. But then, again, there were times when he felt that the love and loyalty of his own yellow-haired barbarians were worth all the pomp and flatteries of the purple presence-chamber. He was himself by birth a king, ruler of a dwindled people, it was true, but still a king; an Amal sprung from the seed of gods, and with the blood of countless generations of kings coursing in his veins. Was such an one to wait obsequiously

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outside the purple veil ; to deem it a high honour when the voice of the sensual poltroon who might happen to be the Augustus of the hour, and whom some woman's favour had raised from nothingness to the diadem, called him into 'the sacred presence' ? No : the King of the Goths was greater than any Illustris of Byzantium. And yet how could he keep his kingship, how sway this mass of brave but stolid souls whose only trade was fighting, without putting himself at enmity with the Empire which, after all, he loved ?

The two  
Theo-  
dorics.

The perplexities of his position were not lessened by the fact that he was not the undisputed representative even of the Gothic nation in the eyes of the Eastern Romans. Over against him, the Amal king, stood another Theodoric the Goth, his senior in age, his inferior by birth, brought forward into notice by his connection with other barbarian chiefs, once all-powerful at court, and regarded probably by the Byzantine statesmen as the foremost 'Scythian' in their land. This was Theodoric the before-mentioned son of Triarius, surnamed Strabo (the Squinter), nephew of the wife of the great Aspar, distantly connected by blood with the Ostrogothic king, but not belonging to the Amal line<sup>1</sup>. These two Theodorics cross and re-

<sup>1</sup> The statement that there was relationship between the two Theodorics rests only on the authority of Joannes Antiochenus, who says that Theodoric the Amal was ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ 'Ρεκιδάχ, the latter being a son of Theodoric Strabo. On the other hand, Jordanes distinctly says of the latter that he was 'alia stirpe, non Amala procreatus;' De Reb. Get. lii.



cross one another's paths like Una and Duessa in the 'Faery Queen.' By the Greek historians the older chieftain is generally spoken of as 'Theudericus' simply, while the more nobly born is invariably called 'the son of Walamir.' This mistake, for such it must certainly have been, since the family historian<sup>1</sup> asserts him to have been the son of Theudemir, was probably due to the circumstances of his first introduction to the Byzantine Court. Walamir being then king of the Goths, this child, which was brought as a pledge of his fidelity, was known as the son of Walamir; and, that title once given to him, the courtiers of Leo and Zeno were too supercilious or too careless to change it. With his own name and his father's name thus denied to him, and wavering, as he sometimes felt his own soul to waver, between the gorgeous bondage of the one career and the uncultured freedom of the other, he may well have sometimes doubted of his own identity. In order that we may be under no such confusion between the two leaders of the Goths, it will be well to drop the name which is common to both of them, for a while, and to call Theodoric son of Theudemir 'the Amal' and Theodoric Strabo 'the son of Triarius'.<sup>2</sup>

Our first undoubted information as to the son of Triarius belongs to the latter years of the Emperor Theodoricus  
Triarii  
in revolt.

<sup>1</sup> Cassiodorus.

<sup>2</sup> If I followed the example of Tillemont, I should call him 'the Squinter.' The phrase *Le Louche* haunts with its ugly presence many pages of his Life of Zeno.

BOOK IV. Leo<sup>1</sup>. We may infer that ever since the fall of  
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473? his great kinsman Aspar he had assumed, with his barbarians, an attitude of sullen opposition or of active hostility to the Empire. At length it became necessary to send an embassy to ascertain what terms would purchase his friendship. For this mission Leo selected Pelagius the Silentiary, the same officer, doubtless, who seventeen years later was foully murdered by the dying Zeno. The son of Triarius received Pelagius courteously, and sent a return-embassy to Constantinople, expressing his willingness to live in friendship with the Romans, but claiming the concession of three points,—that the whole of Aspar's inheritance should be made over to him, that he should succeed to all his military commands, and that his people should have settlements assigned them in Thrace. Only the confirmation of the nephew in the military rank of his uncle was Leo willing to concede, and accordingly the war went forward. The son of Triarius divided his forces, and attacked both Philippi and Arcadiopolis<sup>2</sup>. Against the first

<sup>1</sup> Jordanes, as we have already seen, carries back the prosperity of Theodoricus Triarii (and the Amal jealousy of him) to the war preceding the surrender of the child Theodoric as a hostage (461-2); but we must not place too much dependence on the accuracy of Jordanes on such a point as this. These are his words (*De Reb. Get.* lii): 'Missa legatione ad imperatorem Valamir ejusque germani... vident Theodericum Triarii filium... omnino florentem cum suis, Romanorumque amicitiiis junctum et annua solennia consequentem et se tantum despici.'

<sup>2</sup> Tillemont places Arcadiopolis 'between Constantinople and Hadrianople.' I have not found any more exact description of the site.

city he achieved no considerable success, but he pressed the blockade of the second so closely that the inhabitants, after feeding on horseflesh, and even on the corpses of their fellow-citizens, were compelled to surrender. Meanwhile, however, the Goths themselves were suffering all the miseries of famine. Food, not empire, was probably the prize for which many of these campaigns were planned. And thus the high contracting parties came to an agreement, the terms being that the son of Triarius was to receive the highly honourable post of *Magister Equitum et Peditum Praesentalis*, and faithfully to serve the Emperor Leo against all his enemies, the Vandals only excepted; to receive for himself and followers a yearly subsidy of 2000 lbs. of gold (£80,000), and further to be recognised as king (*αὐτοκράτορα*) of the Goths, while the Emperor bound himself not to harbour any rebels against the new king's authority. This last clause possibly points to some growing tendency on the part of the Triarian Goths to enlist under the banners of his better-born rival, the true Amal king. It has been well remarked<sup>1</sup> that this proposal to accept a patent of *Gothic* royalty from the Roman Augustus distinctly indicates inferior ancestry, an absence of true royal descent on the part of the son of Triarius. With the kingship of Alaric, of Walamir, and of the young Theodoric, Roman emperors had had no concern. It was no

BOOK IV.  
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Peace  
arranged.

<sup>1</sup> By Köpke (*Anfänge der Königthums*, p. 154) and Dahn (*Könige der Germanen*, ii. 69).

BOOK IV.  
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doubt tacitly assumed that the Goths would find settlements in Thrace, and in consideration of their yearly subsidy would abstain from promiscuous raids upon their neighbours.

Threaten-  
ing atti-  
tude of  
Theo-  
doricus  
Triarii.

The death of Leo and the proclamation of Zeno brought about a change in the attitude of the son of Triarius towards the Empire. The opposition was probably sharper between the Gothic party once headed by Aspar, and the Isaurians, than between any other two factions; and the son of Triarius may have speculated on the elevation of Basiliscus rather than Zeno to the vacant throne. At any rate he now threw off the mask, divested himself, we must suppose, of his dignity as Commander of the Household Troops, and advanced in a threatening attitude to the long wall which defended the Thracian Chersonese. Against him Zeno sent some troops under the command of Heraclius, son of Florus, a brave general, but harsh, unpopular, and destitute of forethought. In his over-confidence he stumbled apparently into some trap prepared for him by the barbarians, was defeated, and taken prisoner. The Emperor sent an embassy to the son of Triarius to arrange for the liberation of his general, whose ransom was fixed at 100 talents (£20,000). This sum, with delicate consideration for the feelings of the captive, Zeno ordered to be paid by the near relations of Heraclius, saying that if any one else (himself for instance) found the money, it would seem as if the great Heraclius was being bought and sold like a slave.

The money was paid to the Goths, and an escort of barbarians was told off to escort him to the friendly shelter of Arcadiopolis. On the march, while Heraclius, who seems not to have been allowed the dignity of a horse, was walking along the road, one of the Goths smote him roughly on the shoulder. An attendant of the general returned the blow, and said, 'Fellow! remember what you are. Do you not know who it is that you have struck?' 'I know him quite well,' was the reply, 'and I know that he is going to perish miserably by my hand.' With that, he and his companions drew their swords, and one cut off the head of Heraclius, another his hands. What became of the ransom we are not told. The story is not creditable to the good faith or the humanity of the barbarians; but it was stated in explanation, though not in justification of the deed, that Heraclius had once ordered some soldiers serving under him, who had committed a trifling military offence, to be thrown into a dry well, and had then compelled their comrades to bury them under a shower of stones. It was the memory of this cruel deed which now cost him his life<sup>1</sup>.

Instead of Heraclius, Illus was sent to prosecute the war against the Gothic mutineers: but soon the face of affairs was changed by the success of the conspiracy in favour of Basiliscus, which was

Rebellion  
of Basi-  
liscus,  
475-477.

<sup>1</sup> Malchus, fr. 4 and 5 (ap. Müller), combined with Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 210.

BOOK IV. in fact hatched at the head-quarters of Illus. Zeno  
 CH. 3.  
 475-477. was now a fugitive, Basiliscus was draped in the purple, and the son of Triarius resumed his place in the Court of Byzantium. He was, however, indignant at finding himself, the veteran and the representative of the great Aspar, constantly postponed to the young dandy Harmatius, 'a man who seemed to think about nothing but the dressing of his hair and other adornments of his person<sup>1</sup>.' Possibly this jealousy made him somewhat slack in upholding the tottering fortunes of Basiliscus. His namesake the Amal, on the other hand, co-operated zealously with Illus and the other generals in bringing about the return of Zeno, who contrived to send messengers to him at his quarters at Novi asking for help<sup>2</sup>. A panegyrist of the great Theodoric<sup>3</sup> in his later years ascribed to him the sole glory of restoring the fugitive and helpless Emperor to his throne; but this no doubt is the exaggeration of a courtier.

Theodoric  
 the Amal  
 in favour  
 at Court.

The upshot of the whole matter is that in the year 478 we find the son of Triarius again outside the pale of the commonwealth, wandering probably up and down the passes of the Balkan, in a state of chronic hostility to the Empire, while his rival, the young Amal king, holds the dignities

<sup>1</sup> Malchus, fr. 8, apud Müller.

<sup>2</sup> Anon. Valesii, 9: 'Zeno confortans Isauros intra provinciam, deinde misit ad civitatem Novam ubi erat Theodoricus, dux Gothorum, filius Walameris, et eum invitavit in solacium sibi adversus Basiliscum.'

<sup>3</sup> Ennodius (Panegyricus, p. 168, ed. Migne).

of Patrician and *Magister Utriusque Militiae*, dignities usually reserved for much older men<sup>1</sup>, and is, by some process in which Roman and barbarian ideas must have been strangely blended, adopted as the Emperor's son-in-arms<sup>2</sup>. It is, however, a curious commentary on the double and doubtful position of the young Ostrogoth, that his duties as *Magister Utriusque Militiae* do not appear to have prevented him from continuing to reside with his people, in the Province of Scythia by the mouth of the Danube.

Soon after the restoration of Zeno to the throne, an embassy came to Constantinople from 'the Goths in Thrace allied with the Empire whom the Romans call *foederati*,' and who were evidently the bands under the command of the son of Triarius. This description, which we owe to the accurate pen of Malchus, is interesting as showing that the term *foederati* was still employed, that these wandering hordes, formidable as they were to the peaceful husbandman, were still nominally the allies of Rome. Nay, the word carries us back a hundred years to the time when Theodosius enlisted the disheartened fragments of the Gothic

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478.  
Embassy  
from  
Gothic  
*foederati*,  
478.

<sup>1</sup> Malchus (ap. Müller, p. 129). The precise character of Theodoric's military rank is a matter of conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> 'Et post aliquod tempus ad ampliandum honorem ejus arma sibi eum filium adoptavit' (Jord. De Reb. Get. lvii). The date is doubtful, but the words of Malchus, ἀνθ' ὧν εἶδει μηδέποτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄλλως πως ἢ πρὸς πατέρα φρονεῖν τε καὶ διατίθεσθαι, seem to refer to the same ceremony, and if so, would fix it to this period.

BOOK IV. nation under his eagles, and perhaps permits us to  
 CH. 3. see in the son of Triarius the natural successor of  
 478. the Ostrogothic chiefs, Alatheus and Saphrax.

Will the  
 Emperor  
 receive  
 Theo-  
 doricus  
 Triarii into  
 favour?

The request preferred by this embassy was that the Emperor would be pleased to be reconciled with *their* Theodoric, who wished for nothing better than to lead a quiet and peaceable life, and refrain from vexing the republic with his arms. On the other hand, they begged the Emperor to consider what harm Theodoric the Amal had done to the State, and how many cities he had destroyed when he too was in opposition. Let Zeno bury old grudges in the grave of Basiliscus, and only consider which cause was really most for the advantage of the Roman world.

Consulta-  
 tion with  
 the Senate,

On receiving this message the Emperor convoked a meeting of the Senate and desired the advice of that body as to his reply. The Senators answered that it was out of the question to think of taking *both* the Theodorics into his pay, inasmuch as the revenues, even now, scarcely sufficed to supply the regular soldiers with their rations. Which of the two the Emperor would select to honour with his friendship, was a matter for Augustus himself to decide. He then called in to the palace all the common soldiers who were in the city and all the *scholae* (regiments of household troops); mounted the platform (*suggestum*<sup>1</sup>),

and with  
 the army.

<sup>1</sup> βήμα is the word used by Malchus. No doubt the kind of structure from which Trajan is represented in the Column as addressing his soldiers is intended by the historian.



from which a Roman imperator was accustomed to harangue his men; and delivered a long oration of invective against the son of Triarius. 'This man has always been the enemy of the Roman name. He has wandered, ravaging, through the plains of Thrace. He has joined in the cruel deeds of Harmatius, cutting off, like him, the hands of his captives<sup>1</sup>, and has frightened all the agricultural population from their homes. He exercised a disastrous influence on the commonwealth in the affair of Basiliscus, and persuaded that usurper to make away with his Roman troops, on the plea that the Goths would suffice for his defence. And now he sends an embassy, nominally to sue for peace, but really to demand the office of *Magister*. If you therefore have any opinion on these matters, utter it boldly, for, indeed, for this purpose have I summoned you into the palace, knowing that that emperor is likely to succeed who calls his brave soldiers into his counsels.' The soldiers, seeing which way their advice was asked for, all shouted for war with the son of Triarius; and, after a short interval of

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478.

<sup>1</sup> This is how Gibbon, following the Latin version, translates the passage *χειράς τε ἀποτέμνων ἅμα τῷ Ἀρματίῳ*. In Smith's edition this translation is rebuked and 'cutting off *the hands of Harmatius*' is proposed instead. But the old interpretation seems to me allowable and the more probable of the two. In fact it is rendered almost certain by the statement of Suidas (also perhaps extracted from Malchus) concerning Harmatius: Ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος πρὸς τοὺς στασιάζοντας, ὅσους λάβοι τῶν Θρακῶν, τὰς χειράς ἐκτέμνων ἀπέπεμπε. But it is possible that Ἀρματίῳ is a mistake for Ἡρακλείῳ (see p. 85).

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War re-  
solved on.  
478.

hesitation, a defiant answer was returned to his ambassadors. Zeno's resentment against him was further increased by the fact of the discovery of the secret practices of three of the Gothic chief's adherents in the city. These men (one of whom was 'Anthemius the physician') had not only written letters to him themselves, but had forged others (if in truth they were forgeries) from men holding high office in the State, bidding the son of Triarius be of good heart since he had many well-wishers in the city. The three traitors were punished with stripes and exile, the sentence of death being commuted at the express request of the Emperor.

Theo-  
doricus  
Triarii gets  
the best  
of it.

War then, open war, was declared by Zeno on the Gothic *foederati*. It seems, however, soon to have suggested itself to the Emperor, that *his* Theodoric was every day growing weaker, while the son of Triarius was accumulating a larger and larger army; and he accordingly determined, if it were possible, to make peace with the latter on reasonable conditions. He sent therefore to offer him his own previous terms, restoration of his private property (including probably the estates of Aspar), a life unmolested and unmolester, and the surrender of his son as a hostage for the fulfilment of this compact. But the books of the Sibyl were not now for sale at the same price as before. The son of Triarius refused to consent to these terms. He would not send his son as a hostage, nor could he (so he said), now that he had collected so vast a force, live upon the estates which,

carefully husbanded, might have sufficed for his previous wants. No! He would keep his men about him, till some great success, or some great catastrophe, had decided the quarrel between him and Zeno.

The Emperor therefore had no resource but to prosecute the war with vigour. The dioceses of Pontus, Asia, and the East (representing the whole of Asia Minor and Syria) were emptied of their legions, which came flocking to Constantinople. Waggons were procured for the transport of arms, draught oxen were bought, corn and all other necessaries for a campaign were laid up in store, and the great Illus himself was expected to take the command.

For some reason or other, not Illus, but his brother-in-law Martinianus, a much weaker man, was named general. As the imperial army, consisting probably of a number of discordant elements without cohesion or mutual reliance, was rapidly becoming disorganized under the nominal command of this man, Zeno determined to accelerate matters by urging the Amal into action. He sent him a pressing message, urging him to do some deed against the son of Triarius, which might show that he was not unworthily styled *Magister* of the Roman army. Theodoric however, who was no doubt aware of the recent attempt to resume negotiations with his rival, refused to stir until the Emperor and Senate had both bound themselves by a solemn oath to make no treaty with the son of Triarius.

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Imperial  
prepara-  
tions.

Theodoric  
the Amal  
urged into  
action,

BOOK IV. He then arranged a plan of campaign, which in-  
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 478.  
 volved a march with all his forces from Marcianople (*Shumla*) to the Gates of the Balkan. There he was to be met by the *Magister Militum* of Thrace<sup>1</sup>, with 2000 cavalry and 10,000 heavy-armed soldiers. After crossing the Balkans he was also to be met in the valley of the Hebrus and near Hadrianople by 20,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, troops being drawn, if necessary, from Heraclea (*Monastir*) and all the cities and garrisons near Constantinople.

and left  
 unsup-  
 ported.

All these junctions of troops were promised: none of them were performed; and thus Theodoric, who punctually fulfilled his share of the bargain, found himself, after an exhausting march over the rugged Balkan country, with only his Goths, unsupported by the imperial troops, in presence of his enemy, who was encamped on the steep and unassailable cliff of Sondis<sup>2</sup>. A pitched battle was impossible; but skirmishes constantly took place between the soldiers of both armies, when engaged in getting fodder for their horses. Every day, too, did the son of Triarius ride within earshot of his rival's camp, and pour forth a stream of insulting epithets on the head of 'that perjurer, that enemy and traitor to the whole Gothic race, Theodoric. Silly and conceited boy! He does

Insulting  
 words of  
 Theo-  
 doricus  
 Triarii.

<sup>1</sup> So, on the authority of the *Notitia Orientis*, cap. vii, I would translate *ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θράκης*. There was no 'Dux Thraciae.'

<sup>2</sup> Situation unknown. Manso's conjecture, 'Succi,' does not meet with approval.

not understand the disposition of the Romans, nor see through their design, which is to let the Goths tear one another to pieces, while they sit by and watch the game at their ease, sure of the real victory, whichever side is defeated. And we the while, turning our hands against our brethren, like the men who in that story of theirs sprang from the seed of Cadmus, are to be left few in number, an easy prey to the machinations of the Romans. Oh, son of Theudemir! which of all the promises have they kept by which they lured you hither? Which of all their cities opened her gates to you and feasted your soldiers? They have enticed you to your own destruction, and the penalty of your rashness and stupidity will fall on the people whom you have betrayed.'

These words, frequently repeated, produced their effect on the Amal's followers, who came to him, and said that indeed the adversary spoke reasonably, and that it was absurd for them to continue an internecine conflict with their kinsmen for the benefit of the common enemy. The son of Triarius, perceiving that his words were finding entrance, came next day to the crest of an overhanging hill, and thence shouted forth his upbraidings to Theodoric: 'Oh, scoundrel! why art thou thus leading my brethren to perdition? Why hast thou made so many Gothic women widows? Where are now their husbands? What has become of all that abundance of good things which filled their waggons, when they first set forth

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The Amal's troops insist on a coalition between the two Theodorics.

BOOK IV. from their homes to march under thy standard?

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Then did they own their two or three horses apiece. Now, without a horse, they must needs limp on foot through Thrace, following thee as if they were thy slaves. Yet they are free men, and of no worse lineage than thine. Ay! and the time hath been when these penniless wanderers would use a bushel to measure their *aurei*. When the army heard these too truly taunting words, men and women alike came clamouring round the tent of Theodoric, 'Peace, peace with our brethren! Else will we quit thy standards, and take our own road to safety.' The king, who was truly head of a limited monarchy, recognising an expression of that popular voice to which he must defer, came down (doubtless with difficulty smothering his wrath) to the banks of the stream appointed for a conference, met and consulted with the man who had just been calling him a scoundrel and a boy, settled the conditions of peace, and then took and received a solemn oath, that there should be no war thenceforward between the son of Theudemir and the son of Triarius.

Joint embassy to the Emperor.

The reconciled Gothic chiefs sent a joint embassy to the Emperor, demanding, on the part of the son of Triarius, the fulfilment of all promises made to him by Leo, the arrears of pay due for past years, and the restoration of his relatives [the family of Aspar] if still alive, if not, an oath concerning them from Illus, and any of the Isaurian chiefs to whose keeping they might have been con-

signed<sup>1</sup>. The claim of the Amal prince (mingled with complaints of the broken promises of the Emperor) was, that some district should be assigned him for a permanent dwelling-place, that rations of corn should be provided for his people till they could reap their own harvest, and that some of the imperial revenue officers, who were called *Domestici*, should be immediately sent to take account of (and no doubt to legalise) the requisitions which the Goths were then levying on the province. If this were not done, the Amal said, he could not prevent his men, famished and destitute, from supplying their needs in any way they could. This last request curiously illustrates Theodoric's desire not to sink into a mere chief of lawless plunderers, nor to make an irretrievable breach with the Roman *civilitas*.

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To the son of Triarius, Zeno does not appear to have vouchsafed any reply. He answered the Amal's complaints with a wrangling '*Tu quoque*:' 'You said nothing at first about requiring the help of imperial troops to beat your rival; that was an afterthought, when you had already made up your mind to negotiate with him, and you hoped to betray our soldiers into a snare. So, at least, our generals thought, and that was why they would not carry into effect the proposed combinations.'

Zeno's  
reply.

<sup>1</sup> Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄρα τεθνήκασι, τὸν ἑλλοῦν περὶ τούτων ἐπομόσαι καὶ ἄλλους, οἷς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν Ἰσαύρων πιστεύει. What could be the object of asking for such an oath? Was it in order to furnish legal proof of their death, and enable the son of Triarius to enter on their inheritance?

BOOK IV. Nevertheless, if you will even yet be faithful to our  
 CH. 3.  
 478. cause, and will vanquish the son of Triarius, you shall receive £40,000 in gold and £35,000 in silver, paid down, a yearly revenue of £6,000, and the daughter of Olybrius (sprung from the mighty Theodosius) or some other noble Byzantine damsel to wife.'

Zeno's  
 vacillation.

Though aided by high dignities bestowed on most of the Gothic emissaries, all these attempts to break the league between the two Theodorics proved fruitless, and the Emperor saw himself once more compelled to face the reality of war. He again called out his army and announced that he in person would share the hardships, and applaud the valour, of his soldiers. The announcement that, after a century of seclusion in his palace, the Roman Augustus was going to be once more, in the antique sense of the word, an *Imperator*, roused indescribable enthusiasm in the troops. The very men who had before paid large sums to the generals for exemption from military duty, now gladly paid for liberty to fight. The scouts who had been sent forward by the son of Triarius were taken prisoners: a portion of the Amal's guard, who had pressed forward to the Long Wall, were bravely repulsed by the soldiers who were guarding it. This was the outlook one day, and it shows us what immense recuperative energy yet lay in the Roman state-system, if only it had been guided by worthy hands. The next day, all was changed by the palace-bred sloth and cowardice of the



Emperor. It was announced that Zeno would not go forth to the campaign. The soldiers heard the tidings with indignation. They gathered together in angry clusters, and began taunting one another with cowardice. 'Are you men?' they said; 'have you arms in your hands, and will you patiently endure such womanish softness, by which city after city has been sacrificed, and now the whole fair Empire of Rome is going to ruin, and every one who pleases may have a hack at it?' The temper of the troops was so mutinous that by the advice of Martinianus (himself, as has been said, an incompetent commander) they were ordered to disperse into winter quarters, the pretext being alleged that there was a prospect of peace with the son of Triarius. The dispersion was successfully effected, but, as they went, the soldiers growled over their own folly in quitting the neighbourhood of the capital before they had bestowed the purple on some man worthy to wear it and able to save the state.

BOOK IV.  
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479.

However, if Zeno failed to exhibit the courage of the lion, he possessed, and could use with some success, the cunning of the fox. The hope of dissolving the Gothic coalition by intrigue proved to be not illusory. He had tried it before, at the wrong end, when he dangled his bribes and his heiresses before the eyes of the loyal-hearted son of Theudemir. He now sent his ambassadors to the son of Triarius, to see upon what terms he could buy peace with him. They arrived at a critical

He wins over Theodoricus Triarii and dissolves the coalition.

BOOK IV. moment. Theodoric the Amal had swooped down  
 CH. 3. on the fertile country at the foot of Rhodope, was  
 479. carrying off flocks and herds, expelling or slaying  
 the cultivators and wasting their substance. The  
 son of Triarius watched with grim delight these  
 proceedings of 'the friend of the Romans, the son  
 of Augustus:' but at the same time professed to  
 mourn that the punishment was falling on the  
 guiltless peasants, not on Zeno or Verina, whose  
 happiness would not be interfered with, though *they*  
 were reduced to the extreme of misery. In this  
 mood the ambassadors found him: but all his  
 newly-kindled and virtuous indignation against the  
 Court, as well as his recently professed horror of  
 Goth warring against Goth, vanished before the  
 splendour of their offers. The promise of regular  
 pay and rations to 13,000 Goths to be chosen by  
 himself, the command of two *Scholae*, the dignity  
 of *Magister Praesentalis*<sup>1</sup>, the re-grant of all the  
 offices which he had held under Basiliscus, and the  
 restitution of all his former property, these were  
 the terms which detached the fervid German  
 patriot from his young confederate. As for his  
 relations (the family of Aspar) the Emperor re-  
 turned a mysterious reply: 'If they were dead, it  
 was of no use to say anything more about the sub-  
 ject; but if they were alive they too should receive  
 their old possessions and go to dwell in some city  
 which he would point out to them<sup>2</sup>.' The nego-

<sup>1</sup> Either *Equitum* or *Peditum*.

<sup>2</sup> Is it possible that these men, like so many others who had

tiation was finally ratified on these lines. Money was sent for distribution among the Triarian Goths, and their leader stepped into all the dignities which were previously held by the Amal, but of which the latter was now formally divested. In this 'triangular duel' each combination had now been tried. 'Zeno and the Amal against the son of Triarius' had given place to 'the two Theodorics against Zeno,' which in its turn was now replaced by 'Zeno and the son of Triarius against the Amal.'

BOOK IV.  
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Of the immediate effect of the announcement of this combination on the Amal king we have no information. We find him, however, early in the next year, exasperated by recent losses, bursting, an angry fugitive, into Macedonia, burning towns and killing garrisons without quarter. Stobi having been thus severely handled, he pressed on to Thessalonica. The inhabitants of that city, ever an excitable and suspicious people, conceived an idea that the Emperor and the Prefect meant to surrender them, unresisting, to the Barbarian. A kind of revolution took place in the city. The statues of Zeno were thrown down, and the mob were on the point of tearing the Prefect to pieces and setting his palace on fire. At the critical moment, the intervention of the clergy and of some

Theodoric  
invades  
Mace-  
donia.

479.

provoked the resentment of the Isaurian party, had been sent under the care of Illus to some stronghold in the Asiatic highlands, and that Zeno himself did not know what had become of them?

BOOK IV. of the most respected citizens averted these crimes.  
 CH. 3. The populace, who were asked to confide the de-  
 479. fence of their city to whom they would, took the  
 keys of Thessalonica from the Prefect and handed  
 them to the Archbishop, whose zeal against the  
 Arian invaders they doubtless felt to be a sufficient  
 guarantee for the tenacity of his defence. A civic  
 guard was formed, a commander was chosen, and  
 his orders were obeyed. In perusing the few lines  
 which the Byzantine historian devotes to these  
 events we might fancy ourselves to be reading the  
 story of Paris in the early days of 'Madame  
 Ligue.'

Another  
 embassy  
 from Zeno  
 to the  
 Amal.

Meanwhile Zeno, finding himself not strong  
 enough to crush Theodoric, determined at least to  
 soothe him, and to avert, if possible, the conflagra-  
 tion of towns and the slaughter of garrisons. He  
 sent an embassy (consisting of his relative Artemi-  
 dorus and of a certain Phocas who had been his  
 secretary when he himself filled the office of  
*Magister Militum*<sup>1</sup>) to remind Theodoric of past  
 favours and dignities conferred upon him, a bar-  
 barbarian by birth, in full reliance on his loyalty.  
 'All these advantages he had lost, through no  
 fault of the Emperor, by giving heed to the crafty  
 suggestions of a man who was their common  
 enemy. But let him at least, in order not to make  
 his case more desperate, refrain from inflicting on

<sup>1</sup> Ἀρτεμίδωρον πέμπει καὶ Φωκῶν τὸν ὅτε ἦν στρατηγὸς γραμματεῖα αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄντα. We get the fact of the relationship between Artemidorus and Zeno from Cassiodorus, Var. i. 43.

the cities of a powerful nation such injuries as it would be impossible to forgive, and let him send an embassy to obtain from the goodness of the Emperor such requests as he could reasonably prefer.' Theodoric, whose own better instincts were ever on the side of civilisation, issued orders that his soldiers should abstain from conflagration and from needless bloodshed, though they were still to live at free-quarters in Macedonia. His messengers returned with the Emperor's ambassadors to Constantinople, and were graciously received there. He himself moved with his army to Heraclea.

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479.

This city, the *Monastir* of our own day, was situated on the great Egnatian Way, a little less than half-way from Thessalonica on the Aegean to Dyrrhachium on the Adriatic. 'Built at the western edge of a noble plain, surrounded by the most exquisitely shaped hills, in a recess or bay formed by two very high mountains, between which magnificent snow-capped barriers is the pass to Akridha<sup>1</sup>,' and with one of the main branches of the Axios (*Vardar*) flowing through it, 'a broad and shifting torrent, crossed by numerous bridges,' the city has been for centuries, under Caesar and Sultan alike, a highly important centre of civil and military administration for the great plain of Macedonia. Of that plain, indeed, it does not strictly form a part, being raised as it were

Theodoric  
at Hera-  
clea.

<sup>1</sup> Lear (*Journals of a Landscape-painter in Albania*, p. 51). This book and Tozer's '*Highlands of Turkey*' furnish many interesting pictures of the cities on the Egnatian Way.

BOOK IV. a step above it towards the central highlands, but  
 CH. 3. the great chain of Scardus stretching behind it (to  
 479. which belong the snow-capped barriers mentioned  
 above) far more decisively separates it from the  
 western regions, which were then known as Epirus  
 and Illyria, now as Albania.

Illness of  
 his sister.

The rich presents of the bishop of Heraclea to Theodoric and his followers preserved that city for the present from pillage. He made it his headquarters, and was in fact detained there for a considerable time by the sickness of his sister, a sickness which in the end proved fatal. This fact illustrates the domestic aspect of the events which we are now following. It was not an army merely, it was an aggregation of families that was roaming over the regions of Thrace and Macedon, and suffering, too often, the hardships so insultingly portrayed by the son of Triarius.

Adamantius arrives  
 with Zeno's  
 offers.

While Theodoric was at Heraclea the answer of Zeno arrived. Theodoric had urged that the ambassador should be a man of high rank and large powers, as he could not undertake to keep the masses of his followers from lawless pillage, if negotiations were unnecessarily protracted. In compliance with this request the Emperor selected as his ambassador, Adamantius the son of Vivianus, patrician, ex-prefect of the city, and consul<sup>1</sup>. Adamantius was empowered to offer the Goths the district of Pantalia (a little south of Sardica, the modern *Sofia*) for their habitation, and a sum of £8000 as

<sup>1</sup> I. e. 'Consul Suffectus.' His name is not in the *Fasti*.

subsistence-money, till they reaped their first harvests in their new settlement. The Emperor's secret motive in selecting this region was, that the Amal would there act, to some extent, as a restraint on the son of Triarius (of whose precise location we are not informed), while, on the other hand, if he himself relapsed into disloyalty, he could be crushed by the converging forces of the Thracian and Illyrian provinces. Possibly Theodoric saw the imperial game: at any rate he was not eager to accept the Pantalian settlement.

For, meanwhile, another idea had been ripening in his brain. Thrace, Moesia, Macedon,—all these districts were impoverished by the marching to and fro of Romans and Barbarians for the last hundred years. Why should he not cross those soaring Scardus ranges on the western horizon, descend upon the rich and flourishing cities of *Epirus Nova*, which (except perhaps in an occasional visit from Gaiseric) had not known an invader for centuries, and there, carving out a kingdom for himself, bring the long wanderings of the Ostrogoths to an end? With this view he commenced a correspondence with Sigismund, a wealthy landowner near Dyrrhachium, who had formerly served in the imperial army, and, though a Goth, was supposed to be loyal to the Romans. This Sigismund was nephew of a certain Edwin<sup>1</sup>,

BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.  
479.

Theodoric  
plans a  
campaign  
in Epirus.

Sigismund  
at Dyr-  
rachium.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀνεψιὸς δὲ ἦν οὗτος Αἰδοῦγγου, Βηρίνης τε μάλιστα οὗτος οἰκειοτάτου καὶ τῆν τῶν λεγομένων δομεστικῶν ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντας, μεγάλην τιὰ οὖσαν τῶν περὶ βασιλεία.

BOOK IV. (with what pleasure do we come upon these true  
 CH. 3.  
 479.  
 Teutonic names in the Byzantine historian's pages!),  
 a man who had great influence with the empress-  
 mother Verina, and had held the high office of  
 captain of the *Domestici*. To him, then, Theodoric  
 sent, reminding him of the tie of relationship which  
 existed between them, and begging his help in  
 obtaining possession of Dyrrhachium and the rest  
 of Epirus, 'that he might thus end his long roving,  
 and having established himself in a city defended  
 by walls, might there receive whatever Fortune  
 should send him.' Sigismund, notwithstanding his  
 presumed philo-Romanism, elected to live under  
 a ruler of his own nation rather than under the  
 Emperor, and at once, repairing to Dyrrhachium,  
 propounded to all his acquaintances there the  
 friendly counsels of panic. 'The barbarian was  
 certainly coming among them: the Emperor ac-  
 quiesced in his doing so: arrangements for that  
 end were at that very moment being concerted  
 with Adamantius. He would advise them, as a  
 friend and neighbour, to use the short interval still  
 left, in removing their families and most precious  
 possessions to the shelter of some other city or  
 some island, before the Goths were upon them.'  
 By these suggestions, coupled with hints of the  
 Emperor's displeasure, if the city were defended  
 against his will, and judiciously aided by the con-  
 tinual fabrication of fresh and more alarming ru-  
 mours, he persuaded not only the chief citizens,  
 but even two thousand soldiers who were stationed



there, to flock out of the city, and was soon able to send word to Theodoric inviting him to claim an unresisting prize.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 3.  
479.

The messenger arrived, just when the death of his sister had set Theodoric free to march from Heraclea. He called for a parley with the inhabitants of that city, who, notwithstanding the absence of outrages, had taken the alarm, and gone forth to a stronghold in the neighbourhood<sup>1</sup>. To these refugees he offered that he would withdraw with all his people from the town, if they would supply him with a considerable quantity of corn and wine as provision for the journey. They declined, saying that their own stores in so small a fortress were scanty; and Theodoric in a rage burned the greater part of Heraclea, all deserted as it was. He then set forth upon his westward journey over the wild and rugged Scardus Mountains, which none of the enemy had dreamed of his attempting to cross. A few Gothic horsemen, sent forward to secure the heights, struck such terror into the garrison of a fortress, erected probably on a shoulder of the snow-crowned Mount Peristeri<sup>2</sup> on purpose to guard the road, that they gave no thought to the defence of the position, but fled from it helter-skelter. Quite reassured as to the success of his expedition by this disgraceful cowardice, Theodoric marched

He sets forth to cross Mount Scardus.

<sup>1</sup> Was this on the same site where now stands the monastery of Bukova 'several hundred feet above the town' which gives Monastir its modern name? (Tozer, i. 170.)

<sup>2</sup> This being the mountain which commands the immediate neighbourhood of Monastir (Tozer, i. 183).

BOOK IV. on, with few or no precautions, in joyous boldness  
 CH. 3. of heart, through the wild and lonely country  
 479. which the Via Egnatia traverses in this part of  
 its course. This was the order of march: Theodoric himself at the head, pushing cheerily forward, eager to see and to surprise the first city on the other side of the mountains; Soas, 'the greatest of all the generals under him,' in the centre; and Theudimund, brother of Theodoric, commanding the rear. It was no slight sign of the King's confidence in the Roman unwillingness to fight or to pursue, that he dared to give to the waggons and the drivers of the beasts of burden, the signal to follow him into this rocky region, where, even against unencumbered troops, brave men might easily, in a hundred places, have 'made a new Thermopylae.'

Theodoric  
 at Ochrida.

Soon after crossing the highest part of the Scardus range (about 3000 feet high), Theodoric and his men came in sight of the broad expanse of what is now called the Lake of Ochrida<sup>1</sup>, larger than any other piece of water between the Danube and the Aegean. At its northern edge rose conspicuous from afar a steep and isolated cliff<sup>2</sup>, dominating the lake and all the surrounding country. Here, where now stands the castle of Ochrida, stood then the town and fortress of Lychnidus, unassailable by storm of armed men, and moreover well supplied with stores of corn, and with abundance

<sup>1</sup> Or Akhrida.

<sup>2</sup> Which Lear compares to the castle-rock of Nice.

of fountains springing up in its enclosure. At this place, therefore, the eagerness of the young Gothic chief was doomed to meet with disappointment. Even Roman soldiers of the fifth century could maintain such a post as this: and Lychnidus refused to surrender. Its garrison did not, however, attempt to bar his way, and when, descending into the valley of the rock-chafed Genusus, after two days' march he reached Scampæ<sup>1</sup>, he found that city (the modern *Elbassan*) left bare of all inhabitants in the midst of its beautiful plain and rich olive-groves, a prey ready to his hand. A day and a-half or two days more brought him to the shores of the Adriatic, half-islanded in whose blue waters, on its long and slender promontory, stood the main object of his quest, the usually rich and busy city of Dyrrhachium.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 3.  
479.

Dyrrhachium, which our Greek historian insists on calling by its old name of Epidamnus, and which we know as Durazzo, is a city of many associations for the classical student. In the pages of Thucydides it figures as the cause, or pretext, of the Peloponnesian War. Caesar faithfully records the severe check which he met with before its walls, and which had well-nigh turned the current of the Civil War and changed the whole after-history of Europe. Owing to the shortness of the crossing between Brundisium and Dyrrhachium the Epirote town was a place familiar to the memory of many

Past history of Dyrrhachium.

<sup>1</sup> Or Scampia, whence probably *Scumbi*, the modern name of the Genusus.

BOOK IV, a Roman general setting forth to administer an  
 CH. 3. Eastern province, of many a Greek man of letters,  
 479. with his face set westward, coming to seek his  
 fortune in Rome. As far as Theodoric is concerned, but little of historical interest is added by his connection with the town. Apparently, the discouraging counsels of Sigismund had produced all their intended effect, and the place was already abandoned, for we are simply told that 'pushing on from Scampae he took Epidamnus.' But it may be allowable to conjecture that now, finding himself beside the waters of Hadria, knowing that he was within fifty miles of Apulia, and perhaps seeing the cloud-like form of Italy in the western horizon, he may then have dreamed the dream, which became a reality when all that fair land from Alps to Aetna was his own.

Expostulations of Adamantius.

When news of this unexpected turn in affairs reached Adamantius, who, as has been said, was especially charged with the conduct of the treaty with Theodoric, he sent one of the mounted messengers, who, being under the orders of the Magister Officiorum, were called *Magistriani*<sup>1</sup>, to expostulate with the Gothic king for resuming hostilities while negotiations were still pending. He entreated Theodoric not to take any further steps in the path of hostility to the Emperor; above all things not

<sup>1</sup> Joannes Lydus, who belonged to the rival department of the Praetorian Prefect, pours forth all his gall on 'the pretentious and inane verbosity of the so-called Magistriani' (ἡ τῶν λεγομένων μαγιστριανῶν κομποφακελλορημοσύνη); De Magist. iii. 7.

to fit out a naval expedition in the harbour of Dyrrhachium, but to send a trusty messenger who should assure him of a safe-conduct, going and returning, if he came in person to renew the conferences. In order to be nearer to the spot, he himself left Thessalonica and came westward, two days' journey<sup>1</sup>, along the Egnatian Way to Edessa.

Edessa (now *Vodena*) has derived both its ancient and modern name<sup>2</sup> from the wealth of waters with which it is encircled. It stands on a curving shelf of rock, overlooking the whole wide plain of Lower Macedonia; and the river Lydias, dividing itself behind the city into several branches, comes foaming over this rocky screen in innumerable cascades, which remind a traveller, familiar with Italian scenery, of Tivoli<sup>3</sup>. Behind the city, tier on tier, rise three ranges of magnificent mountains, Scardus himself apparently dominating all. The fact that it commands the chief pass leading into these Macedonian highlands is no doubt the reason why the early Macedonian kings fixed their capital there; as it was also the reason why, in this awkward crisis of the Gothic campaign, Adamantius selected it as the scene of his council of war.

At this council he met Sabinianus, a man, as we shall see, of somewhat peculiar and stubborn character, but who, as a skilful general and a firm

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Adamantius at Edessa.

Conference with Sabinianus.

<sup>1</sup> Sixteen hours according to Tozer (ii. 365).

<sup>2</sup> Edessa from *bedu*, Phrygian for water; Vodena from *voda*, Slavonic for the same (Tozer, i. 157).

<sup>3</sup> Lear, p. 38.

BOOK IV. CH. 3.  
479. disciplinarian, towered far above the dead level of inefficiency, reached by most of the commanders of that time<sup>1</sup>. He also met there Philoxenus, a Byzantine official of high rank, who had been employed in some of the earlier negotiations with Theodoric. After opening the imperial letters, appointing Sabinianus *Magister Utriusque Militiae per Illyricum*<sup>2</sup>, they proceeded to discuss the military position, which they found truly deplorable. Sabinianus had with him only a small band of soldiers, consisting chiefly of his own followers and dependants, while the bulk of the regular army, such as it was, was scattered through the cities of Thrace, or followed the banners of Onöulph, brother of Odovacar and murderer of Harmatius, who still held some high rank in the imperial service. They could only resolve to send notices of the appointment of Sabinianus in all directions, and summon the troops to his standard.

Negotiations for a conference with Theodoric.

Meanwhile the horseman sent by Adamantius to Theodoric returned, bringing with him a Gothic priest who had been sent to ensure his safe passage through the barbarian ranks<sup>3</sup>. They took the

<sup>1</sup> 'Sabinianus magnus Illyricianae utriusque militiae ductor creatus, curiam fragilem, collapsumque justum Reipublicae censum, vel praepaventem fovit, vel dependentem tutatus est. Disciplinae praeterea militaris ita optimus institutor coercitorque fuit, ut prisca Romanorum ductoribus comparetur. Theodoricum idem Sabinianus regem apud Graeciam debacchantem, ingenio magis quam virtute deterruit.' Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 479.

<sup>2</sup> Marcellinus (see above).

<sup>3</sup> 'Having with him a priest (*ιερέα*) of the barbarians whom

priest with them, and at once proceeded to Lychnidus (*Ochrida*), which still held out for the Empire; and were met at the gates by the magistrates and chief citizens of that strong and wealthy city by the lake. Negotiations followed for an interview with Theodoric, who was asked either to come, himself, to some place in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus, or to allow Adamantius to visit him at Dyrrhachium, sending his lieutenant Soas and another eminent Goth, to be kept as pledges for the ambassador's safe return. The two Goths were sent, but ordered not to advance beyond Scampia (*Elbassan*) till Sabinianus should take a solemn oath that, on the return of Adamantius, they too should be dismissed safe and sound. This was indeed negotiating at arm's length, but no doubt Theodoric, during his ten years' residence at Byzantium, had learned how far it was safe to trust to Roman honour. To this proposition, however, Sabinianus returned an answer, as to which we would gladly know whether it was a mere piece of contrariety, or whether it was founded on loyalty to the Teacher who said 'Swear not at all.' He declared that he had never in his life sworn about any matter, and would not now break a resolution of this kind, which he had formed long ago. Adamantius begged him to make some concession to the Christians call presbyter (*πρεσβύτερον*). Photius says that Malchus was 'not outside the Christian religion' (*οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ θιάσου*). But it is not easy to understand why any writer, whether Christian or heathen, should think it needful to explain such very obvious words as these.

BOOK IV. the necessity of the times, and not to allow all  
 CH. 3. the negotiations to collapse for want of those few  
 479. words from him ; but all that he would reply was,  
 ‘ I know my duty, and shall not deviate from the  
 rule which I have laid down for myself.’

Adamantius at the  
 torrent's  
 edge.

Finding it impossible to overcome the scruples of this obstinate Non-Juror, Adamantius, whose heart was set on fulfilling his mission, started at evening ; and by a series of difficult mountain-paths, on which, it was said, no horse-hoof had yet trodden, he worked round to a steep hill overlooking Dyr-rhachium, but separated from it by a precipitous ravine through which a deep river ran. Halting here, he sent messengers for Theodoric, who came with a few horsemen to the river's brink. Adamantius, having posted some men on the crown of the hill to prevent a surprise, came down to his side of the river. Theodoric dismissed his attendants, and the two chiefs conversed with one another alone, the mountain torrent foaming and brawling between them. The Gothic King unfolded his complaints against the Roman Emperor, complaints which the Byzantine historian who records them considers well founded.

Complaints  
 of Theo-  
 doric.

‘ I was willing enough,’ said he, ‘ to dwell quietly outside the limits of Thrace, in my Moesian home, almost on the very confines of Scythia, obeying the Emperor and harming no man. Who brought me forth from my retirement, and insisted on my taking the field against the son of Triarius ? The Emperor and his ministers. They promised that



the Master of the Soldiery for Thrace should join me with an army : he never made his appearance. Then that Claudius, the steward of the Gothic funds, should meet me with the pay for my troops<sup>1</sup>: he, too, was invisible. Thirdly, the guides who were assigned to me, instead of taking the smooth and easy roads which would have brought me straight to the enemy's camp, led me up and down all sorts of break-neck places, where, if the enemy had attacked me, with all my long train of horses and waggons and camp furniture, I must inevitably have been destroyed. Thus brought at a disadvantage into the presence of our enemies, I was obliged to make peace with them. And in truth I owe them great thanks for having saved me alive, when owing to your treachery they might easily have annihilated me.'

Adamantius tried to answer these just complaints. He reminded Theodoric that he, when quite a young man, had received from the Emperor the dignities of Patrician and *Magister Militum*, dignities which were generally reserved for old and long-trying public servants. For these and many other favours he was indebted to the Emperor, whom he ought to look up to and reverence as a

BOOK IV.  
CH. 3.  
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Reply of  
Adamantius.

<sup>1</sup> This I presume must be the translation of ἔπειτα καὶ Κλαύδιον τὸν τοῦ Γοθικοῦ ταμίαν σὺν τῷ ξενικῷ ἤξιεν. The 'Gothicum' (somewhat like our *Danegeld*) must be a fund specially set apart for buying off Gothic depredations: the 'Xenicum' the pay of foreign mercenaries, as distinguished from that of the Roman legionaries.

BOOK IV. father <sup>1</sup>. His recent conduct, however, was quite  
 ЧН. 3.  
 479. intolerable. By the artifice of sham negotiations he had contrived to break out of Thrace, in which the Romans, had they been so minded, could easily have penned him up between the rivers and mountains by which that province was girdled, and had attacked the splendid and flourishing cities of Epirus. It was impossible for the Romans to abandon these cities to him, and equally impossible for him permanently to resist the Romans. Let him therefore go into Dardania <sup>2</sup>, where was a wide and pleasant and fertile country, absolutely longing for cultivators, and there see all his followers well nourished, while at the same time he lived in peace with the Empire.

Theodoric's  
 rejoinder.

Theodoric replied with a solemn asseveration that he himself would gladly accede to this proposition; but his army, worn out with long marches, must be allowed to repose for the winter in their present quarters. When spring came, he would be willing to deposit all his goods and all the non-combatant population in some city to be indicated by the Emperor, to surrender his mother and sister as hostages of his fidelity, and then to march with all speed into Thrace, with 6000 of his bravest warriors. With these and the troops quartered in Illyricum and such other forces as the Emperor

<sup>1</sup> Probably an allusion to Theodoric's adoption as son-in-arms by Zeno.

<sup>2</sup> A district near the modern Sofia, practically equivalent to the previously offered Pantalía.

might please to send him, he would undertake to destroy every Goth in Thrace<sup>1</sup>. A strange promise certainly to be made by this, the ideal Teutonic hero. Of course, as his own followers were all now quartered in Epirus, this sweeping destruction was intended only for the bands which followed the son of Triarius; but even so, considering his recent alliance with that chief and the appeal to their common Gothic nationality on which that alliance had been based, one would be glad to think that the Byzantine historian had misreported the proposals of the son of Theudemir. The reward which he claimed for these services was that he should again receive his old office of *Magister Militum*, the insignia of which should be stripped off from the hated son of Triarius, and that he should be received into the capital, 'there to live as a citizen after the Roman fashion<sup>2</sup>.' A striking evidence this of Theodoric's genuine appreciation of that '*civilitas*' which we shall hereafter find so persistently commended by his most famous minister<sup>3</sup>. An indication that his thoughts were already turning, if not yet with any steadiness of purpose, towards Italy, is furnished by a still more startling proposal, that if the Emperor would but give the word, he would march off into Dalmatia in order to restore the exiled Nepos—a kinsman, be it remembered, of Zeno—to the Western throne.

<sup>1</sup> Τοὺς ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ Γότθους ἀναλώσειν ἅπαντας.

<sup>2</sup> Καὶ εἰσδεχθῆναι εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν πολιτεύσοντα τρόπον.

<sup>3</sup> Cassiodorus.

BOOK IV.

CH. 3.

479.  
They part.

To all these overtures Adamantius as yet could only reply, that he had no power to treat while Theodoric remained in Epirus. But let him abstain from offensive warfare, and all these matters should be laid before the Emperor for his decision. And thus they parted.

Signal disaster of the Goths.

While these negotiations were proceeding between Adamantius and the Gothic King, the troops summoned to the standard of Sabinianus had been flocking in to the lake-mirrored fortress of Lychnidus, with an alacrity rare in those degenerate days. Word was brought to the Roman general that a large detachment of the barbarians was descending, in leisurely fashion, the Candavian range of hills which intervene between Dyrrhachium and Lychnidus. They were encumbered with baggage and a long train of waggons; and the rear of the army, commanded by Theudimund brother of Theodoric, had not yet reached the plain. To render the prize more tempting, it was stated that the mother of Theodoric and Theudimund was also with the rear-guard. The conscience of Sabinianus, too scrupulous to swear, could not resist the opportunity of striking so easy a blow, although the pending negotiations of Adamantius rendered such a course somewhat dishonourable. He sent a small body of infantry round over the mountains, with precise instructions when and where to attack the barbarians. He himself started after supper with the main body of his army, and fell upon the Goths at dawn. Surprised and panic-stricken, Theudi-

mund fled with his mother into the plain, breaking down, as he went, a bridge by which they had crossed a very deep ravine. This precaution secured their own retreat, but prevented the escape of the rest of their countrymen. The latter at first, with the courage of despair, fought against the cavalry of Sabinianus. But when the other body of troops, the infantry who had been sent round, appeared over the crest of the mountain, there was no longer any hope of escape. Most of the Goths were cut to pieces, but more than 5000 were taken prisoners, the more nobly-born of whom were kept in ward, no doubt for the sake of their ransoms, while the rank and file were assigned as slaves to the soldiers, among whom also the booty was divided. Two thousand Gothic waggons fell into the hands of the Romans. Only a short time before, Sabinianus had issued requisitions on the Macedonian cities for a large number of those vehicles. These requisitions were at once countermanded, and indeed, after the wants of the army were fully supplied, so many waggons remained that the blaze of their burning soon lighted up the defiles of Mount Candavia, over which the general despaired of transporting them in safety.

BOOK IV.

CH. 3.

479.

On the return of Sabinianus to Lychnidus, he found Adamantius there, having just come back from his mission to Theodoric. Each sent an account of his operations to the Emperor, Adamantius pleading for peace, Sabinianus magnifying his recent success and beseeching Zeno to make

Report to  
the Em-  
peror.

BOOK IV. no peace with the barbarian, who might certainly  
 CH. 3. now be driven out of the province, if not utterly  
 479. crushed. The large boasts of the general told on  
 the unstable mind of the Emperor, who decided  
 that war was more honourable than peace, and  
 directed Sabinianus to carry on uncompromising  
 hostilities against Theodoric with all the troops that  
 he could muster. For some unexplained reason there  
 was associated with him in this commission a man  
 named Gento, a Goth by birth, who had married  
 a wealthy Roman lady of the province of Epirus,  
 and who possessed considerable local influence.

The war to  
 be con-  
 tinued.

Adamantius, making a virtue of necessity, as-  
 sembled the troops, addressed them in an eloquent  
 harangue, praised their past valour, and exhorted  
 them to a continued exercise of that peculiarly  
 Roman quality, courage. He then read them the  
 Emperor's proclamation, and stimulated them with  
 the usual promises of special imperial favour for such  
 soldiers as should distinguish themselves by their  
 zeal. He was welcomed with shouts of applause,  
 and had the gratification of making a very success-  
 ful oration. 'And so,' says Malchus, surely with a  
 slight touch of scorn, 'Adamantius disappeared, not  
 having done anything besides.'

The story  
 left half-  
 told.

From this point onwards we have no further in-  
 formation from Malchus concerning the history of  
 Theodoric, and our most valuable spring of know-  
 ledge thus dries up at once. The excuse for nar-  
 rating so minutely the events of a few months in  
 the life of the Ostrogothic king must be that, for

no other part of a life extending over seventy-two years, and rich in momentous deeds, have we a history, for fulness, clearness, and vividness of colour, at all comparable to these fragments of the work of a Byzantine rhetorician fortunately preserved by the industry of a literary emperor. Compelled as we are to trace, by mere conjecture, the vague outlines of the history of Theodoric for the next nine years, we must conclude that for some reason or other his attempt to establish himself in Epirus proved a failure. Possibly he was too much weakened, and the provincials too much encouraged, by the battle of the Candavian Mountains, for him to maintain himself with force in the midst of a hostile population. Possibly also it was not altogether safe for him to relinquish entirely his communications with the Lower Danube, across which may have flowed the streams of Teutonic migration constantly refilling his wasted ranks.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 3.  
479.

479-488.

The narrative returns for a brief space to his rival, the son of Triarius. At the time of the insurrection of Marcian (which occurred probably a few months after the Amal's invasion of Epirus), he marched with great alacrity to the gates of Constantinople<sup>1</sup>. It was easy to see, however, that this promptness proceeded from no exuberance of loyalty towards Zeno, but rather showed an inclination on the part of the Goth to fight for his own hand. The Emperor sent to thank

Theo-  
doricus  
Triarii  
and the  
revolt of  
Marcian,  
479.

<sup>1</sup> Marcellinus Comes says that he came to Anaplus, at the fourth milestone from the city.

BOOK IV. him for his eagerness, but also to beg him to return  
CH. 3. without entering the city, lest he should awaken  
479. a fresh spasm of panic in the minds of the citizens,  
only just settling down after the exciting scenes of  
the Marcianic war. The son of Triarius replied,  
almost in the words of his namesake, that he him-  
self would gladly comply with the Emperor's com-  
mand; but his army was large and unruly and he  
feared that they would not obey the signal of retreat  
without tasting the pleasures of the capital. Pri-  
vately, he reckoned not only on the feeble state of  
the fortifications, but yet more on the hatred of the  
mob of Constantinople to the Isaurian monopolisers  
of the favour of the Court, a hatred so intense that  
even the Goths might be welcomed as deliverers.  
The Emperor knew that this was his calculation,  
but knew also something of the desperation with  
which his countrymen would cling (as, ten years  
later, they did cling) to their hold of the capital.  
On all grounds, therefore, it was of the utmost  
importance to get the Gothic army quietly away  
from the gates. Pelagius the Silentiary (the same  
man who was afterwards sacrificed to the jealousy  
of the dying Emperor) was sent, with great sums of  
money for the son of Triarius and his followers,  
with promises of larger presents to come, and threats  
of the consequences of disobedience, to adjure them  
to depart from the city. The avarice inherent in  
the Gothic mind was roused by the actual sight of  
the dazzling hoards, and the mission of Pelagius  
was successful in inducing the barbarians to return.



Not so, however, with the demand for the surrender of Procopius the brother of Marcian, and Busalbus his friend. To this request the warrior gave a positive denial, saying 'that he would obey the Emperor in all other matters, but it was not a righteous thing for the Goths, nor for any one else, to betray suppliants, who had fled to them for protection, into the hands of enemies who were thirsting for their blood.' The two refugees accordingly lived for some time under his protection, cultivating a small estate. Eventually, as we have seen, they made their escape to Rome<sup>1</sup>.

It is probably to this period that we must refer a statement made by Joannes Antiochenus that 'the trouble caused to the state by the pair of Theodorics<sup>2</sup> marching up and down and sacking the cities of Thrace compelled the Emperor to form an alliance with the *Bulgarians*, whose name then appears for the first time in history.' A Turanian people, possibly true Huns, without doubt one of the vast medley of tribes who thirty years before had followed the standards of Attila, the Bulgarians have, as is well known, in the course of centuries become thoroughly Slavonised, and looked to Russia, not to Turkestan, as the lode-star of their race. When the diplomatists of Europe, a few years ago, were revising the treaty of St. Stefano at Berlin, and discussing the respective claims of the big and the little Bulgaria, they were but working

BOOK IV.  
CH. 3.  
479.

First mention of the Bulgarians.

<sup>1</sup> Malchus apud Müller, iv. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Ἡ τῶν Θεωδερίχων συζυγία (Jo. Ant. ap. Müller, iv. 619).

BOOK IV. out the latest terms of an equation which was first  
 CH. 3. stated amid the vexations that 'the pair of Theo-  
 479. doric's' caused to the statesmen of Constantinople.

Theodoric  
 the Amal  
 and the  
 Bulgarian  
 king.

Theodoric the Amal appears, at some such time as this, to have met the leader of the Bulgarians in single combat, to have wounded him, but not mortally, and to have forced his nation to submit to humbling conditions of peace<sup>1</sup>.

Theo-  
 doricus  
 Triarii  
 again in re-  
 volt,  
 481.

Two years later (481) the son of Triarius, now apparently again in open enmity to Zeno, having obtained some successes against these Hunnish-Bulgarian allies of the Empire, drew near to the gates of Constantinople. He had all but succeeded in taking it, in which case perhaps the Eastern Empire would have survived her sister of the West only five years. But either the bravery of Illus<sup>2</sup>, or a cleverly fomented conspiracy among his own followers<sup>3</sup>, obtained for the capital a fortunate reprieve. The Goth moved across the harbour to Galata; made another attempt, which again failed; marched ten miles up the Bosphorus, thinking to cross over into Bithynia; was worsted in a naval engagement, and then moved westwards into Thrace, meditating an expedition into the comparatively undevastated regions of Greece. He rode at the head of 30,000 Goths; and his wife Sigilda, his two brothers, and his son Recitach ac-

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be the meaning of an obscure and windy paragraph in Ennodius' Panegyric on Theodoric (Migne's *Patrologia*, lxiii. 171).

<sup>2</sup> This is the cause alleged by Joan. Ant. (p. 619).

<sup>3</sup> This is the account of Evagrius, iii. 25.

accompanied him. We see that in his case, as in BOOK IV. that of the other Theodoric, of Alaric, and no doubt CH. 3. of many another Teutonic chieftain, the march of 481. the general meant also the migration of his family.

Moving along the Egnatian Way, they had Death of Theodoricus Triarii. reached a place on the Thracian coast more than 200 miles from Constantinople, which, in memory of that savage Thracian king who in the days of Hercules used to feed his horses on human flesh, still bore the name of *The Stables of Diomed*. Here the chief, one day wishing to take some exercise, ordered his horse to be brought to his tent-door. In those days, before the invention of stirrups, a Roman noble generally mounted with the assistance of a groom<sup>1</sup>. The son of Triarius, however, though probably past middle life, disdained such effeminate habits, and always vaulted to his seat unaided. This time, however, before he was fairly astride of his horse, the creature, which was wild and mettlesome, reared up in the air and danced about on its hind legs<sup>2</sup>. Theodoric tried to get the mastery of the horse, but did not dare to grasp the bridle lest he should pull it over upon him. Rider and horse, thus swaying backwards and forwards, came up to the tent-door, before which a spear with a thong fitted to it was hanging, in the fashion of the barbarians.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀναβολεύς, *strator*. It was in this capacity that the haughty Persian king, Sapor, made use of the captive emperor Valerian.

<sup>2</sup> Ὁ δὲ (ἵππος) ἀγελαιῖός τις ὦν καὶ ὑβριστῆς . . . μετεωρίζει τῷ πρόσθε πῶδε, τῷ ὀπισθίῳ μόνῳ ἀκροβατῶν. Even the Greek words suggest the idea of a horse in a circus.

BOOK IV. Jostled by his unruly steed against the spear, the  
 CH. 3. chief was pierced by it in his side and forced to  
 481. dismount. He took to his bed, and soon after  
 died of the wound. Henceforward the undisputed  
 right to the name Theodoric passes over to his  
 Amal rival<sup>1</sup>.

Dissen-  
 sions in his  
 family.

Sigilda, wife of the dead chief, buried her  
 husband by night. Dissensions broke out in his  
 family. His two brothers tried to grasp the  
 leadership and to oust his son, relying perhaps  
 in part on a rumour which strangely obtained  
 currency, that the death which has been so mi-  
 nutely described was, after all, not accidental,  
 but that Recitach, indignant at having received  
 personal chastisement from his father, had re-  
 paid the insult by parricide. The lad, however,  
 bided his time. Before long he deprived his  
 uncles of life, and grasped the leadership of the  
 thirty thousand followers of his father—a leader-  
 ship which he employed to inflict yet more cruel  
 sufferings on the provincials of Thrace than those  
 which they had endured at his father's hands<sup>2</sup>.

Recitach  
 his son  
 slain by  
 Theodoric.

After this he must have been reconciled to the  
 Empire (there is a wearisome inconstancy both in  
 the friendships and the enmities of these guerilla  
 chiefs), for the last information that we have  
 concerning him is that the Emperor Zeno, per-

<sup>1</sup> The death of Theodoric is told with great minuteness by  
 Evagrius (probably quoting from Eustathius), iii. 25. The  
 above account is taken almost verbatim from him.

<sup>2</sup> Joannes Antiochenus, pp. 619-620.

ceiving that Recitach was becoming disaffected through envy of Theodoric, ordered the Gothic king to destroy him, which he accordingly did, 'although Recitach was his cousin, having an old grudge against him because of the murder of his ——' (A defect in the MS. leaves us in doubt as to the nature of this old grievance.) Theodoric fulfilled the bloody commission by piercing his young rival under the fifth rib when he was on his way from the bath to the banquet<sup>1</sup>. The murder of Recitach is one of the few blots on the generally fair fame of Theodoric.

By the extinction of the house of Triarius, the Amal became the undisputed head of the Gothic nation in the Eastern peninsula. Thirty thousand men were added to his army, but these implied more than thirty thousand mouths for which he must find provisions. It was impossible for him, at the head of his roving bands of hungry warriors, to settle down into an orderly, hard-working *magister militum* in Thrace. For six years following the death of his elder rival, he vibrated to and fro with apparent absence of purpose between Romanism — using the word in a political sense — and barbarianism. In 482 he laid waste the two Macedonias and Thessaly, and plundered Larissa the capital of the latter province. In 483, 'being almost appeased by the munificence of the Emperor Zeno' (says Count Marcellinus, nearly

BOOK IV.  
CH. 3.  
484

Theodoric vibrates between peace and war with the Empire, 481-487.

<sup>1</sup> 'In the suburb called Bonifaciana' (Jo. Ant. 620). I have not been able to identify this.

BOOK IV. our only authority here), 'and being made *Ma-*  
 CH. 3. *gister Militiæ Praesentis*, and designated as Consul  
 483. for the next year, he and his satellites kept for  
 the time within bounds in the portion of Dacia  
 Ripensis and Lower Moesia which had been  
 allotted to him.' His head-quarters appear to  
 have been Novae<sup>1</sup>, on the Lower Danube. It is  
 noteworthy that he was here within fifty miles  
 of Nicopolis, the town which, 130 years before,  
 had formed the centre of the settlement of the  
 Lesser Goths who followed the guidance of 'their  
 Moses,' the pure-souled and pious Ulfilas. Probably  
 this portion of Moesia had never ceased to be  
 strongly Gothic in the character of its population.

Theodoric  
 Consul,  
 484.

The next year (484) saw him in the full glory  
 of *Consul Ordinarius*, wearing the toga, doubtless  
 with the peculiar Gabine cincture which marked  
 the Consulate, giving his name to the year, and  
 liberating a slave by a stroke on the day of his  
 inauguration. There are indications that now, at  
 any rate, if not in the previous year, he took up  
 his abode in Constantinople, and that his enjoy-  
 ment of the pomps and luxuries of the capital,  
 while his followers were suffering the pangs of  
 hunger in their Danubian settlement, was not  
 viewed with approbation by the Goths. They  
 felt the contrast all the more keenly, since his  
 authority, as became a consul and a *magister*  
*militum*, was strenuously exerted to check their  
 old habits of plunder<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Sistova? or Novograd?

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Miscella*, xv. 14.

It was in the year of Theodoric's consulship that he soiled his hands with the blood of his kinsman Recitach, and received the adhesion of his followers. It was in the same year that the revolt of Illus broke out. Theodoric was at first ordered to march for its suppression, but he had not proceeded further than Nicomedia in Bithynia, when the timid and suspicious Zeno recalled him and his Goths, and committed the imperial cause to the championship of his strange allies from the middle Danube, the Rugians, under the command of a son of Aspar. This evidence of distrust no doubt alienated the high-mettled Gothic king. In 486 he broke out into open revolt and ravaged a part of Thrace<sup>1</sup>; and in the following year with a large army (swollen no doubt by all the Triarian Goths) he came up to the very gates of Constantinople, and took the town of Melantias on the Sea of Marmora and only fourteen miles from the capital<sup>2</sup>. He found himself, like countless other generals before and after him, unable to take the city of Constantine; but, before he returned to his head-quarters at Novae, the citizens saw the flames ascending from many towns and villages, and knew that they were kindled by the followers of the man who but three years before had ridden through their streets as a Roman Consul.

This endless vacillation between friendship and enmity to Rome was an unfruitful and unstates-

<sup>1</sup> Joannes Antiochenus, p. 621.

<sup>2</sup> Marcellinus Comes, s. a.

BOOK IV.

CH. 3.

484.  
Revolt of  
Illus.

Theodoric  
at the gates  
of Constantinople.

BOOK IV. manlike policy; and we may be sure that Theo-  
 CH. 3. doric recognised the fact as clearly as any one.

488.

But the time was now ripe for the execution of another project, which would find full employment for all the warlike energies of his people, and which, if it succeeded, would give him a fixed and definite position among the rulers of the earth, and would exempt him from the necessity of marching up and down through the thrice-harried Thracian plains, to extort from the wretched provincials food for his almost equally wretched followers.

Scheme for  
 the inva-  
 sion of  
 Italy  
 (Gothic  
 version).

The scheme shall first be told in the words of Jordanes, who without doubt is here quoting from Cassiodorus, the friend and minister of Theodoric: ‘Meanwhile Theodoric, who was bound by covenant to the Empire of Zeno, hearing that his nation, abiding as we have said in Illyricum [?], were not too well supplied with the necessaries of life while he was enjoying all the good things of the capital, and choosing rather, after the old manner of his race, to seek food by labour than to enjoy in luxurious idleness the fatness of the Roman realm while his people were living in hardship, made up his mind and spoke thus to the Emperor: “Though nothing is wanting to me for my service to your Empire, nevertheless, if Your Piety think fit, I pray you to hear freely the desire of my heart.” Then, as was wont, leave was granted him to speak without reserve. “The Hesperian clime,” said he, “which was



formerly subject to the rule of your predecessors, and that city which was once the capital and mistress of the world,—why should they now be tossed to and fro under the usurped authority of a king of Rugians and Turcilingians? Send me thither, if it please you, with my people, that you may be relieved from the expense which we cause you here, and that there, if by the Lord's help I conquer, the fame of Your Piety may beam brightly forth. For it is fitting that I, your son and servant, if victorious, should hold that kingdom as your gift; but it is not fitting that he, whom you know not, should press his tyrannical yoke upon your Senate, and that a part of the Roman Republic should languish in the bondage of captivity under him. In brief, if I conquer, I shall possess the land as of your gift and by your grant: if I am conquered, Your Piety will lose nothing, but rather, as before said, will save the heavy charges which we now bring upon you." On hearing this speech the Emperor, though sorry to part with Theodoric, yet not wishing to sadden him by a refusal, granted what he desired; and, after enriching him with great gifts, dismissed him from his presence, commending to his protection the Senate and People of Rome.'

This is the account of the transaction given by Jordanes. The Byzantine authorities put a slightly different colour upon it. *Procopius* says, 'The Emperor Zeno, a man skilful in expedients

Byzantine  
version.

BOOK IV. of a temporary kind<sup>1</sup>, exhorted Theodoric to march  
 CH. 3. to Italy, and, entering the lists against Odoacer, to win the Western Kingdom for himself and the Goths. He showed him that it was better for him, now especially that he had attained the dignity of Senator, by the overthrow of a tyrant to obtain the rule over all the Romans and Italians, than, by continuing the struggle with the Emperor, to run so many risks as he must do. Theodoric then, being pleased with the bargain, departed for Italy;’ and so on.

The author who generally goes by the name of *Anonymus Valesii*, and who clearly writes from Byzantine sources and with a particular regard for the Emperor Zeno, says, ‘Zeno therefore rewarded Theodoric with his favours, making him Patrician and Consul, bestowing on him a large sum and sending him to Italy. With whom Theodoric made a bargain that, if Odoachar should be conquered, he on his arrival should reign in his stead as a reward for all his labours<sup>2</sup>.’

Both partly  
true.

There is evidently a certain conflict of testimony as to the quarter from which the idea of a Gothic invasion of Italy first proceeded. Odovacar, as we

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to translate τὰ παρόντα εἰς τίθεσθαι ἐπιστάμενος without seeming to convey more blame than Procopius perhaps intended.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Cui Theodericus pactuatus est, ut, si victus fuisset Odoachar, pro merito laborum suorum loco ejus, dum adveniret tantum, praeregnaret.’ I do not understand this passage, and cannot profess to interpret satisfactorily ‘dum adveniret, tantum’ or ‘praeregnaret.’

shall see, had made himself obnoxious both to the BOOK IV.  
Byzantine and the Goth. Theodoric's prolonged CH. 3.  
stay in the Danubian regions was a perpetual  
menace to Constantinople; and, whatever Jordanes may feign as to the Emperor's sorrow in parting with his adopted son, Zeno certainly desired few things more earnestly than that he might never see his face again; and Theodoric knew this. When matters have reached this point, when the guest has over-stayed his welcome, and both he and the host are keenly conscious of the fact, it may be difficult to say which first gives the signal for departure; and perhaps the means of escape from a position which each finds intolerable, may present itself simultaneously to both by a process of 'double independent discovery.' Only, in the idea of leading his nation away from the shores of the Danube, haunted by them for a hundred weary years, descending the Alps into Italy and founding an Ostrogothic kingdom on 'the Hesperian shore,' there is a touch of genius which disposes one to look for its conception, rather to the bright and vigorous young Amal king than to the tired brain of the imperial voluptuary.

More important than the question of priority of invention between Zeno and Theodoric is the uncertainty in which the rights of the contracting parties were, no doubt intentionally, left. The Goth asks the Emperor's leave to invade Italy. If Italy was recognised as permanently lost to the Roman Empire, if it was like Dacia or Britain,

What were the rights of Theodoric and the Emperor?

BOOK IV. why was this leave necessary? He says that he  
CH. 3. will hold the new kingdom as his adoptive father's gift. Did that gift fasten any responsibilities to the receiver? Did it entitle the giver to be consulted in the subsequent disposal of the crown? Was it, to borrow an illustration from English law, like a gift 'for life,' or 'to him and the heirs of his body,' or 'to him and heirs general'? In feudal times a transaction such as this could hardly have taken place without the creation of a fief; but it is some centuries too soon as yet to talk of fiefs and vassals of the Empire.

All that we can say, apparently, is that Theodoric was despatched on his hazardous expedition with the imperial approval; that the future relations between the parties were left to accident to determine; but that there was, underlying the whole conversation, a recognition of the fact that Italy and Rome still formed part of the *Respublica Romana*; and out of this fact would spring claims which any *Imperator*, who was strong enough to do so, was certain to enforce.

Before we follow the march of Theodoric and his Goths across the mountains we must first consult our meagre authorities to ascertain what Odovacar has been doing, during the thirteen years that he has been undisputed lord of Italy.

## CHAPTER IV.

FLAVIUS ODOVACAR.

### Authorities.

#### *Sources :—*

OUR sources of information as to the reign of Odovacar BOOK IV.  
are, as will be seen from the narrative, poverty itself. We CH. 4.  
get a few scattered notices, however, from PROCOPIUS, JORDANES, and ENNODIUS (in the Life of St. Epiphanius). The ANONYMUS VALESII and the letters of CASSIODORUS fill up a few gaps in our knowledge. MALCHUS and JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS give us our most valuable information as to the relations of Odovacar with the Eastern Court.

#### *Guides :—*

Tillemont, 'Hist. des Empereurs,' vi. 434-457. Dahn's 'Könige der Germanen,' ii. 35-50. Pallmann, 'Geschichte der Völkerwanderung,' vol. ii. Pallmann's defence of the government of Odovacar is the best thing in his book.

[For ecclesiastical matters the chief sources here are EVAGRIUS and LIBERATUS (a Carthaginian deacon of the sixth century, who wrote a short account of the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies). NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS wrote his Ecclesiastical History in the fourteenth century, but seems to have used the works of nearly contemporary authors.

My guides have been Baronius; Hefele's 'Concilien-geschichte' (vol. ii); Bower's 'History of the Popes' (vol. 2); Gieseler's 'Compendium of Ecclesiastical History' (vol. 2); and Milman's 'History of Latin Christianity' (vol. i).]

THE humiliation of Rome was completed by the events recorded in the preceding volume. There

BOOK IV. was still, no doubt, a legal fiction according to which  
 CH. 4. Rome and Italy yet belonged to the Empire, and were under the dominion of the successor of Augustus, who reigned not in Old Rome by the Tiber, but in New Rome by the Thracian Bosphorus. In fact, however, one will was supreme in Italy, the will of the tall barbarian who in sordid dress once strode into the cell of Severinus<sup>1</sup>, the leader of the Herulian and Rugian mutineers, the conqueror of Pavia, ODOVACAR<sup>2</sup>.

Position of  
 Odovacar.

For thirteen years this soldier of fortune swayed with undisputed mastery the Roman state. He employed, no doubt, the services of Roman officials to work the machine of government. He paid a certain deference, on many occasions, to the will of his nominal superior, Zeno, the Emperor at Constantinople. He watched, we may be sure much more anxiously, the shifting currents of opinion among the rough mercenaries who had bestowed on him the crown, and on whom he had bestowed the third part of the lands of Italy. But, on the whole, and looking at the necessity of concentrated force in such a precarious state as that which the mercenaries had founded, we shall probably not be far wrong if we attribute to Odovacar the effective power, though of course he used not the name, of Autocrat.

The highest praise that can be bestowed on the

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 527.

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen, from the note at the end of this chapter, that this is the true contemporary spelling of the name.

government of this adventurer from the Danubian lands is that we hear so little about it. Some hardship, perhaps even some violence, probably accompanied the compulsory expropriation of the Romans from one-third of the lands of Italy. There is some reason for supposing, however, that this would be in the main only a loss of property, falling on the large landed proprietors. Where the land was being cultivated by *coloni*, bound to the soil and paying their fixed rent or their share of produce to the lord, no great visible change could probably be made. From motives of self-interest, and to gratify his warlike impatience of toil, the Rugian warrior, entering upon the ownership of his *sors*, would generally leave the tillage of the soil in the same hands in which he found it. To him, or rather to his bailiffs (*actores*), instead of to those of the luxurious Roman senator, the *coloni* would henceforward pay their dues, and that would be the whole visible outcome of the late revolution. It seems hardly likely that there can have been much gratuitous cruelty or actual bloodshed on the part of the soldiers of Odovacar, or we should surely have had some hint of it from one of the Byzantine historians. It ought, however, to be mentioned that Ennodius draws a somewhat gloomy picture of the financial oppression of Odovacar's reign; but his purpose of blackening the fallen king in order to glorify Theodoric is so obvious that we need attach but little weight to his testimony. Perhaps his best remark is that Odovacar's consciousness of his own

BOOK IV.

CH. 4.

Character  
of his  
govern-  
ment.

BOOK IV. lowly origin made him timid in the presence of  
 CH. 4. his army, and prevented him from checking their  
 excesses<sup>1</sup>. There are also some expressions in  
 the letters of Pope Gelasius which hint at 'bar-  
 baric incursions' and 'the continual tempest of  
 war<sup>2</sup>' that had afflicted Italy, but the lan-  
 guage employed is extremely vague, and gives  
 us rather the impression of words used to round  
 off a rhetorical period than of a genuine cry of  
 sorrow forced out of the writer by the sight of  
 the misery of his people.

As far as Italy herself is concerned, this part of  
 her annals is an absolute blank, not one of her own  
 sons having said anything at all about it, at least  
 not in a voice loud enough to reach posterity.  
 This absolute extinction of the national conscio-  
 usness, in a people which had once numbered among  
 its sons a Livy and a Tacitus, is one of the strangest

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the meaning of 'Metuebat parentes exer-  
 citus, quem meminisse originis suae admonebat honor alienus ;  
 nam ire ad nutum suum legiones et remeare pavore algidus  
 imperabat. Suspecta enim est obedientia quae famulatur in-  
 dignis,' &c. (Panegyricus, p. 172, ed. Migne.)

<sup>2</sup> Epist. iii. to the Bishops of Dardania (assigned to the  
 year 492): 'Ubi primum respirare fas est a continuorum tem-  
 pestate bellorum, quae in illis provinciis, vel in istis temporibus  
 qualitas incessanter exercuit, cunctos per Dardaniam Domini  
 sacerdotes fraternae sollicitudinis caritate duximus alloquendos.'

Epist. vii (to the Bishops in Picenum): 'Barbaricis hactenus  
 dolebamus incursibus maxime vicinas Urbi provincias et bel-  
 lorum saeva tempestate vastari.'

This last letter is noticeable because there are several indica-  
 tions that the settlements, first of Odovacar's followers and  
 afterwards of the Ostrogoths, were particularly numerous in  
 Picenum.



symptoms of the fifth century. But in truth it seems as if even for the chroniclers, who did in their way try to preserve some of the events of their age from oblivion, the Monophysite Controversy, to us so unintelligible and so wearisome, possessed a fascination which quite diverted their gaze from the portentous spectacle of a barbarian ruling in Italy. It would probably be safe to say that we have three allusions to Timotheus Aelurus, the militant Patriarch of Alexandria, for every time that the name of Odovacar occurs in the pages of the chroniclers.

In geographical extent, the dominions of Odovacar probably did not differ greatly from those of the Roman Emperors of the West during the last twenty-five years of their rule. It is true that Gaul was lost to him. The fair region which we now call Provence, nearly the earliest formed and quite the latest lost *Provincia* of Rome, that region in which the Latin spirit dwelt so strongly that the Roman nobles thought of migrating thither in 401, when Alaric first invaded Italy<sup>1</sup>, refused to submit to the rule of the upstart barbarian. The Provençals sent an embassy to Constantinople to claim the protection of Zeno for the still loyal subjects of the Empire. Odovacar, however, sent his ambassadors at the same time, and again, as before, when the restoration of Nepos was in question, the representations of the new barbarian ruler of Italy prevailed. Zeno, we are told, 'rather in-

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 285.

BOOK IV. CH. 4.           clined to the cause of Odovacar<sup>1</sup>.’ The latter however, who perhaps thought that he had enough upon his hands without forcing his yoke on the Provençals, made over his claim to Euric, king of the Visigoths, whose influence was at this time predominant in Gaul<sup>2</sup>.

Recovery  
of Sicily.

Sicily, which had been for a generation subjected, first to the devastations and then to the rule of the Vandal king, was now by a formal treaty, which must have been nearly the last public act of Gaiseric, ceded to Odovacar, all but a small part, probably at the western end of the island, which the Vandal reserved to himself<sup>3</sup>. A yearly tribute was to be the price of this concession; but, in the decay of the kingdom under Gaiseric’s successors, it is possible that this tribute was not rigorously enforced, as it is also almost certain that the reserved portion of the island, following the example of the remainder, owned the sway of Odovacar.

The other great Italian islands, Sardinia and

<sup>1</sup> We get this important but obscurely described event from Candidus (as abstracted by Photius): Καὶ στασιασάντων αὐτῷ (’Οδοάκρῳ) τῶν δυσμικῶν Γαλατῶν, διαπρεσβευσαμένων τε αὐτῶν καὶ ’Οδοάκρου πρὸς Ζήνωνα, ’Οδοάκρῳ μᾶλλον ἢ Ζήνων ἀπέκλιεν (ap. Müller, iv. 136).

<sup>2</sup> Procopius, De Bello Gothico, i. 12 (p. 64, ed. Bonn). The date of Euric’s conquest of Provence is a much-disputed point.

<sup>3</sup> Victor Vitensis, i. 4: ‘Siciliam Odoacro Italiae regi . . . tributario jure concessit [Geisericus], ex qua ei Odoacer singulis quibusque temporibus ut domino tributa dependit, aliquam tamen sibi reservans partem.’ The sense seems to require that *reservans* should qualify Geisericus: otherwise to couple it with Odoacer would have been the more natural construction.

Corsica, as well as the Balearic isles, formed part of the maritime monarchy of the Vandals, and fell eventually, when it fell, under the sway of Byzantium.

North of the Alps, the dominion of Odovacar was probably more firmly established than had been that of any Italian ruler for a generation. It will be remembered that Raetia, the oblong block of territory which extended from the Alps to the Danube, formed, in the fourth and fifth centuries, a part of the 'Diocese' of Italia<sup>1</sup>. It seems likely that under Odovacar, himself an immigrant from the Danubian lands, and able to draw to his standard many of the bravest and strongest of the adventurers who then roved through that portion of 'Varbaricum,' the passes of the Alps may have been more strongly guarded, and Raetia may have been more of an outpost for Italy, than it had been since the wave of westward migration, at the beginning of the fifth century, changed all the landmarks on the north-western frontier of the Empire. In fact, such indications as we have of the policy of Odovacar would dispose one to think that his face was turned towards the North rather than the South. Peace with the Vandals, peace, if not a very cordial peace, with Byzantium, with an energetic policy towards the Burgundians, Alamanni, Thuringians, Rugians, on whose settlements he looked down from his Raetian stronghold—this was probably the policy of the new kingdom. It

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 226 and 230.

BOOK IV. accorded well herewith that, like Honorius, though  
 CH. 4. not from the same motive of personal timidity,  
 Odovacar fixed his residence at Ravenna rather  
 than at Rome.

Conquest  
 of Dalma-  
 tia, 481.

There came a favourable opportunity for enlarging his kingdom by an extension to the east of the Hadriatic. It will be remembered that Nepos, the exiled Emperor of the West, reigned for some years, apparently as legitimate Augustus, in the province of Dalmatia. As this province belonged to the Western Empire<sup>1</sup>, he probably owned no subjection to his brother Emperor at Constantinople, nor confessed any other inferiority than such as the ruler of a small and precariously held state must have felt in the presence of the undoubted lord of Illyricum and the Orient. We have already met with his ambassadors at the Court of Byzantium vainly entreating one legitimate Emperor to restore the other to his rightful position<sup>2</sup>; and we also more recently have heard the offer of Theodoric the Amal to restore Nepos, if Zeno so willed, to the Western throne<sup>3</sup>. No effectual help, however, was ever really rendered by Zeno to his dethroned kinsman, and in the year 480, as has been already related<sup>4</sup>, Nepos fell by the traitorous blows of the Counts Viator and Ovida at

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 538-539.

<sup>3</sup> See the preceding chapter. The words of Malchus are, "Ἐτοιμος δέ, εἰ προστάξειε βασιλεύς, καὶ εἰς Δαλματίαν ἀπελθεῖν, ὡς Νέπωτα κατάξων (p. 129, ed. Müller).

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ii. p. 514.

his villa near Salona<sup>1</sup>. In the following year BOOK IV.  
 Odovacar transported an army into Dalmatia, con- CH. 4.  
 quered and slew Count Ovida<sup>2</sup>,—perhaps Viator  
 had already fallen in some robber's quarrel over  
 the division of the plunder,—and thus avenged the  
 death of Nepos. There can be no doubt that the  
 result of this campaign was the annexation of  
 Dalmatia to the dominions of Odovacar, though this  
 fact is not expressly asserted by the annalists<sup>3</sup>.

It is worthy of remark that the Byzantine his-  
 torian Procopius<sup>4</sup>, who probably gives the strict  
 legitimist view of the reign of Odovacar, does not  
 consider that reign to have commenced till the  
 death of Nepos, and thus reduces to ten years an  
 interval which, according to the *de facto* view  
 generally adopted by historians, lasted at least  
 fourteen<sup>5</sup>.

From this survey of foreign affairs we pass, to  
 consider the internal condition of his kingdom.

In the first year after he had attained to Death of  
 supreme power he put to death a certain Count Count  
 Bracila, 477.

<sup>1</sup> 'Nepos, quem dudum Orestes imperio abdicaverat. Viatoris et Ovidae comitum suorum insidiis, haud longe a Salonis, sua in villa occisus est' (Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 480).

<sup>2</sup> 'Hoc consule Odoacer in Dalmatiis Odivam [sic] vincit et perimit' (Cassiodorus, s. a. 481).

<sup>3</sup> See the Deed of Gift to Pierius at the end of this chapter, in which Odovacar bestows on Pierius the island of Meleda off the coast of Dalmatia.

<sup>4</sup> De Bello Gothico, i. 1 : Τὴν τυραννίδα ἐς ἑτη ἑκκατὸν δέκα.

<sup>5</sup> From 476 to 490, when Odovacar was finally shut up in Ravenna. Seventeen years (476 to 493) if we reckon to his death. This observation is made by Pallmann, ii. 351.

BOOK IV. Bracila at Ravenna<sup>1</sup>. From the form of the name  
 CH. 4.  
 we should have supposed that this was some barbarian rival, anxious to win the favour of the soldiery and to serve Odovacar as Odovacar had served Orestes. But Jordanes, whose statements, in the great dearth of authentic information, we cannot afford utterly to despise, tells us that it was done 'that he might strike terror into the Romans<sup>2</sup>.' Perhaps, as it had been with Stilicho the Vandal and with Ricimer the Sueve, so now was it with Bracila, the son of some unknown German princeling, that the cause of Rome was most stubbornly maintained by some conspicuous soldier not himself of Roman blood.

Polity of  
 the king-  
 dom.

Possibly the Teutonic adherents of the new ruler, dwelling on the lands wrested from the old possessors and assigned to them, may still have been governed by their old tribal laws, and may have preserved some remains of their tribal organization. Analogy points to this as a probable conclusion, but we have absolutely no information on the subject. There is no doubt however that, for the great mass of the inhabitants of Italy, the old order of things remained unchanged. Justice was still administered according to Roman laws by Roman magistrates. The taxes of the Empire were still collected by Roman *Rationales*. There were

<sup>1</sup> Marcellinus, s. a. 477; Jordanes, De Reb. Get. xlvii.

<sup>2</sup> 'Interea Odoacer rex gentium omnem Italiam subjugatam ut terrorem suum Romanis injiceret, mox initio regni sui Bracilam comitem apud Ravennam occidit;' Jord. De Reb. Get. xlvii.

still Praetorian Prefects, Counts of the Sacred BOOK IV.  
 Largesses, Counts of the Domestics, Masters of the CH. 4.  
 Offices, and all the rest of the administrative and  
 courtly hierarchy introduced by Diocletian and fully  
 developed under Constantine. Only, the centre and  
 mainspring of all this elaborate organization was  
 no longer a Roman emperor, but a nondescript  
 barbarian chief, King in relation to his followers,  
 Patrician in his dealings with the Senate, a man  
 not wearing the imperial purple nor crowned with  
 the diadem<sup>1</sup>, a man who could do everything in  
 Italy except say by what right he ruled there.

One proof that the time of Odovacar's kingship Odovacar's  
ministers.  
 was no mere revel of barbaric licence and anarchy  
 is furnished by the names of Roman administrators  
 —men of high character and position—who served  
 him in the affairs of the state<sup>2</sup>. Chief among  
 these we must place *Liberius*. We are not in- Liberius.  
 formed of the precise position which he occupied  
 at this time, but from the terms, honourable both  
 to the praiser and the praised, in which his faith-  
 ful services to Odovacar are recounted by that  
 king's successful rival, we may infer that it was  
 a prominent one<sup>3</sup>.

Another name with which we are already

<sup>1</sup> 'Nomenque regis Odoacer assumpsit, cum tamen nec purpura nec regalibus uteretur insignibus;' Cassiod. Chronicon, s. a. 476.

<sup>2</sup> Pallmann (*Völkerwanderung*, ii. 332) dwells, as he has a right to do, on the attestation thus furnished to the civilised character of Odovacar's rule.

<sup>3</sup> See Cassiodori Variarum, ii. 16.

BOOK IV. familiar, that of *Cassiodorus*, also emerges into  
 CH. 4. notice in this reign. But, though some historians  
 Cassio- have been of a different opinion, it is now generally  
 dorus admitted that it was not 'Cassiodorus Senator,'  
 (Senior). the minister of Theodoric and historian of the  
 Goths, but his *father* who held office under Odo-  
 vacar. The scanty details of the father's political  
 career will be best reserved till we come to deal  
 with the pedigree and the character of his illus-  
 trious son. It may be mentioned, however, that  
 he seems to have successively filled the two great  
 financial offices of Count of the Private Domains  
 and Count of the Sacred Largesses <sup>1</sup>.

Pierius. *Pierius*, who was *Comes Domesticorum* or Cap-  
 tain of the Guard under Odovacar, was employed  
 to superintend a certain transportation of Roman  
 inhabitants from Noricum to Campania, which will  
 be described in the next chapter. It is an in-  
 teresting fact that there is still extant a deed of  
 gift from Odovacar to this trusted minister. As  
 the document throws some useful light on the  
 internal condition of Italy at this period, and is  
 really the only authentic record of the reign that  
 we possess, it is transcribed in full at the end of  
 this chapter <sup>2</sup>.

Pelagius. *Pelagius*, who filled the high office of Praetorian  
 Prefect, does not show so fair a record as some of  
 the other ministers of Odovacar. We hear his name

<sup>1</sup> For some account of the duties of these offices see vol. i.  
 pp. 222 and 216.

<sup>2</sup> See Note B, On the Deed of Gift to *Pierius*.



only from Ennodius, the biographer of Epiphanius, BOOK IV.  
CH. 4. the saintly bishop of Ticinum, and he assures us that the province of Liguria groaned under his oppressive exercise of the right of *coemptio*, meaning probably the royal prerogative of buying provisions for the army at a fixed price below the market value. By this extortion, which Ennodius attributes to 'the long-concealed but at length forth-blazing ardour of the malice of Pelagius,' but which probably proceeded simply from the poverty of the exchequer, the *possessores* of Liguria found that their taxes, already unendurable, were virtually doubled, and the province was brought to the brink of ruin<sup>1</sup>. Epiphanius, Mission of  
St. Epiphanius. that embodiment of good-nature, whose good offices as mediator were perpetually being invoked on behalf of some injured person or class, was appealed to by the half-desperate Ligurian 'possessors,' set off with alacrity for the court, and obtained, probably after a personal interview with Odovacar, a remission of the obnoxious imposts.

Nor was this the only concession made by the Relief of  
citizens of  
Ticinum. exchequer of the barbarian king to the prayers of the Bishop. Epiphanius had devoted himself to the rebuilding of the churches of Ticinum and Pavia,

<sup>1</sup> 'Nam coemptionum enormitate gravissima tributa duplicabat, reddebatque onus geminum, quod simplex sustinere non poterat' (Vita S. Epiphani, p. 224, ed. Migne). Though *comparatio* is the technical word for what our lawyers call 'purveyance' (see Cod. Th. xi. 15), *coemptio* is also used for it (Cod. Th. xiv. 16. 3), and I have no doubt that it bears that meaning here.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 4.

both of which, as was previously told<sup>1</sup>, had perished in the sack of the city by the revolted mercenaries. Notwithstanding the poverty of his ravaged diocese, and the opposition of 'that crafty serpent,' the devil, to whose agency his biographer attributes the fall of the colonnaded wall of one of the churches<sup>2</sup>, the Bishop succeeded in raising both edifices, in a marvellously short space of time, to their old height, and perhaps in restoring them to their former splendour. An accident which occurred in the progress of the work, the fall of the workmen with a large hoisting machine from the very cupola of the second church<sup>3</sup>, raised the Bishop's fame to a yet greater height, since the people attributed it to his prayers, efficacious to delay the ruin and to check the falling stones in mid-air, that not a bone of one of the workmen was broken. Epiphanius, however, considerably remembered that the restoration of the ecclesiastical glories of his city would not repair the ruined fortunes of its inhabitants,—perhaps even he had been forced to solicit for the purpose contributions which were as hardly spared as the widow's mite,—and he therefore appealed for aid

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 533.

<sup>2</sup> 'Extemplo alterius ecclesie tum columnatus repente paries impulsu callidi serpentis ejectus est.' The 'columnatus paries' is well illustrated by the earliest churches of Rome and Ravenna.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ab ipso templi tholo artifices cum ingenti machina corruerunt: nullus tamen eorum aut crure debilis factus est, aut aliqua membrorum parte truncatus.' We have another interesting architectural hint in the word 'tholus' (cupola).

to Odovacar, who directed that Ticinum should enjoy a five years' exemption from tribute. The biographer adds that of all the citizens the Bishop who had obtained the boon reaped the least benefit from it, so modest was he in putting forward his own claims for exemption<sup>1</sup>.

Such benefits, granted by the barbarian and heretical king at the request of the Catholic bishop, are honourable to both parties. But there are not wanting indications that, in his attitude towards the head of Catholic Italy, towards the Bishop of Rome himself, Odovacar exhibited the same spirit of wise and dignified toleration which during the larger part of his reign was the glory of his great successor. Though the detailed history of the Popes lies outside of the scope of this work, some pages must be devoted to the position and character of the Pontiffs who witnessed the establishment of barbarian rule in Italy.

The stately Leo, the tamer of Attila and the hammer of Eutychnian heretics, died on the 10th of November, 461, and was succeeded by *Hilarus* the Sardinian. The pontificate of Hilarus, which lasted nearly six years, was chiefly occupied with attempts to assert the Papal supremacy over the Churches of Gaul and Spain in a more despotic style than had yet been possible. These attempts

BOOK IV.  
CH. 4.

Attitude  
towards  
the Popes.

Pope Hilarus, 461-467.

<sup>1</sup> I presume that this is the meaning of 'ad quae beneficia per singulos dispertienda, tanta se castitate continuit, ut nemo ex his minus acciperet, quam is quo fuerant impetrante concessa.'

BOOK IV. were successful. It is a marvellous sight to see  
 CH. 4. how, as the political power of Rome over the provinces of the Empire ebbs away, the ecclesiastical power of her bishop increases. The Tribune and the Centurion disappear, but the Legate of the Pope comes oftener, and is a mightier personage each time of his return. So, too, with the outward splendour of the Papal Court: it grows brighter as that of the Caesars wanes. A long page in the Lives of the Popes is filled with the catalogue of the costly gifts of gold and silver offered by Pope Hilarus, chiefly in the three oratories which he erected in the Lateran Basilica. The names of these vessels (to us scarcely intelligible), their shapes, their weights, are recorded with tedious minuteness by the enthusiastic scribe<sup>1</sup>. But, as has been well observed<sup>2</sup>, these gifts, purchased with the revenues of the spacious and ever-increasing Church domains, were almost a satire on the general poverty of the city. While the life of the citizens was growing harder and the civil edifices were every year putting on more of the appearance of squalor and desolation, the shrines of martyrs and saints were glowing with ever-fresh splendour before the eyes—shall we say the envious, or the awe-stricken eyes—of the Christian Quirites.

Pope Hilarus also made his mark on his times by withstanding a faint attempt at toleration made

<sup>1</sup> Anastasius Bibliothecarius, ap. Muratori, iii. 120.

<sup>2</sup> By Gregorinus, Geschichte der Stadt Rom., i. 222-3.

by the secular power. The Emperor Anthemius was darkly suspected of plotting, in concert with a certain citizen of Rome named Severus, a restoration of the worship of the gods of the Capitol<sup>1</sup>. This was perhaps mere calumny; but what was undoubted was that he was accompanied to Rome by Philotheus, an asserter of the Macedonian heresy and a denier of the divinity of the Holy Ghost. At the instigation of this Philotheus, Anthemius proposed to allow full liberty to all the sects to hold their conventicles in Rome. But the aged Hilarus, who was within a few months of his end (for he died in September 467, only five months after Anthemius' triumphal entry), thundered with so loud and clear a voice in St. Peter's against the proposed act of toleration, that the Emperor was obliged to relinquish his design and to pledge himself by a solemn oath to the Pontiff never to resume it<sup>2</sup>.

The successor of Hilarus, Pope Simplicius, presided over the Church fifteen years, and in that time saw some great events. He witnessed the deposition of Augustulus, and the accession to

BOOK IV.  
CH. 4.  
Toleration  
resisted.  
467.

Pope Sim-  
plicius,  
468-483.

476.

<sup>1</sup> Damascius, ap. Photium, Cod. cexlii. (Migne, Patol. ciii. 1266 and 1275).

<sup>2</sup> We learn this from the letter of Pope Gelasius to the Bishops of Dardania (Migne, Patol. lix. 74): 'Sanctae memoriae quoque papa Hilarus Anthemium imperatorem, cum Philotheus Macedonianus ejus familiaritate suffultus diversarum conciliabuta nova sectarum in urbem vellet inducere, apud beatum Petrum apostolum palam ne id fieret clara voce constrinxit, in tantum ut non ea facienda cum interpositione sacramenti idem promitteret Imperator.'

BOOK IV. supreme power in Italy of a Teutonic mercenary.  
 CH. 4.

482.

He heard also of an event far more important in the eyes of the chroniclers of the time, the publication of the Henoticon of the Emperor Zeno, that document wherein an emperor, by his sole authority, without the sanction of pope or council, endeavoured to fix the land-marks of Christian belief and to terminate the Monophysite controversy. The long pontificate of Simplicius was chiefly occupied by his struggles for ascendancy against the able but somewhat unscrupulous Patriarch of Constantinople, Acacius. This struggle prepared the way for, and perhaps necessitated, the first great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, which was opened under his successor.

Struggle  
 for primacy  
 with Con-  
 stanti-  
 nople.

In this struggle we are bound to remember that there was an element of self-defence mingled with all the aggressiveness of the Roman Pontiffs. Looking back through the dim vista of the middle ages at the steady and resistless growth of the papal power—a growth lasting over far distant centuries which, we are inclined to say, never conspired together for one single end as they did for this,—we perhaps sometimes over-rate the distinctness of vision wherewith the individual pontiffs saw the goal to which they were tending, while we underrate the actual pressure of cares and perils in each successive generation by which they were surrounded. Thus, for instance, at the point of time which we have now reached, in the

last quarter of the fifth century from the birth of Christ, it might sometimes seem a doubtful matter to contemporary opinion whether the Roman See would not have to descend from the high place of its dominion at the head of the Christian world. It was true that the person of the Pope was exalted by the humiliation and the eventual disappearance of the Western Caesar<sup>1</sup>; but the See was in some danger of sharing the fallen fortunes of the city in which it was placed. Whatever might be the precise degree of support which they derived from the theory of an apostolical succession from Peter and an heirship of his power of the keys, it will not be disputed that in fact the position of the Popes at the centre of gravity of the Roman world, in the one great city to which all roads converged, enormously smoothed the way for their advance to the undisputed primacy of the Church. The whole constitution of the new religious community imitated that of the great political system in which it found itself embedded; and, like it, depended on the recognition of great cities as centres of life and power for the countries in which they were situated. The Bishop of Antioch was head of all the Churches of Syria. The Bishop of Alexandria was head of all the Churches of Egypt. It was only natural, in the second and third centuries, that the Bishop of Rome should be head of all the Churches of the Roman

<sup>1</sup> This obvious result of the events of 476 has been touched upon in a previous volume, ii. 544.

BOOK IV. CH. 4. Empire, which was practically conterminous with Christendom. Had Peter lived and died at Bethsaida, it is possible that the primacy of the Christian Church might have been claimed for the bishopric of Bethsaida: it is certain that the claim would not have met with so easy nor so world-wide acceptance.

Elements  
of weak-  
ness in the  
Papal posi-  
tion.

Since, then, the position of the Roman bishops in the forefront of the Christian Church was originally connected so closely with the political ascendancy of their city, it was possible, now that political ascendancy was lost, that ecclesiastical supremacy might go with it. And, if the Pope lost his primacy, to no see was he more likely to lose it than to the pushing, ambitious, powerful see of Constantinople; that see whose representatives were ever at the ear of the Emperor, moulding the ecclesiastical policy of his reign; that see whose splendour was beheld by all the strangers who visited the New Rome; that see which already, in the course of little more than a century, had acquired the primacy first of Thrace, then of Pontus and Asia; that see which had just succeeded in accomplishing the subjection of the Patriarch of Antioch, and was now profiting by the religious wrangles of the Egyptians to reduce to similar dependence him of Alexandria<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> These successive aggrandisements of the See of Constantinople are traced by Bower (*Hist. of the Popes*, ii. 64-68). A reference to the maps in my first volume (at p. 25 and p. 109) will make his statements somewhat clearer.



Of all the many able and somewhat unscrupulous men who ever stood in the *ambo* of the great church at Constantinople perhaps none was cleverer and none bolder than Acacius. We have already seen him <sup>1</sup> opposing the usurper Basiliscus, restoring Zeno, and guiding the pen of that Emperor as he traced the characters of the great Henoticon, that instrument which, as he no doubt hoped, would be looked back to by posterity as a more triumphant 'End of Controversy' than the *Tome* which the great Leo himself had presented to the fathers of Chalcedon. Now that our point of view is transferred to Rome from Constantinople, we can perhaps see a little more clearly what reasons Acacius had, apart from any deep spiritual interest of his own in the subject-matter of the controversy, for desiring its settlement on the basis of the Henoticon. The Council of Chalcedon had by its twenty-eighth canon (a canon passed, it is said, after the departure of Leo's legates and of the majority of the bishops) rested the primacy of Old Rome solely on the political ground, making no mention of the commission to Peter, and had assigned the same prerogatives to the Bishop of New Rome, leaving apparently but an honorary precedence to the Bishop of the elder capital<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See chap. ii.

<sup>2</sup> 'Rightly did the Fathers concede its privileges to the throne of the Elder Rome, because that city bears royal sway. And influenced by the same aim, the 150 most religious bishops [assembled at Chalcedon] have allotted the same privileges to the most holy throne of the New Rome, rightly judging that

BOOK IV.  
CH. 4.

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Since this was the judgment of Chalcedon, a judgment which, when the grounds of it were considered, would evidently, in a very few years, through the political changes that were going forward, give the see of Constantinople priority over that of Rome itself, the authority of the Council of Chalcedon must be upheld, and therefore neither Basiliscus nor any other emperor should be allowed to lapse into mere Monophysitism. But, on the other hand, since the good-will of the occupants of the thrones of Antioch and Alexandria was necessary to the success of the designs of Acacius, since the doctrine of the single nature of Christ was popular in those capitals and the name of the Council of Chalcedon was abhorred by very many, it would be wise to readmit them to communion by a scheme which should avoid the actual mention of the double nature of Christ and the express ratification of the decrees of the Third Council. With this object the Henoticon was framed, and for a generation or two seemed likely to be successful. In this, as in most ecclesiastical controversies, words were the all-important things. The personal vanity of the combatants must be conciliated, their pretensions to knowledge of Divine things must be respected: if these could be saved harmless, the faith might take care of itself.

the city which is honoured by the presence of the Emperor and the Senate, and which in political matters enjoys the same privileges as the elder Queen-City, ought also in ecclesiastical affairs to be glorified as she is, being second after her.'

Of course, just as much interest as Acacius BOOK IV. Bishop of Constantinople had in upholding the CH. 4. Henoticon, just so much had Simplicius Bishop of Rome in destroying it, and the troubles of the see of Alexandria afforded him a useful lever for the purpose. Timothy the Weasel was dead. His rival, the other Timothy, called Solofaciolus, died five years later. Acacius determined to put Peter the Stammerer, a well-known follower of the Weasel's, on the episcopal throne of Alexandria, the Henoticon being the basis of union between the two Churches, by the Bosphorus and by the Nile. At first the plan succeeded. Peter the Stammerer subscribed the Henoticon, reigned as bishop at Alexandria, and was during his eight years' episcopate the useful tool of his Byzantine benefactor. But there was a rival candidate for the see, one John Talaias, who had been actually elected on the death of Timothy, but who had, so it was said, solemnly sworn to Zeno that he would never accept the dignity. He was also charged with simony and with misappropriation of the treasures of the Church. What was more undoubted, and perhaps more to the point, was that he was a friend and dependent of Illus, who was now falling into disgrace at Constantinople, and was indeed on the very verge of rebellion. All these circumstances made it easy for Acacius to nullify the election of Talaias and drive him into exile from Alexandria. He fled, however, to Rome, and there, in Pope Simplicius, found a willing listener to all his grievances against the

Struggle of  
Simplicius  
with Aca-  
cius.

477.

482.

BOOK IV. Patriarch of Constantinople. Once, twice, even  
 CH. 4.

four times did Simplicius write to Acacius insisting more and more peremptorily that he should withdraw from the communion of Peter the Stammerer, that rebel against the decrees of Chalcedon, and should not hinder the return of Talaias to his see. Acacius had not the courtesy to reply to any of these letters. While affairs were still in this position the fifteen years' pontificate of Simplicius came to an end. He died on the 2nd of March, 483, and his relics are still exhibited to the people once a year in his native town of Tivoli. The Pope who, born by the waters of 'headlong Anio,' had doubtless as a boy often wandered through the vast villa of Hadrian, then still in its original glory, had lived to see Rome itself, the Rome of Horace and of Hadrian, pass under the yoke of a petty chieftain of Herulian mercenaries.

Death of  
Simplicius.

Singular  
decrees of  
Odovacar,

On the death of Simplicius<sup>1</sup>, when the clergy and people of Rome were assembled in the church of St. Peter to elect his successor, one of the Roman ministers of King Odovacar made his appearance among them. This was Basilius, perhaps the same Caecina Basilius whom Sidonius had chosen for his patron twenty-six years before, when he visited Rome<sup>2</sup>, and whose somewhat reserved but honest character he described in writing to his friends. He now filled the office of Praetorian Prefect to

<sup>1</sup> The decree about the Papal election was drawn up before the death of Simplicius, but may not have been communicated to the people till after that event. <sup>2</sup> See vol. ii. p. 466.

the barbarian King—another indication that in the civil government of Italy Odovacar retained the forms of the imperial hierarchy of office unaltered. Addressing the assembled multitude, Basilus informed them that they must not presume to elect a new Bishop of Rome without the concurrence of his master. This announcement probably only meant that all such rights, not of nomination but of veto, as the emperors had wielded previously to 476, must now be deemed to have survived to Odovacar. But he then proceeded to read a decree forbidding the new Pope, whoever he might be, to alienate any of the lands or ornaments of the Roman Church, and in case of disobedience, threatening the buyer with civil penalties, and the seller—strange menace from a layman and an Arian—with the spiritual penalty of anathema. We know nothing of any special proceedings of Simplicius which may have prompted this decree. It seems to have been accepted without murmuring at the time, though, nineteen years after, it was denounced by a similar assembly held in the same place, as an unhallowed interference on the part of a lay ruler with the affairs of the church, and the assembled clergy with difficulty, while the decree was being read, contained their indignation at the insolent tone of the fallen layman who had dared to interfere with a priest's monopoly of anathema<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 4.

as to election of new Pope,

and alienation of Church property.

<sup>1</sup> I take my account of this decree from Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, ii. 644.

BOOK IV. The new Pope, Felix II<sup>1</sup>, threw himself heartily  
 CH. 4. into the quarrel with Constantinople. He sent  
 Pope Felix II (III), two legates, Vitalis and Misenus, with a letter to  
 483-492. the Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople,  
 Embassy to Constantinople. haughtily commanding them to desist from all  
 further proceedings in the matter of the recognition  
 of Peter the Stammerer. The legates were  
 imprisoned as soon as they arrived at the Helles-  
 pont, their papers were taken from them, and  
 they were threatened with death unless they  
 would obey the Emperor's orders and recognise  
 Peter as Patriarch of Alexandria. On the other  
 hand, gifts and promotion were to be theirs if they  
 complied with the imperial mandate. The legates,  
 who were evidently weak and timid men, sub-  
 mitted to the coercion and the blandishments of  
 the dread Augustus, and communicated with  
 Acacius at a solemn festival at which the name of  
 the Stammerer was read in the Diptychs, or tablets  
 containing the roll-call of orthodox prelates in  
 communion with the see of Constantinople. By  
 this concession they of course surrendered the  
 whole matter in dispute. Their master, Felix, was  
 informed of this disloyalty by his faithful allies,  
 the so-called 'sleepless' monks of Constantinople,  
 who, perhaps from pure conviction, were passionate  
 adherents of the Council of Chalcedon. On the  
 484. return of his legates he held a synod at Rome

<sup>1</sup> Called by some writers Felix III. The difference arises from the doubt whether Felix II (so called), the rival of Liberius (355-365), was a regularly chosen Pope or not.

(no doubt attended only by Italian bishops), and therein condemned the traitorous conduct of his legates, deposed them from their sees, and even excluded them from the holy Table. He went further, and the Council accompanied him. By an unheard-of stretch of power they condemned Acacius as a promoter of heresy, pronounced him deposed from his episcopal office, and cut him off 'as a putrid limb' from the body of the Church<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 4.

Excom-  
munication  
of Acacius.

Next came the question by whom this sentence was to be served on the object of it, on the great Acacius, in all his pride of place and strong in the favour of his sovereign. Tutus, a *Defensor* of the Church, was despatched on this errand; and, notwithstanding the vigilance of the imperial guards, arrived in safety at Constantinople. There monkish fanaticism relieved him of the most dangerous part of his task. 'One of the Sleepless ones fastened the fatal parchment to the dress of Acacius as he was about to officiate in the church. Acacius quietly proceeded in the holy ceremony. Suddenly he paused: with calm, clear voice he ordered the name of Felix, Bishop of Rome, to be struck out of the roll of bishops in communion with his Church. The ban of Rome was encountered by the ban of Constantinople<sup>2</sup>.' Some of the

The sen-  
tence  
served on  
Acacius.

<sup>1</sup> Mansi, Concilia, vii. 1140.

<sup>2</sup> I have taken a few sentences here from Milman's History of Latin Christianity. I have some doubts, however, whether the scene of the counter-anathema was quite so dramatic as he describes. Theophanes (eighth century) seems to be the only

BOOK IV. monks who had dared to affix such a stigma  
 CH. 4. on the all-powerful Patriarch were killed by his  
 indignant followers, others were wounded, and the  
 rest were shut up in prison<sup>1</sup>.

The schism  
 begun. This scene in the great Church of the Divine  
 Wisdom at Constantinople was the commencement  
 of the first great schism between the Eastern and  
 484-519. Western Churches,—a schism which lasted thirty-  
 five years, and covered almost the whole period  
 of the reign of Theodoric. Several overtures  
 towards reconciliation were made. One by one  
 all the chief actors in the scene were removed  
 by death, Acacius in 489, Zeno in 491, Felix  
 in 492. But the See of Rome was inflexible;  
 she might ‘spare the fallen,’ but she would ‘war  
 down the proud.’ There could be no peace  
 with Byzantium till the name of Acacius, who  
 had dared to strike a Roman pontiff out of the  
 diptychs, was struck out of the diptychs itself,  
 nor till Peter the Stammerer’s accursed name  
 was also expunged; all which did not take place  
 till the year 519.

It is possible that the quarrel between the two  
 sees of Rome and Constantinople reacted on the  
 political relations of Italy and the Empire. It is  
 certain that these relations became rapidly more  
 unfriendly soon after the mutual excommunication

authority for this version of the story. Contemporary writers,  
 Liberatus and Nicephorus, are colder and less pictorial.

<sup>1</sup> Nicephorus, *Eccl. Hist.* xvi. 17.

<sup>2</sup> ‘*Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.*’



of the pontiffs, and continued so till the end of the reign of Odovacar.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 4.

At the outset it is probable that Zeno did not view the Teutonic mercenary's accession to power with any great dissatisfaction. In Augustulus he could have no interest: for his kinsman Nepos his sympathy was of a very languid character. His vanity was flattered by the fact<sup>1</sup> that 'all the ornaments of the palace,' including no doubt the diadem and the purple robe, were sent by Odovacar to Constantinople. The story of the embassies from Italy to Byzantium told by Malchus<sup>2</sup> illustrates that aspect of the case in which it was possible for the Eastern Caesar to look upon the recent events in Italy with not unmingled dissatisfaction. It was not unpleasant to hear from the lips of a Roman Senator that Italy did not need a separate royalty, since Zeno's own imperial sway would suffice for both ends of the earth. And, however little the facts of the case might correspond with this deferential theory, Odovacar suing with some humility for the title of Patrician, Odovacar representing himself as in some sort a lieutenant of the Emperor, presented a not unwelcome spectacle to the imperial vanity. Add to this, that at any rate for the first three or four years of the reign of Zeno, Onöulf the brother of Odovacar, the client and the assassin of Harmatius, was a soldier of fortune about the Court, probably a connecting

Zeno's  
attitude to-  
wards  
Odovacar.

<sup>1</sup> Vouched for by the Anonymus Valesii, § 64.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. ii. pp. 538-540.

BOOK IV. link between the Augustus and his brother. We  
 CH. 4. can thus understand why, down to about 480 or  
 481, the Courts of Ravenna and of Constantinople  
 may have regarded one another with no very  
 unfriendly feelings.

481. The conquest of Dalmatia may have told both  
 ways on this friendly relation. The barbarian's  
 promptitude in avenging the death of her cousin  
 Nepos would recommend him to the favour of the  
 Empress Ariadne ; but, on the other hand, by the  
 addition of Dalmatia to his dominions he became  
 a disagreeably near neighbour to the lord of the  
 Lower Danube.

484. Then came, almost contemporaneously and not  
 unconnected with one another, the schism between  
 the two sees and the revolt of Illus. John  
 Talaias, the fugitive patriarch of Alexandria,  
 the client of the Roman popes, was, as we have  
 seen, also a client of Illus, and may very probably  
 have been the medium of communications between  
 that general and Odovacar. Onöulf also, perhaps  
 at this time, quitted the service of Zeno, since  
 three years later we find him commanding his  
 brother's armies in Noricum. But, as our informa-  
 tion concerning this alienation between the Em-  
 peror and the King is very meagre, and is all  
 furnished by one author (Joannes Antiochenus), it  
 will be best to give it in his own words :—

Under-  
 standing  
 between  
 Illus and  
 Odovacar.

‘ Illus therefore, having gone into open revolt,  
 proclaimed Marcian Emperor, and sent to Odo-  
 acer the *tyrannus* of Western Rome, and to the

rulers of Persia and Armenia: and he also prepared a navy. Odoacer, however, replied that he could not ally himself with him, but the others promised alliance as soon as he could join his forces with theirs<sup>1</sup>.

Joannes then describes the revolt of Illus, its early successes and subsequent decline, and continues:—

‘In the consulship of Longinus [486, two years after the date of the previous extract], when Theodoric was again disposed for revolt and was ravaging the districts round Thrace, Zeno stirred up against Odoacer the nation of the Rugians, since he was apprised that the latter was making arrangements to ally himself with Illus. But when Odoacer’s troops had obtained a brilliant victory [over the Rugians], and moreover had sent gifts to Zeno out of the spoils, he disclaimed his allies and professed satisfaction with what had been done<sup>2</sup>.’

The story of the Rugian war, taking us as it does out of Italy into the lands of the Middle Danube, and opening up some interesting glimpses into the life of the new barbarian states founded amidst the ruins of the Empire, must be told in the

Embroiderment with the Rugians.

<sup>1</sup> Joannes Antiochenus, fr. 214 (p. 620 in the 4th vol. of Müller).

<sup>2</sup> ‘Ο Ζήνων πρὸς τὸν Ὀδοάκρον τὸ τῶν Ῥόγων ἐπανάστησε γένος, ὡς ἔγνω τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν Ἰλλοῦ συμμαχίαν παρασκευαζόμενον. Λαμπρὰν δὲ ἀναδησαμένων νίκην τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀδοάκρον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ πεμφάντων δῶρα τῷ Ζήνωνι τῶν λαφύρων, ἀποπροσποιησάμενος συνήδετο τοῖςπραχθεῖσι. Joan. Ant. fr. 214 (p. 621, Müller).

BOOK IV. next chapter. But meanwhile it is important to  
CH. 4.  
— note that already in the year 486 the friendly relations between Odovacar and Zeno had been replaced by scarcely veiled enmity ; and thus the mind of the Emperor was already tuned to harmony with that fierce harangue against ‘the usurped authority of a king of Rugians and Turcingians’ which, according to Jordanes, Theodoric delivered before him some time in the year 488.

NOTE B. ON ODOVACAR'S DEED OF GIFT TO  
PIERIUS.

THIS document is published (with a facsimile) in Marini's 'Papiri Diplomatici' (Rome, 1805: Nos. 82 and 83) and in Spangenberg's 'Juris Romani Tabulae Negotiorum Sollemnium' (Leipsic, 1822, pp. 164-173), and copiously commented upon by both authors. NOTE B.

It is written on papyrus, and has been torn into two parts, one of which is now preserved in the Theatine Monastery of St. Paul at Naples, the other in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Notwithstanding this wide severance of the fragments, there appears to be no doubt of their having once belonged to the same document. The writing is cursive, of a bold and flowing character, without any spaces between the words, and quite undecipherable except by an expert.

To make the document intelligible we must explain the pecuniary transactions of Odovacar (thus his name is spelt throughout the deed) and his Count of the Domestics, Pierius.

The king had promised to bestow upon his minister a yearly revenue of 690 solidi (£414). The larger part of this donation had been already accomplished. Pierius had, before the execution of these presents, received

the <i>Massa</i> (Estate) of the Pyramid <sup>1</sup> in the territory of Syracuse, yielding an annual rental of . . . . .	450 solidi
and in the Province of Dalmatia the island of Melita ( <i>not</i> our Malta but Meleda), yielding . . . . .	200 solidi
	650 (= £390)

<sup>1</sup> According to Marini there was a pyramid of great height at Thapsus, about 8 miles from Syracuse, which was destroyed by an earthquake so recently as 1542. From this pyramid, it is suggested, the *Massa Pyramitana* received its name.

NOTE B. This leaves only a revenue of 40 solidi (£24) to provide, and in order to effect this, and in fact to give him a trifle over, Odovacar conveys to him

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) the Aemilian farm (Fundus Aemilianus), yielding . . .                                  | 18 solidi   |
| (2) the remaining part of the farm Dublus, yielding . . .                                  | 15 and 18 siliquae <sup>1</sup><br>(= $\frac{3}{4}$ of a solidus) |
| (3) part of the farm of Putaxia (?)<br>(names of the tenants Januarius and Octedius) . . . | <u>7 solidi</u>   |

thus making a total of . . . 40 $\frac{3}{4}$  solidi.

After this explanation we may proceed to copy the Deed itself:—

‘(Viro Inlustri) ac magn(ifico) (Fr)atri Pierio Odovacar Rex Ex sexcentis nonaginta solidis quos Magnitudini tuae Humanitas nostra devoverat conferendos, sexcentos (quinquaginta ju)xta nostrae donationis tenorem viri sublimis Comitum et Vicedomini nostri Ardori didicimus (suggestione contraditos, id est intra p̄s (presens) [or ?provincias] Syracusano territorio (Pyramitana Mass.) solidos quadringentos quinquaginta et in Provincia Dalmatiarum Insulam Melitam (du)cen(tos) (so)lidos pensitantem reliquos ergo solidos quadraginta (de praefatam summ)am in s(upra) s(criptam) Massam fundos, id est Aemilianum prestantem solidos decem et octo et parte(m fun)di Dubli quae remansit solidos quindecim siliquas (decem et octo) nec non et parte(m fundi Puta)xiae qui (p)rest(at p)er (Ja)nuarium et Octedium (solidos) septem s(upra) s(cripto) territorio (con)stitutos volentes supplere (sum)mam superius con-(pr)aehe(nsam pr)aesenti donatione in t(e) cum omni jure suo omnibusque ad se pertinentibus jure directo transcribimus adque ad tuum dominium optima profitemur lege migrasse quos utendi possidendi alienandi vel ad posterum transmittendi livero [libero] potiaris arvitrio [arbitrio]

<sup>1</sup> The *siliqua* was the 24th part of a solidus.

quam donationem Marciano v(iro) e(larissimo) Notario nostro scribendam dictavimus, cuique Andromacum v. i(llu)strem) et magnificum Magistrum Officiorum Consiliario nostro pro nobis suscribere jussimus tribuentes adlegandi fiduciam ita ut a tuis Actoribus fiscalia tributa solvantur.

NOTE B.

‘Actum Ravenna s(upra)d(icto) quintodecimo Kal. Aprilium Probino v. c. Consule [A.D. 489].

‘Et alia manu subscriptio,

‘Incolumem Sublimitatem tuam divi(ni)tas tueatur, domine inlustris et magnifice Frater!

‘Regestum s(ub) d(ie) et loco quo supra.’

This then was the purport of the deed. These little farms—which were in the neighbourhood of Syracuse and were meant to round off the Magnificent Pierius’ possessions in that quarter—producing, however, a total rental of only £24 9s., which we can hardly on any hypothesis stretch beyond the equivalent of £100 in our own day—are conveyed by the king to his faithful servant, with full liberty of alienating the same or transmitting them to his descendants, it being only stipulated that the *fiscalia tributa* (claims of the Exchequer, chiefly no doubt for land-tax) shall be duly paid by his bailiffs (*Actores*). There is something peculiar about the attestation of the document. Odovacar does not sign it himself—probably, as Dahn suggests<sup>1</sup>, because he could not write—but he orders that it shall be signed by Marcian the Notary and Andromacus the Master of the Offices. Marcian gives the dry legal attestation, the place (Ravenna), and the date (18 March, 489). The Magnificent Andromacus (probably) appends the more ceremonious conclusion, ‘God have you in His holy keeping, Illustrious and Magnificent Colleague!’

The rest of the document, which it is not needful to set out at length, records the further proceedings in the matter. The *Actores* of Pierius (who are probably his freedmen, since they call him their *patronus*<sup>2</sup>) present the ‘page of

<sup>1</sup> K. der G. ii. 48.

<sup>2</sup> So Dahn, ii. 48.

NOTE B. the royal generosity<sup>1</sup> to the Magistrates<sup>2</sup> of Ravenna, headed by Aurelius Virinus, and pray that it may be received by the proper Registering Officer, read, and entered upon the proceedings<sup>3</sup>. As the Magnificent Andromacus is not forthcoming to attest his own signature, having gone from this city<sup>4</sup> to Rome, they pray that certain of the magistrates<sup>5</sup> will go with them to the Notary Marcian, the other attesting witness. They proceed accordingly, accompanied by a short-hand writer<sup>6</sup>, to the *Clarissimus* Marcian. The 'page of donation' is shown to his Nobility<sup>7</sup> and read over. He is asked if he will have any objection to state<sup>8</sup> without prejudice<sup>9</sup> if he and the Magnificent Andromacus subscribed that paper. He replies that they did, by the command of the most Excellent King Odovacar.

All formalities as to this £40-a-year farm having been thus duly complied with at Ravenna, the residence of the grantor, it remains to take corporal possession of the property in Sicily itself.

First of all, the Acts of the Court at Ravenna are duly entered on the records of the Court at Syracuse<sup>10</sup>. Then Gregory the Chartarius (an officer whose subordinate rank is indicated by his epithet *devotus* and his title *tua Devotio* instead of *vestra Nobilitas* or *vestra Magnitudo*) is summoned by the Magistrates into their presence. Inasmuch as their public duties will not permit them to leave the city, Gregory is ordered to go forth with the Actores of Pierius, having received the 'royal page' with all due devotion, that it may be completed by 'corporal tradition' of the property<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Pagina regiae largitatis.

<sup>2</sup> Decurions (?).

<sup>3</sup> Ut eandem a competenti officio suscipi jubeatis legi et actis indi.

\* Ex ac civitate.

<sup>5</sup> Principales.

<sup>6</sup> Exceptor.

<sup>7</sup> Hostensa ejus Nobilitati. The office of Notary was recognised in the Theodosian Code as a *Militia Nobilis*.

<sup>8</sup> Si edicere non gravetur.

<sup>9</sup> Absque sui injuriâ.

<sup>10</sup> Magistratus dixerunt, 'Gesta Gestis nectentur, adque si quid aliud est agendum, inter acta designetur.'

<sup>11</sup> Magistratus dixerunt, 'Quoniam nobis insistendum est in actibus



The reader will observe the introduction of the name of Amantius. He, as we learn from another part of the document, is 'vir praeclarus Decemprimus,' chief, that is to say, of one of the *Decuriae* (usually ten in number and containing ten members) into which the local Senate is divided. He is called by the Magistrates 'Frater et Concurialis noster.'

NOTE B.

The legal procession walks forth to the several farms named in the deed. Something—a tantalising flaw in the MS. prevents us from saying what—is said or done to the tenants<sup>1</sup> and slaves. Then they go round all the boundaries and traverse every field, whether cultivated or lying waste. 'Corporal tradition' of all is given to the *Actores* of Pierius, no man opposing it<sup>2</sup>.

They return to Syracuse. Amantius reports that all formalities have been duly observed. The *Actores* are asked if they are willing to undertake the fiscal obligations of the land. They reply that they are willing, and request that the name of the former owner may be removed from the public register, and that of their master substituted<sup>3</sup>. This is done<sup>4</sup>. The *laudabilis* Amantius appends his signature and the transaction is complete.

The length of the documents relating to so small a property, the particularity of the recitals, the exactness with which the performance of every formality is described,

publicis, et non possumus egredi omnes, pagina regia suscipiatur cum devotione, et a Gregorio, Amantioque et praesentibus Actoribus Pieri viri illustris traditio corporalis proventum suum accipiat.'

<sup>1</sup> Thus one may perhaps render *inquilinos*. Is not the word here really equivalent to *colonos*?

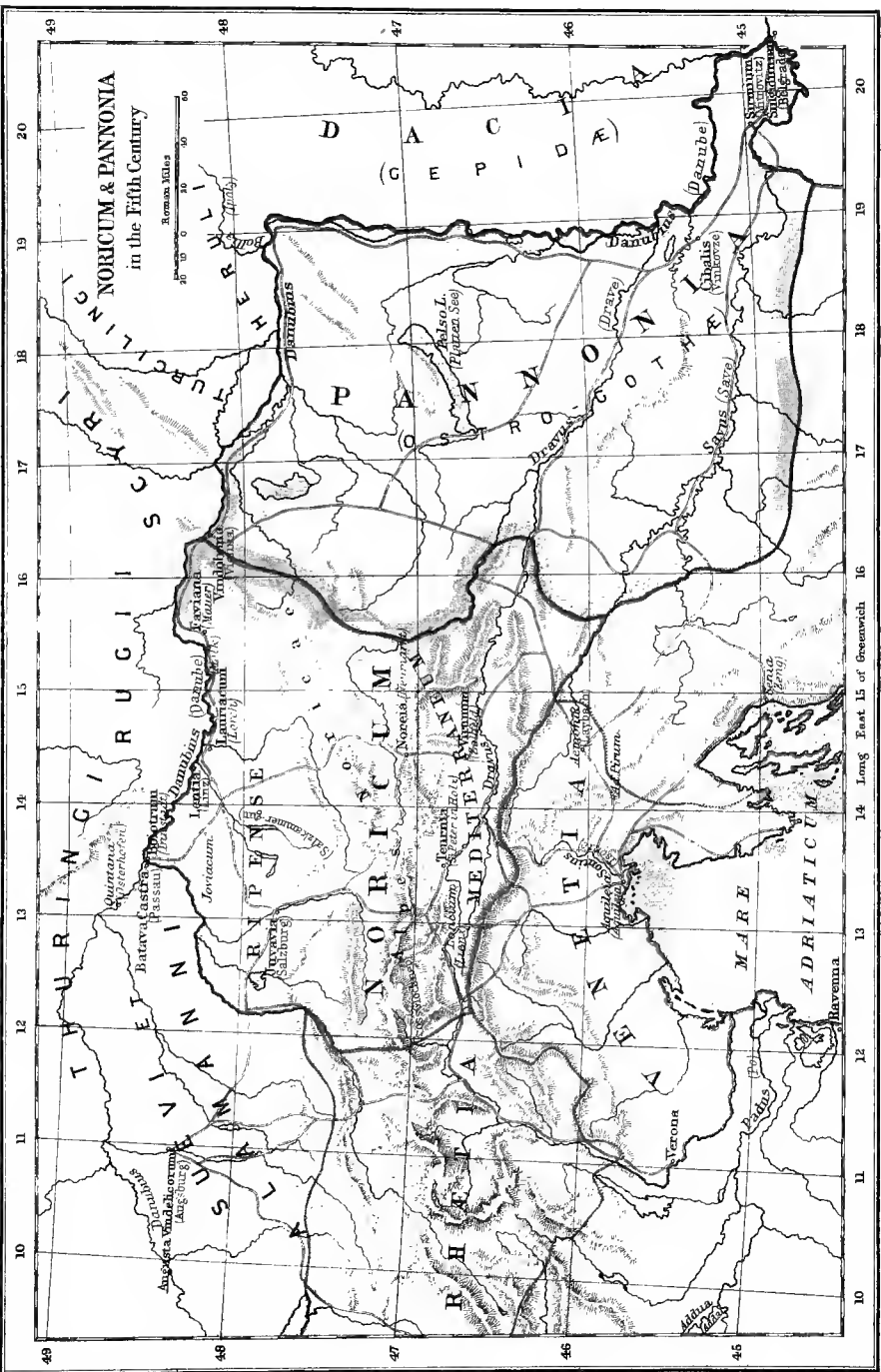
<sup>2</sup> Et cum hodie ambulassent et pervenissent ad singula praedia, adque introissent . . . et inquilinos sive servos, et circuissent omnes fines, terminos, agros, arbos [= arvos], cultos vel incultos seu . . . et traditio corporalis celebrata fuisset Actoribus Pieri v. i. nullo contradicente, et alio die ad civitatem reversi fuissent et in publicum pervidissent, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Et parati sumus, singulis annis pro eadem praedia fiscalia competentia solvere, unde rogamus uti jubeatis a polyptichis publicis nomen prioris domini suspendi et nostri domini adscribi.

<sup>4</sup> The registers which are first called *polyptichi* are, for some reason or other, afterwards referred to as *vasaria publica*.

NOTE B. the care with which the various gradations in the official hierarchy are marked, the reverence which is professed for the mandate of Odovacar<sup>1</sup>, all show us that we are still in presence of the unbroken and yet working machinery of the Roman law : though the hand, not of a Roman citizen, born on the Mediterranean shores, but of a full-blooded barbarian from the Danube, is that which must, at the last resort, control its movements.

<sup>1</sup> *Praecepta regalia vel sublimia.*





## CHAPTER V.

### THE RUGIAN WAR.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources :—*

EXCEPT for two short entries in CUSPINIANI ANONYMUS BOOK IV. and the Chronicle of CASSIODORUS, and a paragraph in PAULUS DIACONUS (eighth century), this chapter is entirely founded on the very valuable and nearly contemporary 'Life of Saint Severinus,' by EUGIPPIUS. This Life, which was written in the year 511 by the second Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Severinus, gives us, with of course the usual ecclesiastical glorification of the monastic hero, some most interesting pictures of life in the provinces of the Empire immediately after the incursion of the barbarians. Would that we had an Eugippius to tell us with similar minuteness how it fared with the Britons of Verulamium or Eboracum during their conflicts with the Teutonic invaders!

I quote from the elaborate edition of Hermann Sauppe, published in the first volume of the 'Auctores Antiquissimi' in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Berlin, 1877).

'The Emperor stirred up against Odoacer the nation of the Rugians.' To understand the meaning of this statement, and to complete our knowledge, scanty at the best, concerning this war, which occupied the attention of Odovacar during three years of his short reign, we must turn back 486-488.

BOOK IV. to the life of the saintly hermit of Noricum, *Severinus*<sup>1</sup>.  
 CH. 5.

Misery of  
 Noricum.

The picture of the long-continued and hopeless misery of a people which the biographer of the Saint draws for us is very depressing. Those lands between the Danube and the Noric Alps which now form one of the most thoroughly enjoyable portions of 'the playground of Europe,' the valleys round the Gross Glockner, the Salzkammer-gut, Salzburg with its castle rock and its noble amphitheatre of hills, Lorch with its stately monastery, Linz with its busy industries, all the fair domains of the old Archduchy of Austria down even to Vienna itself, were then in that most cruel of all positions, neither definitely subjected by the barbarian nor efficaciously protected against him, but wasted by his plundering bands at their will, though still calling themselves Roman, and possibly maintaining some faint show of official connection with Italy and the Empire. The Thuringians on the north-west and the Alamanni on the west appeared alternately under the walls of Passau<sup>2</sup>, and seldom departed without carrying some of its wretched inhabitants into captivity. The latter nation of marauders pushed their ravages sometimes as far inland as to Noreia<sup>3</sup>, in the very heart of Noricum. The Ostrogoths from Pannonia levied contributions in the valley of the Drave<sup>4</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 526.   <sup>2</sup> Batava Castra.   <sup>3</sup> Neumarkt in Styria.

<sup>4</sup> From Teurnia, now S. Peter im Holz, about forty miles east of Lienz.

and the Suevic Hunimund, the enemy of the Ostrogoths, marching across the unhappy province to meet his foe, sacked the city of Boiotrum<sup>1</sup>, which he surprised while the inhabitants were busy over their harvest, and shed the blood of the priests in the baptistery of the basilica<sup>2</sup>.

In the midst of this anarchy, the only semblance of firm and settled government seems to have been offered by the powerful monarchy of the *Rugians*, who occupied a compact territory north of the Danube corresponding to the eastern half of Bohemia, the west of Moravia, and a part of Lower Austria. And such order as they did preserve was probably but the reservation to themselves of an exclusive right to levy contributions on the Roman provincials. 'I cannot bear,' said the Rugian king Feletheus to Severinus, 'that this people, for whom thou art interceding, should be laid waste by the cruel depredations of the Alamanni and the Thuringians, or slain by the sword or carried into slavery, when there are near to us tributary towns in which they ought to be settled.' And this was the motive for bringing a great army of Rugians against the city of Lauriacum<sup>3</sup>, in which were assembled the trembling fugitives who had escaped from the other barbaric invasions. Nor could all the exhortations of the Saint, though they seem to

<sup>1</sup> Innstadt, near Passau.

<sup>2</sup> Eugippius, Vita S. Severini, xxvii, xxxi, xxv, xvii, xxii; Jordanes, De Reb. Get. cap. liii.

<sup>3</sup> Lorch on the Danube.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 5.

have prevented actual bloodshed, change the barbarian's purpose of removing the Provincials (who are always spoken of by the once mighty name of Romans) out of their city of refuge and dispersing them among various towns in his own dominions, where 'they lived in benevolent companionship with the Rugians;' the benevolent companionship, doubtless, of the lamb with the wolf.

Activity of  
Saint Severinus.

So long as he lived, no doubt Saint Severinus did much to soften, in individual cases, the hardships of this harassed and weary existence. In his monastery at Faviana<sup>1</sup> he collected great magazines of food and stores of clothing, from which he used to relieve the hunger and nakedness of the captives or refugees who travelled along the great Danubian road. But though his heart was full of pity for his brethren, his presence was not always welcomed by them. The stormy petrel of Noricum, he was constantly appearing at some still undemolished Roman settlement and prophesying to the inhabitants, 'The time of this *castellum* is come. In two days, or in three days, the barbarians who have devastated so many cities will appear before your walls.' The practical counsel of the Saint was generally contained in one of two words. It was either 'Fast' or 'Fly.' Himself an anchorite who practised the austerest forms of

<sup>1</sup> Faviana used to be universally identified with Vienna; but it is now generally put a good deal higher up the river. Mommsen (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, iii. 687) fixes it at Mauer, about half-way between Vienna and Lorch.



self-discipline, never eating before sunset except on BOOK IV.  
fast-days, and allowing himself only one meal a CH. 5.  
week in Lent, yet ever preserving, even under the stress of this abstinence, a cheerful and unruffled countenance, he loved to accompany his message of coming woe by an exhortation to the provincials to disarm the anger of the Lord by fasting and prayer<sup>1</sup>. This counsel was not always acceptable. At Innstadt<sup>2</sup>, for example, when the priests asked for relics for their church, and the merchants that leave might be obtained for them to trade with the Rugians, and when the Saint replied, 'It is of no use; the time is come for this town, like so many other *castella*, to be desolated,' a certain presbyter, filled with the spirit of the devil, cried out, 'Oh, go away, holy man! and that speedily, that we may have a little rest from fastings and watchings.' The Saint wept, for he knew that open scurrility is the evidence of secret sins; and then he prophesied of the woe that should come upon them, and how that human blood should be shed in that very baptistery in which they were

<sup>1</sup> An instance in which these counsels of perfection were perhaps inopportunately tendered is recorded in the 26th chapter. A leper had come from Milan, attracted by the fame of the Saint. Severinus cured him of his leprosy by fasting and prayer, and counselled him to return home. The grateful suppliant begged to be allowed to remain near the holy man, who exhorted him to abide in prayer with frequent fastings. 'Fortified by these heavenly remedies he was, within the space of two months, freed from the fetters of this mortal life.'

<sup>2</sup> Boiotrum.

BOOK IV. standing. All which came true almost immediately  
 CH. 5. after he had departed. Hunimund drew near to  
 the city and took it, and the scurrilous priest was  
 slain in that very basilica, to which he had fled for  
 refuge <sup>1</sup>.

He gener-  
 ally dis-  
 suaded  
 from resist-  
 ance.

Once or twice the Saint lifted up his voice for war, and promised victory; but as a rule, if he did not recommend the spiritual weapons of fasting and prayer, he counselled the inhabitants to withdraw before the barbarian forces. Thus he vainly urged the people of Joviacum (a town about twenty miles below Passau) to escape before the Herulian invasion, which he foreboded, should come upon them. The citizens of Quintana<sup>2</sup>, who had already fled once, to Passau, were exhorted to flee again, to Lauriacum<sup>3</sup>; and the few disobedient ones were massacred by the Thuringians. But always, during the last and dreariest years of his life, when the barbarian darkness seemed gathering most hopelessly over the doomed provincials the Saint foretold that the Romans should be delivered from their enemies, and led up out of Noricum, as Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt. 'And then,' said he, 'as Joseph asked his brethren, so do I beg of you, that ye carry my bones up hence. For these places, now so crowded with cultivators, shall be reduced into so mighty a solitude that the enemy, hunting for gold, shall break open even the sepulchres of the dead.'

<sup>1</sup> c. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Osterhofen, between Passau and Ratisbon.

<sup>3</sup> Lorch.

Severinus preserved the mystery as to his origin and parentage till the end, unimparted even to his nearest friends. His pure Latin speech showed that there was no admixture of the barbarian in his blood<sup>1</sup>, and it was generally believed that he had spent some time as a hermit in the East before he suddenly appeared in the towns of the Danubian Noricum. He would sometimes casually allude to the cities of the East, and to immense journeyings which he had in past times performed there. But he did not permit himself to be questioned as to his past history. Near the close of his life, an Italian priest of noble birth and weighty character, Primenius by name, fled to Noricum, fearing to be involved in the fate of Orestes, of whom he had been the confidential adviser and friend. After many days had passed in friendly intercourse between them, Primenius one day hazarded the enquiry, 'Holy master, from what province first sprang that light which God has deigned to bestow on us in thee?' The man of God turned aside the question with a joke: 'If you think I am a runaway slave, get ready the ransom, that you may offer it on my behalf when I am claimed.' Then, more seriously, he discoursed on the unimportance of race or birthplace in comparison with that Divine call which, he earnestly asserted, had

BOOK IV.  
CH. 5.  
Mystery as  
to origin of  
Severinus.

<sup>1</sup> 'Loquela tamen ipsius manifestabat hominem omnino latinum, quem constat prius ad quandam orientis solitudinem fervore perfectioris vitae fuisse profectum atque inde post ad Norici Ripensis oppida;' Epistola Eugippii, 10.

BOOK IV. led him to those regions to succour his perishing  
 CH. 5. brethren.

Courtesies  
 between  
 him and  
 Odovacar.

The young recruit whom Severinus had blessed on his journey to Italy, and to whom he had prophesied the splendid future which lay before him, beyond the Alpine horizon, was not unmindful of that early augury. King Odovacar sent to the Saint a friendly letter, promising him the fulfilment of any petition which he might choose to make. On this invitation Severinus asked for the forgiveness of a certain exile named Ambrose, and the King joyfully acceded to the request. On another occasion several noble persons were speaking about the King in the Saint's presence, and 'according to custom,' says the biographer, 'were praising him with man's flattery.' We note the presence of these 'many noble persons' of Noricum, Roman citizens no doubt, in the Saint's cell, and their high praises of the barbarian ruler of Italy, as interesting signs of the times, even if their panegyrics were, as the biographer hints, somewhat conventional and insincere. The Saint enquired, 'Who was the king thus greatly lauded?' They replied, 'Odovacar.' He answered, 'Odovacar who shall be safe between thirteen and fourteen years<sup>1</sup>,' predicting thus with accuracy the duration of the new king's unquestioned supremacy in Italy.

But the chief relations of the hermit of Noricum

<sup>1</sup> 'Respondentibus "Odoacrem," "Odoacer" inquit "qui integer inter tredecim et quattuordecim annos?" videlicet integritatem ejus regni significans;' cap. xxxii.

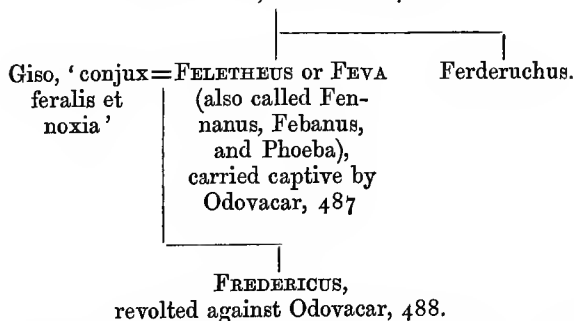
were naturally with the Rugian kings, and through his biography we gain an insight into the inner life of one of these new barbaric royalties, of which we should otherwise know nothing <sup>1</sup>. *Flaccitheus*, king of the Rugians (perhaps from about 430 to 460), was greatly alarmed at the vast multitude of Goths, apparently full of enmity against him, who were settled on his border in Lower Pannonia. Asking the advice of the holy man, whom he consulted like a heavenly oracle, he told him in much perturbation that he had requested from the Gothic princes <sup>2</sup> a safe-conduct into Italy, and that the refusal of this request filled him with alarm as to their intentions. Severinus replied, 'If we were united by the bond of the One Catholic Faith I would gladly give thee advice concerning the life to come. But since thy enquiry relates only to the present life, I will tell thee that thou

BOOK IV.  
CH. 5.  
Flaccitheus king of the Rugians, 430-460(?).

<sup>1</sup> We obtain from Engippius the following

*Genealogy of the Rugian Kings.*

FLACCITHEUS, died about 460?



<sup>2</sup> 'A Gothorum principibus.' Evidently alluding to the triple royalty of Walamir, Theudemir, and Widemir.

BOOK IV. needest not be disquieted by the multitude of  
 CH. 5. these Goths, since they will shortly depart and  
 leave thee in safety. Live a peaceful life ; do not  
 undergo the curse laid upon him “who maketh  
 flesh his arm:” lay no snares for others, while  
 taking heed of those laid for thyself: so shalt thou  
 meet thine end peacefully in thy bed.’

The divine oracle soothed the anxious King, who  
 went away greatly comforted. Soon afterwards,  
 however, a crowd of barbarian, probably Gothic,  
 marauders carried off a number of the Rugians,  
 whose King again came to the Saint for counsel.  
 By divine revelation Severinus warned him not to  
 follow the robbers, to beware of crossing the river,  
 and to avoid the snares which in three several  
 places his enemies had laid for him. ‘Soon shall  
 a faithful messenger arrive who shall assure thee  
 of the truth of all these sayings.’ And in fact,  
 very shortly afterwards, two Rugian captives, who  
 had escaped from the dwellings of the enemy, ar-  
 rived at the King’s court and confirmed the Saint’s  
 predictions in every particular. The devices of  
 the enemies of the Rugian king being thus frus-  
 trated, his affairs went on prospering, and in due  
 time Flaccitheus died in rest and tranquillity.

His suc-  
 cessor,  
 Feletheus  
 or Feva,  
 460-487.

To him succeeded his son *Feletheus* or *Feva*,  
 who at first followed his father’s example, and was  
 guided in all things by the counsels of the holy  
 hermit. But before long the influence of his wife,  
 the cruel and guilty Giso, began to assert itself,  
 always in opposition to the healthful spirit of

divine grace. This woman (evidently an Arian), among her other infamous actions, even sought to re-baptize certain Catholics, but was obliged to desist when her husband, out of reverence for Saint Severinus, forbade the sacrilegious deed<sup>1</sup>. This queen was wont to cause certain of the 'Romans' (that is, provincials) to be carried across the Danube and there kept in bitter bondage. This had she once done with some of the inhabitants of Faviana, whom, when carried captive, she condemned to slavery of the most degrading kind. Severinus, grieving for his neighbours, sent messengers entreating her to restore them to their homes. But she, flaming out in violent wrath, returned a message of angry contempt to the hermit: 'Go, oh slave of God! skulk into your cell to pray, and let me issue such orders concerning *my* slaves as I think fit.' The Saint, when he received this answer, said, 'I trust in our Lord Jesus Christ, who will make her do of necessity that which her evil will refuses to do at my request.'

That very day the judgment of God came upon the arrogant queen. There were certain barbarian goldsmiths who were kept close prisoners in the palace and obliged to work all day at ornaments for the royal family. The little prince Frederic,

The Goldsmiths and the Princes.

<sup>1</sup> 'Hunc conjux feralis et noxia, nomine Giso, semper a clementiae remediis retrahebat. Haec ergo, inter cetera iniquitatis suae contagia etiam rebaptizare quosdam est conata Catholicos, sed ob sancti reverentiam Severini non consentiente viro, a sacrilega quantocius intentione deficit' (cap. viii).

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 5.

son of Feletheus and Giso, out of childish curiosity (and perhaps attracted by the glitter of the gold) ventured in amongst these men. The workmen at once caught up a sword, and held it to the child's throat. 'No one,' said they, 'shall now enter this room unless our lives and our liberty are assured to us by oath. If this be refused we will first kill the child and then ourselves, for we are made desperate by the misery of this dungeon.' The cruel and wicked queen at once perceived that the vengeance of God had come upon her for her insults to the holy man. She sent horsemen to implore his pardon, and restored to their homes the Roman captives for whom he had that day interceded. The goldsmiths received a sworn assurance of safety, upon which they let the child go, and were themselves dismissed in peace. The revered servant of Christ recognised the good hand of his God in this interposition, which had actually accomplished more than he asked for, since not only the Roman captives but the oppressed barbarian gold-workers had obtained their freedom. The queen and her husband hastened to his cell, exhibited the son whom they acknowledged themselves to have received back from the very gates of death through his intercession, and promised obedience to all his commands in future<sup>1</sup>.

Soldiers  
 on the  
*Limes.*

One instance of the prescience of the Saint may be noticed here, because it incidentally throws some light on the condition of the soldiers who

<sup>1</sup> Cap. viii.



guarded the boundaries of the Empire. What BOOK IV. happened to the legions on the Danubian *limes* CH. 5. may easily have occurred also to those stationed *per lineam valli* in our own island. 'At the time,' says Eugippius, 'when the Roman Empire still held together, the soldiers of many towns were supported by public pay for the better guardianship of the *limes* <sup>1</sup>.' This obscure sentence perhaps means that local troops were drafted off to the *limes*, and there received, as was natural, imperial pay and equipments. 'When this custom ceased, the squadrons (*turmae*) of cavalry were obliterated; but the Batavian legion (stationed at Passau) lasted as long as the *limes* itself stood. From this legion certain soldiers had gone forth to Italy to bear to their comrades their last pay, and these men had been slain on the march by the barbarians, no one knowing thereof <sup>2</sup>. On a certain day, while Severinus was reading in his cell, suddenly he closed the *codex* and began to weep and sigh. Then he told the by-standers to run quickly to the river's brink, which, as he affirmed, was in that very hour stained with human gore. And immediately word was brought that the bodies

<sup>1</sup> 'Per id tempus, quo Romanum constabat imperium, multorum milites oppidorum pro custodia limitis publicis stipendiis alebantur' (cap. xx).

<sup>2</sup> 'Qua consuetudine desinente simul militares turmae sunt deletae, cum limite Batavino utcunque numero perdurante (?) ex quo perrexerant quidam ad Italiam extremum stipendium commilitonibus allaturi, quos in itinere peremptos a barbaris nullus agnoverat.' These sentences are interesting but difficult.

BOOK IV. of the aforesaid soldiers had just been swept on  
 CH. 5. shore by the force of the stream.'

Death of  
 Severinus,  
 482 (?).

At length the time drew near for the saint to die. Of the very day of his death, as of so many of the events which had made his life memorable, it was believed that he had an intimation from Heaven. Not long before it arrived he sent for the king and queen of the Rugians. 'Giso,' said he to the queen, 'dost thou love this man' (pointing to the king) 'or silver and gold best?' 'My husband better than all wealth,' said she. 'Then,' he said, 'cease to oppress the innocent, lest their affliction be the cause of the scattering of your power: for thou dost often pervert the mildness of the king. Hitherto God has prospered your kingdom. Henceforward you will see ——' The royal couple took leave of him and departed.

Next stood Ferderuchus by his bed-side—Ferderuchus the king's brother, who had received from Feletheus a present of the few Roman towns remaining on the Danube, Faviana among them. Severinus spoke of his own imminent departure, and besought the prince not to draw down upon himself the Divine wrath, by touching the stores collected during the saint's lifetime for the poor and the captives. Ferderuchus eagerly disclaimed the intention imputed to him, and professed a desire to follow the pious footsteps of his father Flaccitheus. But Severinus replied, 'On the very first opportunity thou wilt violate this my cell and wilt be punished for it in a manner which

I do not desire.' Ferderuchus repeated his protestations of obedience and departed. The Saint knew his covetous nature better, perchance, than he did himself. The end followed speedily. At midnight Severinus called his monks to him, exhorted them to persevere according to their vocation, kissed each one of them, made the sign of the cross, and died, while they were reciting around him the 150th Psalm. Scarcely was his worn body laid in the slight shell which the brethren had prepared for it, mindful of his prophecy concerning their speedy migration southwards, when Ferderuchus, 'poor and impious, and made ever more ruthless by his barbarous avarice,' bore down upon the monastery, determined to carry off the stores of raiment collected there for the use of the poor. When these were swept away he proceeded to take the sacred vessels from the altar. His steward<sup>1</sup> did not dare to execute this part of his master's commands himself, but deputed the work to a soldier named Avitianus, whose unwilling sacrilege was punished by an immediate attack of St. Vitus's dance. Alarmed and penitent, the soldier turned monk, and ended his days in solitude on a distant island. Meanwhile the covetous Ferderuchus, unmindful of the dying saint's exhortations and of his own promises, continued to ransack the monastery, and finally carried off everything except the bare walls, which he could not convey across the Danube to his

BOOK IV.  
CH. 5.

8 Jan.  
482 (?).

Faithless-  
ness of  
Ferde-  
ruchus.

<sup>1</sup> 'Villicus.'

BOOK IV. own land<sup>1</sup>. But vengeance soon overtook him ;  
 CH. 5. for before a month had elapsed, being slain by  
 His death. Frederic his brother's son (the boy who once  
 wandered into the workshop of the goldsmiths,  
 now grown up to manhood), he lost both booty  
 and life.

Odovacar  
 avenges  
 Ferde-  
 rucus.

These events occurred in the early part of 482, and they are connected—but precisely how connected it is impossible to say—with the war which Odovacar, five years later, waged against the Rugians. The biographer of Severinus, after describing the defeat of Ferderucus by his nephew and the death of the former, says, ‘For which cause king Odovacar made war upon the Rugians.’ But as the sacrilegious inroad of Ferderucus seems to have followed close upon the death of the Saint, which certainly happened in 482, and is expressly stated to have been followed in its turn by the expedition of Frederic, and as Odovacar’s Rugian war did not break out before the end of 486 (being in fact assigned by two chroniclers<sup>2</sup> to the year 487), it is clear that the death of Ferderucus was not *immediately* avenged by the Italian king. Possibly (but this is a mere conjecture) some brotherhood in arms may have connected Odovacar and Ferderucus in old days, when the former was still an adventurer in Nori-

<sup>1</sup> ‘Ferderucus autem immemor contestationis et praesagii sancti viri ab rasis omnibus monasterii rebus, parietes tantum, quos Danuvio non potuit transferre, dimisit’ (cap. xlv).

<sup>2</sup> Cuspini Anon. and Cassiodorus.

cum, and he may have been bound by Teutonic BOOK IV.  
notions of honour to avenge, sooner or later, the CH. 5.  
death of his comrade. Possibly the increased sufferings of the provincials at the hands of the Rugians, after the death of Saint Severinus, may have called upon a king, who now in some sort represented the majesty of Rome, to redress their wrongs<sup>1</sup>. At any rate, in these elements of strife, and in the fact that between the Alps and the Danube no other barbarian power existed which could vie with the monarchy of Feletheus, we find some explanation of the sentence in which John of Antioch informed us that 'the Emperor Zeno stirred up against Odoacer the nation of the Rugians.'

The events of the war are soon told. Possibly Invasion of  
the Rugians made some movement against Odo- 487.  
acar in 486. It is certain that in 487 he returned the blow, invaded their territory, put the young general Frederic to flight, and carried Feletheus (or Feva) 'and his wicked wife' prisoners to Ravenna<sup>2</sup>.

Afterwards, probably in the following year, Odo- Invasion of  
vacar was informed that Frederic had returned 488.  
to his own land, upon which he sent his brother Onöulf with a large army against him. Frederic

<sup>1</sup> I can hardly, however, attribute so much force to this motive as Pallmann (ii. 403) does: since it seems improbable that Zeno should have sided with the Rugians if Odoacar was simply championing the 'Romans.'

<sup>2</sup> Cuspiniani Anonymus, sub anno 487. He calls the king Fennanius: but one editor reads Feunanus, another Febanus. Cassiodori Chronicon. Eugippius, Vita Severini, xliv.

BOOK IV. was again forced to flee, and betook himself to  
 CH. 5. Theodoric the Amal, who was then dwelling at  
 Novae (probably the place which is now the Bul-  
 garian town of Sistova), on the Lower Danube <sup>1</sup>.

Emigration  
 of provin-  
 cials from  
 Noricum,  
 488,

taking the  
 body of  
 Severinus.

After this conquest of *Rugiland* (so Paulus Dia-  
 conus informs us that the country of the Rugians  
 was called <sup>2</sup>) the emigration of Roman provincials  
 into Italy took place, as foretold by Severinus.  
 Onöulf ordered it; Pierius, Count of the Domes-  
 tics (who received from Odovacar the deed of gift  
 mentioned in the last chapter), superintended the  
 doing of it. A certain aged priest named Lucillus,  
 to whom Severinus had predicted his decease, and  
 who had then replied, 'Surely I shall go before  
 thee,' was still living, and directed the removal of  
 his remains, which, mindful of the Saint's injunc-  
 tion, the emigrants were set upon carrying up out  
 of the land of bondage. They went at evening,  
 chanting psalms, to the Saint's resting-place. The  
 usual mediaeval marvels of the charnel-house  
 followed,—the body found undecaying, though un-  
 embalmed, after six years' entombment, even the  
 hair and the beard still untouched, a sweet odour  
 filling all the neighbourhood of the tomb. The  
 body, with its cerements unchanged, was placed in  
 a chest, which had been prepared some time before  
 in anticipation of the removal, set upon a waggon  
 (*carpentam*), and drawn by horses over the moun-  
 tainous passes which separate Noricum from Italy.

<sup>1</sup> Eugippius, *Vita Severini*, cap. xlv.

<sup>2</sup> *De Gestis Langobardorum*, i. 19.

In the sad procession which followed the relics of the saint walked all the Roman inhabitants of Noricum, leaving the ruined towns by the Danube for the new homes allotted to each of them in Italy<sup>1</sup>.

After long journeyings, the body of the Saint reached a village (*castellum*) called Mons Feletis (possibly Felitto in Campania, about fifteen miles east of Paestum), and there it abode during at least four of the troublous years that followed<sup>2</sup>, healing the sick, giving speech to the dumb, and working the usual wonders that attested the genuineness of a Saint's relics in the fifth century. But, after a time, a devout and illustrious widow named Barbaria, who had known the Saint by report during his life, whose husband had often corresponded with him, and who now greatly venerated his memory, finding that his body, though brought with all honour to Italy, yet lacked a permanent resting-place, sent to Marcian the presbyter and the congregation of monks which had gathered round the sacred relics, inviting them to lay their precious deposit within her domain. The Pope, Gelasius, gave his consent. All the dwellers in

The Monks invited to the Lucullanum;

<sup>1</sup> 'Linteaminibus igitur immutatis in loculo multo ante jam tempore praeparato funus includitur, carpento trahentibus equis impositum mox evehitur, *cunctis nobiscum provincialibus idem iter agentibus, qui oppidis super ripam Danuvii derelictis per diversas Italiae regiones varias suae peregrinationis sortiti sunt sedes*' (cap. xlv).

<sup>2</sup> The next removal was under the pontificate of Pope Gelasius, which did not commence till 492.

BOOK IV. Naples poured forth to receive in reverence the  
 CH. 5. body of the Saint, and it was duly laid, according to her invitation, 'in the Lucullan Castle,' where a monastery was founded, presided over, first by Marcian and then by Eugippius, the biographer to whom we owe these details. The usual miracles were wrought by the sacred bones. A blind man was restored to sight. The chief of the Neapolitan choir was cured of a most stubborn head-ache by leaning his forehead against the dead man's bier. Demons were cast out, and innumerable other miracles of bodily and mental healing perpetuated the fame of Saint Severinus of Noricum till the fear of the Saracen marauders caused tomb and monastery to be transported to the safer asylum of Naples.

possibly by  
 the mother  
 of Augustus.

But who was the illustrious lady who invited the monks to settle on her land? and what is the Lucullan Castle where Severinus was laid? It is impossible to prove, but we may venture a conjecture that this widow Barbaria, evidently a lady of high rank, is none other than the mother of Romulus Augustulus. She too sprang from Noricum, her husband Orestes had doubtless often corresponded with Severinus concerning the affairs of the provincials in that country. Yet they might well have known the Saint by fame only, not by personal intercourse, since, about the same time that Severinus suddenly appeared by the banks of the Danube (shortly after the death of Attila), Orestes, accompanied doubtless by his wife, must have left his native



country, Pannonia, and come to seek his fortune in Italy. These, however, are but slight coincidences; but when it is remembered that it was to 'the Lucullan Castle' that Augustulus was consigned by the barbarian conqueror, our conjecture rises many degrees in probability. It is true that nothing is said as to his being accompanied by his mother, but this companionship, in itself probable, is rendered yet more so by a letter written by command of Theodoric to *Romulus and his mother*<sup>1</sup>, which we find in the official correspondence of Cassiodorus.

As for the Lucullanum (whose site was left somewhat doubtful when it was previously mentioned in this history<sup>2</sup>), it seems to be agreed by the best antiquaries of Naples that it corresponds, as nearly as the alteration of the coast-line will permit, with the Castel dell' Ovo, that remarkable island or peninsula which juts out from the shore of modern Naples between the Chiaja and the Military Harbour. Perhaps some of the mainland in the modern quarter of Santa Lucia, lying westward of the present Royal Palace, went to make up the pleasure-grounds and to form the fishponds of the luxurious conqueror of Mithridates, that Lucullanum which was the gilded prison of the last Roman Emperor of Rome<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cassiodor. Variarum, iii. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 536.

<sup>3</sup> For this identification of the Castel dell' Ovo with the Lucullanum I may refer to J. Beloch's careful treatise on Campanian topography, *Campanien* (Berlin, 1879). He says (p. 81): 'The island of Megaris came, later on, into the possession of

BOOK IV. Lucullus, and formed the nucleus of his far-famed Neapolitan villa. It is the "*insula clarissimi adolescentis Luculli*" whither Cicero came with Brutus after the murder of Caesar (Phil. x. 4. 8). . . . The Villa, however, of course did not limit itself to the narrow space of the island, but spread over the neighbouring mainland as far as the rocks of Chiatamone and the neighbourhood of the Palazzo Reale and Castel Nuovo. After the time of the Normans the island came to be known as the Castel dell' Ovo.'

NOTE C. ODOVACAR'S NAME IN AN INSCRIPTION AT  
SALZBURG.

A READER of this book, visiting Salzburg, might, unless NOTE C.  
forewarned, think that he had stumbled upon an impor-  
tant contribution to our scanty knowledge of the acts of  
Odovacar.

In the side of the Mönchsberg, a steep cliff immediately above the church and cemetery of St. Peter, there are two caves which tradition connects with the memory of Maximus, who is said to have suffered death at the hands of the barbarians in the year 476 or 477. There is still visible in the cave this inscription on a stone: 'Anno Domini 477 Odoacer, rex Ruthenorum, Gepidi, Gothi, Hungari et Heruli contra ecclesiam Dei saevientes beatum Maximum cum sociis 50 in hoc spelaeo latitantibus ob confessionem fidei praecipitatos trucidarunt, Noricorum quoque provinciam ferro et igne demoliti sunt.'

There was also a wooden tablet (now, I think, removed to the Museum) bearing a long inscription, the most important sentences of which, for our purpose, are the following: 'Quo [Attila] mortuo regnante Zenone imperatore anno Domini 477 Odoacer, natione Rhetenus, Romam cum Herulis ingreditur, Latinos annis 14 opprimens. Interea Gepidi, Gothi, Hungari et Heruli Noricorum provinciam atroci perturbant praelio, civitates Histro adjacentes depopulando; etiam contra Juvaviam, quae inter civitates Bavaricas eminebat nobilissima, aciem dirigunt, quod vir Dei Severinus, episcopus Ravennensis . . . in spiritu cognovit etc. . . . Eadem nocte Barbari Hungari, Gothi et Heruli insperato irruentes civitatem diripiunt, plures captivos ducentes, presbyterum vero Maximum patibulo suspenderunt, ceteris circa quinquaginta in spelaeo petrae latitantibus trucidatis et de monte praecipitatis,' etc.

In spite of the minuteness of their details, and of the very interesting place with which they are connected, these

NOTE C. two inscriptions are of no historical value. Both of them give the date according to the computation of Dionysius Exiguus, from the birth of our Lord; that fact alone makes it impossible that they could be in any sense contemporary documents. (The Dionysian computation was not adopted even in Italy till about 530.) Nor, if the date were treated as an alteration of later times, will the substance of the inscriptions stand the test of criticism any better. Both introduce the Hungarians into the list of the assailants of Juvavia, and the Hungarians did not appear in Europe till the ninth century. Both make Odovacar a Ruthene instead of a Rugian, the Ruthenians having apparently emerged not long before the Hungarians. The inscription on the wooden tablet makes Severinus bishop of *Ravenna*,—a ridiculous blunder. It would require fuller data than I possess, to decide when these inscriptions were really placed in the caves, but probably not earlier than the fall of the monarchy of the Avars in 796 (soon after which time German civilisation began to rear Salzburg on the ruins of Juvavia), perhaps much later.

The same remarks which have been made as to the inscriptions apply to a work entitled ‘*Historia de origine, consecratione et reparatione speluncae seu eremitorii ejusque capellae in monte prope coemeterium sancti Petri in civitate Salisburgensi, ex antiquissimis monumentis et manuscriptis in lucem protracta*’ (printed in 1661).

The historian of Roman Salzburg, Dr. Ignaz Schumann von Mannsegg (in his monograph ‘*Juvavia*’ published 1842), comments on this MS. at considerable length (pp. 247–261), while admitting that it is not entirely accurate. But it also mentions Hungarians among the invaders, and is evidently a comparatively late production, not at all deserving the attention which Dr. Schumann has given to it. The only reason for alluding to it at all is that it speaks of Odovacar as an ordinary barbarian king and invader (‘*Eodem anno 476 ille Rugiorum princeps Odoacer*

exercitum suum ingentem et fortissimum per has Noricales terras in Italiam duxerat,' etc.). And if this little treatise had any contemporary authority at all, we might be forced by it to reconsider the theory, now admitted by all scholars, that Odovacar was not in form a foreign invader, but rather a ringleader of mutinous soldiers in the pay of the Empire.

NOTE C.

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The caves in the Mönchsberg, and the cemetery of St. Peter below them, are extremely interesting, and probably do carry us back to the earliest days of Christian Juvavia. It is quite possible that monks under the presidency of a certain Maximus may have congregated there after a partial destruction of the city by the Huns in 452. Quite possible too that Maximus and fifty of his companions may have been hurled down the steep sides of the Mönchsberg, and so met their death at the hands of some of the barbarians who were at that time the scourge of Noricum. But it may be said positively that Odovacar had nothing to do with this massacre, and it may be almost as strongly asserted that 'the heretic Widemir' (the Ostrogoth), whom the MS. 'de Origine' tries to connect with it, was also guiltless, and very likely entirely ignorant of the cruel deed.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE DEATH-GRAPPLE.

#### Authorities.

#### *Sources:—*

BOOK IV.  
CH. 6. OUR most important authority for this period is ENNODIUS, Bishop of Ticinum (473 to 521). Some facts are drawn from his life of Epiphanius already described (vol. ii. p. 479). But much more important for our present purpose is his 'Panegyricus dictus clementissimo regi Theoderico.' This oration was addressed by Ennodius (not yet Bishop of Ticinum) to Theodoric between the years 504 and 508, less than twenty years after the events recorded in this chapter, and it is therefore strictly a contemporary document. For obvious reasons a panegyric of a living sovereign is an unsatisfactory source to draw from. We have to deal not only with the deliberate attempt to distort history in favour of the subject of the Panegyric, but also with the natural tendency (laudable from an artistic point of view) to tell the story in the presence of a chief actor in it rather by allusion and implication than by direct straightforward narration. In addition to this, the style of Ennodius is most wretched, full of turgid servility, of oratorical tricks which do not deceive, of enigmas which, when by great pains you have mastered their solution, prove to be nonsense. Manso (*Geschichte der Ostgothen*, p. 435) truly says, 'Adeo omnia sunt plena argutiarum et ineptiarum, tot undique calamistri adhibiti, tot mira verborum et compositionum monstra ut nauseam moveat oratio turgida atque inflata, stomachum ambigua atque obscura.' On a first perusal the reader can hardly

see anything but this miserable style: but when he comes back to the Panegyric, compares it with the chroniclers, sees how their short matter-of-fact sentences lighten up its darkness and explain its mysterious hints, he will find that it is really a document of great historical value, and deserving of serious study. Above all, the *silence* of Ennodius is noteworthy. It is an important fact, in reference to one of the most memorable passages of Theodoric's life, that his Panegyrist says not one word, good or bad, about the death of Odovacar. (Quotations are made from the edition in Migne's 'Patrologia,' vol. 63.)

BOOK IV.  
CH. 6.

Next in importance to the Panegyric is the document entitled by German scholars the ANNALS OF RAVENNA ('die Ravennatische Fasten'), a calendar of important events affecting the city of Ravenna in particular and Italy in general, kept possibly by some clerical person in connection with the metropolitan church, and for the most part recording not the year only but the precise day of each notable occurrence. This, though now no longer extant, was evidently the source from which (1) ANONYMUS VALESII<sup>1</sup>, (2) CONTINUATIO PROSPERI<sup>2</sup>, (3) CUSPINIANI CHRONICON<sup>3</sup>, (4) AGNELLUS<sup>4</sup> (in his lives of the Bishops of Ravenna) drew their materials.

Referring the reader to the previous description of these writers, it will be sufficient here to add that the first two are for this period far the most important. *Anonymus Valesii* shows, as was previously stated, a strong bias towards the Emperor Zeno, and, though not unfriendly to Theodoric, looks at all Italian matters as much as possible from the Byzantine point of view. It is characteristic of this writer that he on every possible occasion gives Theodoric the title of *Patricius*, which he had received by grant of the Eastern Augustus.

*Prosper's Continuer* (otherwise called the Chronographer of 641, from the period to which the chronicle is con-

<sup>1</sup> See ii. 487.

<sup>2</sup> See i. 279.

<sup>3</sup> See ii. 211-2.

<sup>4</sup> See i. 472-3.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 6.

tinued<sup>1</sup>, or Codex Havniensis from the place where the MS. is now preserved) tells the story with more fire and fulness than the Anonymus Valesii, and shows perhaps less of the Byzantine bias. He is, however, less to be relied on for his chronology. In fact, for exact chronology we are obliged to go to the somewhat meagre entries of CASSIODORUS.

The note at the end of this chapter will show the curious verbal correspondences between the four sources mentioned above. Their connection is the more remarkable, because, while the first three are probably contemporaries, or nearly contemporaries, of Theodoric, Agnellus is certainly separated from him by an interval of more than 300 years. The wildly inaccurate chronology of Agnellus, who at this very period tries to crowd Attila's invasion (452) and Odovacar's downfall (493) both into the same pontificate (of Joannes Angeloptes), telling us at the same time that he ruled 'sixteen years, ten months, and eighteen days,' would have disposed us to throw aside his compilation as altogether valueless for history. But the minute correspondence of some of his sentences with the other authorities who drew from the Annals of Ravenna, shows that we should be mistaken if we rejected him altogether, and that he was really, in part at least, copying from authorities who were contemporary with the events described.

JORDANES is very meagre here, and gives little help for this part of the history.

PROCOPIUS is somewhat fuller, but less trustworthy, being imperfectly acquainted with what happened in Italy fifty years before his time.

The HISTORIA MISCELLA may enshrine some genuine

<sup>1</sup> In the first volume it was said that this continuation reaches to the year 514. This is not accurate, as the chronicle reaches to 641. But all that is really valuable in the continuation, all that can be referred to the 'Annals of Ravenna,' ends with 514. What follows after this is extracted verbatim from Isidore of Seville. It is to be regretted that this valuable document has not been reprinted except in G. Hille's 'Doctoral Thesis' (Berlin, 1866).



traditions of history, but there are evidences in it of literary compilation, especially from Eunodius, and its late date (eighth century) prevents our treating it as an authority of the first rank.

The account of the death of Odovacar, an interesting little bit of narrative full of the minute touches of a contemporary, perhaps an eyewitness, is preserved for us by JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, copying no doubt from some earlier writer. This is fragment 214 in the *fifth* volume of Müller's 'Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.' (Most of the extracts from Joannes are in the fourth volume of this series.)

IN the preceding chapter we saw that Frederic, the last scion of the Rugian stock, after his unsuccessful revolt fled before the army commanded by the brother of Odovacar, and sought refuge at the Court of Theodoric. Perhaps the injury done to one who was certainly an ally, and who may have been a kinsman, quickened the preparations of Theodoric. Or perhaps his bargain with the Byzantine Court having been concluded, he had been given to understand that he and his *foederati*, who had now received a commission to invade Italy, must look for no more rations or pay from the imperial treasury. Certain it is that, at what seems to us a most unseasonable time for such a march, in the late autumn of 488, he broke up his court or camp or settlement at Sistova, that high fortress on the south of the Danube overlooking what is now the flat and marshy Wallachian shore, and started with his nation-army on the long and difficult journey to Italy.

Theodoric  
starts for  
Italy,  
488.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 6.

BOOK IV.

CH. 6.

488.

Family  
aspect of  
the migra-  
tion.

Seldom, since Moses led the Children of Israel through the wilderness, has a more ill-compacted host attempted to penetrate through hostile countries and to win, by the edge of the sword, a new possession. In the case of Alaric, and of others of the great Teutonic chiefs, we have already had our attention called, by Claudian and other authorities, to the *family* aspect of their marches, migrations rather than campaigns. But of this journey of Theodoric the emphatic language of contemporaries justifies us in saying, that it was preeminently a *nation*, in all its strength and all its helplessness, that accompanied him. His own family, mother, sisters, nephews, evidently were with him, as before on the march to Dyrrhachium. And as with the chief, so with the people. Procopius says, 'With Theodoric went the people of the Goths, putting their wives and children and as much of their furniture as they could take with them into their waggons<sup>1</sup>.' Somewhat more minutely, but with too much of his usual vapid rhetoric, says Theodoric's panegyrist, Ennodius, 'Then, after you had summoned all your powers far and wide, the people, scattered through countless tribes, come together again as one nation, and a *world* migrates with you to the Ausonian land, a world every member of which is nevertheless your kinsman<sup>2</sup>. Waggons are made to do duty

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Γότθων λεῶς εἶπετο, παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις ἐνθήμενοι καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα ὅσα φέρειν οἶοί τε ἦσαν. (De Bello Gothico, i. 1).

<sup>2</sup> I suppose this is the meaning of 'nullus praeter parentem

as houses, and into those wandering habitations BOOK IV.  
 all things that can minister to the needs of the CH. 6.  
 occupants are poured. Then were the tools of 488.  
 Ceres, and the stones with which the corn is  
 ground, dragged along by the labouring oxen.  
 Pregnant mothers, forgetful of their sex and of  
 the burden which they bore, undertook the  
 toil of providing food for the families of thy  
 people. Followed the reign of winter in thy  
 camp. Over the hair of thy men the long frost  
 threw a veil of snowy white; the icicles hung  
 in a tangle from their beards. So hard was the  
 frost that the garment which the matron's perse-  
 vering toil had woven (for her husband) had to  
 be broken before he could fit it to his body.  
 Food for thy marching armies was forced from the  
 grasp of the hostile nations around, or procured  
 by the cunning of the hunter<sup>1</sup>.

The question has been often asked, what must Number of  
the host.  
 we suppose to have been the number of this  
 moving multitude? The calculation can be only  
 conjectural, but the data that we have point to  
 a high figure. In the campaign in Epirus<sup>2</sup>, as the  
 reader may remember, the defeat of the mere rear-  
 iter arripuit.' It would be absurd to say that every one who  
 set out on the journey was a parent.

<sup>1</sup> Ennodius, Panegyricus, p. 173. It is this passage which  
 seems to compel us, contrary to probability, to fix the departure  
 of Theodoric for the late autumn or winter of 488. But as  
 Ennodius is drawing a general picture, I am not sure that the  
 winter of 489, passed by the Goths in Lombardy, would not  
 satisfy his description.

<sup>2</sup> Described in chap. iii.

BOOK IV. guard of the Ostrogothic army led to the capture of  
 CH. 6. 5000 prisoners (a yet larger number having been  
 488. cut to pieces), and put 2000 waggons at the disposal  
 of the Byzantine host. In the same campaign a  
 body of 6000 men, the most valiant in the army,  
 are spoken of by Theodoric as a sort of flying  
 column with which he was willing to march into  
 Thrace and annihilate the forces of the son of  
 Triarius; while that rival, on making his peace  
 with the Empire, had obtained the promise of  
 rations and pay for 13,000 men, to be selected by  
 himself from the number of his followers. Looking  
 at these facts, remembering that probably many  
 of the Triarian Goths had joined Theodoric's  
 standard after the extinction of the family of  
 their leader, and that some, perhaps many, Ru-  
 gians must have followed the fugitive Frederic  
 into his camp, we shall probably be safe in esti-  
 mating the fighting strength of Theodoric's army  
 at 40,000 men, and the total number of the nation  
 on its travels at 200,000<sup>1</sup>. If anything, this con-  
 jecture is too low, since we find it stated that the  
 Gothic army which besieged Rome only fifty years  
 later (but they had been years of peace and un-  
 exampled prosperity) consisted of not less than  
 150,000 fighting men<sup>2</sup>.

Accepting the moderate computation here sug-

<sup>1</sup> This is substantially Köpke's calculation (pp. 167-8); Dahn guesses the whole multitude at 250,000 (ii. 78); Pallmann (ii. 437) at 300,000 Goths and 40,000 or 50,000 Rugians.

<sup>2</sup> Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, i. 16 (p. 82 ed. Bonn).

gested, we can imagine, or rather we cannot imagine, the anxiety which must have gnawed the soul of Theodoric, when he had cut himself loose from his communications in Moesia, when his progress was barred by enemies upon whose neutrality he had, perhaps rashly, reckoned, when weeks lengthened into months, winter months, and still his long array, with all the sick, the children, the delicate women, with 200,000 mouths needing daily food, stood upon the snow-covered Illyrian uplands, and could not yet descend into the promised land, could not yet even see their final foe.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 6.  
488.  
Difficulties  
of commis-  
sariat.

The first 300 miles were probably much the easiest part of the journey. They would be travelling along the great Danubian highway, perhaps the most important of all the roads connecting the eastern and western portions of the Roman Empire<sup>1</sup>, and one which, even in those days of feebleness and decay, and after all the ravages of Goth and Hun, was still probably kept in a fair state of repair<sup>2</sup>. Possibly too, as Theo-

Troubles  
with the  
Gepids.

<sup>1</sup> In the Antonine Itinerary the journey from Viminacium (near the confluence of the Morava and Danube) to Nicomedia in Bithynia (Constantinople was not then built) is traced all along the southern shore of the Danube to its mouth, then southwards along the Black Sea coast (mainly) and across the Bosphorus to the capital of Diocletian, a total distance of 1162 Roman miles, but by no means in a straight line.

<sup>2</sup> It is hardly necessary to discuss the statement of Procopius, according to which Theodoric first made for the narrow passage of the Adriatic from Dyrrhachium to Brundisium. 'But when they came close to the Ionian Gulf [Hadriatic] they were by

BOOK IV.

CH. 6.

488.

oric was still in the territory of the now friendly empire, supplies for his followers would be forthcoming, if not from the imperial magazines, at any rate on moderate terms in the markets of the provincials. But when he reached Singidunum (Belgrade), the scene of that boyish victory of his over the Sarmatian king<sup>1</sup>, his difficulties began, if they had not begun before. It is pretty clear from the facts, even if it were not expressly stated by Procopius<sup>2</sup>, that, after the Ostrogoths performed their celebrated march to the Aegean under Theudemir (in 473), the Gepidae moved across the Danube (from Dacia into Pannonia) and occupied either the whole of the broad lands thus evacuated, or at any rate the south-eastern corner of them, including the important and still not utterly ruined cities of Singidunum and Sirmium. Now, into

no means able to cross over it, not having any ships, so, going round the head of the gulf, they moved forward through the territory of the Taulantii and the other nations in that quarter.' Against this most improbable statement, which would impute to Theodoric a want of forethought very unlike his usual character, we have to set the clear words of Jordanes, copying no doubt from Cassiodorus: 'He led his people to Italy, and *taking the straight course* by Sirmium ascended to the confines of Pannonia, whence entering the borders of Venetia he pitched his camp by the Isonzo' ('*Hesperiam tendit rectoque itinere per Sirmis ascendit vicina Pannoniae, indeque Venetiarum fines ingressus ad Pontem Sontii castra metatus est*'). 'Ascended' just fits his course up the valleys of the Drave and the Save. Probably Procopius knew vaguely of Theodoric's operations against Dyrrhachium in 479 and mixed them up with his march to Italy.

<sup>1</sup> See chap. i.

<sup>2</sup> De Bello Vandalico, i. 2 (vol. i. p. 313 ed. Bonn).

this corner of the land, this long strip of country (the modern province of Slavonia) between the rivers Drave and Save, Theodoric's road led him, and through it he must lead his way-worn and hungering followers; but the Gepid barred the way. An embassy was sent<sup>1</sup>, we may imagine, with such an appeal as Moses made to Sihon king of the Amorites which dwelt at Heshbon: 'Let me pass through thy land: we will not turn into the fields, or into the vineyards; we will not drink of the waters of the well: but we will go along by the king's high way, until we be past thy borders.' Like that appeal, however, this of Theodoric's, though it might have been based on the claims of kindred and on memories of the far-distant days when the Gepids manned one boat and the Goths two in the first migration<sup>2</sup>, if made, was disregarded, and the nation-army, all encumbered as it was with baggage and diluted with non-combatants, had to fight for its right of way.

The decisive engagement came off at the river Ulca, concerning which we are told that 'it is the defence of the Gepidae which protects them like a mound, gives them an audacity which they would otherwise lack, and strengthens the frontier of the province with a wall that no battering rams can crumble<sup>3</sup>.' It is not easy from this description

BOOK IV.  
CH. 6.  
488.

The pas-  
sage of the  
Ulca con-  
tested.

<sup>1</sup> 'Pro legatis et gratiae postulatione, obsistendi animo gens diu invicta properavit' (Ennodius, p. 173).

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Ennodius, p. 173.

BOOK IV. to identify the river in question. The Save,  
 CH. 6.  
 488. which at this time must have formed the southern  
 boundary of the Gepid territory, would have  
 seemed a probable suggestion, but we have no  
 hint that it ever was called by any name like  
 Ulca. On the whole, the least improbable con-  
 jecture seems to be<sup>1</sup> that we have here to do with  
 the *Hiulca Palus*<sup>2</sup>, a great sheet of water (possibly  
 connected with streams above and below, and  
 therefore not quite incorrectly termed a river)  
 which, according to the striking description of  
 Zosimus<sup>3</sup>, mirrored the towers of the high hill-  
 city of Cibalis, an important place, the exact site  
 of which has not yet been discovered, but which  
 was 101 Roman miles higher up the valley of the  
 Save than Singidunum. If this identification be  
 correct, the landscape on which Theodoric and his  
 countrymen looked on this day of unwelcome con-  
 flict, was one which had already been the theatre of  
 great events, for here it was that Constantine the  
 314. Great fought the first battle in that long duel  
 with his brother-in-law Licinius which finally gave  
 to the Christian Emperor the undisputed mastery  
 of the Eastern and Western worlds. Here too,

<sup>1</sup> This is the view put forward by Manso (p. 453) and supported by Köpke (p. 170).

<sup>2</sup> Though most reluctant to differ from Zeuss (*Die Deutschen*, &c., p. 439), geographical considerations will hardly allow us to accept his identification of Ulca fluvius with the Aluta, a stream flowing into the Danube only thirty or forty miles west of Novae and on the Dacian side of the river.

<sup>3</sup> ii, 18.



only seven years later, was born one of the ablest BOOK IV.  
of his successors, the ferocious but statesmanlike CH. 6.  
Valentinian<sup>1</sup>. 488.

The ambassadors who were sent to the Gepid king, 321.  
Traustila<sup>2</sup>, returned with an unfavourable reply. Battle of  
No passage through his dominions would be the Ulca.  
conceded to the Ostrogoths; if they still desired it they  
must fight for it with the unconquered Gepidae.  
Then indeed was the distress of the wandering  
nation at its height. Famine, and the child of  
famine, pestilence, urged them on: behind them lay  
the frozen road<sup>3</sup> marked by their blood-stained foot-  
prints, before them a yet worse and steeper road,  
one which even a fugitive would have shunned,  
leading over a quivering morass and up to the  
frowning ranks of their enemies. The Gothic  
vanguard charged across the morass; many were  
swallowed up in its muddy waters; those who  
reached the opposite side were falling fast beneath

<sup>1</sup> The identification of the *Ulca fluvius* of Ennodius with the *Hiculca Palus* of Victor (Epitome xli) is greatly strengthened by Ennodius's description of the battle, which recalls the idea of a morass or fen-country rather than a river properly so called. The words of Zosimus (ii. 18) are: Πόλις δὲ αὐτῆ [Κίβαλις] Παιονίας ἐστίν, ἐπὶ λόφου κειμένη. Στενὴ δὲ ὁδὸς ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνάγει, σταδίων πέντε τὸ εὖρος ἔχουσα, ἧς τὸ πολὺ μέρος ἐπέχει λίμνη βαθεῖα, τὸ δὲ λειπόμενον ἄρος ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ λόφος ἐφ' οὐπερ ἡ πόλις. Ἐντεῦθεν πεδίων ἀναπεπταμένοι ἐκδέχεται πολὺ τι καὶ εἰς ἀποψιν ἀπειρον. Victor (as above) says, 'Primumque apud Cibalas juxta paludem Hiculcam nomine, Constantino nocte castra Licinii irrupente, Licinius fugam petiit.' Some MSS. read *Vulcam*.

<sup>2</sup> Or Trapstila (Miscella Historia).

<sup>3</sup> 'Instantibus Gepidis, amne, pestilentia iter quod declinasset fugiens . . . transvolasti.'

BOOK IV. the shower of lances which the mighty arms of  
 CH. 6.  
 488. the Gepidae hurled against their frail wicker-work  
 breastplates<sup>1</sup>. In that apparent shipwreck of the  
 fortunes of a noble nation, the calm valour of  
 Theodoric saved his people. Like Henry IV at  
 Ivri, he shouted, 'Whoso will fight the enemy let  
 him follow me. Look not to any other leader, but  
 only charge where you see my standard advancing.  
 The Gepids shall know that a king attacks them :  
 my people shall know that Theodoric saves them.'  
 Then he called for a cup, and performed with it  
 some old Teutonic rite by way of augury, the  
 nature of which is not described to us<sup>2</sup>, and on  
 he dashed, urging his horse to a gallop. We may  
 conjecture that his keen eye had discerned some  
 causeway of solid ground through the morass, along  
 which he led his followers. However this may be,  
 his charge was completely successful. 'As a swollen  
 river through the harvest-field, as a lion through the  
 herd,' so did Theodoric career through the Gepid  
 ranks, which everywhere melted away before him.  
 In a moment the fortune of the day was turned.  
 They who a little while ago were vaunting victors  
 were now fugitives, wandering without cohesion  
 over the plain, while the Amal king moved proudly  
 on, no longer now at the head of his troops, but  
 encompassed by thousands of stalwart guards.

<sup>1</sup> 'Jejunas pectorum crates acta validioribus lacertis lancea  
 transmeabat' (Ennodius, p. 174).

<sup>2</sup> 'His dictis, poculum causa poposeit auspicii' (p. 174). Do  
 the words simply indicate the drinking of a cup of wine to the  
 success of the Ostrogoths ?

A great multitude of the enemy were slain, and only the approach of night saved the trembling remnant. What was more important, the store-waggons of the Gepidae fell into the hands of the Goths; and so well were they supplied with corn from all the cities of the neighbourhood, that the satisfied wanderers congratulated themselves on the pugnacity of their hosts, which provided them a feast such as they could never have obtained from their hospitality.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 6.  
488.  
Results of  
the battle.

How long the campaign against the Gepids lasted we know not. We hear vaguely from the panegyrist of 'innumerable' other combats with the Sarmatians and others, the mention of which may or may not be due to some confusion with Theodoric's boyish exploits in the same region. What seems certain is, that either in this guerilla warfare, or in mere foraging expeditions through a country which was of course perfectly familiar to the chief and to all but the mere striplings in his army (since they had migrated thence only sixteen years before), winter, spring, and the greater part of summer wore away. It was not till the month of August that the Ostrogoths, who may perhaps have marched by different routes, some up the valley of the Save, others by that of the Drave, and who may then have concentrated at Aemona (Laybach), finally crossed the Julian Alps, and descended by the road trodden by so many conquerors—Theodosius, Alaric, Attila—past the Pear-tree and the Frigid Stream, into

Other  
battles.

Descent  
into Italy,  
489.

BOOK IV. the plains of that Italy which they were to win by  
CH. 6.  
 bloody battle, to hold for sixty-six years, to love  
 489. so fondly, and to lose so stubbornly.

We are told that the flocks and herds which accompanied them on their march, soon showed, by their improved condition, the superiority of the tender pastures of Italy over the scanty herbage of the Alpine uplands<sup>1</sup>.

Reach the  
 Isonzo.

At the eleventh mile-stone from Aquileia (*Ad Undecimum*) the host reached the confluence of the river Frigidus with the Sontius (Isonzo), and here probably it was that Odovacar and his army stood ready to meet them and dispute their passage. South-westwards, in the sea-like plain, rose the ghostly ruins of Aquileia, over which near forty years of desolation had passed. No fleets of merchantmen lined her broken wharves; no workman's hammer resounded in her ruined Mint; the Baths, the Amphitheatre, the Forum, were all silent. Only, perhaps, a few black-robed priests and monks still clustered round the repaired basilica, keeping warm the embers of religious life in the province of Venetia, asserting the continuity, and preparing the way for the revival, of the power of the Patriarchate of Aquileia.

Odovacar  
 and his  
 subject-  
 kings.

Odovacar had taken a strong post on the Isonzo, and had fortified it strongly. In his well-defended camp a large army of various nationalities was mustered under his orders. Ennodius speaks of

<sup>1</sup> Paulus, xv. 15.

'so many kings'<sup>1</sup> trooping to the war under Odovacar's banners. Pompous and inflated as his style is, it is difficult to suppose that this detail is absolutely devoid of truth. Perhaps, in the motley host who first acclaimed Odovacar as king, there may have been chiefs and princelings who retained some of their old semi-royal position towards their followers, while towards him they were but generals under a generalissimo. Perhaps also the nations on the Danube, Alamanni, Thuringians, Gepidae, had sent their contingents to defend the menaced throne of the conqueror of the Rugians.

Of the battle of the Isonzo, which was fought on the 28th of August<sup>2</sup>, we have no details. Odovacar had all the advantages of position, of preparation, and of a force which must surely have been more easily handled than the long train, encumbered with women and with waggons, which emerged from under the shadow of the Tarnovaner Wald. But it is probably true, as Ennodius declares, that the vast mass of the defending armament wanted a soul. Its leader, who throughout this war shows not a single instinct of generalship nor trace of that soldierly dash which first made him conspicuous among his fellows, had probably grown torpid during his thirteen years

BOOK IV.  
CH. 6.

489.

Battle of  
the Isonzo,  
28 Aug.,  
489.

<sup>1</sup> 'Tibi cum rectore meo, Odovacar, occurro, qui universas contra eum nationes, quasi orbis concussor, exciveras. Tot reges tecum ad bella convenerant, quot sustinere generalitas milites vix valeret.'

<sup>2</sup> v. Kal. Sept. (Cuspiniani Anon.)

BOOK IV. of royalty, amid such animal delights as Italy could  
 CH. 6. offer to a barbarian autocrat. And on the other  
 489. side were three powerful champions, Youth in the  
 leader, Loyalty in the led, and Despair in both.  
 The deep river was crossed, the *vallum* climbed,  
 the camp taken: a crowd of fugitives scattered  
 over the plain announced to the villages of Venetia  
 that the day of Odovacar's supremacy was drawing  
 to a close <sup>1</sup>.

Theodoric  
 dates his  
 reign from  
 this vic-  
 tory.

Odovacar fled from the Isonzo to the line of the  
 Adige, thus abandoning the whole modern province  
 of Venetia to the invader <sup>2</sup>. So large and so fair  
 a slice of Northern Italy owning his sway, justified  
 that invader in looking on himself as from that  
 day forward a ruler in Italy, not the mere leader  
 of a wandering host. Near the close of his reign,  
 when a question arose how far back the judge  
 might go in enquiring into the wrongful ouster  
 of a Roman from his farm, Theodoric made his  
 'Statute of Limitations' commence with the victory  
 of the Isonzo. 'If,' he said, 'the expropriation  
 took place after the time when by the favour of  
 God we crossed the streams of the Sontius, when  
 first the Empire of Italy received us, then let the  
 farm be restored to its former owner, and that

<sup>1</sup> 'Non te castra longo munita tempore, non fluminis profunda  
 tenuerunt: datum est hostibus tuis vallum construere, non  
 tueri. Repente aequora fugacium discursus obnubit, per quae  
 superandam domesticam tempestatem abeuntibus indixisti' (?).

<sup>2</sup> Not quite the whole, according to the Constantinian arrange-  
 ment of the Empire. 'Venetia et Histria' reached as far as  
 the Adda.

whether thirty years have since elapsed or not.' BOOK IV.  
CH. 6.  
Further back than that, into the wrongs inflicted 489.  
at the time of the Herulo-Rugian land settlement,  
Theodoric did not consider himself bound to travel  
or to enquire<sup>1</sup>.

Odovacar's next stand was to be made at Odovacar's  
position.  
Verona; and here 'in the Campus Minor,' as  
before at the Isonzo, he entrenched himself in a  
*fossatum*, a large square camp, doubtless sur-  
rounded with those deep fosses of which the  
archæologist who has studied the Roman military  
works in Britain and Germany can form some not  
wholly inadequate conception. On the top of the  
mound, formed of the earth thrown up out of the  
ditch, would probably be planted a line of sharp  
stakes. Here the attacked king stood at bay,  
having the line of the deep and rapid Adige  
behind him, to compel his followers to fight by  
the impossibility of escape<sup>2</sup>. There had been  
some vaunting words uttered by Odovacar in the  
parleys which preceded the combat; and 'if the  
tongue could have achieved victory instead of the  
right arm,' says Ennodius, 'his array of words  
would have been invincible.' But in truth his

<sup>1</sup> 'Si Romanum praedium ex quo, Deo propitio, Sonti fluenta  
transmisimus, ubi primum Italiae nos suscepit imperium, sine  
delegatoris cujusquam pectacio, praesumptor barbarus occupavit,  
eum priori domino submota dilatione restituat' (Variarum, i. 18).  
The 'pectacium delegatoris' is practically equivalent to 'con-  
veyance from the previous owner.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Electus est locorum situs, non tam congressui utilis quam  
pavori.'

BOOK IV. army was a very formidable one in point of  
 CH. 6. numbers: and when Theodoric, on the night be-  
 489. fore the battle, pacing up and down, saw the wide  
 extent of the camp-fires gleaming like earthly  
 constellations upon the hills between him and  
 Verona, his heart well-nigh died within him.  
 But, as his panegyrist truly says, there was a  
 certain calm and noble stability in the nature of  
 the Ostrogothic king. He was not easily elated  
 by good, nor depressed by adverse fortune, and  
 his serene assurance of victory communicated it-  
 self to his countrymen.

Battle of  
 Verona,  
 30 Sept.,  
 489.

At dawn of the 30th of September<sup>1</sup> the trumpets  
 of the two armies sounded for battle. While  
 Theodoric was arming himself with breastplate of  
 steel, was buckling on his greaves, and hanging to  
 his side that sword which his Roman admirer calls  
 'the champion of freedom<sup>2</sup>,' his mother Erelieva  
 and his sister Amalfrida came to him, not to  
 depress his courage by womanly lamentations,  
 but, anxious as to the result of the day, to try  
 to read in his beloved face the omens of victory.

<sup>1</sup> 'At vero Odoachar abiit in Veronam, et fixit fossatum in campo minore Veronensi v. kalendas Octobris. Ibiq̄ue persecutus est eum Theodericus, et, pugna facta, ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte; tamen superatus Odoachar fugit Ravennam pridie kalendas Octobris' (Anon. Valesii, 50). Though this statement is not very clear, it seems to show that Odovacar entrenched himself at Verona on the 27th of September, and that his defeat and flight to Ravenna took place three days after.

<sup>2</sup> 'Dum munimentis chalybio pectus includeres, dum ocreis armarere, dum lateri tuo *vindex libertatis gladius* aptaretur.'



He reassured their doubting hearts with cheering words: 'Mother, this day it behoves me to show to the world that it was indeed a man-child whom you bore on that great day of the victory over the Huns. I too, in the play of lances, have to show myself worthy of my ancestors' renown by winning new victories of my own. Before my soul's eye stands my father, the mighty Theudemir, he who never doubted of victory, and therefore never failed to achieve it. Bring forth, oh my mother and my sister, my most splendid robes, those on which your fingers have worked the most gorgeous embroidery. I would be more gaily dressed on this day than on any holiday. If the enemy do not recognise me, as I trow they shall, by the violence of my onset, let them recognise me by the brilliancy of my raiment. If Fortune give my throat to the sword of the enemy, let him that slays me have a grand reward for his labour. Let them at least say, "How splendid he looks in death," if they have not the chance to admire me fighting.' With these words of joyous confidence, instinct with the life of the coming age of chivalry, Theodoric leaped on his charger and was soon in the thickest of the fray. It was time for him to make his appearance. Even while he was saying his farewells, the Ostrogoths were slightly wavering under the onset of the enemy. The charge of Theodoric and his chosen troops restored the fortunes of the day. There are indications, however, that the victory, perhaps owing

BOOK IV.

CH. 6.

489.

BOOK IV. to the position of the Rugo-Herulian troops which  
 CH. 6. made escape all but impossible, was more stub-  
 489. bornly contested than that of the Isonzo, and that  
 the Ostrogothic loss was heavy<sup>1</sup>. Before the end  
 of the day, however, the troops of Odovacar were all  
 cut to pieces, or whelmed beneath the swift waves  
 of the Adige, save a few bold swimmers who  
 may have escaped, Horatius-like, by swimming the  
 stream<sup>2</sup>. In these fierce battles of Teuton against  
 Teuton, we hear nothing of quarter asked or  
 granted. Apparently Odovacar, in order to urge  
 his troops to more desperate efforts, must have  
 broken down the bridge behind them leading to  
 Verona<sup>3</sup>. He himself escaped, but not westward.  
 He sped across the plain, towards the south-east,  
 and took refuge in the impregnable Ravenna. One

Flight of  
 Odovacar  
 to Ra-  
 venna.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ceciderunt populi ab *utraque* parte' (Ennodius).

<sup>2</sup> It seems that Verona was considered the greatest of Theodoric's victories. There is something deserving of consideration in the suggestion of Pallmann (ii. 449-450) that it was from this victory, rather than from his occasional residence at Verona as sovereign, that Theodoric acquired the name by which he is so well known in Saga, 'Dietrich of *Bern*.'

<sup>3</sup> Ennodius, in describing the battle of Verona, becomes almost sublime. 'Oh, Adige,' he says, 'all hail! most illustrious of rivers, who hast washed away the stain of Italy, keeping thine own blue waters pure.' But then he goes on to describe the harvest of human bones which whitened all the plain, and, with a ferocity as inconsistent with his sacred character as with good taste, regrets that this memorial of the triumph of Theodoric and of the ended woes of Italy cannot *always* be preserved. He regrets that the grazing cattle are continually destroying these relics of the battlefield: 'O utinam voracibus abriperere aliquid bestiis non liceret! Perit desiderabili spectaculo quod acquisiverint furta belluarum.'

authority, of a late date, says that he first fled to Rome, and finding the gates of the city closed against him, wasted the surrounding country with fire and sword<sup>1</sup>. In the face, however, of the clear testimony of the contemporary writer, whom scholars call the Chronographer of Ravenna<sup>2</sup>, and who evidently watched the successive acts of the bloody drama with minute and eager interest, it seems safer to affirm that the beaten king fled at once from the battle-field to the secure shelter of Ravenna and her dykes<sup>3</sup>.

Theodoric meanwhile repaired to Mediolanum, that great city which had been so often in the third and fourth centuries the residence of emperors, and which was still the most important city of the Province of Liguria, as its successor, Milan, is of the modern Lombardy. Here he received

Theodoric  
at Milan.

<sup>1</sup> This is the account of Paulus (end of eighth century) in the *Historia Miscella*: 'Odovacer autem cum his qui evaserant fugiens Romam contendit, sed obseratis continuo portis exclusus est. Qui dum sibi denegari introitum cerneret, omnia quaeque adtingere potuit gladio flammisque consumpsit. Inde quoque egrediens Ravennam ingressus est,' etc. (xv. 15).

<sup>2</sup> As copied by the *Anonymus Valesii*, § 50, and especially by the Copenhagen MS. of the Continuator of Prosper (sometimes called the Chronicle of 641), *et Ravennam cum exercitu fugiens pervenit.*

<sup>3</sup> Immediately after his description of the battle of Verona, Ennodius inserts a spirited appeal to Rome: 'I wish that you, oh venerable city, notwithstanding your age, could come and see this sight. Why do you always remain cooped up in your mouldering temples? Come here and see the clemency of our king,' and so on. It seems to me possible that this apostrophe, misunderstood by some later author, may have originated the story of Odovacar's flight to Rome.

BOOK IV. the submission of a large part of the army of his  
 CH. 6.  
 489. rival. Great as had been the number of the slain, it was still a goodly host which stood before him, their arms bright and dazzling as a German's arms were bound to be on a day of parade, and which, probably by the clash of spear on shield, acclaimed him as victor and lord<sup>1</sup>. The Amal's heart may well have beat high at the sight, and it doubtless seemed to him that the labour of conquest was over and that he was undisputed lord of Italy.

Double  
 treachery  
 of Tufa.

But this early success was a delusion. Easily as these Teutonic bands turned about from one lord to another, there was still too much vitality in the cause of Odovacar for him to be abandoned so utterly by his followers as seemed to be the case at Milan in October 489. Treason to the new lord was already preparing itself in the hearts of the surrendered army, and the manager, for a time the successful manager, of this treasonable movement, which seemed likely to change the whole course of the war, was *Tufa*. This man, evidently a person of mark in the Rugo-Herulian army, perhaps one of the 'kings' whom Ennodius describes as commanding it, had been solemnly, in an assembly of the chiefs, appointed *Magister Militum* by Odovacar on the 1st of April in this year<sup>2</sup>. The part which he now played, whether

489.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ecce iterum ad deditionem sibi cognitam hostium leto debita pars cucurrit: et cum excessissent occumbentes numerum ad servitium tamen armis instructa radiantibus agmina convenerunt' (Ennodius).

<sup>2</sup> 'Et perambulavit Theodericus patricius Mediolanum, et

it were the result of deep and calculated treachery or simply of unreasoning impulse, vibrating backwards and forwards between the old master and the new, reminds a modern reader of the conduct of Marshal Ney in 1815, setting forth from Paris with the assurance to Louis XVIII that he would in a week bring back the Corsican usurper in an iron cage, and, before the week was over, deserting to Napoleon with all his troops. But assuredly, if Tufa may pair off with Ney, we are under no temptation to carry the parallel further. The glorious young Amal king is as much above the gouty Bourbon epicure, as the incapable resourceless Odovacar is below the mighty Napoleon.

Theodoric, who seems to have been thoroughly blinded by his confidence in Tufa, sent him, probably within a few days after the interview at Milan, to besiege his old master at Ravenna. Tufa advanced along the great Æmilian Way, as far as Faventia<sup>1</sup>, about eighteen miles from that city. There he began the blockade of the capital, but when Odovacar came forth, came to Faventia itself,

He betrays  
Theodoric's  
friends to  
Odovacar.

*tradiderunt se illi maxima pars exercitus Odoacris, necnon et Tufa magister militum quem ordinaverat Odoachar cum optimatibus suis kal. Aprilis'* (An. Val. § 51). The combination of the Germanic Folc-mote ('cum optimatibus suis') with the Roman office of Magister Militum is curious. I entirely dissent from Pallmann's view that the date (kal. Apr.) applies to the defection of Tufa rather than to his appointment. This mistake (as I think it) has led him to attribute to 490 some of the events of 489.

<sup>1</sup> The modern Faenza, which has given its name *faïence* to French earthenware.

BOOK IV. and had an interview with his former subordinate,  
 CH. 6. Tufa changed again, abandoned the cause of Theo-  
 489. doric, and had the baseness to surrender the  
 ‘Comites Theodorici,’ probably some Ostrogothic  
 nobles, members of the *Comitatus* of Theodoric,  
 into the hands of Theodoric’s enemy. They were  
 loaded with chains and brought into Ravenna,  
 and there it is but too probable that they were  
 foully murdered by Odovacar, an event which,  
 more than any other, embittered the contest of  
 the two rivals.

Theodoric  
 withdraws  
 to Tici-  
 num.

This defection of Tufa, accompanied probably by  
 a large part of the troops committed to his charge,  
 caused a violent revulsion in the fortunes of Theo-  
 doric. The Ostrogoth, who had been dreaming of  
 dominion, now found himself again called upon to  
 plan for the mere safety and subsistence of himself  
 and his people. Milan seemed to him too exposed,  
 too accessible from Ravenna, to be safely selected  
 as his winter-quarters. He chose instead the city  
 of Ticinum (*Pavia*), which resting on two rivers,  
 the Ticino and the Po, would offer more difficulties  
 to an advancing army. Here too still dwelt the  
 saintly bishop Epiphanius, towards whom, notwith-  
 standing the difference of his creed, the young  
 Ostrogoth seems to have been drawn, as Ricimer  
 and Euric had been drawn<sup>1</sup>, by the transparent  
 beauty and holiness of his character. He said at  
 once, ‘Here is a bishop who in all the East has  
 not his equal, whom even to have seen is a high

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. pp. 478, 503.

privilege.' And, according to the biographer, he BOOK IV.  
 added that the city must be safe where such a CH. 6.  
 good man dwelt, that here was a wall which no 490.  
 soldiers could storm, no Balearic slingers could  
 over-shoot. Whether he indulged in quite such  
 soaring flights of rhetoric or not, it is clear that  
 he did select Pavia not only for his own quarters  
 in the winter of 489-490, but also as a place of  
 safe deposit where he might leave his venerable  
 mother, and where all the other non-combatants  
 of the Gothic army might be collected, for what  
 remained to them of the war, a period, as it turned  
 out, of three years<sup>1</sup>. During this period, Epipha-489-492.  
 nius played his difficult part with that success Epipha-  
 which is sometimes the reward of a perfectly nus and  
 simple and unselfish character, surrounded by Theodoric.  
 unscrupulous and greedy men. Though he evi-  
 dently inclined to the side of Theodoric, he suc-  
 ceeded in maintaining friendly relations with  
 Odovacar. He obtained from both princes the one  
 boon on which his heart was set, the liberation  
 of 'prisoners and captives,' and this not for his  
 own Roman compatriots only. Often did an Os-  
 trogoth or a Turcilingian, whose wife and children  
 had fallen into the hands of the enemy, obtain,  
 through the prayers of the Bishop, that redemption  
 which gold would have been powerless to procure.

<sup>1</sup> Ennodius's Life of St. Epiphanius now again becomes an authority, side by side with his Panegyric on Theodoric. The former mentions the *name* of Tufa ('homo in perfugarum infamio notitia veteri pollutus'), which is absent from the latter.

BOOK IV.

CH. 6.

490.

To the not over-welcome guests in his own city the generosity of Epiphanius was conspicuous. It was a singular state of affairs, as his biographer truly, if somewhat bombastically, points out. 'Those forces of Theodoric, which the whole East had scarcely been able to support, were now contracted within the limits of a single town. You saw that town swarming with the gatherings of tribesmen, the heads of mighty clans cooped up in narrow hovels. Whole homesteads seemed to have migrated from their foundations, and scarcely was there standing room for the new inhabitants.' In these strangely altered circumstances of his diocese the Bishop applied himself to relieve, to the utmost of his ability, the bodily needs of the new-comers, forgetting, or teaching himself to forget, that it was by them and such as them that the estates of his bishopric had been laid waste, and his own income pitifully diminished. And living, as he had now to live, for three years, constantly under the eyes of 'a most clever people, quickly touched by the lightest breath of suspicion, in troublous times such as make even gentle hearts cruel through fear,' he showed himself so uniformly kind and true that he retained their unwavering esteem and confidence. As has been already said, the princes, who were at deadly war with one another, agreed in venerating Epiphanius<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Videres urbem familiarium coetibus scatentem: domorum immanium culmina in angustissimis resecata tuguriis: cerneret a fundamentis aedificia immensa migrare (?); nec



The campaign of the year 490 was marked by the formation of great transalpine alliances which, though we hear but vaguely concerning them, must have exercised an important influence on the fortunes of the war. Gundobad, king of the Burgundians, of whom we have heard nothing since, sixteen years before, he left his client Glycerius defenceless against Nepos and stole back to his own kingdom by the Rhone<sup>1</sup>, now seeing the tide apparently on the turn against Theodoric, and fearing probably that, if he conquered, the Ostrogoth of Italy and the Visigoth of Gaul would join hands and the Burgundian would have an evil time between them<sup>2</sup>, invaded Liguria with a large army<sup>3</sup>. Whether he came as an ally of

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 6.  
 490.  
 The Burgundians help Odo-  
 vacar.

474.

ad recipiendam habitantium densitatem solum ipsum posse sufficere.

‘Cum sagacissima gente habitans, et quam nulla suspicionum aura praetervolat, in rebus dubiis quando metus periculi etiam mitia contra quoslibet corda sollicitat, sic illis fidelissimus existit, ut inimicos eorum toto devinctos teneret affectu, et inter dissidentes principes solus esset qui pace frueretur amborum.’

The remark as to the effect of fear in making men cruel is worthy of a better writer than Ennodius.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 494.

<sup>2</sup> This is well pointed out by Köpke, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> The words of the *Historia Miscella* are so clear, and so completely harmonise with the allusion in Ennodius (*Panegyric*, p. 177), that, entirely uncontradicted as they are by any of the chroniclers, I do not like to disregard them, though Binding (pp. 103-4) takes a different view of the time and cause of this invasion. The *Historia Miscella* says, ‘*Talium rerum varietates [the treachery of Tufa and Theodoric’s withdrawal to Pavia] Burgundionum rex Gundubatus aspiciens Liguriam cum ingenti exercitu ingressus cuncta quae reperire*

BOOK IV. Odovacar to effect a seasonable diversion in his  
 CH. 6.  
 490. favour, or simply to rob and ravage on his own  
 account, is not clear from history, very possibly  
 was not altogether clear to the mind of the Bur-  
 gundian. What is undoubted, is that Theodoric,  
 in some way, either by force or favour, caused him  
 to abandon his opposition, that a treaty was con-  
 cluded between them which in after years was  
 ripened into a firm and lasting friendship, but  
 that, in the mean time, Gundobad, in returning  
 across the Alps, took with him a long train of  
 captives who were to languish in exile for at least  
 four years, while their native fields in Liguria  
 were well-nigh relapsing into a wilderness for lack  
 of cultivators.

The Visi-  
 goths and  
 Theodoric.

The natural counterpoise to the Burgundians  
 in the political scale was the power of the Visi-  
 goths, and those remote kinsmen of the people of  
 Theodoric interfered on his behalf in this campaign.  
 Odovacar seems to have occupied the months of  
 spring and early summer in winning back the  
 country between Ravenna and Cremona, aided  
 perhaps by the attacks of Gundobad on Liguria  
 which called all Theodoric's energies to the western  
 end of the valley of the Po. Milan was then visited  
 by Odovacar, and roughly handled by him in re-  
 tribution for the readiness with which its bishop,  
 Laurentius, and its principal citizens had welcomed  
 Theodoric in the preceding year. At length, on  
 poterat pro voluntate diripiens infinitam secum ad Gallias cap-  
 tivorum multitudinem abduxit.'

the river Addua (*Adda*), ten miles east of Milan, the great battle of the year was fought. We only know that in it Theodoric was helped by his Visigothic kinsmen, and that, after another terrible slaughter on both sides, victory again rested on the standards of Theodoric. In this battle Odovacar lost his Count of the Domestics, the officer who had superintended the emigration of the provincials from Noricum to Campania, and to whom he had given the lands in Melita and Syracuse, his faithful friend and counsellor Pierius. Odovacar himself fled, and again shut himself up by the lagoons of Ravenna, never more to emerge from their shelter.

It is apparently to the same year, 490, that we must refer a mysterious movement against the followers of Odovacar all over Italy, of which we have some dark intimations in the Panegyric of Ennodius. He speaks of it as in some sort a counter-blow to the treachery of Tufa.

‘It pleased them [Tufa and his confederates] to promise a kingdom to Odovacar when he again stretched out a peaceful hand towards them. But, as soon as their deed was brought to light, the miscalculation which their hostile minds had made became apparent. You [Theodoric] appealed to that Providence which watched over all your steps, and, that the greed of those deserters might not go unpunished, you unfurled the banners of revenge and made the *people*, whose friendship to you was now thoroughly proved, the confidant of

BOOK IV.  
CH. 6.  
Battle of  
the Adda,  
11 August,  
490.

General  
assassina-  
tion of the  
followers  
of Odo-  
vacar.

BOOK IV. your secret designs. Not one of your adversaries  
 CH. 6. got scent of the scheme, though more than half  
 490. the world had to share it with you. Over the  
 most widely severed districts [of Italy] was arranged  
 a sacrificial slaughter<sup>1</sup>. What but the will of the  
 Most High can have brought this to pass, that  
 in one instant of time the score which had been  
 so long accumulating against the slaughterers of  
 the Roman name should be wiped away? It has  
 been truly pointed out by the best of our German  
 guides<sup>2</sup>, that these words point to a kind of  
 ‘*Sicilian Vespers*’ of the followers of Odovacar all  
 over Italy: and, from the sanctimonious manner  
 in which the Bishop claims Heaven as an accom-  
 plice in the bloody deed, we may perhaps infer  
 that the Roman clergy generally were privy to  
 the plot.

Blockade of  
 Ravenna.

The action of the drama for the next three  
 years is almost entirely confined to Ravenna, which  
 city, Caesena and Rimini, were the only places in  
 Italy that still held out for Odovacar. Theodoric  
 seems to have recognised the impossibility of taking  
 Ravenna by assault. His only hope was to reduce  
 it by blockade, and that was a slender hope, so  
 long as he was not master of the Hadriatic and  
 vessels could enter the harbour of Clapis, bringing  
 provisions to the besieged king. However, he  
 occupied a position ‘in the Pineta,’ in that mag-  
 nificent pine-wood which every traveller to Ra-

<sup>1</sup> ‘*Mandata est per regiones disjunctissimas nex votiva.*’

<sup>2</sup> Dahn, ii. 80.

venna knows so well, skirting its eastern horizon and shutting out the sight of the sea. Here, at three miles distance from the city<sup>1</sup>, he entrenched himself with a deep and widely extended *fossatum*, and waited for events. His taking up this position, eastward, that is sea-ward of the city, probably implied a determination to cut off, as much as possible, all succours from the sea, while his flying squadrons no doubt blocked the communications with the Æmilian Way and effectually prevented assistance by land. The blockade, by one means or other, must have been a tolerably effective one, since corn, in the markets of Ravenna, rose to the famine price of six solidi per modius, equivalent to seventy-two shillings a peck, or £115 4s. a quarter. This was, it is true, not quite equal to the price (£192 a quarter) paid in the camp of Jovian during the disastrous retreat of the Roman army from Persia<sup>2</sup>. But, on the other hand, in the good days that were coming for Italy under the peaceful reign of that very Theodoric whose *fossatum* now caused such terrible distress to the Queen of the Hadriatic, the ordinary price of one modius of wheat was to be not six solidi but one-sixtieth of a solidus, equivalent to 6s. 4d. a quarter<sup>3</sup>.

Before the year 490 ended, Theodoric, considering himself now *de facto* lord of Italy, sent Faustus

BOOK IV.  
CH. 6.  
490.

Famine  
price of  
corn in  
Ravenna.

Theodoric  
sends  
Faustus on

<sup>1</sup> Jordanes, *De Reb. Geticis*, lvii ('Tertio fere miliario ab urbe locus').

<sup>2</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, xxv. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Anon. Valesii, 53.

BOOK IV. a Roman noble, chief of the Senate and Consul  
 CH. 6. for the year, to claim from Zeno the imperial  
 robes, perhaps also the imperial diadem, which  
 Odovacar, in his politic modesty, had sent to  
 Constantinople after the downfall of Augustulus.  
 Faustus, however, probably arrived only in time  
 to stand by the wretched and crime-polluted  
 death-bed of the Emperor, to hear his ravings  
 about the guardsman who was to be his successor,  
 and to behold his remorse for the murder of  
 Pelagius. In April of the next year Zeno was  
 a corpse, and Anastasius the Silentiary reigned  
 in his stead. From him Theodoric was one day  
 to receive the recognition which he desired, but  
 he was not to receive it yet.

490.  
 an embassy  
 to Constan-  
 tinople.

Odovacar's  
 sortie from  
 Ravenna,  
 July, 491.

The chief event of the year 491 was a desperate  
 sally made from Ravenna by the besieged king.  
 Odovacar had by some means or other procured  
 a reinforcement of Heruli fresh from their Car-  
 pathian homes. With these recruits, seeing that  
 Theodoric was dwelling securely behind his *fossa-  
 tum*, and believing him to have relaxed his guard,  
 he one night issued forth from Ravenna and at-  
 tacked the entrenchment of the Goths. The battle  
 was long, and great was the number of the slain on  
 both sides. But, at length, Odovacar had again to  
 acknowledge himself defeated. His *Magister Mili-  
 tum*, a certain Libila (or Levila), was slain, perhaps  
 drowned in attempting to cross the sluggish and  
 slimy Ronco<sup>1</sup>. The Heruli, as Ennodius exult-

<sup>1</sup> Called Bedens (? for Bedesis) by the chronicler.

ingly remarks<sup>1</sup>, after making proof of Theodoric's BOOK IV.  
CH. 6. prowess in their own home, had now an opportunity of repeating the experience on Italian soil. 491. This engagement occurred about the 10th (or 15th) of July. Odovacar again retired into his lair; and Theodoric, a month later, returned to his temporary 18 or 22  
Aug., 491. capital at Pavia. It is possible that the Burgundian invader was not yet finally disposed of: and no doubt the home-loving Ostrogoth longed again to behold the faces of his mother and his children. Of course, the blockade was continued with unabated vigour.

In the year 492 we have again a strange dearth Lull in  
the war,  
492. of events in the early part of the year; the only incident which our careful diarists at Ravenna have to record being that, on the 26th of May, 'an earthquake took place at night before the crowing of the cocks.' Possibly both parties sought to strengthen themselves for each campaign by drawing fresh recruits from beyond the Alps, in which case the difficulty of crossing the snow-covered passes might well postpone the conflict of the year till June or July. Theodoric, however, now took a Theodoric  
at Rimini. step, which probably should have been taken before, in order to make his blockade perfect. He went southward to Ariminum, about thirty miles

<sup>1</sup> 'Consumpta res est prospero fatalique bello; succisa est Odovacris praesumptio [alluding to the sortie], postquam eum contigit de fallacia non juvari. Quid Herulorum agmina fusa commemorem? qui ideo adversus te deducti sunt ut hic agnoscerent, etiam in propriis sedibus quem timerent' (Enn. Paneg. p. 176, ed. Migne).

BOOK IV. distant (one sees the Rock of S. Marino which  
 CH. 6. overhangs Rimini, cutting the horizon as one looks  
 49<sup>2</sup>. southward from the church towers of Ravenna), and  
 he appears to have reduced that town to his obe-  
 dience. What was more important, he made him-  
 self master of a fleet of cutters (called *dromones*,  
 'runners,' in the Latin of that age). With these he  
 arrived at the Lion's Harbour, a port about six  
 miles from Ravenna, where in later days he built  
 a small palace—perhaps a country retreat—in a  
 camp which, probably from this circumstance, was  
 called *Fossatum Palatioli*. Here we must leave  
 him, watching with ships and soldiers against the  
 entrance of any provisions into Ravenna, while the  
 scene shifts for a moment to the banks of the  
 Ticino and the Adige.

His fleet  
of cutters.

Treachery  
of Frederic  
the Ru-  
gian.

Few men, one would think, in the Ostrogothic  
 army had more powerful motives for loyalty than  
 Frederic prince of the Rugians. His father and  
 mother had been led into captivity by the armies  
 of Odovacar, he himself, twice defeated and expelled  
 by the same armies, had sought the palace of  
 Theodoric a helpless fugitive. As a member of  
 Theodoric's *Comitatus*, he had now entered Italy,  
 and had fought by his side in three, perhaps in four,  
 bloody battles. He was, if he could exercise patience  
 and fidelity for a few months longer, about to taste  
 delicious and long-delayed vengeance on the enemy  
 of his race. Yet, with characteristic fickleness, at  
 this crisis, or perhaps some months earlier, Frederic  
 deserted the standards of Theodoric and entered

His junc-  
tion with  
Tufa.



into a treasonable correspondence with the double traitor Tufa, who, with some sort of army under his orders, was still roving about the plains of Lombardy. Perhaps some remembrance of their common Rugian nationality working in the mind of Frederic drew him away from the Ostrogothic chief, and towards the followers of Odovacar. Perhaps Theodoric had not assigned a sufficiently high place in his counsels to the son of a king whose word had once been the mightiest in all the regions of the Middle Danube. More probably, Frederic saw simply a better chance of plunder and of eventual kingship, by fighting for his own hand, and with barbarian naturalness went straight towards what seemed to be his own interests, without troubling himself for fine words to justify his treason.

The Rugians occupied Pavia; this we know from the distress which they caused to the soul of the saintly Epiphanius. Possibly enough, they may have laid their hands on some of the moveable property of the Ostrogoths in that City of Refuge: but the women and children and the rest of the non-combatants must have escaped unharmed, for we should certainly have heard of it had there been any general massacre. For nearly two years the Rugians made Pavia their head-quarters. 'A race,' says Ennodius, 'hideous by every kind of savagery, whose minds, full of cruel energy, prompted them to daily crimes. In fact, they thought that a day was wasted which had passed

BOOK IV.

CH. 6.

492.

The Rugians at Ticinum.

BOOK IV. unsignalled by any kind of outrage<sup>1</sup>. The  
 CH. 6. sweet discourses of the prelate, however, softened  
 492. even these wild men's hearts. 'Who could hear  
 without astonishment that the Rugians, who will  
 scarcely condescend to obey even kings, both  
 feared and loved a bishop, a Catholic and a  
 Roman? Yet so it was; and when the time for  
 their departure came, they left him even with  
 tears, although they were returning to their pa-  
 rents and families<sup>2</sup>.'

End of the  
 Rugian  
 under-war.

The mention of a period of 'nearly two years'  
 for the stay of the Rugians at Pavia, coming as it  
 does after the description of three years of Gothic  
 tarriance in that city, brings us down nearly to the  
 end of 494 for the date of their final expulsion.  
 As we shall see, Odovacar had disappeared from  
 the scene before that date. The Rugians therefore  
 probably continued fighting on their own account,  
 and required a separate castigation from Theodoric.  
 But of all this we have no record.

Quarrel  
 between  
 Tufa and  
 Frederic.

We do know however that, in the year with  
 which we are now dealing (492), the two traitors  
 Tufa and Frederic quarrelled about the division of

<sup>1</sup> The reflection shows that Ennodius, at any rate, had heard  
 of the celebrated saying of the Emperor Titus, who was not  
 honoured by the use made by the Rugians of his 'Hodie diem  
 perdidit.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Quis sine grandi stupore credat dilexisse et timuisse Rugos  
 episcopum et catholicum et Romanum, qui parere [*al.* parcere]  
 regibus vix dignantur? cum quibus tamen integrum pene  
 biennium exegit taliter, ut ab eo flentes discederent, etiam ad  
 parentes et familias regressuri' (Ennodius, *Vita Epiphani*,  
 p. 226, ed. Migne).

the spoil<sup>1</sup>. A battle ensued between them in the valley of the Adige, betwixt Trient and Verona. After many thousands of men had been killed on both sides, the death of Tufa put an end to the battle. Frederic, as has been said above, probably remained to trouble his benefactor some little time longer, but henceforth he disappears from history. Ennodius is jubilant, and not without cause, over this merciful arrangement of Providence, by which the two traitorous enemies of the King were made to counter-work one another's evil designs, and Frederic first earned, at the expense of Tufa, the triumph which his own defeat was afterwards to yield to Theodoric.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 6.  
492.

Death of  
Tufa.

The year 493, the fifth year of the war, the fourth of the siege, the second of the complete blockade, of Ravenna, opened upon a terrible state of things in the hunger-stricken capital. Men were staying the gnawing of their stomachs by eating hides and all kinds of unclean and horrible victuals, and still they were dying fast of famine<sup>2</sup>.

Famine in  
Ravenna,  
493.

At length the stubborn heart of Odovacar was quelled. He commenced negotiations for a surrender, and on the 25th of February he handed over his son Thelane as a hostage for his fidelity.

Surrender  
of Ra-  
venna.

<sup>1</sup> The chronicler calls them both 'Magistri Militum.' Tufa therefore still held this rank in Odovacar's army, and Frederic, notwithstanding his defection, perhaps still called himself Magister Militum of Theodoric.

<sup>2</sup> 'Coria vel alia immunda et horrida urgebantur comedere, et multa corpora quae servata sunt a gladio, fames peremit' (Agnellus, p. 67, apud Muratori).

BOOK IV. On the following day Theodoric entered Clapis in  
 CH. 6.  
 493. state, that seaport being probably assigned to the  
 Ostrogothic army for their head-quarters. On the  
 next day, 27th of February, peace was formally  
 made between Theodoric and Odovacar, John the  
 Archbishop of Ravenna acting as mediator.

Terms of  
 the capitulation.

The life of the defeated king was to be safe<sup>1</sup>.  
 Nay more, he and his conqueror were, at any rate  
 in appearance, to be joint rulers of the Western  
 Empire. The arrangement was so obviously des-  
 titute of any of the elements of stability, so sure  
 to breed plots and counter-plots, so impotent a  
 conclusion to the long blockade of Ravenna, that  
 we might hesitate<sup>2</sup> to accept its accuracy, but that  
 a recently-discovered fragment of the well-informed  
 John of Antioch confirms the statement of Pro-  
 copius too emphatically to allow us to reject it<sup>3</sup>.

5 March,  
 493,  
 Theodoric  
 enters  
 Ravenna.

It was not till the 5th of March that the vic-  
 torious Ostrogoth rode through the gates of Ra-  
 venna, and took possession of the city which for  
 the remaining thirty-three years of his life was to  
 be his home. Before he entered the Archbishop  
 went forth to meet him, 'with crosses and thuri-  
 bules and the Holy Gospels,' and with a long train  
 of priests and monks. Falling prostrate on the

<sup>1</sup> 'Accepta fide securum se esse de sanguine' (Anon. Vale-  
 sii, 54).

<sup>2</sup> With Dahn, *Könige der Germ.* ii. 81.

<sup>3</sup> John of Antioch says: Θ. και 'Ο. συνθήκας και συμβάσεις έποι-  
 ήσαντο προς άλλήλους άμφω ήγεισθαι τής 'Ρωμαίων άρχής (Fr. 214 a).  
 Procopius: 'Υπό διαλλακτῆ τῷ 'Ραβέννης ίερεί ές λόγους άλλήλοις  
 ξυνίασιw έφ' ᾧ Θ. τε και 'Ο. έν 'Ραβέννη έπί τῇ 'Ιση και όμοία διαίτη  
 ζήουσι (De Bell. Goth. i. 1).

ground, while his followers sang a penitential psalm, he prayed that 'the new King from the East' would receive him into his peace. The request was granted, not only for himself and the citizens of Ravenna, but for all the Roman inhabitants of Italy. The terms of the real peace had no doubt been strenuously debated with the Teutonic comrades of Odovacar; but a ceremony like this, pre-arranged in all probability between the King and the Archbishop, was judged proper, in order to impress vividly on the minds both of Italians and Ostrogoths that Theodoric came as the friend of the Catholic Church and of the vast population which, even in accepting a new master, still clung to the great name of Roman.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 6.  
493.

For ten days there were frequent interviews between the two chieftains; then, on the 15th of March, the Ostrogoth invited his rival to a banquet in the Palace of the Laurel-Grove, at the south-east corner of the city. Odovacar came attended by his faithful *comitatus*, but was probably led to a seat of honour and thus separated from his friends. Two men knelt before him to prefer some pretended request, and clasped his hands in the earnestness of their entreaty. Then rushed forth some soldiers who had been placed in ambush in two alcoves on either side of the banquet-hall. But when they came in sight of the victim something in his aspect, either his kingly majesty or possibly his white hairs<sup>1</sup>, or simply the fact that he was

Assassination of  
Odovacar.

<sup>1</sup> He was now in the 60th year of his age (Jo. Ant. fr. 214).

BOOK IV. defenceless, struck such a chill into their hearts  
 CH. 6. that they could not attack him. Then strode  
 493. forth Theodoric and raised his sword to strike  
 him. 'Where is God?' cried Odovacar in a vain  
 appeal to Divine justice. 'This is what thou  
 didst to my friends,' shouted Theodoric, kindling  
 his rage by the remembrance of his comrades, slain  
 by his rival after their base betrayal by Tufa.  
 The blow descended on Odovacar's collar-bone, and  
 stayed not till the sword had reached his loin.  
 Theodoric himself was surprised at the trenchancy  
 of his stroke, and said with a brutal laugh, 'I  
 think the wretch had never a bone in his body.'

Death of  
 his rela-  
 tives.

The assassinated king was at once buried in a  
 stone coffin close by the Hebrew synagogue. His  
*comitatus*, powerless to save him, fell in the same  
 fatal banquet-hall<sup>1</sup>. His brother (possibly Onöulf)  
 was shot down with arrows while attempting to  
 escape through the palace garden. Sunigilda, the  
 wife of Odovacar, was closely imprisoned, and died  
 of hunger. Their son Thelane<sup>2</sup>, whom his father  
 in prosperous days had designated as Cæsar, and  
 who had more recently been given over as a  
 hostage for his fidelity, was sent off to Gaul,  
 doubtless to Theodoric's Visigothic ally King  
 Alaric, and, having subsequently escaped thence to  
 Italy, was put to death by order of the conqueror.  
 So did the whole brood perish, and Italy had but  
 one undoubted master, the son of Theudemir.

No! It was not well done by thee, descendant

<sup>1</sup> Cuspiniani Anon.

<sup>2</sup> Or Oclan.

of so many Amal kings! Whatever a mere Roman emperor, a crowned upstart of yesterday, might do in breaking faith with his rivals, a Basiliscus or an Armatius, thou shouldest have kept thy Teutonic truth inviolate. And so, when we enter that wonderful cenotaph of the Middle Ages, the church of the Franciscans at Innsbruck, and see thee standing there, in size more than human, beside the bearers of the greatest names of chivalry, Frankish Charles and British Arthur, and Godfrey with the Crown of Thorns; one memory, and hardly more than one, prevents our classing thee with the purest and the noblest of them,—the memory of thy assassinated rival Odovacar.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 6.  
493.

NOTE D. THE 'ANNALS OF RAVENNA' ON THE WAR  
BETWEEN ODOVACAR AND THEODORIC.

NOTE D. IN order to bring the nature of our materials for the history of this struggle before the mind of the reader, and especially to show the curious dependence of four of our authorities on the common source now perished, which is called the 'Annals of Ravenna,' the extracts from the

488.	ANON. VALESII.	CONTINUATIO PROSPERI, COD. HAVNIENSIS SEU CHRONOG. A. D. 641.	CHRONCON CUS- PINIANI.
Dynamius and Sifidius Consuls. Theodoric starts for Italy late in the autumn.	'Ergo superveniente Theoderico patricio de civitate Nova cum gente Gothica, missus ab imperatore Zenone de partibus orientis ad defendendam sibi Italiam cui	Dinamio et Sifidio.	Dinamio et Sifidio. His Cons. arsit pontus Apollinarius [in Ravenna] noctu in pascha xv. Kal. majas.
489. Anicius Probinus and Eusebius Consuls. 1 April, Tufa appointed Magister Militum by Odovacar. 28 Aug. Battle of the Isonzo. 27 Sep. Odovacar entrenches himself at Verona. 30 Sep. Battle of Verona. Flight of Odovacar to Ravenna.	occurrit venienti Odoachar ad fluvium Sontium, et ibi pugnans cum eodem, victus fugit. At vero Odoachar abiit in Veronam et fixit fossatum in campo minore Veronense v. Kalendas Octobris, ibique persecutus est eum Theodericus, et pugna facta, ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte; tamen superatus Odoachar fugit Ravennam pridie Kalendas Octobris.	Probino et Eusebio Fausto Jun. V. C. [490] Hoc consule Theodoricus rex Gothorum ingressus est fossatum ponte Sontis adversum Odoachar regem. Quem cum ingenti copia hostium munitum et insolentis animi cerneret non posse eum vi superare, timore percussus aufugit ac se Veronensi oppido cum exercitu recedit. Quem cum rex Theodoricus fugisse se coram comperit, expers bellicis rebus	Probino et Eusebio Fausto V. C. [490] His cons. ingressus est rex Theodoricus in fossato pontis Sontio v. Kl. Sept. et fugit Odoacar rex de fossato et abiit Beronam.



chroniclers relating to this period are here arranged side by side. It will be seen that their chronological data differ exceedingly, but, to facilitate comparison, the extracts are all reduced to that which is now ascertained to be the true chronology. The date and an abstract of the information gathered from them all, are placed in the first column. A few references to Ennodius, Jordanes, and Procopius are also appended. The reader must not expect grammatical accuracy either in the chroniclers or in Agnellus.

AGNELLI LIBER PONTIFICALIS.	CASSIODORUS.	MARCELLINUS COMES.	JORDANES.	ENNODII PANEGRICUS THEODERICI.
<p>Cum istius temporibus pons Apollenaris Ravennae concrematus est nocte in Pascha quarto Nonas Aprilis.</p>	<p>Dinamius et Sifidius.</p>	<p>Dinamio et Sifidio Coss. Eodem anno Theodoricus rex omnium suorum multitudo assumpta Gothorum in Italiam tendit.</p>	<p>Igitur egressus urbe regia Theodoricus et ad suos revertens omnem gentem Gothorum, qui tamen ei praeberunt consensum, Hesperiam tendit, rectoque itinere per Sirmis ascendit vicina Pannoniae,</p>	<p>Tunc a te comonitis longelateque viribus innumeros diffusa per populos gens una contrahitur migrante te cum ad Ausoniam mundo etc. (p. 173, ed. Migne). Ulca fluvius est tutela Gepidarum etc. (p. 173). Transeo Sarmatas cum statione migrantes etc. (p. 174).</p>
	<p>Probinus et Eusebius. [489] His Coss. felicissimus atque fortissimus D. N. Rex Theodoricus intravit Italiam, cui Odoacer ad Isonotium pugnam parans victus cum tota gente fugatus est. Eodem anno repetito conflictu Veronae vincitur Odoacer.</p>	<p>Eusebio et Probino Coss. Idem Theodoricus rex Gothorum optatam occupavit Italiam. Odoacer itidem rex Gothorum metu Theodoricus perterritus Ravennam ingressus est.</p>	<p>indeque Venetiarum fines ingressus ad Pontem Sontii nuncupatum castra metatus est. Cumque ibi ad reficienda corpora hominum jumentorumque aliquanto tempore resedisset, Odoacer armatus contra eum direxit exercitum. Quem ille ad campos Veronenses occurrens magna strage</p>	<p>Tibi cum rectore meo, Odovacar, occuro, qui unversas contra eum nationes quasi orbis concussor exciveras. Tot reges tecum ad bella convenerant, quot sustinere generalitas milites vix valeret etc. Non te castra longomunita tempore, non fluminis profunda tenuerunt etc. (p. 174).</p>

489.	ANON. VALESII.	CONTINUATIO PROSPERI, COD. HAVNIENSIS SEU CHRONOG. A. D. 641.	CHRONICON CUS- PINIANI.
<p>Theodoric goes to Milan.</p> <p>Double treachery of Tufa.</p>	<p>Et perambulavit Theodericus patricius Mediolanum, et tradiderunt se illi maxima pars exercitus Odoacris, nec non et Tufa magister militum, quem ordinaverat Odoachar cum optimatibus suis Kal. Aprilis.</p> <p>Et anno missus est Tufa magister militum a Theoderico contra Odoacrem Ravennam. Veniens Faventiam Tufa, obsedit Odoacrem cum exercitu cum quo directus fuerat; et exiit Odoachar de Ravenna et venit Faventiam, et Tufa tradidit Odoacri comites patricii Theoderici, et missi sunt in ferro, et adducti Ravennam.</p>	<p>atque triumphalis gloriae capax animus, non metuendum fore hostes persequi, si semel devicti cesserint, et victoriam in propatulo habere acris ingenii animus intueretur, si eum ibi usque persequeretur, quod praesidium non virorum robore sed murorum munitione sese habere putaret, ad Veronam usque persecutus est. Quem cum Odoacher adventasse ad sui obsidionem cerneret, tedio victus collectis bellatorum copiis sese in campo Veronensi minore obvium objecit. Ubi cum magnae strages ab utroque exercitu fierent, dum unum desperatae rei necessitas cogeret, alterum ne ceptae victoriae gloriam fuga macularet, diu utrisque pugnantibus tandem victus Odoachar fugit et Ravennam cum exercitu fugiens pervenit.</p>	
<p>490.</p> <p>Longinus (II) and Faustus.</p> <p>Burgundian invasion (?).</p> <p>Visigothic alliance.</p> <p>March of Odovacar to Cremona and Milan.</p> <p>Battle of the Addua (11 August).</p> <p>Death of Pierius.</p> <p>Odovacar again shut up in Ravenna.</p> <p>Massacre of his adherents throughout Italy (?).</p> <p>Embassy of Faustus to Constanti-nople.</p>	<p>Fausto et Longino [490].</p> <p>His consulibus Odoachar rex exiit de Cremona et ambulavit Mediolanum. Tunc venerunt Wisigothae in adiutorium Theoderici, et facta est pugna super fluvium Adduam, et ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte: et occisus est Pierius comes domesticorum iii. idus Augustas, et fugit Odoachar Ravennam, et mox subsecutus est eum patricius Theodericus veniens in Pineta, et fixit fossatum, obsidens Odoacrem clausum per triennium in Ravenna, et</p>	<p>Olibrio juniore V. C. Cons. [491].</p> <p>Odoachar rex ab Ravenna Mediolanum rediit, atque contractis copiis cum Theudorico bellum init super fluvio Adda: sed ut rei desperatae magis adimi quam augeri vires solent, Odoachar terga vertens interfecto Pierio comite, qui bellicis rebus praeerat, Ravennam iterum aufugit. Post quem Theudoricus intra parvi temporis spacium Ravennam cum totius robore exercitus pervenit. Fossato et munitione late patente in Pineta exercitum vallavit.</p>	<p>Fausto V. C. Cons. [490].</p>

AGNELLI LIBER PONTIFICALIS.	CASSIODORUS.	MARCELLINUS COMES.	JORDANES.	ENNODIUS.
			delevit castraque soluta finibus Ita- liae cum potiore audacia intrat,	
<p>[Cum] juxta Strovilia Peucodis<sup>1</sup> non longe ab Urbe Ravenna applicitus Theodo- ricus fuisset cum hostibus suis in Campo qui vocatur Candiani, post- quam duabus vici- bus Odovacrem su- peravit, qui illo tempore Regnum Ravennae obtine- bat.</p> <p><sup>1</sup> ['Graecum no- men pro Pineta,' Holder - Egger in Annotatione.]</p>	<p><b>Faustus Jun. Cos.</b> [490] Hoc cos. ad Ducam flu- vium Odoacrem D. N. Theoderi- cus rex tertio certamine super- avit, qui Raven- nam fugiens ob- sidetur inclusus.</p>	<p><b>Longino II et Fausto Coss.</b></p>	<p>transactoque Pado amne ad Raven- nam regiam ur- bem castra com- ponit tertio fere miliario ab urbe locus qui appella- tur Pineta: quod</p>	<p>Sed instruxit rur- sus in deceptione sui mens vaga con- flictum, dum apud Veronam tuam ap- parat locum belli etc. (174-5). Quid dissimulo gesta persequi? Libuit eos rursus tendenti inermem dextram Odovacri regna polliceri (176). Taceo ubi tibi injuncta est pax diuturna, Burgun- dio; quando sic foederibus obsecu- tus es ut depute- tur quod visis fe-</p>

490.	ANON. VALESII.	CONTINUATIO PROSPERI, COD. HAVNIENSIS SEU CHRONOG. A. D. 641.	CHRONICON CUS- PINIANI.
	<p>factum est usque ad sex solidos modius tritici.</p> <p>Et mittens legationem Theodericus Faustum, caput senati, ad Zenonem imperatorem, et ab eodem sperans vestem se induere regiam.</p>		
<p>491.</p> <p>Olybrius.</p> <p>Death of Zeno, 9 April.</p> <p>Accession of Anastasius, 11 April.</p> <p>Battle of the Pineta (near Ravenna), 10 (or 15) July.</p> <p>Return of Theodoric to Ticinum, 18 (or 22) August.</p>	<p>Olybrio V. C. Cons. [491].</p> <p>Hoc consule exiit Odoachar rex de Ravenna nocte, cum Herulis ingressus in Pineta, in fossatum patrici Theoderici, et ceciderunt ab utraque parte exercitus, et fugiens Levila magister militum Odoacris, occisus est in fluvio Bedente, et victus Odoachar fugit Ravennam idibus Juliis.</p> <p>Et moritur Constanti-nopolim Zeno imperator et factus est imperator Anastasius.</p>	<p>Quem cum securum intra fossatum sedere Odoachar conspiceret, clam noctu cum Erulis intra fossatum in Pineta erupit, ubi, cum diu pug-natum est et utriusque exercitus magnae copiae cecidissent, interfecto Li-bilane magistro militiae intra Ravennam sese rex Odoachar reclusit. Theu-doricus collectis exerciti-bus nolens eum obpug-nare, donec sese belli tempus aperiret Ticinum rediit xv. K. Septemb.</p> <p>Romanorum xlviij [im-perator] regnavit Ana-stasius ann. xxvii.</p>	<p>[490, but a line is probably mis-sing, as the name of the Consul for 491 is not given.]</p> <p>‘Eo anno ingres-sus est Odoacar Rex in fossatum Erulis in Pinita et occisus est Li-bila Mag. mil. et ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte. Et clausit se Ra-venn. Odoacar rex vi. id. Jul.</p> <p>Et regressus est Rex Theodericus in Ticino xi. Kal. Sept.</p>
<p>492.</p> <p>Anastasius and Rufus.</p> <p>Earthquake, 26 May.</p> <p>Theodoric at Ariminum.</p> <p>He returns with swift ships (dromones) to Ravenna, 29 August.</p> <p>Ravenna more strictly blockaded.</p> <p>Defection of Frederic the Rugian.</p> <p>Quarrel between him and Tufa.</p> <p>Tufa slain in battle against Frederic.</p>	<p>[The Consuls and the events of this year are missing in the Anon. Valesii.]</p>	<p>Anastasio pp. Cons. et Rufo.</p> <p>[492] Ecclesiastical af-fairs, Vandal persecu-tions, blasphemy of Olim-pius, etc.]</p> <p>Albino V. C. Consulo.</p> <p>[493] Rex Theodori-cus Ariminum est regres-sus, inusque profectus cum dromonis navigio venit ad fossatum Palatioli iii. K. Sept.</p> <p>Eo anno pugna facta est inter Fridigerium et Tufanem magistros mili-</p>	<p>Dn. Anastasio pp. Aug. et Rufo.</p> <p>[492] His Cons. Terre motus factus est noctu ante pul-lorum cantus vii. Kal. Jun.</p> <p>Albino V. C. Cons.</p> <p>[493] His Cons. regressus est rex Theodericus Arimi-ni et venit cum dromonis ad fos-satum Palatioli iii. Kal. Sept.</p> <p>Eo anno pugna facta est inter Fri-dericum et Eufa-</p>

AGNELLI LIBER PONTIFICALIS.	CASSIODORUS.	MARCELLINUS COMES.	JORDANES.	ENNODIUS.
Tunc exiit Odoacer ad praedictum campum cum exercitu suo, et superatus est tertio, et ante faciem Theodorici terga dedit, et infra civitatem se clausit,	<p>Olybrius Jun. Cos.</p> <p>[491] Hoc Cos. Odoacer cum Erulis egressus Ravenna nocturnis horis ad pontem Candidium a D. N. rege Theodorico memorabili certamine superatur</p> <p>* * * * *</p> <p>Eodem anno Zeno occubuit cui Anastasius in orientali successit imperio.</p>	<p>Olybrio solo Cos.</p> <p>Zeno Aug. vita decessit * * * Anastasius ex silentiario Imperator creatus est.</p>	cernens Odoacer intus se in urbe communit; indeque subreptive noctu frequenter cum suis egrediens Gothorum exercitum inquietat	<p>riatus, constantiae non pavori (177).</p> <p>Ultionis vexilla concutiens fecisti consiliorum participem in secretis populum jam probatum (176).</p> <p>Quid Herulorum agmina fusa commemorem? Qui ideo adversus te deducti sunt, ut hic agnoscerent etiam in propriis sedibus quem timerent (176).</p>
et abiit ad Ariminum et venit exinde cum dromonibus in Portu Leone, ubi postea palatium modicum aedificare jussit in Insula non longe a litore maris, ubi nunc Monasterium sanctae Mariae esse videtur infra balneum non longe ab Ravennae milliario vi. Et nunc in nostris temporibus praedictum palatium servos meos demolire jussi, et Raven-	Anastasius Aug. et Rufus.	Anastasio Aug. et Rufo Coss.		Dicat Fridericus, qui postquam fidem laesit, hostes tuos interitu comitatus est, etc. (276).

492.	ANON. VALESII.	CONTINUATIO PROSPERI, COD. HAVNIENSIS SEU CHRONOG. A. D. 641.	CHRONICON CUS- PINIANI.
		tum inter Tredenum et Veronam, sed cum utriusque partis multa milia hominum caderent Tufa interfectus proelio finem dedit.	nem mag. mil. inter Tridentum et Beronam.
<p>493</p> <p><b>Eusebius (II) and Albinus.</b></p> <p>Treaty of peace between Theodoric and Odovacar, 26-27 Feb. Theodoric's entry into Ravenna, 5 Mar.</p> <p>Assassination of Odovacar 'a few days after.'</p>	<p>igitur coactus Odoachar dedit filium suum Thelane obsidem Theoderico, accepta fide, securum se esse de sanguine. Sic ingressus est Theodericus: et post aliquot dies, dum ei Odoachar insidiaretur, detectus ante ab eo praeventus, in palatio manu sua Theodericus eum in Lauretum praeveniente gladio interemit. Cujus exercitus in eadem die jussu Theoderici omnes interfecti sunt quibus ubi potuit reperiri, cum omni stirpe sua.</p>	<p>Odoachar pacem ab Theodorico postulans accepit, qua non diu potitus est, deditque obsidem filium suum. Theodoricus cum pacem cum Odoachar fecisset, ingressus est Classem iiii. K. Mart., ac deinde ingressus est Ravennam. Pacis specie Odoachrem interfecit cum collegas omnes, qui regni praesidio amministrabant.</p>	<p>Hoc Cons. facta est pax inter dn. Theodericum regem et Odoacrem iiii. Kl. Martias et ingressus est dn̄s Theodericus in Classem . . . . Mart. Hoc cons. ingressus est Ravennam Rex Theodericus III Non. Mart. et occisus est Odoachar Rex a Rege Theoderico in palatio cum commilitibus suis.</p>

AGNELLI LIBER PONTIFICALIS.	CASSIODORUS.	MARCELLINUS COMES.	JORDANES.	PROCOPIUS.
<p>nam perduxi in aedificia domus meae, quam a fundamentis aedificavi jure materno, etc.</p> <p>Tandiu exercitus Theodorici fame perdomuit, quamdiu coria, vel alia immunda et horrida urguebantur comedere, et multa corpora, quae servata sunt a gladio, fames peremit. Et factus est terrae motus magnus valde gallo- rum cantu septimo Kal. Januarii.</p>	<p><b>Albinus V. C. Cos.</b> [493] Hoc Cos. D. N. rex Theodericus Raven- nam ingressus, Odoacrem molientem sibi insidias interemit.</p>	<p>[Continuation of entry for 489.] Porro ab eodem Theodorico perjuriis illectus, interfectusque est [Odoacer].</p>	<p>et hoc non semel nec iterum, sed frequenter et pene molitur toto triennio. Sed frustra laborat, quia cuncta Italia dominum jam dicebat Theodoricum et illius ad nutum</p>	<p>'Επει δὲ τρίτον ἔτος Γότθοις τε καὶ Θευδέρῳ 'Ραβέναν πολιορκούσιν ἐτέτριπτο ἤδη, οἱ τε Γότθοι ἀχθόμενοι τῇ προσεδρεία καὶ οἱ ἄμφι 'Οδοάκρον πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορία, ὑπὸ διαλλακτῆ τῷ 'Ραβέννης ἱερεὶ ἐς λόγους ἀλλήλοις ξυνίασιν, ἐφ' ᾧ Θευδέρχός τε καὶ 'Οδοάκρος ἐν 'Ραβέννῃ ἐπὶ τῇ ἰσῆ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ διαίτῃ ἔξουσι. Καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα διεσώσαντο τὰ ξυγκείμενα, μετὰ δὲ Θευδέρχος 'Οδοάκρον λαβών, ὡς φασιν, ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν χρώμενον τρῶπῃ τε δολερῶ ἐπὶ θοάνῃ καλέσας ἔκτεινε. (De Bello Gothico, i. 1.)</p>
<p>Et dedit Odoacer Theodorico filium obsidem quinto Kal. et post quatuor [Kal.] Martii est civitate Classe ingressus. Post haec autem Vir Beatissimus Johannes Archiepiscopus aperuit Portas civitatis quas Odoacer clauserat, et exiit foras cum crucibus et thurribulis et Sanctis Evangelis pacem petens cum Sacerdotibus et Clericis psallendo, in terram prostratus, obtinuit quae petebat. Invitat novum Regem de Oriente venientem, et pax illi ab eo concessa est, non solum Ravennenses Cives, sed etiam omnibus Romanis, pro quibus Beatus postulavit Johannes.</p>	<p>et subiit Ravennam tertio Nonas Martias. Post paucos dies occidit Odoacrem Rex in palatio in Lauro cum comitibus suis. Postquam jubente Theodorico interfectus est Odoacer, solus et securus regnavit Romanorum more.</p>	<p>res illa publica obsecundabat. Tantum ille solus cum paucis satellitibus et Romanos, qui aderant, et fame et bello cotidie intra Ravennam laborabat. Quod dum nihil proficeret, missa legatione veniam supplicat. Cui et primum concedens Theodericus postmodum ab hac luce privavit.</p>		

## CHAPTER VII.

### KING AND PEOPLE.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources :—*

BOOK IV. TACITUS, 'The Germania.' JORDANES, 'De Rebus Ge-  
CH. 7. ticus.'

##### *Guides :—*

Waitz, 'Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte,' vol. i. Dahn, 'Könige der Germanen' (Abtheilungen 1-4). Köpke, 'Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen.'

Now that Theodoric has safely brought his people into the promised land of Italy, has conquered and slain his enemy, and seated himself at Ravenna, undoubted king and ruler of the land, it may be well to pause for a little space, and, before we contemplate the new State which he founded there, to ask ourselves what was understood in the Gothic host by that word, kingship, in virtue of which he ruled them. We shall find indeed, as we proceed, that the spirit and maxims of the new kingdom, its form, and the machinery of its administration, were Roman rather than Gothic. Still, even in order to grasp this fact more clearly, it will be well to devote a few pages to a subject upon which volumes have been usefully written, that of *German Kingship*.



‘God save the King!’—words how lightly BOOK IV.  
spoken by revellers at a banquet, or by shouting CH. 7.  
crowds as a monarch moves slowly through their The King.  
midst! Yet in this familiar formula are enshrined two words of mysterious power, which have come down with the stream of national life, ‘through caverns measureless to man,’ from those distant highlands wherein the eye of science strains, and strains in vain, to discover the origins of the human race and of human society. To argue from the ancient origin of these two names of power that there is any necessary connection between them; to maintain, as the advocates of the divine right of kings once did, that religion forbids men to govern themselves under republican forms, however clear it may be that the State will best be so administered, is an absurdity of which few men will now be guilty. But, nevertheless, it is permitted us to gaze, with a wonder in which there is something of love and something of reverence, on this wonderful word, so different in form in the various languages of the earth,—Melech, Basileus, Rex, Thiudans, King,—yet so essentially the same in power, which constrains the many members of one vast community, her strong men, her wise men, her holy men, to bring the best of their gifts to the treasury, and to devote the strength of their lives to the service of one man, in mind and body no different from themselves, but—a King.

Reverence for the kingly office seems to have

BOOK IV.  
CH. 7.

The Ger-  
manic  
nations  
essentially  
king-  
lovers.

been deeply implanted in the heart of the Germanic branch of the great Aryan family; and it has been, in the World-life, the especial function of the Germanic peoples to carry kingship and faithfulness to the king, or—to borrow two words from the Latin tongue—Royalty and Loyalty, farther down into the ages than any other group of free nations<sup>1</sup>. How early the old Homeric royalties of Greece and the kings of Rome disappeared from the scene we all know. On the other hand, the long-lived royalties of Assyria, of China and of Persia, were mere despotisms, giving no free play to the national character, and stiffening the peoples that were subjected to them with immobility. To reign on such terms, to be the master of millions of slaves, was comparatively an easy task, when once the nation had become used to the clank of its fetters. But to maintain for generations, to prolong into the strangely different world of modern society, that peculiar combi-

<sup>1</sup> As Waitz finely says: 'The word King is the expression for an Institution which has been most intimately connected with the constitutional history of the Germans, which has thereby maintained its hold on the life of the European peoples, while the beginnings of a similar development in the nations of classical antiquity were early stifled and never able to show their true importance for the life of the State' (*Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, i. 326). Shelley's phrase, 'King-deluded Germany,' puts this thought from a republican point of view. Tennyson's words—

'The one true seed of freedom sown  
Betwixt a people and an ancient throne,'

contain the same idea, but expressed with some insular exclusiveness.

nation of kingly authority and popular freedom which was characteristic of most of the Germanic royalities in the first century after Christ, and which contained the seeds of the institution which we now call Constitutional Monarchy,—this has been a great and marvellous work, and one which could only be accomplished by a race with exceptional faculties for governing and being governed.

We have the authority of Tacitus, that acute observer of the life of states and nations, for asserting that German kingship was, in his day, for the most part thus compounded of the two apparently antagonistic principles of Authority and Liberty. He contrasts the *libertas Germanorum* with the *regnum Arscis*, when deciding that Rome has suffered more from the free barbarians beyond the Rhine than from the compact despotism of the monarchy beyond the Euphrates<sup>1</sup>. When describing the sway of the Gothic kings, he says that, ‘though somewhat stricter than that of most other German rulers, it still stretched not to the infringement of liberty<sup>2</sup>.’ Only one race, the Suiones<sup>3</sup>, who dwelt in the islands of the Baltic and on the Swedish promontories, were

Tacitus on the limited character of German kingship.

with a very few exceptions.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Quippe regno Arscis acrior est Germanorum libertas’ (Germ. 37).

<sup>2</sup> ‘Gothones regnantur, paulo jam adductius quam caeterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem’ (Germ. 43).

<sup>3</sup> Together with their neighbours the Sitones, who were yet more enslaved, inasmuch as their despot was a queen.

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‘under the absolute rule of one man, to whom they were bound to pay implicit obedience<sup>1</sup>.’ The great power attained in this tribe by even the slaves of royalty, the fact that the nation could not be trusted with the custody of its own arms, which were kept, in time of peace, in a locked-up arsenal guarded by a slave, were emphatic proofs of the absence of the popular element in the government of this nation, and strengthened by contrast the general picture of German freedom.

Great  
variety of  
political in-  
stitutions  
among the  
early Ger-  
mans.

It is, however, from Tacitus also that we receive our impressions of the extraordinary manifoldness of political life amongst the German nations. In its way, his sketch of Germania in the first century reminds us of the mediæval *Reich*, with its wonderful assortment of kingdoms, duchies, ecclesiastical states, republican free towns, all congregated together, like the clean and unclean beasts in the ark, under the rule, often only the nominal rule, of some Hapsburg or Luxemburg emperor. Of course, in the Germania, even this semblance of unity is wanting; but the variety of political life is there. Observing the language of Tacitus with attention, we soon discover from his pages that the kingly form of government was not universal among the Germans. *Rex vel princeps, rex vel civitas*, are alternative expressions, frequently used by him. The mere fact that the chief ruler of a barbarian state is not always called by the

<sup>1</sup> ‘Eoque unus imperitat, nullis jam exceptionibus, non precario jure parendi’ (Germ. 44 : compare 25).

same name by the historians of a civilised country, who have occasion to mention his existence, is not one upon which it would be safe to lay much stress. We must be conscious that we talk with great looseness of Indian chiefs, of Zulu kings, and so forth, and that we have no very clear idea of a difference in rank and power between Cetewayo and the father of Pocahontas, when we speak of the former as a king and of the latter as a chief. Something of the same vagueness may be observed in the Roman writers, taken as a class, from Cæsar to Ammianus, when they speak of the leaders of the Teutonic tribes who warred on Rome. But with Tacitus the case is different. His eye was quick for all political facts. His mind was always revolving the advantages and disadvantages of different forms of government. Even when describing the wild freedom of Germany, he is half-thinking about Rome and her vanished liberties; when face to face with Parthia, he is comforted by the thought that at least he is not under the lawless despotism of an Eastern king.

Every word therefore of Tacitus respecting the political institutions of our Teutonic forefathers is precious; and these hints of his about the *Rex* or the *Civitas* show us that there were German tribes not under the sway, however lenient, of one sole king. Some modern writers speak of these tribes as Republican, and the expression, though not used by Tacitus himself, brings before us more vividly than any other the nature of the rule

BOOK IV.  


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 CH. 7.

The 'Republican'  
 States of  
 ancient  
 Germany.

BOOK IV.  
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under which the Cherusci<sup>1</sup>, the Batavi, and many other German tribes, were living at the Christian era. In time of war these republican tribes elected a leader (*Heritogo*, in modern German *Herzog*, translated in Latin by *Dux*, in English by *Duke*), who was necessarily a man of tried bravery<sup>2</sup>. In peace they may have been presided over by some officer, also elective, who acted as supreme judge, and as president of their assemblies; but even the name of this president has perished<sup>3</sup>. In any case, however, the distinguishing mark of these magistracies was their *non-hereditary* character. The general or the judge was chosen for some special emergency; perhaps in some cases he held his office for the term of his natural life: but he held it only by the free choice of his countrymen, and had no claim to transmit any power to his son<sup>4</sup>.

In the royal tribes, on the other hand, the birth

<sup>1</sup> Waitz's view seems to me here more in accordance with the spirit of Tacitus' narrative than Dahn's.

<sup>2</sup> 'Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt.'

<sup>3</sup> Our early English *ealdorman* is as likely a name as any, but there seems no evidence of its wide extension.

<sup>4</sup> It seems that the 'republican tribes' were chiefly in the west of Germany and the monarchical tribes in the east. Perhaps we may infer that the nations which pushed forth first moved furthest from the central Aryan home, lost their kingship the soonest, just as monarchical institutions have struck a deeper root in England than in her colonies. But, on the other hand, when the migrations were resumed (no doubt under circumstances of greater danger and difficulty) in the centuries after Christ, we shall see that they distinctly tended *in favour of kingship*.

of the supreme ruler was everything<sup>1</sup>. Doubtless the king was rich, doubtless he must be personally brave (or else his warriors would soon find a fitter leader), doubtless he had a large following of devoted henchmen; but none of these things alone would qualify him to be chosen king. He must be sprung from some kingly family—the Amals, or the Balthæ, or the Asdings, or the Merovings—who had been kings (or at any rate nobles) ‘from a time to which the mind of man runneth not to the contrary;’ some family which, while the nation was still heathen, boasted that it was sprung from the seed of gods, and which still linked itself with the remembrance of the heroes of old, even after the missionary-priest had dispeopled Walhalla and sent Odin and Gaut to dwell for ever beside Jupiter and Venus in the penal lake of fire.

Yet, being born of the kingly family, it was by no means needful that he should be what we call ‘the head of the house’ by lineal descent. It is hardly necessary to say, to those who know anything of the history even of mediæval monarchy, that the strict principles of primogeniture and representation, which would make the crown descend in a line as definitely fixed as the course of succession to an English estate settled ‘in tail male,’ were quite unknown to the Germanic nations. Of course a veteran Gothic warrior-king, gathered to his fathers in a good old age, and

BOOK IV.  
CH. 7.  
Kingship  
essentially  
hereditary.

But no  
strict order  
of succes-  
sion.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Reges ex nobilitate sumunt.’

BOOK IV. leaving a warlike eldest son in the vigour of his  
 CH. 7. years, would generally be succeeded by that son.

That is the natural course of things, and in all such cases monarchy and primogeniture easily become entwined together. Still, even in these instances, the nation chose, the nation raised the first-born on the shield, and acclaimed him as king. And if the dead king's children were minors, or if the eldest son was a *nithing*, incapable in council or a coward in the field, if there was some national hero standing near to the throne, and overshadowing by his fame the relatives who came before him in the strict order of descent, in all such cases the elective element in Germanic kingship asserted itself, and, by no fraud upon the postponed claimants, by no usurpation of the preferred claimant, the worthiest, kingliest, wisest, Amal or Balth, was called to the throne.

Good and  
 evil of the  
 system.

No doubt this manner of bestowing the crown—inheritance tempered by election—had its dangers, leading, as it did easily, to the wars and heart-burnings of a disputed succession. It may very probably have been a presentiment of these dangers which led Gaiseric to promulgate a law of succession for the Vandals, according to which the oldest of his descendents at each vacancy, in whatever line of descent, was to be called to the empty throne ; a provision, however, which did not work well in practice nor avert the dreaded danger. But in the main, for communities such as were the



German tribes, living in the midst of foes, and in need, before all things, of strong and wise leadership, we may believe that the principle of choice out of one particular family worked well, and tended, by 'the survival of the fittest,' to bring about an improvement in the strain of royal blood, and to make the kings more and more fit by stature, strength, and capacity of brain, to stand forth as unquestioned leaders of men.

Around the king's person, parting him off in some degree from the great mass of the free but undistinguished warriors of the nation, but also constantly checking and curbing his power, and compelling him 'so to rule as not to transgress the bounds of liberty,' stood the nobles. Who can say whence they sprang? For they too, like the king, have an old-world origin, and if a warrior is noble, it is because the oldest man in the host cannot remember a tradition of the days when the ancestors of that warrior were anything else but noble. Partly, perhaps, they are descended from younger branches of the kingly house: partly they represent the vanished royalty of smaller tribes, whom the great nation, as it rolled onwards, has incorporated with itself: partly, it may be, here or there, they are the descendants of some great chief of a pre-existing people, Finnish or Basque or Celtic, whom the invading Teutons have found it easier to win over and to assimilate than to destroy. But in any case, whatever its origin, the important thing to notice about this old Teutonic nobility is,

BOOK IV.  
CH. 7.

The  
Nobles.

BOOK IV. that it is essentially a counterpoise to the kingly  
 CH. 7. power. In after days, when the new Teutonic  
 Nobility by birth. kingdoms are reared 'in Welshland,' a new no-  
 Nobility by service. bility will arise, the so-called 'nobility by service,'  
 represented by the 'king's thegns' among our own  
 ancestors. These men, the king's butlers and  
 seneschals and chamberlains, will shine by the  
 borrowed light of their master, and naturally for a  
 time will do nothing to check and everything to  
 magnify his power. While they and the obse-  
 quious ecclesiastics who stand with them round  
 the new-raised throne are hymning the praises  
 of Our Lord Clovis or Chlotachar, the old nobility,  
 which used to remind him, sometimes with a  
 certain roughness, that he was only the first  
 among his equals, will have had its ranks thinned  
 by the wars and the migrations, will find itself in  
 the midst of a new and hostile order of things,  
 unpopular with the Roman provincials, anathe-  
 matised by the clergy, vexed by the exactions of  
 the king's officers, and continually postponed to  
 the new and pliable 'service-nobles' of the Court,  
 and thus, silently and sullenly, will vanish away.

The *Comi-  
 tatus.*

A conspicuous feature in the social life of the  
 ancient Germans, and one which probably aided  
 the development of kingly power (though as-  
 suredly it was not the origin of that power), was  
 the institution which the Latins called *comitatus*,  
 and which the Germans now speak of as *Gefolgs-  
 chaft*. We have no name exactly corresponding to  
 it, but our historians are endeavouring to introduce

the term *Comrades* to describe the members of a Comitatus<sup>1</sup>. The description of such a band given by Tacitus remains the most accurate and the most vivid picture that we possess of it. BOOK IV.  
CH. 7.

‘When the young nobles have received their arms and are enrolled in the ranks of the warriors, they take their places by the side of the hardy veterans, nor do they blush to be seen among the “comrades<sup>2</sup>.” Each receives his rank in the “comradeship” according to the judgment of him whom they follow, and great is the rivalry among the comrades which shall attain to the highest place beside his chief, and of the chiefs which shall have the most numerous and the most eager comrades. This is their dignity, this their strength: to be ever surrounded by a great cluster of picked youths is in peace a distinction and in war a defence. Nor is this so in a chief’s own tribe only, but among neighbouring states also; his name and his glory are spread abroad if his comradeship excel in numbers and valour. Such chiefs are in request for embassies, are loaded with presents: by their mere renown they often virtually end a war. When the day of battle is come, it is disgraceful for the chief to be excelled in bravery by the comrades, disgraceful for them not to equal the chief’s valour. Yea, and base for all the rest of his life is he accounted by himself and others who has escaped alive from

<sup>1</sup> See Stubbs’ *Const. Hist.* i. 27; Green’s *Making of England*, 173; and cp. Freeman, *Comp. Politics*, 257–263. <sup>2</sup> *Comites*.

BOOK IV. the battle, leaving his chief behind him. Him to  
 CH. 7. guard, him to defend, in his glory to merge every  
 brave deed of his own, this is the one great point  
 of honour<sup>1</sup> with the comrade. The chiefs fight for  
 victory, the comrades for their chief. If the com-  
 munity in which they were born grows sluggish  
 with too long peace and restfulness, most of the  
 young nobles seek of their own accord those  
 nations which may then be waging war elsewhere,  
 both because this race hates rest, and because  
 renown is more easily won on well-balanced battle-  
 fields; nor can a great comradeship be well kept  
 together except by violence and war. Each com-  
 rade claims from the chief's generosity that great  
 war-horse of his, that gory and conquering spear.  
 For the rest, the seat at the banquet, the bountiful  
 though coarse repast, are taken as sufficient pay.  
 The material for the chief's generosity is provided  
 by war and rapine. You would find it harder to  
 persuade them to till the ground and wait a year  
 for the harvest, than to challenge a foe and earn  
 honourable wounds. For it seems ever to them a  
 dull and stupid thing to accumulate, by the sweat  
 of your brow, that which you might make your  
 own by the shedding of blood.'

Influence  
 of the Co-  
 mitatus on  
 national  
 life.

This passage has given rise to many dissertations  
 which are not perhaps the most fruitful part of  
 German archæology. Who might become the head  
 of a *comitatus*<sup>2</sup>, what precise relation existed be-

<sup>1</sup> Praecipuum sacramentum.

<sup>2</sup> Dahn thinks every free man had this privilege. Waitz

tween the 'comrades' and their chief, what states BOOK IV.  
were founded by the leaders of a *comitatus*, and CH. 7.  
other questions of the like nature, have been discussed with much ability and some bitterness, but seem after all to resolve themselves only into the setting of one man's guess against another's. More important is it to keep the poetical aspect of this Germanic institution vividly before us. All admit that it has in it the promise of chivalry, the germs of the feudal relation between lord and vassal. We have already had occasion, in tracing the achievements of the young Theodoric, to see how vigorous was the institution in his day, four centuries after it had been described by Tacitus. It had undoubtedly a considerable influence in developing the idea and the power of royalty among the German races. Probably also the life of adventure and hardship which it promoted, favoured the growth of great qualities of mind and body among the royal families from whom some of the rulers of mediæval, and a few of the rulers of modern Europe have descended. For to what depths of degradation they might sink when the stimulating influence of the *comitatus* was withdrawn, and the barbarian king could wallow undisturbed in the swinish delights of his barbarian royalty, is abundantly shown by the dreary story of the sons of the Merovings.

Around the king and his 'comrades,' and around  
strongly urges that only a king or chief (in a republican state)  
might claim it.

BOOK IV. the outer circle of the nobles, gathered the great mass  
CH. 7. of the nation, the free but not noble warriors, who

Simple free  
men.

were known as 'free Franks' in the army of Clovis, and as *ceorls* on the soil of England. Of the social life of these men, of their days passed in alternations of fierce excitement and sturdy idleness, of their carousings and their mad devotion to the dice-box, Tacitus draws for us a striking and well-known picture. Our present business is to follow them to what our fathers called the *Folc-mote*, other tribes the *Folks-Thing* or the *Mall*, and Tacitus the *Concilium*, the assembly from which in direct lineal succession our own Parliament is descended. So long as the tribe is contained in narrow limits, each new and full moon sees the assembly of the tribesmen. As it grows into a wide-spreading nation, the times of meeting are necessarily reduced, till, in the vast Frankish Empire, they occur only twice or thrice in the year. The men come armed, and the mere fact of being free and a warrior is enough to give a right to attend the *Folc-mote*, though, for full voice and vote, it is necessary that a man should also have land—which means a home—of his own. Among all these armed men the *Things-fried*, the peace of the great meeting, prevails; and however hot the discussion may be, none may dare to lift a hand against his opponent in debate. They do not assemble punctually,—'this,' says Tacitus, 'is the fault of their German freedom,'—but often waste two or three days in waiting for those who come

The public  
meeting.

not on the appointed day. Then, at length, when it pleases the multitude to begin, they sit down, all arrayed in their armour. The priests, inconspicuous generally in the German polity, but prominent on these occasions,—perhaps in order to guard the *Things-fried* by religious reverence,—call for silence, and the clash of the barbarians' talk and song ceases. The king, if there be a king, if not, the head of the state, begins the debate. The warriors follow in no exact order of precedence. Age, noble birth, mighty deeds in war, the gift of eloquence, all give a speaker the right to be heard: but none, not even the king, orders; all must seek to persuade. If the speaker's advice displeases, he is interrupted by the indignant clamour of his hearers: if it meets their approval, they brandish their mighty spears and so give to the barbarian orator his most coveted applause.

And what is the business thus debated of? Many matters doubtless, belonging to the peaceful life of the tribe, which Tacitus has not described to us. He mentions the accusation, or, as we should call it, the impeachment, of great offenders, upon whom the punishment of death may be inflicted. This man, who was a traitor to the tribe, is hung from a tree; that one, who was only a Nothing and a coward, is plunged into a morass with a hurdle over him to prevent his struggling out of it; another, who is found guilty of some lighter offence, is fined so many horses or oxen.

The judicial work of the assembly at an end,

BOOK IV. its administrative work begins. They elect the  
 CH. 7.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ chiefs who are to dispense justice and keep some kind of barbarian order in each shire or village<sup>1</sup>. Then, no doubt, there are often questions of boundary to settle, some rudimentary works of civilisation to be talked over, the clearance of this forest, the dyking out of that encroaching stream. But after all, the debates of these warriors turned most naturally towards war. Over and over again, in these German *Folk-motes*, was the question raised, 'When and how and where must we make a stand against this all-pervading tyranny of Rome? Shall we make war on such and such a subject-tribe and punish them for their submission to the common enemy? Or shall we strike boldly at the great enemy himself? Shall we swim the Rhine, shall we swarm over the easily crossed *Pfahlgraben*, and win great spoil in the rich cities beyond?'

Slaves and  
 serfs.

To complete the picture of the social state of the German tribes we should need to inquire into the condition of the slaves, and of the men, if there were such, who occupied a position akin to that of the Roman *colonus*, bound to till the land of a lord and to make him certain payments out of the produce, and yet not entirely dependent on his caprices. That there were slaves following in the

<sup>1</sup> 'Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt' (Tac. Germ. 12). Though Shire is not scientifically accurate as a translation of Pagus (= Gau), no English word seems to express it better. (Compare Freeman, *English Towns, &c.*, 'The Shire and the Gá.')



train of these stalwart barbarians there can be no doubt: nay, we are informed by Tacitus that even a German warrior, in his overmastering passion for play, would sometimes sell himself, and doubtless his wife and children also, into slavery. So far therefore, the grand outline of popular freedom exhibited to us by the German folk-mote, at which every warrior has a right to be present, requires some modification. Like the free commonwealths of Greece and Rome, the German state does rest, to some extent, on a basis of slavery. It is clear, however, that slavery was not, as in some of those commonwealths, the cornerstone of the fabric. The most careful inquirers are of opinion that slavery, or serfdom, constrained the movements of but a small part of the population of ancient Germany<sup>1</sup>: and it is noteworthy that when Tacitus speaks of the idle life, during peace, of the German warrior, he says that household cares and the tillage of the fields were left [not to the slaves but] to the women, the old men, and the less robust members of the family.

To go back to our main subject, the power of the kings in that Germany which Tacitus described: Limitations of the royal power.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this conclusion may have to be modified, if my friend Mr. Seebohm should establish his contention on behalf of the general prevalence of a servile tenure of land. But in his view the influence of the Roman system of *coloni* and the Roman *villa* counted for much in bringing about this state of things, which was not therefore purely Germanic; and, besides, his inquiries relate chiefly to a period beginning with the fifth century after Christ, whereas I am for the moment dealing with the first.

BOOK IV. it is manifest that it was subject to some strong  
 CH. 7. controlling forces. A body of nobles, nearly as proud of their birth as the king himself, watched his movements and jealously resented every word or gesture which would seem to imply that he was a master and they his slaves. The frequently held popular assemblies, even if attended, as was probably the case in quiet times, by but a small part of the nation, kept alive the tradition of the rights of the people. It was a very different thing to dictate an unpopular order, as the Cæsar of Rome might do, in the privacy of his *secretarium*, leaving the odium of its execution to the officer who sped with it to some distant province; and to have to defend that order oneself, as must the leader of the free warriors of Germany, in the next assembly of the people, to see the spears brandished in menace rather than in applause, to hear the harsh murmur of martial voices uttering in no courtly tones their disapprobation of the deed.

Changes in  
 the four  
 hundred  
 years be-  
 tween  
 Tacitus and  
 Theodoric.

So far we have been dealing with the political life of our Teutonic forefathers at the time when Tacitus wrote. From that date till Theodoric's establishment of his Italian kingdom four centuries had passed; an interval of time which may count for comparatively little in a changeless Oriental monarchy, but which counts for much in European states, when the busy brain of an Aryan people is kindled by some new and great idea, or is brought forcibly into contact with other civilisations

than its own. Four centuries before the date at BOOK IV.  
which these words are being written, the Canary CH. 7.  
Islands were believed to be the uttermost limit  
of the habitable world in the direction of the  
setting sun. All the myriad influences which  
America has exerted upon Europe—to say nothing  
of those which Europe has exerted upon America—  
Peruvian gold, voyages of the Buccaneers, Negro-  
slavery, the Rights of Man—have had but those  
four hundred years to work in.

During the four centuries which we are now Roman influence  
specially considering, from Domitian to Zeno, the ever at  
heart and mind of Germany were ever in contact work.  
with the wonderful fascination of the world-Empire 81 to 491.  
of Rome. First, for two or three generations, they  
had to fight the almost desperate battle of defence  
against Roman aggression. Then, when Quadi and  
Marcomanni, by their stubborn resistance to the 165-181.  
noble Marcus, had renewed the old teaching of  
Arminius, and shown the barbarians that Rome  
was not invincible; still more when, in the miserable  
anarchy of the third century, Rome herself seemed  
to have lost the power of self-preservation, and to  
be falling from ledge to ledge down the precipice  
of ruin, the Germans began to entertain the idea  
of something more than self-defence, and with ever-  
increasing pertinacity to renew the attempt to  
carve out for themselves settlements (not neces-  
sarily independent settlements) in the fair 'Welch-  
land' on the other side of Rhine and Danube.

All these wars, all this stir and movement

BOOK IV. among the peoples, tended to increase the power of  
 CH. 7. the kingship. A weapon which was to pierce the

The migra-  
 tions  
 strength-  
 ened king-  
 ship.

Empire's defensive armour of castles and legions needed to be sharpened to a point and tipped with steel; and that steel point was royalty. Moreover, in the very act of the migration, many old associations would be loosened, the kinships which had dwelt in the same secluded valley for generations, and which mistook

‘the rustic murmur of their bourg  
 For the great wave that echoes round the world,

would be shaken out of their boorish conservatism, which, with all its dulness, nevertheless had been a certain bulwark against royal encroachments. Above all, the members of the old nobility, conspicuous for their deeds of headlong valour, would, many of them, leave their bones to whiten on the Roman battle-field, and more and more, as they fell in war, would their places be filled up by the young and dashing ‘comrades’ of the king, men perhaps of noble birth themselves, but magnifying the office of their chief, and prouder of their loyal service to him round whose standard they gathered than of their own descent from the gods of Walhalla.

Instances  
 already  
 met with.

Let the reader apply these general principles to some of those incidents in the Germanic migration which have been already recorded: let him think of Fridigern, of Athanaric, of Eriulph, the chiefs of the Visigoths, of Hermanric the mighty and wide-ruling king of the Ostrogoths: then let him re-

member how Alaric's elevation on the shield and the acclamation of his name as king gave at once a point and a purpose to the previously desultory warfare of the Goths, and led, by no obscure connection of causes and effects, to the occupation of the Eternal City itself by the forces of the barbarians. One instance of a Folc-mote, at least of a council of war, which might possibly bear that character, we noticed in the pages of Claudian<sup>1</sup>. It was that held before the battle of Pollentia, in which the poet represents an old chief as pleading for peace and harshly silenced by the vengeful voice of Alaric. We do not need the doubtful authority of the poet to assure us that, if assemblies of the people were held during these marchings and counter-marchings on the soil of Italy, this would generally be the result. All military instinct would be in favour of obeying rather than arguing with the young and brilliant leader of the Goths; and the necessities of the 'war power,' which made a temporary autocrat of so constitutional a ruler as President Lincoln, might well make Alaric the Balh the unquestioned disposer of the lives and fortunes of his people.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 7.

Alaric and  
the old  
Gothic  
chief at  
Pollentia.

The vassalage into which so many German kings were forced under the yoke of Attila the Hun probably tended towards the effacement of popular freedom. Before Attila, Ardaric and Walamir might tremble, but to their subjects they would be terrible, as representing not only their own power,

The Hun-  
nish do-  
minion.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 290.

BOOK IV. but all the consolidated might of that heterogeneous  
 ЧН. 7. monarchy.

The Vandal  
 kings.

As for the polity of the Vandals, we saw, in tracing the history of the conquest and land-settlement of Africa, how vast a preponderating influence was thereby assigned to the king. It is true that, by careful examination, some traces of the old Teutonic freedom may still be discovered among the warriors of Gaiseric<sup>1</sup>, but they are indeed rare and feeble. Peace and war, treaties, persecutions, all seem to be decided upon and carried through by the overwhelming authority of the king.

The Ostro-  
 gothic  
 royalty.

And thus we come to the subject with which we are now specially concerned, the kind and degree of kingly authority wielded by the Amal Theodoric. It must be stated at once that this was absolutely unlike the limited and jealously watched authority of the German kings described by Tacitus. After the Ostrogoths crept forth from under the world-shadowing might of Attila, they fell into a position of more or less dependence upon the power of Eastern Rome; a power materially far less formidable than that of the terrible Hun, but more potent in its influence on the minds and thoughts of men. It is impossible to prove what effect the forty years between the death of Attila and the death of Odovacar had upon the 'Walamir-Goths;' but it is almost certain that many old German

<sup>1</sup> They are enumerated by Dahn (Kön. der Germ. i. 224-227).

ideas and customs were lost during that time of close intercourse and frequently-renewed alliance with Byzantium<sup>1</sup>. For the fact that they did not become altogether Romanised and sink into the position of a mere military colony of the Empire, their old hereditary loyalty to the Amal kings was mainly answerable. The reader will remember in what insulting terms Theodoric the son of Triarius taunted the squalid retinue of his rival for their fall from their once high and prosperous estate. He was correct in saying that it was their loyalty to Theodoric the Amal that had brought them into that abyss of wretchedness. But the instinct of the nation was right. Theodoric was indeed the people's hope, and their loyalty to him brought them safely through so many dangers and trials and seated them at length as lords in the fairest lands of Italy.

But when the great enterprise was thus at length crowned with success, the author of it was no longer a king after the old Germanic pattern, bound to consult and persuade his people at every turn. As an uncontrolled, unthwarted ruler he had led them from Novæ to Ravenna. As an uncontrolled, unthwarted ruler he was thenceforward to guide the destinies of the nation in his palace by the Hadriatic.

Theodoric in Italy not a king of the limited German type.

<sup>1</sup> I venture to doubt whether Dahn, in his extremely careful analysis of the German and Roman elements in the state-system of Theodoric, has made quite sufficient allowance for the *Byzantinisation* of the Goths themselves during these forty years of close contact with the Empire.

BOOK IV.

CH. 7.

No Folc-  
mote.

There is no trace of anything like a single meeting of the *Folc-mote* during the reign of Theodoric.

All action in the State seems to proceed from the king alone, and though he condescends often to explain the reason for his edicts, he does this only as a matter of grace and favour, not of necessity, and in doing so he employs the same kind of language which is used in the Theodosian code. There is, as we shall see, at his death a faint acknowledgment of the right of the people to be consulted as to his successor; but here again there is no more recognition of the elective character of the monarchy, if so much, as in the case of the successive wearers of the purple at Byzantium. In short, though Theodoric never assumed the title of emperor, his power, for all practical purposes, seems to have been exactly the same as an emperor's; and we get a much more truthful idea of his position by thinking of him as the successor of Theodosius and the predecessor of Charles the Great, than by applying to him any of the characteristics of Teutonic royalty which we find in the *Germania* of Tacitus.

Parallel  
between  
Theodoric  
and Mar-  
boduus.

But though the kingship of Theodoric was thus greatly changed from the old model of his forefathers' royalty, there is one case of an early German ruler, described to us by Tacitus himself, whose career is in some respects very similar to that of the Amal hero. Maroboduus, king of the Marcomanni, a very few years after the birth of Christ led his people across the *Erzgebirge*, and established a strong kingdom in Bohemia and

A.D. 3-19.



Bavaria and on the Middle Danube. A disciplined BOOK IV.  
army of 70,000 men, hovering upon a frontier only CH. 7.  
200 miles from Italy, caused even the great Augustus to tremble for the peace of his Transalpine provinces. No German had ever seemed more formidable to Rome, but he was formidable only because he was despotic. It is evident that in his kingship the rein was drawn far tighter than was usual in the Germanic states of that day, and this harsher system of government, though it made him for the time a more dangerous foe to Rome, prevented his dynasty from striking root in the affections of his people. When Arminius attacked him after about twenty years of rule, 'the name A.D. 17.  
of king,' that is, of despotic king, 'alienated the sympathy of his own countrymen from Maroboduus, while the cause of Arminius was popular, as he was fighting for liberty<sup>1</sup>.' By this war Maroboduus was greatly weakened, and had to sue for the degrading help of Rome to avert absolute overthrow. Only two years later the Gothic chief-A.D. 19.  
tain Catualda, who had once been driven from his country by the might of Maroboduus, ventured on an expedition of revenge, which, by the help of the disloyal nobles of the Marcomannic kingdom, was completely successful; and forced Maroboduus, a hunted exile and outlaw, to seek the protection of Tiberius, who received this disarmed enemy of the

<sup>1</sup> 'Sed Maroboduum regis nomen invisum apud populares, Arminium pro libertate bellantem favor habebat' (Tac. Ann. ii. 44).

BOOK IV. Roman people into his territory, and permitted  
 CH. 7. him to spend the eighteen remaining years of his  
 life in the friendly shelter of Ravenna. Strange  
 vicissitude of fortune, which caused the first great  
 absolute monarch of a German nation to grow old,  
 amid the contempt of his people, in the very same  
 capital which witnessed the splendid reign and  
 honoured death of the greatest of German despots,  
 Theodoric<sup>1</sup>.

Theo-  
 doric's rule  
 must have  
 jarred on  
 German  
 feelings.

Happily the reign of the Amal king ended in  
 no such disastrous collision with the free spirit of  
 his people as that which brought the might of  
 Maroboduus to the ground. Yet, if there were any  
 traditions of a healthy national life still lingering  
 among the warriors whom he had settled in Italy,  
 these must have been continually wounded by what  
 they saw and what they heard at the Court of  
 Ravenna. True, they still were summoned to  
 appear, at any rate those who lived in the north  
 of Italy, once a year in the presence of their King,  
 and to receive a donative from his hand<sup>2</sup>. They  
 were not turned into Roman legionaries; they  
 fought still in the old national order, with the  
 great Gothic broadsword and under the command  
 of their own captains of thousands<sup>3</sup>. But when

<sup>1</sup> Dahn's use of the early absolutism of Maroboduus to illustrate the despotic tendencies of Theodoric and other kings of the *Völkerwanderung*, seems to me one of the best things in the *Könige der Germanen*.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be a fair inference from *Variarum*, v. 26.

<sup>3</sup> From the *Millenarii* of Cassiodorus (*Var. v. 26*) we may fairly infer the continued existence of the *thusundifaths* of Ulfilas.

they stood in the presence of their countryman, BOOK IV.  
the great Amal, they found him surrounded with CH. 7.  
all the pomp of Byzantine royalty. The diadem which the Western Emperors had worn was upon his head, silken robes, dyed with the purple of the *murex*, flowed over his shoulders, *silentiarii* in bright armour kept guard before the curtain which separated the awful *secretum* of the sovereign from the profane crowd of suitors and suppliants, the Prefect of the Sacred Bedchamber, some Roman courtier intent on currying favour with his new lord by an exaggerated display of servile devotion, stood ready to stop on the threshold any of his old 'comrades,' of however noble blood, who would venture unbidden into the presence of the King.

The donative and the ration-money were given<sup>1</sup> and were welcome to the spendthrift Goth, who had perhaps already dived away his lands to some fellow-soldier after they had sung together the old Gothic songs and drunk too deeply of the new delights of the wine of Italy. But before receiving the money, the old and grizzled warrior had perhaps to listen to some eloquent harangue from the lips of the fluent Roman quæstor, Cassiodorus, about the delights of being admitted to the royal presence and the living death which those endured

<sup>1</sup> *Donativum* and *Annonæ*. When Dahn (*Kön. der Germ.* iii. 66-82) has carefully traced the times and manner in which these two kinds of payment were made to the Gothic soldiers, he leaves, it seems to me, little real distinction between their remuneration and that given to the ordinary paid soldiers of the imperial army.

BOOK IV. who beheld not the light of his countenance—a  
 CH. 7. harangue which almost made the donative loath-  
 some, and which, if anything could have done so,  
 would have quenched his loyal enthusiasm, when at  
 last the veil was drawn asunder and the well-known  
 form, conspicuous in so many battle-fields from the  
 Bosphorus to the Ticino, moved forth to receive their  
 acclamations.

Scanty in-  
 formation  
 as to the  
 inner life  
 of the  
 Goths.

The picture here drawn of Gothic dissatisfaction at the exaltation of the royal prerogative is chiefly a conjectural one, but the fact is that almost all our information as to the feelings of the Gothic element in Theodoric's new state has to be derived from a few faint and widely-scattered hints, combined and vivified by the historical imagination. The information which reaches us as to the manner of the kingdom—and it is abundant—comes all from the Roman side. The rhetorical Cassiodorus, the courtly Ennodius, the dispirited Boethius, are all Romans. Even the Goth Jordanes is more than half-Roman at heart, and derives all his materials from Cassiodorus. We are therefore really without a picture of the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy from the true Ostrogothic point of view. Only, in reading the phrases in which these rhetoricians and churchmen magnify the might of their master, we are sure that they must have grated on the ears of all that was self-respecting and genuinely Teutonic in the countrymen of Theodoric.

To a certain extent we, who have imbibed from our childhood the idea that kingship is never so

great a blessing to the world as when it is rigorously—almost jealously—controlled by the national will, can share the feelings of disgust with which our imaginary Gothic warrior listened to the fulsome flatteries of his Roman fellow-subjects. It is difficult for the most loyal admirer of Theodoric not to turn away with something more than weariness from the volume of state correspondence in which, for page after page, the great King, by the pen of his secretary, praises his own virtue, his own wisdom, his own moderation, his own love of equal justice for Goth and Roman. Partly we become reconciled to this apparent want of modesty by remembering that, though the King is supposed to speak, it is well understood that the clever Quæstor really speaks for him. All the world knew that in these letters it listened, not to Theodoric praising himself, but to Cassiodorus praising Theodoric. The will of the King is undoubtedly expressed in these letters, and we may be sure that his share in them was by no means limited to a mere formal assent, or the languid addition of his stencilled signature at the bottom. Yet when Theodoric knew that the substance of the royal will was therein contained, he probably gave himself little trouble about the form. For that, the learned Quæstor was responsible. A brave Gothic warrior would have blushed to enumerate his own good qualities with so many swelling words of vanity. But if this was the custom of the country, it must be complied with ; and probably the King

BOOK IV.  
CH. 7.

Theo-  
doric's own  
probable  
attitude to-  
wards his  
ministers.

BOOK IV. saw his short, business-like, verbal instructions  
 CH. 7. expanded into the turgid state document, with similar feelings to those with which an Englishman receives from his lawyer the great expanse of sheepskin covered with legal verbiage, that is required to give validity to a purchase which was settled in an interview of an hour.

The noble aim which he kept in view.

After all, the great justification for the somewhat despotic form assumed by the government of Theodoric must be found in the object which he proposed to himself, and which, with signal success, he achieved. What was that object? It was in one word, *Civilitas*; the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, and the safeguarding of all classes of his subjects from oppression and violence at the hands either of lawless men or of the ministers of the law. The golden words of Ataulfus, as recorded by Orosius<sup>1</sup>, seem to have expressed exactly the aim which Theodoric kept constantly before him. Not to obliterate the Roman name, not to turn *Romania* into *Gothia*, but to correct the inherent lawlessness of the Gothic character by the restraint of those laws without which the state would cease to be a state, to restore the Roman name to its old lustre and increase its potency by Gothic vigour; this was the dream which floated before the mind of Ataulfus, this was the dream which became a reality for forty years under Theodoric and his descendants.

The state papers of the Ostrogothic monarchy,

<sup>1</sup> vii. 43. See vol. i. p. 402.

as will be seen by any one who glances through the abstract of the letters of Cassiodorus, are filled almost to satiety with the praises of this great gift, *Civilitas*. It was attained, however, not by the fusion, but rather by the federation, of the two peoples, over both of whom Theodoric was king. Whatever may have been his hope as to the ultimate effect of his measures, and probably the vision of a united Italian people did sometimes fascinate the mind of the King, or at any rate of his ablest minister, they well knew that at present the absolute assimilation of the two nations was impossible. The Goth could not be taught in one generation that reverence for the name of Law, that disposition to submit to authority, however harshly displayed, which had become an instinct with the Roman people. The Roman could not in one generation become imbued with that free heroic spirit, that love of danger and of adventure, which rang in every Gothic battle-song. This had perhaps never been precisely the endowment even of his forefathers, for even the Fabricii and the Valerii were inspired to do great deeds rather by a lofty sense of duty, self-respect, loyalty to their comrades and their country, than by the mere animal delight in fighting which fired the sons of Odin. And whatever the Roman's prowess had once been, it had now utterly left him, and generations of intermixture with a new stock were needed to bring back the iron into his blood.

Meantime, then, the two nations were to be

BOOK IV.  
CH. 7.

Absolute  
fusion of  
the two  
peoples not  
attempted.

BOOK IV. governed with a strong and impartial hand, not  
 CH. 7. as one people, but for one end, the happiness of  
 A strong and just rule needed. all. The Gothic sword was to preserve the soil of  
 Italy from foreign foes, while the Roman practised  
 Similar cases, the arts of peace and administered the laws which  
 had come down from his forefathers<sup>1</sup>. The situa-  
 William the Conqueror tion was like that which existed in Normandy under  
 William Longsword, like that which his descendant  
 William the Bastard strove to establish in England  
 after the Conquest ; striving unsuccessfully because  
 his English subjects, at any rate after the revolt of  
 1068, refused to give him that willing obedience  
 which undoubtedly was rendered during the larger  
 part of his reign by the Roman population to Theo-  
 doric<sup>2</sup>. Or, to choose an illustration from our own  
 times, the relation of the Ostrogothic King to the  
 two classes of his subjects was like that of an en-  
 lightened and conscientious Governor-General of  
 British rule in India. India to the Europeans and Hindoos under his  
 sway. Fusion of the two nations is at present an

<sup>1</sup> Various passages are quoted by Dahn (Kön. der Germ. iii. 58) from the *Variae* to illustrate this proposition. Perhaps the most striking is to be found in vii. 3 (translated at length in my Abstract of the *Variae*). But none of his quotations convince me that a Roman desirous to serve would have been absolutely *excluded* from the army, which seems to be Dahn's view. And in fact the case of Cyprian (Var. viii. 21), undoubtedly a Roman, yet serving himself and sending his sons to serve in the army, is fatal to the theory as thus stated. But no doubt such cases were excessively rare.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest*, i. 191, for the case of William Longsword, and v. 56-61 for a striking comparison between William the Conqueror and Theodoric.



impossibility. It is impossible to legislate for the European indigo-planter exactly as if he were a native Rajah, or for the headman of a Hindoo village as if he had the same ideas as a Queen's soldier from Devonshire. The best rulers keep the fusion of the two nations before them as an event possible in the far-distant future, and meanwhile strive so to govern that the thought of a common interest in the prosperity of the whole country, the idea of a true *Res Publica*, may take root in the minds of both races, that no violence be practised by the European against the Hindoo, and no chicane by the Hindoo against the European, that 'Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.'

This equal balance held between the two diverse nations requires, however, a steady hand holding the scales. A Folc-mote of the Goths would have made short work of the liberties of the Romans; a meeting of citizens in the Roman Forum, lashed to fury by the harangue of some windy orator, would soon have pulled down the statues of the Gothic king. And thus we are brought by these considerations to the same conclusion to which, as we have seen, all the events in the history of his nation tended. German kingship as wielded by Theodoric had to be despotic. The crown of the arch must be made strong and heavy to repress the upward thrust of the two opposing nationalities.

This being so, the laws and usages of the Gotho-

BOOK IV.  
CH. 7.

Consequently Theodoric's kingdom throws little light on Teutonic customs.

Roman state throw not much light on the development of Teutonic institutions. It is the dying Empire, as we shall see, rather than dawning Feudalism, which is displayed in the correspondence of Theodoric's secretary. The *Edictum Theodorici*, to which reference will be made in the next chapter, is not, like the codes of other German races—the Burgundian, the Salian, the Ripuarian—an exposition in barbarous Latin of the customary law of the tribes who had come to seat themselves within the borders of the Empire; but it is rather a selection of such parts of the Theodosian code and of the Roman *Responsa Prudentum* as were suitable for the new monarchy, a few unimportant changes being made in some of their provisions by the supreme will of the king<sup>1</sup>.

Gothic law we may be sure there was, to be administered where Goths only were concerned<sup>2</sup>; but it has left little trace in any written documents, no doubt because in the great majority of cases Romans were concerned either alone or together with Goths, and here the irresistible

<sup>1</sup> And thus the *Edictum Theodorici* was in many respects a similar document to the *Breviarium* put forth by his son-in-law, Alaric the Visigoth, for the use of his Roman subjects.

<sup>2</sup> It seems to me that Dahn has conclusively proved this point in the fourth part of his *Könige der Germanen*. The very existence of the *Comes Gothorum*, and the manner in which he is ordered (Var. vii. 3) to do justice as between Goth and Goth, and as between Goth and Roman, must convince us that there was still a Gothic law.

tendency of the magistracy which Theodoric had taken over from the Empire was to make Roman law supreme. BOOK IV.  
CH. 7.

There are two offices, however, which we may notice here, before we pass on to consider the Roman side of Theodoric's administration, since they are both purely Teutonic, and were no doubt always held by men of barbarian origin. One is that of the Count of the Goths, the other that of the Saiones.

1. The *Comes Gothorum* (we know not his Gothic title) was no doubt in practice always a general high in office, perhaps usually a great provincial governor. But his chief duty was to decide, doubtless according to the old traditional law of his people, any disputes which might arise between one Goth and another. Should the controversy lie between a born Goth and a born Roman, in that case he was to associate with himself a Roman jurisconsult and decide the strife 'according to fair reason<sup>1</sup>.' In estimating what 'fair reason' required, we may probably conclude that the Roman law, with its vast store of precedents, the accumulated experience of ages, aptly quoted and enforced by a quick-witted jurisconsult, would be almost uniformly victorious over the few and crude maxims of German Right, born in the forest or the pasture-land, and dimly present in the brain of some stalwart Count of the Goths,

<sup>1</sup> For the duties and functions of the *Comes Gothorum* see Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, vii. 3.

BOOK IV. more able to enforce his conclusions with his sword  
 CH. 7. than with his tongue.

Saio.

2. The *Saiones* were apparently a class of men peculiar to the Ostrogothic monarchy. More honoured than the Roman lictor (who was but a menial servant of the magistrate), but hardly perhaps rising to the dignity of a sheriff or a marshal, they were, so to speak, the arms by which Royalty executed its will. If the Goths had to be summoned to battle with the Franks, a Saio carried round the stirring call to arms<sup>1</sup>. If a Prætorian Prefect was abusing his power to take away his neighbour's lands by violence, a Saio was sent to remind him that under Theodoric not even Prætorian Prefects should be allowed to transgress the law<sup>2</sup>. If a new fort had to be built on some dolomite peak commanding the ravines of the Adige, and shutting out the barbarians of Northern Tyrol, a Saio was despatched to urge and guide the exertions of the provincials. The Saiones seem to have stood in a special relation to the king. They are generally called 'our Saiones,' sometimes 'our brave Saiones,' and the official virtue which is always credited to them (like the 'Sublimity' or the 'Magnificence' of more important personages) is 'Your Devotion.'

*Tuitio regii  
 nominis.*

One duty which was frequently entrusted to the Saio was the *tuitio* of some wealthy and unwarlike Roman. It often happened that such a person, unable to protect himself against the rude

<sup>1</sup> Var. i. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Var. iii. 20.

assaults of sturdy Gothic neighbours, appealed to the King for protection. When the petition was granted, as it probably was in almost all cases, the person thus taken under the *tuitio regii nominis* acquired peculiar rights<sup>1</sup>, and any maltreatment of his person or injury to his property was treated as more than an ordinary offence against *civilitas*, as a special act of contempt towards the royal authority. He seems to have had, at any rate in certain cases, a peculiar privilege of suing and being sued directly in the Supreme Court (*comitatus*) of the King, overleaping all courts of inferior jurisdiction. But the chief visible sign of the King's protection, and the most effective guarantee of its efficiency, was the stout Gothic soldier who as Saio was quartered in the wealthy Roman's house, ready to fight all his battles, and to make all other Goths respect the person and the property of him to whom Theodoric had pledged the royal word for his safety. A payment, of the amount of which we are not informed, but which probably varied according to the wealth of the Roman and the lineage of the Goth, was paid, *commodi nomine*, by way of douceur, by the defended to the defender.

The relation thus established was one which, being itself a somewhat barbarous remedy for barbarism, might easily degenerate from its original intention. Sometimes the protected Roman, having this robust Goth in his house, sharing

Abuses to which the institution was liable.

<sup>1</sup> His position perhaps resembled that of a ward in Chancery.

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 CH. 7.

his hospitality and ready to do his bidding, used him not merely for his own defence but for the oppression of his poorer and weaker neighbours<sup>1</sup>. Sometimes the Saio, tired of ever guarding the soft, effeminate noble committed to his care, and perhaps stung by the silent assumption of superiority in knowledge and culture which lurked in all the Roman's words and gestures, would turn against his host and even violently assault his dainty person. Thus, to his eternal disgrace, did Amara<sup>2</sup>, who actually drew a sword against the Senator Petrus, whose defender he was. He wounded his hand, and, had not the Roman been partly sheltered by a door, would have severed it from the wrist. Yet, notwithstanding this evil deed, he had the audacity to claim from Petrus, *commodi nomine*, the Saio's usual gratuity. Rightly did the indignant King order that Amara should be removed from the post of defender, the duties of which he so strangely discharged, that his place should be given to his countryman Tezutzat, and that he should refund twice the sum which he had exacted for his gratuity.

Slight indications like this of the footing upon which the two nations lived may help us to understand the difficulty of the problem set before Theodoric the common ruler of both of them, and to appreciate more highly the skill which for thirty years he displayed in solving it.

<sup>1</sup> So we may perhaps infer from the caution contained in Var. ii. 4, as well as from human nature.

<sup>2</sup> Var. iv. 27.



THEODORIC

YEAR.	EVENTS.		FRANKS
493	Treaty of Ravenna. Death of Odovacar. Embassy of Faustus to Constantinople.	. .	Clovis, reign 4
494	... ..		
495	... ..		
496	Baptism of Clovis . . . . .	. .	...
497	Embassy of Festus to Constantinople . . . . .		
498	... ..	us.	
499	... ..		
500	Theodoric's visit to Rome. Conspiracy of Odoin.	. .	...
501	... ..		
502	... ..		
503	... ..		
504	War of Sirmium . . . . .	} War be- tween the Empire and Persia	
505	War between Theodoric and Anastasius.		
506	... ..		
507	Battle of Vouille. Death of Alaric II . . . . .	ntius	...
508	Arles de- ) Tulum in Gaul. Byzantine fended ) raid on Apulia.		
509	by the ) Ostrogoths invade Burgundy		
510	Visigoths ) Victory of Ibbas . . . . .		} Theodo Chlodo Childe Chloto
511	The heretical Trisagion. Banishment of Macedonius.	. .	
512	Insurrection at Constantinople . . . . .	. .	...
513	... ..		
514	} Vitalian's Rebellion		
515		... ..	
516	... ..		
517	... ..	etus .	...
518	... ..		
519	End of the Schism . . . . .		
520	... ..		
521	... ..		
522	... ..	ons of	...
523	Theodoric confederate with the Franks against Burgundy. Imprisonment of Boethius.	. .	...
524	Death of Boethius . . . . .	. .	Death c
525	Death of Symmachus. Pope John sent to Constantinople.		
526	Death of Pope John (in prison), 25 May. Death of Theodoric, 30 August.		



## CHAPTER VIII.

### THEODORIC AND HIS COURT.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources :—*

THE ANONYMUS VALESII (described in the text), the *Variae* BOOK IV.  
of CASSIODORUS, PROCOPIUS de Bello Gothico, and JORDANES CH. 8.  
de Rebus Geticis.

##### *Guides :—*

For the life of Cassiodorus, Herm. Uscner's 'Anecdoton Holderi' (Bonn and Wiesbaden, 1877), which will be described in a later chapter, R. Köpke's 'Anfänge des Königthums bei den Gothen' (Berlin, 1859), Ebert's 'Christlich-Lateinische Litteratur' (Leipzig, 1874), and Monographs on Cassiodorus by August Thorbecke (Heidelberg, 1867) and Adolph Franz (Breslau, 1872). This will be the best place for noticing the chief works of the special *Theodoric literature*.

'Vita Theodorici regis Ostrogothorum et Italiae,' by *Joannes Cochlaeus*, annotated by John Peringskiöld (Stockholm, 1699), was a pretty good book for its time, consisting largely of extracts from Cassiodorus, interspersed with some statements made on very inferior authority. Cochlaeus's want of accurate knowledge of the history of the time is shown by his quoting the celebrated description by Sidonius of the Court of Theodoric the *Visigoth*, as if it applied to Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who came to the throne after the death of Sidonius; but this error, which is frequently made by scholars of the eighteenth century, is probably due to the fact that that letter is included in the

BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.

editio princeps of the works of Cassiodorus. There is an amusing display of inapposite and probably inaccurate learning, as to Runic inscriptions and the like, in the notes of Peringskiöld.

The three best books on the subject of Theodoric (always excepting Dahn's volume on the Ostrogothic Kingship) were called forth directly or indirectly by a prize offered in 1808 by the French Institute, for the best essay on the following subject, 'What was the condition of the peoples of Italy in respect of public and private law during the rule of the Ostrogoths? What were the chief principles of the legislation of Theodoric and his successors? and especially, What was the difference which it established between the Conquerors and Conquered?' The thought occurs to one, that the Institute possibly wished to suggest a parallel between Theodoric and Napoleon, or to deduce from the generous policy of the former some rules for the guidance of the latter.

The first prize was taken by a German, Georg *Sartorius*, Professor at Göttingen (*Versuch über die Regierung der Ostgothen während ihrer Herrschaft in Italien*; Hamburg, 1811), the second by a Frenchman, *Naudet* (*Histoire de la Monarchie des Gothes en Italie*; Paris, 1810). Sartorius's book, with which I am best acquainted, is an extremely painstaking and helpful treatise on Ostrogothic administration, chiefly, of course, compiled from the letters of Cassiodorus.

Fifteen years later (in 1824), the seed sown by the announcement of the French Institute bore fruit in another German book, 'Geschichte des Ost-Gothischen Reiches in Italien,' by J. C. F. *Manso* (Breslau, 1824). This book deals more with external events than either of the other two just named, and carries on the history to the fall of the Ostrogothic kingdom; but it also gives a very useful survey of the laws and administration of Theodoric. Manso reprints at the end of his essay Ennodius's *Panegyricus*, with some comments on difficult passages

which have aroused the rather contemptuous criticism of BOOK IV.  
*Fertig* (Magnus Felix Ennodius und seine Zeit, Abth. III). CH. 8.

Of inferior quality are the two following, 'Histoire de Théodoric le Grand, Roi d'Italie,' par L. M. *du Roure* (2 vols. Paris, 1846), and 'Théodoric Roi des Ostrogoths et d'Italie' (the title seems taken from Cochlaeus), par Paul *Deltuf*, Paris, 1869. Both of these books are very inaccurate, and neither can be considered of much value as a historical authority. Du Roure puts in the forefront of his work Cardinal Maury's maxim 'Pour écrire l'histoire il faut la deviner,' and he certainly has guessed it, often with amusing inaccuracy. Yet the book no doubt served its author's purpose, since it gave him an opportunity of informing his readers (p. 29, n. 1) that the du Roures were a noble family in the South of France descended from a Gothic or Burgundian chief. And, however unfitted he may be for the task of writing a history, it seems impossible for a Frenchman to be dull. Both du Roure and Deltuf have provided us with pleasant reading, and it is an interesting employment for the student to mark their frequent errors. Some of du Roure's political reflections on the character of Theodoric's government are really good, and Deltuf, alone as far as I know among Theodoric's biographers, has noticed the letter which is apparently addressed by Theodoric to the deposed Emperor Augustulus (Cass. Var. iii. 35).

WE have endeavoured in the previous chapter to look at Theodoric king of the Goths and the Romans with the eyes of such of his old barbarian comrades as survived the hardships of the march and the perils of four bloody battles, and found themselves quartered in the pleasant lands of Italy, with every possession that heart could desire except their old freedom. Let us now hear what the Roman inhabitants of the land, the orators and

Theodoric from the Roman point of view.

BOOK IV. churchmen, who alone could translate his deeds  
 CH. 8. into literature and so transmit his fame to posterity, have to tell us concerning him.

No stirring  
 events  
 mark his  
 reign.

It may be stated at once that no great events and no great historian illustrate his reign. Seldom has there been a better illustration of the proverb, 'Happy is the nation that has no annals;' for in the comparative poverty of our historical information one thing is clear, that the period during which Theodoric bore sway, a period equivalent to the average length of a generation of mankind, was a time of great and generally diffused happiness for the Italian population, one that stood out in emphatic contrast to the century of creeping paralysis which preceded, and to the ghastly cycle of wars and barbarous revenges which followed that peaceful time.

And no  
 great his-  
 torian.

But, had the events of this reign been many we could have said little about them. By some strange fatality, the Ostrogothic King, with all his generous patronage of arts and literature, never lighted on the 'sacred bard' who should keep his fame green through the centuries, nor on the fluent historian who should weave the various actions of his time into a connected history. Or, if such a work ever was written—and possibly the later books of Cassiodorus' history of the Goths would have answered to this description—the foolish sieve of Time, which so often retains the sand and lets the pure gold fall through into oblivion, has not preserved it to our days.

Much valuable and interesting information how-  
 ever, as to both home and foreign affairs, can be  
 obtained from the official correspondence of Cas-  
 siodorus, the manner of the composition of which  
 has been glanced at in the previous chapter. But  
 the only continuous account of the history of his  
 reign—except a few meagre sentences of Jordanes—  
 is contained in the mysterious fragment which is  
 quoted by historians as *Anonymus Valesii*, and which  
 is always printed (for no very obvious reason) at the  
 end of the history of Ammianus Marcellinus.

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 8.

'Anonymus  
 Valesii.'

This unknown scribe, with whom we have  
 already made some acquaintance<sup>1</sup>, takes his literary  
 name from Henri de Valois, a French scholar of the  
 seventeenth century, who first introduced him to  
 the modern world. According to an opinion now  
 generally accepted, he is none other than that  
 Maximian Bishop of Ravenna whose mosaic por-  
 trait we still see on the walls of S. Vitale, where,  
 arrayed in alb and pallium and with a jewelled  
 cross in his hand, he consecrates the new church  
 in the (imaginary) presence of Justinian and his  
 Court. Whoever the writer be, he writes as an  
 ecclesiastic and as an inhabitant of Ravenna. A  
 vein of something like legendary adornment runs  
 through his narrative, nor should we be justified in  
 quoting him as an absolutely accurate witness for  
 events, some of which may have happened twenty  
 or thirty years before his birth, and the latest of  
 which (as recorded by him) probably happened in

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 487, and chapter. vi. of this volume.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.

his boyhood. But, as has been before hinted, there is every reason to think that for some of his names and dates he relies upon the absolutely contemporary but now perished ‘Annals of Ravenna<sup>1</sup>’; and on the whole, as historical authorities go, he is, notwithstanding his anonymousness, a very fair voucher for the truth of the facts which he records.

As the extract is not long, and is of considerable importance, it will be well to translate it entire:—

THE ANONYMUS VALESII ON THEODORIC.

Theodoric  
king in  
Ravenna.

‘Now Theodoric had sent Faustus Niger on an embassy to Zeno. But as the news of that Emperor’s death arrived before the return of the embassy, and as the entry into Ravenna and the death of Odoacer had intervened, the Goths confirmed Theodoric to themselves as king, without waiting for the orders of the new Emperor.

Theo-  
doric’s  
pedigree,

‘He was a man most brave and warlike, the natural son of Walamir<sup>2</sup> king of the Goths. His mother was called Ereriliva<sup>3</sup>, a Gothic woman but a Catholic, who took at baptism the name Eusebia.

and cha-  
racter.

‘He was an illustrious man and full of good-will towards all. He reigned thirty-three years, and during thirty of those years so great was the happiness attained by Italy that even the wayfarers

<sup>1</sup> The ‘Ravennatische Fasten’ of the German scholars.

<sup>2</sup> This is the persistent error of the Byzantines, who never could be made to understand that he was the son of *Theudemir*.

<sup>3</sup> Erelieva in Jordanes.

were at peace<sup>1</sup>. For he did nothing wrong. Thus did he govern the two nations, the Goths and Romans, as if they were one people, belonging himself to the Arian sect, but arranging that the civil administration of the Romans should continue as it was under the Emperors<sup>2</sup>. He gave presents and rations to the people, yet though he found the Treasury quite bankrupt<sup>3</sup>, by his own labour he brought it round into a flourishing condition. Nothing did he attempt against the Catholic faith. He exhibited games in the Circus and Amphitheatre, so that he received from the Romans the titles Trajan and Valentinian (as he did in truth seek to bring back the prosperous times of those emperors); and on the other hand, the obedience rendered by the Goths to the *Edictum Theodorici* showed that they recognised its author as in all things their Mightiest<sup>4</sup>.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.

His admin-  
istration.

<sup>1</sup> 'Qui regnavit annos xxxiii. cujus temporibus felicitas est secuta Italiam per annos triginta,' etc. Perhaps the writer does not mean to contrast the thirty and the thirty-three years. If he does, he probably wishes to except the three years 523-526 during which Theodoric was oppressing the Catholics.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sic gubernavit duas gentes in uno Romanorum et Gothorum, dum ipse quidem Arrianae sectae esset, tamen militia [militiam] Romanis sicut sub principes esse praecepit.' It seems a bold thing to translate *militia* 'civil administration,' but the language of the Theodosian Code, of Cassiodorus, and of Lydus (De Dignitatibus) fully justifies us in doing so. It is impossible that the author can mean that the *army* was exactly what it had been under the Emperors.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ex toto foeneum;' literally, 'stuffed with hay.'

<sup>4</sup> 'Et a Gothis secundum edictum suum quem [quod] eis constituit, rex fortissimus in omnibus judicaretur.' The above translation, or rather paraphrase, of a very difficult passage, is,

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CH. 8.

His say-  
ings.

‘Unlettered as he was, so great was his shrewdness that some of his sayings still pass current among the common folk, a few of which we may be allowed here to preserve.

‘He said, “He who has gold and he who has a devil can neither of them hide what they have got.”

‘Also, “The Roman when in misery imitates the Goth, and the Goth when in comfort imitates the Roman<sup>1</sup>.”

The Judg-  
ment of  
Theodoric.

‘A certain man dying left a wife and a little boy too young to know his mother. The child was taken away by a friend of the father’s into another province, and there educated. Returning as a young man to his mother, he found that she had betrothed herself to a suitor. When however she saw her son she embraced him, and blessed God for restoring him to her: so he abode with her thirty days. At the end of that time her lover returns, sees the youth and asks “Who is this?” She replied, “My son.” When he found that she had a son, he began to claim back again his earnest-money<sup>2</sup>,

it must be confessed, a very hazardous one. Dahn (Kön. der Germ. iv. 5) supposes a line to have got out of its place and reads, ‘Ut etiam a Romanis Trajanus vel Valentinianus appellaretur, quorum tempora secundum edictum suum quem eis constituit, sectatus est et a Gothis rex fortissimus in omnibus judicaretur.’ Yet even this makes a very flat ending.

<sup>1</sup> Item, ‘Romanus miser imitatur Gothum, et utilis Gothus imitatur Romanum.’ The antithesis seems to require *utilis* instead of the better supported reading *vilis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Arrhæe*. The suitor evidently wants the woman only for the sake of her property, which she cannot make over to him if she has a son.



and to say, "Either deny that this is your son, or else I go hence." Thus compelled by her lover, the woman began to deny the son whom she had previously owned, and ordered him out of the house as a stranger to her. He answered that he had returned, as he had a right to do, to his mother in the house of his father. Eventually the son appealed to the King against his mother, and the King ordered her to appear before him. "Woman!" said he, "thou hearest what this young man urges against thee. Is he thy son or no?" She answered, "He is not my son, but as a stranger did I entertain him." Then when the woman's son had told all his story in the King's Court, the King said to her again, "Is he thy son or no?" Again she said, "He is not my son." Said the King to her, "And what is the amount of thy possessions, woman<sup>1</sup>?" She answered, "As much as 1000 solidi" [£600]. Then the King swore that nothing would satisfy him, unless the woman took *him* (the young man) for her husband instead of the suitor. With that the woman was struck with confusion, and confessed that he was indeed her son. And many more stories of the same kind are related of him.

'Afterwards he received from the Franks a wife named Augofleda<sup>2</sup>; for he had had a wife before

His royal alliances.

<sup>1</sup> The King at this point suspects that there is some pecuniary reason for the woman's obstinate denial. Having satisfied himself on this point, he then, by an artifice not unlike the Judgment of Solomon, elicits the truth. See a similar story about Claudius in Suetonius, cap. xv.

<sup>2</sup> Audefleda (Jordanes); she was sister of Clovis.

BOOK IV. his accession to the throne who had borne him two  
 CH. 8. daughters. One, named Arevagni<sup>1</sup>, he gave in  
 marriage to Alaric king of the Visigoths in Gaul,  
 and the other, named Theodegotha, to Sigismund  
 son of King Gundebaud [the Burgundian].

Peace with  
 Anasta-  
 sius.

‘Having made his peace with the Emperor Anas-  
 tadius through the mediation of Festus for his  
 unauthorised assumption of the royal title<sup>2</sup>, [the  
 Emperor] also restored to him all the ornaments of  
 the palace which Odoachar had transmitted to  
 Constantinople.

Contested  
 election to  
 the Papacy,  
 498.

‘At the same time there arose a strife in the  
 city of Rome between Symmachus and Laurentius,  
 both of whom were consecrated [bishops]. By  
 Divine ordering Symmachus, the worthier of the  
 two, prevailed. After peace had been restored  
 King Theodoric went to Rome, the Church’s  
 capital<sup>3</sup>, and paid his devotions to the Blessed  
 Peter as devoutly as any Catholic. To meet him,  
 Pope Symmachus and all the Senate and people of  
 Rome poured forth, with every mark of joy, outside  
 the gates of the city. Then Theodoric entering  
 the city came to the Senate, and at the Palma<sup>4</sup>  
 delivered an address to the people of Rome, promis-  
 ing that by God’s help he would keep inviolate all  
 that the preceding Roman sovereigns had ordained.

Visit to  
 Rome,  
 500.

<sup>1</sup> Ostrogotho (Jordanes).

<sup>2</sup> ‘Facta pace de praesumptione regni.’

<sup>3</sup> ‘Post factam pacem in urbem ecclesiae [?] ambulavit rex  
 Theodericus Romam.’

<sup>4</sup> Otherwise called ‘domus Palmata,’ probably between the  
 Temple of Concord and the Arch of Severus (Gregorovius, i. 271).

‘Celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of his accession<sup>1</sup> he entered the city in triumph, rode to the palace, and exhibited to the Romans the games of the Circus. He also gave to the Roman people and to the poor a yearly supply of grain to the amount of 120,000 modii [3750 quarters], and for the restoration of the palace or the repair of the walls of the city he ordered 200 lbs. [of gold = £8000] to be paid annually from the proceeds of the duty on wine<sup>2</sup>.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.  
Largesse to the people.

Moreover, he gave his sister Amalafriгда in marriage to Transimund king of the Vandals.

His sister, Vandal queen.

‘He made Liberius, whom in the beginning of his reign he had appointed Praetorian Prefect, Patrician, and gave him as his successor in the former office—[The name seems to have dropped out.] Therefore Theodorus son of Basilius [and] Odoin his Count (?) conspired against him<sup>3</sup>. When he had discovered this plot he ordered his head to be cut off<sup>4</sup> in the palace which is called “Ses-

Liberius Praetorian Prefect, 493-500.

Conspiracy of Odoin, 4 May, 500.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Per tricennale triumphans populo ingressus palatium.’ How are we to explain this passage? Is it the thirtieth anniversary of Theodoric’s association with his father in the Gothic kingship that is here commemorated?

<sup>2</sup> ‘De arca vinaria.’

<sup>3</sup> This is all that we can make of the text as it stands. Possibly Theodorus was really the successor of Liberius, so that Odoin was the sole rebel. The word translated above ‘conspired’ (insidiabatur) is in the singular.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Contin. Prosperi (M. S. Hafn.): ‘Ceteo v. c. consule [504]: His consulibus Theudoricus rex Romam ingressus occidit Odomum comitem IIII. non. Mai.’ Marius has, at the right year 500, ‘Eo anno interfectus est Odoind Romae.’ The chronology of Contin. Prosperi is very inaccurate just here.

BOOK IV. sorium<sup>1</sup>." For (?) at the request of the people he  
 CH. 8. directed that the words of the promise which he  
 had made them in his popular harangue should  
 be engraved on a brazen tablet and fixed in a  
 place of public resort.

His niece  
 queen of  
 the Thu-  
 ringians.

'Then returning to Ravenna in the sixth month  
 he gave Amalabirga his sister's daughter in mar-  
 riage to Herminifrid king of the Thuringians. And  
 thus he pleased all the nations round about him ;  
 for he was a lover of manufactures and a great  
 restorer of cities.

Buildings  
 at Raven-  
 na,

'He restored the aqueduct of Ravenna which  
 Trajan had built, and after a long interval of time  
 again introduced water into the city. He made  
 the palace perfect, but did not dedicate it, and he  
 finished the porticoes round the palace.

at Verona,

'Also at Verona he erected baths and a palace,  
 and carried a portico from the gate to the palace.  
 The aqueduct, which had been long destroyed, he  
 renewed, and introduced water through it. More-  
 over he surrounded the city with new walls.

at Pavia.

'At Ticinum [Pavia] also he built a palace, baths,  
 and an amphitheatre, and carried new walls round  
 the city. On many other cities also he bestowed  
 many benefits. Thus he so charmed the neigh-  
 bouring nations that they came under a league  
 with him, hoping that he would be their king.

<sup>1</sup> On the authority of a passage in Anastasius' Lives of the  
 Popes (ap. Muratori, iii. 108), this Sessorian palace is fixed  
 near the church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, at the E. S. E.  
 angle of the city. Its supposed remains, a large semicircular  
 apse of brick with round-headed windows, are still visible.

The merchants too from divers provinces came BOOK IV. flocking together to him, for so great was the CH. 8. order which he maintained, that, if any one wished Peace to leave gold or silver on his land, it was deemed as safe as if within a walled city. An indication of this was the fact that throughout all Italy he never made gates for any city, and the gates that were in the cities were not closed. Any one who had any business to transact did it at any hour of the night as securely as in the day.

‘In his time men bought wheat at 60 modii for and plenty. a solidus [about 12s. a quarter], and for 30 amphorae of wine they paid the same price [2s. 4d. per gallon].

\* \* \* \* \*

‘Now King Theodoric was an unlettered man, His want of education. and so unsuccessful as a student<sup>1</sup> that after ten years of reigning he was still utterly unable to learn the four letters of his own signature to one of his edicts [ $\Psi\text{IN}\Delta$ , Thiid, if in Gothic, THEO if in Latin]. Wherefore he ordered a golden plate to be engraved, having the four letters of the royal name pierced through it, so that when he wished to sign any document he could place the plate upon the paper, and drawing his pen through the holes could give it the appearance of his own signature.

‘Then Theodoric, having conferred the honours

<sup>1</sup> ‘Sic obruto (or perhaps ‘obtusos’) sensu.’ I strongly suspect that this paragraph was originally written concerning the Emperor Justin (of whom precisely the same story is told) and has been transferred to Theodoric by mistake. The paragraph immediately preceding refers to Byzantine affairs.

BOOK IV. of the consulship on [his son-in-law] Eutharic,  
 CH. 8. triumphed at Rome and Ravenna. But this Eu-

Consulship  
 of Eutharic  
 his son-in-  
 law,  
 519.

Religious  
 disturb-  
 ances at  
 Ravenna.

tharic was a man of very harsh disposition, and a bitter enemy of the Catholic faith.

‘After this, when Theodoric was staying at Verona through fear of hostile movements among the barbarians [north of the Alps<sup>1</sup>], a strife arose between the Jews and Christians of the city of Ravenna. For the Jews, disliking those who were baptized, often by way of derision threw persons into the water of the river, and in the same way they made sport of the Lord’s Supper<sup>2</sup>. Hereupon the people being inflamed with fury, and being quite past the control of the King, of Eutharic, and even of Peter who was then bishop, arose against the synagogues and soon burned them. Then the Jews rushed to Verona, where the King was, and by the agency of Triwan the Grand Chamberlain<sup>3</sup>, himself a heretic and a favourer of their nation, they got their case against the Christians presented to the King. He promptly ordered that, for their presumption in burning the synagogues, all the Roman population of Ravenna should pay a contribution sufficient to provide for their restoration; and those who had no money to pay were to be flogged through the

<sup>1</sup> ‘Propter metum gentium.’

<sup>2</sup> A conjectural translation of ‘Judæi baptizatos nolentes dum ludunt frequenter oblatam in aquam fluminis jactaverunt. . . . Quod et in cena eadem similiter contigit.’

<sup>3</sup> ‘Praepositus Cubiculi.’ Possibly this is the ‘Trigguilla regiae praepositus domus’ who is vituperated by Boethius (Phil. Cons. i. 4).

streets of the city while the crier proclaimed their offence. Orders to this effect were given to Eutharic-Cilliga and to the Bishop Peter, and thus it was done.'

BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.

The 'Anonymus' then begins to narrate the story of the religious troubles and persecutions which clouded the last years of Theodoric, and which will be described in a later chapter.

Let us try to bring to a focus the somewhat confused and inartistic picture which is here drawn for us by the most valuable of all witnesses to character, an unfriendly contemporary.

Evidently there was peace and prosperity, at any rate comparative prosperity, throughout Italy in the reign of Theodoric. Absolute freedom from hostile invasion—except, as we shall see, some trifling ravages of the Byzantines in Apulia—was a great thing; a thing to which Italy may almost be said to have been a stranger during the ninety years that had elapsed, since the clarions of Alaric first sounded in the plains of Pollentia. But yet more important for Italy, in her then condition, was the presence in the royal palace of a strong will, wielding irresistible power and guided by benevolence towards all classes of the people. Long enough had the name and the reality of power been disjoined the one from the other. Long enough had flatterers and rhetoricians pretended to worship the almost divine majesty of the Emperor, while every one knew that in reality some menacing barbarian freebooter, or some yet more intolerable

Strength of  
Theodoric's  
position.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.

barbarian life-guardsmen, was master of the situation. Now, the man who was hailed as king was once more in truth a king of men. *He* knew, every Goth in his disbanded army, every Roman *possessor* in the most secluded valleys of the Apennines, knew, that Theodoric was and would be undisputed master. He could be terrible to all extortionate and unjust governors, because behind him there loomed no figure greater than his own; he could be just, because the welfare of his subjects was in truth his own highest interest; he could be gentle, because he was irresistible.

The same picture of firm and just rule is brought before us by a few sentences of Procopius, who again, as a man employed in the Byzantine army, may be considered as a witness unfriendly to the Gothic rule.

Testimony  
of Proco-  
pius.

'Theodoric,' says he<sup>1</sup>, 'was an extraordinary lover of justice, and adhered rigorously to the laws. He guarded the country from barbarian invasion, and displayed both intelligence and prudence in the highest degree. Of injustice towards his subjects there was hardly a trace in his government, nor would he allow any of his subordinates to attempt anything of the kind, save only that the Goths divided among themselves the same proportion of the land of Italy which Odoacer had given to his partisans. *So then Theodoric was in name a tyrant, but in deed a true king, not inferior to the best of his predecessors, and his popularity grew*

<sup>1</sup> De Bello Gothico, i. 1.



greatly, contrary to the ordinary fashion of human affairs, both among Goths and Italians. For generally, as different classes in the State want different things, the government which pleases one party, has to incur the odium of those who do not belong to it.

‘After a reign of thirty-seven years he died, having been a terror to all his enemies, and left a deep regret for his loss in the hearts of his subjects.’

The fact that such results were achieved by an unlettered chieftain, the scion of an only half-civilised German tribe, must be accounted a signal victory of human intelligence and self-restraint, and justifies, if anything can justify, the tight rein which, while curbing himself, he kept upon the old Teutonic freedom. Obviously however, with the best good-will on the part of the King, these results could not have been obtained in detail unless he had been well served by ministers—from the necessity of the case chiefly Roman ministers—like-minded with himself. To these men, the Sullys and the Colberts of the Gothic King, let us now turn our attention.

Who were Theodoric's ministers?

The first man who served as Prætorian Prefect under Theodoric, holding that great office for the first seven years of his reign, was *Liberius*. This man—who was of course Roman, not Teutonic, by origin—had occupied an important place among the ministers of Odovacar<sup>1</sup>. Unlike the treacherous Tufa, he remained faithful to the last to his

*Liberius*, 493-500.

<sup>1</sup> Our knowledge of the career of *Liberius* is derived from Var. ii. 16, written on the promotion of his son.

BOOK IV. barbarian chief, and took an active part in directing the operations against Theodoric<sup>1</sup>. On the downfall of his old patron, he showed no unmanly fear as to his own fortunes, no servile haste to propitiate the new lord of Italy, but, with calm sadness, intimated that he accepted the judgment of Heaven, and since he could no longer be loyal to Odovacar, he was willing to serve with equal loyalty that monarch's conqueror. Theodoric was wise enough to accept the proffered service, and, as we have seen, to confer upon the true-hearted Roman the still vast powers of the Prætorian Prefect.

No details  
of his ad-  
ministra-  
tion.

Unhappily these seven first years of the reign of Theodoric—perhaps its most interesting portion—are an almost absolute blank. Liberius left no such copious record of official work behind him as was left by the fluent Cassiodorus. But we are informed incidentally that one of the chief cares of the new ministry was, as we might have expected, finance. He introduced a wise economy into every department of the State, and while the Exchequer found itself every year in a more flourishing condition, the tax-payer was conscious that, at any rate, there was no addition to his previous burdens. It seems probable that some, at least, of that praise which arose from a prosperous and contented Italy should be attributed to these early measures of Liberius.

<sup>1</sup> 'Contra quos [Theodoricum sc.] multa fecisse videbatur inimicus.'

One work of great delicacy and importance, which was successfully performed by him, was the assignment of the Tertiae, or third part of the soil of Italy, to the new-comers. Broadly, as has been already said, the new land-settlement was probably a transfer of these Land-thirds from the men of Odovacar to the men of Theodoric. But there may have been reasons, unknown to us, which prevented this from being the sole principle of distribution, and which obliged the commission, of which Liberius was the head, to proceed in many instances to a new division as between Roman and Goth. Here we are told he showed great tact and skill, settling neighbour by neighbour in such a way that not rivalry but friendship sprang out of their new relation, introducing probably the Gothic settlers chiefly into those parts of the country where the land really cried out for more numerous cultivators, and ever impressing upon his Roman countrymen the great principle of the new government, that the Goth was there for the defence of the whole land, and that, by sacrificing one-third, the Roman cultivator might reckon on enjoying the remaining two-thirds in security<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.  
Apportionment of lands (Tertiarum distributio).

<sup>1</sup> 'Juvat nos referre quemadmodum in tertiarum deputatione, Gothorum Romanorumque et possessiones junxerit et animos. Nam, cum se homines soleant de vicinitate collidere, istis praediorum communio causam noscitur praestitisse concordiae. Sic enim contigit ut utraque natio, dum communiter vivit, ad unum velle convenerit. En factum novum et omnino laudabile. Gratia dominorum de cespitis divisione conjuncta est. Amici-

BOOK IV. It was probably through the hands of Liberius  
 CH. 8. that the tedious negotiations with Byzantium  
 497. passed, those negotiations which ended at length  
 in the recognition of Theodoric as legitimate  
 ruler of Italy. The chief persons employed in  
 these negotiations were *Faustus* and *Festus*, two  
 Roman noblemen of about equal rank, and whom  
 it is not easy to distinguish from one another.

Faustus. Faustus was a successor, though not the immediate  
 successor, of Liberius in the office of Prætorian  
 Festus. Prefect<sup>1</sup>; and Festus, who was dignified with the  
 high title of Patrician, was apparently at about  
 the same time Prefect of the City<sup>2</sup>. It may be  
 useful, as a note of distinction between them, to  
 observe that Faustus was the unsuccessful am-  
 bassador to Constantinople in 493, Festus the  
 successful one in 497. Further, that while  
 Faustus, in the disputed Papal election of 498<sup>3</sup>,  
 took the part of the ultimately successful can-  
 didate, Pope Symmachus, Festus, who desired to

tiae populis per damna crevere: et ex parte agri defensor  
 acquisitus est, ut substantiæ securitas integra servaretur. Una  
 lex illos et æquabilis disciplina complectitur. Necesse est enim,  
 ut inter eos suavis crescat affectus qui servant jugiter terminos  
 constitutos' (Cass. Var. ii. 16).

<sup>1</sup> I conjecture that Faustus succeeded Cassiodorus the elder  
 as 'Præfectus Prætorio' about 504, and held the office till about  
 508, but the want of strict chronological arrangement in the  
 Variæ makes it difficult to come to any precise conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> He is not thus addressed in the titles of the letters in the  
 Variæ, but the subjects of those letters seem to show that this  
 was his office.

<sup>3</sup> To be described in chapter xi.

obtain a pontiff favourable to the Henoticon of Zeno, sided with the Anti-Pope Laurentius.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.

It was in one of the lucid intervals of this prolonged struggle for the chief place in the Roman Church that Theodoric visited the ancient capital of the Empire. 'Murders, robberies and infinite evils' had afflicted the citizens of Rome, and even the nuns had been cruelly maltreated in this street warfare, which was to decide whether Symmachus or Laurentius was henceforward to have the power of binding and loosing in the kingdom of heaven. But, as has been said, there was a lull in the storm, during which the Ostrogothic King wisely determined to visit the city. Constantinople, the New Rome by the Bosphorus, he had gazed upon near forty years before with eyes of boyish wonder. Now he was to see for himself the mysterious and venerable city by the Tiber; that city which had so long cast her spell upon his people, but of which he, a barbarian from the Danube, was now unquestioned lord. Having knelt devoutly at the shrine of St. Peter, in the long pillar-lined basilica (so unlike its modern representative) reared amid the gardens of Nero, he was met outside the gates of the city by the procession of Pope, senators and people, who, with shouts of loyal welcome, pressed forth to greet him. Then came, as the Anonymus Valesii has told us, the speech in the Forum, the games in the Circus, probably also in the Colosseum, and the solemn renewal of the grain largesse to the Roman populace, which had

Theodoric's  
visit to  
Rome,  
500.

BOOK IV. perhaps been interrupted since the days of Odo-  
 CH. 8. vacar.

500.  
 Was the  
 Edictum  
 promul-  
 gated at  
 this time?

It seems probable that this may have been the occasion chosen by the King and his enlightened minister for the formal publication of the *Edictum Theodorici*. It is true that the somewhat obscure language of the Anonymus Valesii does not prove, as was once supposed, that it was promulgated at this time. The solemn privilegium, to which he refers, engraved on a brazen tablet and posted in the Forum, was quite a different document, and little more than a promise to observe the laws of his predecessors, such a promise as William the Norman gave to govern according to the laws of King Edward. But there is a certain amount of concurrent testimony in favour of this date, and no valid argument against it. Upon the whole, it may fairly be stated as a probable conjecture, though not an ascertained fact, that Theodoric's visit to Rome was the occasion of the publication of the Edict, and that Liberius was its author.

Roman  
 character  
 of the Edic-  
 tum.

This Edict, of which a slight sketch is given in the note at the end of this chapter, is (as was stated in the last chapter) utterly unlike the codes which formulated the laws of the other barbarian monarchies. There is hardly a trace in it of German law or German ideas: it is Roman and imperial throughout. We may remember how Sidonius<sup>1</sup> complained of a certain renegade Roman

<sup>1</sup> ii. 1: 'Leges Theodosianas calcans, Theodoricianasque proponens.'

governor, as 'trampling under foot the laws of Theodosius and setting forth the laws of Theodoric.' BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.  
500.

But here it is a German, a Theodoric himself, who, wisely no doubt for the most part, and with statesmanlike insight into the necessities of the case, treads the laws of his Amal forefathers in the dust and exalts on high the laws of Theodosius.

It may have been—though there is nothing but one darkly enigmatic sentence in the Anonymus to confirm the conjecture—the publication of this obviously Romanising edict, and the evident desire of Theodoric to draw as close as possible to his Roman subjects, which brought the Gothic disaffection to a head. Odoin, a barbarian Count<sup>1</sup>, planned a conspiracy against his lord. We have no details of the plot or of its discovery. We only know that it failed, and that in the Sessorian Palace, just within the southern wall of Rome (hard by the Basilica della Croce, where rests Helena, mother of Constantine and discoverer of the Holy Cross), the treacherous Goth knelt down to receive the blow of the executioner, and the headless trunk of Odoin showed to all the world that the mild and righteous Theodoric could also be terrible to evil-doers.

It may have been during this tarrance at

<sup>1</sup> Possibly assisted by Theodorus, son of Basilius, a Roman, and perhaps a disappointed candidate for the prefecture. But, as has been said, from the appearance of the passage it seems more likely that Odoin was sole conspirator.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.

500.  
Draining  
of the  
Pontine  
Marshes.  
'Palazzo di  
Teodorico'  
at Terra-  
cina.

Rome that Theodoric commenced his great works of draining the Pontine Marshes and repairing the Appian Way, works commemorated in an inscription still preserved in the Piazza at Terracina<sup>1</sup>. At the last-named place, situated about sixty miles from Rome, where a spur of the Volscian mountains juts out into the blue Tyrrhene Sea, stand yet on the brow of the hill the massive ruins of the so-called Palace of Theodoric. It may be doubtful how far this name is correctly given to them: but if the great Ostrogoth ever did dwell here, and look forth from these windows over the sea, which his wise rule was covering with the white-winged messengers of commerce, and over the plain where the peaceful army of his labourers was turning the wilderness of the Pontine Marshes into a fruitful field, it was probably during this visit to Rome, in some weeks of *villeggiatura*, away from the sun-baked capital, that he thus sojourned at Terracina.

Repairs of  
walls of  
Rome.

We see, from the statement of the Anonymus Valesii, that it was also during the King's residence in Rome that he took in hand the repair of the walls and of the imperial residence on the Palatine. So large a sum as £8000, spent yearly on these objects, would make a marked difference in the condition of both sets of buildings. We learn, from a letter of Cassiodorus (i. 25), that 25,000 *tegulae*—the square flat bricks which the antiquary knows so well—were used yearly in

<sup>1</sup> See Note F.



the restoration of the walls. We may well wonder, not that some tiles have been discovered bearing the name and titles of 'Our Lord Theodoric, the benefactor of Rome,' but that the number of these is not much larger<sup>1</sup>.

Upon the whole we may probably conclude that this Roman visit, which lasted for six months, was one of the happiest periods in the life of Theodoric. There was peace abroad and at home. The barbarian stranger had borne the ordeal of an entry into the fastidious city by the Tiber, once the capital of the world, successfully, though it was an ordeal before which born Romans, like Constantius and Honorius, had well-nigh quailed. He had addressed the people in the Forum, he had shared the deliberations of the Conscript Fathers in the Senate House, and it seems safe to say that he had produced a favourable impression upon both assemblies. As he journeyed along the Flaminian Way to his chosen home by the Adriatic, he felt himself more firmly settled in his seat, more thoroughly king of all the Italians as well as of all the Goths, than he had done before. The

<sup>1</sup> According to Fabretti (*Inscriptiones Antiquae*, p. 521) many tiles and stones have been found with the inscription—

REG DN THEODE  
RICO FELIX ROMA

or—

✠ REG DN THEODE  
✠ RICO BONO ROMAE.

Gregorovius (*Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, i. 294) says that Henzen in the forthcoming volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum* will catalogue only twelve such tiles.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.  
500.

BOOK IV. headless corpse of Odoin was well atoned for by  
 CH. 8. the remembrance of the enthusiastic shouts, both  
 500. of welcome and farewell, of the Roman people.

Liberius During this sojourn in Rome, Liberius, who  
 ceases to be Prefect. was now probably a man advanced in years, was honourably dismissed from the laborious though dignified post of Prætorian Prefect, and received the rank of Patrician, which was generally conferred on those who were retiring from this office with the favour of their sovereign.

Cassiodorus the elder takes the office. His successor as Prætorian Prefect, though perhaps not his immediate successor<sup>1</sup>, was Cassiodorus, father of the writer so often named in this history. And here, in order to disentangle a needlessly complicated discussion, a few sentences must be devoted to the Cassiodorian pedigree.

Ancestors of the author. From a sketch of the history of his ancestors, which Cassiodorus<sup>2</sup> (the author) included in the

<sup>1</sup> If, that is to say, my conjecture be correct that Theodorus, the son of Basilius, really followed Liberius.

Spelling of the name, Cassiodorus or Cassiodorius? <sup>2</sup> German scholars are now nearly unanimous in spelling the name Cassiodorius. There is MS. authority for both forms of the name, but it is argued with some force that, though it is easy to understand how *rus* could arise from the ignorance of transcribers, who met with the genitive *ri*, and did not know that that was a proper inflection of *rius*, it is not easy to see how the contrary change could have taken place and *rius* have arisen from *rus*. On the other hand, it is clear that the classical form of the name was *Cassiodorus*. In the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 2322 b<sup>32</sup> (vol. ii. p. 1044), is the sepulchral inscription (found at the island of Rhenea, close to Delos) of a woman who was 'a Roman citizen and sister of Q. Acilius (?) Casiodorus' ('Ρωμαία, ἀδελφή δὲ Κοίντου Ἀκειλίου Κασσιοδώρου). No. 4466 (vol. iv. p. 218) is from Antioch, an inscription on the tomb of a

official letter announcing to the Senate his father's elevation to the Patriciate<sup>1</sup>, we learn that, for at least three generations the family had taken an active part in public life.

The *first* Cassiodorus who is here mentioned attained to the rank of an *Illustis*, and held a leading position in the province of *Bruttii*, which, with the neighbouring island of Sicily, he defended, apparently with a troop raised at his own cost, from an invasion of the Vandals. This may very probably have occurred in the year 440, when, as we learn from the Chronicle of his descendant, 'Gaiseric sorely afflicted Sicily<sup>2</sup>.'

Cassiodorus I.

440.

His son, the *second* Cassiodorus, was a Tribune (or, as we should say, Colonel) in the army of Valentinian III, and a *Notarius* in the secret cabinet of the Emperor. In both capacities he seems to have attached himself zealously to the party of the brave and statesmanlike Aetius, the man to whom all true Roman hearts then turned

Cassiodorus II, the friend of Aetius.

certain Cassiodorus who died at the age of twenty-four, leaving an infant daughter one year old. The important line runs, *Εἴκοσι τέσσαρ' ἔχων Κασσιόδωρος ἔτη*. There is no inscription with the form *rius*. Further, it appears from a verse of Alcuin's that Cassiodorus was the accepted form in the eighth century—

'Cassiodorus item Chrysostomus atque Johannes.'

It seems therefore undesirable to abandon the spelling which is most usual with English scholars. (The above quotation from Alcuin is from the *De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, p. 843 of 2nd volume in Migne's edition of his works, and is borrowed by me from A. Franz.)

<sup>1</sup> Cassiodori Variarum, i. 4 (see also 3).

<sup>2</sup> 'His consulibus Gaisericus Siciliam graviter affigit.'

BOOK IV. with longing. In company with the hero's son  
 CH. 8. Carpilio he went on an embassy to the court of  
 440-450. Attila, one doubtless of the innumerable embas-  
 sies with which the Emperor sought to soothe the  
 anger of the terrible Hun in the years between  
 440 and 450<sup>1</sup>. According to his descendant, Cas-  
 siodorus exercised, over the quarrelsome Mongol,  
 something of the same magnetic influence that was  
 afterwards obtained by Pope Leo. He dared to  
 meet the omnipotent victor in argument; he calmly  
 braved his wrath; he convinced him of the reason-  
 ableness of the Roman demands; he inspired him  
 with respect for the State which could still send  
 forth such ambassadors: finally, he brought back  
 with him the peace which was well-nigh despaired  
 of. We are not bound to believe all this highly-  
 coloured picture, which seems to be at least sug-  
 gested by the embassy of Leo, perhaps simply  
 adapted from that well-known scene. But we  
 may fairly presume that his conduct earned the  
 approbation of his superiors, since Aetius offered  
 him the rank of an *Illustris*, and some charge upon  
 the public revenues, if he would remain at court<sup>2</sup>.  
 Cassiodorus, however, preferred returning to his  
 beloved *Bruttii*, and there, under the shadow of

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 175, n. 1, and correct there the word 'father' in the second line to 'grandfather.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Mox honore [honorem] illustratus, mox reddituum dona aequus arbiter offerebat.' A very obscure sentence. Is it possible that for 'aequus' we should read 'Aetius'? It looks as if the offer were of the *Comitiva Sacrarum Largitionum*, but it is hard to make this out of the words.

the purple hills of Calabria, ended his days in quietness, undisturbed apparently by the ruins of the falling Empire. BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.

His son, the *third* Cassiodorus, entered more boldly into public life. When still a young man he discharged the duties of *Comes Privatarum Rerum* and *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* (the two offices which represent the duties of our Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and Chancellor of the Exchequer), and in both capacities he earned the good opinion alike of his own countrymen and of his barbarian master Odovacar. In the struggle between Rugian and Ostrogoth he seems not to have taken a part, but, as soon as Theodoric's throne was set up at Ravenna, he at once offered his services to the new monarch, and they were gladly accepted. The inhabitants of Sicily, who looked upon the Gothic rule with doubt and suspicion, were won over by their neighbour to the side which he had made his own; and, on the other hand, his wise and soothing words restrained Theodoric from the revenge to which some hostile acts of the Sicilians might otherwise have impelled him<sup>1</sup>. For these services he had been rewarded with the post of *Corrector* of Lucania and Bruttii, chief governor, that is to say, of his own native province<sup>2</sup>. He had large herds

Cassiodorus III serves Odovacar,

and then Theodoric.

<sup>1</sup> 'Siculorum suspicantium mentes ab obstinatione præcipiti deviasti, culpam removens illis, nobis necessitatem subtrahens ultimis.' This passage occurs in Var. i. 3, from which most of this part of my sketch is taken.

<sup>2</sup> 'Bruttiorum et Lucaniae tibi dedimus mores regendos'

BOOK IV. of horses on his estates—the Calabria of that day  
 CH. 8. by the dense shade of its forests afforded great  
 advantages to the horse-breeder—and out of these  
 he made such generous presents to Theodoric that  
 his son in later years, speaking by the mouth of  
 the King, said (no doubt hyperbolically), ‘he has  
 mounted our whole army<sup>1</sup>.’

Prætorian  
 Prefect  
 (between  
 500 and  
 504?).

This was the man who, having passed through  
 all the lower ranks of the official service with  
 credit and success, was now, in the first or second  
 year of the sixth century, raised to the high  
 honour of *Praefectus Praetorio*; an honour which  
 had been already held for the extraordinary term  
 of eighteen years by his kinsman Heliodorus, at  
 Constantinople<sup>2</sup>, when Theodoric himself was a  
 guest of the Eastern Emperor. His own tenure  
 of office was not long<sup>3</sup>—we may conjecture it to  
 have ended by the year 504—nor, except from  
 the general terms of laudation in which it is

(Var. i. 3). Is there not in this phrase an allusion to the title  
 Corrector, which (instead of Consularis) denoted the governor  
 of this province?

<sup>1</sup> ‘Hinc est quod candidatus noster Gothorum semper armat  
 exercitus.’ Compare Var. viii. 31 for the horse-breeding of  
 Bruttii.

<sup>2</sup> Var. i. 4: ‘Hi autem et in partibus Orientis parentum  
 laude vignerunt. Heliodorus enim, qui in illa republica nobis  
 videntibus praefecturam bis novenis annis gessit eximie, eorum  
 consanguinitati probatur adjungi.’ Beyond the words ‘nobis  
 videntibus,’ which fix Heliodorus’s prefecture to a date between  
 462 and 488, we seem to have no precise indication of the  
 time.

<sup>3</sup> I infer this from the fact that we have no letters of Cassio-  
 dorus Senator addressed to his father as Prætorian Prefect.

referred to by his son<sup>1</sup>, have we any information respecting it. We are fairly entitled to infer that he carried forward the policy of mild firmness and equal justice to both nations, which had been inaugurated by Theodoric and Liberius, and that his short administration contributed its share to the peaceful happiness of Italy.

Its chief event however, and that which has made it worth while to dwell upon the family honours in so much detail, was the fact that it introduced his son to the notice of Theodoric, and was the means of starting that son on an official career which lasted for nearly forty years, and will for ever connect his name beyond any other name in literature with the varying fortunes of the Ostrogothic monarchy.

*Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, the fourth of the family whose fortunes we have to trace, was born at Squillace in Calabria about the year 480<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Meministis enim, et adhuc vobis recentium rerum memoria ministratur, qua moderatione prætoriano culmini locatus insederit, et evectus in excelsum, inde magis despexerit vitia prospectorum. . . . Junxit bene cum universorum gaudiis nostra compendia, aerario munificus et juste solventibus gratosus. . . . Fuit itaque, ut scitis, militibus verendus, provincialibus mitis, dandi avidus, accipiendi fastidiosus, detestator criminis, amator æquitatis,' and so on. \

<sup>2</sup> This date, at any rate as an approximation, may now, especially since the appearance of Usener's monograph, be considered definitely established. With the disentanglement of the lives of Senator and his father, all inducement to put back the birth of the former to 467, or thereabouts, vanishes, and Tritheim's notice, 'Claruit temporibus Justinii Senioris usque ad imperii Justinii junioris paene finem, annos habens ætatis

BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.

Cassiodorus III is the means of bringing forward his son,

Cassiodorus IV (Senator).

BOOK IV. The year was a memorable one, since it witnessed  
 CH. 8. the birth of three of the foremost men of their age  
 —Cassiodorus, Boethius, and Benedict, the politi-  
 cian, the philosopher, and the saint. The place—  
 let it be sketched for us by the loving hand of the  
 greatest of its sons<sup>1</sup> :—

His birth-  
 place,  
 Squillace.

‘Scyllacium, the first city of Bruttii, founded by  
 Ulysses the overthrower of Troy, is a city over-  
 looking the Hadriatic Sea [more strictly the Gulf of  
 Tarentum], and hangs upon the hills like a cluster  
 of grapes; hills which are not so high as to make  
 the ascent of them a weariness, but high enough to  
 give a delicious prospect over the verdant plains  
 and the deep blue back of the sea<sup>2</sup>. This city sees  
 the rising sun from its very cradle. The coming day  
 sends forward no Aurora as herald of its approach,  
 but with one burst uplifts its torch, and lo! the  
 brightness quivers over land and sea<sup>3</sup>. It beholds  
 the rejoicing Sun-god, and so basks in his bright-  
 ness all the day, that with good reason it might  
 challenge the claims of Rhodes to represent itself  
 as his birthplace. Its sky is clear, its climate  
 temperate. Sunny in winter, it yet enjoys cool  
 summers, and this moderation reflects itself in the  
 plusquam 95 A.D. 575,’ becomes so probable that we cannot  
 reject it, though it remains a mystery whence he obtained this  
 information.

<sup>1</sup> The following extract is from *Variarum*, xii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> No doubt Cassiodorus was thinking of Homer’s

*Εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης.*

<sup>3</sup> Just in the moment of dawn it was my fortune to see  
 Squillace, perched upon its conical hill, after a long night-  
 journey from Naples in the spring of 1882.



character of its inhabitants. For a burningly hot BOOK IV.  
country makes its children sharp and fickle, a cold CH. 8.  
one heavy and cunning; the best characters are  
produced by a more temperate clime.

‘Scyllacium has an abundant share of the deli- The Viva-  
cacies of the sea, possessing near it those Neptunian rium.  
doors which we ourselves constructed<sup>1</sup>. At the  
foot of Mount Moscius we hewed out a space in the  
bowels of the rocks, into which we caused the  
streams of Nereus to flow. The sight of the fishes  
sporting in their free captivity delights all be-  
holders. There man feeds the creatures on which  
he himself will shortly feed; they swim eagerly to  
take the morsels from his hand: sometimes, when  
he has fished to satiety, he sends them all back into  
the water<sup>2</sup>.

‘Fair is it to see the labours of the husbandmen  
all round while tranquilly reposing in the city.  
Here are the cluster-drooping vineyards, there the  
prosperous toil of the threshing-floor, there the  
dusky olive shows her face. Thus, as Scyllacium is  
an unwall'd town, you might at choice call it a  
rural city or an urban farm<sup>3</sup>; and, partaking of  
both characters, its praises have been sounded far  
and wide<sup>4</sup>.’

<sup>1</sup> The Vivaria or salt-water fish ponds, from which the mon-  
astery of Cassiodorus derived its name Vivariense.

<sup>2</sup> A conjectural translation of ‘Dum habet in potestatem  
quod capiat, frequenter evenit ut repletus omnia derelinquat.’

<sup>3</sup> ‘Hoc quia modo non habet muros, civitatem credis ruralem,  
villam judicare possis urbanam.’

<sup>4</sup> Too widely in fact for the inhabitants, whose forced labour

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 8.

Modern as-  
 pect of the  
 place.

Such was Scyllacium<sup>1</sup> and such Bruttii in the days of Theodoric's minister. It may be feared that a modern traveller would not find all the delights in the modern Squillace and the modern Calabria which then existed, still less that delicate and lovely civilisation which ten centuries before had tinged every shore and headland of 'the Greater Greece.' Still, as then, the purple chain of Aspromonte divides the sparkling waters of the Eastern and the Western seas. Still do cities, beautiful at a distance, crown the finely-modelled hills that project into the plain. But the temple, with its pure white marble columns, has disappeared: a squalid *comune* replaces the Greek republic, instinct with life and intelligence, or the well-ordered Roman *civitas*. Instead of the white-robed Hellenes, wild-looking peasants, clad in goat-skins, with their guns in their hands, slouch along through the cactus-bordered ways. The Saracen, the Spaniard, and the Bourbon have laid their heavy hands on the lovely region and brutalised its inhabitants. May better days be in store for it and for them in the Italy of the future<sup>2</sup>!

in providing post-horses for official visitors was the grievance which called forth this letter from Cassiodorus.

<sup>1</sup> There is an admirable sketch of Scyllacium in Lenormant's 'La Grande Grèce' (Paris, 1881). It is melancholy to reflect that this charming book cost the accomplished author his life. He never recovered from the effects of an attack of fever which seized him during his Calabrian journey.

<sup>2</sup> Even the climate of Calabria would seem to have changed for the worse, probably owing to the destruction of the forests, since Cassiodorus found it 'aeris dotatione temperata.' The

The son who was born to Odovacar's minister at Squillace was named, as we have seen, Senator. It seems a strange thing to give a title like this as a personal name; but there is no doubt that it was done in this case. Cassiodorus speaks of himself as Senator, and is so addressed by others<sup>1</sup>. His letters are written by 'Senator, a man of illustrious rank;' and in his Chronicle, when he has to record his own consulship (A.D. 514), his entry is 'Senatore, viro clarissimo consule.'

It is evident that the young Senator received the best education that Italy could furnish in his day, and imbibed with enthusiasm all that the rhetoricians and grammarians who conducted it could impart to so promising a pupil. All through life he was essentially a literary man. We may perhaps in this aspect compare him to Guizot, a man of letters who rose to be first minister of a mighty monarchy, but whose heart was always given to the studies which engrossed him, when still a professor in the University of Paris. There are some indications in Cassiodorus' works that, next to Rhetoric, next to the mere delight of stringing words together in sonorous sentences, Natural History had the highest place in his affections. He never misses an opportunity of pointing a moral

country now has a parched and desolate appearance. Very recently a murderous quarrel in some Italian barracks arose out of the contemptuous expression of a northern soldier, 'What can you find to do in that sun-baked Calabria?'

<sup>1</sup> He is called Senator by Jordanes, and by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in his life of Pope Hormisdas.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.  
Name of  
Cassiodo-  
rus Sena-  
tor.

His educa-  
tion.

BOOK IV. lesson by an allusion to the animal creation, especially to the habits of birds. Of course most of the stories which he thus introduces are mere imaginations, and often of a very laughable kind ; but, had he fallen on a happier and more scientific age, it is reasonable to think that there might have been found in him some of the qualities of a Buffon or an Audubon.

His entry  
into public  
life.

It seems probable that, immediately on the elder Cassiodorus receiving the post of Prætorian Prefect, Senator, still quite a young man, obtained an appointment as his *Consiliarius*, or legal assessor, a post generally filled by young men with some legal training,—we shall find Procopius holding it in the tent of Belisarius,—and one which no doubt gave valuable experience to any man who hoped some day to sit himself on the judgment-seat<sup>1</sup>.

His great  
speech

It was while he was thus acting as *Consiliarius* to his father that he pronounced in presence of Theodoric an oration in his praise, which by its eloquence so delighted the King that he appointed him, still quite a young man, to the office of Quæstor<sup>2</sup>, which brought with it what we should call cabinet-rank. The rank of *Illustris* gave him the privilege of sharing the secret and friendly conversation of the monarch, and entitled him to pronounce in his

brings him  
the Quæstorship.

<sup>1</sup> I do not understand why the word *consiliarius* does not occur in the elaborate *Notitia Dignitatum*, unless perhaps it is a general word to denote all the members of the Prefect's 'Officium,' from the *Princeps* to the *Singularii*.

<sup>2</sup> The authority for this statement is the '*Anecdoton Holderi*,' edited by Usener.

master's name solemn harangues to the ambassadors BOOK IV.  
of foreign nations, to the Senate, sometimes per- CH. 8.  
haps to the citizens and the army. Allusion has  
already been made<sup>1</sup> to the spirit in which Theo-  
doric probably regarded the necessary labour of  
translating his own weighty, sledge-hammer sen-  
tences into the tumid Latin of the Lower Empire.  
But, however Theodoric may have regarded that  
work, there can be no doubt that Cassiodorus  
thoroughly enjoyed it. To have the charge of the  
correspondence of so great a king, to address to  
the officials of Italy, or even to the Sacred Majesty  
of Byzantium, a series of flowing sentences inter-  
persed with philosophical reflections, excellent if  
not new, and occasionally to illustrate one's subject  
with a 'delicious digression'<sup>2</sup> on the habits of birds,  
the nature of the chameleon, the invention of  
letters, or the fountain of Arethusa,—this was  
happiness indeed; and, though the *emolumenta*  
of the office were large, one may believe that Cas-  
siodorus would have been willing to pay, instead  
of receiving them, for the privilege of doing the  
very work which was more to his liking than that  
done by any other Italian between the mountains  
and the sea<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See preceding chapter.

<sup>2</sup> 'Voluptuosa digressio.'

<sup>3</sup> For further information as to the twelve books of Various Letters of Cassiodorus, I must refer my readers to my Abstract of them published at the same time as this volume. Finding it impossible to draw all the manifold details furnished us in these letters into one harmonious picture, I have thought it best to let the collection speak for itself, and invite the student

BOOK IV.

CH. 8.

His faults  
as a writer.

Cassiodorus has been aptly likened<sup>1</sup> to one of the *improvisatori* of modern Italy. The *Variae* are State papers put into the hands of an *improvisatore* to throw into form, and composed with his luxuriant verbiage, and also with his coarse taste. The shortest instructions begin with an aphorism or an epigram. If they are more important or lengthy, they sparkle and flash with conceits or antitheses, and every scrap of learning, every bit of science or natural history, every far-fetched coincidence which may start up in the writer's memory, however remote in its bearing on the subject, is dragged in to exalt or illustrate it, though the subject itself may be of the plainest and most matter-of-fact kind. You read (with the help of a full Index) to pick out the letters on those subjects in which he is most interested. Some points of Theodoric's state-system are discussed in the Abstract at greater length than was possible in this history.

Without going here into a discussion as to the chronology, it may be stated that the collection (which is not arranged in strict order of time) begins about 504 (certainly not earlier than 501), and ends not later than 540, probably a year or two earlier. The first five books contain letters written in the name of Theodoric; the sixth and seventh, the *Formulæ* of admission to various dignities; the eighth and ninth, letters written in the name of Athalaric; the tenth, in the names of Amalasantha, Theodahad and his wife, and Witigis. The eleventh and twelfth are entirely composed of the letters of Cassiodorus himself, when holding the office of Prætorian Prefect.

Twelve was a favourite number with Senator. His Gothic History, his History of the Church, and his collection of letters (*Variarum*) are all arranged in twelve books.

<sup>1</sup> By the author of an article in the *Church Quarterly Review* (July 1880); I believe Dean Church.

through a number of elaborate sentences, often tumid and pompous, sometimes felicitous and pointed, but all of the most general and abstract sort; and nestling in the thick of them, towards the end of the letter or paper, you come upon the order, or instruction, or notification, for which the letter or paper is written, almost smothered and lost in the abundance of ornament round it.' BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.

Yet let us not be unjust to the rhetorician-statesman. We can all see, and seeing must smile at, the literary vanity which peeps out from every page of his letters. All who consult those letters for historical facts must groan over the intolerable verbosity of his style, and must sometimes wish that they could have access to the rough, strong sentences of the Gothic King, instead of the wide expanse of verbiage into which his secretary has diluted them. Yet literary vanity was by no means the only motive of his service. Like his father, and like Liberius, he had perceived that this so-called barbarian was the best and wisest ruler that Italy had had for centuries, and that the course of true civilisation could be best served by helping him to work out his own scheme of a State, defended by German arms but administered by Roman brains. Perhaps too he saw, what we can see so plainly, the heavy price which Italy as a land had paid for Rome's dominion over the world. The desert expanse of the Campagna, though

‘A less drear ruin than than now,’

may have spoken to him, as it does to us, of the

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 8.

disastrous change since the days when Rome was a little town and those plains were covered with the farms of industrious and happy husbandmen. Above all, as the instincts of a true statesman may have showed him, a return, at that time of day, to the imperial order of things meant dependence on the Eastern Emperor, on grasping, grovelling, eunuch-governed Byzantium. 'Let the old Roman Empire go, and let Italy live: and if she is to live, none so fit to guide her destinies as Theodoric.' It would be unsafe to assert that this thought, thus definitely expressed, found an entrance to the mind of Cassiodorus or any other patriotic Roman of the sixth century. But it was the limit towards which many thoughts were tending (ignorant, as ours are, of the future that is before us but conscious that some bit of the past has to be put away); and the subsequent history of Italy, traced in characters of blood from Belisarius to Barbarossa, showed how well it had been for her if that idea, of dis severing her from the wreck of the ruined Empire, might but have been realised.

Cassiodorus' History of the Goths.

cir. 520.

It was with this hope doubtless, of reconciling the proud and sensitive Roman to the hegemony of the sturdy Goth, that Cassiodorus, near the middle of his official life<sup>1</sup>, composed in twelve books that

<sup>1</sup> Köpke thinks that Cassiodorus brought down his Gothic History to the death of Athalaric (534). But Usener is, I think, right in maintaining that *Variarum* (ix. 25) implies that it was finished before the death of Theodoric (526). On the authority of the newly-discovered fragment (*Anecdoton Holderi*) he assigns its composition to the period between 518 and 521.



history of the Goths with which we have already BOOK IV.  
made acquaintance through the extracts taken CH. 8.  
from it by the hasty and ignorant Jordanes<sup>1</sup>.  
In this book, as he himself says, speaking of it  
through the mouth of his king<sup>2</sup>, 'he carried his  
researches up to the very cradle of the Gothic  
race, gathering from the stores of his learning  
what even hoar antiquity scarce remembered.  
He drew forth the kings of the Goths from the  
dim lurking-place of ages, restoring to the Amal  
line the splendour that truly belonged to it, and  
clearly proving that for seventeen generations  
Athalaric's<sup>3</sup> ancestors had been kings. Thus did  
he assign a Roman origin to Gothic history, weav-  
ing as it were into one chaplet the flowers which  
he had culled from the pages of widely-scattered  
authors.'

In other words, he collected what 'hoar anti-  
quity' among the Gothic veterans had to tell Principle  
of its com-  
position.  
him of the old Amal kings, the fragments of  
their battle-songs and sagas, and persuaded or  
forced them to coalesce with what his classical  
authors, Dio and Trogus and Strabo, had to tell  
him about the early history of the dim Northern  
populations. By identifying the Goths with the  
Getæ—an error for which he is not originally

<sup>1</sup> 'Suades ut nostris, verbis duodecim Senatoris volumina De Origine actibusque Getarum, ab olim adusque nunc per generationes regesque descendencia, in uno et hoc parvo libello coartem' (Jordanes, Prologue to *De Rebus Geticis*).

<sup>2</sup> Variarum, ix. 25.

<sup>3</sup> The grandson of Theodoric.

BOOK IV. responsible—and by claiming for them all the  
 CH. 8. \_\_\_\_\_ fantastic imaginations of the poets about the  
 ‘Scythians’—a word of as wide and indefinite a  
 meaning as the ‘Indians’ of modern discoverers—  
 he succeeded in constructing for the fore-elders of  
 Theodoric a highly respectable place in classical  
 antiquity. He ‘made the Gothic origin Roman’—  
 nay, rather pre-Roman, carrying back their earliest  
 kings to Hercules and Theseus and the siege of  
 Troy, and thus giving that connection with the  
 cycle of Homeric legend which an upstart nation  
 valued, as an upstart family with us values a  
 pedigree which shows that it came over with the  
 Conqueror.

The fictions  
 which it  
 contains  
 may have  
 been useful  
 at the time.

All this seems a little childish to us now, and  
 indeed the chief work of a modern enquirer is to  
 unwind that which Cassiodorus wound together  
 so carefully, to disentangle what ‘hoar antiquity’  
 told him (the only thread that is of any value)  
 from the flimsy and rotten threads which he col-  
 lected from various authors in his library. But,  
 for the man and the age, the work was doubtless  
 a useful and creditable one. Many a Roman noble  
 may have accepted a little more readily the orders  
 of the so-called barbarian, who turned out to  
 be not so great a barbarian after all, now that  
 Cassiodorus, nearly the most learned man of his  
 day, had proved that Goths fought against the  
 Greeks at the siege of Troy, and that possibly  
 even Theodoric might be the remote descendant  
 of Telephus. And the great King himself, who

from those early days at Byzantium had always half-loved and admired the Roman State, though he felt that his rude Goths had in them something nobler;—to him this reconciling history of his clever secretary, which showed that he might be a true-hearted Goth and yet listen with delight to the verses of Homer, and gaze with rapture on the statues of Praxiteles, since these too were kinsmen of his forefathers, must have been a welcome discovery, and must have given him fresh courage to persevere in his life-work of conveying the blessings of *civilitas* to both nations of his subjects.

Strange is it to reflect that, after all, there was a truth underlying this odd jumble of Scytho-Gothic-Greek traditions,—a truth which scarcely till the beginning of this century was fully brought to light. Philology has now made it clear that Goth, Roman, and Greek were not really very distant relations, and the common home of the Aryan nations in the Asiatic highlands or elsewhere is something like a scientific compensation for the lost belief that all European nations were represented by their progenitors at the siege of Troy.

If Cassiodorus, with a true conviction that he was thus best serving his country, brought his loyal service to Theodoric, there can be no doubt that the heart of Theodoric also warmed towards *him*. He found in him the very minister whom he needed, to help him in fashioning his own great ideas of government, and to put them in the

Conferences between the King and his Minister.

BOOK IV. most acceptable shape before the Roman people.

CH. 8.

Often, we may be sure, in the '*gloriosa colloquia*' which the subject so lovingly commemorates, did King and Quæstor talk over the difficulties of the state, the turbulent freedom of the Goths, the venality and peculation of the Roman officials, the want of any high aim among the nobles or great purpose among the citizens, still proud of the name of Romans, but incapable of being stirred by anything nobler than a chariot-race, a battle between the Blues and Greens, or at best a contested Papal election. Often too would the remedies for these evils be discussed. Cassiodorus, like so many fluent rhetoricians, would perhaps think that it only required a sufficient number of his eloquent essays to establish *civilitas* in the new state, to make the Romans honest and the Goths law-abiding. Theodoric, with the Northern patience and the Northern melancholy, would refuse to accept any such optimist view of the situation ; and sometimes, while feeling that the work was long and his life was shortening, would heave a sigh at the remembrance that Providence, so gracious to him in all else, had denied him the gift of a son, strong and valiant, to carry on his great enterprise.

Theodoric's only legitimate child, his daughter Amalasintha.

Amalasintha, the only legitimate child of Theodoric, was a woman endowed with much of her father's courage and strength of will, and more than her father's love for the civilisation and literature of Rome. Possibly foreseeing that this

tendency to copy the manners of the less war-  
 like people might bring her into collision with the  
 martial Goths after his decease, Theodoric de-  
 termined to marry her to no Roman noble, but to  
 a Goth of the purest blood that he could meet  
 with. He already had one daughter (the child  
 of a concubine) married to a Visigothic king and  
 living in Spain. From his connection with that  
 country he heard that there was dwelling there a  
 scion of the old Ostrogothic house, Eutharic<sup>1</sup> son  
 of Wideric, grandson (or more likely great-grand-  
 son) of King Thorismund the Chaste, and therefore  
 a lineal descendant of the mighty Hermanric, who  
 once ruled all the lands between the Baltic and  
 the Euxine. Eutharic was well reported of for  
 valour and prudence and comeliness of person.  
 The King summoned him to his court, gave him  
 his daughter's hand in marriage, and four years  
 later conferred upon him the honour of the consul-  
 ship. The Gothic prince-consort visited Rome in  
 order to celebrate his assumption of the consular  
*trabea* with becoming magnificence. Senate and  
 people poured forth to meet him. The games  
 which he exhibited in the amphitheatre were on  
 a scale of surpassing magnificence. The wild  
 beasts, especially those from Africa, amazed and  
 delighted the mob, many of whom had seen no  
 such creatures before. Even Symmachus<sup>2</sup> the  
 Byzantine, who was present at the time in Rome

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 8.

Her mar-  
 riage to  
 Eutharic.

515.

519.

Eutharic's  
 Consul-  
 ship.

<sup>1</sup> Surnamed Cillica or Cilliga, I know not for what reason.

<sup>2</sup> Not the father-in-law of Boethius.

BOOK IV. on an embassy from the Eastern Emperor, was  
 CH. 8. obliged to confess his stupefied admiration of the scene. When his sojourn in Rome was ended, Eutharic returned to Ravenna, and there exhibited the same shows, with even greater magnificence, in the presence of his father-in-law<sup>1</sup>.

His character.

Of the prince thus romantically brought into the family of Theodoric we know very little, but that little makes us believe that he might have been found a useful counterpoise to the Romanising tendencies of Amalasantha. The Anonymus Valesii, in the extract before quoted, calls him 'a man of harsh disposition and an enemy to the Catholic faith<sup>2</sup>.' This perhaps means no more than that he stood firmly by the customs of his Arian forefathers, and was not inclined to bandy compliments with the priests and prefects whom he found standing round the throne of his father-in-law. But, whatever were his good or bad qualities, he died, before the death of Theodoric gave him an opportunity of making his mark on history<sup>3</sup>. Amalasantha was thus left a widow, with a son and a daughter, Athalaric and Matasuentha, the former of whom must have been born in 518, as we are told by Procopius<sup>4</sup> that he was eight years old at the death of his grandfather.

His early death.

<sup>1</sup> The account of Eutharic's marriage comes from Jordanes (*De Reb. Get.* 58), that of his pageant from Cassiodorus, who ends his *Chronicle* at this point.

<sup>2</sup> 'Nimio asper et contra fidem catholicam inimicus.'

<sup>3</sup> I think the precise date of Eutharic's death is not recorded.

<sup>4</sup> *De Bello Gothico*, i. 2.

From the family of Theodoric we return to the description of his ministers and friends. The elder Cassiodorus seems to have retired from office soon after his son had entered public life, and to have spent the rest of his years in the ancestral home in Bruttii, which was dear to four generations of Cassiodori. For some years the great office of Prætorian Prefect was administered by Faustus, to whom a large number of letters in the *Variarum* are addressed. An act of oppression, however, against a neighbour in the country alienated from him the favour of the just Theodoric and caused his downfall. A certain Castorius, who seems to have got into debt, perhaps into other kinds of trouble, had his farm unjustly wrested from him by the all-powerful Prefect. On making his complaint to the King and proving the justice of his cause, he obtained a decree for the restitution of his own farm and the addition of another, of equal value, from the lands of the wrong-doer. ‘Grimoda the Saio’ and ‘Ferrocinctus the Apparitor,’ apparently one Goth and one Roman officer, were charged with the execution of this decree, which further declared that if ‘that well-known schemer’ should attempt anything further against Castorius he should be punished with a fine of fifty pounds of gold (£2000). With some allowable complacency Theodoric was hereupon made by his quæstor to exclaim, ‘Lo a deed which may henceforward curb all overweening functionaries! A Prætorian Prefect is not allowed to triumph in the spoliation

BOOK IV.

CH. 8.

Faustus,  
Prætorian  
Prefect.

BOOK IV. of the lowly, and on the cry of the miserable his  
 CH. 8. power of hurting them is taken from him at a  
 blow.'

His fall. The Illustrious Faustus received leave of absence from the sacred walls of Rome for four months : and it may be doubted whether, when he returned thither, he any longer wore the purple robes of the Prætorian Prefect<sup>1</sup>.

Invitation to the elder Cassiodorus. • Soon after this signal display of the King's justice an invitation was sent to the elder Cassiodorus, inviting him, in very flattering terms, to return to Court<sup>2</sup>, where probably he would have been asked to reassume the great office which he had previously held. Apparently, however, the hill of Squillace had greater charms for him than the palace of Ravenna. We have no evidence that he again took any active part in public affairs.

Artemidorus, the king's friend. A pleasing contrast to the rapacious and intriguing Faustus was afforded by one who had been faithful through good and evil fortune, the King's friend *Artemidorus*. This man, one of the nobles of Byzantium, a friend and relation of the Emperor Zeno, had been strangely attracted by the young barbarian, to whom he was sent as ambassador, on the eve of his march into Epirus<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Variarum, iii. 20, 21. Some later letters are addressed to him as Prefect, but it is unsafe to draw a conclusion from this, as the order of the collection is evidently not strictly chronological.

<sup>2</sup> Variarum, iii. 28. In this letter Theodoric thus alludes to the fall of Faustus : ' Nam qui alterum reprimere conati sumus, te etiam palatio teste laudavimus.'

<sup>3</sup> See p. 100.



He left, for his sake, the splendid career which BOOK IV. awaited him in the Eastern Empire, followed him CH. 8. through all his campaigns, and sat, an ever-welcome and genial guest, at the royal table. Not aspiring to high dignity, nor desirous to burden himself with the cares of State, he found for several years sufficient occupation for his artistic, pleasure-loving nature, in arranging the great shows of the circus for the citizens of Ravenna. At length, however (in 509), Theodoric persuaded him to undertake the weightier charge of Prefect of the City, and sent him in that capacity to Rome to govern the capital and preside over the Senate. The light-hearted Byzantine seems to have discharged the duties of this serious office more creditably than might have been expected.

Very different from this brilliant, joyous Greek Count Tulum. was the other close friend of Theodoric, the rugged Gothic soldier *Tulum*. Sprung from one of the noblest Gothic families, he mounted guard as a stripling in the King's antechamber. His first experience in war was earned in the campaign of Sirmium<sup>1</sup>, and here he showed such vigour 504. and courage, and such a comprehension of the art of war, as procured for him in early manhood the place of chief military counsellor to Theodoric. A marriage with a princess of Amal blood<sup>2</sup> still further consolidated his position. He was admitted

<sup>1</sup> Described in chapter x.

<sup>2</sup> Her name and degree of relationship to Theodoric are not recorded.

BOOK IV. to the friendly conversation of the King in his  
 CH. 8. moments of least reserve, and, surest mark of  
 friendship, often dared to uphold against his master's  
 the policy which he deemed best for that master's  
 interests. In the Gaulish campaign of 509<sup>1</sup>, in  
 the campaign, or rather the armed neutrality, of  
 524<sup>1</sup>, he was again conspicuous. Returning from  
 the last by sea he suffered shipwreck, probably  
 somewhere on the coast of Tuscany. The ship and  
 crew were swallowed up by the waves. Tulum,  
 with his only child, took to an open boat, and he  
 had to depend on his own strength and skill to  
 save them both by rowing. Theodoric, who was  
 awaiting his arrival, saw with agony the imminent  
 danger of his friend. The aged monarch would  
 fain have rushed into the waves to rescue him,  
 but, to his delight, Tulum battled successfully with  
 the billows, and soon leaping ashore received his  
 master's affectionate embrace<sup>2</sup>.

We may perhaps conjecture that at the close  
 of Theodoric's reign Tulum and Cassiodorus stood  
 in friendly rivalry, the one at the head of the  
 Gothic, the other at the head of the Roman party,  
 among the nobles who were loyal to the new  
 dynasty.

Symma-  
 chus and  
 Boethius.

Of two other names by which the Court of  
 Theodoric was rendered illustrious, Symmachus  
 the orator and historian, with his son-in-law  
 Boethius, the Marquis of Worcester of his age,  
 it will be well to speak later on, when we have

<sup>1</sup> See chapter ix.

<sup>2</sup> Cass. Var. viii. 10.

to discuss the melancholy history of their end. BOOK IV.  
CH. 8.  
Enough to say here that, during the greater part of this period, they appear to have been on friendly terms with the King, though not zealously and continuously engaged in his service like Cassiodorus and Liberius.

The usual residence of Theodoric was Ravenna, Theodoric's residence at Ravenna. with which city his name is linked as inseparably as those of Honorius or Placidia. The letters of Cassiodorus show his zeal for the architectural enrichment of this capital. Square blocks of stone were to be brought from Faenza, marble pillars to be transported from the palace on the Pincian Hill: the most skilful artists in mosaic were invited from Rome, to execute some of those very works which we still wonder at in the basilicas and baptisteries of the city by the Ronco.

The chief memorials of his reign which Theodoric has left at Ravenna are a church, a palace, and a tomb. His chief buildings there. Of the last it will be the fitting time to speak when the great Amal is carried thither for burial.

The marvellous basilica which now bears the name of S. Apollinare Nuovo<sup>1</sup> was originally dedicated to St. Martin, and from its beautiful gold-inlaid roof received the title *S. Martinus in Caelo Aureo*. An inscription under the windows of the tribune, still visible in the ninth century, recorded that King Theodoric had built that church from Church of S. Martino (now S. Apollinare Nuovo).

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise called S. Apollinare dentro le Mura, to distinguish it from S. Apollinare in Classe.

BOOK IV. its foundations in the name of our Lord Jesus  
 CH. 8.

Its mo-  
 saics.

Christ<sup>1</sup>. Notwithstanding the words of the ecclesiastical biographer, who ascribes the work to an orthodox bishop, Agnellus, it is difficult not to believe that to Theodoric's order are due those great pictures in mosaic which give the church its peculiar glory. On the opposite sides of the nave, high attics above the colonnades are lined with two long processions. On the north wall, the virgin martyrs of the Church proceed from the city of Classis, each one bearing her crown of martyrdom in her hand, to offer it to the infant Christ, who sits on Mary's lap, attended by four angels. Between the virgin martyrs and the angels intervene the three wise men from the East, who, with crowns on their heads, run forward with reverent haste to present their offerings to the holy Child. The star glows above them in the firmament. On the south wall a corresponding procession of martyred men, also bearing crowns in their hands, moves from the palace at Ravenna onwards to the Christ in glory, who sits upon his judgment-seat and is also guarded by four angels. The dignity of both groups is their most striking characteristic. Not all the quaint stiffness of the mosaic can veil the expression of solemn sadness in the faces of the martyrs, who look like men who have come out of great tribulation and have

<sup>1</sup> 'Theodericus rex hanc ecclesiam a fundamentis in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi fecit' (Agnelli Liber Pontificalis, § 86, p. 335, ed. 1878).

not yet seen the face of Him for whom they BOOK IV.  
 suffered. Nor does the same deficiency in the CH. 8.  
 mode of representation prevent our seeing the  
 look of radiant triumph on the faces of the virgins.  
 Here are Agnes with her lamb, the child-martyr  
 Eulalia of Merida, Lucia of Syracuse, Agatha of  
 Catana, all the most celebrated maidens who  
 suffered for the faith in the terrible days of  
 Diocletian. No wrinkled and faded convent-  
 dwellers are these. Fresh, young, and beautiful,  
 apparelled like the daughters of a king, they  
 move on with a smile of triumph upon their lips  
 to see the wondrous Child for whose sake they,  
 scarcely yet emerged from childhood, gave up  
 their tender bodies to torture and to death<sup>1</sup>.

Besides the human interest of these figures, there Representations of Classis  
 is the local interest derived from the fact that we  
 have here contemporary views of the Ravenna of  
 the sixth century. Classis is represented as a  
 walled city, with colonnades, domes and pediments.

<sup>1</sup> Several other churches were built at Ravenna in the time of Theodoric, chiefly no doubt for the Arian worship. One, erected by Eutharic in 518 and dedicated to S. Andrea dei Goti, was destroyed by the Venetians to construct with the stones the fortress of Brancaleone. The church of Santo Spirito (originally dedicated to St. Theodore), and the neighbouring S. Maria in Cosmedin, which is still called the Arian Baptistery, are among the few ecclesiastical relics of the Arian rule. The baptistery is of octagonal form. On the roof are represented the Apostles, in a standing position: in a circular medallion in the middle, the Baptism of Christ. The Saviour is depicted as a young man, beardless. Over against John the Baptist is the figure of an old man, seated, supposed to represent the river Jordan.

BOOK IV. CH. 8. Hard by, three ships, one with sails fully spread, the others under bare poles, are entering the narrow lighthouse-guarded passage from the sea.

and the  
Palace.

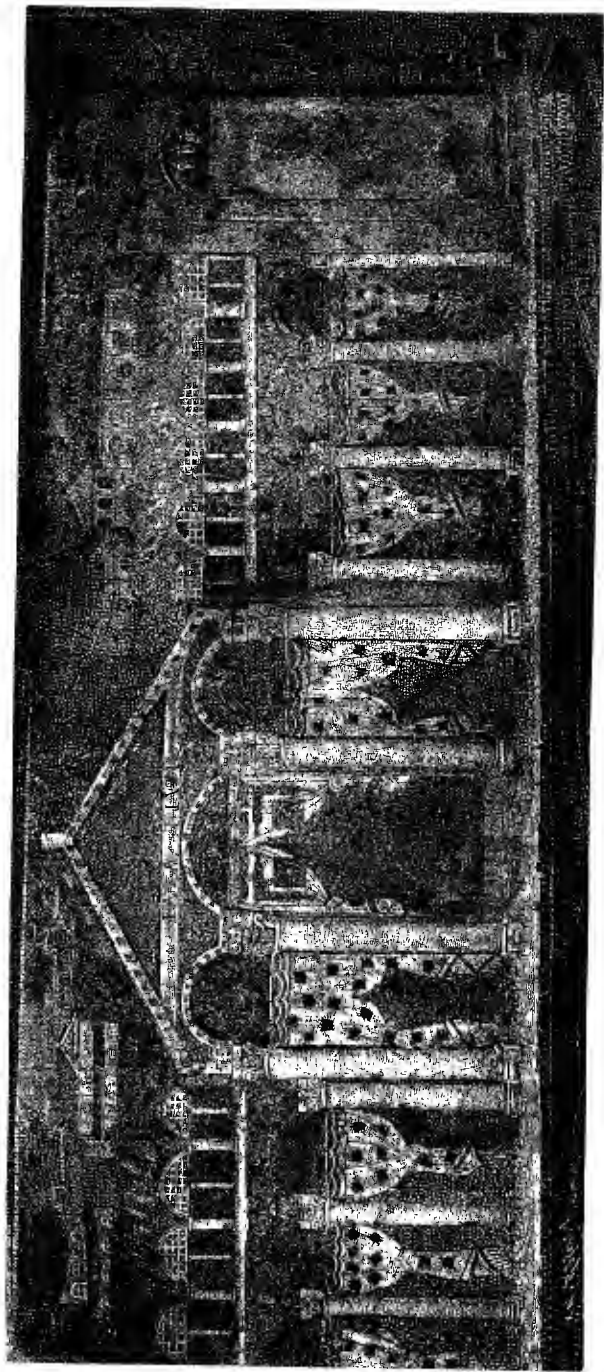
The palace of Theodoric, as represented on the other side, consists of four tall Corinthian columns with arches springing from their capitals, a pediment above, and in a horizontal space of white the word PALATIVM. On one side of this, the main entrance, is a long low colonnade with an upper storey over it. The objects which most catch the stranger's eye are the curtains between the pillars. Looped up half-way, and with large square patches of purple upon them, they have a singularly modern aspect, but are no doubt a pretty faithful representation of the veil which guarded the privacy both of the Eastern Emperor and the Gothic King.

Theodoric's  
Palace.

The palace itself, as we learn from local records, occupied a large space on the eastern side of the town<sup>1</sup>. It adjoined the beautiful church of S. Martinus in Caelo Aureo, which was perhaps used as a royal chapel. Only one fragment of it, but one of pretty well-ascertained genuineness, exists to the present day. It is a high wall, built of the square brick-tiles with which we are so familiar in Roman work, and with eight marble pillars in the upper part supporting nine arched recesses, one of

<sup>1</sup> It stretched, says C. Ricci (the best authority on the antiquities of Ravenna), from the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista to the Strada di Porta Alberoni, and from S. Apollinare Nuovo to the city walls. It thus probably included a corner of the site of the modern railway station.





Palace of Theodoric at Ravenna; from a Mosaic in the Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo.



them of considerable width. It is the mere shell of a ruin: the house behind it is entirely modern. A porphyry vase, or rather high trough, let into the lower part of the wall used to be shown as the former coffin of Theodoric, but this notion is now generally abandoned, and the prevalent idea seems to be that it was once a bath. The palace we are told was surrounded with colonnades, and had many dining apartments (*triclinia*) within it<sup>1</sup>. We learn from the Anonymus Valesii that this edifice, which no doubt took many years to build, was completed but not 'dedicated,' at the time of Theodoric's death.

Here then, on the eastern side of his capital, dwelt for more than thirty years the great Ostrogoth, looking forth towards the dark Pineta where he had had that terrible night of battle with Odovacar, and seeing, it may be, from some high tower in his palace, the blue rim of the Hadriatic. Beyond that sea, but of course invisible, lay his own fair province of Dalmatia; beyond that again those wasted plains of Moesia, where he had wandered so often, the fugitive lord of a brigand people.

Statues in abundance were reared in his honour, at Rome, at Ravenna, at Ticinum, in all the chief cities of Italy. We hear of one statue made by Boethius with so much art that it ever turned towards the sun, and hence was called Regisol; but this is probably a mere legend of the Middle

<sup>1</sup> Ricci (Ravenna, p. 139), quoting Agnellus.

BOOK IV. Ages<sup>1</sup>. In another sculptured group, erected on a  
 CH. 8.  
 ———— pinnacle of his palace, and conspicuous to mariners  
 from afar, Theodoric, grasping shield and spear  
 and clothed in a coat of mail, sat on a brazen horse  
 covered over with gold. The two cities Rome and  
 Ravenna completed the group. Rome was ap-  
 parently standing, guarding him in calm dignity,  
 with shield and spear; while Ravenna seemed glid-  
 ing rapidly forward to meet her lord, her right foot  
 passing over the sea and her left resting on the  
 land. The statues of the horse and his rider, Charles  
 the Great, after his coronation in Rome, carried  
 across the Alps to Aix-la-Chapelle, declaring that  
 he had seen nothing like them in his whole realm  
 of Francia<sup>2</sup>.

Theodoric  
 at Pavia  
 and Ve-  
 rona.

Pavia and Verona were also places honoured  
 with the occasional residence of Theodoric. At  
 both he built a palace and public baths. Of  
 neither of these two palaces is any remnant now  
 to be seen. A grim square fortress of the fifteenth  
 century, much injured by the French Republicans,  
 stands (it is believed) on the site of Theodoric's  
 palace at Pavia. So too at Verona: the palace,  
 of which there were still some noble remains  
 incorporated into the castle of the Viscontis, was  
 blown up by the French in 1801, and an abso-  
 lutely modern building stands upon its site. This,  
 like the castle at Pavia and so many buildings in

<sup>1</sup> Rubeus (*Historiae Ravennates*, p. 127) tells this curious  
 story, but does not give his authority.

<sup>2</sup> Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis*, § 94 (S. Peter Senior).

Italy of great historic name, is now occupied as a BOOK IV.  
barrack. CH. 8.

It seems probable that Theodoric's residence at both these places depended on the state of Transalpine politics. When the tribes of the Middle Danube were moving suspiciously to and fro, and the vulnerable point by the Brenner Pass needed to be especially guarded, he fixed his quarters at Verona<sup>1</sup>. When Gaul menaced greater danger, then he removed to Ticinum. It was apparently the fact that Verona was his coign of vantage, from whence he watched the German barbarians, which obtained for him from their minstrels the title of *Dietrich of Bern*. Thus strangely travestied, Dietrich of Bern. he was swept within the wide current of the legends relating to Attila, and hence it is that the really grandest figure in the history of the migration of the peoples appears in the Nibelungen Lied, not as a great king and conqueror on his own account, but only as a faithful squire of the terrible Hunnish king whose empire had in fact crumbled into dust before the birth of Theodoric<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Anon. Valesii, 81 : 'Theoderico Veronae consistente *propter metum gentium*.'

<sup>2</sup> The interesting but difficult subject of the Theodoric of Saga is one which I prefer not to enter upon, not having the requisite materials for its satisfactory treatment. I observe that Maffei (*Verona Illustrata*, 387) says that most of the German writers, even of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, call Theodoric by the surname *Veronensis*.

## NOTE E. THE EDICTUM THEODORICI REGIS.

NOTE E. THE literary history of this Edict is rather curious. It was printed in Nivellius' edition of the works of Cassiodorus (Paris, 1579), and, according to a letter inserted in that volume, was copied from a MS. supplied to the publisher by Peter Pithoeus (Pierre Pithou) a well-known scholar of that day. Another MS. was also forwarded to the same publisher by Edouard Molè. *Both these MSS. have since disappeared*, and only the printed transcripts in Nivellius' book and in Lindembrog's 'Codex Legum Antiquarum' (Frankfurt, 1607) remain, as evidences that they ever existed. In these circumstances, some critics have hinted at a possible forgery; but the Edictum corresponds far too closely with the facts of Theodoric's position, and the knowledge of those facts by the scholars of the seventeenth century was far too slight, to make such a suspicion reasonable. Every student knows that some MSS., which were in existence at the time of the revival of letters, have since disappeared in an unaccountable way.

As for the date of the Edictum, since the theory that it *must* have been promulgated in 500 was abandoned, some enquirers have tried to prove that it must have been composed after 506, thinking that it shows signs of copying from the Breviarium Alarici promulgated in that year by Alaric II, the Visigothic king, for his Roman subjects. But, as Dahn very clearly shows, there is no such close correspondence between the two codes as this theory alleges, and if there had been, it was more likely that Alaric should copy from Theodoric than *vice versa*.

Upon the whole I think that Dahn's arguments, while good against the *assertion* that the Edict was promulgated in 500, during Theodoric's visit to Rome, contain nothing against the *conjecture* that such was the fact, a conjecture which seems to me eminently probable and reasonable.

Dahn has subjected the text of the Edictum, which

he has published in the fourth section of his 'Könige der Germanen,' to a very searching, almost microscopical, examination, in order to ascertain of what elements it is composed; and finds that it comes almost exclusively from Roman sources, especially the Theodosian Code and the Sentences of Paulus. In some cases Theodoric has modified the provisions of the Roman law, generally in the direction of greater mildness, but not always. Thus in § 107 he ordains that the stirrer-up of sedition, in the people or the army, shall be burnt, a provision unknown to the *Lex Julia Majestatis*. By § 32, the right of bequeathing property by will, a right unknown to the ancient Germans, is conceded, in remarkable terms, to the barbarians who were serving in the army; yet is this right not limited to the time of their actual residence in camp, but may be exercised also at home: 'Barbaris, quos certum est reipublicae militare, quomodo voluerint, faciendi damus licentiam testamenti, sive domi, sive in castris fuerint constituti.'

NOTE E.  

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The Edict, as will be seen from the analysis of its contents given below, is almost entirely devoid of methodical arrangement. Dahn conjectures that it never professed to be an exhaustive code, but was a mere collection of cases, chiefly between barbarians and Romans, which had arisen for decision since the accession of Theodoric, the sections of the code being arranged pretty nearly in the same order in which the cases had occurred, though a slight attempt to group them in order of subject is observable. This may perhaps account for the large proportion of sections of the Edict which relate to the law of Master and Slave. In the circumstances of the Gothic settlement in Italy, the slaves, speaking the same language as the provincials, yet belonging many of them to the new barbarian lords, might easily be a frequent source of bickerings.

It will be well to translate the Prologue and Epilogue, as these throw considerable light on the conditions out of which the necessity for the Edict arose.

*Prologus.*

NOTE E. 'Many complaints have reached our ears that some persons in the provinces trample the precepts of the laws under foot. And though no one can possibly claim the authority of the laws to defend any unjust deed, yet we, having a regard to the quiet of the community and having before our eyes those events which may frequently occur, do, in order to terminate cases of this kind, decree these presents: in order that reverence for public right being kept intact, and the laws being observed with the utmost devotion by all; both Barbarians and Romans may know from the present edicts what course they ought to pursue in respect of the several articles here set forth.'

Then follows the Edictum in 154 sections.

*Epilogus.*

'These things, as far as our occupations would allow of our attending to them, or as they occurred at the moment to our mind, we have ordered for the common benefit of all, whether Barbarians or Romans, and do desire that the devotion of all, whether Barbarians or Romans, will keep them inviolate. Those cases which either the brevity of the Edict or our public cares have not allowed us to comprehend in the foregoing, must be terminated when they arise, by the regular course of the laws. Nor let any person, of whatsoever dignity or substance or power or military rank or honour he may be, think that he may in any manner infringe any one of these provisions, which we have collected chiefly (*pro aliqua parte*) out of the *Leges Novellae* and the sanctions (*sanctimonia*) of the old law. And let all commissioners (*cognitores*) and all framers of decisions know that if in anything they shall violate these Edicts, they will be deservedly struck with the penalty of proscription and banishment. But if perchance any influential personage or his procurator or factor (*vice-dominus*) or any farmer of revenues, whether he be

a Barbarian or a Roman, shall in any manner of cause not allow these Edicts to be observed, and if the judge who is trying the case shall not be able to hinder and block them, nor to vindicate the law as here laid down, if he has any care for his own safety let him lay aside every suggestion of timidity and at once bring before our notice a full report of the whole case. Only in this way will he himself be absolved from blame: inasmuch as the provisions made for the security of all the provincials ought to be carefully guarded by the zeal of the whole community.’

NOTE E.

ANALYSIS OF THE EDICTUM.

	SECTIONS
Bribery and extortion by a judge or the members of his staff . . . . .	1-4
Hearing, sentence, and execution . . . . .	5-9
Wrongful invasion or retention of property . . . . .	10-11, 33, 75-77
Prescription (of thirty years) . . . . .	12
Informers . . . . .	13-14, 35, 50
Homicide . . . . .	15-16
Rape and seduction . . . . .	17-22, 59-60, 62
Successions and wills . . . . .	23-33
Adultery . . . . .	36-39
Perjury . . . . .	40-42
‘Champerty and maintenance’ . . . . .	43-47
Testimony of slaves . . . . .	48-49
Conveyance of property . . . . .	49-53
Divorce . . . . .	54
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## NOTE F. THE TERRACINA INSCRIPTION.

NOTE F. IN the Piazza at Terracina stands a large slab with an inscription upon it recording that 'Dominus clarissimus adque inclytus Rex Theodericus, victor ac triumphator, semper Augustus, bono reipublicae natus, custos libertatis, et propagator Romae nominis, domitor gentium' had ordered that nineteen miles (*Decennovium*) of the Appian Way, being the part extending from Trip(ontium) to Terracina, should be cleared of the waters which had flowed together upon it from the marshes on either side. This work, not attempted by any of the preceding sovereigns, has now, by God's favour, with admirable good fortune, been accomplished for the general advantage and the safety of travellers. The nobleman who at the command of the most clement sovereign has diligently laboured (*naviter insudante*) at its performance is Caecina Maurus Basilius Decius, 'vir clarissimus et illustris, ex-praefectus urbi, ex-praefectus praetorio, ex-consul ordinarius et patricius,' who, to perpetuate the glory of so great a lord, has led the water through many channels not previously existing to the sea, and has restored the land to a degree of dryness unknown to the ancients.

The concession to Decius is contained in Cass. Var. ii. 32. The above inscription is only a copy, but apparently a correct copy, made in the fifteenth century. The original exists in duplicate in a building erected by Pope Pius VI at Mesa (*ad Medias*), half-way between Terracina and Forum Appii.

## NOTE G. THE TWO CASSIODORI (Father and Son).

THERE is now really no doubt that the succession of the different members of the family of Cassiodorus is as stated in the text; but as the reader may find a different theory advanced by some respectable authors, it is as well to state that theory and the reasons advanced in support of it. NOTE G.

Manso (*Geschichte des Ostgothischen Reiches*, pp. 332-349), following the life of Cassiodorus prefixed to Garet's edition, contends that the third and fourth persons mentioned in our list—whom we may label Patricius and Senator—were in fact one.

According to his view, the author of the *Variae* was born about 468, filled at twenty the office of *Comes Privatarum* and at twenty-one that of *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* under Odovacar, joined the party of Theodoric, won over the inhabitants of Sicily to his cause, became between 491 and 514 successively Quæstor, Magister Officiorum, Prætorian Prefect, and Patrician, then held certain offices under Athalaric (about which there is no dispute), retired from official life in 538 (at the age of seventy), and died about 563.

The theory that Cassiodorus, at so early an age as twenty or twenty-one, filled the high offices of *Comes Privatarum* and *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* is, though not impossible, somewhat improbable. But the whole argument in favour of it rests on the belief that the Cassiodorus addressed in *Variarum* i. 3 is Cassiodorus the writer of the letter. He might have been, for Cassiodorus, writing on behalf of Athalaric, does undoubtedly (in *Variarum*, ix. 24) address himself in terms of high commendation. But it is quite certain that the person addressed in *Variarum* i. 3 is not the writer, but the writer's father. As if in order to guard against the possibility of such a confusion, the younger Cassiodorus always speaks of himself as Senator. The letters i. 3 and i. 4 are evidently descriptive of a

NOTE G. statesman retiring from his official career, not of one just entering on its busiest period. In iii. 28 we have an invitation to 'Cassiodorus Vir Illustris et Patricius' to visit the Court. How do the supporters of Manso's theory suppose that this was written, by Cassiodorus to himself, at the command of a king from whom he was separated by the whole length of Italy? Again, in i. 26 it is ordered that the Church of Vercelli shall not pay more land-tax than she did 'in the time of the Magnificent Cassiodorus the Patrician, a man of pure faith and tried integrity.' Is that the way in which a man, still in office, speaks of himself? Would the present Chancellor of the Exchequer (1884) talk of the rate of income-tax 'which was fixed by the Rt. Hon. Hugh Childers, a man of tried integrity?'

More convincing still is the argument derived from the date of the 'Various Letters' themselves. Let any one carefully study the letters included in that collection, endeavouring as far as may be to assign a date to each. (With some there are absolutely no materials for coming to a conclusion on such a point.) With two exceptions he will find that there are none, capable of being dated at all, that do not require a later date than A.D. 500. These two exceptions are the letter to the Emperor Anastasius (i. 1) and that to Luduin (Clovis) king of the Franks (ii. 41).

The first used to be generally connected with the legation either of Faustus (493) or Festus (497) to Constantinople. But, now that the letter is more carefully examined, it is seen that, with its references to *causae iracundiae* and to *contentiones* and its prayer that *sinceritas pacis* may be restored, it is more suited to a time when there had been actually war between Italy and the East, and was therefore probably written in 506 or 509. No doubt the reason why it is placed first in the collection is, not its priority of composition, but the exalted rank of the person to whom it is addressed.

The letter to Clovis congratulating him on the victory over the Alamanni does certainly suggest most obviously

496, the date of the victory after which Clovis was baptized. NOTE G.  
 But von Schubert, in his just published monograph, 'Die Unterwerfung der Alamannen unter die Franken' (Strassburg, 1884), has shown strong grounds for believing that this victory, though important, did not annihilate the independence of the Alamanni, and that another more important victory was gained by Clovis in the early years of the sixth century.

On the whole question then, looking to the intense literary activity of Cassiodorus Senator, from about 501 onwards, we have a right to ask, 'What was this prominent official, who had attained the rank of an *Illustis* in 480, and had borne such a leading part in the events connected with Theodoric's victory, doing in those years between 493 and 501, and how is it that all that early part of the reign of Theodoric is such a complete blank, if he was then conducting its correspondence?'

The real answer is that Senator was then in no high official position, but was a lad studying rhetoric, perhaps at Syracuse or at Rome.

These are the conclusions to which I, like most of those who have thoroughly examined the subject, was brought by weighing only the internal evidence afforded by the *Variae*. Upon this comes a piece of external evidence, which, if its genuineness and early date can be maintained, —and there seems no doubt of either,—simply annihilates the theory of Manso. Here is an extract from the *Ordo generis Cassiodoriorum*, from a *libellus* which the author of the *Variae* addressed to his friend Rufius Petronius Nicomachus [Cethegus]:—

'Cassiodorus Senator vir eruditissimus et multis dignitatibus pollens. Juvenis adeo, dum patris Cassiodori patricii et praefecti praetorii consiliarius fieret, et laudes Theodorichi regis Gothorum facundissime recitasset, ab eo quaestor est factus, patricius et consul ordinarius, postmodum dehinc magister officiorum, et praefuisset (?) formulas dictionum quas in duodecim libris ordinavit et Variarum titulum superposuit. Scripsit praecipiente Theo-

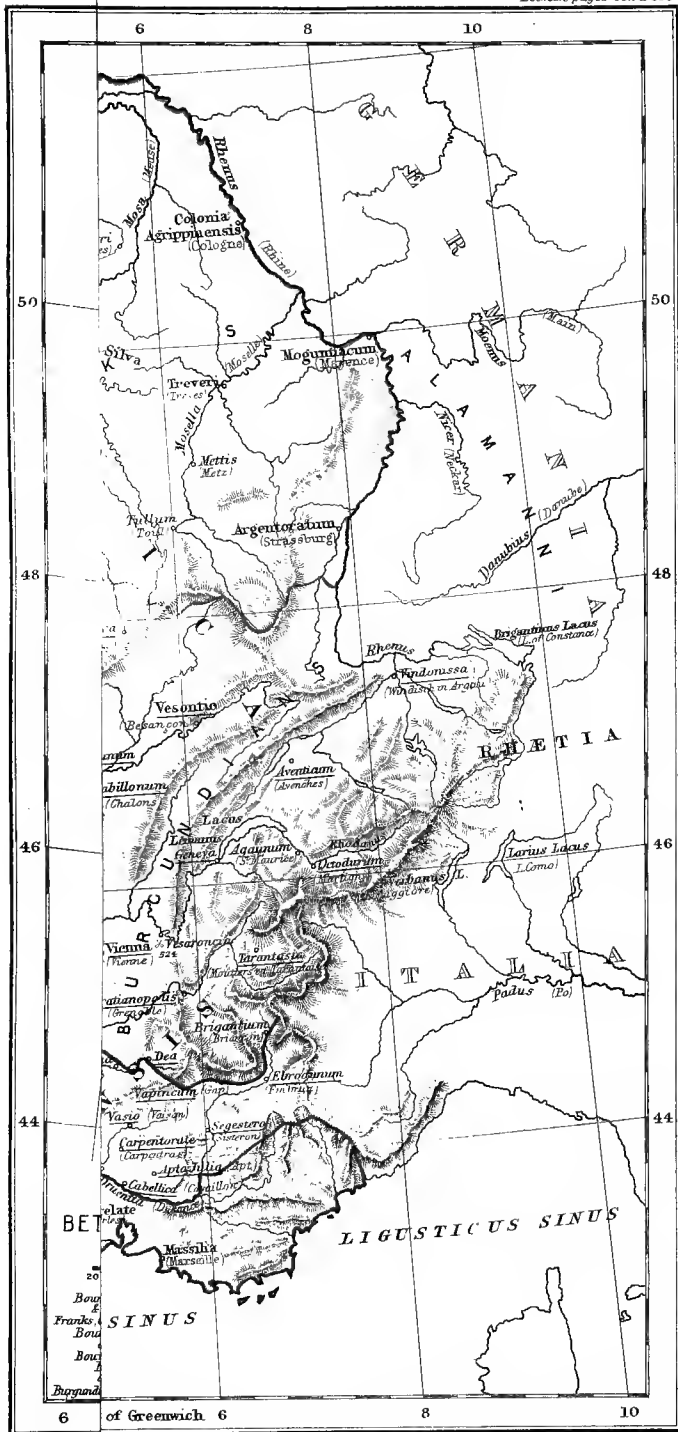
NOTE G. doricho rege historiam Gothicam, originem eorum et loca moresque xii libris annuntians.’

This is from the so-called *Anecdoton Holderi* published and commented upon by Hermann Usener (Leipzig, 1877).

After this, unless the authority of the ‘libellus’ can be upset, there is really nothing more to be said.

The provoking part of the controversy is that the true view was formerly held, but was too lightly abandoned. Tillemont (*Histoire des Empereurs*, tom. vi. p. 625) has the four Cassiodori all right, speaking of ‘les exploits militaires [contre Genseric] de l’ancien Cassiodore . . . *qui était bisayeul de l’autre qui est célèbre par ses écrits.*’ Gibbon, following Tillemont, says (chap. xxxix. n. 57), ‘Two Italians of the name of Cassiodorus, the father and the son, were successively employed in the administration of Theodoric. The son was born in the year 479.’ His only mistake is that he fixes the beginning of the *Variae* some years too late, at 509. Clinton (*Fasti Romani*, s. a. 493) has the four generations correctly enumerated, though I do not know what authority he has for saying positively, ‘Cassiodorus or Cassiodorius is thirteen years of age in 493.’ All these authors have the matter correctly stated: but the worthy Manso in his seventh ‘*Beilage*,’ by reviving an obsolete theory that father and son were the same person, has led a number of historians and essayists into error, they all following him like sheep through a hedge, until, as the Reviewer previously quoted says<sup>1</sup>, ‘there is some confusion between the different Cassiodori.’

<sup>1</sup> Church Quarterly Review, x. 293. n. 1.







## CHAPTER IX.

### THEODORIC'S RELATIONS WITH GAUL.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources :—*

THE *Historia Francorum* of GREGORY OF TOURS (about 538 to 594); the *Chronicle* of MARIUS OF AVENTICUM (about 530 to 594); the *Letters* of AVITUS Bishop of Vienne (who died between 525 and 532); the *De Vita Epiphanii* of ENNODIUS Bishop of Ticinum (about 473 to 521); the *Life* of S. CAESARIUS of Arles (who died 542), written by his disciples and included in the Bollandist collection (27 August); and the *PASSIO S. SIGISMUNDI* by an unknown hand, written probably in the seventh or eighth century, now published by Jahn (in the book mentioned below) free from the interpolations which had been introduced into it.

##### *Guides :—*

Binding, 'Geschichte des Burgundisch-Romanischen Königreichs' (Leipzig, 1868). Jahn, 'Geschichte der Burgundionen' (Halle, 1874). Von Schubert, 'Die Unterwerfung der Alamannen unter die Franken' (Strassburg, 1884).

As the subject of Burgundian history is an intricate one, and lies a little outside of my special work, I have availed myself very freely of Binding's labours, checking him in some places by Jahn, who is a rather severe critic of his performance.

THE respite from foreign invasion during the reign of Theodoric was chiefly due to his com-

Matrimonial alliances of Theodoric.



manding position at the head of the new Teutonic royalties of Europe. That position was in great measure strengthened and consolidated by a system of matrimonial alliances with the chief of the royal families of the barbarians. The somewhat entangled sentences in which they are described by the anonymous authority<sup>1</sup> quoted in the last chapter, deserve therefore a more careful study than we might at first, when repelled by their uncouth form and by the harsh sound of the barbarian names with which they are filled, be disposed to give to them.

We see from them that Theodoric was himself the brother-in-law of the king of the Franks and the king of the Vandals, and that the owner of the Visigothic, and the heir-apparent of the Burgundian royalty were married to his daughters. Our informant might have gone further, and told us that a niece of Theodoric was married to the king of the Thuringians. Here was a vision of a 'family compact,' binding together all the kingdoms of the West, from the Scheldt to Mount Atlas, in a great confederacy, filling all the new barbarian thrones with the sons, the grandsons, or the nephews of Theodoric, a matrimonial State-system surpassing (may we not say?) anything that Hapsburg or Bourbon ever succeeded in accomplishing, when they sought to make Venus instead of Mars build up their empires. We shall see however that, when it came to the tug of war between one barbarian chief

<sup>1</sup> Anonymus Valesii, §§ 63 and 68; see pp. 293-4.

BOOK IV. and another, this family compact, like so many others  
 CH. 9. in later days, snapped with the strain. Yet it was not at once a failure ; for one generation at least the position of Theodoric, as a kind of patriarch of the kingly clan, was one of grandeur and influence, and did undoubtedly promote the happiness of Europe.

Relations with the Vandals. With the Vandal sovereigns of Carthage his relations were, till near the close of his reign, friendly. Gaiseric's son, Huneric, that fierce and cruel persecutor of the Catholics, had ended his short reign before Theodoric started on his march for Italy. His cousins and successors, Gunthamund and Thrasamund, though still Arians, abated sensibly the rigour of the persecutions at home and pursued a fair and moderate policy abroad. The corsair-state of the fierce adventurer Gaiseric had lost something of its lawless vigour. It was passing into the rank of regular monarchies, and becoming flaccid and respectable. Sicily, which had been subjected for many years to their depredations, and then under Odovacar had paid a tribute something like our own Danegeld as the price of quietness, was now free both from invasion and from tribute<sup>1</sup>. On the death of his first wife (possibly soon after 500) Thrasamund married Amalafrida, the widowed sister of the Ostrogothic king. A thousand Gothic nobles with five thousand mounted servants followed Amalafrida to her African home, and the fortress of Lilybæum

Thrasamund marries Amalafrida.

<sup>1</sup> This is the conclusion fairly drawn by Papencordt (p. 119) from the language of Cassiodorus, Ennodius, and Theophanes.

(*Marsala*), at the extreme western corner of Sicily, was, with more generosity perhaps than statesman-like prudence, handed over to Thrasamund as the dowry of his elderly bride.

With two of the three great powers that still divided Gaul, the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Franks, Theodoric's relations were more varied and less uniformly amicable.

The Visigoths now held, not only the fair quadrant of France between the Loire and the Pyrenees, but also the greater part of Provence, besides the whole of Spain, except the north-western angle, which was still occupied by an independent Suevic monarchy. This powerful people, mindful of the old 'brotherly covenant,' was friendly to the Ostrogothic ruler of Italy, as it had been to its Ostrogothic invader. Their king Alaric II, the son-in-law of Theodoric, had mounted the throne in the year 485. He was a man of whom we hear no favourable testimony, but who seems not to have possessed the harsh energy of his father Euric, far less the dash and originality of his mighty namesake Alaric the Great.

Between the dominions of Theodoric and his Visigothic son-in-law lay the goodly land which owned the sway of the Burgundians. Their domain, considerably more extensive than when we last viewed it on the eve of Attila's invasion<sup>1</sup>, now included the later provinces of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and Dauphiné, besides Savoy and

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 123.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.

The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain.

Alaric II, 485-507.

The Burgundians.

BOOK IV. the greater part of Switzerland—in fact the whole  
 CH. 9. of the valleys of the Saone and the Rhone, save that for the last hundred miles of its course the Visigoths barred them from the right bank and from the mouths of the latter river.

King Gundobad.

Gundobad, whom we met with twenty-one years ago in Rome<sup>1</sup> hanging on to the fortunes of his uncle Ricimer, wearing the robe of the Patrician, and even creating an emperor of his own, the insignificant Glycerius, returned, as we then saw, to his own country in 474, probably on the death of his father Gundiok, leaving his hapless client-emperor in the lurch. According to the frequent usage of these Teutonic nations, the kingdom of Gundiok was divided between his four sons; but these four had now been reduced by death to two, Gundobad and Godegisel. Gundobad, the first-born and the more powerful, ruled at Lyons and Vienne, while Godegisel held his court at Geneva.

His brothers Godegisel

and Hilperik.

But the family of one of the dead brothers was destined to exert a more powerful influence over the fortunes of Gaul than either of the surviving kings. Hilperik, whose capital had been Lyons, and who died apparently between 480 and 490, had, as some authors conjecture<sup>2</sup>, married a wife

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 489.

<sup>2</sup> This is the conjecture of Binding (p. 119) and of some others. Jahn (ii. 37) argues strongly that Caretene was the wife of Gundobad himself. It seems to me to be but guess against guess: but Binding's guess is slightly more probable, because the inscription certainly suggests the idea of a widow, and Gundobad undoubtedly lived ten years after the death of

Caretene, whose virtues and whose Catholic orthodoxy are recorded in an inscription still to be seen in her husband's capital. Caretene, whose fervour of fasting and whose gentle persuasive influence on her harsh husband are alluded to in the letters of Sidonius<sup>1</sup>, as well as in this inscription, was allowed by her Arian husband to bring up her children — they were only daughters — in the Catholic faith which she herself professed. One of these daughters, Hrothchilde, whose name history has softened into Clotilda, was dwelling, as an orphan ward, at the court of her uncle Gundobad, when there came thither on business of State frequent embassies from Clovis king of the Franks. The ambassadors on their return home used to praise to their master the grace and accomplishments of the young princess. He sent to ask for her hand, which, in the year 492 or 493, was accorded, not perhaps very willingly, by the Burgundian king.

His daughter Clotilda.

This marriage of the king of the Franks (whether we call him Chlodovech, Hlodwig, Luduin, Louis, Caretene. The question is only important in its bearing on the cruelties alleged to have been practised by Gundobad on the family of Hilperik.

<sup>1</sup> In writing to Patiens, vi. 12, he says: 'Omitto te . . . sic abstemium judicari ut constet indesinenter . . . *reginam laudare jejunia*;' to Thaumastus, v. 7, after describing the danger of his brother Apollinaris from the anger of 'magister militum Chilpericus victoriossimus vir' (v. 6), he adds: 'Sane, quod principaliter medetur afflictis, *temperat Lucumonem nostrum Tanaquil sua*, et aures mariti virosa susurrorum faece completas . . . eruderat: . . . si modo quamdiu praesens potestas Lugdunensem Germaniam regit, nostrum suumque *Germanicum praesens Agripina moderetur.*'

BOOK IV.

CH. 9.

Clotilda  
determines  
to convert  
her hus-  
band to  
Catholic-  
ism.

Alleged  
cruelties of  
Gundobad  
to her  
family.

or Clovis) with the young Catholic orphan of the house of Hilperik of Burgundy prepared the way for the Frankish Empire, and for events which changed the face of Europe. For she, mindful of the training received from the devout Caretene, and hostile to the Arian faith of her father and uncles, determined to win over her heathen husband, not merely to Christianity, as the other Teuton conquerors understood it, but to orthodoxy. Later ages have believed that she entered the palace of Clovis filled with thoughts of terrible revenge against Gundobad and his family. When, a generation later, her own sons inflicted terrible calamities on the royal house of Burgundy, the idea perhaps occurred to some courtly bard of representing these cruelties as mere retaliation for the atrocities which *their* mother's father and his house had suffered at the hands of Gundobad. Accordingly, Hilperik was alleged to have been slain with the sword; his wife, with a stone tied round her neck, to have been thrown into the water; his two daughters to have been banished; his sons (of whose very existence there is no other trace) to have met death from the hands of the same cruel relative. There is some reason to think that all this, though set forth<sup>1</sup> in the pages of Gregory of Tours, who lived but a century after the death of Hilperik, is mere untrustworthy legend. If Caretene was really the wife of Hil-

<sup>1</sup> Except so far as the two sons are concerned. They do not appear till a century later, in Fredegarius.



perik, we see from the epitaph at Lyons that she survived him at least fifteen years, dying in the year 506. Moreover a letter to Gundobad from Avitus, the Catholic bishop of Vienne, no flatterer of the king, but rather, if the anachronism may be permitted, leader of the Constitutional Opposition in the Burgundian realm, while condoling with his sovereign on the death of a daughter, refers to his earlier domestic afflictions, and reminds him with what 'ineffable piety' he had mourned the deaths of his brothers [Hilperik and Godomar<sup>1</sup>]. It seems in the highest degree unlikely that such a letter could have been addressed by its author to the avowed murderer of Hilperik<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The words of Avitus (Ep. v.) are, 'Flebatis quondam pietate ineffabili funera germanorum, sequebatur fletum publicum universitatis afflictio.' I take the quotation and the whole argument for the innocence of Gundobad from Binding (*Burgund.-Roman. Königreich*, i. 114-119). It will be seen that the identification of Caretene with the widow of Hilperik is to some extent conjectural, but I think his arguments are conclusive in its favour.

<sup>2</sup> Jahn (i. 548, and Introduction, p. v.) maintains the truth of Gregory's story, and accuses Binding of 'Hypercritik' for rejecting it. There is too little evidence on either side to enable us to come to a satisfactory conclusion, but to me Gregory's story seems in the highest degree legendary and improbable. The precise correspondence between the cruelties practised upon Clotilda's family and those practised by her sons looks suspicious. And then, how intensely improbable that Clotilda should nurse her revenge for thirty-three years, to let it fall at last, not on the actual murderer Gundobad, but on his—as far as she was concerned—innocent son! How many opportunities had she, especially in 500, to behold the vengeance, which her pious soul is represented as thirsting for, executed upon the real enemy, by the husband to whom her wish was

## BOOK IV.

## CH. 9.

Birth of  
Clovis,  
466.  
Accession,  
481.  
Defeat of  
Syagrius,  
486.  
Marriage,  
493 (?).

When Clovis married Clotilda he was aged twenty-seven, and had been reigning for twelve years. Seven years before, he had by his overthrow of the Roman kinglet Syagrius<sup>1</sup> advanced from Flanders into the valley of the Seine; and, at the accession of Theodoric, we must probably think of his dominions as touching the Visigothic kingdom at the Loire, and the Burgundian kingdom on the Catalaunian plains, comprising in fact already one third, but not the fairest nor the richest third, of Gaul. This portentous growth of the Frankish power in twelve years was but an augury of the yet mightier extensions which should take place when the prayers of the Catholic Clotilda should be accomplished, and her husband should accept the faith of the great mass of the Roman provincials.

Theodoric  
seeks the  
sister of  
Clovis in  
marriage.

The statesmanlike vision of Theodoric saw the necessity of including the Frankish lord of Soissons in his system of family alliances. At the very outset of his reign<sup>2</sup> he sought for and obtained the hand of Audeflada, the sister of Clovis, who bore

law! Why does she let all these slip, and allow the murderer himself to sink into a quiet grave, only, in her own old age, to wreak a diabolical revenge on his children and grandchildren? In the interests of Clotilda's saintship (and sanity) it is certainly to be desired that Gregory's story should be, what I believe it to be, mere ecclesiastical romancing.

<sup>1</sup> Son of Aegidius, and the German-speaking correspondent of Sidonius (see vol. ii. pp. 444 and 357).

<sup>2</sup> As Amalasintha was married to Eutharic in 515, it is improbable that the marriage of which she was the issue was much, if at all, later than 495.

him one daughter, his only legitimate child Amal-  
suntha<sup>1</sup>. Providence, as we have seen, denied him  
a son, while a whole clan of martial sons and  
grandsons filled the palace of the Frankish king.  
This difference had much to do with the very  
different duration of the political systems reared  
by the two kings.

The course of our narrative takes us back for  
a short time to consider the internal affairs of  
Italy after Odovacar's death. We are told by  
one chronicler that 'all his army wherever they  
could be found, and all his race, perished with  
him<sup>2</sup>;' by another, that 'all his colleagues who  
ministered to the defence of the kingdom were put  
to death<sup>3</sup>.' These statements are almost certainly  
exaggerated, if not altogether untrue. Cer-  
tainly the after-life of Theodoric shows that he  
was not a man given to needless bloodshed. But  
he did issue one edict, an edict which he was wise  
enough to be persuaded to cancel, and which shows,  
it must be admitted, that the fierce bitterness of

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.

Course pur-  
sued by  
Theodoric  
towards  
the adher-  
ents of  
Odovacar.

<sup>1</sup> The Anonymus Valesii makes the mother of the other two daughters of Theodoric a wife who died before his accession to the throne. Jordanes, probably copying Cassiodorus, calls them 'naturales ex concubina, quas genuisset adhuc in Moesia filias, unam nomine Thiudigoto et aliam Ostrogotho.' Compare Freeman's note on 'Danish Marriages' (Norman Conquest, i. 624), and the remarks made as to the similar marriage of Theodoric's father. As with the Scandinavians, so with the Goths, notwithstanding their generally high moral tone, there seems to have been a certain vagueness in their practice as to the solemnisation of marriage-rites.

<sup>2</sup> Anonymus Valesii.

<sup>3</sup> Cont. Prosperii.

BOOK IV. the struggle had not yet entirely faded from his  
 CH. 9. mind.

Disqualify-  
 ing edict  
 for all Ro-  
 man citi-  
 zens who  
 had not  
 taken the  
 side of  
 Theodoric.

This edict was to the effect, that only those among the Roman population who could prove that they had been loyal to the cause of Theodoric should enjoy the full rights of citizens. His recent opponents, even had their services been rendered compulsorily to Odovacar, lost the power of disposing of their property by will and of bearing evidence in courts of justice<sup>1</sup>. A most monstrous enactment, and one which showed that its author was still more familiar with the simple pastoral life led by his people in the plains of Mœsia, than with the necessities of an old and complex civilisation, in which such a party-measure as this could not fail to work frightful injustice. The good Epiphanius, who had been busily engaged in repairing the ravages of war, and inviting the best of the citizens of surrounding towns to settle at Ticinum, heard the general lamentation of Italy, and was besought to make himself its exponent at the Court of Theodoric. He consented, on condition that Laurentius of Milan would share the burden with him. The two bishops journeyed together to Ravenna, and were received with all veneration by the King.

Epiphanius  
 and Lau-  
 rentius un-  
 dertake a  
 mission to  
 the King.

And here let us observe for a moment, that we

<sup>1</sup> 'Ut illis tantum Romanæ libertatis jus tribueret, quos partibus ipsius fides examinata junxisset: illos vero quos aliqua necessitas dividerat, ab omni jussit et testandi et ordinationum suarum ac voluntatum licentia submoveri' (Ennodius, Vita Epiphani, p. 226, ed. Migne).

have in this embassy an excellent illustration of the way in which barbaric conquest forced the Church onwards in the path of temporal dominion. The edict against the adherents of Odovacar was a purely civil edict. Whether wise or foolish, it in no way specially concerned the Church, nor trenching upon ecclesiastical privilege. Neither was it, like the revenge wreaked by Theodosius on the citizens of Thessalonica, an outrage upon humanity, a gross and obvious breach of the law of God. It was a very harsh and ill-conceived measure, but it related to matters which were entirely within the domain of the civil governor; and as such, we cannot imagine that either Ambrose or Eusebius would have felt himself entitled to remonstrate against it, nor that Theodosius or Constantine would have tolerated such an interference. Now, however, that a Barbarian, instead of a Roman, sits in the seat of power, the moderating influence of the ecclesiastic in purely political matters is eagerly invoked by the governed, and not repelled by the governor.

Epiphanius, being invited to state his case, congratulated 'the most unconquered prince' on the success which had crowned his arms. He reminded Theodoric of the promises which he had made to the Almighty when, under the walls of Ticinum, he had been attacked by the bands of the enemy, who greatly exceeded his own troops in number, but whom by heavenly aid he had then been enabled to overcome. By heavenly aid, for the very air seemed to serve

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.  
The Barbarians unconsciously helped the Church.

Epiphanius' speech.

BOOK IV. his purposes. When Theodoric required serene  
 CH. 9. weather for his operations, they were over-arched  
 by an unclouded sky; when rain would help him  
 more effectually, torrents fell. Now let him profit  
 by the example of his predecessor. Odovacar fell  
 because he ruled unrighteously. Might the pre-  
 sent King—such was the prayer of Liguria—con-  
 firm to innocent men the blessings of the laws,  
 even at the risk of some, who little deserved it,  
 obtaining his protection. ‘To forgive sins is hea-  
 venly; to punish is an earthly thing.’

The Bishop was silent and the ‘most eminent  
 King’ began to speak. When he opened his lips  
 every heart was wrung with a fearful anxiety to  
 know what would be his decision.

Theodoric's  
 reply.

‘Oh, venerable Bishop!’ he said, ‘though your  
 merits command my respect, and your many kind-  
 nesses to me in the time of confusion deserve my  
 gratitude, yet the hard necessities of reigning make  
 that universal forgiveness which you praise impos-  
 sible. I have the divine warrant for the position  
 which I here take up. Do we not read of a certain  
 king<sup>1</sup>, who, because he neglected to take the des-  
 tined vengeance on the enemy of his people, was  
 himself rejected by God? That man weakens and  
 brings into contempt the divine judgments who  
 spares his enemy when he is in his power. As  
 for the patience of our Redeemer, of which you  
 speak, that comes after the severity of the law has  
 done its work. The wise surgeon first cuts deep.

<sup>1</sup> No doubt Saul.

to remove the gangrened flesh, before he applies the healing liniment. By allowing criminals to go unpunished, we exhort the innocent to commit crime.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.

‘Nevertheless, since heaven itself bends to your prayers, the powers of earth must not disregard them. I consent that not a single head shall fall, since you may prevail with God that the minds of the most hardened offenders shall be turned from the perverseness of their way. Some few, however, of the chief incendiaries must be removed from their present dwellings, lest they rekindle the flame of civil discord.’

Theodoric then ordered the Quæstor Urbicus—a man who, we are told, surpassed Cicero in eloquence and Cato in integrity—to prepare a royal letter<sup>1</sup> embodying these concessions, which of course must have included the repeal of the civil disabilities of the vanquished party. The absolute honesty of Urbicus did not prevent him from so wording the decree that even the excepted cases were included in the amnesty, a difference which we must suppose that Theodoric’s imperfect knowledge of Latin prevented him from observing.

The letter of amnesty.

After the interview was ended, Theodoric called Epiphanius aside to express to him the sorrow with which he beheld the desolate state of Italy after the war, weeds and thorns filling all the fields<sup>2</sup>, and especially ‘that mother of the human

Theodoric mentions the case of the captive Ligurians.

<sup>1</sup> Pragmaticum.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Vides universa Italiae loca originariis viduata cultoribus.’

BOOK IV. harvest, Liguria, which used to rejoice in her  
 CH. 9. numerous progeny of husbandmen,' now robbed of her children, and lying, through vast spaces of her territory, untouched by the plough, and with her vines trailing in the dust<sup>1</sup>. All this was the work of the Burgundians, who, after the foray mentioned in the preceding chapter, had carried back great numbers of the Ligurians captives across the Alps. Theodoric, however, had gold, and would willingly unlock his stores for their ransoming, if Epiphanius, whose pleading voice none could resist, would himself intercede with Gundobad for their restoration.

Epiphanius undertakes a mission in their behalf to Gundobad, 494.

Epiphanius with tears of joy welcomed the commission conferred upon him by his prince. He could not help acknowledging how much the new sovereign 'surpassed the previous emperors, the rulers of his own race<sup>2</sup>, not only in justice and in warlike deeds, but in pity for the sufferings of his

In tristitiam meam segetum ferax spinas atque injussa plantaria campus apportat: et illa mater humanae messis Liguria, cui numerosa agrorum solebat constare progenies, orbata atque sterilis jejunum cespitem nostris monstrat obtutibus. Interpellat me terra quocunque respicio uberem vinetis faciem, cum aratris impexa contristat.'

<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to believe, though Ennodius asserts it, that Theodoric here made a little display of learning by the remark that Oenotria, the ancient name of Italy, was derived from *oīvos*, 'wine.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Justitia prius an bellorum exercitatione, an quod his praestantius est, *omnes retro imperatores te pietate superasse commemorem? Habes unde gentis nostrae rectores accuses.*' The passage is interesting, as showing how far Theodoric was looked upon as continuing the line of the Roman emperors.



people. They had too often carried, or suffered the people to be carried, captive, whereas he was bent on redeeming them. If Victor, Bishop of Turin, might be joined with Epiphanius in the commission, he felt that he could safely answer for the result. The King assented, and 'the awful pontiff,' having said farewell and received the money for the ransom, departed upon his mission<sup>1</sup>. It was the month of March; the Alpine passes were of course still covered with snow; but the brave old man faced the hardships of the road as cheerfully as when, twenty years before, he set forth upon his celebrated embassy to Euric<sup>2</sup>. 'Not once,' we are told, 'did his feet slip upon the frozen snow, whose soul was founded upon the Rock.' He was so intent on fulfilling his mission that he tolerated with impatience even the halts for refreshment, and when his companions were appalled at the difficulties of the way, he alone knew no fear. At the fame of his approach, young and old, men and women, flocked from distant hamlets to get a sight of the venerable peace-maker. They brought with them generous offerings of food for the travellers. Epiphanius and his companions accepted what was absolutely necessary for their own wants, but bestowed the greater part on the poor of the district. As one of those companions was Ennodius himself,

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CH. 9.  
494.

The journey across the Alps.

<sup>1</sup> 'At *tremendus* pontifex, dicto vale, discessit.' In the course of his reply he said something to the King about David cutting off the skirt of Saul's robe, but the application of the remark is not obvious.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. ii. p. 503.

BOOK IV. the biographer of the Saint, we have the satisfac-  
 CH. 9. tion of knowing that every incident characteristic  
 494. of life and manners in the story of this legation is  
 from the pen not only of a contemporary, but of  
 an eye-witness.

When the deputation reached Lyons, Rusticus, the successor of Bishop Patiens, and a man who had always served the interests of the Church, when still an official of the State and not a bishop, came forth to meet them, and gave them a sketch of the crafty character of the King<sup>1</sup>, which put Epiphanius on his guard and caused him to rehearse the speech which he was about to deliver before him.

When, however, King Gundobad heard of the Bishop's approach he at once said to his servants, 'That is a man whose character and whose countenance I have ever associated with those of the blessed martyr St. Laurence; enquire when he is willing to see me, and invite him accordingly.'

Interview  
with Gun-  
dobad.

The day of audience came. The courtiers flocked in crowds to see the man whose eloquence had conquered so many conquerors. Victor was invited to commence the proceedings, but he courteously threw off upon his companion the weight of the harangue.

Epipha-  
nius'  
speech,

'Most worthy Sovereign,' said Epiphanius, 'only an unutterable love for you has forced me thus to

<sup>1</sup> 'Quae erant astutiae regis, edocuit.' Binding resents Dahn's calling his hero 'der zweideutige Gundobad,' but I think this expression justifies the phrase.

wage war upon time and nature, to dare the perils of the avalanche, to thread my way through forests paved with snow, to leave my foot-prints on the ice-fields, where even the foot is clasped by the all-binding frost. But when I see two excellent kings thus situated, one asking what the other has not yet granted, how can I refrain from setting before them the testimony of the heavenly word, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Divide this promise between you; weigh it out in equal scales; nay, rather do thou press in and claim more than the half of it for thyself, by letting the captives whom he wishes to redeem, go forth free of charge. Despise the ransom-money which he offers, and which he has sent by me. That money, if scorned, will make thine armies wealthy; if accepted, it will make them beggars.

'Hear, oh King, the words of that Italy for whom you once fought. "How often," she says, "did you on my behalf oppose your mailed breast to the enemy! How often did you toil in counsel that I might be kept free from invasion, that my sons might not be carried captive, whom now you have carried captive yourself!" Even when they were being dragged from their homes, the matron, wringing those helpless hands that were chained to her neck, thought of thee as one who would avenge her. The fair young girl, struggling to preserve her honour, thought of thee as one who would applaud her victory. The simple husbandmen, those hardy children of the soil, accustomed to ply

BOOK IV. the heavy mattock, now, when their necks were  
 CH. 9. tied together with thongs and their hands were  
 494. bound in manacles, said, "Are not you *our* Burgundians? See to it, how you shall answer for this before your pious King. How often have the hands which you presume to bind, paid tribute to your lord and ours<sup>1</sup>! We know right well that he never ordered these wicked deeds." Yea, many and many a one had to pay for his confidence in thee with his life, being struck down for some too haughty word to his captors.

'Oh! restore these honest hearts to their country; then will they still be thine. Fill that Liguria, which thou knowest so well, with happy cultivators, and empty her of thorns and thistles. So may a long succession of thy sons stand at the helm of the Burgundian state, and thou live again in their glories. It is not strangers who ask this of thee. The lord of Italy is joined to thee now by the tie of kindred: let the wedding-gift to Sigismund's bride be the freedom of the captives; the wedding-gift of thy son to her and to Christ.' Having thus spoken he and Victor arose and went to the King, laid their heads upon his breast, and wept.

The reply of Gundobad, who was, we are told,

<sup>1</sup> 'Quoties quas ligare praesumitis, manus domino communi tributa solverunt!' It is chiefly on these words that Binding (p. 98) founds his theory of a formal cession of Liguria by Odovacar to Gundobad. But I think that Gundobad's relations to North Italy during the lifetime of his uncle Ricimer, and for a year after his death, are perhaps sufficient to explain them.

‘wealthy in speech and rich in all the resources of eloquence,’ practically amounted to an enunciation of the maxim of modern Gaul, ‘*À la guerre comme à la guerre.*’ ‘It might suit this bright Christian star to inculcate the law of kindness towards an adversary, and of moderation even in warfare, but the statesman had to remember the quite different maxims by which the world is governed. The rule of warriors is, that everything which is not lawful in peace becomes lawful in war<sup>1</sup>. Your business is to cut up your adversary’s power root by root, and so gradually detach him from his kingdom. This had Gundobad done to his adversary. He had repaid him scorn for scorn; when mocked with the semblance of a treaty, he had forced his secret opponent to show himself an open foe<sup>2</sup>. Now however, by divine permission, a peace had been established between them, which, he hoped, would be a long-lasting one. If these holy men would return to their homes he would consider what course it might be best to take, for the welfare of his kingdom and the safety of his soul, and would decide upon his answer.’

When the bishops had departed the King called to him his councillor Laconius, a man of high—

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Gundobad's reply.

Gundobad takes counsel with Laconius.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Statuta sunt dimicantium, quidquid non licet, tunc licere.’

<sup>2</sup> ‘Reposui regi partium illarum contumeliam quam putas illatam. Ludificatus specie foederis nihil egi studiosius, nisi ut, quod est cautelae, assertos inimicos agnoscerem.’ The words are obscure, but coupled with what follows they seem to point to Theodoric, rather than to Odovacar, as the adversary of Gundobad.

BOOK IV. evidently Roman—birth, grandson of Consuls, of  
 CH. 9.  
 494. pure and pious life, one who was always ready to  
 second every kind and generous impulse which he  
 perceived in his sovereign. ‘Go,’ said the King to  
 him, ‘hoist all your sails to the winds. After  
 hearing that holy man Epiphanius, and seeing  
 his tears, I am ready to grant all you desire.  
 Prepare a decree in my name which shall make  
 this bargain as tight as possible<sup>1</sup>. All the Italians  
 who through fear of the Burgundian marauders,  
 under stress of hunger, or by compact on the part  
 of their prince<sup>2</sup> have come hither as captives, shall  
 be at once liberated, free of charge. Those, how-  
 ever, whom our subjects in the ardour of battle  
 carried captive on their own private account, must  
 pay a ransom to their masters, for it would only  
 make future battles more bloody, if the soldier  
 had not a hope of profiting by the ransom of his  
 captives.’

His deci-  
 sion.

Return of  
 the exiles.

With joyful alacrity Laconius prepared the do-  
 cuments setting forth the royal indulgence<sup>3</sup> and  
 brought them to the Bishop, who embraced the  
 bearer of so precious a gift. Soon the news  
 spread abroad, and you would have thought Gaul  
 was being emptied of its peasants, so great a num-

<sup>1</sup> ‘Vade, pleno pectore dicta sententias, per quas pactionis illius durissime nexus irrumpas.’ Surely ‘irrumpas’ here is owing to some corruption of the text?

<sup>2</sup> Odovacar?

<sup>3</sup> ‘Impiger ille verborum saltibus indulgentiae species aut formas exposuit.’ What does Ennodius mean by ‘verborum saltibus?’

ber flocked from all the cities of Sapaudia<sup>1</sup> to thread the passes of the Alps for their return. Stripped of all exaggeration, the recital of Ennodius testifies that he himself, who was sent by the Bishop to the governors of the fortresses with the orders of release, in one day procured the liberation of 400 captives from Lyons alone, and that in all more than 6000 persons returned to their own land. Apparently the treasure confided by Theodoric to Epiphanius was all needed for the ransom of those who were in private hands, and was even supplemented by the pious offerings of Avitus, bishop of Vienne, and Syagria, a devout lady—possibly a daughter of the slain ‘King of Soissons’—who was looked upon as a living treasury for the Church’s needs.

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494.

A visit to Geneva, to the Burgundian King Godegisel, was needed in order to obtain the same concession from him which had been already granted by his brother of Lyons. Then Epiphanius set forth accompanied by the rejoicing host of his redeemed captives. They went apparently by the way of the Col de Lauteret and the Col de Genève<sup>2</sup>. As they went, the multitude sang hymns of praise to God and the Bishop, who seemed to their excited imaginations another Elijah, just ready to ascend to heaven in a chariot of fire. The

Epiphanius  
visits  
Geneva.The exiles  
acclaim  
Epiphanius.

<sup>1</sup> Savoy, but including more than modern Savoy.

<sup>2</sup> He went by Tarantasia, in the valley of the Isère above Grenoble, and there he healed a woman with an unclean spirit.

BOOK IV. Bishop returned to Ticinum in the third month  
 CH. 9. after he had quitted his home.

494.  
 He provides for their temporal needs.

The mind of Epiphanius, however, was still beset with cares for the fortunes of the restored captives. They had returned as beggars to their native land, and the lot of those who had once held high station among them was especially hard. It seemed as if they were to be still as miserable, but less pitied than when they were in the hand of the enemy. An appeal to Theodoric was the natural remedy; yet Epiphanius would not make that appeal in person, lest it might seem as if he were claiming from the King those thanks, and that distinguished reception, which were the rightful meed of his services in Gaul. He seconded, however, the prayers of the petitioners, and by his letters on their behalf obtained that relief for each which was necessary. The precise mode in which Theodoric helped these returned exiles to stock their farms and recommence the operations of husbandry we are not informed of, interesting as such a detail would have been.

Epiphanius again visits Ravenna, to seek for a reduction of taxation.

About two years afterwards he again journeyed to Ravenna, to obtain a relief from taxes for his province, which had suffered, and apparently was still suffering, from a 'plague of great waters.' His admiring biographer thus addresses him in the recollection of that journey: 'Never did thy limbs, though weakened by disease, prove unequal to the task imposed upon them by thy soul. Cold, rains, the Po, fastings, sailings, danger, thunder-





BOOK IV. not occur to any of the multitudes who flocked  
 CH. 9. to visit him. His own presentiment, however, was  
 497. a true one. The snowy air of Ravenna had prepared the way for a fatal attack of catarrh which seized him on his way home, at Parma<sup>1</sup>. The people of Ticinum saw with consternation the return of their beloved bishop as a dying man. They stood in the forum, whispering and panic-stricken, and thinking that the end of the world was at hand if Epiphanius was to be taken from them. On the seventh day after his entry into Ticinum he died, having on his lips the triumphant song of the wife of Elkanah—‘My heart rejoiceth in the Lord, mine horn is exalted in the Lord: because I rejoice in thy salvation.’ He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age and the thirtieth of his episcopate: certainly one of the noblest characters of his time, and a man who deserved a better biographer than the one who has fallen to his lot, the wordy and vapid Ennodius.

Clovis's engagement with the Alamanni, 496.

The death of Epiphanius occurred in the year 497. We retrace our steps one year, to notice a very important event of 496. In that year, at some place unknown<sup>2</sup>, but near the banks of the

<sup>1</sup> ‘Ut Parmam tamen ejusdem viae ingressus est civitatem, continuo eum coagulatus in vitalibus humor infudit, *quem catharrum medici vocant*: qui se medullitas inserens in ruinam publicam serviebat.’

<sup>2</sup> The identification of this battle-site with Zulpich near Cologne is now generally abandoned. It rested on a misunderstanding of Gregory of Tours (ii. 37), who speaks of a battle fought with the Alamanni by a quite different Frankish chief,

Rhine, and probably not far from Strasburg, Clovis met the Alamannic hosts in battle. Both nations were yet heathen, both perhaps equally barbarous. Both had felt the heavy hand of Julian, while the Empire still stood. Both had pressed in, when the Empire could no longer keep them at bay; the Frank, as we have seen, through the woods of Ardennes and across the flat lands of Picardy, to the Seine, to the Loire, and to the Catalaunian plains; while the Alamanni oversprang the too long dreaded *limes*, stormed the camp of the Saalburg on the heights of Taunus, and settled themselves in the lovely land, still crowded with Roman villas and rich with Roman vines, which was watered by the Neckar and the Main, and which sloped down to the right bank of the Middle Rhine. Which now of these two nations was to speak this word of power in the regions of the Rhine? That was the doubtful question which the issue of this day was to decide. Clovis had been intending to cross the Rhine, but the hosts of the Alamanni came upon him, as it seems, unexpectedly and forced a battle on the left bank of the river. He seemed to be overmatched, and the horror of an impending defeat overshadowed the Frankish king. Then, in his despair, he bethought himself of the God of Clotilda. Raising his eyes to heaven he

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.  
496.

The vow of  
Clovis.

‘apud Tulbiacense oppidum.’ The fact that Clovis, as we are told in the life of S. Vedast, returned by way of Toul to Rheims, points to the neighbourhood of Strasburg as the probable site of the battle. (This is remarked by von Schubert.)

BOOK IV. said, 'Oh Jesus Christ, whom Clotilda declares to  
 CH. 9. be the Son of the living God, who art said to give  
 496. help to those who are in trouble and who trust  
 in thee, I humbly beseech thy succour! I have  
 called on my gods and they are far from my help.  
 If thou wilt deliver me from mine enemies, I will  
 believe in thee, and be baptized in thy name.' At  
 this moment, a sudden change was seen in the  
 fortunes of the Franks. The Alamanni began to  
 waver, they turned, they fled. Their king, ac-  
 cording to one account, was slain; and the nation  
 seems to have accepted Clovis as its over-lord.

His bap-  
 tism,  
 Christmas,  
 496.

Clovis hastened back to his queen, and told her  
 the story of his vow. At the Christmas festival,  
 he stood in the white robes of a catechumen in  
 the basilica of Rheims, and heard from the mouth  
 of Saint Remigius the well-known words, 'Bow  
 thy neck in meekness, oh Sicambrian! Adore  
 what thou hast burned, and burn what thou hast  
 adored.'

Effect of  
 Clovis's  
 conversion.

The mere conversion to Christianity of a Teu-  
 tonic ruler of a Roman province was an event of com-  
 paratively little importance. It was but a question  
 of time, a generation sooner or a generation later,  
 when all the men of this class should renounce their  
 hope of the banquets of Walhalla for an inheritance  
 in the Christian City of God. But that the king  
 of the Franks should be baptized into that form  
 of Christianity which was professed by Clotilda  
 and Remigius, that he should enter into devout  
 and loyal communion with the Catholic Church,

was an event indeed of world-wide significance, well worthy of the congratulations which it called forth from Pope and Metropolitan, from Anastasius of Rome and from Avitus of Vienne. The title 'Eldest Son of the Church' borne by the kings of France, while she still had kings, perpetuated, to our own day, the remembrance of the rapture with which the hard-pressed and long-suffering Catholics of the Empire greeted the fact that at length force, barbarian force, was coming over to their side. They had been oppressed and trampled upon long enough. Carthaginian Hilderic had cut out the tongues of their confessors. Euric of Toulouse had shut up their churches and turned cattle into their church-yards. But now the young and irresistible conqueror beyond the Loire would redress the balance. Clovis, and his sons, and the nobles who would inevitably follow their example, from above, with the great mass of patient orthodox Roman provincials from below, would yet make an end of the Arian oppression.

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 496.

In the presence of this new arrangement of forces, with the certainty that henceforth every bishop and every priest throughout Western Europe would be a well-wisher, open or concealed, of the Frankish monarchy, there should undoubtedly have been a close league for mutual defence formed between the four great Arian and Teutonic monarchies, the Visigothic, the Burgundian, the Ostrogothic, and the Vandal. The statesmanlike mind of Theodoric must have perceived this truth.

The Arian states should have combined for mutual defence, but did not.

BOOK IV. To some extent, as we shall see, he endeavoured  
CH. 9. to act upon it, but, from one cause or another,  
496. with no great persistency or success. Both he and his Burgundian kinsman belonged to the class of tolerant Arians: in fact, Gundobad seemed at times more than half ready to turn Catholic himself. Possibly they felt themselves out of sympathy with the narrower and bitterer Arianism which reigned at the courts of Toulouse and Carthage. And, what was of more importance, diplomatists were wanting to them. Precisely the very men who would in any other matter have acted as their skilful and eloquent representatives, travelling like Epiphanius from court to court, and bringing the barbarian sovereigns to understand each other, to sink their petty grievances, and to work together harmoniously for one common end, precisely these men were the Catholic prelates of the Mediterranean lands to whom it was all-important that no such Arian league should be formed. It has been forcibly pointed out by a historian of the Burgundians<sup>1</sup> that, whereas all over the Roman world there was a serried array of Catholic bishops and presbyters, taking their orders from a single centre, Rome, feeling the interests of each one to be the interests of all, in lively and constant intercourse with one another, quick to discover, quick to disclose the slightest weak place in the organization of the new heretical kingdoms, of all this there was not the slightest

<sup>1</sup> Binding, 128.

trace on the other side. The Arian bishops took their fill of court favour and influence while it lasted, but made no provision for the future. They stood apart from one another in stupid and ignorant isolation. Untouched apparently by the great Augustinian thought of the world-encompassing City of God, they tended more and more to form local, tribal Churches, one for the Visigoths, another for the Vandals, another for the Burgundians. And thus in the end the fable of the loosened faggot and the broken sticks was proved true of all the Arian monarchies.

It seemed as if the first to fall would be the kingdom of the Burgundians. In the autumn of 499, Gundobad was aware that his younger brother, Godegisel of Geneva, was engaged in a treacherous correspondence with Clovis, the object of which was the expulsion of Gundobad, and the elevation of Godegisel as sole king of the Burgundians, probably on condition of ceding some territory to his Frankish ally. Sorely perplexed and doubtful of the result, he was, as has been said, almost prepared to avert the blow by himself joining the Catholic Church. The two leading bishops in his dominions—Stephen of Lyons and Avitus of Vienne—besought him to convoke his prelates to a conference, at which they might by disputation establish the Catholic verity. Could the King have seen the letter written three years before by Avitus to congratulate Clovis on his conversion, the letter in which he speaks of Gundobad as ‘king indeed of

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499.

Gundobad  
the Bur-  
gundian  
in danger,  
from his  
brother  
Godegisel,  
and Clovis.

He turns to  
the Catho-  
lic bishops  
for help.

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 9.

his own people but your dependant,' and declares, 'we are affected by your good-fortune; whensoever you fight, we conquer'; he might have been less disposed than he was to maintain friendly relations with this eloquent and brilliant prelate but secret enemy of his crown and people. As it was, he said to the bishops, with some force of argument, 'If your faith is the true one, why do not your colleagues prevent the King of the Franks from declaring war against me, and leaguering himself with my enemies? Where a man covets that which belongs to another, there is no true faith.' Avitus cautiously replied, 'I know not why the King of the Franks should do this; but I know that the Scripture says that states often come to ruin because they will not obey the law of God. Turn with your people to that law, and you will have peace.' Not in this sentence only, but throughout this curious colloquy, there ran an under-current of assurance, that if Gundobad would reconcile himself to the Church, the Church would guarantee his safety from the attacks of Clovis. The King on this occasion replied with some heat, 'How? Do I not recognise the law of God? But I will not worship three Gods!'

A debate between Catholics and Arians decided on, 2 Sept. 499.

However, the bishops obtained their request; and it was fixed that a public disputation should take place at Lyons on the festival of St. Justus (2nd September); the same festival, half-religious, half-

<sup>1</sup> 'Apud dominum meum suae quidem gentis regem sed militem vestrum. . . . Tangit etiam nos felicitas: quotiescumque illic pugnatis vincimus.' (Aviti Epistola xli.)



popular, of which Sidonius gives so lively an account in connection with his epigram on the towel<sup>1</sup>. The King only stipulated that the discussion should not take place before a large assembly of the people lest there should be a breach of the peace.

The debate, which lasted two days, took the usual course of such disputations where neither party can enter, or wishes to enter, in the slightest degree into the difficulties and the convictions of its opponent, but each is simply bent on shouting its own shibboleth. Avitus made a long speech, Ciceronian in its style, proving the Athanasian Creed out of Holy Scripture. Boniface, the Arian champion, replied with the taunt of polytheism, to which already the King's words had given the cue. Next day Aredius, a high functionary of the Court and a Catholic, met the bishops of his party and besought them to discontinue the discussion, which was only embittering religious hatred, and was, besides, disagreeable to the King. They looked upon him as a lukewarm and time-serving believer, and refused to take his advice. The King renewed his complaints of the hostile machinations of Clovis, and now for the first time mentioned the dreaded defection of his brother. The bishops answered, that if Gundobad would only turn Catholic it would be easy to arrange an alliance with Clovis. They then proceeded to reply to the charge of polytheism. Boniface, who is

<sup>1</sup> Ep. v. 17. See vol. ii. p. 314.

BOOK IV. represented as vanquished in the argument, could  
 CH. 9.  
 499. only shriek out his invectives against the worshippers of three Gods, till he had shouted himself hoarse. Then the orthodox bishops proposed an appeal to miracle. Both parties should repair to the grave of St. Justus, and ask the saint which confession of faith was the true one, and a voice from the grave should decide the question. The Arians replied that such a course would be as displeasing to God as Saul's attempt to raise Samuel from the tomb, and that they for their part would rest their case on nothing else than the appeal to Holy Scripture.

The debate  
 accom-  
 plishes  
 nothing.

Thus the *Collatio Episcoporum* broke up. Nothing had been accomplished by it. Gundobad had not been persuaded, perhaps had not seen, among his own chief nobles, sufficient pliability of faith to make him venture on declaring himself a convert. He, however, took Stephen and Avitus into his inner chamber, embraced them, and begged them to pray for him. As they left him they meditated on the words 'No man can come unto Me, unless the Father which hath sent Me draw him.' Politically, there was nothing left but for the Arian and Athanasian to fight it out on the soil of Burgundy.

The war  
 breaks out,  
 500.

Early in the year 500 the storm broke. Gundobad, who had perhaps marched northwards in order to anticipate the junction of the two armies, was met by Clovis, and seems to have shut himself up in the strong *Castrum Divionense*. This place,

the modern Dijon, now made memorable to the traveller by the exquisite tombs of Jean-sans-Peur and Philippe-le-Bon, almost the last rulers of a separate Burgundy, was then an *urbs quadrata*, showing still to the barbarians what was the likeness of a camp-city of the Romans. The wall, strengthened with thirty-three towers, which surrounded the city, was thirty feet high, and, as we are told, fifteen feet thick. Large hewn stones formed the foundation and the lower courses, but the upper portions were built of smaller stones, probably of what we call rubble masonry. A stream, which to some extent added to the strength of the camp, flowed in under a bridge at the northern gate, traversed the city, and emerged from it at the southern gateway<sup>1</sup>. Here, apparently, Gundobad made his stand—his unsuccessful stand. The Frankish host, aided by the men of Geneva, overcame the Burgundians of Lyons. Gundobad fled to Avignon, on the very southernmost border of his dominions, and there, clinging perhaps to the protection of his Visigothic neighbour, he remained for some months in obscurity.

Godegisel and his Frankish ally marched through the length and breadth of the kingdom, and the younger brother dreamed that he had reunited the whole of the dwellings of his people under his own sway. Discontent, however, was working beneath the surface; and, possibly on the departure northward of Clovis and his host, it broke out.

<sup>1</sup> Gregory of Tours, iii. 19.

BOOK IV. Gundobad with a few followers, whose number  
CH. 9.  


---

500.  
 Gundobad returns and besieges his brother in Vienne.

daily augmented, crept cautiously up the valley of the Rhone, and at length, appearing before his old capital Vienne, besieged his brother therein. Godegisel, whose supply of provisions was small, ordered all the poorer inhabitants to be expelled from the town. Among them was an ingenious man, a Roman doubtless by birth, who had had the charge of the chief aqueduct of Vienne. Going to the tent of Gundobad he confided to him the existence of a certain ventilation hole<sup>1</sup>, by which troops could be introduced through this aqueduct into the heart of the city. Gundobad followed the engineer's advice. He himself headed the detachment of troops which went through the aqueduct; and in a few hours Vienne was his own again. With his own hand he slew the treacherous Godegisel, and, we are told, 'put to death, with many and exquisite torments, the senators [no doubt Roman nobles] and Burgundians who had been on his side<sup>2</sup>.' The Frankish troops, which had been left to guard the newly-erected throne, he did not dare either to keep, or to dismiss to their homes. He accordingly sent them to his ally, the King of the Visigoths, who kept them for some time in honourable captivity at Toulouse.

Vienne taken and Godegisel slain.

Inactivity of Clovis.

The inactivity of Clovis during these later events, by which the whole fruits of the victory

<sup>1</sup> Spiraculum.

<sup>2</sup> Marius of Aventicum, s. a. 500, and Gregory of Tours, ii. 33.

of Dijon were wrested from him, is left quite unexplained in the meagre annals of the time. There is some slight indication of Visigothic influence having been thrown on the side of Gundobad: but, though we have no evidence to adduce in support of it, we can hardly repress the conjecture that Theodoric, the father-in-law of Sigismund, heir of the Burgundian kingship, Theodoric, who from the provinces of Rætia and Liguria could, when summer was advanced, so dangerously operate on the flank of an army of Clovis descending the Rhone valley, must have been the real counterpoise to the Franks in the year 400, during Gundobad's war of Restoration. Whatever the cause, the restored King, who now wielded the whole might of the Burgundian nation, and was more powerful than any of his predecessors, was during the remaining sixteen years of his reign left unmolested by the Frank; nay even, as we shall see, was invited to join in the schemes of Frankish conquest, though on terms of partnership not unlike those which the Horse accepted from the Man, in the old fable.

In the early years of the new century, probably about 503 or 504, Clovis was again at war with his old enemies, the Alamanni. As the Frankish historian, Gregory, is silent about this campaign; we can only speak conjecturally as to its causes and its course. We can see, however, that king and people revolted against their Frankish overlord, that there were hints of treachery and broken faith,

BOOK IV.

CH. 9.

500.

Clovis  
again at  
war with  
the Ala-  
manni.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.

Their defeat and forced migration.

'Franconia.'

The Alamanni take refuge in Rætia.

Theodoric forbids Clovis to pursue them.

that Clovis moved his army into their territories and won a victory, much more decisive, though less famous, than that of 496. This time the angry King would make no such easy terms as he had done before. From their pleasant dwellings by the Main and the Neckar, from all the valley of the Middle Rhine, the terrified Alamanni were forced to flee. Their place was taken by Frankish settlers, from whom all this district received in the Middle Ages the name of the Duchy of Francia, or, at a rather later date, that of the Circle of Franconia.

The Alamanni, with their wives and children, a broken and dispirited host, moved southward to the shores of the Lake of Constance, and entered the old Roman province of Rætia. Here they were on what was held to be, in a sense, Italian ground; and the arm of Theodoric, as ruler of Italy, as successor to the Emperors of the West, was stretched forth to protect them. Clovis would fain have pursued them, would perhaps have blotted out the name of Alamanni from the earth.

But Theodoric addressed a letter<sup>1</sup> to his victorious kinsman, in which, while congratulating him on having aroused the long dormant energies of his people, and won by their means a triumph over the fierce nation of the Alamanni, having slain some and forced others humbly to beg for life, he warned him not to push his victory too far. 'Hear,' said he, 'the advice of one who has had much experience in matters of this nature. Those

<sup>1</sup> Variarum, ii. 41.

wars of mine have had a successful issue, over the ending of which, moderation has presided.' Throughout the letter the tone is hardly so much of advice as of command, to the Frankish conqueror, to pursue his ruined foe no further.

The Alamanni gladly accepted the offered protection and dominion of Theodoric. The king of the Ostrogoths became their king, and they, still in their old heathen wildness, became his subjects, conforming themselves doubtless but imperfectly to the maxims of the Roman *civilitas*, but, for one generation at least, leaving the mountain-passes untraversed, and doing rough garrison duty for their king, between the Alps and the Danube. Eastern Switzerland, Western Tyrol, Southern Baden and Württemberg, and South-western Bavaria probably formed this new Alamannis, which will figure in later history as the *Ducatus Alamanniae* or the Circle of Swabia<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.

The Alamanni under Theodoric.

Alamannia = Swabia.

<sup>1</sup> These few paragraphs are a greatly condensed statement of the theory put forward, and in my judgment proved, by von Schubert in his monograph 'Die Unterwerfung der Alamannen unter die Franken,' Strassburg, 1884. The strong points in favour of the theory are—

I. The letter of Theodoric, composed by Cassiodorus and quoted above, which could not have been written in 496 or 497. I had come to this conclusion before I saw von Schubert's argument.

II. The strong language of Ennodius in his Panegyric on Theodoric: 'Quid quod a te *Alamanniae generalitas* intra Italiae terminos sine detrimento Romanae possessionis inclusa est, cui evenit habere regem postquam meruit perdidisse? Facta est Latiaris custos imperii semper nostrorum populatione grassata, cui feliciter cessit fugisse patriam suam, nam sic adepta est soli

BOOK IV.

CH. 9.

507.  
War de-  
nounced  
by Clovis  
against  
Alaric II  
king of the  
Visigoths,  
507.

The next stroke from the heavy hand of Clovis fell upon the Visigothic kingdom, and it was a crushing one. In the year 507 the Frankish King announced to his warriors, possibly when they were all assembled at the Field of Mars, 'I take it very ill that these Arians should hold so large a part of Gaul. Let us go and overcome them with God's help, and bring their land under our rule.' These abrupt denunciations of war have not unfrequently been resorted to by Frankish sovereigns. We heard one of them in our own day, when, at the New Year's festivity of 1859, the Emperor of the French suddenly informed a startled Europe that his relations with his brother of Austria were not as good as he could desire.

Theo-  
doric's  
efforts to  
avert it.

In this case, rapid as was the action of Clovis, there was apparently<sup>1</sup> time for a brief and lively

*nostri opulentiam,*' etc. The words in italic can only mean the whole state of the Alamanni.

III. The words of Agathias (i. 6): *Τούτους* (sc. *τοὺς Ἀλαμαννοὺς*) *δὲ πρότερον Θεοδέριχος ὁ τῶν Γότθων βασιλεὺς, ἤνικα καὶ τῆς ξυμπάσης Ἰταλίας ἐκράτει, ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν παραστησάμενος, κατήκοον εἶχε τὸ φύλον.*

Against such a consensus of first-rate authorities as this, the mere silence of a writer like Gregory counts for very little.

<sup>1</sup> I say apparently, because I feel how much weight is due both to the authority and the arguments of Binding (p. 181), who, with Pallmann and some others, assigns the letters in question to an earlier date, and believes that they were for the time successful in averting war between Clovis and Alaric. This earlier date would also lessen the difficulty which arises from Theodoric's calling the two kings '*Regii juvenes.*' My chief reasons for not accepting it are, (1) that we have no hint in any of our authorities of such a threatened outburst before the actual one, and (2) that the Burgundo-Frankish



interchange of correspondence between Italy and Gaul. Theodoric, hearing of the threatened outbreak of hostilities, employed the pen of his eloquent Quæstor Cassiodorus to compose a series of letters<sup>1</sup>, to all the chief persons concerned, to Alaric, to Clovis, to Gundobad, nay, even to the semi-barbarous kings of the tribes still tarrying in Germany, the Heruli, the Warni, the Thuringians<sup>2</sup>, in order to avert by all possible means the dreaded encounter.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.

507.

To his Visigothic son-in-law Theodoric uttered a note of warning: ‘Strong though you are in your own valour and in the remembrance of the great deeds of your forefathers, by whom even the mighty Attila was humbled, yet since your people’s strength and aptitude for war may, by long peace, have been somewhat impaired, do not put everything to the hazard of a single action. It is only constant practice which can make the actual shock alliance, which, it is thought, makes it impossible to date the letter to Gundobad in 507, seems to me to have been *unsuspected by Theodoric*. It was, I imagine, the skill with which this secret was kept, that baffled all Theodoric’s plans for assisting Alaric.

His letter  
to Alaric,

<sup>1</sup> Variarum, iii. 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> The Thuringians were at this time settled in the country from the Main to the Elbe, the same which afterwards bore the name Thuringia, but with a wider extension. The Warni (whom Cassiodorus calls Guarni) probably occupied the country immediately north of the Thuringians, from the Harz Mountains to the Baltic. The Heruli had, perhaps, moved up the Danube after the collapse of the Rugian monarchy, and may have held its northern shore from Augsburg to Passau. There had, however, been wars between them and the Lombards which make it extremely difficult to fix their position at this time.

BOOK IV. of battle seem anything but terrible to man. Let  
 CH. 9. not, then, your indignation at the conduct of  
 507. Clovis blind you to the real interests of your  
 nation. Wait till I can send ambassadors to the  
 King of the Franks, and till I have endeavoured  
 to make peace between two princes, both so nearly  
 allied to me, one my brother and the other my son,  
 by marriage.' To 'his brother Gundobad' Theo-  
 doric expressed his regrets that 'the royal youths'  
 should thus rage against one another, his desire  
 that they might listen to the counsels of reverend  
 age, as represented by himself and Gundobad<sup>1</sup>, and  
 his proposal that a joint embassy from the three  
 nations (Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Burgundians)  
 should be addressed to Clovis, in order to re-  
 establish peace between him and Alaric. The  
 German chieftains, he reminded of the benefits  
 and the protection which they, in past times, had  
 received from Euric, the father of the now me-  
 naced prince. He expressed his conviction that  
 this lawless aggression threatened equally every  
 throne of a neighbour to Clovis, and begged them  
 to join their ambassadors to his, in a summons to

to Gundo-  
bad,

to the Ger-  
man tribes,

<sup>1</sup> 'Nostrum est *Regios juvenes* objecta ratione moderari. . . . Vereantur senes, quamvis sint florida aetate feryentes.' Whatever date be assigned to the letter, these words are not without difficulty. Theodoric was born in 454, Clovis probably in 466, and Alaric II apparently not much later than 465 (since he does not seem to have been treated as a minor at his accession to the throne in 485). This would make the respective ages of the *senex* and the *juvenes* fifty-three, forty-two, and forty-one in A. D. 507. But relative youth and age are often spoken of in this puzzling way by historians.

the Frankish King to desist from the attack on the Visigoths, to seek redress for his alleged wrongs from the law of nations [but where were the courts then, or where are they now, in which that law is administered?]; if he would not obey these counsels, then to prepare himself for the combined onset of them all.

The letter to 'Luduin' (as Theodoric, or Cassiodorus, styles the King of the Franks<sup>1</sup>) reiterates the same thoughts, dwells on the miseries which war inflicts upon the nations, declares that it is the act of a hot-headed man to get his troops ready for war at the very first embassy, and urges, almost commands, the Frank to accept his mediation. The letter contains the following passage, which certainly went far to pledge Theodoric to armed championship of his son-in-law: 'Throw away the sword, ye who wish to draw it for *my* disgrace. It is in my right as a father, as a friend, that I thus threaten you. He who shall suppose that such monitions as ours can be treated with contempt—a thing which we do not anticipate—will find that he has to deal with us and our friends, as his adversaries.'

Yet, in spite of all this correspondence and all these embassies, directed by one who had been a man of war from his youth, and who had a true

<sup>1</sup> The name of Clovis or Hlodwig seems to have presented peculiar difficulties to the Latin scribe. Cassiodorus (as above) calls it *Luduin*: Isidore (Chronicon, era 521) turns it into *Fluduicus*. The form used by Gregory is *Chlodovechus*.

BOOK IV. statesman's eye to the necessities of the position,  
 CH. 9. Alaric the Visigoth stood alone, and fell unaided.

507.  
 Battle of Vouille. The Franks crossed the Loire; directed their march to Poitou: at the Campus Vogladensis, ten miles from Poitiers, the two armies met. Alaric would have played a waiting game, trusting to the eventual arrival of succours from his father-in-law; but the ignorant impetuosity of his troops, who vaunted that they were at least the equals in arms of the Franks, forced him to accept the

Defeat and death of Alaric II. offered battle<sup>1</sup>. Alaric fell, slain, it seems, by the hand of Clovis himself. His troops fled from the field of hopeless rout. Amalaric, the grandson of Theodoric, and the only legitimate child of the late King, was hurried away to Spain by his guardians. A few cities still held out for the Visigoths, but almost everywhere, from the Loire to the Pyrenees, the Frank roamed supreme. The religious fervour of Clovis was satisfied. That pious monarch would no longer be chagrined by seeing so large a part of Gaul in the hands of the Arians.

Gundobad in league with Clovis.

What was the cause of this sudden collapse of the great Arian confederacy and of Theodoric's entire failure to redeem his pledge, by championing his son-in-law? It seems probable that it is to be sought in the unexpected defection of Gundobad,

<sup>1</sup> So says Procopius (*De Bello Gothico*, i. 12), and notwithstanding his imperfect knowledge of the campaign (he places the battle at Carcassonne), I think we need not reject this detail. *Oi Γερμανοί* with him means the Franks.

who did not even remain neutral in the conflict, but positively allied himself with the Frankish invader. The reasons for this change of attitude are not fully known to us. Ever since the *Collatio Episcoporum*, Gundobad had been on increasingly friendly terms with the Catholic Episcopate, especially with the courtly Avitus. His first-born Sigismund, perhaps both his sons, had formally joined the Catholic communion. Some of the courtiers had followed their example. Gundobad himself, though to the day of his death he refused to abjure the faith of his forefathers, showed a willingness to do everything for the creed of his Roman subjects, except to make that one ignominious confession of hereditary error. He might perhaps also allege that in the catastrophe of 500 he had been left to fight his battles alone, and that he was under no obligation, for Alaric's sake, a second time to see the terrible Sicambrian devastating the Rhone-lands. Whatever the cause, it is clear that Burgundia went with Francia against Vesegothia in the fatal campaign; and it is highly probable that Theodoric did not know that this was to be her attitude till the very eve of the contest, and when it was too late for him to take measures for forcing his way past the territories of a hostile nation to the relief of his son-in-law<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Binding points out, in this connection, that the name of the Roman Consul did not reach Lyons throughout the year 507, from which he infers that communication was interrupted

BOOK IV.

CH. 9.

Division  
among the  
Visigoths.Claims of  
Gesalic.

508 (?).

Defence of  
Arles,  
508-510.Cæsarius  
Bishop of  
Arles.

At the death of Alaric the situation was further complicated by a division in the Visigothic camp.

The child Amalaric, now a refugee in Spain, was, as has been said, the only legitimate representative of the fallen king. But Alaric had left a bastard son named Gesalic, now in early manhood, who, according to the lax notions about succession prevalent among the Teutonic peoples, might fairly aspire to the kingdom, if he could make good his claim by success. He appears, however, to have been but a feeble representative of his valiant forefathers<sup>1</sup>. He lost Narbonne to Gundobad, and after a disgraceful rout, in which many of the Visigoths perished, he fled to Barcelona, whence, after four years of a shadowy reign, he was eventually expelled by the generals of Theodoric.

The great city of Arles, once the Roman capital of Gaul, maintained a gallant defence against the united Franks and Burgundians, and saved for generations the Visigothic rule in Provence and Southern Languedoc. Of the siege, which lasted apparently from 508 to 510, we have some graphic details in the life of St. Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles, written by his disciples<sup>2</sup>. This saint, who was born in Burgundian Gaul, had for years lain under sus-

between Italy and Burgundy. Italy did actually touch the Visigothic territory at the Riviera, but it was probably dangerous to try that road with a hostile power like the Burgundians on the flank.

<sup>1</sup> 'Sicut genere vilissimus, ita infelicitate et ignavia summus' (Isidori Chronicon, p. 720, ed. Grotius).

<sup>2</sup> Bollandist Acta Sanctorum, August 27.

picion of being discontented with the Gothic yoke, and had spent some time in exile at Bordeaux under a charge of treason. Released, and permitted to return to his diocese, he was busying himself in the erection of a convent, where holy women were to reside under the presidency of his sister Cæsaria, when the Franks and Burgundians came swarming around the city; and the half-finished edifice, which was apparently outside the walls, was destroyed by the ferocity of the barbarians.

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 9.  
 508-510.

The siege dragged on and became a blockade. A young ecclesiastic, 'struck with fear of captivity and full of youthful fickleness,' let himself down the wall by a rope, and gave himself up to the besiegers. Not unreasonably the old suspicions as to the loyalty of Cæsarius revived. The Goths, and the Jews, who sided with the Goths, surrounded the church, clamouring that the Bishop had sent the deserter, on purpose to betray them to the enemy. 'There was no proof,' say his biographers, 'no regard to the stainless record of his past life. Jews and heretics crowded the precincts of the church, shouting out "Drag forth the Bishop! Let him be kept under strictest guard in the palace!" Their object was that he should either be drowned in the Rhone, or at least immured in the fort of Ugernum [one of the castles by the river, not far from Arles], till by hardship and exile his life was worn away. Meanwhile his church and his chamber were given up to be occupied by the Arians. One

He is suspected of communicating with the besiegers.

BOOK IV. of the Goths, in spite of the remonstrances of his  
 CH. 9.  
 508-510. comrades, dared to sleep in the saint's bed, but  
 was smitten by the just judgment of God, and died  
 the next day.

Cæsarius  
 in confine-  
 ment.

‘A cutter (*dromo*) was then brought, and the holy man was placed in it that he might be towed up [to the above-named castle] past the lines of the besiegers. But as, by divine interposition, they were unable to move the ship, though tugging it from either shore, they brought him back to the palace, and there kept him in such utter seclusion that none of the Catholics knew whether he was dead or alive.

Treachery  
 of a Jew.

‘At length however there came a change. A certain Jew tied a letter to a stone and tried to fling it to the besiegers. In it he offered to betray the city to them on condition that the lives, freedom, and property of all the Jews were spared; and he indicated the precise spot in the walls, to which the besiegers were to apply their ladders. Fortunately, next day the enemy did not come so near the walls as usual. Hence the fateful letter was found, not by the Burgundians, but by the Goths, and thus the selfish cruelty of the Jews, hateful both to God and man, was exposed. Then was our Daniel, St. Cæsarius, drawn up from the den of lions, and the Jews his accusers, like the satraps of Darius, were sent to take his place.’

Cæsarius  
 liberated.

The brave defence of Arles enabled Theodoric still to intervene to save the remnants of the Visigothic monarchy in Gaul. This he could doubtless



do with the more success now that the embarrassing claim of Gesalic was swept away. In the spring of the year 508 he put forth a stirring proclamation to his people, prepared by Cassiodorus. 'We need but hint to our faithful Goths that a contest is at hand, since a warlike race like ours rejoices at the thought of the strife. In the quiet times of peace, merit has no chance of showing itself, but now the day for its discovery draws nigh. With God's help, and for the common good, we have decided on an invasion of Gaul. We send round our faithful Saio, Nandius, to warn you to come in God's name fully prepared for our expedition, in the accustomed manner, with arms, horses, and all things necessary for the battle, on the 24th of June<sup>1</sup>.'

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.  
508.  
Theodoric summons his troops to a campaign in Gaul, 508.

The Ostrogothic army advanced to the relief of the courageous garrison of Arles. Conspicuous among the generals, perhaps chief in command, was Tulum, who had recently shown in the war of Sirmium<sup>2</sup> that a Gothic lord of the bedchamber could deal as heavy blows as any trained soldier among the Byzantines or the Huns. The possession of the covered bridge which connected Arles with the east bank of the Rhone was fiercely contested, and in the battles fought for its capture and recapture, Tulum showed great personal courage, and received many honourable wounds.

But the united armies of Franks and Burgun-

<sup>1</sup> Cass. Var. i. 24.

<sup>2</sup> To be described in the next chapter.

BOOK IV. dians required much defeating ; and still the siege  
 CH. 9. of Arles was not raised, though its stringency may  
 508. have been somewhat abated, and though all Pro-  
 vidence to the eastward of the city was probably  
 secured to Theodoric.

509. We have reason to believe that in the next year  
 Another Ostro- a bold and clever stroke of strategy was executed  
 gothic army in- by the Ostrogoths. An army under Duke Mammo  
 vades Bur- seems to have mounted the valley of the Dora-  
 gundy from Susa, crossed the Alps near Briançon, and de-  
 Aosta. scended into the valley of the Durance, plundering  
 the country as they proceeded. They thus threat-  
 ened to take the Burgundians in rear as well as in  
 front, and put them under strong compulsion to  
 return to defend their homes, in the region which  
 we now know as Dauphiné <sup>1</sup>.

Victory of Theodoric's troops, 510 (?). The decisive battle was perhaps not delivered  
 till the early part of 510. Then the Goths under  
 Count Ibbas completely routed the united armies  
 of the Franks and Burgundians. If we may be-  
 lieve the boastful bulletin transcribed by Jordanes,  
 more than 30,000 Franks lay dead upon the field <sup>2</sup>.  
 Certainly many captives were taken by the united  
 forces of the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, since all  
 the churches and houses of Arles were filled with

<sup>1</sup> The plan of this campaign of 509 is deduced by Binding from some expressions in the correspondence of Avitus (Ep. 78), combined with the notice in the chronicle of Marius, 'Importuno consule Mammo Dux Gothorum partem Galliae deprædavit.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Non minore tropeo de Francis per Ibbam suum comitem in Galliis adquisivit, plus triginta millia Francorum in prælio caesa' (Jord. De Reb. Get. Iviii).

their unkempt multitudes. St. Cæsarius gladly devoted the proceeds of the communion-plate, which he sold, to the redemption of some of these captives; and when cavillers objected to so uncanonical a proceeding, he replied that it was better that the communion should be celebrated in delf, than that a fellow-man should remain in bondage one hour longer than was necessary.

To complete the history of the good prelate, it may be mentioned that some years later the cry of disloyalty was again raised against him, and he was taken to Ravenna, under a guard of soldiers, to give account of himself to his new sovereign, Theodoric. As soon as the King saw the firm and venerable countenance of the Bishop, he seems to have instinctively felt that this was a man to be conciliated, not intimidated. He rose from his seat to greet him, doffed his crown to do him reverence, asked him concerning the toils of his journey, and affectionately enquired what tidings he could give him of the people of Arles, and what, of his own Goths who were garrisoning it. As soon as Cæsarius had left the royal presence, Theodoric, we are told, imprecated woe on the malicious accusers, who had caused a man of such evident holiness to be annoyed by so long and so needless a journey. ‘When he entered to salute me,’ the King is said to have exclaimed, ‘my whole frame trembled. I felt that I was looking on an angelical countenance, on a truly apostolic man. I hold it impiety to

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.  
510.

Cæsarius  
on his de-  
fence, at  
Ravenna.

BOOK IV. harbour a thought of evil concerning so venerable  
 CH. 9. a person.'

Theo-  
 doric's pre-  
 sent to  
 Cæsarius.

After the interview the King sent to the saint a silver dish weighing 60 lbs., together with 300 golden solidi (£180), entreating him to use the salver daily and to remember his son Theodoric who had presented it. The saint, who never had an article of silver on his table except an egg-spoon, at once sold the dish (which would probably be worth 240 solidi<sup>1</sup>, or £144) and applied the proceeds to his favourite charity, the liberation of captives. Mischief-makers informed the King that they had seen his present exposed for sale in the market; but when he learned the purpose to which Cæsarius was applying the proceeds, he expressed such admiration of the virtues of the saint, that all his courtiers followed suit and repaired to the Bishop's dwelling to shake him by the hand. But already the crowd of poor sufferers, in his oratory and in the atrium of his lodgings, was so great that his wealthier admirers found it no easy matter to gain entrance to his presence.

Operations  
 in Spain  
 against  
 Gesalic.

The result of the battle of Arles was to put Theodoric in secure possession of all Provence, and of so much of Languedoc as was needful to ensure his access to Spain, whither, peace having been concluded with Clovis and Gundobad, Ibbas and

<sup>1</sup> The relative values of silver and gold underwent great fluctuations towards the end of the Empire: but in A.D. 422 one pound of silver was worth four solidi, or forty-eight shillings (Dureau de la Malle, i. 95, quoting Cod. Theod. viii. 4. 27).

the Ostrogothic army now marched, to cut up by the roots the usurped dominion of Gesalic. That feeble pretender was soon driven forth from his capital, Barcelona, and wandered, an exile, to the Court of Thrasamund the Vandal, Theodoric's brother-in-law. Notwithstanding this tie of kindred with his pursuer, Thrasamund received the fugitive kindly, and enabled him to return to Gaul, having provided him with large sums of money, with which he enlisted followers and disturbed the peace of the Gothic provinces. Theodoric upon this wrote a sharp rebuke to his brother-in-law, telling him among other things that he was certain he could not have sought the counsel of his wife, the wise and noble Amalafriada, before taking a step so fatal to all friendly relations between the two kingdoms. The Vandal King frankly confessed his fault, and sent ambassadors with large presents, apparently of gold plate, to soothe the anger of his brother-in-law. Theodoric cordially accepted the apology, but not the presents, saying that, after reading the words of Thrasamund, it was sweeter to give back *his* presents than to receive costly gifts from any other sovereign<sup>1</sup>.

As for Gesalic, weak and cowardly intriguer, his attempted rebellion was again with ease suppressed. After a year spent in troubling the peace of Gaul he returned to Spain, was defeated by Ibbas in a pitched battle twelve miles from Barcelona, again took flight—this time for Burgundy—was

BOOK IV.

CH. 9.

510.

Thrasamund assists him,

but repents of doing so.

Defeat and death of Gesalic, 511 (?).

<sup>1</sup> Cass. Var. v. 43 and 44.

BOOK IV. captured a little north of the river Durance, and  
CH. 9. was put to death by his captors.

Consulship  
of Clovis. After the overthrow of the Visigothic kingdom, Clovis received from the Emperor Anastasius letters bestowing on him the dignity of Roman Consul<sup>1</sup>. In the church of St. Martin at Tours, he appeared clothed in purple tunic and mantle, the dress of a Roman and of a sovereign, and with the diadem on his head. Then, mounting his horse at the door of the atrium of the church, he rode slowly through the streets to the cathedral, scattering gold and silver coins as he went, and saluted by the people (the Roman provincials doubtless) with shouts of 'Chlodovechus Consul! Chlodovechus Consul!'

After having murdered the rest of the Salian and Ripuarian princes in Gaul, and left himself in a solitude which he sometimes affected to deplore, (but this was only in the hope of tempting any forgotten kinsman who might be lingering in obscurity, to come forth and meet the knife of the assassin), Clovis, the eldest son of the Church, died at Paris in the forty-fifth year of his age and the thirtieth of his reign, and was buried in the Basilica of the Holy Apostles, which had been reared by him and Clotilda. Already, in the founder of the Merovingian family, we see indications of that shortness of life which was to be so remarkable a characteristic of its later generations. At his

His death,  
511.

<sup>1</sup> *Consul suffectus*, not *Consul ordinarius*. His name does not appear, as does that of Theodoric, in the Roman Fasti.

death his kingdom was divided between his four sons, Theodoric, Chlodimir, Childebert, and Chlo-  
lochar. The three last only were sons of Clotilda.

For the rest of his reign, Theodoric the Amal ruled Spain and Visigothic Gaul his grandson Amalaric, but in his own name, and with power nearly as uncontrolled as that which he exercised in Italy itself. The chief limitation to that power consisted in the great influence wielded by Theudis, an Ostrogoth whom he had appointed guardian of Amalaric, perhaps *Praefectus Praetorio* of Spain. Theudis married a wealthy Spanish lady, surrounded himself with a body-guard of 2000 men, and affected some of the state of independent royalty. There was no open breach between him and his master, but when, towards the end of his reign, Theodoric invited the too powerful minister to visit him at Ravenna, Theudis, who was doubtful as to the return journey, ventured to refuse obedience to the summons, and Theodoric did not consider it prudent to enforce it. The aged king probably knew that he was not transmitting a perfectly safe inheritance to his Visigothic grandson.

We return to contemplate the declining fortunes of the Burgundian monarchy. Gundobad had certainly reaped little benefit from his desertion of the Arian confederacy and his alliance with Clovis. He had quite failed to secure the coveted lands at the mouths of the Rhone: he had even, it would seem, lost Avignon, though he may have gained

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.

Theodoric rules Spain.

Half-independent attitude of his lieutenant Theudis.

Gundobad's loss by his alliance with Clovis.

BOOK IV. the less important city of Viviers (Alba Augusta)  
 CH. 9. in exchange. A strong chain of Ostrogothic fort-  
 resses barred the passage of the boundary river,  
 the Durance, and he was now cooped up between  
 two mighty neighbours, one of whom ruled from  
 the Rhine to the Pyrenees, and the other from the  
 Danube to Gibraltar. Whether the mutual rela-  
 tions of these two states were friendly or hostile,  
*he* was but too likely to come to ruin between  
 them.

Death of  
 Gundobad,  
 516.

Accession  
 of Sigis-  
 mund, a  
 convert to  
 Catholi-  
 cism.

However, Gundobad died in peace in the year  
 516, having outlived Clovis five years; and was  
 succeeded by his son Sigismund, son-in-law of  
 Theodoric, and a convert to the Catholic faith. The  
 new king, a man of an unstable hysterical tempera-  
 ment, left scarcely a fault uncommitted which  
 could hasten the downfall of his throne. After  
 alienating, probably, the affections of his Burgun-  
 dian warriors by abjuring the faith of his fore-  
 fathers, he lost the hearty good-will of the Catholics  
 by engaging in a quarrel with their bishops, on  
 account of their excommunication of his chief  
 treasurer for marrying his deceased wife's sister.  
 The resolute attitude maintained by the bishops,  
 who put 'the most excellent king' in a kind of  
 spiritual quarantine till he should come to a better  
 mind, coupled with an opportune attack of fever,  
 brought Sigismund to his knees in abject surrender,  
 and he was reconciled to the Church, but doubtless  
 with some loss of royal dignity.

The natural ally of the Burgundian against his



too powerful neighbour the Frank, was evidently the Ostrogothic King. Instead of recognising this fact, Sigismund exhausted the vocabulary of servitude in grovelling self-prostration before the Emperor Anastasius, a sovereign whose power was too remote from the scene of action to be of the slightest service to him, when the time of trial should come. At the same time, he irrevocably alienated Theodoric by a domestic crime, which reminds us of the family history of another distinguished convert, Constantine, and, perhaps with less justice, of a passage in the life of another pillar of orthodoxy, Philip II of Spain<sup>1</sup>. The daughter of Theodoric had borne to Sigismund a son who was named Segeric. This youth contemplated, we are told, his eventual accession to both thrones, the Burgundian and the Ostrogothic, and, though we have no reason for asserting that his maternal grandfather designed to make him his heir, such a union of the kingdoms would have had much to recommend it to the statesmanlike mind of Theodoric. But Sigismund, after the death of his Amal wife, had married again. His second wife, a woman not of noble birth, but of orthodox creed, inflamed the father's jealousy against his son, who had flouted her as unworthy to wear the clothes of her late mistress, and whom she accused of not being willing to wait the

BOOK IV.  
Ch. 9.

His self-humiliation before the Emperor,

and breach with Theodoric.

<sup>1</sup> The tendency of modern historians seems to be to acquit Philip of all blame for the death of Don Carlos, who was evidently insane.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.

Murder  
of Sigis-  
mund's  
son, Sege-  
ric, by his  
father's  
orders,  
522.

ordinary course of nature for the succession to his inheritance. The wretched Sigismund listened to the poisonous insinuation, and, without giving his son an opportunity of justifying himself, cut him off by a coward's stroke. One day when Segeric was flustered with wine (we remember how Sidonius speaks of the deep potations of the Burgundians), his father advised him to enjoy a *siesta* after the banquet. Suspecting no evil he fell asleep. Two slaves by the King's command entered the chamber, fastened a cord round his neck, and strangled him.

Sigis-  
mund's re-  
pentance.

Scarcely was the foul deed done than it was repented of. The miserable father, finding that his son had been falsely accused, threw himself upon the corpse, and bitterly bewailed the blind folly which had bereft him of his child. Truly, and with Teutonic frankness, did the servant who witnessed his repentance, say, 'It is not he, but thou, oh King, who needest our pity.' He fled to his beloved monastery at Agaunum, to that spot

His retire-  
ment to  
Agaunum.

so well known to the modern traveller, where 'a key unlocks a kingdom,' as the Rhone, between nearly meeting mountain barriers, emerges from Canton Valais into Canton Vaud. Here, in the narrow defile, on the site of the imaginary martyrdom of the 'Theban Legion' (who, with Maurice at their head, were fabled to have gladly suffered martyrdom at the hands of Maximian rather than offer sacrifice to the gods of the Capitol), a house of prayer arose, and was so richly endowed by

Sigismund, that it passed, though incorrectly, for his original foundation. In this retreat the King spent many days of misery, fasting and weeping. Here he ordered a choir to be formed, whose songs were to arise to Heaven night and day, that there might be a ceaseless ascription of prayer and praise to the Most High. One cannot condemn the religious turn which was taken by the bitter self-condemnation of the unhappy Sigismund, even though it induced him to issue the somewhat harsh order for the extrusion of all women and all secular persons from the vicinity of Agaunum. But one may condemn the clouds of adulation which Avitus, at the installation of the new choir, sent rolling towards the royal murderer from the pulpit of the basilica of Agaunum. He called him 'pious lord,' he praised his devotion, praised his liberality to the Church, regretted that she could find no words adequate to his virtues, but assured him that on that day, by the institution of the perpetual choir, he had surpassed even his own good deeds<sup>1</sup>. And this, to the assassin of his own son, to the man whose conscience was at that very hour tormented by the Furies, the avengers of his child. Not with such poisonous opiates did Ambrose soothe Theodosius, after the massacre of Thessalonica. But then Ambrose had not been always a priest. While administering justice in the Roman prætorium, he had learned, it may be, some lessons of truth and righteousness

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.  
522.

Flattery of  
Avitus.

<sup>1</sup> Aviti Homiliarum Fragmentum, vii (p. 298, Migne).

BOOK IV. which gave an increased nobility even to his eccle-  
 CH. 9. siastical career.

Frankish expedition against Sigismund, 523. The crime of Sigismund, however glossed over by the pulpit eloquence of Avitus, did not wait long for its punishment in this world. In 523, the year following the murder of Segeric, came the crash of a Frankish invasion, more disastrous even than that of 500. Three sons of Clovis joined in it, Chlodimir, Childebert, and Chlotochar (Lothair), incited thereto, according to the story current a century later, by the adjurations of their mother Clotilda, who urged them to revenge the wrongs which *her* family had suffered from Gundobad, more than thirty years before. We have seen how much reason there is to look with doubt, or even with absolute disbelief, upon this long-credited story. It is true that the one successor of Clovis who was not born to him of Clotilda, Theodoric, king of Metz and lord of the Arverni, took no part in the enterprise; but that abstention is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that his wife Suavegotta was the daughter of Sigismund.

Theodoric's alliance with the Franks. On the other hand, the other and greater Theodoric (after whom no doubt the son of Clovis was named), enraged at the murder of his grandson, adopted an attitude of something more than friendly neutrality towards his nephews, the Frankish invaders of Burgundia. Procopius, if we could trust his narrative of these distant affairs, draws for us a curious picture of the almost commercial arrangement between Ostrogoths and

Franks for an 'invasion on joint account' of the contracting parties. He says<sup>1</sup>, 'Afterwards, the Franks and Goths made an alliance for the injury of the Burgundians, on condition that they should subdue the people and divide their land; the nation which should fail to assist its confederate in the campaign, paying a certain stipulated quantity of gold, but not being shut out from its share in the division of the territory.' He then describes how Theodoric gave instructions to his generals to delay their march, and not enter Burgundian territory till they should hear of the victory of the Franks; and how the weight of the conflict thus fell upon the Franks alone, who gained a hard-fought victory. As they chid their allies, when they at length appeared, for their tardy arrival, the latter pleaded in excuse the difficulty of the Alpine passes. The stipulated amount was paid by them, and Theodoric was admitted to his equal share of the conquered territory, receiving general praise for the dexterity with which he had contrived to secure a large accession of territory, without bloodshed, by the payment of a moderate sum of money.

Whatever may have been the compact which Procopius has thus curiously distorted,—for certainly his account resembles more the transactions between Byzantium and Ctesiphon than the probable arrangements between two warlike Teutonic nations,—it must be admitted that in its imme-

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.

523.  
Curious  
account  
given of it  
by Proco-  
pius.

Consider-  
able acces-  
sion of  
territory in  
Gaul thus  
obtained  
by Theo-  
doric.

<sup>1</sup> De Bello Gothico, i. 12.

BOOK IV.

CH. 9.

523.

diate result the campaign of 523 was greatly to the advantage of Theodoric. With no hard fighting, he pushed his frontier in the Rhone-lands northwards from the line of the Durance to that of the Drôme, thus adding to his dominions all that he did not already possess of Provence, and no inconsiderable portion of Dauphiné besides<sup>1</sup>. The leader of the Ostrogothic army which achieved this bloodless conquest was Tulum, the hero of the campaign of 509 and the valiant succourer of Arles<sup>2</sup>.

Defeat of  
Sigismund.

Meanwhile Sigismund fought and lost a battle with the Frankish invaders, probably near the northern frontier of his kingdom, fled to his favourite retreat of Agaunum, and was given up to the enemy by his Burgundian subjects, whose love he had no doubt lost when he slew his son<sup>3</sup>.

All seemed lost, but was not lost yet. As the

<sup>1</sup> This is proved by the fact that bishops from the following places are found assisting at the *Gothic* councils held at Arles between 524 and 529—Cavaillon, Apt. Orange, St. Paul des Trois Châteaux (Augusta Tricastinorum), Charpentras, Gap, Embrun, Vaison (Binding, i. 266).

<sup>2</sup> Cassiodorus, in the previously quoted letter (viii. 10), says of Tulum: 'Mittitur igitur, Franco et Burgundio decertantibus, rursus ad Gallias tuendas, ne quid adversa manus praesumeret, quod noster exercitus impensis laboribus vindicasset. Adquisivit Reipublicae Romanae, aliis contendentibus absque ulla fatigatione provinciam. . . . Triumphus sine pugna, sine labore palma, sine caede victoria,' etc.

<sup>3</sup> This is the version of the story given by the *Passio S. Sigismundi*. Jahn (ii. 303) thinks that the writer, who is partial to the Franks, has made the most of the treachery of the Burgundians, and especially of their supposed share in the actual putting to death of their king.

Frankish hosts were retiring, probably on the approach of winter, Godomar, the younger and more energetic son of Gundobad, collected some troops and assumed the government, probably as a kind of regent on behalf of his captive brother. That brother with all his family was at once murdered by Chlodimir, with that ruthless indifference to human life which is an especial note of the Merovingian house. Sigismund, his wife, and his two sons were all thrown down a deep well in the neighbourhood of Orleans; and, as some faint justification of the crime, later generations trumped up the story, that after this manner had his father Gundobad dealt by Hilperik, the father of Clotilda, and *his* sons. But the wicked deed did not avail to stay the reaction against the Franks, and perhaps even strengthened the position of Godomar, the now recognised King of the Burgundians.

The new King by his valour and energy restored for a time the almost desperate fortunes of his people. The Frankish brothers, joined this time by Theodoric of Auvergne, invaded the country. Godomar met them in battle at Véséronce on the Rhone, about thirty miles east of Lyons<sup>1</sup>. Chlodimir was slain by a javelin. The Burgundians, when they saw the long and carefully-tended hair of the dead man, drawn back from his forehead

BOOK IV.  
CH. 9.

Godomar, younger son of Gundobad, makes a stand against the Franks. Murder of Sigismund by the Frankish king, 523.

Campaign of 524.

Battle of Véséronce, 21 June(?).

Chlodimir slain.

<sup>1</sup> The date of the battle is suggested, not proved, by an interesting inscription discovered at Anse on the Saone, which appears to record the death of 'Villigisclus of good memory, who died in battle at Vesaroncia the xi<sup>th</sup> of the Kalends of July.' See Binding, i. 258.

BOOK IV. and descending to his shoulders, knew that they  
 CH. 9. had slain a royal Meroving<sup>1</sup>. They cut off the head  
 524. and exhibited it on a spear-point to the Frankish  
 Godomar warriors, who, discouraged by the death of their  
 victorious. leader, broke their ranks and fled from the field.  
 The little children of Chlodomir were cruelly murdered by Childebert and Chlotochar, who, intent upon this partition, left his death unavenged and Burgundia in peace.

526.

Enormous  
 increase of  
 Frankish  
 power in  
 the life-  
 time of  
 Theodoric.

This then was the condition of affairs in Gaul when Theodoric the Ostrogoth died. The friendly monarchy of the Visigoths was all but rooted out of the land. That of the Burgundians still lived on, but had been shorn by Theodoric himself of some of its territory in the south, and really awaited but the first vigorous effort from the Franks to crumble into ruin. The dominions of the chief royal house of the Salian Franks, which at the accession of Clovis reached but from Utrecht to Amiens, now touched the Pyrenees at the southwest, and the Main and Neckar in the east. The Thuringians, under their king Hermanfrid, Theodoric's nephew by marriage, were the only power in Germany that seemed to have a chance of maintaining their independence against the Franks, and they too, soon after the death of Theodoric, were to be incorporated with the new world-empire of the Merovingians.

<sup>1</sup> Agathias (i. 3), who describes this battle, gives an interesting description of the Frankish *chevelure*, and contrasts it with the shaggy, unkempt locks of the Turks and Avars.



Looking thus over the map of Western Europe at the beginning of the sixth century, is it possible for us not to cast one glance at that country whose chalk cliffs, seen from the shores which owned the sway of Clovis, looked then near and fair as now they look from France when lit up by the sun of a summer morning? Yet this is how the contemporary Procopius speaks of the island of *Brittia*, which can hardly be any other than our Britain<sup>1</sup>. After describing the wall built across it by the ancients, which, according to him, ran from north to south, and separated the fruitful and populous east from the barren, serpent-haunted western tract, in which no man could live for an hour, he proceeds to tell a well-known story, which he scarcely likes to repeat, since it sounds like fable, and yet which is attested by such numberless persons who themselves witnessed the strange phenomenon that he does not like entirely to reject it:—

‘The coast of the continent over against *Brittia* is dotted with villages, in which dwell fishermen, husbandmen, merchants, who serve the kings of the Franks but pay them no tribute, being excused by reason of the service which I am about to describe. They understand that they have it in charge to conduct by turns the souls of the dead to the opposite shore. Those upon whom the service devolves, at nightfall betake themselves to sleep, though waiting their summons. As the night grows old, an unseen hand knocks at their doors, the

BOOK IV.  
Ch. 9.

England in  
the sixth  
century.

Procopius's  
description  
of it.

The coun-  
try of the  
dead.

<sup>1</sup> De Bello Gothico, iv. 20.

BOOK IV. voice of an unseen person calls them to their toil.  
CH. 9. Then they spring up from their couches and run to the shore. They understand not what necessity constrains them thus to act: they know only that they *are* constrained. At the water's edge they see barks not their own, with no visible passengers on board, yet so deeply loaded that there is not a finger's breadth between the water and the rowlocks. They bend to their oars, and in one hour they reach the island of Brittia, which, in their own barks, they can scarce reach in a night and a day, using both oar and sail. Arrived at the other side, as soon as they understand that the invisible disembarkation has taken place, they return, and now their boats are so lightly laden that only the keel is in the water. They see no form of man sailing with them or leaving the ship, but they hear a voice which seems to call each one of the shadowy passengers by name, to recount the dignities which they once held, and to tell their father's names. And if women are of the party, the voice pronounces the names of the husbands with whom they lived on earth. Such are the appearances which are vouched for by the men who dwell in those parts. But I return to my former narrative.'

So thick was the mist and darkness that had fallen upon the land where Severus died, where Constantine was saluted Imperator, and where Pelagius taught that man was born sinless. And truly, the analogy of that which happens to the

spirits of the dead, well describes the change BOOK IV.  
which had come over Britain. Our historians tell CH. 9.  
us indeed that Anderida fell two years before  
Theodoric won his kingdom. They conjecture  
that Eburacum fell during the central years of  
his reign, and that Cerdic, the pirate ancestor of  
Queen Victoria, conquered the Isle of Wight, where  
his descendant now abides in peace, four years after  
the death of the great Ostrogoth. But to the ques-  
tions, so intensely interesting to us, *how* all these  
things happened, how the struggle was regarded  
by those engaged in it, what manner of man the  
Roman Provincial seemed to the Saxon, and the  
Heathen to the Christian, what were the incidents  
and what the nature of the strife,—to all of  
these questions we can scarce obtain more answer  
than comes back to us from the spirits of those  
with whom we once shared every thought, but  
who, summoned by the touch of an unseen hand,  
have left us for the Land of Silence.

## CHAPTER X.

### THEODORIC'S RELATIONS WITH THE EAST.

#### Authorities.

#### Sources:—

BOOK IV. THOSE enumerated at the beginning of Chapter II, with  
CH. 10. the addition of ENNODIUS and CASSIODORUS for the affairs of Theodoric, the letters of Popes GELASIUS and HORMISDAS, and the ACTS OF THE COUNCILS (in Mansi, vol. viii) for the history of the Schism.

#### Guides:—

Finlay ('Greece under Foreign Dominion,' vol. i.) has some interesting remarks on Anastasius, whom upon the whole he admires. Milman ('History of Latin Christianity,' vol. i.) draws a striking picture of the Emperor Anastasius and the Monophysite controversy. Canon Rawlinson, in his 'Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy,' gives us an excellent history of the wars between Persia and the Empire. But our best guide, and one who unfortunately leaves us after this point, is Tillemont.

493-518. FOR five-and-twenty years—that is to say, for  
Five-and-  
twenty  
years'  
reign of the  
Emperor  
Anasta-  
sius. three-quarters of its whole duration—the reign of Theodoric ran parallel to that of Anastasius, the handsome but elderly officer of the household<sup>1</sup> whom, as we have already seen, the favour of

<sup>1</sup> Anastasius was a Silentarius before his accession to the throne. Procopius (De Bello Pers. ii. 21) describes these officers as men whose business it was to watch over the Emperor's rest in the palace (*βασιλεῖ μὲν αἰεὶ ἐν παλατίῳ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἰπηρετῶν . . . Σιλενταρίους Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν οἷς ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῆ ἐπίκειται*).

Ariadne, widow of Zeno, raised to the imperial throne. The character of the man who was still, probably, in the view of all the provincial populations, the only legitimate ruler in the lands west of the Euphrates, could not but seriously affect, for good or for evil, the fortunes of Theodoric and of the new realm which he was founding; and, upon the whole, it may be said that the influence exerted upon them by Anastasius was for good.

There are few sovereigns of whom more contradictory characters are given than those which the historians of the period—chiefly ecclesiastical historians—have drawn of Anastasius. Avaricious and generous; base and noble: one who sold the offices of the state to the highest bidder; one who found the custom of so selling them in existence and resolutely suppressed it: a destroyer of the resources of the provinces; a careful cherisher of those resources,—such are some of the contradictory qualities assigned to him in the pages of these writers. Even his personal appearance has not altogether escaped from this perplexing variety of portraiture. While Cedrenus tells us of the lofty stature, the vivid blue eyes, and the white hair of the noble-looking Silentarius, to whom Ariadne gave her hand and the imperial crown, Zonaras declares that his two eyes were of different colours, the left black and the right blue, and that hence he derived his surname of Dicorus.

As to his religious opinions, some authors say (or hint) that he was a Manichean, others an Arian, and of his religious position.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.

Contradictory characters of this Emperor,

others an Eutychian,—a set of statements about as consistent with each other as if a modern statesman were represented as at once an Agnostic, an Ultramontane, and a Calvinist. The truth appears to be that Anastasius was not at first an eager partisan of any of the theological fashions (it were giving them too high honour to call them faiths) which distracted the dioceses of the East. He was himself inclined to Eutychianism,—that form of doctrine which exalted the Divinity of Jesus Christ at the expense of his true Humanity; but if I read his actions aright, he wished to reign in that spirit of toleration for all faiths which had been the glory of the reign of Valentinian I. more than a century before him, and which was to be the glory of the reign of his great Gothic contemporary Theodoric. Events, however, were too strong for him. Scarcely anything is harder than to preserve perfect fairness and toleration towards men who are themselves intolerant and unfair. Thus, as time went on, Anastasius began to press more heavily on the adherents of Chalcedon than on their opponents. The bishops of that way of thinking began to find themselves driven from their sees, perhaps on insufficient pretences. The mob of Constantinople, sensitive on behalf of the faith of Chalcedon, took the alarm. There were tumults, bloodshed, even armed rebellion. The majesty of the purple was degraded. Anastasius became a partisan, and a partisan of the unpopular cause. Before he died, he, whose chief ambition it had apparently been to

serve the state well as a civil ruler, and to let theology take care of itself, had the sad conviction that he was known to most of his subjects only as the hard and bitter persecutor of that form of theology which attracted their ignorant but enthusiastic allegiance.

Hence, no doubt, from the position occupied by this Emperor in Church affairs flow those strangely diverging currents of testimony as to his character which have been commented upon above. We have unfortunately hardly any information as to the civil transactions of his reign from a secular historian. No Priscus, and no Procopius<sup>1</sup>, tells us how the transactions of this Emperor in peace and war were viewed by the statesmen of his day. We have only from the ecclesiastical writers the history of the wild war-dance performed round his venerable figure by monks and priests, archimandrites and patriarchs, some shouting ‘Anathema to the Council of Chalcedon!’ and others ‘Anathema to Eutyches, to Zeno, to Acacius! Away with the men who communicated with Peter the Stammerer! Away with the Manichean Emperor!’ The shriek of the latter, the Chalcedonian party, reaches the ears of posterity in the more piercing tones, because it has in the end won the prize of a character for orthodoxy, but we can also distinguish some notes of the war-cry of its enemies<sup>2</sup>, and they help us in

<sup>1</sup> Except a short and rapid summary of the Persian Wars of Anastasius given by Procopius, *De Bello Pers.* i. 7-10.

<sup>2</sup> Preserved, though in a very modified form, in the History of Evagrius.

We know him chiefly through the ecclesiastical historians.

BOOK IV. some measure to understand why and how the  
 CH. 10. aged and tolerant Emperor was forced into acts  
 which his calumniators represent as worthy of  
 Herod or Diocletian.

His finan- To Anastasius as a financial administrator the  
 cial admi- historian can, with but little hesitation, assign a high  
 nistration. place among the rulers of the Empire. Procopius,  
 who styles him 'the most provident and most  
 economical of all the Emperors,' tells us that at  
 his death the imperial treasury contained 320,000  
 pounds of gold (£14,400,000), all collected<sup>1</sup> during  
 the twenty-seven years of his reign<sup>2</sup>. Yet, at least  
 in one instance, the Emperor had not increased  
 but lessened the weight of taxation on his subjects.

His aboli- This was the case of the tax called *Chrysargyron*,  
 tion of the which had been first imposed, some say, by Constan-  
 Chrysar- tine<sup>3</sup>, and which seems to have been a licence-tax  
 gyron. levied once in four years<sup>4</sup> on all who lived by any  
 kind of trade. From the manner of its collection it  
 pressed with extreme severity on small hucksters  
 and others of the poorest class; and it also seemed  
 to give the State's sanction to vice, since it was  
 levied upon prostitutes and others who traded  
 only upon immorality. These perhaps paid their

<sup>1</sup> According to one reading *οὐδενὶ νόμῳ*, 'under no law;' according to another *οὐδενὶ πόνῳ*, 'with no trouble.' Neither reading gives a very satisfactory sense (*Anecdota*, 19, p. 113).

<sup>2</sup> This statement may be compared with that as to the 130,000 lbs. of gold collected for and wasted upon the Vandal expedition by Leo (see vol. ii. p. 455).

<sup>3</sup> Zosimus asserts this and Evagrius passionately denies it.

<sup>4</sup> Tillemont argues that it was the same as the *lustralis collatio*, and was collected once in five years.



Chrysargyron more readily than any other class, feeling that they thereby purchased indemnity for their evil courses<sup>1</sup>. The tax had long been denounced by statesmen and divines, and now (in the year 501<sup>2</sup>) Anastasius determined that it should cease. When he had gone through the form of obtaining the sanction of the Senate to its abolition, he burned in the Circus, in the presence of all the people, the rolls containing the names of the persons liable to the tax. Still, however, as Anastasius well knew, there was one class of men who viewed the abolition with regret. These were the clerks in the office of the Chrysargyron, whose employment, one of the most distinguished in the whole civil service<sup>3</sup>, was taken from them by the reform. Fearing that under his successors the tax might, on the representation of these men, be

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.  
His artifice  
to prevent  
its reimpo-  
sition.

<sup>1</sup> Upon the nature of the Chrysargyron, which is not very clearly explained by contemporary authors, the following somewhat doubtful testimony is given by the late writer Cedrenus (eleventh century):—

‘Now the Chrysargyron was this sort of tax. Every poor man and beggar, every prostitute and repudiated wife, every slave and freedman, made a contribution to the treasury for the excrement of their cattle and their dogs, whether in the city or the field. Men and women each paid a silver coin (? denarius): the same was paid on behalf of a horse, a mule, and an ox: for an ass or a dog the payment was six *folles*. Great was the wailing both in city and country on account of the pitiless way in which the collectors exacted this tax.’

<sup>2</sup> So says Theophanes, p. 123 c. (ed. 1655).

<sup>3</sup> As Evagrius says, their ‘commission’ (*στυργεία*) was one only held by gentlemen (*οὐκ ἀφανῶν ἀνδρῶν*). In consequence of the fiction that the Emperor was a general, every post, even in the civil service, held under him was a *στυργεία*.

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 10.

revived, he took a precaution which, though ingenious, showed some of that not very imperial quality of slyness which we can discern also in his ecclesiastical proceedings, and which partly accounts for the bitterness with which his outwitted theological opponents have persecuted his memory. Inviting the officers who had been charged with the collection of the Chrysargyron to meet him at the palace, he delivered an oration, in which he professed to regret his hasty abolition of the tax, and his rash destruction of the documents connected with it. After all, said he, it was desirable to have some records of the manner of collecting an impost which, at any time, the necessities of the State might compel him to revive. If therefore the worthy *numerarii* before him had among their private papers any such documents, the Emperor would thank them to bring such papers to him, and would reward them handsomely for doing so. On a given day the revenue officers met the Emperor again. The papers were given up and paid for. 'Are there any more?' he asked. 'None, gracious lord,' replied all the officers, and swore it by the Emperor's life. 'Then now shall all be destroyed,' said the Emperor, who burned them at once in the presence of all, and threw even the ashes of the rolls into running water. So intent was he on the thorough performance of the act by which he

'took the tax away,  
 And built himself an everlasting name!'

<sup>1</sup> This story concerning Anastasius is well illustrated by a

Some of the other financial measures carried by Anastasius are spoken of in more doubtful terms. One of them seems to have been <sup>1</sup> the commutation of the tithes payable in kind from the cultivator to the treasury for a fixed money-payment, which, according to Evagrius, was calculated on an oppressive scale <sup>2</sup>. Of course if the commutation was unfair the measure cannot be defended; but, in itself, the principle of allowing the *possessor* to sell his corn to the nearest purchaser, and bring the tenth part of the gold representing it into the treasury, was a good one.

Another reform was the abolition, at least the partial abolition, of the curial system <sup>3</sup>. We are told that he took away the collection of taxes from the local senates <sup>4</sup>, and sent instead officers called *Vindices* <sup>5</sup> to each city, charged with the execution of this duty: 'Whereby the revenues in great part came to grief, and the glory of the cities departed. For [under the old system] the nobles <sup>6</sup> were inscribed each in the album <sup>7</sup> of his city, and thus every city had its own council, with defined and

bas-relief recently discovered in the Forum at Rome. At the command of an Emperor, probably Trajan, the servants of the Exchequer are bearing a great number of rolls of parchment—probably the registers showing the arrears due from defaulting tax-payers—and are burning them in the fire.

<sup>1</sup> Evagrius, iii. 42. The passage is very obscure.

<sup>2</sup> Lydus (De Mag. iii. 61) seems to attribute this change to John of Cappadocia, under Justinian.

<sup>3</sup> Compare vol. ii. pp. 596–618.

<sup>4</sup> Βουλευτηρία.

<sup>5</sup> Βίνδικες.

<sup>6</sup> Εὐπαρίδαι.

<sup>7</sup> Ἐν λευκώμασι.

BOOK IV. well-ascertained powers.' So says Evagrius, writing  
 CH. 10. a century after the accession of Anastasius, when it  
 was perhaps not easy to discriminate exactly between his work and that of his successors. From the history of the Curies, as far as we have been able to trace it, one would be inclined to say that the abolition of these local senates must in itself have been a wise and righteous measure. Their 'glory' was but a bright robe covering deep and cruel wounds. Overcharged with terrible responsibilities, and with scarcely any real power, they stood helpless in presence of the imperial despotism, with whose rapacity they were unable to cope; and thus the privilege of having one's name inscribed in their rolls, once an eagerly-sought distinction, had become a most intolerable burden. The Curies were in fact bankrupt, and the *curiales* were no longer shareholders in a flourishing enterprise, but contributories struggling to evade their liability.

A change, good in itself, but which tended towards centralisation.

In these circumstances, to sweep away the Curies with their system of ruthlessly enforced 'joint and several liability' for the taxes of the district was probably an act of mercy. Still it was a step towards centralisation. The *Vindices* were not local officers, but received their commission direct from the imperial treasury. In the days of financial pressure which were approaching, when Justinian's wars, his wife, and his architects had well-nigh beggared the Empire, and when the chief concern of the ruler was how to wring the last

*solidus* out of the exhausted tax-payer, it may be that the vindex of the Emperor was found more efficacious than the old-fashioned *duumvir* of the Curia. But the blame for this oppression must rest, not on Anastasius, who remodelled the taxing-machine of the State, but on Justinian, who wasted the revenues provided by it.

Other traits of the character of this Emperor seem to disclose a generous and sympathetic nature. Even his enemies attest his habit of abundant almsgiving, both before and after his elevation to the throne. And to any city in his dominions which had suffered from hostile invasion he was wont to grant a remission of all taxes for the space of seven years.

Among the great works which signalised the reign of Anastasius was the construction of a wall, more than fifty miles long, drawn from the Sea of Marmora to the Euxine, at a distance of about thirty-five miles from the capital. The wall was apparently strengthened by a fosse, which was really a navigable canal uniting the two seas<sup>1</sup>. This Great Wall of Anastasius played an important part in the defence of Constantinople for many centuries, giving as it did to the capital, so long as it was kept in good repair, all the strength of an insular position.

The Isaurian war (which has been described in

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.  
  
Generosity  
of Anasta-  
sius.  
  
Building of  
the long  
wall,  
507.  
  
Isaurian  
War,  
492-497.

<sup>1</sup> So I understand the words of Evagrius, iii. 38. Finlay says that 'traces of the wall are still visible about twenty feet broad' (History of Greece, i. 181).

BOOK IV. a previous chapter<sup>1</sup>), waged against the brother  
 CH. 10. and the countrymen of Zeno, occupied five years  
 at the beginning of the reign of Anastasius. Then,  
 Persian War, after a peaceful interval of five years, came four  
 502-505. years of war with Persia. The peace between the  
 two great monarchies of the Eastern world, which  
 had lasted for sixty years, was at length broken  
 by the King of Kings. Kobad<sup>2</sup>, who mounted  
 the Persian throne in 487, was under great obli-  
 gations, both moral and pecuniary, to his barbarous  
 neighbours on the northern frontier, the Ephtha-  
 lites, or so-called White Huns, by whose aid he  
 had been twice enabled to win or to recover his  
 crown. To enable him to discharge the material  
 obligation, he applied to Anastasius for a sum of  
 money, which was, according to one account, to be  
 a loan, according to another the repayment of an  
 old debt, for expenses incurred on the joint account  
 of the two civilised Empires in defending the  
 passes of the Caucasus from the barbarians. Under  
 whatever name the request was made it was re-  
 fused by Anastasius, and Kobad prepared for war.  
 In the first year of the war the Persians, after a  
 stubborn resistance, took the great city of Amida,  
 the capital of the Roman territory on the upper  
 waters of the Tigris. An army, or rather four  
 armies under virtually independent commanders,  
 were despatched by Anastasius to the seat of war.  
 From want of co-operation and want of generalship  
 these four armies effected little or nothing, blun-

502-3.

Fall of  
Amida.<sup>1</sup> See chap. ii.<sup>2</sup> The Cabades of Procopius.

dering into a victory here and a defeat there, but on the whole losing ground before the able strategy of Kobad<sup>1</sup>. It might perhaps have gone hard with the opulent cities of Syria but for the fortunate circumstance that Kobad himself was forced to return to defend his territory against the barbarians on the Oxus; and in his absence his generals fought as badly as those of Rome. The siege of Amida was vigorously pressed by the generals of Anastasius, and the Persians must in a very few days have surrendered it from want of provisions, when messengers came from Kobad proposing a peaceful settlement. If Anastasius would pay £40,000 Amida should be restored to him, and all should be again as it was before the war. The Roman generals accepted these terms, and did not discover till too late that Amida, which their master had bought for 1000 pounds of gold, was really theirs by right of conquest. However, the peace, which was concluded for seven years, lasted

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.

505.

Amida  
bought  
back and  
peace con-  
cluded.

<sup>1</sup> It must be, I think, by some inadvertence that Milman (Hist. of Latin Christianity, i. 243) speaks of the Emperor as having shared these campaigns in person. There is no trace of such a statement in Procopius, and it is improbable that a sovereign, seventy-four years of age, should expose himself to the perils and hardships of such an enterprise. Milman refers to a certain Persian painter who decorated the walls of the palace with Manichean emblems, and whom, he thinks, Anastasius brought with him from the East. But Cedrenus (a very late writer), who is the authority for this story, says: 'Anastasius brought from *Cyzicus* [in Mysia] a certain Manichean painter in the habit of a priest, who dared to paint fantastic figures, unlike the holy ecclesiastical effigies, in the palace' (i. pp. 629, 630, ed. Bonn).

BOOK IV. for one-and-twenty, and was doubtless a great ad-  
 Ch. 10. vantage to both Empires.

The recovered city of Amida was so generously assisted by the Emperor that it soon seemed to flourish even more than it had done before the war broke out. Upon the whole, the Persian war, if it had not brought any great glory, had not brought shame on the arms of Anastasius.

505. In the year in which the Persian war ended, occurred the first passage of arms between the troops of Anastasius and those of Theodoric. This will therefore be the most suitable opportunity for reviewing the notices, scanty and scattered as they are, of the intercourse between the two monarchs.

Transac-  
tions with  
Theodoric.

Embassy  
of Faustus,  
493.

We know from ecclesiastical history that in the year 493 Faustus, who was then Master of the Offices, was sent along with Irenæus (like himself an *Illustis*) to Constantinople on the King's business, and that, on their return to Rome, Faustus did his utmost to heal the schism between the Churches by representing to Pope Gelasius the injury to the cause of orthodoxy which resulted from his insisting on the damnation of Acacius, whose memory was dear both to sovereign and people at Byzantium.

Gelasius's  
haughty  
letter to  
the Em-  
peror.

The only result of their representations, however, was a long and somewhat haughty letter from Gelasius to the Emperor, excusing himself for not having written before, assuring him that Gelasius as a Roman loved and venerated the Roman sovereign, but reminding him that there were two



powers by which the world was governed, the sacred authority of pontiffs and the power of kings. BOOK IV.  
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‘Of these two, so much the weightier is the office of the priest inasmuch as he has to give account for kings also in the day of the Divine judgment. You know, most clement son, that though you excel all the rest of the human race in dignity, you must nevertheless meekly bow the neck to the chief stewards of the Divine mysteries when you receive the sacraments at their hands, and in the affairs of the Church it is for you to obey, not to command . . . It is vain to say that the populace of Constantinople will not bear the condemnation of their late bishop. You have repressed their turbulence at the games : can you not in this matter, which concerns the good of souls, exert the same authority ? . . . Let them call the Apostolic See proud and arrogant : they are herein only like a sick man who blames the doctor that uses sharp measures for his restoration to health. If we are proud who do but obey the teaching of the Fathers, what are they to be called who resist us and fight against Divinity itself ?’ Certainly the pretensions advanced by Pope Felix were not abated by his successor. We do not hear what reply the Emperor made to this lordly letter.

We can hardly be wrong in supposing that the two ambassadors just mentioned, Faustus and Irenæus, were sent by Theodoric to announce his final triumph over Odovacar, and to claim the ratification of the bargain made with Zeno, that Italy,

BOOK IV. if thus conquered, should be, perhaps, abandoned  
 CH. 10. by the Empire, at any rate recognised as the possession of Theodoric. Apparently, however, the embassy was not successful. Anastasius was offended at Theodoric's haste in declaring himself king of the Romans as well as the Goths in the land of Italy, and perhaps refused to be bound by the undefined promises of his predecessor.

Embassy  
 of Festus,  
 497.

Again therefore, in the year 497, was an embassy sent to Constantinople. This time the royal envoy was the Patrician Festus, and he was accompanied by two bishops, Germanus and Cresconius, who bore a letter from the Pope. Gelasius was now dead, and the chair of St. Peter was filled by an Anastasius, namesake of the Cæsar of Byzantium—a man of gentle and peaceable disposition, eager to end the quarrel which reflected so little credit on either of the two Churches. The letter of Anastasius the Pope to Anastasius the Emperor bore willing testimony to the virtues and the piety which the latter had displayed in a private station, and, though still not surrendering the indispensable damnation of the unfortunate Acacius, offered to recognise the validity of all orders conferred by the laying on of his hands. The ecclesiastical difference seemed in a fair way of being settled, and probably the conciliatory temper of the bishops smoothed the path for their colleague the Patrician. For (to quote again the words of the Anonymus Valesii transcribed in a former chapter<sup>1</sup>) 'Theodoric

and pacific  
 letter from  
 Pope Anastasius.

<sup>1</sup> P. 294.

made his peace with the Emperor Anastasius, through the mediation of Festus, for his unauthorised assumption of the royal title<sup>1</sup>. The Emperor also restored to him all the ornaments of the palace which Odoachar had transmitted to Constantinople.’

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.  
497.

Thus, then, peace and friendship are established, on paper as well as in fact, between Ravenna and Constantinople, and Theodoric is formally recognised as, in some sense or other, legitimate ruler in Italy. What was the precise relation thus established between the two monarchs I must give up the attempt to explain. I see no statement of a formal abandonment by the Empire of the sacred soil of Italy; yet neither do I see any formal recognition by Theodoric that he was governing it in the Emperor's name, or that the latter was his superior. To me the whole matter seems to have been purposely left vague, as is so often the case when Fact and Law are felt by all parties to be hopelessly at variance with one another. A spectator of modern politics, who feels his inability to explain the precise legal relation of the Hapsburg monarch to the Sultan in respect to Bosnia, of the Queen of England to the same potentate in respect to Cyprus and Egypt, or even the exact nature of the tie which unites the Emperor of Germany to his crowned partners, or vassals, of Bavaria and Saxony, need not be ashamed to confess that he cannot absolutely decide whether

Peace ratified between King and Emperor.

Their exact relation probably left undefined.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Facta pace de praesumptione regni.’

BOOK IV. Theodoric was dependent or independent of the  
 CH. 10. Emperor of the New Rome.

Extent of  
 Theodoric's  
 dominions.

Whatever may have been the exact title assumed by Theodoric, or the moral limits of his power, there is no doubt that geographically it extended far beyond the country which we call Italy. Of his Gaulish dominions enough has been already said. Rætia, including the eastern half of Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Bavaria south of the Danube, theoretically formed part of his kingdom, though in practice, as we have seen, the somewhat loosely subordinated Alamanni soon occupied most of the lands between the Alps and the Black Forest. In Noricum, Pannonia, and Illyricum, the whole that is of the modern Austrian Empire south and west of the Danube, Theodoric was regarded as the legitimate successor of the Emperors of the West. It is a question, which we have no means of solving, how far Rugians, Heruli, and Gepidæ may practically have limited his dominions in this direction; but it is important to remember that, at any rate after the compact of 497, the Emperor of the East had no claim to rule directly in those countries any more than in Ravenna. Illyricum evidently was Theodoric's in fact, as well as in right. All that island-studded coast of Dalmatia, Diocletian's vast palace at Salona, and the highlands behind, which we now call Bosnia and Herzegovina, were really held by the strength of the Goths, and administered in accordance with the erudite rescripts of Cassiodorus. The frontier of the two monarchies was

apparently that settled in the year 395 between the two sons of Theodosius<sup>1</sup>; and thus Dyrrhachium, the birth-place of the Emperor Anastasius, was only some fifty miles south of that part of the Dalmatian coast-line which owned the sway of the great Ostrogoth.

This being the extent of Theodoric's rights in the Illyrian lands, he determined in 504 to vindicate them by a campaign against his old enemies the Gepidæ. Doubtless he had not forgotten that hard fight by the river Ulca, when his people found their passage barred by the inhospitable King; but now, with his new rights, he found an additional grievance in the fact that Sirmium, one of the greatest cities in the whole Illyrian Prefecture, was held by the Gepid barbarians. The ruins of this great provincial capital lie near to Mitrovitz on the Save, in the extreme east of the modern province of Slavonia. Nevertheless, from the point of view then taken, Bishop Ennodius was right in speaking of it to the King as 'the threshold of Italy, in which the senators aforetime used to watch lest the neighbouring nations gathered round should inflict their deadly wounds on the body of the Roman people<sup>2</sup>.' It was no alleviation

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 275 (where Lissus is erroneously identified with 'the modern town of Lissa;' it is Alessio in Albania). See also the map at vol. i. p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sirmiensem civitas olim limes Italiae fuit, in qua seniores domini excubabant, ne coacervata illinc finitimarum vulnere gentium in Romanum corpus excurrerent' (Ennod. Paneg. p. 173, ed. Migne).

BOOK IV. of the calamity, says the Bishop, that the loss of this  
 CH. 10. city had not happened under Theodoric's rule. It  
 ought again to belong to Italy, and, till it was  
 recovered, his honour felt a stain.

504. There seems to have been division in the coun-  
 cils of the Gepid nation, one part following Tra-  
 sasic the son of Trastila (the king whom Theodoric  
 had defeated at the river Ulca), and the other  
 following a certain Gunderith. Trasasic asked  
 Theodoric's help against his rival, perhaps pro-  
 mised him Sirmium as a recompense. In course  
 of time the Gothic King found that the promises  
 of the Gepid were only made to be broken, and  
 sent an army consisting of some of his noblest  
 young Gothic warriors against him. Pitzias was  
 leader of this expedition: the next in command  
 was named Herduic. Tulum<sup>1</sup>, a young Gothic  
 noble employed in the household of the King, first  
 made himself famous in this campaign. So too  
 did a Gothic stripling named Witigis, who earned  
 a reputation for valour in this campaign which  
 was hereafter to be more fatal to his countrymen  
 than the most pitiful display of cowardice could  
 possibly have proved.

It is impossible to extract any details as to this  
 war of Sirmium from the vapid rhetoric of Enno-  
 dius or the jejune sentences of Jordanes. All that  
 can be said is, that, though the Gepids had pro-  
 cured the assistance of the Bulgarians—that new  
 and terrible nationality which had lately shown

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise called Tulum.

Trasasic  
the Gepid  
deceives  
Theodoric.

Gothic  
warriors.  
Pitzias.  
Tulum.

Witigis.

Gepids and  
Bulgarians  
defeated  
by the  
Goths.

itself on the banks of the Lower Danube<sup>1</sup>—Theodoric's generals obtained a victory—an easy victory we are told—over the allied barbarians. Trasaric was expelled from Sirmium, and his mother, the widow of the inhospitable Trastila, was taken captive by Pitzias<sup>2</sup>. In his treatment of the recovered city the general was careful to show that he looked upon it as a lost prize regained, not as an alien possession conquered. All tendency to ravage on the part of the soldiers was sternly checked, and the Sirmian citizens, when the standard of Theodoric was planted in their citadel, could again rejoice in the long-lost luxury of 'the Roman peace.'

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.  
504.

Sirmium  
recovered.

This appearance of a Gothic army so near the frontier line of Theodoric and Anastasius not unnaturally brought their forces into collision. There was a certain Mundo, a son or grandson of Attila, who had fled from the face of the Gepidæ, and was wandering through the valleys of what we now call Servia, at the head of a band of marauders, of whom, as Jordanes contemptuously says, he called himself king<sup>3</sup>. Against this prince of freebooters

Mundo the  
Hun attacked  
by the Roman  
general  
Sabinian.

505.

<sup>1</sup> Cassiodori Chronicon (s. a. 504): 'Hoc Cos. virtute D. N. regis Theodorici victis Bulgaribus Syrmium recepit Italia.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Pitzamum quoque suum comitem et inter primos electum ad obtinendam Sirmiensem dirigit civitatem. Quam ille expulso rege ejus Trasarico, filio Trapstilæ, retenta ejus matre obtinuit' (Jordanes, De Reb. Get. lviii).

<sup>3</sup> 'Nam hic Mundo de Attilanis quondam origine descendens . . . ultra Danubium in incultis locis sine ullis terræ cultoribus debacchatur, et plerisque abactoribus scamarisque [?] et latronibus undecunque collectis . . . regem se suis grassatoribus fecerat.'

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.

505.

Asks help  
from the  
Goths.

the Emperor sent the general Sabinian, son and namesake of Theodoric's old antagonist. Ten thousand men marched under his standards, and a long train of waggons carried the arms and rations of the soldiers<sup>1</sup>. Mundo, on the point of being overpowered, invoked the assistance of the Goths, and Pitzias descended from the mountains of Bosnia to his aid. The battle was joined in the valley of the Morava, at a place called Horrea Margi<sup>2</sup>. If we may believe Jordanes, the Ostrogothic reinforcements consisted of only 2000 infantry and 500 cavalry. If we may believe Ennodius, the Bulgarians were again opposed to them, employed by the subtle Greeks as a bulwark to break the first fury of their onset<sup>3</sup>. Perhaps, on putting the two accounts side by side, and observing that Marcellinus the chronicler (who acknowledges the defeat of the Imperial troops by Mundo without any reserve) makes no mention of the Ostrogoths on one side nor of the Bulgarians on the other, we may conclude that the arrangement between the confederates was that Mundo the Hun should deal with Sabinian and the troops of the Empire, while Pitzias with his disciplined Goths broke the fierce onset of the Bulgarians.

The Gothic general saw from afar the barbarian host rushing to the battle, and lashed the eager

<sup>1</sup> Marcellinus Comes, s. a. 505.

<sup>2</sup> Near Morava Hissar. Jordanes calls it 'Margo planum, inter Danubium Margumque flumina.'

<sup>3</sup> These, however, may have been included in Sabinianus' army of 10,000.



spirits of his own young warriors into fury by his impassioned words<sup>1</sup>. ‘Remember, my comrades, by whose order you have marched hither. We fight for the fame of our King, and let each man deem that his eyes are upon us. If a whole shower of lances darkened the sky the valiant warrior would still be visible. Plunge your breasts into that line of steel, that by your carelessness of life the victory may be assured. Have these men forgotten Theodoric? Is there not one living still who remembers how his mighty arm smote them long ago? Or do they think that Theodoric is unlike his people? They shall find that we can fight as well as our King.’

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.

505.  
Speech of  
the Gothic  
general to  
his men.

The battle, by the account of the conquerors themselves, was a hardly-fought one. Neither Bulgarians nor Goths would believe that it could be possible for a foe to resist the fury of their onset<sup>2</sup>. But at length the desperate shock and counter-shock were over. It was seen that the Bulgarians were beaten, and with loud lamentations they, who boasted that they had never before turned their backs before an enemy<sup>3</sup>, streamed from the lost battle-field.

Defeat of  
the Bul-  
garians.

<sup>1</sup> The reader must excuse some turgid sentences. I am translating—as far as it is possible to translate—Ennodius.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Concurrebant duae nationes, quibus nunquam inter gladios fuga subvenerat: miratae sunt mutuo sui similes inveniri, et in humano genere vel Gothos resistentem videre vel Bulgares’ (Ennod. Paneg. xii).

<sup>3</sup> But Cassiodorus says that Sirmium in the previous war had been taken from the Bulgarians. I do not pretend to reconcile the two accounts.

BOOK IV.

CH. 10.

505.  
Flight of  
the impe-  
rial troops.

Sabinian fled in terror when he saw the discomfiture of his confederates. Pitzias, we are told, that he might not incur the imputation of avarice, forbade his soldiers to strip the bodies of the slain, and left them to the dogs and the vultures. The very chivalry of these days was barbarous. We hear no more of Mundo, but Theodoric's courtier takes pride in declaring that 'the Roman realm has returned to its ancient limit. Once again, as in the days of old, the Sirmians are taught to obey: the neighbours who have hitherto been keeping back our possessions from us' (apparently the Eastern Emperors) 'are now made to tremble for their own territories<sup>1</sup>.'

Raid of  
Byzantine  
war-ships  
on the  
Apulian  
coast,  
508.

Three years after the war with Mundo, we find the ships of Byzantium making a piratical raid on the Apulian coast. Our information as to this affair comes entirely from a chronicler of the Eastern Empire (Marcellinus Comes), and he very honestly condemns an operation so unworthy of a Roman Emperor. His words are these: 'Romanus Count of the Domestics, and Rusticus Count of the Scholarii, with one hundred armed ships and as many cutters bearing eight thousand armed men, went forth to ravage the coasts of Italy. They proceeded as far as the very ancient city of Tarentum, and then, recrossing the sea, bore back to Anastasius Cæsar [the news of] this inglorious

<sup>1</sup> 'Interea ad litem suam Romana regna remearunt: dictas more veterum præcepta Sirmiënsibus: de suis per vicinitatem tuam dubitant, qui hactenus nostra tenuerunt.'

victory which, with pirate-daring, Romans had snatched from Romans.' BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.

As we hear no more of raids or revenges between the two states we may perhaps conclude that the complaints of Theodoric and the condemnation hinted by his subjects, caused Anastasius, himself at heart a lover of peace, to lay aside his unfriendly attitude and to resume the peaceful intercourse which had been for three years interrupted. If so, we may possibly place about this time a letter—the first in the collection of Cassiodorus—which was borne by two ambassadors from the Court of Ravenna to that of Constantinople<sup>1</sup>. In that letter, Theodoric, or rather Cassiodorus writing in his name, complains, in well-chosen and weighty words, of the interruption of friendly relations with 'the most clement Emperor.' He praises the condition of Peace: Peace, the fair mother of all noble arts, the nurse of the succeeding generations, by whom the race of man is prolonged, who is the softener of savage manners. Theodoric himself learnt 'in your republic' how to govern Romans with a mild and equal sway. His kingdom is meant to be an imitation of the Emperor's: the Senate who are the Emperor's friends are his also; and his love for the venerable city of Rome is or ought to be another powerful link between them. The two republics, which under earlier sovereigns were always looked upon as forming one body, ought to be not only not discordant but

508.  
  
Letter to  
Anasta-  
sius,  
509 (?).

<sup>1</sup> Cass. Var. i. 1.

BOOK IV. bound to one another by bonds of love, ought not  
 CH. 10. merely to love, but actively and vigorously to help one another. With words of courtly greeting to the 'most glorious charity of your Mildness,' but words which seem carefully framed to convey compliments only, without any recognition of real superiority, Theodoric concludes by referring the Emperor to his ambassadors for fuller information as to his feelings.

Skill required in an ambassador to the Eastern Court.

Either on this occasion, or another of his numerous embassies to the Eastern Court, Theodoric sent Agapetus (Patrician and Illustris) to represent him. In the letter charging him with this appointment<sup>1</sup> he is informed that, for such a commission as his, it is necessary that 'a man of eminent prudence be selected, one who can dispute with persons of the keenest subtlety, and so manage as not to lose his cause in an assembly of literati, where the best-trained intellects of the world will come against him. Great art is required in dealing with these artful men, who think that they can anticipate every argument that you can employ<sup>2</sup>.'

Priscian the Grammarian then at Constantinople.

It is possible that among these word-fencers whom the ambassadors of Theodoric had to contend with, there may have been a man whose name is memorable in the history of the Latin tongue, Priscian the Grammarian. We possess a poem of

<sup>1</sup> Cass. Var. ii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> 'Magna ars est contra artifices loqui, et apud illos aliquid agere qui se putant omnia praevidere.'

his in praise of Anastasius, written in flowing hex-  
ameters, much above the ordinary level of the BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.  
Latinity of his times. The descent of the Emperor  
from Pompey the Great, his Isaurian victories, his  
abolition of the Chrysargyron, his establishment of  
public granaries, his repression of the factions of  
the Circus, are all duly commemorated. One of the  
titles given to the Emperor (besides Isauricus and  
Parthicus) is Gotthicus, a circumstance which seems  
to point to a date after the outbreak of hostilities  
with Theodoric for the delivery of the oration. And His praise  
of the Em-  
peror.  
in the poem occur the following remarkable lines,  
which indicate that then, at any rate, notwithstand-  
ing all the optimism of Cassiodorus, there were some  
Romans disposed to look upon the Emperor, not the  
King, as their natural sovereign and protector:—

‘But of all acts our grateful praise that claim,  
Two, mighty Prince! most illustrate your name.  
The first, your choice of rulers for the land,  
And then, your goodness to the exiled band.  
All of her sons whom Elder Rome may send  
You greet, you succour, as a fostering friend.  
Step after step they mount in your employ,  
Till grief for their lost country turns to joy.  
Fortune and life to you, great lord, they owe,  
And night and day for you their prayers shall flow<sup>1</sup>.’

<sup>1</sup> ‘Omnia sed superest, Princeps, praeconia vestra  
Propositum sapiens, quo fidos eligis aulae  
Custodes, per quos Romana potentia crescat,  
Et quo, Roma vetus misit quoscunque, benigne  
Sustentas, omni penitus ratione fovendo,  
Provehis et gradibus praeclaris laetus honorum  
Ne damni patriae sensus fiantve dolores,  
Fortunam quare tibi debent atque salutem  
Votaque suscipiunt pro te noctesque diesque.’

BOOK IV.

CH. 10.

Troubles of  
Anastasius  
at home.

But whatever disposition Anastasius may have felt to trade upon the doubtful loyalty of the Romans towards a Gothic ruler, the increasing discontent of his own subjects towards the end of his reign found him employment enough, without his engaging in any further contests with Theodoric. We must now plunge therefore into those dreary theological faction-fights which were briefly referred to at the commencement of the chapter.

Religious  
condition  
of the Em-  
pire.

The state of ecclesiastical parties in the Empire throughout this whole period was most peculiar, and was enough to strain the powers and the patience of the wisest and the most enduring of rulers.

Egypt.

There was Egypt, venerating the memory of Cyril above all other ecclesiastics, cherishing, if not venerating, the name of Eutyches, set upon maintaining to the uttermost the doctrine of the unity of the nature of Jesus Christ, who, they maintained, as God was born, as God was crucified.

Syria.

Syria, which had given birth to the opposite doctrine, that of Nestorius (whose denial that Mary was rightly called 'the Mother of God' had brought about all this controversy), fluctuated still between Nestorianism and Monophysitism in the strangest and most bewildering uncertainty.

Constanti-  
nople.

At Constantinople the populace, led by a rabble of fanatical monks, were attached with incomprehensible fervour of loyalty, not to Eutychianism, not to Nestorianism, but to the very name of the Council of Chalcedon, which excommunicated both,

and proclaimed the narrow *Via Media* of orthodoxy between them. Middle ways do not generally enlist the passions of a religious mob in their behalf. But so it was, that throughout the reign of Anastasius, if at any time words were used by a person in a prominent position which seemed to reflect on 'the Synod of the Six Hundred and Thirty' (the number of fathers who met at Chalcedon), blood might be expected soon to flow in the streets of Constantinople.

The upper classes seem at this time to have been generally Monophysite, or at least strongly attached to the Henoticon of Zeno. They probably felt the danger of dismembering the Empire which would be incurred by crushing the fanaticism of Alexandria by the fanaticism of Constantinople.

And Rome, the seat of Peter, and still in a certain sense, notwithstanding her barbarian rulers, the capital of the Empire? Rome seemed at this time to have no ears for the original controversy; so set was she on maintaining the damnation of Acacius, who had dared to excommunicate a pope. Of course she was out of communion with Monophysite Alexandria, but then she was equally out of communion with orthodox Constantinople, which held fast by the Council of Chalcedon and venerated the Tome of Leo, but which would not strike the name of Acacius out of her diptychs. Bishop after bishop of that see suffered persecution and exile for maintaining the faith of Chalcedon against the Monophysite Emperor; but as they would not

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.  
The mob  
Chalcedonian.

The nobles  
Monophysite.

Rome.

BOOK IV. admit that Acacius was inevitably damned, Rome,  
CH. 10. the champion of Chalcedon, would have none of  
 them.

Faith of  
 Anastasius  
 himself.

Anastasius, as has been already said, was probably at heart, like most of the Byzantine nobles, a Monophysite. But he was strongly suspected, and probably with truth, of the much more dangerous heresy of caring very little about the whole matter, and preferring justice and mercy and the practice of the Christian virtues to all this interminable wrangle about such questions as whether Christ ought to be said to *subsist in* two natures or to *consist of* them. While he was still in a private station, he had been accused of attending the conventicles of the heretics and yet retaining his seat in the great Catholic Basilica. Euphemius the bishop had sent for him, and sharply rebuked him for such dangerous dalliance with error, concluding the interview by a threat that, if the offence were repeated, he would cut off his hair and expose him to the derision of the mob. This story, it should be said, rests on the doubtful authority of Suidas. It seems improbable that even the Patriarch of Constantinople would dare to use such a menace to an officer of the household, past middle life and held in high honour by the people.

The Patri-  
 arch Eu-  
 phemius  
 views him  
 with sus-  
 picion.

However, the doubt, the suspicion as to the orthodoxy of the elderly Silentarius, devout and charitable as all tongues proclaimed him to be, remained in the mind of the Patriarch Euphemius.

491. When Ariadne presented him to the Senate as the



future Emperor, Euphemius long resisted his election, and at length, it is said, only withdrew the objection on receiving from Anastasius a written confession of his faith, in which he declared that he held as true all the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon. No doubt if such a humiliating condition were enforced upon him, the remembrance of it would rankle in the mind of the new Emperor, who is said to have made the recovery of the document, either from Euphemius or his successor, the main object of his ecclesiastical policy for some years. There is some variation, however, in the accounts of this matter given by the different historians, and, as we so often find to be the case, the further they are removed from the transaction the more detailed does their information about it become. Probably the importance of the affair has been overrated by ecclesiastics.

Anastasius, however, had reason enough to look coldly on Euphemius, not only as the personal enemy who had threatened to subject him to bitter humiliation, but also as the partisan, and hardly the secret partisan, of his rival the Isaurian Longinus. In the year 496, after the close of the Isaurian campaign, when, according to the triumphant Emperor, 'the prayers of the Patriarch had covered his friends with soot<sup>1</sup>;' by one of those exertions of high-handed power which were becoming almost the rule at Constantinople, Anastasius deposed Euphemius from his see, and sent him

Banishment of Euphemius, 496.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 72.

BOOK IV. into exile at Euchaita, a city of Pontus<sup>1</sup>. The  
 CH. 10. demand for his deposition came undoubtedly from  
 496. the Emperor, but it was apparently carried into effect in a regular manner by a synod of bishops, before whom Anastasius laid the proofs of the Patriarch's treasonable complicity with the Isaurian insurgents. It was, at any rate ostensibly, for political not for theological offences that Euphemius was cast down from his high place<sup>2</sup>.

Macedonius the new Patriarch.

The new Patriarch of Constantinople was Macedonius, a gentle and sweet-souled man, too good for the days of wrangle in which he lived. Euphemius, before his departure for the solitudes of Pontus, desired to have the sworn promise of his successor that he should not be molested on his journey. Macedonius, who had the permission of the Emperor to grant this safe-conduct, was told that his predecessor was in the baptistery of the basilica, waiting for the interview. With generous thoughtfulness he called to a deacon and desired him to take off from his shoulders the bishop's mantle, that he might not seem to flaunt before the eyes of the fallen Patriarch the ensigns of a dignity which was no longer his. He also himself

His courtesy to Euphemius.

<sup>1</sup> So say modern geographers. I have not met with the authority for so locating it.

<sup>2</sup> There had been in the preceding year an attempt on the life of Euphemius, described by Theophanes, which had only just failed of success. But the authority of so late a writer is quite insufficient to connect Anastasius with this crime. The nearly contemporary Theodorus Lector, a bitter enemy of the Emperor, simply ascribes it to 'the conspirators against Euphemius' (οἱ ἐπιβουλοὶ Εὐφημίου).

borrowed money from the usurers to provide for the travelling expenses of Euphemius and his retinue. The banished man lived on for nineteen years in exile; apparently had to change his place of abode on account of the invading Huns<sup>1</sup>; and died in 515 at Ancyra in Galatia.

During the fifteen years that Macedonius governed the Church of Constantinople there was a division, growing gradually wider and wider, between him and his Emperor. At the time of his elevation he signed the Henoticon, and perhaps anathematised the Council of Chalcedon<sup>2</sup>. Gradually however, under the influence of the monastic and popular enthusiasm which prevailed in the capital, he 'hardened into a stern, almost a fanatic partisan of that very Council<sup>3</sup>.' With the usual fairness of religious disputants, the man who battled on behalf of the Via Media with Euty-chians was accused of himself inclining to Nestorianism. One charge made against him in this connection and much insisted upon was that, in order to support his heretical views, he had altered a letter in a celebrated passage of the New Testament<sup>4</sup> which has often since been the battle-field of controversy.

<sup>1</sup> This is Tillemont's conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> Victor Tunnunensis asserts this, 'Macedonius . . . Synodo facta condemnat eos qui Chalcedonensis decreta Synodi suscipiunt: ut eos qui Nestorii et Euty-chis defendant;' but this is very likely only a partisan way of stating that he signed the Henoticon.

<sup>3</sup> Milman's Latin Christianity, i. 241.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 16. He was accused of altering *ὁς ἐφανερῶθη ἐν*

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CH. 10.

496-511.  
Macedo-  
nius be-  
comes es-  
tranged  
from the  
Emperor.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.

The heretical Trisagion sung in the Emperor's chapel, 511.

Tumult in the church,

The increasing estrangement between the Emperor and the Patriarch, the increasing irritation of the Chalcedonian mob at the proceedings of their sovereign (who everywhere, but especially in Syria, was pressing more and more heavily on those bishops who did not accept the Henoticon), was brought to a crisis by the proceedings of a band of strangers and schismatics, who one Sunday burst into the Chapel of the Archangel in the Imperial Palace, and dared to chaunt the *Te Deum* with the addition of the forbidden words, the war-cry of many an Eutychian mob, 'Who wast crucified for us.' The Trisagion, as it was called, the thrice-repeated cry to the Holy One, which Isaiah in his vision heard uttered by the seraphim, became, by the addition of these words, as emphatic a statement as the Monophysite party could desire of their favourite tenet that God, not man, breathed out his soul unto death outside the gates of Jerusalem. What one party asserted with the loud voice of defiant psalmody the other party were of course bound to deny, maintaining their denial, if need were, by force. On the next Sunday the Monophysites sang the verse which was their war-cry in the great Basilica itself. Shouts were *σαρκί* into *ὡς ἐ. ἐν σ.* The reading in the *Textus Receptus*, as is well known, is *Θεός*: but Macedonius is not charged, as is sometimes stated, with introducing this reading, but *ὡς*. It is difficult to see what bearing this change would have either way, but the introduction of *Θεός* would hardly be charged upon a Nestorian. The passage, which is in *Liberatus* (*Breviarium*, cap. xix), is important, as showing that *ὡς* was the generally accepted reading in the sixth century.

heard from the angry mob ; to shouts succeeded taunts ; to taunts blows and strifes. The magistrates, acting perhaps at the instigation of the Emperor, loudly and fiercely upbraided Macedonius as the author of all this tumult. But there were men, well-known faction leaders, on the other side, whose presence goaded the Chalcedonian populace to fury. Chief among these was Severus, who had been throwing all Syria into confusion by his zeal for the condemnation of the synod, and who was to be rewarded for his turbulence by being seated on the episcopal throne of Antioch. It was soon seen on which side the voice of the multitude was given. A vast crowd of citizens, accompanied by their wives and children, and headed by the abbots of the orthodox monasteries, surged through the streets of Constantinople, shouting, ‘Christians, lo, the day of martyrdom ! Let no one abandon our father !’ They hurled their insults at the Emperor himself, denouncing him as a Manichean, as unworthy to reign.

Anastasius, terrified at the turn which things had taken, ordered the great gates of the palace on every side to be barred, and the ships made ready for his flight. So he sat solitary in the vast enclosure, trembling at the brutal clamours which reached him from without. At length he determined to bend to the storm. Though he had sworn that he would never again look upon the face of Macedonius, he sent some trusty retainers to the Patriarch to beg him to come and salute him. As

BOOK IV.

CH. 10.

511.

and in the city.

62

Anastasius is forced to seek a reconciliation with Macedonius.

BOOK IV. Macedonius, in that his hour of triumph, glided  
 CH. 10.  
 511. through the streets, the mob shouted with joy, 'Our father is still with us!' and, ominous sound for the Emperor, the soldiers of the household regiments<sup>1</sup>, through whose ranks he passed, echoed the cry. When the Patriarch entered the presence chamber, he frankly rebuked the Emperor for his alleged enmity to the Church. An apparent reconciliation was effected. The mild character of the Patriarch (who had not only forgiven but sent away with a handsome present an assassin<sup>2</sup> who sought his life) made the restoration of peace an easy task.

Banish-  
 ment and  
 deposition  
 of Mace-  
 donius,  
 511.

The reconciliation, however, was but superficial. The dignity of the Emperor had been too deeply wounded for it to be real. Yet, from fear of the populace, he did not dare to bring the venerated Patriarch openly to trial. He caused him to be hurried out of his palace, rowed across the Bosphorus to Chalcedon, and thence escorted to the same little town of Euchaita whither his predecessor had been conveyed fifteen years before. A council was hastily summoned, and the absent Patriarch was deposed from his see. After four years of exile at Euchaita, he was driven by a Hunnish invasion to Gangra, a town in Paphlagonia, where he shortly after died. One of his faithful followers declared that on the night of his decease the injured Patriarch appeared to him, having in his

His death,  
 515.

<sup>1</sup> Οἱ τῶν σχολῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Named Ascholius (Theod. Lect. ii. 22).

hand a roll, and saying, 'Depart hence, and read what is here written to Anastasius.' In the roll was written, 'I indeed depart to my fathers, whose faith I too have kept. But I shall not cease to importune the Lord until thou comest, that the cause between us two may be brought to judgment.'

Anastasius in fact survived Macedonius three years, but he lived somewhat too long for his fame. The irregular and illegal deposition of the Patriarch is one of the worst acts that can be laid to his charge; and the remaining seven years of his life were poisoned by the results which flowed from it—an ever-increasing unpopularity with his Byzantine subjects, and an ever-dwindling hope of seeing the fires of religious faction dying out and peace restored to the Empire. Again, in the year after the expulsion of Macedonius, the terrible war-cry of the corrupted Trisagion sounded through the streets of Constantinople. It was on a memorable day that the flames of religious war were thus rekindled. The 6th of November in every year was kept as a solemn fast, in memory of that awful day in 472 when the heaven at Constantinople was blackened with the ashes of Vesuvius<sup>1</sup>, while half the cities of Asia Minor were rocking with the violence of an earthquake. On the Sunday which

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The last seven years of Anastasius (511-518) the worst part of his reign.

Again the heretical Trisagion, 512.

<sup>1</sup> We get this fact from Marcellinus. Victor Tunnunensis, who perhaps misunderstood his authority, thinks that the clouds suddenly rained down ashes in 512 on the impious corrupters of the Trisagion.

BOOK IV. preceded the fortieth of these anniversaries, Ma-  
CH. 10.  
512. rinus, the able but grasping Prætorian Prefect, and Plato the Prefect of the city, were standing in their place of honour in the Great Church of Constantinople, when the singers (as it was believed by their command) thundered forth the words, 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty<sup>1</sup>,' with the terrible addition breathing defiance, menace, and insult, 'Who wast crucified for us.' The orthodox took up the strain and chaunted the verse in the way used by their forefathers. Again psalmody gave place to blows: men wounded and dying lay upon the floor of the church; the ring-leaders of the tumult were led off to the dungeons of the city. Next day the scene of strife was transferred to the atrium or oblong porch in front of the Church of St. Theodore, and a yet greater slaughter of the champions of the Catholic faith took place there. On the third day, the 6th of November, the day of the solemn procession, the orthodox mob streamed from all parts into the great forum. There they swarmed and swayed to and fro all that day and all that night, shouting forth, not the greatness of the Ephesian Diana, but 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' without the words 'Who wast crucified.' They hewed down the monks—a minority of their class—who were on the side of the imperial creed, and burned their monasteries with fire. They carried the standards of the army and

Disturb-  
 ance in the  
 city, 6th  
 November.

<sup>1</sup> Or rather the form which had then become popular, 'Holy God, Holy Strong, Holy Immortal.'



the keys of the various gates of the city to the Forum, where a sort of camp was established, with monks for its officers. A poor monk from the country was found hiding in the palace of Marinus. Having persuaded themselves that it was by his advice that the deadly words had been added to the hymn, they cut off his head and carried it about on a pole, shouting, 'See the head of an enemy of the Trinity!' The statues of Anastasius were thrown down. The Emperor's nephew Patricius, and Celer Master of the Offices and general-in-chief in the Persian War, were sent to the populace with soothing words; but, notwithstanding their senatorial rank, they were greeted with a shower of stones. Ominous cries claimed the Empire for Areobinda<sup>1</sup>, related by marriage to the family of Valentinian III, and a general who had achieved some successes in the Persian War. The houses of Marinus the Prefect and of Pompeius, a nephew of the Emperor, were burned. At length, after two days of continued riot<sup>2</sup>, the triumphant mob, fresh from their work of destruction, brandishing gospel and cross as the ensigns of their war, and shouting 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' without the heretical addition, streamed into the Circus Maximus and stood before the Podium of the

<sup>1</sup> Areobinda or Areobindus, son of Dagalaifus and grandson on his mother's side of the Patrician Ardaburius, married Juliana, daughter of the Emperor Olybrius and granddaughter of Valentinian III. (See genealogy at vol. ii. p. 486.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Tertio die quam in forum advenerant' (Marcellinus, s. a. 512).

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512.

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512.  
Humilia-  
tion of  
Anasta-  
sius.

Emperor. There on his imperial throne, but without the diadem or the purple, sat the aged monarch (he was now eighty-one years of age), and seemed by his helpless attitude to enquire what was their will. The mob shouted that the two Prefects, Marinus and Plato, should be thrown to the wild beasts. No lighter punishment, in the judgment of those accurate theologians, would suffice for the crime of these men, who had added four words to the Trisagion<sup>1</sup>. Anastasius, whose own voice was no doubt 'changed to a childish treble,' could not himself answer the hoarse hymn-shouters, but he bade the criers make proclamation to the people that he was ready, if they wished it, to lay down the burden of empire; but, inasmuch as all could not be masters, it would be necessary that his successor should be chosen. Perhaps this was an adroit device to divide the victorious Chalcedonians, united in opposition to Anastasius, but not united in their choice of Areobinda or any other successor. Perhaps the mob were touched with pity and relenting at the sight of those white hairs uncrowned and bowed low before them. Whatever the cause, the multitude were appeased. They melted away out of the streets and Forum and back into their homes,

<sup>1</sup> 'In circum ad Anastasium venientes et ante suum solium consistentes, hymnum Trinitatis juxta morem Catholicorum concinentes, conruscansque Evangelium crucemque Christi ferentes, e foro plurimi convenerunt, Marinum Platonemque pravitatis ejus auctores feris subjici conclamantes' (Marcellini Chronicon, s. a. 512).

having received from the Emperor nothing but fair words, perhaps promises and oaths to respect the faith of Chalcedon <sup>BOOK IV. CH. 10.</sup> <sup>\_\_\_\_\_</sup> <sup>1.</sup>

The promises, if they were given, were not kept ; for, though the Emperor seems to have abstained from again shocking his subjects in the capital by the sound of the heretical Trisagion, he continued, with the help of Timotheus, his Monophysite Patriarch of Constantinople, to rule the Church in the interests of the heretical party, no longer, it would seem, contented with exacting the signature of Zeno's Henoticon, but insisting on an express anathema to the Council of Chalcedon. For refusing this anathema the gentle Flavianus, who had tried to please all parties, and had satisfied none, was thrust out from the see of Antioch, where the busy Monophysite Severus reigned in his stead. All over the East, especially in Syria, was heard the wail of the orthodox for sees widowed of their Catholic bishops and handed over to heretical intruders. The Emperor does not keep his promises. Catholic bishops driven out from their sees.

The discontent caused by these high-handed proceedings furnished a pretext which enabled a military adventurer named Vitalian to shake the throne of Anastasius. Though the son of an officer War of Vitalian, 514-515.

<sup>1</sup> I do not find the authority for Gibbon's statement that the mob 'accepted the blood of two unpopular ministers, whom their master without hesitation condemned to the lions.' The deaths of Marinus and Plato were clamoured for ; but where are we told that the mob had their will ? As for Marinus, Evagrius distinctly mentions him as taking part in the latest scenes of the war with Vitalian, three years after this insurrection.

BOOK IV. in the imperial army, Vitalian was of Gothic ex-  
 CH. 10. traction <sup>1</sup>. He was a man of diminutive stature,  
 514. and had a stutter in his speech : he had all the  
 fire and the courage necessary to lead a band of  
 mutineers and barbarians to victory, and along  
 therewith the address to feign an interest (which  
 he can hardly have felt) in the theological contro-  
 versy, and to link his cause with that of the  
 prelates deposed for their adherence to the Council  
 of Chalcedon. This was the pretext for re-  
 bellion which was flaunted before the eyes of the  
 Byzantine populace, and which has to some extent  
 imposed on later ecclesiastical historians, who have  
 looked upon him as the champion, certainly the  
 ruthless champion, of the Fourth Council of the  
 Catholic faith. The recently-discovered fragments,  
 however, of the history of Joannes Antiochenus <sup>2</sup>  
 (who evidently drew from nearly contemporary  
 sources) show that the rebellion had a much more  
 ignoble origin. Vitalian had a grievance in his  
 removal from the office of distributor of the rations  
 to the *foederati*; the mutinous soldiers alleged that  
 they had a grievance in the withholding of some  
 arrears of pay; the Huns, who formed perhaps the  
 bulk of the army, needed no excuse at all for their  
 willingness to swarm across the Danube under the  
 guidance of their savage chiefs Saber and Tarrach

<sup>1</sup> Vitalianus Scytha (Marcell. Com. s. a. 514). The sugges-  
 tion that he was a grandson of Aspar seems to spring from  
 a confusion between his father Patriciolus and Aspar's son  
 Patricius.

<sup>2</sup> In Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. v.

and the like, and to devastate the cultivated plains of Mœsia and Thrace.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.

The war was waged chiefly in the neighbourhood of Varna (then called Odessus); but twice, nay three times, Vitalian, by a bold dash through the passes of the Balkan, or by assembling a fleet and sailing along the Euxine coast, succeeded in penetrating to the very suburbs of Constantinople. The first time, Anastasius affixed to the city gates brazen crosses with a long statement of the true origin of the insurrection, to disprove Vitalian's assumption of the character of a champion of the faith. At the same time he promised—and this has an important bearing on our main subject—that 'he would bring men from Old Rome to settle matters concerning the faith.' To remove the discontent of the taxpayers he announced that he remitted a fourth part of the tax on cattle for the provinces of Bithynia and Asia, and deposited the paper containing this pledge on the Holy Table in the Great Church.

514.  
Vitalian's first dash at Constantinople.

Proclamation of Anastasius.

For the time Vitalian retired, and the wave of war rolled back across the Balkans. The insurgent general was declared a public enemy by the Senate, and an army of 80,000 men was despatched against him, under the command of the Emperor's nephew Hypatius. The Roman army was encamped behind its waggons at a spot called Akraë, on the sea-coast a little north of Varna. The arrows of the Huns dealt death among the draught oxen, their savage onset broke the line of the

Expedition under Hypatius.

Crushing defeat of the Emperor's troops.

BOOK IV. waggon, and then (we are gravely told), in the  
 CH. 10. mist raised by their enchantments, the panic-

514.

stricken and flying Romans fell into a deep ravine, where they perished, to the number of 60,000. Their dead bodies piled one upon another filled the rocky chasm. Hypatius fled to the shore and tried to hide himself in the sea, but his head, 'like a sea-bird's,' was seen above the waves: the barbarians dashed into the breakers and captured their valuable prize, the nephew of an Emperor.

Vitalian again before Constantinople.

Vitalian pushed on with a fleet of 200 ships to the suburbs of Constantinople, and overpowered the imperial general John, who rushed into his master's presence and implored him to grant the enemy's terms, however hard they might be. Dispirited by so terrible a defeat of his troops and by the capture of his nephew, Anastasius consented to treat, conferred on Vitalian the dignity of Magister Militum of Thrace, paid him the enormous sum of £200,000 as ransom for Hypatius, and, it is to be feared, made some promises, even swore some oaths, which were not meant to be kept, that he would restore to their episcopal thrones the exiled adherents of Chalcedon.

His third expedition to Constantinople, 515.

The slippery character of Anastasius made it well-nigh impossible for him ever to end a dispute. Vitalian felt sure that the Emperor was plotting against him, and next year resolved to anticipate the blow by another dash for Constantinople. A battle by land and sea followed, under the very walls of the capital. Now at length fortune turned

against the fiery little Gothic rebel. A rough Thracian soldier named Justin, who had fought his way up from the lowest ranks to the position of Captain of the Guard (*Excubitorum Praefectus*), thrust his ship boldly forwards into the hostile fleet, which was commanded by Vitalian himself, grappled a ship, made prisoners of all the soldiers on board, and struck such terror into the sailors of Vitalian that they turned and fled. Seeing this, the army on land fled likewise, leaving heaps of their comrades slaughtered on the field. Soon the whole force of Vitalian, Huns, mutinous Romans, Goths, had melted away like snow in summer; and the arch-rebel himself, so lately an important personage in the state and the arbiter between contending creeds, slunk away into obscurity, in which he remained for the rest of the reign of Anastasius.

At the end of the year 514, while the rebels' power was still unbroken, the Emperor, in fulfilment of his promise to Vitalian 'to settle the dispute concerning the faith in concert with the Bishop of Old Rome,' sent two letters to Hormisdas, who now sat in the chair of St. Peter, saying that the common fame of the Pope's gentleness and moderation induced him to break the long silence caused by the harshness of his predecessors, and to suggest that a council, at which the Pope should preside, and in which he should act as mediator, should be held at Heraclea on the shore of the Propontis (about 60 miles west of Constantinople),

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.

515.  
Vitalian is  
defeated.

His flight.

Overtures  
by Anasta-  
sius to the  
Pope,  
514.

Hormisdas  
Pope,  
514-523.

BOOK IV.

CH. 10.

A council  
proposed.  
Reply of  
Hormis-  
das,  
515.

in order to settle the affairs of the Church and heal the troubles which had arisen in the province of Scythia<sup>1</sup>. The day for the Council's assembling was to be the 1st of July, 515. Hormisdas sent a prompt and courteous reply, declaring that peace was his desire, as it had been that of his venerable predecessors. The time for the Council was too near, perhaps had been purposely fixed at too early a date, to make it possible for the Pope and his bishops to attend it; but the ice had now been broken, and negotiations between Rome and Constantinople could go forward, whether the Council were ever to assemble or not. On the 8th of July Hormisdas again sent a short note to the Emperor, commending his zeal for the restoration of unity to the Church, and referring him to the five legates whom he was at the same time despatching from Rome, for fuller information as to the terms upon which he would assist at a new Council.

The Pope's  
instruc-  
tions to his  
legates.

The legates (two bishops, a presbyter, a deacon, and a notary) were headed by Ennodius, Bishop of Ticinum, whom we already know so well as biographer of Epiphanius and turgid panegyrist of Theodoric. The letter of instructions (*Indiculus*) addressed to these legates is still preserved; a long and circumstantial document and curiously charac-

<sup>1</sup> Anastasius seems to have sent two letters, to nearly the same purport. One was despatched from Constantinople, Dec. 28, 514, and reached Rome on the 14th of May, 515. The other, despatched Jan. 12, 515, was received as early as March 28. The unsettled state of the country, or the fear of winter storms, may have led to the double despatch.



teristic of its author and of the times. Through-  
out the letter runs that almost exaggerated fear of  
Greek subtlety, that sense of inferiority to Greek  
diplomacy, which we trace also in the works of  
Cassiodorus. We have seen how, in instructing  
Theodoric's ambassador<sup>1</sup> to Constantinople, the  
accomplished secretary had warned him of the  
difficulty of dealing with men 'who think they can  
foresee everything.' It was with a determination  
to foresee everything that Hormisdas supplied  
Ennodius and his colleagues with this marvellous  
paper, which sought to anticipate every possible  
opening of the game by the Emperor, and to indi-  
cate the proper reply upon the ecclesiastical chess-  
board. A few extracts may indicate the character  
of these instructions.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.  
515.

'When you are come into the parts of Greece, if  
the bishops come out to meet you, receive them  
with all due respect. If they prepare a lodging  
for you, do not refuse it, lest the laity should think  
that the hindrance to concord comes from you.  
But if they ask you to a meal decline with a  
gentle apology<sup>2</sup>, saying, "Pray that we may be  
permitted first to meet at the Mystic Table, and  
then this hospitality of yours will be all the  
sweeter." When by the favour of God you are  
come to Constantinople, lodge in the quarters as-  
signed to you by the most clement Emperor, and  
allow nobody to visit you till you have had your

<sup>1</sup> Agapetus (Var. ii. 6).

<sup>2</sup> 'Blanda excusatione eos declinate.'

BOOK IV. first audience with him. Afterwards you may  
 CH. 10. receive the visits of the orthodox, and of those  
 515. who seem to have the cause of union at heart. Use caution in conversing with them, and you may obtain useful hints for your own guidance.'

'When you are presented to the Emperor, hold out our letter and say, "Your Father salutes you, daily entreating God and commending your kingdom to the intercessions of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, that God who has put this desire into your heart, to work for the happiness of the Church, may carry it on unto perfection."'

'If he wishes to enter on the subject of the embassy before opening our letter, you shall use these words, "Command us to hand you the writings." If he shall say, "What do the papers contain?" reply, "Salutations to your Piety and thanks to God for making you desire the unity of the Church. Read, and you will see." Make no mention of the matter in hand till he has received the letters and read them.'

Reference  
to Vitalian.

'After he has done this, add, "Your servant Vitalian, having received, as he said, permission from your Piety, sent his messengers to your Father the holy Pope. To him also we have letters, but, as is fitting, have first directed our course to your Clemency, that we may receive your command to bear our message to him." Should the Emperor ask to see our letters to Vitalian, you must answer, "Your holy father the Pope gave us no such commandment: we cannot do anything of the kind

unbidden. Yet that you may know that they contain nothing but that which furthers your own desire for the unity of the Church, associate with us some person in whose presence the letters which we deliver to Vitalian may be read aloud." If he says again that he ought to read them himself, answer again that the Holy Father did not so order you. If he says, "Is all your message contained in the letters? are there not perhaps some verbal communications beside?" you must answer, "Be that far from our conscience. That is not our custom. We come only in God's service. The Holy Pope's commission is a simple one, and his desire is known to all men, being only this, that the decrees of the fathers be not tampered with, and that heretics may be banished from the Church. Our legation relates to nothing else but this."'

We need not closely follow the imaginary interview through all its succeeding stages, which are chiefly theological, not political. At a certain point, it was expected that the Emperor would say, 'We have received and still hold the Synod of Chalcedon and the letters of Pope Leo.' At this confession of faith the legates were to kiss his breast, and to return thanks to God for giving him this conviction of the Catholic faith, preached by the Apostles, without which no man can be orthodox. If he was to try to throw the blame of the schism on the late Pope Symmachus, predecessor of Hormisdas, they were to reply that they had the letters

BOOK IV. of Symmachus in their hands, which contained  
 CH. 10. nothing but exhortations to persevere in the faith  
 515. of Chalcedon. They were then to have recourse to  
 prayers and tears, saying, 'Lord Emperor! think  
 upon God: place before your eyes his coming  
 judgment. The holy fathers who taught thus have  
 but followed the Apostles' faith, by which was  
 builded up the Church of Christ.'

After a good deal more imaginary debate the legates were again to shed tears, and to allude in a humble and delicate way to the controversy which distracted the Church of Constantinople itself. The Emperor would perhaps say, 'You are talking about Macedonius; I understand your finesse. He is a heretic: it is quite impossible that he should be recalled<sup>1</sup>.' Then the legates were to reply, 'We, Lord Emperor, mention no one by name. But let your Piety consider, from your own point of view, how much better it would be that there should be a discussion on this point, and that his heresy, if he be a heretic, should be judicially settled, rather than that the orthodox should think him to be unjustly deposed.'

This brought them to the question of the legitimacy of the consecration of Timotheus, whom the legates were immovably to refuse to recognise in any way as legitimate Patriarch of Constantinople. They were not to allow themselves to be presented

<sup>1</sup> Macedonius died in the year of this embassy (515), but the tidings of his death, if it had already happened, had not reached Rome in August, when Hormisdas prepared this paper of instructions.

by him to the Emperor, and if he was standing by the throne they were to ask for a secret interview, in which they would deliver the papal commission.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.  
515.

Finally, they were to announce to Anastasius that the terms upon which Hormisdas would consent to waive a point of personal dignity, and come to preside at a council held out of Rome, were, (1) public recognition of the Council of Chalcedon and the letters of Leo; (2) public anathematisation of the heretics Nestorius, Eutyches, and the like, who had, on one side or the other, deviated from Chalcedonian orthodoxy, and express inclusion of the name of Acacius among these heretics; (3) the recall of all bishops sent into exile for their fidelity to the Roman see; and (4) the removal of the cases of all bishops banished for any ecclesiastical offence, to Rome, there to be tried by the Apostolic See. In fact these terms, however gently and persuasively and tearfully urged, involved a surrender at discretion of all the points at issue between Emperor and Pope.

The Pope's terms.

How the actual interview between the aged Anastasius and the verbose Ennodius and his colleagues passed off we are unable to say, but, as they could not arrive in Constantinople till October, 515, it is easy to imagine that they found the Emperor in a mood little disposed for conciliation. The Pope's correspondent Vitalian had doubtless before that time met his crushing defeat at the hands of Justin. Now that he was a fugitive, and

BOOK IV. his wild Hunnish marauders were scattered to the  
CH. 10. winds, the bland excuses, the accurately measured  
515. tears, and the punctilious breast-kissings of the  
 Roman envoys might even be found somewhat  
 burdensome by the Byzantine Cæsar.

Reply of  
Anastasi-  
sius. Still, the negotiations were not wholly dropped,  
 though the proposed Council faded more and  
 more into oblivion. In a long letter sent back  
 by the hands of Ennodius, Anastasius declared  
 his adhesion to the teaching of Leo and Chalcedon,  
 but suggested that it was hard that living men  
 should be kept out of the Church on account of  
 the dead, and that to anathematise Acacius would  
 cause the effusion of much human blood.

His em-  
bassy to  
Rome,  
516. In July of the following year he sent two high  
 officers of his Court, Theopompus Count of the  
 Domestics (an *Illustris*) and Severianus Count of the  
 Consistory (a *Clarissimus*), with letters both to the  
 Pope and the Senate. The first letter was chiefly  
 filled with excuses, somewhat hollow excuses, for  
 his tardy action in the matter of the reunion of  
 the Churches. The length of the journey and  
 the unusual severity of the preceding winter are  
 made to bear the burden of this delay. The other  
 letter throws an interesting light on the difficult  
 question of the relations existing between the  
 Cæsar of Byzantium, the Gothic King, and the  
 Senate of Rome. It begins:—

28 July,  
516. ‘The Emperor Cæsar Flavius Anastasius, pious,  
 fortunate, victorious, ever august, renowned con-  
 queror of the Germans, of the Franks, of the

Sarmatians<sup>1</sup>, father of his country, says Hail! to the pro-consuls, the consuls, the prætors, the tribunes of the commons, and to his Senate. If you and your children are in good health it is well. I and my army are in good health also.'

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.  
516.  
Letter of  
Anastasius  
to 'his  
Senate.'

In using this well-known classical formula, the Emperor says 'I and my army' where Cicero would have said 'I and Terentia,' to indicate the close bond of union which in theory always existed between the Imperator and his dutiful soldiers. The use of the possessive pronoun before Senate<sup>2</sup> must, one would think, have jarred upon the ears of Theodoric, when he heard the document read in his *Comitatus* at Ravenna.

The rest of the letter was couched in terms which would not be displeasing to the Gothic King. The Emperor begged the Conscript Fathers to join their prayers with his, prayers which might reasonably be expected to avail 'both with the most glorious King and with the very blessed Pope of the fair city of Rome' for the restoration of peace. And again, near the close of the letter, they are asked to use their utmost efforts for this end, 'both with the exalted King to whom the power and the responsibility of ruling you is committed, and with the venerable Pope, to whom is entrusted the capacity to intercede for you with God.' It would be difficult to express

recognises  
the 'most  
glorious  
king' The-  
odoric.

<sup>1</sup> For obvious reasons Anastasius does not call himself Gothicus in this document.

<sup>2</sup> 'Senatuique suo salutem dicit.'

BOOK IV. more clearly that Constantinople recognised, as in  
 Ch. 10. some sense legitimate, the rule of Theodoric.

517.  
 The  
 Senate's  
 answer.

The Senate replied to the Emperor in a letter full of suitable quotations from Scripture on the beauty of peace and the blessings of charity. The sentiments which they express are excellent, and it is only when one sees the title at the beginning, and thinks of those grey old war-wolves who used to be the terror of Italy and the world, that one feels a slight sense of incongruity in the thought that this meritorious, if somewhat vapid, pastoral was addressed to a Roman Emperor by a Roman Senatus. They accept the designation of *your* Senate, and say that 'the mind of our lord and most unconquered King, your son Theodoric, who orders obedience to your commands,' tends in the same direction as that of Anastasius.

The real pivot of the negotiation however was, of course, neither King nor Senate, but Pope. Hormisdas, who was offended<sup>1</sup>, somewhat unreasonably one would think, at the Emperor's having sent only laymen, though laymen of high rank, as his ambassadors; had come to the conclusion that the Greeks talked of peace with their lips, but did not care for it in their hearts, and while sending Ennodius on a second embassy to the Emperor, charged him with a letter, written in somewhat sharper tone than those which had preceded it, insisting on the absolutely indispensable damnation of Acacius. Acacius had rolled

Petulant  
 letter  
 from Hor-  
 misdas,  
 3 April,  
 517.

<sup>1</sup> See his letter to Avitus (Ep. x. p. 395, ap. Migne).



himself in all the mire of Peter the Stammerer, Dioscorus, and Eutyches. Acacius had spread the poison of Monophysite heresy, which before had only infected Alexandria, far and wide through the Churches. The wound of the Church could not be healed without his damnation. As for the angry feeling which such a proceeding might raise among the mob, sovereigns could bend their subjects to their will. Who heard anything about the wishes of the populace when Marcian, of religious memory, established the faith of Chalcedon? And so the letter ended with an earnest, almost imperious call to the Emperor to acquiesce in the monitions of his spiritual father.

Ennodius and his colleague Peregrinus reached Constantinople at the beginning of July. The Emperor, who for all his eighty-six summers was by this time thoroughly aroused by the obstinacy of the Pope, and who perhaps had ceased to care greatly about the question of reunion, entirely refused to accept the terms of Hormisdas, and forced the legates out of the city, charging the two Prefects<sup>1</sup> with a band of Inland Revenue officers<sup>2</sup> to accompany them on ship-board, and to see that they landed at no city of the Empire. Notwithstanding this pressure, however, they contrived to hand to their monkish partisans in the

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.  
517.

The Pope's second embassy to Constantinople, July, 517.

The legates rebuffed.

<sup>1</sup> Probably of the East and of Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> Magistriani (I cannot find an exact equivalent for the term).

BOOK IV  
CH. 10.

517.

Firm and  
final  
answer  
of Ana-  
stasius,  
11 July,  
517.

capital the copies of a protest which they had prepared for circulation through all the Eastern Churches.

To Hormisdas the Emperor addressed a short but dignified letter, which, after some rather commonplace reflections upon the mercy and long-suffering of the Most High, he thus concluded:—

‘We think, therefore, that those who have themselves received mercy, ought not to show themselves merciless. But from henceforth we shall keep silence as to the request which we made of you, thinking it absurd to show the courtesy of prayers to men who stubbornly refuse all that is asked of them. We can bear insults and contempt, but we cannot allow ourselves to be commanded.’

Death of  
Anasta-  
sius,  
8 July,  
518.

So ended the correspondence between Anastasius and Hormisdas. In the following year the aged Emperor died<sup>1</sup>. Strange portents, according to the ecclesiastical historians, marked his death.

Ecclesiastical  
fables  
respecting  
it.

A terrible thunderstorm was raging, and Anastasius, to whom it had been foretold that he should die by such a storm, crept into an inner apartment<sup>2</sup> and was there found by his servants dead; but whether struck by a flash of lightning, or slain only by his own fears, none could tell. On the same day Elias, the deposed Patriarch of

<sup>1</sup> His wife Ariadne, who had passed nearly sixty years in the imperial palace, died in the year 515.

<sup>2</sup> Which, according to Zonaras, he had caused to be built underground and covered with a dome (*θόλος*).

Jerusalem, had a revelation that the Emperor was dead, and that he himself was to follow in ten days to bear witness against him before the throne of God. A short time before the death of the Emperor, according to the foolish story of some late writers<sup>1</sup>, a man clothed in white raiment was seen by him in a vision, turning over the leaves of a book which he held in his hand. With a frown the supernatural visitor said, 'In punishment for thy impiety, behold I strike off fourteen—,' and therewith cancelled fourteen years of the Emperor's life, who, it seems, might otherwise have attained the age of a hundred and one.

All this stir in heaven and earth over the death of a sovereign who had entered his eighty-eighth year, may, at any rate, be taken as a proof that he had not sunk into dotage, but had still energy enough to inspire energetic hatred. We picture him to ourselves with his tall figure still unbowed by age, with his steel-blue eyes not dimmed, nor the vigour of his intellect abated. Two testimonies which we possess concerning him outweigh many of the fierce censures of his ecclesiastical opponents: the acclamation 'Reign as you have lived!' with which the populace hailed the news of his accession, and the phrase 'sweetest-tempered of sovereigns<sup>2</sup>' which the notary Lydus, years after his death, when nothing was to be gained by

BOOK IV.  
Ch. 10.  
518.

Review of  
his life.

<sup>1</sup> Paschal Chronicle and Theophanes.

<sup>2</sup> Ὑπὸ τῷ πάντων βασιλέων ἡμερωτάτῳ Ἀναστασίῳ (De Mag. iii. 26).

BOOK IV. praising him, dropped by his half-forgotten grave.

CH. 10.

518.

Yet, with many noble qualities, Anastasius hardly attained to greatness. He allowed himself to be forced from a position of calm impartiality between warring sects, into one of bitter partisanship on behalf of a single sect, and that the one which has eventually been judged heretical. And in his dealings both with the external and internal enemies of the Empire, he certainly showed himself more a Greek than a Roman in his lack of the kingly quality of truthfulness.

Accession  
of Justin.

On the very day of the death of Anastasius, Justin, Captain of the Guard, and lately the conqueror of Vitalian, was raised to the throne, nominally by the Senate, but really by the household troops. The means by which this rough and illiterate Thracian soldier attained to the first place in the civilised world were simple, if not in the highest degree praiseworthy. Amantius, an eunuch and Grand Chamberlain<sup>1</sup>, who had been all-powerful in the later years of Anastasius, desired to maintain his hold of power by placing on the throne a certain Theocritus, whom he deemed to be entirely devoted to his interests. For this purpose he deposited a large sum in the hands of Justin, to be distributed as a donative to the soldiers of the guard, who were under his orders. Justin, however, who was an adherent of the faith as formulated at Chalcedon, perceived that he would better serve the interests of orthodoxy, and his

How  
brought  
about.

<sup>1</sup> Praepositus Sacri Cubiculi.

own, by seating himself upon the vacant throne rather than Theocritus, and used the gold of Amantius for that purpose.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.  
518.

It was an unusual sight to see in the palace of the emperors a peasant-born soldier who could neither read nor write, and who, like Theodoric the Goth (if indeed the story be true of Theodoric), must needs affix his sign-manual to the state-papers by drawing the stylus dipped in purple ink through four holes for letters prepared in a metal plate. His wife Lupicina also, who took the name Euphemia, was not of illustrious origin, being a barbarian slave whom her future husband bought as his concubine. All, however, in the eyes of the populace was condoned by the undoubted orthodoxy of the new Emperor, by the delight of having again a ruler who adhered to the Council of Chalcedon.

His want  
of educa-  
tion.

His wife  
formerly  
a slave.

Their or-  
thodoxy.

On the first Sunday after Justin's elevation the people crowded into the Great Church, and when the Patriarch John—the successor of Timotheus and believed to be in sympathy with Chalcedon—appeared at the Ambo, they shouted out, 'Long life to the Emperor! Long life to the Patriarch! Anathema to Severus [Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch]. Why do we remain excommunicated? Carry out the bones of the Manicheans. He who does not shout is a Manichean. Mary the mother of God is worthy of the throne. Bishop! speak or leave the church. Proclaim the faith of Chalcedon. The Emperor is a Catholic: what are you afraid of? Long life to the new Constantine! to

Scene in  
the Great  
Church,  
15 July,  
518.

BOOK IV. the new Helena! *Justine Auguste tu vincas.*' This  
 CH. 10. official formula of salutation to a new Emperor  
 518. was uttered in the Latin tongue, all the rest of  
 the excited utterances of the crowd being in their  
 vernacular Greek. With difficulty the Patriarch  
 persuaded them to hold their peace till he should  
 have kissed the altar and celebrated mass. This  
 done, the shouters resumed their self-imposed toils.  
 At length the Patriarch mounted the Ambo and  
 said, 'You know, brethren, how many labours I  
 have undergone in past years for the faith. There  
 is no need for disturbance. We all receive the  
 four great Councils, including that of Chalcedon.'  
 'No,' said the shouting crowd, 'that is not enough.  
 Anathematise Severus: proclaim a feast in honour  
 of the Council of Chalcedon. We will stay here all  
 night if you do not. You shall not depart till you  
 have anathematised Severus.'

The Mono-  
 physites  
 anathema-  
 tised.

At length, with an appearance of yielding to  
 the wishes of the mob, but probably with a con-  
 sciousness of having prepared the whole scene  
 himself in concert with his master, the Patriarch  
 announced that it should be as they wished. In  
 unison with a large number of bishops from  
 neighbouring dioceses, present in the basilica, he  
 formally anathematised Severus, and announced  
 that on the following day (16th July) there  
 should be a solemn ceremony in honour of the  
 Holy Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon.

On the morrow, when this rite was ended,  
 there was a renewal of the same disorderly cries.

‘Anathema to the Nestorians. I do not know who is a Nestorian. Anathema to the Eutychians. Dig up their bones. Cast the bones of the Manicheans out of doors. *Justine Auguste tu vincas*<sup>1</sup>.’ Mingled with these shouts were heard ominous growls at Amantius the Manichean, which indicate pretty plainly who had been tuning the voices of these tumultuary theologians. In fact, the Eunuch, whose gold had been so adroitly used against him, was very shortly after these days of clamour put out of the way by the new Emperor.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.  
518.  
Cries  
against  
Amantius.

There was a moment of real sublimity in the ceremony of the 16th of July. This was when the Patriarch ascended the Ambo, with the diptychs in his hands, and read from them, amid the deep silence which had fallen upon the shouting crowd, the names of the four Councils which the Church of Constantinople held in highest reverence, Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. Then followed the names of the bishops who had departed this life in the faith and fear of God, and with whom the Church still maintained her mystic and invisible communion. Towards the close of this mighty roll of names came Leo, Pontiff of Rome, and Euphemius and Macedonius, Archbishops of the kingly city of Constantinople. At this sound, which announced to their ears the termination of the controversy of a life-time, the populace burst into a loud and joyful shout, ‘Glory

Ceremony  
in honour  
of the  
Council of  
Chalcedon,  
16 July.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Curatorem non habes.’ What could be the meaning of this addition to the popular acclamation?

BOOK IV. be to Thee, O Lord.' So, after nearly forty years of  
 CH. 10. imperfect acquiescence or actual opposition, did the  
 518. Church of Constantinople return to unhesitating  
 allegiance to the faith as formulated at Chalcedon.

Terms of  
 reunion  
 still to be  
 arranged  
 with Rome.

Not yet, however, was Rome fully appeased, nor could she yet welcome the Eastern Church as wholly purged from her error. The theological question was settled, but the more important personal question remained open. Nay, even the recent triumph of the orthodox populace was stained with some disrespect to the chair of St. Peter, since Rome could not admit that even Euphemius and Macedonius, however manfully they might have struggled against a Manichean Emperor, could rightly have their names recited in the Church's diptychs.

Letter  
 from Jus-  
 tin to Hor-  
 misdas,  
 1 Aug. 518.

Communications were soon opened between Constantinople and Rome. The new Emperor wrote a short letter to the Pope in which he announced that, by the favour of the indivisible Trinity, of the nobles of the palace and the most holy Senate, and by the choice of his brave army, he had been elected to the Empire; and he dared to add that he had been most unwilling to accept the honour. Hormisdas replied, and letters passed backwards and forwards for some months between the two capitals. The chief part in the correspondence on the side of Byzantium was played, not by the illiterate Justin, but by his nephew, a man in early middle life, holding the high office of Count of the Domestics, and who showed already great

Corre-  
 spondence  
 chiefly con-  
 ducted by  
 the Em-  
 peror's  
 nephew  
 Justinian.



talents for theological disputation. This literary assessor of Justin was Justinian.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.

In the letters sent from Constantinople a faint-hearted attempt was made to save Acacius from damnation. Hormisdas saw that the Emperor really desired reunion; and firmly, but with more gentleness than he had used towards the heretical Anastasius, insisted that those who were sincere in anathematising Eutyches must also anathematise Acacius. The real stress of the contest probably bore, not so much on the name of Acacius, whom both Emperor and people were willing to surrender to damnation, as on the names of the beloved and venerated Euphemius and Macedonius, whom the Pope insisted, not indeed on formally branding with his anathema, but on silently omitting from the diptychs.

Bargaining about the damnation of Acacius and his successors.

At length affairs were ripe for the reception of an embassy from the Pope, and eight months after Justin's elevation to the throne the papal legates arrived at Constantinople. They were charged with letters to the Emperor, the Empress, the Patriarch, the Archdeacon and clergy of Constantinople, to Count Justinian and other courtiers, and to two noble ladies—perhaps members of the family of Anastasius—who were named Anastasia and Palmatia, and who had apparently, in the evil days of the preceding reign, signalised themselves by their zeal for the faith of Chalcedon. The legates had also an *Indiculus* for their own private use, telling them how far to go and where to stand

Arrival of the Pope's legates, 25 March, 519.

Their *Indiculus* and *Libellus*.

BOOK IV. firm in their debate with the Emperor, and a  
 CH. 10. *Libellus* or formula of submission and profession  
 519. of faith to be signed by all those who wished to  
 re-enter into communion with the Holy See.

Reception  
 of the  
 legates.

The Pope's messengers had no reason to complain of want of cordiality in their reception at Constantinople. At the tenth milestone from the city they were met by a brilliant throng of courtiers and nobles. At the head of the procession were Vitalian, the little eager soldier who had borne arms for the faith of Chalcedon, Pompeius the nephew of the late Emperor, and Justinian the nephew of the reigning Emperor. Thus did the evening and morning stars of the monarchy meet to do them reverence.

In the  
 Imperial  
 presence,  
 26 March.

On the next day they stood in the presence of Justin and the Senate. The Patriarch of Constantinople, though favourable to reunion, would not compromise his dignity by appearing in person, but was represented by four of his suffragan bishops. To an invitation from the Emperor that they should argue the matters recently in debate between the two sees, the legates replied that they had no instructions to argue, but only to produce the Pope's letters and the *Libellus*, which must be signed by all bishops who desired to be reconciled to the Apostolic see. The *Libellus* was read; the representatives of the Patriarch pronounced it to be consistent with the truth. The Emperor and the Senators burst out into impatient exclamations, 'If it be true, sign it at once, and make an end of

The Patri-  
 arch signs  
 the Li-  
 bellus,  
 27 March.

the matter.' A day, however, had to elapse, and then the Libellus was put before the Patriarch, who was now present in the palace. He, even in accepting it, dexterously contrived to save some shreds of the dignity of his see. A Libellus was generally subscribed by those who had fallen from the faith, and was thus an admission of guilt. He wrote a clever prologue, turning it into a letter of friendship, addressed 'to his most blessed brother and fellow-servant Hormisdas.' He declared that he held the two Churches of the old Rome and the new to be one Church, and one seat of the Apostle Peter; and then, after these precautionary words and a statement of his acceptance of the four great Councils, he adopted uncompromisingly the whole of the Libellus, with its strong assertion of the office of Peter and the Apostolic see as guardians of the Catholic religion, and its condemnation of the usual string of heretics, beginning with Nestorius and ending with Timothy the Weasel and Peter the Stammerer. Then came the clause of special interest, the key of the whole battle-field. 'Similarly we anathematise Acacius, formerly Bishop of Constantinople, who made himself accomplice and follower of these heretics, together with all who persevered in their fellowship and communion.' In these last words lay a covert if not an express anathema for all the recent bishops of Constantinople.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.  
519.

Anathema  
on Acacius.

Next came the solemn act of erasing from the diptychs, and thus striking out of the communion

Striking  
the names  
of heretical

BOOK IV. of the Church the names of Zeno and Anastasius  
 CH. 10. the emperors, as well as of Acacius and his four  
 519. successors in the see of Constantinople, including  
 emperors and patri- those two honoured names which had so recently  
 archs out of the been replaced there, the names of Euphemius and  
 diptychs. Macedonius. This was done, not only in the Pa-  
 triarchal Basilica but in all the churches of Con-  
 stantinople. The legates recorded with wonder and  
 gratitude to God and St. Peter that none of the  
 evil consequences which had been threatened,  
 neither tumult nor shedding of blood, followed this  
 act, which must, one would think, have torn the  
 hearts of many thousands of the people of Con-  
 stantinople who had loved and well-nigh worshipped  
 the excommunicated prelates.

The East  
 and West  
 reunited.

After such an immense surrender as this, the  
 rest of the work of reunion all over the East,  
 except at Monophysite Alexandria, was compara-  
 tively easy, nor need we trouble ourselves with  
 any further details of what had now become a  
 mere matter of formal negotiation. Thus then  
 ended the first great schism between the Eastern  
 and Western Churches. Followed as it has been  
 in later ages by other and more enduring divisions,  
 which have produced results of world-historical  
 importance, this <sup>schism</sup> will hardly be deemed  
 unworthy of the space which has here been de-  
 voted to it. <sup>OH</sup> While it lasted, it secured fair play, at  
 least, for the young kingdom of Theodoric. Its  
 termination was an event of evil augury for the  
 Ostrogothic power; and the peace of the Church,

by no very remote chain of causes and effects, involved war for Italy.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 10.

Looked at merely as a question of spiritual strategy, and without any reference to the spirit and maxims of Christianity, the action of the Popes during the forty years of the struggle must be pronounced most masterly. It was necessary to show to all the world that no act of importance could take place in any of the Churches of Christendom without their consent. Acacius had presumed to endeavour to carry through Zeno's scheme of comprehension without the sanction of the Pope, and therefore, though personally orthodox, Acacius must suffer eternal torment. That end was now attained as far as ecclesiastical censures could secure it; and it might be expected that it would be long before another Patriarch of Constantinople would incur the same tremendous penalty. It is a new warfare in which the Popes are engaged, those venerable men whose faces in almost endless series look down on the visitor to Rome from the walls of S. Paolo. Legates are their proconsuls, monks their legionaries, the Churches of foreign lands their provinces, the sentence of eternal damnation the *pilum* with which those provinces shall be won. They plan their campaigns with the skill of a Scipio, and they fight them through with the fortune as well as with the relentlessness of a Sulla. This at least is their general character; but in their career of conquest, as in that of the Republic which preceded them, there are occasional vicissi-

Splendid  
strategy of  
the Popes.

BOOK IV. tudes of defeat. We have just been tracing the  
CH. 10. history of the Acacian war, crowned by the victory  
of Constantinople. Thirty years later we shall  
have to witness the defeat and surrender of Vigi-  
lius at the same place ; a calamity for the pontifical  
arms as great and as bitterly resented as that  
which befell the Roman legions on the disastrous  
day of Caudium.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THEODORIC'S RELATIONS WITH THE CHURCH.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources:—*

ENNODIUS, *Libellus Apologeticus pro Synodo*, a little pamphlet in defence of the Synod which reinstated Pope Symmachus. Ennodius gives that version of the confused transactions of 498–501, which is most favourable to Symmachus. On the same side, but with no great sign of partisanship, is ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS (in the third volume of Muratori). On the other hand, we have (in the second part of the same volume<sup>1</sup>) an anonymous *VITA SYMMACHI*, which takes a bitterly hostile view of all the proceedings of this Pope, and is evidently the work of some adherent of the Laurentian faction. The acts of the successive councils will be found in Labbe and Mansi's *Concilia*, tom. viii. pp. 230–344.

##### *Guides:—*

Baronius (*Annales Ecclesiastici*), Hefele (*Conciliengeschichte*), and Dahn (*Könige der Germanen*). Pagi, who sometimes gives us useful corrections of Baronius, seems here to have hindered rather than helped the unravelling of the story of the councils held in connection with the disputed election of Symmachus.

It was a singular coincidence that for nearly thirty years at the close of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century, the three greatest monarchies of the civilised world were ruled by sovereigns

Want of religious agreement between sovereigns and their subjects,

<sup>1</sup> P. 45.

BOOK IV. whose religious opinions differed from those of  
 CH. 11. their subjects.

at Constantinople,

We have seen the troubles which befell Anastasius, because the mob of Constantinople could never be satisfied that he held the right opinion as to the union of the Divine and the Human in the person of Jesus Christ.

at Ctesiphon,

Across the Euphrates, Kobad<sup>1</sup> had to atone for his acceptance of the reformed Zoroastrianism of Mazdak by three years of imprisonment in 'the Castle of Oblivion.' He regained the kingdom only by the arms of the White Huns, and when once again seated on the throne and wearing the diadem of the King of kings, he found it prudent to effect a compromise between his personal and his official consciences. As a man he still held the wild communistic faith of Mazdak, but as king he ruled upon the old lines and respected the rights of property both in jewels and in wives<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The reign of Kobad lasted from 487 to 498, and from 501 to 531.

<sup>2</sup> According to Rawlinson's description, the teaching of Mazdak must have had some similarity to modern Nihilism. 'All men were born equal: none brought into the world any property or any natural right to possess more than another. Property and marriage were mere human inventions:—in communities based upon them, men might lawfully vindicate their natural rights by taking their fair share of the good things wrongfully appropriated by their fellows. Adultery, incest, theft, were not really crimes, but necessary steps towards re-establishing the laws of nature in such societies.' Yet Mazdak himself was a man of austere life, and preached these doctrines 'not from any base or selfish motive, but simply from a conviction of their truth' (Seventh Oriental Monarchy, 343).



In Italy, Theodoric, unshaken in the Arianism which had been, probably for a century, the faith of his forefathers, ruled over a people the vast majority of whom were Trinitarians, but ruled so justly that, as we have seen<sup>1</sup>, even orthodox bishops loudly praised his fairness and moderation. So thoroughly was it understood that the Catholic had at least an equal chance with the Arian of obtaining the royal favour that, in a story which was current not long after his death, he was even represented as putting to death a Catholic deacon who had embraced the creed of the court in order to ingratiate himself with his sovereign<sup>2</sup>. Historians are probably right in rejecting this story, which would indeed have been a striking example of 'an intolerant love of toleration:' but the fact that it should have obtained currency, is a striking proof that his subjects recognised the earnest desire of their sovereign to keep a perfectly even balance between the two warring creeds. In this respect Theodoric stands out in marked contrast to most of the other Teutonic rulers. While the barbarian Gaiseric and his son plunge with blind zeal into the theological fray, cut out the tongues and rack the limbs of Catholic bishops, while the hypocrite Clovis makes his pretended zeal for the

BOOK IV.  
CH. 11.

and at  
Ravenna.

Religious  
impartial-  
ality of  
Theodoric.

<sup>1</sup> See the extract from the Anonymus Valesii in chapter viii.

<sup>2</sup> This story is told by the nearly contemporary Theodorus Lector (p. 193, ed. Migne), as well as by the late and legend-loving Theophanes (p. 122, ed. of 1655). The early date of the former writer causes me to speak of the tale a little more respectfully than some of my predecessors.

BOOK IV. Catholic faith an excuse for invading the fair  
 CH. 11. lands of his kinsman and ally, Theodoric with this noble sentence on his lips, 'We cannot command the religion of our subjects, since no one can be forced to believe against his will,<sup>1</sup>' pursues, perhaps unconsciously, the truly statesmanlike, truly reverent, policy of Valentinian I, and, leaving each man to answer to his Maker for his thoughts concerning Him, uses the power of the State only for the punishment of those deeds whereby the State is endangered.

His protection of the Jews.

This absolute impartiality in matters of religion extended even to the Jews; and herein is one of the strongest proofs that it was not a mere counsel of convenience, but that it sprang from conviction deeply rooted in the sovereign's mind. It would have been easy for him, as an Arian, to curry favour with the orthodox party by showing that he could be as bitter as any of them against the Jewish enemies of the faith. Instead of this, any offence against *Civilitas* was punished with equal severity, whether Jew or Christian complained of its perpetration. At Rome, at Milan, at Ravenna, the Jews were at various times attacked by furious mobs, their Synagogues burned<sup>2</sup>, and their persons ill-treated. Of course, there was the usual crop of stories to justify the popular fury, stories like those which three centuries before had stirred up

<sup>1</sup> 'Religionem imperare non possumus, quia nemo cogitur ut credat invitus' (Cass. Var. ii. 27).

<sup>2</sup> This happened only at Rome and Ravenna.

the same kind of mobs to do violence to the impious Nazarenes. The Jews in the Trastevere had beaten their Christian servants, the Jews at Ravenna had performed some insulting parody of Christian baptism. But the decision of Theodoric was firm. The order of the State should be upheld, and those who transgressed it, whether Jews or Christians, should be punished. The Synagogues were to be rebuilt at the cost of the persons by whom they had been destroyed, and the authors of the tumult were to be severely punished.

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CH. 11.

True, the Gothic King, or his Secretary for him, in one of the letters announcing these decisions<sup>1</sup>, made a pathetic appeal to the Jews to escape from the future punishment of their misbelief—an appeal which would hardly appear at the end of a similar state-paper issued in our own times. ‘But why, oh Jew! dost thou seek by thy supplications to us for temporal quietness, if thou art not able to find the rest which is eternal?’ But the long oppressed nation did not resent a word or two of disapprobation for their theology, while their material rights were safe-guarded by so firm a hand. They gave their strong, hearty, and unwavering loyalty to the Gothic rule in Italy: and, when we come to the story of the final contest between King and Emperor, we shall find that, as certainly as the Catholic priest is on the side of Justinian, so certainly is the Jewish merchant on that of Witigis or Totila.

He expresses his desire for their conversion.

<sup>1</sup> Cass. Var. v. 37.

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CH. 11.

His position at the time of contested papal elections.

From the impartial, almost friendly attitude which Theodoric assumed towards the Catholic Church through the greater part of his reign, he naturally exercised a great moral influence in addition to the political rights which belonged to him as head of the State, at that time of trouble and anxiety, both for Church and State, a contested Papal election.

Pope Gelasius, 2 March 492 to 19 Nov. 496.

In tracing the history of the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, we have come down to the pontificate of Hormisdas. Remounting the stream of Papal history, we find that the occupant of St. Peter's chair at the accession of Theodoric was the vigorous and uncompromising Gelasius. In the pontificate of Gelasius the controversy with Constantinople was conducted with at least as much vigour and asperity as had marked the spiritual war under the generalship of Felix. Happily, however, we may now turn from this monotonous controversy to behold the Pope trampling out the dying, but not quite dead, embers of Paganism. There was still a party at Rome, with the Senator Andromachus at their head, who wished to keep up the old heathen orgies of the Lupercalia, that strange rite made memorable by Mark Antony's share in it, on the day when, after running naked through the Forum, he knelt down and offered the diadem to Caesar. This custom had not been suppressed along with the other heathen observances, and now Andromachus and his party wished to perpetuate it.

His opposition to the Lupercalia.

They pleaded that none of the earlier Popes had BOOK IV.  
objected to the rite. It used to be thought that CH. 11.  
the touch of the Lupercalian's thong falling on the  
shoulders of the Roman matrons brought with it  
a peculiar good fortune. It could, at any rate,  
do no harm to keep alive so ancient a custom.  
Gelasius replied, with bitter scorn, that though  
earlier pontiffs might not have been strong enough  
to suppress the heathen observance, he was, and  
would exercise his power. If Andromachus and  
his party really believed the Lupercalia to be a  
religious act, let them take the shame of it on  
themselves, themselves rush about like naked  
madmen through the streets, and not, as was  
now the custom, put off the shame of it upon  
others, their inferiors in rank. The observance  
of the Lupercalia had not brought luck to Rome  
in past times, had not saved her from the sword  
of Alaric or the ships of Gaiseric. Nay, even in  
later days, the terrible scenes which marked the  
strife between Anthemius and Ricimer had not  
been averted by this silly and licentious rite. He  
could not lay down the law for Pagans, but to  
Christians he spoke in a voice to which they must  
hearken. No baptized person, no Christian, should  
dare to take part in the impious orgy: if he did,  
he should be without hesitation cut off from the  
communion of the faithful<sup>1</sup>.

We know not the result, but it cannot be

<sup>1</sup> The letter of Gelasius is to be found in the 59th vol. of Migne's *Patrologia*, pp. 110-113.

BOOK IV. doubted that such a mandate, coming from such  
 CH. 11. lips, was sufficient to destroy the Lupercalian festival.

Pope Anastasius II,  
 25 Nov. 496 to  
 17 Nov. 498.

Gelasius was succeeded by the gentle Anastasius; and, on the death of this conciliatory Pontiff, Festus the ambassador who had just visited Constantinople with a commission both from the Pope and the King, and who had succeeded in making peace on behalf of the latter for his 'pre-assumption of the kingdom,' endeavoured to further the cause of unity by procuring the election of a Pope who would look favourably on the Henoticon of Zeno. Both at Old and New Rome, symptoms may be discerned of a disposition on the part of the aristocrats to press this creation of statesmen, this politically concocted 'end of controversy,' on the rulers of the Church; while the lower classes and the monks, seeing perhaps less of the necessities of the position, stood immutably faithful to the Tome of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon.

Efforts of Festus on behalf of the Henoticon.

He puts forward Laurentius as a candidate for the papacy, 22 Nov. 498. Double election: Laurentius and Symmachus.

The candidate whom Festus, in the interests of his scheme of church union, desired to see made Pope, was the Arch-Presbyter Laurentius, who was elected a few days after the death of Anastasius in the great Liberian Basilica<sup>1</sup>. On the same day, however, a larger body of clergy, assembled in the Lateran Church, had elected as Pope the deacon Symmachus, a native of Sardinia, whose consecration was accomplished before that of his rival.

<sup>1</sup> Church of S. Maria Maggiore.

Here then was the city plunged anew into all the miseries and the turmoil of a contest for the chair of St. Peter. Blood had already begun to flow in the streets of Rome, when the wise resolution was taken, to refer the whole matter in dispute to the arbitration of Theodoric. The rival candidates appeared accordingly in his palace at Ravenna, and claimed his award. Political reasons would probably have inclined him to support the candidate of Festus, who had so successfully served him at the court of Anastasius, but his instinctive love of justice prevailed. 'The candidate first elected, if also the candidate elected by most voices, ought to be Pope.' He who fulfilled these conditions was Symmachus.

BOOK IV.  
Ch. 11.

The dispute referred to Theodoric.

His decision.

A council, the first of many on this business, was called at St. Peter's on the 1st of March in the following year. Symmachus, who had convened the council, was recognised as regularly elected Pope; and decrees were made against the practice of canvassing for votes in anticipation of a vacancy in the Holy See, and for the regulation of future contested elections in the case of the Pope's dying suddenly without having been able to arrange for the election of his successor<sup>1</sup>.

Symmachus Pope.  
Council at St. Peter's, 1 Mar. 499.

The victory of Symmachus, however, was only apparent. Though Laurentius, who seems to have

Reaction in favour of Laurentius.

<sup>1</sup> Though a dying Pope could not absolutely nominate his successor, great weight was attached to his *recommendation*, which it seems to have been a matter of course for him to utter.

BOOK IV. CH. 11. been a man of peaceable disposition, was willing to acquiesce in his defeat, and even accepted the bishopric of Nocera from his rival, his partisans, who perhaps constituted the majority of the Senate, could not brook their defeat by the popular party. We hear no more of the Henoticon, the original cause of the quarrel: everything seems merged in the passionate determination of the Senators, by fair means or foul, to depose Symmachus from the Papacy. It seems probable that the means used were foul rather than fair, when, in addition to the ordinary charge of alienation of church-property (doubtless in order to meet the expenses of the election) and a singular one of celebrating Easter apart from the multitude of believers, an accusation of gross immorality was also brought against Symmachus by Festus and his fellow-worker Probinus<sup>1</sup>. The vagueness of these charges, the illegal means by which it was sought to support them, and the earnest denial of their truth by Ennodius<sup>2</sup> (an honest man, though an intolerably tedious writer), all seem to justify the belief that this was one of those cruel attacks on private character which are made, only because the high position of the victim causes accusation and condemnation to be one, in the charitable judgment of the crowd<sup>3</sup>.

The senators accuse Symmachus of immorality.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the same as the Probinus, Vir Illustris and Patricius, who is rebuked in Cass. Var. ii. 11 for overreaching conduct towards Basilius and Agapita.

<sup>2</sup> In his Liber Apologeticus pro Synodo.

<sup>3</sup> The only passage which makes me doubt Ennodius' con-



Again disturbances broke out, again there was bloodshed in the streets and squares of Rome. We are not able to fix the precise date of this recrudescence of the strife, but it seems probable that it was in the later months of 500, just after the sojourn of the King in Rome, during which undoubtedly both parties kept truce in the presence of that stalwart maintainer of *civilitas* <sup>1</sup>.

The King, who during that visit had probably been in frequent intercourse with the leaders of the Senatorial party, may have imbibed some of their prejudices against Symmachus, who was formally accused before him of immorality. At any rate he summoned him to Rimini, and the Pope, who seems to have understood that only the trifling question about his manner of keeping Easter would be examined into by Theodoric, obeyed the summons. One evening, however, as he wandered by the sea-shore, he saw some travellers ride by along the Flaminian Way. Among them were the Roman women whom he was accused of having seduced. The truth flashed upon his mind. They were going to the King's Comitatus, and he was to stand his trial before it for

BOOK IV.  
CH. 11.

Disturbances break out afresh.

Theodoric summons Symmachus to Ariminum.

The Pope obeys,

but afterwards flees to Rome.

viction of the absolute innocence of Symmachus is this sentence in the imaginary address of St. Peter to his accusers: 'Nolite Symmachum papam pressuris vestris juvare (?): si reus est, mihi credite, cum cessaverit humanae impugnationis ministerium divinum mox succedit arbitrium' (Libellus Apol. pro Synodo, 201: Migne).

<sup>1</sup> Anon. Valesii says that Theodoric's visit to Rome was 'post factam pacem in urbem [sic] ecclesiae.'

BOOK IV. adultery. Terrified at the prospect<sup>1</sup>, he stole  
 CH. 11. away secretly in the dead of night, with one  
 500. attendant, to Rome, to his old refuge at the Basilica of St. Peter.

Peter of  
 Altino  
 appointed  
 'Visitor'  
 by Theodoric.

Offended by the Pope's flight, and rendered yet more suspicious of his guilt, Theodoric now took the bold step of appointing a 'Visitor' to summon a council, to hear thereat the charges against Symmachus, and meanwhile to undertake the government of the Church in his stead. This was undoubtedly a high-handed proceeding; one which, in the distracted state of the Church, success, and the maintenance of strict impartiality by the King's delegate, might have excused, but which otherwise it would be difficult to justify. The Visitor, Bishop Peter of Altino, preserved no semblance of judicial impartiality, and consequently his mission was doomed to failure. Instead of visiting the Pope at the shrine of St. Peter's<sup>2</sup>, he at once threw himself into the arms of the Senatorial party, turned several of the clerical adherents of Symmachus out of their churches and intruded Laurentians in their room.

Peter's  
 hostility  
 to the Pope  
 causes a  
 reaction in  
 his favour.

This strong partisanship, exhibited by the nominee of an Arian king at the bidding of the laymen of the Senate, touched the hierarchical

<sup>1</sup> And perhaps, as Dahn suggests, determined not to concede the king's right to try him on such a charge.

<sup>2</sup> Ennodius argues at some length that, had Peter of Altino proceeded, as a good Catholic should have done, first to the tomb of the Apostle, the grace vouchsafed to him there would have saved him from his subsequent errors.

spirit of the bishops who were summoned to the Council, and caused a certain reaction in favour of Symmachus, who hitherto had perhaps had only the lower clergy and the populace of Rome in his favour. Some of the bishops on their way to Rome had an interview with Theodoric, in which they frankly told him—so say the Acts of a later Council, which undoubtedly represent the high ecclesiastical view of the question—‘that he, the accused Pope, and not the King, was the person who ought of right to convene the Council, since by God’s command this was the peculiar privilege of the Pope, derived from the dignity of Peter’s primacy, that he could not be judged by those of lower degree.’

This was in fact the position taken up by Symmachus, when at length, soon after Easter 501, the Council which was to try his case assembled in the Julian Basilica. Yet, he intimated, he might be willing to waive his right, and appear before the Council to answer the charges against him, but only on condition that Peter the Visitor should be disavowed, and the churches which he had taken from the adherents of Symmachus should be restored to them. The Council, which was composed chiefly of elderly men, did not dare thus to reverse the acts of Theodoric. Nor did they, on the other hand, though partially reassured by a letter which the King had shown the bishops at Ravenna, proving that Symmachus himself had expressed a desire for the assembling of the

BOOK IV.  
CH. 11.

501.

501.

Symmachus denies the Council’s right to judge him.

The Council dare not offend either Pope or King.

BOOK IV. Council, dare to sit in judgment on the successor of St. Peter without his consent. After

CH. 11.

501.

fumbling at the question for some time with feeble trembling hands, they gave it up, and requested the king to convoke a council at Ravenna. The Council then broke up, and several of its members left Rome.

Theodoric insists on their deciding the question.

This futile result disgusted the King, who was not perhaps greatly interested in the question whether Symmachus or Laurentius should win, but earnestly desirous that the strife should be ended somehow, and peace restored to Rome. He wrote to the bishops who remained at Rome, praising their patience, but complaining with some acerbity of their faint-hearted colleagues. He entirely refused to have the matter referred to him at Ravenna. 'Had it been his wish to interfere in the dispute,' he said, 'he doubted not that he and the great officers of his household would have been able to find a solution of the difficulty, which would have been approved by posterity. But as it concerns God and the clergy he had decided to summon the bishops; and they must settle it<sup>1</sup>.' Three letters<sup>2</sup> were written by Theodoric in this strain,

<sup>1</sup> 'Si mihi visum fuisset, aut justitia habuisset, ut ego debuissem audire cum Proceribus Palatii mei, potueram tractare quomodo et Deo placuisset et posteritati ingratum non fuisset.' But because it is 'causa Dei et clericorum,' he has on the petition of senate and clergy convoked the bishops to settle it.

<sup>2</sup> These letters are given by Baronius (Ann. Eccl. ix. 13), and said by him to have been sent him by 'noster Nicolaus Faber' of Paris. They are said to have suffered from time

urging the bishops to do their duty and not to leave undecided a controversy which was daily imperiling the peace of 'the Royal City.' 'If you like to decide it without enquiry, on account of the rank of the accused person, do so ; though I must remind you of that saying of Aspar's' (and here Theodoric indulged in a remembrance of his Byzantine days) 'when he was recommended by the Senate to make himself Emperor: "I fear," said he, "lest by me this thing should be drawn into a custom in the Empire<sup>1</sup>." Even so I fear lest if you leave this matter unenquired into, immorality should become common among priests. Still, on you be the responsibility ; only decide the case.'

BOOK IV.  
CH. 11.  
501.

At the same time, Theodoric sent three stout Goths, Arigern the count and the chamberlains Gudila and Bedewulf, to Symmachus, to protect him on his passage through the city, and probably also to remind the Sardinian priest that the King of the Goths and Romans was not accus-

Safeguard  
sent to  
Symmachus.

and the errors of copyists, but are undoubtedly of great interest. One would like to know something more of their history than the meagre statement of Baronius. The fact that they are not included in the *Variae* makes it probable that as yet Cassiodorus had not entered on the office of Quæstor.

The first letter (addressed to the bishops who had remained at Rome, and with whom the king was best satisfied) has the concluding words 'Orate pro nobis, domini ac venerabiles Patres' added in another hand. Notwithstanding the depreciatory remarks of Anon. Valesii as to Theodoric's penmanship, one cannot repress the conjecture that this subscription was in the original added by the king's own hand.

<sup>1</sup> Does he mean the custom of making a man of barbarian descent emperor, or one of Arian faith ?

BOOK IV. CH. 11. tomated to have his orders disobeyed by any subject, however exalted. The persuasion, of whatever kind it may have been, was effectual; the protection, as it turned out, was really needed. The Pope set forth on the morning of the 1st of September to meet the Council of his judges assembled in the church of Santa Croce, hard by that Senatorian palace in which, a year before, the head of Odoin the traitor had rolled on the marble pavement. To reach the place of judgment Symmachus must needs traverse the whole breadth of Rome, from the north-western Janiculan hill to the south-eastern Coelian. The sight of the Pope going forth on this humiliating errand touched the hearts of his plebeian supporters. A multitude gathered in his train, who followed him weeping and lamenting<sup>1</sup>. These evidences of the popularity of their hated antagonist kindled the rage of the Senators of the opposite party. To them the question between Laurentius and Symmachus was probably no more than as one of those disputes in the circus between the Blues and Greens, in which the victory of a charioteer favoured by the mob goaded the dainty Senator to madness<sup>2</sup>. Whatever the cause, the party of Laurentius, including some priests as well as Senators, fell upon the mournful procession of Symmachus, dealing such

Tumult in  
the streets  
of Rome,  
1 Sept. 501.

<sup>1</sup> 'Multitudo illa juncta sacerdotis officiis attulit ad nos lamenta non jacula: nec venit telis minax sed fletibus miserabilis' (Ennodius, *Libellus Apologeticus*, p. 194: Migne).

<sup>2</sup> See Cass. Var. i. 20.

cruel blows that many fell wounded to the earth, and only the energy of the three Gothic henchmen succeeded in winning for their *protégé* a way back through the crowd to his asylum at St. Peter's shrine.

This street-brawl secured the victory to Symmachus. With good reason could he now entrench himself behind his sacred prerogative, and say, 'I am in God's hands and the King's. Let them do with me what they will. I appear not before the Council.' The sympathies of Theodoric, which had been for a time turned against Symmachus, by what looked like an evasion from justice, were now heartily restored to him by this gross breach of *civilitas* on the part of his accusers; an outrage which was made personally insulting to himself by the fact that it was committed on a man who was under the *tuitio regii nominis* and escorted by three Gothic officers. Henceforward nothing more was heard from the King about compelling the Pope to answer his accusers. He only pressed upon the Council (which now willingly pronounced a verdict clearing the Pope of the charges brought against him) that they should not merely decide this theoretical question, but practically end the dispute by assigning the churches and other ecclesiastical buildings in Rome to the persons who were canonically entitled to them, and compel the obedience of all the clergy to Symmachus, now the undoubtedly lawful Pope. All this difficult but necessary work the feeble old bishops would gladly

BOOK IV.

CH. 11.

501.

Symmachus shuts himself up at St. Peter's.

BOOK IV. have thrust off upon him, but he answered with  
 CH. 11. truth and spirit, 'That is your affair, not mine.  
 501. Had it been my business, I and my good chiefs<sup>1</sup>  
 would have settled it long ago.'

Synodus  
 Palmaris,  
 23 Oct. 501  
 finally ac-  
 quits Pope  
 Symmachus of the  
 charges  
 brought  
 against  
 him.

The final decision of the whole controversy was attained in the Council called the *Synodus Palmaris*, which was held 'in the Portico of St. Peter's, which is called Palmaria<sup>2</sup>.' This Council, which was called by its enemies, 'The Synod of the Incongruous Absolution,' was fiercely attacked by them on divers grounds, both of substance and of form<sup>3</sup>. It was defended by Ennodius in a long apology, in which, through a thick veil of almost unmeaning rhetoric, and amidst a profusion of Scripture texts pelted forth at random upon his antagonists, it is just possible to discern some of the main outlines of the controversy. According to the taste of the age the Apology closes with three long imaginary addresses from St. Peter, St. Paul, and the city of Rome. In these addresses the good bishop reaches a higher level than in the rest of his composition, and the rhetorician once or twice speaks like an orator. His warm praises of

The Apology of  
 Ennodius.

<sup>1</sup> Proceres.

<sup>2</sup> So says Anastasius, the papal biographer. We must not, therefore, as we might otherwise be inclined to do, connect it with the 'Ad Palmam' (within the city), where Theodoric harangued the people (Anon. Valesii, 66).

<sup>3</sup> One of the most important of these was, that if Symmachus were innocent he should have tendered his slaves to be examined, if necessary by torture, as to what had gone on in his house. The Pope's partisans, on the other hand, took refuge in the well-known principle of Roman law that no slave's



Theodoric's rule<sup>1</sup> impress us more in this tractate BOOK IV.  
than in the panegyric which was composed to be CH. 11.  
recited before him. We understand also more fully the feeling of depression with which a Christian Roman of that day looked back upon the past history of his country, when we hear Rome lamenting that all her greatest sons, the Curii, the Torquati, and the Camilli had been borne by her only to languish for ever in Tartarus because the Church had not regenerated them, that the Fabii and Decii who had saved others could not be saved themselves; that Scipio, who was ever a fervent lover of the right, was joined with the greatest criminals in the world to come because he was ignorant of Christ<sup>2</sup>.

It took some time for the troubled waters to subside. We hear that Laurentius, who had come back to Rome, continued the strife for four years; but Symmachus was now strong in the approbation of councils, and the support of Theodoric, and, as far as we can see, his opponents, playing faint-heartedly a losing game, did not again venture on any actual breach of the public peace.

The whole controversy has, it will at once be evidence was to be taken against his master, except in cases of 'majestas.'

<sup>1</sup> For instance, 'Sed Dei beneficia non tacebo: quia princeps noster rebus superat decora sermonum' (p. 199, Migne).

<sup>2</sup> 'Quae Curios, Torquatos, Camillos, quos Ecclesia non regeneravit, et reliquos nisi plurimae prolis infecunda mater ad Tartarum:—quia Fabios servata patria non redemit, Decii multo sudore gloria parta nil praestitit: profligata est operum sine fide innocentia: criminosis junctus est aequi observantissimus, quia Christum ignoravit, Scipio' (p. 206).

BOOK IV.  
CH. 11.

Bearing of  
the whole  
dispute on  
the limits  
of royal  
and papal  
power.

seen, an important bearing on events of a much later date. Some of the questions mooted are the same as those which came up for solution at the Council of Constance. In so thorny a controversy it is hardly possible to frame any proposition which may not be attacked from one side or the other; but perhaps we shall be safe in asserting these:—

I. The right of the King, as head of the State, to convene a Council by his own authority was asserted on the one side and denied on the other.

II. But the *tacit* assent of the Pope cured the informality of the Council, even in the eyes of ecclesiastics.

III. It was *not* formally denied that the Pope, like other subjects of the King, was subject to *his* jurisdiction for such an offence as adultery. But—

IV. It *was* strenuously denied that a Council (consisting as it did of his ecclesiastical inferiors) could sit in judgment on a Pope. And in the end this contention practically prevailed.

Should the  
Pope be  
tried be-  
fore King  
or council?

We can see at once the great difference between the third and fourth points. To subject a pope to the jurisdiction of the bishops in his obedience was like bringing a captain to trial before the soldiers of his company—a proceeding necessarily subversive of all discipline. But that was not saying that the Pope, who was still no temporal sovereign but a subject,—either of the Emperor or the King—need give no account to the Head

of the State, for acts which he had committed in defiance of its laws. The successor of St. Peter was responsible for the exercise of his spiritual authority to no man. But if Symmachus committed adultery or murder, he must answer for the deed to our lord Theodoric in his palace at Ravenna.

The history of the strife exhibits in a favourable light the sound sense and statesmanship of the Ostrogothic King. He has no desire to meddle in matters ecclesiastical. His one anxiety is to see that *civilitas* be maintained and its assailants punished. 'A free Church in a free—or at all events in a well-ordered—State' is practically his maxim. He makes one or two mistakes, but shows his statesmanship in this more than anything, that he knows how to retrieve his mistakes, and is not, by a foolish craving after consistency or blind self-love, enticed into the common blunder of letting the first error drag him on into a series of other errors each greater than its predecessor.

The only other act of the Pontificate of Symmachus which need be noticed here is his share in the proceedings of another council, the fifth, which was held at St. Peter's on the 6th of November, 502. Addressing the assembled fathers of the Church, he recommended that the authors of the recent schism, who had been led away by love of dominion and had cast off the yoke of the Church, should be left to the mercy of God if they

BOOK IV.  
CH. II.

Theodoric comes out well from the dispute.

Fifth Council,  
6 Nov.,  
502.

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 11.

502.  
 Odovacar's  
 decrees re-  
 pudiated.

were not too hardened to accept of it. After proclaiming this somewhat dubious amnesty, he brought before the notice of the Council the encroachment on the rights of the Church of which Odovacar had been guilty twenty years before. In order to bring the matter more vividly before them, the deacon Hormisdas a man who was himself one day to be Pope, read the decree once issued by the illustrious Basilius in the name of the most excellent King Odovacar. The particulars of that certainly somewhat daring piece of legislation have been already detailed<sup>1</sup>. The holy fathers gasped with indignation when they heard once more the language of a layman, though a king, arrogating to himself the absolute nomination of a successor to the Papal throne, and, what was even more audacious, inflicting the penalty of anathema on the alienators of ecclesiastical property. Speaker after speaker interrupted the reader, pointing out successive violations of the canons by this decree: and when each one had finished, again the calm voice of the deacon Hormisdas was heard, perhaps indicating by sarcastic emphasis his own dislike of the document of which he was the unwilling expositor. After heartily condemning the decree and declaring that, as wanting the Papal sanction, it was utterly invalid, the Council proceeded to re-enact, in a regular manner, the really valuable portion of it,—that which forbade the alienation

<sup>1</sup> P. 157.

of the property of the Church ; making, however, an exception on behalf of houses in Rome, which the clergy, if they found themselves unable to bear the expense of keeping them up, were at liberty to sell, accounting scrupulously for the proceeds of the sale.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 11.  
502.

After sixteen years, the eventful pontificate of Symmachus came to an end. When he died, Cassiodorus was in Rome, delighting in the shadowy glories of his year of office as Consul. He was admirably adapted for the task which naturally devolved upon him, of allaying the bitter spirit of contending factions, of soothing the wounded self-love of the Senate which had probably never been heartily reconciled to the victory of Symmachus, and inducing it to co-operate peaceably with the popular leaders among the clergy in the election of a new pope.

Death of  
Symmachus,  
18 July,  
514.

The scandals of a contested election were avoided, and, after an unusually short vacancy of seven days, the Papal seat was again filled ; the new occupant being Hormisdas the Campanian, the reader of the obnoxious decree of Odovacar : a man who, as the event showed, was to be not only himself a pope, but also the father of a pope.

Election of  
Hormisdas,  
26 July,  
514.

The chief events of the pontificate of Hormisdas have already been told in the chapter describing Theodoric's relations with Constantinople. He was well fitted to conduct such a struggle as that in which he was engaged with Anastasius, and to reap, with cold complacency, the utter-

Pontificate  
of Hormis-  
das,  
26 July,  
514, to 5  
Aug. 523.

BOOK IV. most fruits of the victory which was offered him  
 CH. 11. by Justin.

Election  
 of Pope  
 John I,  
 13 Aug.  
 523.

There was again a short vacancy and an undisputed succession. On the 13th of August, 523, John, a Tuscan, first of the long line of Popes who have borne the name, if they have not all imitated the saintliness, of the beloved Disciple, sat in the chair of St. Peter.

Difficulties  
 of the  
 Pope's  
 position  
 towards  
 the King.

The new Pope came to his dignity at a difficult and anxious time. Four years had now elapsed since the close of the schism, and during those years, while Justin's relations with the Roman Church had been excellent, his relations with the Italian King appear to have been growing steadily worse. How the chasm began to yawn between Romans and Goths, and how Theodoric, challenged to decide, declared himself on the side of his own nation, will be told in the next chapter. It is sufficient here to note that the year of John's accession to the Papacy is also the year when, by Theodoric's orders, Boethius was shut up in prison.

523.

524.  
 Justin's  
 persecu-  
 tion of the  
 Arians.

The next year, honoured by the Emperor Justin's assuming for the second time the consular title, was marked by a decided step taken by that Emperor in the direction of intolerance. Hitherto Justin, while persecuting severely the Manicheans and all heretics of that class, had left the Arians untouched, and seems even to have alleged, as a reason for his tolerance, that they professed the same religion as Theodoric. Now, however, this

exception in their favour was suddenly and harshly terminated<sup>1</sup>. Everywhere the churches of the Arians were reconsecrated with Catholic rites, and they themselves were made to understand that the time had gone by when they could be allowed to continue to disbelieve in the Homousion.

Theodoric, irritated by the insult to himself, and disgusted by such an ungrateful return for his impartial tolerance, now began to lose his temper, and under the influence of ill-temper not only departed from the principles of a life-time, but committed one of the greatest mistakes in policy which it was possible to perpetrate. He, whose one great glory it had been to make no distinction between creed and creed, began to entertain the idea of a persecution of the Catholics in Italy, by way of reprisal for the persecution of Arians in Thrace. And, in order to change the purpose of the Emperor, he committed the astounding folly of sending the Pope to Constantinople. No two pieces on the political chess-board ought, for the safety of his kingdom, to have been kept further apart from one another than the Pope and the Emperor: and now, by his own act, he brings these pieces close together. Summoning Pope John to Ravenna, he signified his pleasure that the head of the Catholic Church should visit Constantinople as his ambassador, and should inform Justin that, unless he restored their churches to the Arians, the sword

BOOK IV.  
CH. 11.  
524.

Theodoric begins a policy of reprisal.

He determines to send the Pope on a mission to Constantinople.

<sup>1</sup> Anastasius Bibliothecarius is here our chief authority.

BOOK IV. of Theodoric would ravage the whole of Italy.  
 CH. 11.

The Pope, sick and infirm, besought with tears to be excused from so degrading and unsuitable a mission, but the King, in whom the blood of all his Amal ancestors was now boiling, would take no denial, and the unhappy priest, cowed into submission, consented to set forth<sup>1</sup>. The mission was in outward show a brilliant one. Three exconsuls, Theodorus<sup>2</sup>, Importunus<sup>3</sup>, and Agapetus<sup>4</sup>, and one patrician, a second Agapetus, went in the train of the Pontiff. Miracles marked their course. At Corinth, a nobleman's horse which had been lent

525.

<sup>1</sup> Here is the account of the matter given by the Anonymus Valesii:—

‘The King returning [from the death of Boethius] in a fury, and unmindful of the blessings of God, thought that he could intimidate Justin by an embassy, and summoning to Ravenna John, the chief of the Apostolic See, he said to him, “Walk [ambula] to Justin the Emperor, and tell him among other things to restore the reconciled heretics to the Catholic [Arian] faith.” To whom Pope John made answer, “What thou art about to do, oh King, do quickly. Lo, I stand here in thy sight. I will not promise to do this thing for thee, nor to say this to the Emperor. In any other matters which thou mayest lay upon me, God helping me, I may be able to succeed.” Then the King being angry ordered a ship to be prepared, and placed him on board with other bishops, to wit Ecclesius of Ravenna, Eusebius of Fano, Sabinus of Campania, and two others, together with the following Senators, Theodorus, Importunus, Agapitus, and another Agapitus. But God, who does not desert his faithful worshippers, brought them prosperously to their journey's end. Then the Emperor Justin met him on his arrival as if he were St. Peter himself, and having heard his message promised that he would comply with all his demands, except that the converts who had given themselves to the Catholic faith could by no means be restored to the Arians.’

<sup>2</sup> Consul in 505.    <sup>3</sup> Consul in 509.    <sup>4</sup> Consul in 517.



for the Pope's use, absolutely refused thenceforward to be ridden by a woman, the owner's wife, whose tractable steed it had been till that day. The nobleman, making a merit of necessity, sent the creature, possessed of such nice spiritual discernment, to the Pope, and besought him, with many prayers, to regard it as his own<sup>1</sup>. At the entrance into Constantinople, a blind man imploring his aid, and touched by the Pontiff's hand, received his sight.

Everywhere there were joyous excitement and expectation at the arrival of the successor of St. Peter in the New Rome; an event, men said, which had never happened since Silvester came to visit its founder Constantine. Justin, with all his Court, and, so it seemed, the whole city of Constantinople, streamed forth with crosses and candles to meet the ambassadors at the twelfth milestone. Prone on the ground the Emperor, whom all other men adored, adored the weary Pontiff. Sick and anxious as he was, it was impossible for John not to feel that it was a great day for the Papacy. When Easter-day came the Pope, taking the place of honour at the right hand of the Patriarch of Constantinople, celebrated Mass according to the Latin use in the great Cathedral<sup>2</sup>. Nay, so far, according to one rather doubtful story<sup>3</sup>, did Justin carry his devotion to his distinguished guest, that, though now in the eighth year of his reign, and once crowned already by the Patriarch of Constan-

BOOK IV.  
CH. 11.

525.

Excite-  
ment at  
Constanti-  
nople over  
the Pope's  
visit.

<sup>1</sup> Dialogues of Pope Gregory, lib. 3. cap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Marcellinus Comes, s. a.

<sup>3</sup> In Anastasius.

BOOK IV. tinople, he solicited and obtained the honour of a  
 CH. 11. second coronation from his papal visitor.

525.  
 Result of  
 the mis-  
 sion.

As to the success of John's intercession with Justin it is not easy to speak positively<sup>1</sup>. The authorities who are most nearly contemporary assert very clearly that the prayers and tears of the Pope and his colleagues prevailed, and that the Emperor granted all their requests except that for the reconversion to Arianism of the new-made Catholics, which was deemed a thing impossible. Thus, they say, was Italy liberated from the fear of the vengeance of Theodoric. Modern papal historians like Baronius, eager to vindicate the Pope from the stain of advocating religious toleration, vehemently contend against this statement, and ask with some force, 'Why then the rage of Theodoric on the Pope's return, if he had done, with one inconsiderable exception, all that he was ordered to do?' Perhaps we may fairly conclude that the Pope deserved the anger of both parties; of the Catholics for asking for and obtaining things which were in his view unlawful, and of the King for throwing out hints and commencing negotiations inconsistent with his loyalty as a subject. The maxim—

'To thine own self be true,  
 And it must follow, as the night the day,  
 Thou canst not then be false to any man,'

<sup>1</sup> The letter attributed to Pope John in his prison, and quoted by Baronius (ix. 349), which might, if genuine, have thrown some light on these transactions, is now considered to be a forgery.

was one the spirit of which had been disregarded by Pope John, and he paid the penalty.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 11.

On his return to Ravenna, early in 526, the Pope found the King in no friendly mood, broken probably in health and sore against all the supposed abettors of Boethius and Symmachus in their treasonable practices with Constantinople. John himself and his three ex-consular colleagues were thrown into prison<sup>1</sup>, and there lingered several months. The hardships of the prison life were too much for the already enfeebled health of the Pontiff, and he died in confinement on the 25th of May, 526<sup>2</sup>, ninety-seven days before the death of the King himself.

Return of the Pope to Ravenna, 526.

Death of Pope John I, 25 May, 526.

Thus did Theodoric, whose whole reign had been pervaded by the attempt to harmonise Goth and Roman, and to rule without partiality over Catholic and Arian, cruelly wound the feelings of his Roman subjects by degrading the person of the Pope, and end his career by making the one man to whom the eyes of all Catholics turned with reverence—a martyr. Toleration is a noble principle, but it cannot be taken up and laid down at pleasure. He who would earn the glory of a tolerant king must be tolerant even in the presence of intolerance: tolerant even to the end. If we may take a simile from horsemanship, it is of no use for

Grievous mistake of Theodoric.

<sup>1</sup> The Patrician Agapetus had died on the journey out, at Thessalonica.

<sup>2</sup> Clinton's date. Anastasius, probably corrupt, gives 18th May.

BOOK IV. the rider to keep his temper with a timid, shying  
CH. 11. horse through ten vagaries, if at the eleventh he  
loses patience and brings the whip down in heavy  
wrath. All his previous self-restraint goes for  
nothing, and his ill-temper spoils the temper of his  
steed.

## CHAPTER XII.

### BOETHIUS AND SYMMACHUS.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources:—*

The ANONYMUS VALESII and the *Philosophiae Consolatio* BOOK IV, of BOETHIUS, described in the text. A handy and scholarly edition of the latter by R. Peiper has appeared in Teubner's Series of Greek and Roman Authors (Leipzig, 1871). Ch. 12.

Also the *Anecdoton Holderi*, consisting of a few paragraphs appended to a tenth-century MS. of the *Institutiones Humanarum Rerum* of CASSIODORUS, and apparently copied from a short paper written by Cassiodorus himself. The MS. is now in the Grand-ducal Library at Carlsruhe, and has been ably commented upon by Hermann Usener (Leipzig, 1877).

THE greatest mistake, if not the greatest crime, which sullied the fame of Theodoric, was the order given by him for the execution of Boethius and Symmachus. Coming as these executions did so near in time to the imprisonment and death in prison of Pope John, they easily acquired an ecclesiastical colour which did not of right belong to them: and thus these two noble, if somewhat mistaken men, who really perished as martyrs to the great name of Rome and the memory of the world-conquering Republic, have been surrounded by a halo of fictitious sanctity as martyrs to the cause of Christian orthodoxy. Boethius and Symmachus not religious martyrs.

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 12.

To clear the ground, it will be well first of all to suffer our previous guide, the *Anonymus Valesii*, to tell us the tragic story, as it was recounted in ecclesiastical circles at Ravenna about a generation after the event.

After describing Theodoric's residence at Verona, the resort thither of the Jews of Ravenna with their complaint about their ruined synagogue and the stern order for restitution made by the King<sup>1</sup>, the *Anonymus* thus continues:—

Version  
 of the  
*Anonymus*  
*Valesii*.

‘From this event the devil found occasion to subvert the man [Theodoric] who had been [up to this time] governing the republic well and without cause for complaint. For he presently ordered that the oratory and altar of St. Stephen, at the fountains in the suburb of Verona, should be overthrown. Then he commanded that no Roman should bear any arms, not even allowing them to carry a knife.

Omens.

‘Also a poor woman, of the Gothic nation, lying under a porch not far from the palace of Ravenna, gave birth to four dragons: two were seen by the people to be carried along in the clouds from the west to the east, and then to be cast into the sea: two were captured<sup>2</sup>, having one head between them. There appeared a star with a torch, which is called a comet, shining for fifteen days, and there were frequent earthquakes.

‘After these things the king began, upon the least occasion that he could find, to flame out in

<sup>1</sup> See p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Duo portati sunt.’

wrath against the Romans. Cyprian, who was BOOK IV.  
then Reporter to the High Court of Justice<sup>1</sup>, CH. 12.  
afterwards Count of the Sacred Largesses and 523.  
Master [of the Offices], urged by cupidity, laid an Cyprian's  
accusation  
of Albinus.  
information against Albinus the Patrician, that  
he had sent letters to the Emperor Justin hostile  
to the rule of Theodoric. This accusation he,  
upon being summoned, denied, and thereupon  
Boetius the Patrician, who was Master of the  
Offices, said in the King's presence: "False is the  
information of Cyprian, but if Albinus did it,  
both I and the whole Senate did it with one  
accord. It is false, my lord oh King!" Then Reply of  
Boethius.  
Cyprian, with hesitation, brought forward false  
witnesses not only against Albinus, but also  
against his champion Boetius. But the King laid  
snares for the Romans, and sought how he might  
slay them: he put more confidence in the false  
witnesses than in the Senators. Then were  
Albinus and Boetius taken in custody at the  
baptistery of the church [at Ticinum?]. But the  
King called for Eusebius, Prefect of the city of  
Ticinum, and passed sentence against Boetius un- 524.  
heard: and soon after sent and ordered him to  
be killed on the Calventian property<sup>2</sup>. A cord Boethius  
put to  
death by  
torture.  
was twisted for a very long time round his fore-  
head, so that his eyes started from his head: and

<sup>1</sup> Referendarius.

<sup>2</sup> Calvenzano, in the territory of Milan, a little distance from Melegnano (Marignan) according to Muratori (Annali, iii. 340).

BOOK IV. then at last in the midst of his torments he was  
 CH. 12. slain with a club<sup>1</sup>.

The King's return in high wrath to Ravenna, and his ill-conceived scheme of sending the Pope to Constantinople to plead for toleration to the Arians, are next described<sup>2</sup>.

Death of  
Symma-  
chus,  
525 ;

The Anonymus then continues: 'But while these things are going on, Symmachus the Head of the Senate, whose daughter Boethius had to wife, is led from Rome to Ravenna. But the King, fearing lest through grief for the loss of his son-in-law he should attempt anything against his kingdom, caused him to be accused and ordered him to be slain. Then Pope John returning from Justin was badly received by Theodoric and ordered to consider himself in disgrace. After a few days he died, and as the people were going in procession before his corpse, suddenly one of the crowd fell down, stricken by a demon, and when they had come with the bier to the place where he was, suddenly he stood up whole, and walked before them in the procession. Which when the people and senators saw, they began to cut off relics from the garment [of the Pope]. Thus, amid the extreme joy of the people, was his corpse led out beyond the gates of the city.

and of  
Pope John,  
526.

'Then [another] Symmachus, a Jew, and an

<sup>1</sup> 'Qui accepta chorda in fronte diutissime tortus, ita ut oculi ejus creparent (?), sic sub tormenta ad ultimum cum fuste occiditur.'

<sup>2</sup> See p. 512.



official in the royal *scholae*<sup>1</sup>, at the bidding, not of the king, but of the tyrant, issued orders on the fourth day of the week, the seventh before the kalends of September [26 August], on the fourth indiction, in the consulship of Olybrius, that on the following Lord's Day the Arians should take possession of the Catholic basilicas. But He who suffers not his faithful worshippers to be oppressed by the aliens, soon inflicted on him the same sentence as on Arius the author of his religion. The king was attacked with diarrhœa, and after three days of incessant purgings, on the same day on which he promised himself to invade the churches, he himself lost both kingdom and life. Before he drew his last breath he appointed his grandson Athalaric to the kingdom. During his lifetime he made for himself a monument of squared stone, a work of wonderful bigness, and sought for a gigantic stone, which he placed as the crowning of the edifice.'

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.

526.

The Catholic churches to be given to the Arians.  
526.

The King's illness,

and death.

His tomb.

(Here the Anonymus Valesii abruptly ends.)

The information here given us may be illustrated, if not greatly increased, by the hints as to the life and character of Boethius, which we obtain from his own writings and those of his contemporaries<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Symmachus scolasticus Judæus.'

<sup>2</sup> The following is the paragraph of the 'Anecdoton Holderi' which relates to Boethius:—

*'Boethius dignitatibus summis excelluit. Utraque lingua peritissimus orator fuit: qui regem Theodorichum in senatu pro consulatu filiorum luculenta oratione laudavit. Scripsit librum de sancta trinitate et capita quaedam dogmatica et*

BOOK IV.

CH. 12.

Birth and  
family of  
Boethius.The Ani-  
cian Gens.

*Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius*<sup>1</sup> was born at Rome probably in, or very soon after, the year 480<sup>2</sup>. His family was one of the most illustrious in Rome. He belonged to the *gens Anicia*, which, originally sprung from Praeneste, first emerges to notice in Roman history in the third century B.C., played a respectable, though not important, part in the times of the Republic, and, simply by living on through the wars, proscriptions, and massacres of the Empire, became a large and mighty kinship in the fourth century after Christ, when so many of the great names of the Republic had gone out for ever. To this clan belonged Probus, Olybrius, Symmachus, whose names have come under our notice in connection with the history of the later empire. Possibly also both Faustus and Festus, the two rival ministers of Theodoric, styled themselves *Anicii*<sup>3</sup>.

Thus his name *Anicius* indicated a real and genuine connection with one of the noblest fami-

*librum contra Nestorium. Condidit et carmen bucolicum. Sed in opere artis logicae, id est dialecticae, transferendo ac mathematicis disciplinis, talis fuit ut antiquos auctores aut aequipararet aut vinceret.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the form *Boethius* (which I used on the previous mention of the name, vol. ii. p. 219) there is considerable MS. authority, but Usener has shown that the preponderating authority of MSS. is in favour of *Boethius*. The common people at Rome had a difficulty in pronouncing *th*: hence the corruption.

<sup>2</sup> See Usener, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> There is an *Anicius Faustus*, of the fifth century, in the catalogue in Pauly's *Real. Encyclopaedia*, 1010. The *Anicius Festus* is of no later date than A. D. 217.

lies of the Lower Empire. Manlius was meant to carry back his lineage to the Manlii Torquati of the Republic; but here the connection was probably of that vague and shadowy kind which is met with in manufactured genealogies. Severinus was no doubt given to him in honour of one of the holiest names of the fifth century, the saintly hermit of Noricum.

A Boethius, probably the grandfather of Severinus Boethius, was, as we have already seen, murdered side by side with his friend Aetius, on that disastrous day when 'the last of Romans' fell, by the orders of the last Theodosian princeling Valentinian III. In the next generation Aurelius Manlius Boethius, after being twice Praefectus Urbi, and once Prætorian Prefect, attained the dignity of Consul in 487, during the domination of Odovacar<sup>1</sup>. As this nobleman died in early middle life, his son, the one who was to immortalise the name, was left an orphan while still a boy. Powerful relations, however, undertook his guardianship, the most noteworthy of them being Symmachus, who, when Boethius reached manhood, gave him Rusticana his daughter to wife.

The names of Symmachus and Boethius are so inextricably intertwined by the fate which made their deaths part of the same dark tragedy, that it will be well to interrupt here the story of

<sup>1</sup> See Usener's *Anecdota Holderi*, p. 44, and the inscription there quoted from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, v. 8120.

BOOK IV. Boethius in order to give the main facts of the  
 CH. 12. life of his father-in-law.

Symma-  
 chus,

*Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus*, was sprung, like his younger contemporary, from the great Anician house. The most conspicuous of his ancestors was Symmachus the orator, consul under the great Theodosius in 391, leader of the senatorial party at that day, and one of the last great names of Rome's slowly dying Paganism. The story might well have been told in the earlier volumes of this history, of his eloquent remonstrance with the young and uncompromising Gratian, against the removal of the altar of Victory from the Senate-house, and of his earnest entreaties to Theodosius and his colleagues to undo the impious work and restore the altar to its place.

and his  
 ancestors.

A hundred years had wrought great changes in the attitude of the Roman nobles towards the unseen world. The Symmachus with whom we have now to deal—a man in many respects resembling his great ancestor, like him head of the Senate and enthusiastic for its glory—has become an earnest member of the Christian Church, and shows his fidelity to Rome by upholding the standard of Catholic orthodoxy against the Arian Theodoric.

His gener-  
 ally friend-  
 ly attitude  
 towards  
 Theodoric.

Not, however, that we have any reason to suppose that, during the greater part of his life, Symmachus occupied an unfriendly position to the Ostrogothic government. He supported his name-

sake, Pope Symmachus<sup>1</sup>, in his controversy with BOOK IV.  
 Laurentius, and, during the greater part of that CH. 12.  
 struggle, was no doubt fighting on the same side as  
 the King. He had held the dignity of Consul in His offices,  
 485 under Odovacar. He became *Praefectus Urbi*<sup>2</sup>  
 under Theodoric, thus attaining the rank of an  
 Illustris; and he also received the proud title of  
 Patricius. By right of seniority he had risen by  
 the year 524 to the venerable position of Head  
 of the Senate<sup>3</sup>, corresponding pretty closely with  
 the high, but unofficial pre-eminence enjoyed in  
 England by 'the Father of the House of Commons.' and cha-  
 racter.  
 A man of correct and stately eloquence, of irre-  
 proachable character; the Cato of his age, but  
 with the old Stoic virtues softened and refined by  
 his Christian faith; a diligent student, and the  
 author of a Roman history in seven books, a man  
 also full of fine local patriotism for the great city  
 which was his home, and willing to spend some  
 of his vast wealth freely in the repair of her  
 public buildings—such is the Symmachus of the  
 age of Theodoric as he is represented to us by  
 his admiring contemporaries<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I think there is no reason to suppose any family tie between the Consul and the Pope (who was a Sardinian by birth). For some reason or other, Symmachus seems to have been a favourite name at this time.

<sup>2</sup> This may be considered as proved by the letter addressed to him by the King (Cass. Var. ii. 14). Perhaps also Variarum iv. 6 was sent to him in the same capacity.

<sup>3</sup> *Caput Senati* (sic) is the form used by Ammianus and Anonymus Valesii.

<sup>4</sup> The chief authorities for the life of Symmachus are, (1) two affectionate allusions to him in the *Philosophiae Consolatio* of

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.

The friendship of the elder and younger nobleman, crowned at length by the union which made Boethius the son-in-law of Symmachus, is a pleasing picture in an age in which we meet with little else than the rottenness of civilisation and the roughness of barbarism.

Career of  
Boethius.

To the career of the younger Senator we now return. Boethius was an ardent student of Greek

Boethius (ii. 3 and 4), who calls him *pretiosissimum generis humani decus, Symmachus*; (2) two letters of Eunodius, vii. 25, viii. 28 (the latter is not addressed to him, but speaks of sending a letter to him for emendation), and the Paraenesis of the same author (Opusc. vi), in which he praises Symmachus and other members of the Roman nobility in very glowing language; (3) the letters of Cassiodorus (Var. ii. 14, iv. 6 and 51); the last, giving him a commission to repair the Theatre of Pompey at the royal expense, is the one which describes his good deeds to the city of Rome; (4) and most important, the recently discovered memorandum (Anecdoton Holderi, ed. Usener, 1877), in which a contemporary, apparently Cassiodorus himself, thus describes him:—

*'Symmachus, patricius et consul ordinarius, vir philosophus, qui antiqui Catonis fuit novellus imitator, sed virtutes veterum sanctissima religione transcendit. Dixit sententiam pro allecticiis in senatu, parentesque suos imitatus, historiam quoque Romanam septem libris edidit.'*

The *allecticii* for whom Symmachus spoke, were, if Usener's conjecture be correct, the men who had received official promotion in the reign of Odovacar, and whose right to retain the dignity so acquired Symmachus defended.

The 'parent' whose historical activity Symmachus imitated was, according to Usener, Vibius Nicomachus Flavianus (who died in 394), an ancestor by the mother's side. But seeing that Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 280, ed. Migne) calls the elder Symmachus *λογογράφος*, which may mean historian as well as orator, we may perhaps conjecture that we have here an allusion to some lost history written by *that* ancestor of Symmachus Junior.

philosophy, but we have no evidence that he ever visited Greece. The notion that he actually studied at Athens seems to have been chiefly derived from the misunderstanding of a figurative expression of Cassiodorus as to his familiarity with Greek science<sup>1</sup>. He early attained high rank in the State. Consul at about the age of thirty, and apparently even before that time dignified with the honour of the Patriciate, he was evidently, in those years of adolescence and early middle age, in high favour with the Ostrogothic King. His heart, however, was not in the stately presence-chamber of king or prefect, not with the shouting and excited crowd who lined the dusty hippodrome, but in the delightful retirement of his library. Here, in this temple of philosophy, adorned as its walls were with ivory and glass, did he hold converse deep into the night with the heavenly visitant, who was to come to him again in far other environment and cheer the squalid solitude of his dungeon<sup>2</sup>.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.

510.

The chief literary object of Boethius was to familiarise his countrymen with what he deemed

His literary work.

<sup>1</sup> Var. i. 45: 'Sic enim Atheniensium scholas *longe positus* introisti . . . ut Graecorum dogmata doctrinam feceris esse Romanam.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Haecine est bybliotheca [it is Philosophy whom he addresses] quam, certissimam tibi sedem, nostris in laribus, ipsa delegeras, in qua mecum saepe residens de humanarum divinarumque rerum scientia disserebas?' (Phil. Cons. i. 4); and again, in Philosophy's reply, 'Itaque non tam me loci hujus quam tua facies movet, nec bybliothecae potius comptos ebore ac vitro parietes quam tuae mentis sedem requiro' (Phil. Cons. i. 5).

BOOK IV. best in Greek speculation ; carrying on the work  
 CH. 12. which had been commenced by Cicero, and applying it to some writers whom it was harder to treat in a popular manner than those whom Cicero had expanded. He translated, Cassiodorus tells us<sup>1</sup>, Pythagoras for the theory of music, Ptolemy for astronomy, Nicomachus for arithmetic, Euclid for geometry. But the chief work of these prosperous days, and that by which he most profoundly influenced the thoughts of after-times, was his commentaries on the logical treatises of Aristotle. The Categories, the Syllogism, the Analytics, and the Topics, with some minor treatises, thirty books in all, were translated by this indefatigable scholar, heir to one of the greatest names and one of the finest fortunes in Rome, but intent on placing philosophical truth within the reach of his fellow-countrymen. It seems to have been in great measure through the translations and commentaries of Boethius that the mediæval Schoolmen made their acquaintance with the philosopher of Stagira. From him, at least in part, they derived the materials for the long war of words between the Nominalists and Realists ; though Boethius himself, 'rushing into the battle at once with the valour of his race and his own personal intrepidity, gravely and peremptorily decides a question in which the doctors of Europe for centuries were to engage<sup>2</sup>,' by avowing him-

His influence on the schoolmen of the Middle Ages.

<sup>1</sup> *Variae*, i. 45.

<sup>2</sup> I take this quotation from the Rev. F. D. Maurice's '*Mediæval Philosophy*,' from whose sketch of Boethius the greater part of the above paragraph is borrowed.



self a Realist. Boethius's own belief in the absolute existence of the Aristotelian conception, Genus, Species, Difference, Property, and Accident is firm and immutable, and the ardour of his conviction impressed itself on many generations of his readers.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.  
An avowed  
Realist.

On the whole the encyclopædic labours of Boethius, though in the very highest degree honourable to the worker, have perhaps been of somewhat doubtful benefit to the world. It has been admirably said, by one well fitted to understand his intellectual position<sup>1</sup>, 'Qualities, quantities, magnitudes, multitudes—who does not see that these names were building a prison for Boethius, of which the walls were far higher and more impenetrable than those of the one to which Theodoric consigned him? There was positively no escape, above, below, through ceiling or pavement, for one confined within this word-fortress: scarcely an aperture, one would have thought, for air or light to enter in.' And great as the authority of Boethius was for many centuries on the science of music as known to the ancient world, it seems to be thought, by those best qualified to judge, that his own knowledge of the subject was somewhat inaccurate, and that by going back to the Pythagorean scale he really retarded the scientific development of the art<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. F. D. Maurice (*ubi supra*).

<sup>2</sup> So says Sir G. A. Macfarren in his article 'Music' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, where he even asserts that 'the very

BOOK IV. But Boethius was more than a mere student,  
 CH. 12. however laborious ; more than a populariser of the  
 work of other men, however successful. He was  
 Boethius as a me- also a highly skilled mechanician—a character  
 chanician. which since the days of Archimedes had not been  
 greatly affected even by the philosophers of Greece,  
 and which a mere Roman noble might have been  
 in danger of despising as beneath his dignity.  
 Whenever Theodoric and his ministers were in  
 want of advice on a mechanical, or (to use the  
 modern term) on a chemical question, Boethius  
 was the person to whom they naturally had re-  
 course. If Gundobad the Burgundian was to be  
 flattered and awed by an exhibition of Italian  
 skill, Boethius must construct the wonderful water-  
 clock which was to mark out the length of each  
 successive solar day, the orrery (as we should call  
 it) which was to imitate the movement of the solar  
 system<sup>1</sup>. If a skilful player on the cithara was to  
 be sent to the court of Clovis the Frank, Boethius  
 must select the performer<sup>2</sup>. If the life-guards<sup>3</sup>  
 complained that the paymaster was putting them  
 off with coins of inferior weight and fineness,  
 Boethius was called upon, as Archimedes in a  
 similar case by Hiero of Syracuse, to detect the  
 fraud<sup>4</sup>. That these friendly and familiar relations  
 between the subject and his King should terminate

eminence of Boethius makes it matter of regret that he ever wrote upon Music.’

<sup>1</sup> *Variae*, i. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Domestici*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 40.

<sup>4</sup> *Variae*, i. 10.

in the dungeon, the cord, and the bludgeon, is one of the saddest pages in the history of courts.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.

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In addition to his other occupations, Boethius entered the thorny labyrinth of theological controversy. A debate, which was carried on for many generations, as to the identity of Boethius the philosopher with Boethius the theologian, is now finally settled by the language of the fragment so often referred to<sup>1</sup>, which asserts that 'he wrote a book concerning the holy Trinity, and some dogmatic chapters and a book against Nestorius. He also wrote a bucolic poem.'

A nobleman with these various endowments, philosopher, musician, astronomer, mechanician, poet, theologian, and the best writer of Latin prose of his century, was certainly a considerable figure on the stage of history. We have now to consider him in his character of politician—a character which one is disposed to think it would have been well both for him and for Italy that he had never assumed. He tells us, in a review of his past career<sup>2</sup>, that it was in obedience to the teachings of Plato that he entered the domain of politics. Plato had said that states would be happy if either philosophers were kings or kings philosophers. He had also declared that the wise ought to take a share in political affairs, in order to prevent the disaster and ruin which would fall upon the good if the

Boethius  
as a states-  
man.

<sup>1</sup> Anecdoton Holderi.

<sup>2</sup> Philosophiæ Consolatio, i. 4.

BOOK IV. helm of the State were to be left in the hands of  
 CH. 12. dishonest and immoral men.

His reasons for entering into public life.

‘Guided by this authority,’ says he in his imagined colloquy with Philosophy, ‘I sought to translate into practical and public life the lessons which I had learned from thee in the secrecy of the study. Thou, and the God who breathed thee into the souls of the wise, are my witnesses, that nought moved me to the acceptance of office but the desire to promote the general welfare of my fellow-citizens. Hence came those bitter and implacable discords with scoundrels, and hereby was I strengthened to do what all must do who would keep a clear conscience, despise the anger of the great when I knew that I was championing the right.

His disputes with wrong-doers.

‘How often have I met the rush of Cunigast when coming on open-mouthed to devour the property of the poor! How often have I baffled Trigguilla the royal chamberlain<sup>1</sup> in some course of injustice which he had begun and all but completed! How often have I interposed my influence to protect the poor creatures whom the unbridled avarice of the barbarians was for ever worrying with false accusations!

‘Never did any one turn me aside from right to wrong-doing. When I saw the fortunes of the Provincials being ruined at once by private robbery and by the public taxes, I grieved as much as the sufferers themselves. At a time of severe famine,

<sup>1</sup> ‘Regiæ praepositum domus.’

when a rigorous and unaccountable order of 'co-emption' was like to strike the whole province of Campania<sup>1</sup> with poverty, I commenced in the public interest, *and with the knowledge of the King*, a struggle against the Prætorian Prefect, which was crowned with success, and led to the abandonment of the coemption.'

The reader will notice that in the above passage Boethius fairly enough attributes to Theodoric knowledge and approval of his attempts to preserve the Provincials of Campania from oppression. And indeed, on comparing this passage with those letters of Cassiodorus<sup>2</sup>, which describe the disgrace of Faustus, we can hardly doubt that the latter nobleman is the Prætorian Prefect here referred to, and that Boethius co-operated with Cassiodorus to obtain at least a temporary suspension of the powers of so grasping and tyrannical a governor.

In these  
Boethius  
co-operated  
with Theo-  
doric.

Boethius then mentions the case of 'Paulinus, a man of consular rank, for whose wealth the dogs of the palace were hungering and had in fancy already devoured it, but who was rescued by me from their hungry jaws.'

So far we have heard nothing that is not in entire conformity with the uniform tenour of the Various Letters of Cassiodorus, nothing as to which we may not believe that the conduct of

<sup>1</sup> Equivalent to the Latium and Campania of Republican geography, united.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 20 and 21, and (probably) 27.

BOOK IV. Boethius was wise, statesmanlike, and in perfect  
 CH. 12.

accord with the wishes of Theodoric and his great minister. Both Goths like Triguilla, and Romans like Faustus, were continually, with Pacha-like voracity, scenting the prey of the subject Provincials, and it needed all the watchfulness and all the courage of the central government at Ravenna to detect and to punish their crimes.

Honours  
 conferred  
 on Boe-  
 thius and  
 his family.

It was no doubt partly in reward of such services, and in order to mark the King's appreciation of the character and attainments of his distinguished courtier, that honours and offices were bestowed on Boethius and his family. His own consulship made the year 510 illustrious. In 522 his two sons, Symmachus and Boethius, one bearing his own name, and the other that of his honoured father-in-law, notwithstanding their extreme youth, were arrayed in the consular robes. The proud father, little dreaming of the ruin which was already nigh at hand, addressed Theodoric from his place in the Senate in a brilliant speech of panegyric<sup>1</sup>. Afterwards, probably on the 1st of September in the same year, Boethius was promoted to the highly important and confidential post of Master of the Offices, which dignity he held when the storm of the royal displeasure burst upon him.

We thus come to the case of Albinus. Again

<sup>1</sup> (Boethius) 'qui regem Theodorichum in senatu pro consulatu filiorum luculenta oratione laudavit' (Anecdoton Holderi).

Boethius himself shall describe it to us, and while reading his words, it will be well to compare them with the shorter but generally harmonious account given by the Anonymus Valesii <sup>1</sup>.

‘That Albinus the Consular might not undergo punishment upon a foregone conclusion of his guilt, I set myself against the wrath of the informer Cyprian. Great indeed were the animosities which I thereby sharpened against myself [namely, of Cyprian’s party]; but I ought to have been all the safer with the rest [of the Senators], who knew that from my love of justice I had left myself no place of safety with the courtiers<sup>2</sup>. But, on the contrary, who were the informers by whom I was struck down? [They were Senators themselves.] Basilius, long ago turned out of the King’s service, was driven by pressure of debt to calumniate my name. Opilio and Gaudentius, when, on account of their numberless and varied frauds, they had been ordered by a royal decree to quit the country, not choosing to obey, sought the shelter of the sanctuary. This came to the King’s ears, and he ordered that, unless by a given day they had left Ravenna, they should be driven forth with a brand of infamy on their foreheads. What more stringent measure could have been adopted? Yet on that very day they laid their information against me, and that information was accepted. Was that a fitting

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.

Case of  
Albinus.

The in-  
formers,  
Cyprian,

Basilius,

Opilio,

Gauden-  
tius.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 519.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Sed esse apud ceteros tutior debui qui mihi amore justitiae nihil apud aulicos quo magis essem tutior reservavi.’

BOOK IV. reward for my services? Did the foregone con-  
 CH. 12. clusion to condemn me turn those accusers into  
 honest men? Had Fortune no shame, if not for  
 the innocence of the accused, at least for the  
 villainy of the accusers?

Boethius'  
 account of  
 the charge  
 against  
 him.

‘But perhaps you ask in fine, of what crime is  
 it that I am accused. *I am said to have desired  
 the safety of the Senate.* “In what way?” you  
 ask. I am accused of having prevented an in-  
 former from producing certain documents in order  
 to prove the Senate guilty of high treason. What  
 is your advice then, oh my teacher? Shall I deny  
 the charge in order that I may not bring disgrace  
 upon you? But I did wish for the safety of the  
 Senate, and shall never cease to wish for it. Shall  
 I confess? That would be to play into the hands  
 of the informer. Shall I call it a crime to have  
 desired the safety of that venerable order? I can  
 only think of their decrees concerning me as a  
 reason why that should be a crime. But im-  
 prudence, though ever untrue to itself, cannot alter  
 the nature of things, and, influenced as I am by  
 the teachings of Socrates, I do not think it right  
 either to conceal the truth or to admit a false-  
 hood.

‘How this may be [what may be my duty to the  
 Senate now that it has deserted me,] I leave to be  
 settled by thy judgment and that of the sages.  
 In order that the truth and the real connection  
 of the whole affair may not be hidden from  
 posterity, I have drawn up a written memorandum



concerning it. For, as for those forged letters, by which I am accused of having hoped for Roman freedom, why should I say anything about them? Their falsity would have been manifest if I had been allowed to use the confession of the informers themselves, which is always considered of the greatest weight. For what chance of freedom, pray, is still left to us? Would, indeed, that there were any such chance. [Had I been examined in the King's presence] I would have answered in the words of Canius, who, when accused by Caius [Caligula] of being privy to the conspiracy against him, answered, "If I had known of it, thou shouldest have never known <sup>1</sup>."

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.  
The forged  
letters to  
Constantinople.

Boethius then expresses his wonder that a good God can suffer the wicked thus to triumph over the righteous. As an earlier philosopher had said, 'If there be a God, whence comes evil hither? And if there be none, whence comes good?'

'But let it be granted that it was natural for evil-minded men, who were thirsting for the blood of the Senate and of all good citizens, to seek to compass my ruin, because they saw in me the champion of both classes. But did I deserve this treatment at the hands of the Senate also? Since you [O Philosophy] ever present beside me, directed all my sayings and doings, you will remember, I think, that day at Verona, when the

He complains  
of the  
Senate's  
treatment  
of him.

<sup>1</sup> I. e. 'I would have made the conspiracy a success.' We do not appear to have any other information about the conspiracy of Canius.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.

King, eager for a general slaughter, laboured to transfer the charge of treason brought against Albinus, to all the Senate. At what great peril to myself did I defend the innocence of the whole order<sup>1</sup>! You know that in all this I am putting forth nothing but the truth, and am indulging in no vain boastings. . . . My innocence has been more hardly dealt with than confessed guilt. Scarcely would an avowed criminal find *all* his judges unanimous against him, nor one disposed to make allowance for the frailty of the human mind, or to remember the inconstancy of Fortune. If I had been accused of wishing to burn the sacred edifices, to slay the priests with impious sword, to plot the murder of all good citizens, I should at least have been confronted with my accusers, and have either confessed my guilt or been convicted before I was punished. But now, at a distance of about 500 miles from my judges, dumb and undefended, I have been condemned to death and the forfeiture of my estate. For what? For too earnest love towards the Senate [my judges]. Assuredly they deserve that no one should ever again suffer on such a charge: a charge which even they who made it, saw to be so far from dishonourable that they were obliged to darken it with the admixture of some wickedness.

<sup>1</sup> 'Meministi, Veronae cum rex, avidus exitii communis, majestatis crimen in Albinum delatae ad cunctum senatus ordinem transferre moliretur, universi innocentiam senatus quanta mei periculi secuntate defenderim.'

‘They therefore falsely alleged that, in my pursuit of office, I had stained my conscience with sacrilege<sup>1</sup>. Whereas thou, present in my breast, hadst driven base cupidity from thence, and under thy holy eyes there was no room for sacrilege. Thou hadst daily instilled into mine ears and thoughts the great Pythagorean maxim, “Follow God<sup>2</sup>.” How could I, whom thou hadst thus been fashioning into the divine likeness, seek to gain the favour of the baser spirits [of the under-world]? Moreover the innocent retirement of my home, the companionship of my honoured friends, the very presence of my father-in-law, a man holy and reverend as thou art, should have defended me from the suspicion of such crimes. But, alas! my very friendship with thee lent colour to the charge, and it was for this cause that I seemed likely to have practised divination, because I was known to be imbued with the teachings of Philosophy.’

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.  
Charge of sacrilege and divination.

It will not be needful to repeat to the reader any more of the sad ejaculations of Boethius. Failing that memorandum as to his defence, which he composed, and the loss of which leaves a lamentable gap in our knowledge of his case, we may take these few paragraphs as his plea against his accusers at the bar of history. With all its passionate declamation it does make some points of the story clearer.

Points proved by the statement of Boethius

<sup>1</sup> ‘Ob ambitum dignitatis sacrilegio me conscientiam polluisse mentiti sunt.’

<sup>2</sup> ΕΙΘΥ ΟΕΟΝ.

BOOK IV.

CH. 12.

not a case  
of Arian  
against  
orthodox,

(1) It is plain that Boethius was in no sense a martyr to orthodoxy. He was a Catholic, and Theodoric was an Arian, but that difference of creed had evidently no direct connection with the disgrace and death of the philosopher.

nor of Goth  
against  
Roman.

(2) Nor was it directly a case of Goth against Roman. The names of Gothic enemies which he mentions—Trigguilla, Cunigast, perhaps ‘the dogs of the palace’—are all connected with his earlier life. In this latest act of the drama the ‘delatores’ against him are all Romans, Cyprian, Basilius, Gaudentius, Opilio. And this agrees with the hints of the Anonymus Valesii, who says that the informer was moved by cupidity; and with the language of Procopius, who declares that the wealth, the philosophic pursuits, the charity and the renown of Symmachus and Boethius, had stirred up envy in the breasts of spiteful men who laid a false charge against them before Theodoric, that they were plotting a revolution<sup>1</sup>. Though the government is equally responsible on either hypothesis, it was Roman fraud, not Gothic force, which set the powers of government in motion.

<sup>1</sup> Σύμμαχος καὶ Βοέτιος, ὁ τούτου γαμβρός, εὐπατρίδαι μὲν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἦσθην, πρῶτω δὲ βουλῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἰπάτω ἐγενέσθην. Ἄμφω τε φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκήσαντε καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπιμελησαμένω οὐδενὸς ἦσσον, πολλοῖς τε ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων χρήμασι τὴν ἀπορίαν ἰασαμένω καὶ δόξης ἐπὶ μέγα χωρήσαντε ἄνδρας ἐς φθόνον τοὺς πικροτάτους ἐπηγαγέτην. Οἷς δὴ συκοφαντοῦσι Θευδέριχος ἀναπεισθείς, ἅτε νεωτέροις πράγμασιν ἐγγχειροῦντας, τῷ ἄνδρῳ τούτῳ ἔκτεινε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα ἐποίησατο (Procopius, De Bello Gothico, i. 1; p. 11, ed. Bonn).

(3) It was by *the Senate* that Boethius was condemned to death and proscription. Here, too, the ultimate responsibility is not removed from the king, before whose frown the slavish Senate trembled. As we do not accept it as any apology for the sanguinary deeds of a Tudor prince, that his Parliament was found willing to invest them with the forms of law, so too the condemnation of Boethius, if unjust, stains the memory of Theodoric equally, whether passed by the Conscript Fathers in Rome or by his own *Comitatus* at Ravenna. But how shall we think of the case if evidence were laid before them which the Senate, with all their good-will to the prisoner, could not ignore? At any rate the interposition of the Senate shows that we have not to do with a mere outbreak of lawless savagery on the part of the Gothic King.

(4) The case was strangely complicated by an accusation against Boethius, that he practised forbidden arts and sought to familiar spirits. Ridiculous as this accusation seems to us, we can easily see how the pursuits of so clever a mechanic as Boethius would in the eyes of the ignorant multitude give plausibility to the charge. The Theodosian code teemed with enactments against *Mathematici*<sup>1</sup>, meaning, of course, primarily the

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.  
He was  
condemned  
by the  
Senate.

Boethius  
was con-  
demned  
partly as  
an astro-  
loger and  
diviner.

<sup>1</sup> Take for instance Cod. Theod. ix. 16. 12: 'Mathematicos, nisi parati sint, Codicibus erroris proprii sub oculis Episcoporum incendio concrematis, Catholicae religionis cultui fidem tradere, nunquam ad errorem praeteritum redituri, non solum Urbe Roma, sed etiam omnibus civitatibus pelli decernimus.'

BOOK IV. impostors who calculated nativities and cast horoscopes. From many allusions in the 'Consolation' we infer that astronomy was to Boethius the most attractive of all the sciences. He would have been centuries in advance of his age if he had been able to divest his study of the heavenly bodies of all taint of astrological superstition<sup>1</sup>. The insinuation that a profound mathematician must needs possess unlawful means of prying into the future, was of course absurd; but it is not the barbarous ignorance of the Goth, but the superstitious legislation of generations of Christian Emperors, that must bear the blame of *this* miscarriage of justice.

The silence of Cassiodorus tells against Theodoric,

There is one more witness, (a sad and unwilling witness,) who must be examined, and then the evidence in this mysterious case will be all before the reader. Cassiodorus, in all the twelve books of his letters, makes, I believe, no reference, direct or indirect, to the death of Boethius and Symmachus. This silence tells against Theodoric. Had the execution of the two statesmen been a righteous and necessary act, it is hardly likely that Cassiodorus would have so studiously avoided all allusion to the act itself, and to the share which he, the chief counsellor of Theodoric, may have had

This law was passed by Honorius in 409, a year before Alaric's capture of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> In fact he half confesses a belief in astrology in the following passage of the 'Consolation': 'Sive igitur famulantibus quibusdam providentiae divinis spiritibus fatum exercetur—seu caelestibus siderum motibus' (iv. 6).

in the doing of it. As it is, we may almost imagine, though we cannot prove, that the minister, finding his master bent upon hot and revengeful deeds, such as could only mar the good work of their joint lifetimes, retired from active co-operation in the work of government, and left his master to do or undo at his pleasure, unchecked by a word from him.

Yet the evidence of Cassiodorus tells also somewhat against Boethius. The reader has seen in what tints of unrelieved blackness the philosopher paints all those who were concerned in his downfall. The letters of Cassiodorus, written after Theodoric's death, collected and published when their author was retiring from politics, give a very different impression of these men.

Cyprian, the accuser of Albinus, who was forced to become the accuser of Boethius also, appears to have been a Roman of noble birth, son of a consul<sup>1</sup>, to have been appointed *referendarius* in the king's court of appeal, and in that capacity to have had the duty of stating the cases of the litigants, first from one point of view, then from the other. The fairness with which he did this, the nimbleness of mind with which he succeeded in presenting the best points of each case without doing injustice to the other, often excited the admiration of the suitors themselves. Then, when Theodoric was weary of sitting in his court, he would often mount his horse and order Cyprian

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.

but he shows that Boethius has been unjust to his accusers.

His character of Cyprian.

<sup>1</sup> Opilio.

BOOK IV. to accompany him in a ride through the whisper-  
 CH. 12. ing pine-wood of Ravenna. As they went, Cyprian  
 would often, by the King's command, describe the  
 main features of a case which was to come before  
 the *Comitatus*. In his hands, the dull details of  
 litigation became interesting to the Gothic King,  
 who, even when Cyprian was putting a hopelessly  
 bad case before him, moderated his anger at the  
 impudence of the litigant, in deference to the  
 charm of his counsellor's narration.

Cyprian, after some years' service as Referen-  
 darius, was sent on an important embassy to Con-  
 stantinople, in which he successfully upheld his  
 master's interests at the Imperial Court. He was  
 afterwards, apparently after the execution of Boe-  
 thius, appointed to the high office of chief Finance  
 Minister of the kingdom<sup>1</sup>.

Probable  
 explana-  
 tion of the  
 motives of  
 Cyprian.

One would have said that this was the record  
 of a fair and honourable official career, and that he  
 who pursued it was not likely to be a base and per-  
 jured informer. Rather does it suggest to the mind  
 the painful position of a statesman who, Roman  
 himself, knew that many other Romans were not  
 dealing faithfully by his Gothic King, but, by under-  
 hand intrigues at Constantinople, were seeking to  
 prepare a counter revolution. His situation would  
 thus be like that of a minister of Dutch William  
 or Hanoverian George; bound in honesty to the

<sup>1</sup> Count of the Sacred Largesses. The appointment was 'at  
 the third Indiction.' This might be either 509 or 524, but the  
 latter is much the more probable date.



king whose bread he is eating to denounce the treasons of the Jacobite conspirators around him, even though they be his countrymen and the king a foreigner. He names Albinus, whose guilt he is certain of. Boethius, the all-honoured and all-envied, steps forward, and thinks, by throwing the shelter of his great name over the defendant, to quash the accusation. With regret, but of necessity, Cyprian enlarges his charge, saying, 'Well, if you will have it so—and Boethius too.'

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Let us turn to the characters of the other accusers. It is true that Basilius, 'long ago turned out of the King's service,' may be the same as the Basilius who was accused along with Praetextatus of being addicted to magical arts and whose case was handed over to the Prefect of the city for trial<sup>1</sup>. Basilius, however, is a somewhat common name, and we must not be too certain of this identification. But as to Opilio, we have strong evidence from Cassiodorus, which makes it almost impossible that the passionate invective of Boethius can be absolutely true. Opilio was evidently the brother of Cyprian, and probably grandson of the consul of 453, who was also called Opilio. In 527, four years after these events, he was raised by Amalasantha, probably on the advice of Cassiodorus, to the responsible office of Count of the Sacred Largesses, which had been previously held by his brother. In the letters announcing his promotion to this office, the loyalty

Cassiodorus' testimony as to Basilius,

and Opilio, who was brother to Cyprian.

<sup>1</sup> Cass. Var. iv. 22, 23.

BOOK IV. and truth of character, both of Opilio and Cyprian,  
 CH. 12. are enthusiastically praised. 'Why should I describe the merits of his ancestors when he shines so conspicuously by the less remote light of his brother? They are near relations, but yet nearer friends. He has so associated himself with that brother's virtues that one is uncertain which of the two one should praise the more highly. Cyprian is a most faithful friend, but Opilio shows unshaken constancy in the observance of his promises. Cyprian is devoid of avarice, and Opilio shows himself a stranger to cupidity. Hence it comes that they have known how to keep faith with their sovereigns, because they know not how to act perfidiously towards their equals. It is in this unfettered intercourse that the character is best shown. How can such men help serving their lords honourably, when they have no thought of taking an unfair advantage of their colleagues<sup>1</sup>?'

Doubtless these official encomiums are to be received with caution, but, after making all due abatement, it is impossible to suppose that Cassiodorus would have deliberately republished letters, full of such high praises of men, whom all his contemporaries knew to be, in truth, the base scoundrels described by Boethius.

<sup>1</sup> 'Amicitia ille praestat fidem; sed magnam promissis debet iste constantiam. Ille quoque avaritia vacuus, et iste a cupiditatibus probatur alienus. Hinc est quod norunt regibus servare fidem, quia nesciunt vel inter aequales exercere perfidiam. . . . Quomodo ergo sub puritate non serviant dominis suis, qui nesciunt illuisse collegis' (Cass. Var. viii. 17).

In connection with this subject we must take also some words of the philosopher with reference to one of his colleagues in office. When he is musing on the vanity of human wishes, and showing why the honours of the State cannot satisfy man's aspirations after happiness, he says, or rather Philosophy says to him, 'Was it really worth while to undergo so many perils in order that thou mightest wear the honours of the magistracy with Decoratus, though thou sawest in him the mind of a base informer and buffoon?' Now Decoratus—the name is too uncommon to make it probable that there were two contemporaries bearing it—was a young nobleman of Spoleto, a man of some eminence as an orator, loyal, faithful, and generous. He died in the prime of life, and the King, who deeply regretted him, sought to repay some part of the debt owing to Decoratus by advancing in the career of office his younger brother Honoratus. Such is the picture of his character which we collect, not only from two letters of Cassiodorus<sup>1</sup>, but also from one of Ennodius<sup>2</sup>, and from the more doubtful evidence of his epitaph<sup>3</sup>. Are all these men's characters to be blasted, because of the passionate words of Boethius in his dungeon? Do not these words rather return upon himself, and can we not now see something more of his true character? To me they indicate the faults of a student-statesman, brilliant as a man of letters,

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Ch. 12.

Boethius abuses Decoratus, who is highly spoken of by other contemporaries.

Suggestions as to the real character of Boethius as a politician.

<sup>1</sup> Variarum, v. 3 and 4.

<sup>2</sup> iv. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in the notes to Ennodius, l. c. (Migne, lxxiii. 78).

BOOK IV. unrivalled as a man of science, irreproachable so long as he remained in the seclusion of his library ; but utterly unfit for affairs ; passionate and ungenerous ; incapable of recognising the fact that there might be other points of view beside his own ; persuaded that every one who wounded his vanity must be a scoundrel, or at best a buffoon ;—in short, an impracticable colleague, and, with all his honourable aspirations, an unscrupulous enemy.

End of the analysis of the case.

The reader has now before him all the evidence that is forthcoming with reference to this most important but most perplexing State-trial. A historian shrinks from pronouncing his own verdict in such a case. His admiration and sympathy are due in different ways both to the author of the sentence and to its victim ; and he can only extenuate the fault of Theodoric by magnifying, perhaps unduly, the fault of Boethius. But, after all the analysis that we have been engaged in, some short synthetical statement seems needful for the sake of clearness.

Attempted synthesis.

It was probably some time in the year 523 that Theodoric was first informed that some of the leading Senators were in secret correspondence with the Emperor. The tidings came at a critical time. In the previous year the great Ostrogoth had heard of his grandson Segeric's death, inflicted by order of his father, the Catholic King of Burgundy. In May or June of this year came the news that his own sister, the stately Queen of the Vandals, Amalafriada, was shut up in prison

by the Catholic Hilderic. Must then 'the aspiring blood of' Amala 'sink in the ground?' Was there a conspiracy everywhere among these lesser lords of the Germans, both against the creed of their forefathers, and against the great Ostrogothic house which had been the pillar of the new European State-system? Such were the suggestions that goaded the old hero almost to madness. He had now just reached the seventh decade of life; and the temper so well kept in curb all through his middle years, since the day when he slew Odovacar, was beginning to throw off the control of the feebler brain of age.

Then came the scene of the denunciation of Albinus. It happened apparently at Verona, most likely in the High Court of Justice (*Comitatus*) of the King. Boethius generously steps forward to shield Albinus. Cyprian, driven into a corner, reluctantly accuses Boethius also. Of what was it that Albinus and Boethius were accused? This, which should be the plainest part of the whole transaction, is in fact the darkest. None of our authorities really enable us to reconstruct the indictment against the Senators. Boethius shrilly vociferates that he was accused of nothing but 'desiring the safety of the Senate,' which, taken literally, is absurd. But we have seen abundantly how indefinite and anomalous was the tie which bound both the Senate, and in some sort Theodoric himself, to the Empire. Is it possible that the letters which were sent by the senatorial party

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CH. 12.

The scene  
at Verona.

What were  
Albinus  
and Boe-  
thius ac-  
cused of?

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CH. 12.

urged Justin to turn this shadowy senior-partnership into real supremacy, and especially claimed *for the members of the Senate that they should be judged only by the tribunals of the Empire, not by those of Theodoric?* Some such demand as this would explain the words of Boethius about 'desiring the safety of the Senate.' At the same time it was a proposal which, in the actual circumstances of both realms, meant really treason to Theodoric.

The letters  
to Constantinople,

It seems probable that some letters of this or similar purport were actually signed by Boethius as well as by Albinus and forwarded to Constantinople. Boethius says that the letters which were produced against him were forged. Perhaps, in reality, they were tampered with, rather than forged from beginning to end. It was a case in which the alteration of a few words might make all the difference between that which was and that which was not consistent with a good subject's duty to Theodoric. If any such vile work were done, the author of it may have been Gaudentius, the chief object of the vituperations of the philosopher for whom we can produce no rebutting evidence from the pages of Cassiodorus.

perhaps  
tampered  
with by  
Gauden-  
tius.

Boethius  
condemned  
by the  
Senate  
without  
a hearing.

Whatever the accusation, and whatever the proofs, they appear to have been all forwarded to Rome, where the Senate, with base cowardice and injustice, trembling before the wrath of the King, unanimously found Boethius guilty of treason, and perhaps of sacrilege also. He was never confronted

with his accusers, but was all the time lying in prison at Pavia or Calvenzano. Albinus disappears from the narrative, but was probably condemned along with Boethius.

For some reason which is not explained to us Boethius was kept in confinement for a considerable time, probably for the latter half of 523 and the earlier half of 524. The King was evidently greatly enraged against him. Probably the recent consulships bestowed on the sons of the conspirator and the flowery panegyric which he had then pronounced on Theodoric quickened the resentment of the King by the stings of ingratitude and, as it seemed, successful deception. It is possible that the reason for this long delay may have been a desire to wring from Boethius the names of his fellow-conspirators; and if so, we dare not altogether reject the story told by the Anonymus Valesii of the tortures applied to him in the prison. In itself this writer's narrative is not of a kind that commands implicit faith, and one is disposed to set down the story of the twisted cord and the protruding eyes as a fit companion to that told a few lines before of the woman who gave birth to the dragons, and of their airy passage to the sea. The author is evidently misinformed as to some circumstances of the trial, since he makes the King, not the Senate, pass sentence on Boethius, and represents the sentence as soon<sup>1</sup> carried out, whereas the philosopher undoubtedly languished for a

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.  
His imprisonment and possible torture.

<sup>1</sup> 'Mox.'

BOOK IV. considerable time in prison after his condemna-  
 CH. 12. tion<sup>1</sup>.

Execution  
 of Boe-  
 thius.

Mission of  
 the Pope.

Execution  
 of Symma-  
 chus.

The death of Boethius occurred probably about the middle of 524. We have no means of ascertaining the date more accurately. Then came the ill-judged mission of the Pope to Constantinople; and before his return, apparently early in 525, the citation of the venerable Symmachus to Ravenna, and his execution. From the whole tenor of the narrative it is safe to infer that this was much more the personal act of Theodoric than the condemnation of Boethius had been. The evidence, if evidence there was, of conspiracy was probably far slighter. Fear was the King's chief counsellor, and, as ever, an evil counsellor. The course of argument was like that of Henry VIII in his later years, or the Committee of Public Safety in the French Revolution. 'Symmachus has lost his son-in-law; Symmachus must be disaffected to the monarchy; let Symmachus be prevented from conspiring—by the executioner.' It is clear, from the stories which were floating about in the next generation, that this act was the one which was most severely blamed by contemporaries, and the one which lay heaviest on the King's own conscience.

In short, from such information as we can collect, it seems right to conclude,—

<sup>1</sup> The literal accuracy of the Anonymus is also rendered doubtful by the fact that both Anastasius Bibliothecarius (in the life of Pope John; Muratori, iii. 126) and Agnellus (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 304) speak of Boethius as *beheaded*.



(1) That the death of Boethius, though a grievous blunder, was, according to the principles of self-preservation acted upon by all rulers, not a crime.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.

Conclu-  
sion: as to  
Theodoric,

(2) That if torture were employed, which is too probable but not proved, such a proceeding was an infamy.

(3) That the death of Symmachus was both a blunder and a crime.

But while condemning the conduct of Theodoric we may also lament the error of judgment which led the high-minded but visionary Boethius into the field of politics. He had doubtless noble dreams for the future of a reorganized and imperial Italy; dreams which entitle him to reach over eight centuries and clasp the hand of the Florentine poet, the author of the *De Monarchia*. But in that near future to which politicians must confine their gaze, the restoration of the Empire meant the carnival of the tax-collectors of Byzantium; the ascendancy of the Church meant the inroads of the fierce and faithless Frank. These evils would have been avoided and centuries of horror would have been spared to Italy, if the inglorious policy of Cassiodorus, the statesman of the hour, might have prevailed over the brilliant dreams of Boethius, the student and the seer.

as to Boe-  
thius.

I have purposely reserved to the last, till these matters of political debate were disposed of, the mention of the great work which has made the imprisonment of Boethius for ever memorable—his

The Phi-  
losophiae  
Consolatio.

BOOK IV. 'Consolation of Philosophy.' The title of the book  
 CH. 12.

is ambiguous; but it need hardly be said that Philosophy is not the consoled one but the consoler. She indeed, at the end of the dismal tragedy, might well seem to need comfort for the loss of her favourite disciple. But in this book he, still living, describes how she braced and cheered him in his dungeon, when he was tempted to repine at his unmerited downfall, and to murmur at the triumph of the bad, at the apparent forgetfulness of the just Ruler of the world.

Scheme of  
 the book.

The scheme of the book is on this wise. The 'author of the bucolic poem,' sick and in prison, employs his lonely hours in writing verses, and thus he sings :—

Prologue.

'I, who once touched the lyre with joyful hand,  
 Now, in my grief, do tread sad ways of song.  
 Lo! at my side the tearful Muses stand  
 To guide my heartfelt elegy of wrong.

No tyrant's wrath deters these guests sublime  
 From journeying with me all my downward way;  
 These, the bright comrades of my joyous Prime,  
 And now, my weary Age's only stay.

Yes: weary Age. For Youth with Joy has fled,  
 And Sadness brings her hoar companion.  
 Untimely honours silver o'er my head,  
 Untimely wrinkles score my visage wan.

Oh! happy they from whose delightful years  
 Death tarries far, to come, when called, with speed.  
 But deaf is Death to me, though called with tears:  
 These tearful eyes he will not close at need.

While still my bark sped on with favouring breeze,  
Me, Death unlooked-for all but swept away.  
Now, when all round me roar the angry seas,  
Life, cruel Life, protracts her tedious stay.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.

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How oft you named me happy, oh my friends.  
*Not* happy he, whose bliss such ruin ends.'

Scarce has the mourning philosopher thus uttered his grief in song, when he lifts up his eyes and sees a mysterious form standing beside him. A woman, she seems, of venerable face, with gleaming eyes, with every sign of youthful vigour about her, and yet with something in her countenance which tells of life protracted through untold centuries. Her very stature is mysterious and indefinite. Now her head seems to touch the skies, and now she is only of the ordinary height of men. The raiment which she wears was woven by her own hands of finest gossamer thread, and is dark with age. On the lower hem of her robe is embroidered the letter P, on the upper one T<sup>1</sup>. (These letters, as we afterwards learn, stand for Practical and Theoretical Wisdom.) Upon the robe is embroidered the likeness of steps leading up from the lower letter to the higher<sup>2</sup>. In her right hand

Book I,  
Entrance  
of Philoso-  
phy.

<sup>1</sup> In the original Π. and Θ. for Πρακτική and Θεωρητική.

<sup>2</sup> And Boethius adds—but here, I think, his desire to point a moral leads him to spoil his picture—that the lady's garment is all in rags, having been rent by the hands of violent men, who wave as trophies the pieces which they have torn away. These are sects of Philosophy, each of which has got hold of a little fragment of truth which it vaunts as its own.

BOOK IV. she bears some rolls of parchment ; in her left a  
CH. 12. sceptre.

This is Philosophy, come to reprove and to comfort her downcast disciple. With sublime wrath she dismisses the Muses from the bed-side of the patient, pouring upon them names of infamy, and declaring that they are aggravating the disease which they pretend to heal. Boethius is *her* disciple, nourished on the doctrine of Eleia and the Academy, and by her Muses, not by their Siren voices shall his soul be cured. The Muses venture no reply, but with downcast looks and blushing faces silently depart.

Then Philosophy, sitting on the edge of his bed and looking into his face with sad eyes, sings a song of pity and reproof. 'Alas!' she says, 'for the darkness which comes over the mind of man. Is this he whose glance roved freely through the heavenly labyrinth, who watched the rosy light of dawn, the changes of the chilly moon, who marked the course of the winds, the return of flowery spring and fruitful autumn, and who knew the reason of all these things? Yet now here he lies, with his mind all bedimmed, with heavy chains upon his neck, casting downward his gloomy countenance, and forced to contemplate only the stolid earth beneath him.'

'The time is come,' she continues, 'for the healing art of the physician. Look fixedly at me, and tell me, dost thou know me?' A deadly lethargy oppresses Boethius, and he makes no reply. Then

she wipes his streaming eyes: the touch of her hand revives him; he gazes earnestly into her face; he recognises his own and oldest friend, his Muse, his teacher, Philosophy. But why has she come to visit him in this his low estate? She assures him that she never leaves her votaries in their distress, and reminds him by the example of Socrates, Anaxagoras, Zeno, and many more, that to be misunderstood, to be hated, to be brought into prison, and even to death itself by the oppressor, is the customary portion of those who love her. She is come to heal him, but, that she may practise her skill, it is needful that he shall show her all his wound. Then Boethius, in a few pages of autobiography, gives that narrative of his fall from the sovereign's favour which has been already put before the reader. The remembrance of all his wrongs, the reflection that even the people condemn him and that his good name is trodden under foot of men, forces from him a cry of anguish, and in a song, well-nigh of rebellion against the Most High, he says, 'O God, wherefore dost thou, who rulest the spheres, let man alone of all thy creatures go upon his wicked way, heedless of thy control?'

Philosophy, with face sadder than before, hears this outburst. 'I knew,' she says, 'when I first saw thee that thou wast an exile from thy home, but how far thou hadst wandered from the City of Truth I knew not till now. Tell me, dost thou believe in an all-wise and all-good Governor of the

BOOK IV. world?' 'I do,' he answered, 'and will never cast  
 CH. 12. away this faith.' 'But what is the manner of his governing?' Boethius shakes his head, and cannot understand the question. 'Poor clouded intellect!' says Philosophy to herself. 'Nevertheless his persuasion that there is a righteous Ruler is the one point of hope. From that little spark we will yet reanimate his vital heat. But the cure will need time.'

Book II,  
 Fortune  
 and her  
 gifts.

'I see,' said Philosophy, 'that it is the sudden change of Fortune that has wrought this ruin in thy intellect. But it is of the very essence of Fortune to be ever changing. If she could speak for herself she would say, "All those things which you now mourn the loss of were my possessions, not yours. Far from groaning over their departure, you should be thankful to me for having let you enjoy them so long." Think what extraordinary good fortune you have had in life; friends to protect your boyhood, an honoured father-in-law, a noble wife, a marriage-bed blessed with male offspring. Remember that proud day when you went from your home with a son, a consul, on either side of you, begirt by crowds of senators. Remember your oration in the Senate-house in praise of the King, and the glory won by your eloquence. Remember the shouting multitudes in the circus, who acclaimed your lavish gifts.' 'Ah, but that is the very pity of it,' says Boethius: 'the remembrance of these past delights is the sharpest sting of all my sorrows.' 'Courage!'

replies his heavenly visitor: 'all is not yet lost. BOOK IV.  
Symmachus, that wise and holy man, whose life CH. 12.  
you would gladly purchase with your own, still  
lives, and though he groans over your injuries has  
none to fear for himself. Rusticiana, whose cha-  
racter is the very image of her father's, lives, and  
her intense sympathy with your suffering is the  
only thing which I can consent to call a calamity  
for you. Your sons, the young Consulars, live  
too, and at every turn reflect the mind either of  
their father or their grandfather. After all, even  
in your present low estate there are many who  
would gladly change with you. Some secret grief  
or care preys on almost every heart, even of those  
who seem most prosperous.'

Then the gifts of Fortune are passed rapidly  
under review. Money, jewels, land, fine raiment,  
troops of servants, power, fame, are all subjected to  
that searching analysis, by which at any time for  
the last 2500 years philosophers have been able to  
prove their absolute worthlessness, that analysis  
in spite of which still, after so many centuries, the  
multitude of men still persist in deeming them of  
value.

The cure now begins to work in the soul of Book III,  
Boethius, and Philosophy feels that she may apply The nature  
stronger remedies than the mere palliatives which of the  
she has used hitherto. She therefore leads him Summum  
into a discussion of the *Summum Bonum*, the Bonum.  
supreme good, which all men, more or less con-  
sciously, are searching after and longing to possess.

BOOK IV. There are many things apparently good, which  
 CH. 12. cannot be this one highest good. Wealth cannot be the *Summum Bonum*, for it is not self-sufficing. Nor office, since it only brings out in stronger relief the wickedness of bad men; since it confers no honour among alien peoples, and the estimation in which it is held is constantly changing even in the same country<sup>1</sup>. Nor can friendship with kings and the great ones of the earth be the *Summum Bonum*, since those persons themselves lack it. Glory, popularity, noble birth, all are found wanting. The pleasures of the flesh, yea and even family joys, cannot be the *Summum Bonum*. At this point a certain religious awe comes over the interlocutors. Philosophy sings a hymn of invocation to the Supreme Being, and then leads Boethius up to the conclusion that the *Summum Bonum*, or Happiness in the highest sense, can be none other than God himself, and that men, in so far as they attain to any real participation therein, are themselves divine. In a somewhat Pantheistic strain, Philosophy argues that all things tend towards God, and that evil, which appears to resist him, is itself only an appearance.

Book IV,  
 The Moral  
 Govern-  
 ment of  
 the world.

‘Still,’ cries the prisoner in agony, ‘my difficulty has not really vanished. I see that the bad do

<sup>1</sup> We have here an interesting notice as to the decay of the *Prætorship* and the *Prefectura Annonæ*, once offices held in high esteem: ‘*Atqui prætura, magna olim potestas, nunc inane nomen est, et senatorii census gravis sarcina. Si quis quondam populi curasset annonam, magnus habetur: nunc ea præfectura quid abjectius?*’



prosper here, and the good are often cruelly oppressed. How can I reconcile these facts with the faith, which I will not abandon, that the world has a Just and Almighty Ruler?' Philosophy, one must admit, answers but feebly this eternal question. She repeats the Stoical commonplaces, that the wise man (or the good man) alone is free, alone is strong; that the evil man, though he sit upon a tyrant's throne, is in truth a slave, that liberty to work wickedness is the direst of all punishments, and that if wicked men could only, as it were, through a little chink of light see the real nature of things, they would cry out for the sorest chastisement, for anything to cleanse them from their intolerable corruption. The thought of a world to come in which the wicked, triumphant in this world, shall receive the just reward of their deeds, is somewhat timorously put forward, and does not become, as in the Christian Theodicy, the central point of the reply to the impugner of God's ways<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.

Philosophy is perhaps nearer to grasping the key of the position, when she enters into a long disquisition on the distinction between Providence and Fate<sup>2</sup>. Providence is the supreme, all-ruling,

Providence  
and Fate.

<sup>1</sup> 'Et magna quidem, inquit, [sunt] supplicia post defunctum morte corpus: quorum alia poenali acerbitate, *alia vero purgatoria clementia* exerceri puto. Sed nunc de his disserere consilium non est' (iv. 4; p. 102, ed. Peiper). We have here at least one of the sources from which Mediæval Theology derived the name and the doctrine of Purgatory.

<sup>2</sup> Borrowed from Proclus (see Maurice, *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, ii. 127, iii. 23, ed. 1854-1857).

BOOK IV. all-directing Intelligence, whose ways will be  
 CH. 12. manifestly justified in the end: Fate, the instrument in the hand of Providence, more closely resembles what we understand by the Laws of Nature. To Fate belongs that undeviating order, that rigid binding together of Cause and Effect, which produces what to men seems sometimes hardness or even injustice in the ways of their Creator. Philosophy argues, therefore, that every fortune is, in truth, good fortune, since it comes to us by the will of God. The wise man, when he finds that what men call evil fortune is coming upon him, should feel like the warrior who hears the trumpet sound for battle. Now is the day come for him to go forth, and prove, in conflict with adverse Fate, the strength of that armour with which years of philosophic training have endowed him.

Book V,  
 Foreknow-  
 ledge and  
 Free-will.

Rested and strengthened, Boethius now invites his heavenly guest to cheer him with one of those discussions in which of old he delighted, and to explain to him how she reconciles the divine foreknowledge of all future events with the freedom of human actions. God's knowledge of the future cannot be a mere opinion or conjecture: it must be absolute, certain and scientific. Yet, if He thus foresees my actions for this day, they are fixed, and my power of changing them is only apparent. Thus Necessity is introduced, Free-Will goes, and with it Moral Responsibility. It is useless to utter prayer to God, since the order of all things is

already fixed, and we cannot change it. The thought of Divine Grace, touching and moulding the hearts of men, and bringing them into communion with their Maker, goes likewise. All is rigid, mechanical, immutable<sup>1</sup>. Philosophy's answer to this question is long and subtil, but in the end brings us nearly to the same conclusion which is probably reached, more or less consciously, by the ordinary Theist of to-day. In all acts of perception, she says, the perceiver himself contributes something from the quality of his own mind: and thus perceptions differ according to the rank held by the perceiver in the intellectual universe. Animals see material things around them, but they do not see in them all that man sees. Where the horse sees only the quartern-measure in which his oats are brought to him, the trained intellect of man sees a circle, roughly representing the ideal circle of mathematics, and is conscious of all the properties inherent in that figure<sup>2</sup>. As our manner of seeing is superior to that of the brutes, so we must train ourselves to think of God's manner of seeing as superior to ours. He can see all future events, both necessary and contingent, and yet not, by seeing them, impart to all the same necessity. Before him, as the Eternal Being, Past, Present and

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.

<sup>1</sup> This passage on Divine Grace (v. 3, p. 129, ed. Peiper) is remarkable, both for its Christian sound, and also because in the Augustinian scheme Divine Grace is the agent which destroys, or seems to destroy, Free-will in Man.

<sup>2</sup> This precise illustration is not used by Boethius.

BOOK IV. Future lie all outstretched at the same moment<sup>1</sup>.  
 CH. 12.

He sees all events which have happened and which shall happen, as if now happening; and thus his foreseeing<sup>2</sup> no more necessitates the actions foreseen than my looking at a man ploughing on yonder hill compels him to plough, or prevents him from ceasing his occupation.

‘And yet, in a certain sense, there is a necessity laid upon men, from the very thought that they are thus doing all in the sight and presence of God: a necessity to lead nobler lives, to avoid vice, to raise their hearts to the true and higher hope, to lift up their humble prayers on high.’

Abrupt  
end of the  
Consolation of Phi-  
losophy.

Here, abruptly, the Consolation of Philosophy ends. We must suppose that when Boethius has reached this point, the step of the brutal gaoler is heard at his dungeon-door, the key turns in the lock, the executioner enters, and the Consolations of Philosophy end with the life of her illustrious disciple.

Style of  
the Conso-  
lation.

Such is an outline of the argument of the work upon which Boethius employed the enforced leisure of his prison hours. It will at once be seen that it deals with subjects which have ever been of primary interest to the human race. Sometimes

<sup>1</sup> The distinction here drawn out at considerable length between Eternity and mere indefinite prolongation of Time has an important bearing on some recent theological controversies (Phil. Cons. v. 6, pp. 139-141, ed. Peiper).

<sup>2</sup> ‘Unde non *prae*videntia sed *pro*videntia potius dicitur, quod porro a rebus infimis constituta quasi ab excelso rerum cacumine cuncta prospiciat.’

the argument reminds us of the book of Job, BOOK IV.  
 sometimes of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal, some- CH. 12.  
 times of Pope's 'Essay on Man.' The author's  
 Latin prose is, upon the whole, pure, correct, and  
 intelligible, a delightful contrast to the verbosity  
 of Cassiodorus and the turgid ineptitudes of En-  
 nodius. The snatches of song, in a vast variety  
 of metres, with which the discourse is pleasantly  
 enlivened, show an intimate acquaintance with  
 the tragedies of Seneca, from whom sometimes a  
 poetical phrase, sometimes the central idea of a  
 whole canzonet, is borrowed. The extent of this  
 indebtedness, however, has been sometimes over-  
 stated. The poems belong to Boethius himself,  
 though he has written them with the echoes  
 of Seneca's lyre vividly in his ear; and some  
 of the most beautiful thoughts are entirely his  
 own<sup>1</sup>.

In the argument of the book Boethius shows Character  
of its phi-  
losophy.  
 himself, as we should have expected, a persistent  
 eclectic. Though Aristotle is his great master,  
 he draws in this book largely from Plato; and  
 often we come upon passages which remind us  
 of the Stoic doctrines which were the favourite  
 subject of ridicule to Horace.

The religious position of the author has always Religious  
position of  
Boethius.  
 been a subject of perplexity, and is not less so,

<sup>1</sup> In making this statement I assume that Peiper's apparently  
 very careful 'Index Locorum quos Boetius ex Senecae Tra-  
 goediis transtulit' contains the whole sum of these borrowings.  
 To state, as one writer does, that 'the verses are *almost entirely*  
 borrowed from Seneca' is surely unfair to the later poet.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.

He speaks  
as a Theist,  
not as a  
Christian.

now that we know that he is the same person who wrote tractates on subtle points of Christian controversy. He speaks throughout as a Theist, a Theist unshaken and unwavering, notwithstanding all the things that seem to make for Atheism in the world, but hardly as a Christian. There is no hint of opposition to any Christian doctrine; but on the other hand there is no sign of a willingness to accept the special Christian explanation of the central difficulty of the world. Instead of subtle arguments about the nature of the *Summum Bonum*, or a proof that bad men cannot be said truly to *be* at all and therefore it is idle to trouble ourselves about their prosperity, a Christian martyr would inevitably have turned to the remembrance of the Crucifixion, the mocking soldiery, the cursing Jews, and would have said, at the sorest of his distress, '*He* has suffered more for me.' And the same thought would naturally have comforted any man, who, though not a martyr yet holding the same faith, was assailed by any of the lesser miseries of life, and troubled by seeing the apparent ascendancy of evil. By him who accepts the fact which the Christian witnesses proclaim it may surely be said with boldness, 'The true Theodicy is the Theopathy.' The Son of God suffering for sin, admits the difficulty of the apparent triumph of evil, but suggests an explanation, which Faith leans upon, though Reason cannot put it into words.

Of all this we have in Boethius not a hint.

Perhaps it was precisely because he was something of a scientific theologian, and knew the shoals and currents of that difficult sea in which it was so hard to avoid making shipwreck, one side or another, on the rocks of heresy, that he preferred to sail the wide ocean of abstract Theism. More likely, the feeling of a certain incompatibility between Christianity and polite literature, a feeling which not all the literary eminence of Jerome and Augustine had been able entirely to dispel, a feeling which threw so many of the later historians, Ammianus, Zosimus, Procopius, on the side of heathenism, prevented Boethius from more distinctly alluding than he has done to the Christian solution of his difficulties.

Whatever the cause, the undogmatic character of the 'Consolation' had probably something to do with its marvellous success in the immediately following centuries. The Middle Ages were at hand, that era of wild and apparently aimless struggle between all that is noblest and all that is basest in our common humanity. Many refined and beautiful natures were to go through that strife, to feel the misery of that chaos, in which they were involved. Some, far the larger part, clinging to the religious hope alone as their salvation from the storm, would retire from the evil world around them into the shelter of the convent. But there were some, few perhaps in number in each generation, but many in the course of the centuries, who would elect not to quit the world

BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.

The undogmatic character of the Consolation perhaps contributed to its popularity.

BOOK IV. but to battle with it, not to fly the evil but to  
 CH. 12. overcome it. To such souls the 'Consolation' of  
 Boethius sounded like a trumpet-call to the conflict.  
 It was not the less welcome, may be, because it did  
 not recall the familiar tones of monk and priest.  
 The wisdom of all the dead pagan ages was in it,  
 and nerved those strong, rather than devout, hearts  
 to victory.

Vast influ-  
 ence of the  
 Consola-  
 tion on the  
 intellect of  
 the Middle  
 Ages.

To trace with anything like completeness the  
 influence of Boethius on the mind of the Middle  
 Ages would require another chapter as long as  
 the present. The mere list of editions and trans-  
 lations of his works, chiefly of his greatest work,  
 in our national library, occupies fifty pages of  
 the British Museum Catalogue. Two names, how-  
 ever, of his English translators, a king and a  
 poet, claim a notice here. King Alfred, prob-  
 ably in the years of peace which followed the  
 Treaty of Wedmore, found or made leisure to  
 interpret the 'Consolation' to his countrymen.  
 'Sometimes<sup>1</sup>,' as he himself tells us, 'he set word  
 by word, sometimes meaning for meaning, as he  
 the most plainly and most clearly could explain  
 it, for the various and manifold worldly occupa-  
 tions which often busied him both in mind and in  
 body. The occupations are very difficult to be  
 numbered which in his days came upon the  
 kingdom which he had undertaken; and yet when  
 he had learned this book and turned it from Latin

King  
 Alfred's  
 transla-  
 tion.

<sup>1</sup> I quote from the translation in the 'Jubilee' Edition of the  
 works of King Alfred the Great.



into the English language, he afterwards composed it in verse, as it is now done<sup>1</sup>. The King then explains to his subjects how 'the Goths made war against the Empire of the Romans, and with their kings, who were called Rhadgast and Alaric, sacked the Roman city and brought to subjection all the kingdom of Italy. Then, after the before-mentioned kings, Theodoric obtained possession of that same kingdom. He was of the race of the Amali, and was a Christian, but persisted in the Arian heresy. He promised to the Romans his friendship, so that they might enjoy their ancient rights. But he very ill performed that promise, and speedily ended with much wickedness ; which was that in addition to other unnumbered crimes, he gave order to slay John the Pope. Then there was a certain consul, that we call *heretoga*<sup>2</sup>, who was named Boethius. He was in book learning and in worldly affairs the most wise. Observing the manifold evil which the King Theodoric did against Christendom and against the Roman Senators, he called to mind the famous and the ancient rights which they had under the Cæsars, their ancient lords. Then began he to enquire and study in himself how he might take the kingdom from the unrighteous King, and bring it under the power of the faithful and righteous men. He therefore privately sent letters to the Cæsar at Constantinople, which is the chief city

<sup>1</sup> King Alfred made both a prose translation and a metrical one.

<sup>2</sup> Duke (Herzog). Cf. Freeman's Norman Conquest, i. 591.

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 12.

of the Greeks and their king's dwelling-place, because the Cæsar was of the kin of their ancient lords: they prayed him that he would succour them with respect to their Christianity and their ancient rights. When the cruel King Theodoric discovered this, he gave orders to take him to prison and therein lock him up.'

After this prelude the royal translator proceeds to describe the sorrow of Boethius and the manner in which it was soothed. It is perhaps a concession to the monastic depreciation of women that the heavenly comforter is introduced as a *man* who is called Wisdom (sometimes Wisdom and Reason), instead of the noble matron Philosophy.

Alfred's  
 misunder-  
 standing of  
 Theodoric.

Few men would have had more sympathy with all that was great in Theodoric than Alfred his fellow-Teuton, had he known the true character of the Amal King, and the nature of the task that he had to grapple with. But three centuries of ecclesiastical tradition had produced so distorting an effect on the image reflected, that, as will be seen, the Theodoric whom Alfred beheld, resembled in scarcely a single feature the Theodoric known to his contemporaries. But notwithstanding this blemish, Alfred's translation of Boethius is a marvellous work. Few things seem to bring us so near to the very mind and soul of the founder of England's greatness as these pages, in which (not always understanding his author and sometimes endeavouring to improve upon him) the King

follows the guidance of the philosopher through the mazes of the eternal controversy concerning Fate, Foreknowledge, and Free-will. BOOK IV.  
CH. 12.

Travelling over five centuries, we find the illustrious and venerable name of Geoffrey Chaucer among the translators of Boethius. In the note prefixed to the work he says, 'In this book are handled high and hard obscure points, viz. the purveyance of God, the force of Destiny, the Freedom of our Wills, and the infallible Prescience of the Almighty; also that the Contemplation of God himself is our Summum Bonum.' Chaucer's notion of the duty of a translator seems to be stricter than King Alfred's; but it may be doubtful whether he has not presented the book in a less attractive guise than the royal translator. Chaucer's translation (made before 1382).

With the revival of learning in the fifteenth century it was inevitable that the surpassing lustre of the fame of Boethius should suffer some eclipse. When learned men were studying Aristotle and Plato for themselves, the translator and populariser of their philosophies became necessarily a person of diminished importance. Still, however, so fine a scholar as Sir Thomas More cherished the teachings of the *Consolation of Philosophy*, and was cheered by them in the dungeon to which he was consigned by a more tyrannical master than Theodoric<sup>1</sup>. Decline in the fame of Boethius.

<sup>1</sup> In Holbein's picture, Sir Thomas More's daughter Margaret is painted with the *Consolation of Philosophy* in her hand. More himself, when in prison, wrote 'A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation,' evidently in imitation of the famous 'Consolation,' but not proceeding on the same lines. Inasmuch as

BOOK IV. In the following century a Jesuit priest<sup>1</sup>, by  
CH. 12. an imaginary life of Boethius, somewhat revived his fame, and as a statesman who resisted a heretical sovereign to the death, he was held up as a model for the imitation of English and German Catholics.

In later days the writings of Boethius have ceased to live, except for a few curious students. Yet, whoso would understand the thoughts that were working in the noblest minds of mediæval Europe would do well to give a few hours of study to the once world-renowned 'Consolation of Philosophy.'

'the comforts devised by the old Paynim philosophers were insufficient,' More shows how all needful comfort may be derived from the Christian faith. The book, which is really designed to strengthen the English Catholics under the persecution of Henry VIII, professes to be a dialogue between two Hungarians, an uncle and a nephew, as to the best means of strengthening themselves to endure the persecutions of the Turks.

<sup>1</sup> See Note H.

NOTE H. SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE ABOUT  
BOETHIUS.

IN Nicholas Caussin's 'Holy Court' (Eng. tr., Lond. 1678) there is a long life of Boethius under the title of 'The Statesman;' the object of the book being to show that even the most conspicuous and brilliant positions in a Court may be held and adorned by Christians<sup>1</sup>. NOTE H.

There is not wanting a certain French elegance and charm of style in the book, but the writer, whose information is probably in the main derived from Baronius, draws extravagantly on his imagination. He represents Boethius as chief counsellor of the state of Theodoric, and ventures to set forth in detail the ten great maxims of state which he supplied to his master. He says that Boethius was made Master of the Offices and afterwards 'Superintendent of Offices and Dignities.'

The few hints given in the *Philosophiae Consolatio* as to the enemies and accusers of Boethius are expanded into a circumstantial history in which 'Trigilla, Congiastus and Cyprianus, the principal of the faction of the Goths,' of course play the chief part. In another place we are told that 'that goodly letter addressed to the Emperor of the East was wholly counterfeited by the damnable imposture of one named Cyprian.'

A long speech is put into the mouth of Boethius, who is supposed to have uttered it to Theodoric 'in full Senate.' We have also Theodoric's imaginary reply, which is not quite so lengthy. Both speeches have some cleverness, but an unmistakeable flavour of the seventeenth century, not of the sixth, pervades them. Afterwards we have a speech in which Rusticiana, having implored the media-

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Caussin was a Jesuit, and for a short time confessor to Louis XIII, till dismissed by Richelieu.

NOTE H. tion of Amalasantha, makes her petition to the King for her husband's life.

The author does not believe in the story of the cord twisted round the forehead of Boethius till his eyes started out of his head. The chief reason for his disbelief is that 'Martianus, who most eloquently wrote his life, addeth that by miracle he some space of time held up his head in his own hands, like another S. Denis, until he gave up the ghost before the altar of a chapel very near to the place of his execution.'

The whole performance is only the romance of a rather clever Jesuit, who had the necessary volume of Baronius at hand. It seems, however, to have produced some impression on the minds of contemporaries.

There was published (in 1681) 'A Voice from the Dead, or the Speech of an Old Noble Peer, being the excellent oration of the learned and famous Boetius to the Emperour Theodoricus,' which is simply an extract from the 'Holy Court:' also, 'The Life of Boetius recommended to the Author of the Life of Julian' (London, 1683), in which, though the 'Holy Court' is (I think) not mentioned, the facts are evidently all drawn from that book, and applied, controversially, to the defence of the Roman Catholics from their accusers at the time of the Popish Plot. (This is no doubt also the unavowed object of the other pamphlet with its republication of the speech.) The author calls attention to the names of the chief accusers, Opilio and Basilius, and says that 'the learned Caballists of our age, prying into the Arcana of the Alphabet, often discover strange misteries, even out of the first Letters of an Appellation,'—an evident allusion to Oates and Bedloe. In this singular fashion of twisting history into a party pamphlet, Theodoric the Arian becomes a Protestant, and Odovacar's followers 'the pardoned and lately indemnified Heruli,' are the remains of the Roundhead party, the 'Inveterate Whigs of that Age, who forsooth in outward profession were of the Gothic religion, and could not but

dote on the royal person of Theodoric with a moderate true Protestant zeal and passion.' Cyprian, the clever Referendarius, the learned and trusted Master of the Offices, becomes 'a fellow as villainous in his Pen as Tongue, but whether of the clergy or laity History is silent;' evidently a thrust at the clerical character of the pamphleteer's antagonist, Samuel Johnson, the author of 'Julian the Apostate'<sup>1</sup>.

NOTE H.

From the 'Holy Court' (p. 823 of the English edition) I gather the curious fact that Queen Elizabeth 'gave herself to such a vanity of study, that oftentimes she committed some extravagances, as when she undertook to translate the five books of the Consolation of Boethius, to comfort herself on the conversion of Henry the Fourth.'

<sup>1</sup> See Macaulay's 'History of England,' i. 602 (ed. 1866).

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE ACCESSION OF ATHALARIC.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources :—*

BOOK IV. THE *Variæ* of CASSIODORUS, the *De Bello Gothico* of  
CH. 13. PROCOPIUS, and the ANONYMUS VALESII. For Vandal his-  
tory the *Chronicle* of VICTOR TUNNUNENSIS: for Burgun-  
dian that of MARIUS of Aventicum and the *History* of  
GREGORY OF TOURS.

Remorse of  
Theodoric  
for the  
death of  
Symma-  
chus.

THE sun of Theodoric, which for thirty years had shone in mild splendour over the Italian land, set in lurid storm-clouds. Boethius slain, Symmachus slain, Pope John dead in prison, these were the events which every tongue at Rome and Ravenna was discussing with fear, with anger, or with lawless hope; and assuredly the dying King, though he might say few words concerning them, thought of little else: and all his thoughts about them were bitter. According to a story which was told to Procopius (perhaps by one of the lacqueys of the Court whom he may have met at Ravenna), one day at the banquet a large fish's head was set before Theodoric. To the King's excited fancy, the object in the dish assumed the semblance of the pallid face and hoary head of Symmachus, newly slain. Then, as he thought, the



teeth began to gnaw the lower lip, the eyes rolled askance and shot glances of fury and menace at his murderer. Theodoric, who, if there be any truth in the story at all, was evidently already delirious, was seized with a violent shivering-fit, and hurried to his bed, where the chamberlains could hardly heap clothes enough upon him to restore his warmth. At length he slept, and when he woke he told the whole circumstance to Elpidius his physician, bewailing with many tears his unrighteous deed to Symmachus and Boethius. In this agony of mind, says Procopius, 'he died not long after, this being the first and last act of injustice which he had committed against any of his subjects: and the cause of it was that he had not sufficiently examined into the proofs, before he pronounced judgment upon these men<sup>1</sup>.'

BOOK IV.  
CH. 13.

His death,  
30 Aug.  
526.

The ecclesiastical tradition as to the death of Theodoric, preserved for us by the Anonymus Valesii, makes the cause of it dysentery; a form of disease which, ever since the opportune death of the arch-heretic Arius, seemed peculiarly appropriate for heterodox disturbers of the Church. For the secular historian it is enough to remember that Theodoric was now seventy-two years of age and broken-hearted. They may leave him alone, the orthodox Romans, the righteously in-

Ecclesiastical tradition as to his death.

<sup>1</sup> Procopius' testimony to the general character of Theodoric's reign is valuable; but he crowds the events of two years (death of Boethius, 524; death of Theodoric, 526) into a few days; and he seems to be ignorant that it was the Senate which formally condemned Boethius.

BOOK IV. dignant friends of Senator and Pope. For that  
 CH. 13. noble heart, Hell itself could scarcely reserve any  
 sorer punishment than the consciousness of a life's  
 labour wasted by one fierce outbreak of Berserker  
 revenge.

Mauso-  
 leum of  
 Theodoric. The body of the dead King was laid in the  
 mighty mausoleum which he had built for himself  
 outside the north-eastern corner of Ravenna.  
 There the structure still stands<sup>1</sup>, massive if not  
 magnificent, no longer now the Tomb of Theodoric,  
 but the deserted Church of S. Maria della Rotonda<sup>2</sup>.  
 It is built of white marble, and consists of two  
 stories, the lower ten-sided, the upper circular.  
 The whole is crowned with an enormous monolith  
 weighing two hundred tons and brought from the  
 quarries of Istria. It is hard even for the scientific  
 imagination to conjecture the means by which,  
 in the infancy of the engineering art, so huge a  
 mass of stone can have been raised to its place<sup>3</sup>.  
 In the centre of the upper story of the building  
 stood, in all probability, the porphyry vase which  
 held the body of the great Gothic King. The

<sup>1</sup> See frontispiece.

<sup>2</sup> The visitor to Ravenna will do well to inquire for La Rotonda, the best-known name of the building.

<sup>3</sup> There are twelve projections from the surface of the cupola. Reasoning by analogy from the Mausoleum of Hadrian, one would suppose that these once served as bases for statues, perhaps the statues of the Twelve Apostles. But Vandelli (quoted by C. Ricci in his Guide to Ravenna, p. 228) thinks that these projections served as handles through which ropes might be slung round the cupola, to haul it up an inclined plane, and to raise it or lower it to its place.

name Gothic must not lead the visitor to expect to see anything of what is technically called Gothic architecture in the building. The whole structure is Roman in spirit; square pilasters, round massive arches, a cupola, somewhat like that of Agrippa's Pantheon. The edifice, however, of which upon the whole it most reminds us is the great Mausoleum of Hadrian, such as it must have appeared in the centuries when it was still an imperial tomb and before it became a Papal fortress<sup>1</sup>. And probably this was the example which hovered before the mind of Theodoric, whose work was not undertaken in a spirit of mere vainglory. Believing that he was founding a dynasty which would rule Italy for centuries, he would construct, as Hadrian had constructed, a massive edifice in which might be laid the bones of many generations of his successors.

As it turned out, the great Mausoleum became a Cenotaph. Theodoric himself was buried there, but when Agnellus, three hundred years after his death, wrote the story of the Bishops of Ravenna, it was matter of public notoriety that the tomb had long been empty; and the belief of the chronicler himself was that the royal remains had been cast forth contemptuously out of the Mausoleum, and the porphyry urn in which they were enclosed, a vessel of wonderful workmanship, placed at the door of the neighbouring monastery<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Castle of S. Angelo.

<sup>2</sup> These are the words of Agnellus, who, as the reader will

BOOK IV. Why should there have been this mystery about  
 CH. 13. the disposal of the body of the great Ostrogoth?

Reason for the disappearance. Thereto is attached a little history, which, if the reader has patience to listen to it, links together in curious fashion the name of the Pope who sent St. Augustine to convert the Saxons, and that of the Pope who in our own day wielded and lost the power of a king both at Rome and at Ravenna.

Gregory's Dialogues. 593-594. To begin with Pope Gregory the Great. In his Dialogues, written sixty-eight years after the death of Theodoric, he informs us<sup>1</sup> that 'a certain

Defensor of the Roman Church named Julian married a wife whose grandfather was employed under King Theodoric in the collection of the land-tax in Sicily. This tax-collector was once returning to Italy and touched at the island of Lipari, where dwelt a holy hermit to whose prayers he wished to commend himself. The hermit said, "Know ye, that King Theodoric is dead." "God forbid," replied the tax-gatherer and his friends. "We left him in good health and have

Story about Theodoric's punishment after death.

remember, is 'supra grammaticam.' 'Theodoricus autem post 34 anno regni sui coepit claudere ecclesias Dei et coartare christianos, et subito ventri fluxus incurrens mortuus est sepultusque est in mausoleum, quod ipse haedificare jussit extra portas Artemetoris, quod usque hodie vocamus Ad Farum, ubi est monasterium sanctae Mariae quod dicitur ad memoria regis Theodorici. *Sed, ut mihi videtur, ex sepulcro projectus est, et ipsa urna, ubi jacuit, ex lapide pirfretico valde mirabilis ante ipsius monasterii aditum posita est. Satis vagatus sum, ivi per diversa, ad nostra revertamur*' (p. 304, ed. Holder Egger in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica).

<sup>1</sup> iv. 30.

heard no such tidings." "For all that," said the hermit, "he is dead: for yesterday, at three in the afternoon, I saw him between John the Pope and Symmachus the Patrician. All ungirded and unshod, and with bound hands, he was dragged between them and cast into yon cauldron of Vulcan" [the crater of Lipari]. When they heard it, they carefully noted the day and the hour: and found, on their return to Ravenna, that at that very time Theodoric breathed his last.'

So wrote Pope Gregory. We overleap 1260 years and find ourselves in 1854 in 'the Legation of Ravenna,' which province is sullen and discontented at being replaced under the Papal sway by the arms of Austria after the revolutions of 1848-49. Works of industry, however, are progressing, and at Ravenna a party of 'navvies' are employed excavating a dock between the railway station and the Canale Corsini, one or two hundred yards from the Mausoleum of Theodoric. There are indications that they are on the site of an old cemetery; and the Papal Governor, together with the Municipality, appoints a Commission to watch over the excavation in the interests of archæology: but the Commission, like some other parts of the ecclesiastical government of the Legations, is not likely to be worn out by excess of energy.

One day rumours are heard of some important discovery made by the workmen and not reported to the Commission. Enquiries are commenced: two

BOOK IV.  
CH. 13.

Excava-  
tions near  
Ravenna  
in 1854.

Discovery  
of a skele-  
ton in gold-  
en armour.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 13.

workmen are arrested: by coaxing and threatening, the whole grievous history is elicited from them. A few days previously the navvies had come suddenly upon a skeleton, not in but near one of the tombs. The skeleton was armed with a golden cuirass: a sword was by its side and a golden helmet on its head. In the hilt of the sword and in the helmet large jewels were blazing. The men at once covered up the treasure, and returned at nightfall to dig it up again and to divide the spoil. At the time when the slow-moving Commission set its enquiries on foot the greater part of the booty had already found its way to the melting-pot of the goldsmith or had been sent away out of the country. By keeping the prisoners in custody, their share of the spoil, a few pieces of the cuirass, was recovered from their relatives in the mountains. These pieces, all that remains of the whole magnificent 'find,' are now in the Museum at Ravenna. Great precautions were taken afterwards by the Commission: a trusted representative was always present at the excavations by day; the city police tramped past the diggings at night. But the lost opportunity came not back again: no such second prize revealed itself either to the labourers or the members of the Commission.

The golden  
 armour has  
 been as-  
 signed to  
 Odovacar,

Now, to whom did all this splendid armour belong in life? and whose heart was once beating within that skeleton? Of course the answer must be conjectural. It was given by the archæologists

of the day in favour of Odovacar ; and the bits of the golden cuirass in the Museum at Ravenna are accordingly assigned to him in the Catalogue. But Dr. Ricci, an earnest and learned archæologist of Ravenna, argues<sup>1</sup> with much force that the scene of Odovacar's assassination took place too far from the Rotonda to render this probable, and that there has never been a dweller in Ravenna to whom the skeleton and the armour can with more likelihood be assigned than Theodoric himself<sup>2</sup>.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 13.  

---

but more likely belonged to Theodoric.

We may imagine the course of events to be something like this. During the reign of his grandson the body of the great King in its costly armour remains in the royal Mausoleum, guarded perhaps by some of his old comrades-in-arms, or by their sons. Troubles begin to darken round the nation of Theodoric ; the Roman population of Ravenna stir uneasily against their Arian lords ; monks and hermits begin to manufacture or to imagine such stories as that told to Gregory concerning the soul of the oppressor being cast into the crater of Lipari. The inmates of the monastery of S. Mary, close to the Rotonda, hear and would fain help this growth of legend, so fatal to

<sup>1</sup> See *Una Corazza d' Oro*, in *Note storiche e letterarie di Corrado Ricci* : Bologna, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Ricci lays stress on the character of the armour [the adornments of which are similar to those of the 'Treasure of Guarrazar' engraved in Peigné Delacourt's '*Recherches sur le lieu de la Bataille d'Attila*'], and especially on the similarity of the *meandro*, the wavy ornament round the border, to a decoration of the cornice of the Tomb of Theodoric.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 13.

the memory of the Ostrogothic King. Suddenly the body with its golden cuirass and golden helmet disappears mysteriously from the Mausoleum. No one can explain its vanishing; but the judgment of charity will naturally be that the same divine vengeance which threw the soul of the King down the volcano of Lipari has permitted the powers of darkness to remove his mortal remains. The monks of Santa Maria, if they know anything about the matter, keep their secret; but some dim tradition of the truth causes the cautious Agnellus, writing three centuries after the event, to say, 'as it seems to me he was cast forth from the tomb.' So the matter rests till, thirteen centuries after the deed was done, the pick-axe of a dishonest Italian 'navvy' reveals the bones of Theodoric.

Bitterness  
of the  
Catholic  
Church to-  
wards the  
memory of  
Theodoric.

All this is of course mere conjecture, and is not put before the reader as anything but a somewhat romantic possibility. The bitterness, the undeserved bitterness with which the Catholic Church has taught the Italians to regard the memory of Theodoric, is but too certain a fact, and some curious traces of it remain even to this day. On the western front of the beautiful church of S. Zenone at Verona is a bas-relief<sup>1</sup> representing a king hunting stags, and being himself on the point of capture by a demon with horns and hoofs, who, with a cruel grin on his face, stands waiting for his prey. Some lines underneath<sup>2</sup> showed that this

<sup>1</sup> Apparently of the twelfth century, perhaps earlier.

<sup>2</sup> Now I think obliterated.



kingly victim of the evil one was meant for Theodoric. For generations the urchins of Verona have been accustomed to rub the two figures of king and demon, imagining that there is thus obtained a sulphurous smell, which bears witness to their present abode.

From these idle tales of religious rancour we turn to consider the fortunes of the kingdom when bereft of its mighty founder. Shortly before his death Theodoric presented his grandson Athalaric, son of Eutharic and Amalasantha, to the leaders of the Gothic people, and declared that he was their future king. The declaration was made specially to the Gothic nobles; but in the speech which the old King made on that occasion, and which was listened to as if it were his last will and testament, there was an earnest exhortation to the Goths to show not only loyalty to the new sovereign, but kindly feelings towards the Senate and people of Rome, and to cultivate friendly relations with the Eastern Emperor <sup>1</sup>.

The presentation to the Gothic warriors was a sort of recognition of their slumbering right to choose the successor to the throne. But in fact, limited as that choice was to the family of the King, there could be no doubt how it would be exercised

Athalaric designated as heir to the throne.

The choice of the nation was really limited to him.

<sup>1</sup> So says Jordanes, whom we have no especial reason for distrusting: 'Convocans Gothos comites gentisque suae primates Athalaricum . . . . regem constituit, eisque in mandatis ac si testamentali voce denuntians ut regem colerent Senatam populumque Romanum amarent, principemque orientalem placatum semperque propitium haberent post deum' (cap. lix).

BOOK IV. on this occasion. It is true that Athalaric was but  
 CH. 13.            ten years old<sup>1</sup>, and his nominal kingship necessarily implied a woman's regency. But Amalaric, the only other grandson of Theodoric, though he had now probably attained his majority, must needs dwell in Spain or Narbonnensian Gaul as ruler of his father's Visigoths. The only other male of the Amal line, the late king's nephew Theodahad, was too profoundly hated and despised for any one to press his claims, even against the child-king his cousin.

Regency of  
 Amal-  
 suntha.

Athalaric then succeeded to his grandfather's throne; and the succession of Athalaric meant, as has been said, the rule of Amalasantha. She was a woman in whom a strength of character almost masculine<sup>2</sup> was joined to rich gifts of the intellect and a remarkable power of appreciating Roman culture. Her earnest desire was to rule the young kingdom righteously; and had she only been able to carry her Gothic countrymen with her, she might have made for herself one of the noblest names in history. As it was, the deep-seated discordance between her thoughts and theirs revealed itself at length in acts of tyranny on her side and of rebellion on theirs, which caused the ruin of the Gothic monarchy. But of these open dissensions between the Regent and her subjects the time is not yet come to speak.

<sup>1</sup> 'Infantum adhuc vix decennem,' says Jordanes. Procopius makes him eight years old at his accession.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἐυνέσεως μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐλθοῦσα, τῆς δὲ φύσεως εἰς ἄγαν τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν ἐνδεικνυμένη* is Procopius' character of her (De Bell. Goth. i. 2).

As the sympathies of Amalasantha were all on the side of Roman literature and civilisation, it is reasonable to suppose that Cassiodorus, the most distinguished representative of that rich inheritance, would have great influence in her government. It is possible that he may have directed her studies while she was still but a princess; it is certain that he was the chief minister of her policy when she was a sovereign. There was no necessary breach of continuity between the policy of the father and that of the daughter. Cassiodorus was the trusted minister of both. But we can perceive, from the tone of his correspondence, that the anti-Roman turn which had been given to the policy of Theodoric during his last three years of suspicion and resentment, was reversed, and that something of a new impulse away from barbarian freedom and towards Roman absolutism was given to the vessel of the State.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 13.  
Influence  
of Cassio-  
dorus.

Cassiodorus at the time of the death of Theodoric held the rank of Master of the Offices. How long he may have retained it we do not know, but it is pretty clear from his own statement that his power and influence at the Court were not strictly limited by the terms of his official commission. Other Quæstors were appointed; Cassiodorus drew up the letters assigning to them their duties: but he was himself the one permanent and irremovable Quæstor, equipped with an inexhaustible supply of sonorous phrases and philosophical platitudes, 'ready,' as was said of the younger Pitt, 'to speak a

Offices held  
by Cassio-  
dorus.

BOOK IV. State-paper off-hand.' After having for eight years,  
 CH. 13.  
 1 Sept. 534. Amalasintha, he was promoted to the great place  
 of Prætorian Prefect<sup>1</sup>, and thus assumed the sem-  
 blance as well as the form of power. That dignity  
 he appears to have held for four or five stormy  
 years, until his final retirement from public life.

Fears as to  
 the loyalty  
 of the  
 Goths.

Tulum.

From the official correspondence of Cassiodorus<sup>2</sup>  
 we infer that some anxiety was felt by the loyal  
 subjects of the Amal dynasty as to the acceptance  
 by the Goths of so young a sovereign as Athalaric.  
 The emphasis with which the minister dwells on  
 the alacrity of the Goths in taking the oath of  
 allegiance implies that Amalasintha and her  
 friends breathed more freely when that ceremony  
 was accomplished. And the honours and compli-  
 ments showered on the veteran Tulum, who was  
 introduced to the Senate with the splendid rank of  
 a Patrician, suggest the idea that he was looked  
 upon by some of his old companions in battle as a  
 more fitting occupant of the throne than a lad of  
 ten years old. A mysterious allusion made by the  
 courtly scribe<sup>3</sup> to the warrior Gensemund of a  
 by-gone age, 'a man whose praises the whole  
 world sang,' and who apparently might have been  
 king, but preferred to guide the suffrages of his  
 countrymen to the heir of the Amal house, makes  
 this conjecture almost a certainty.

<sup>1</sup> Cass. Var. ix. 24, 25.

<sup>2</sup> See the first eleven letters of the eighth book.

<sup>3</sup> Cass. Var. viii. 9.

One of the first difficulties as to which the advice of Cassiodorus was needed by Amalasantha arose out of the news which reached her from Africa. A slight allusion was made in the last chapter to the troubles which had fallen on Amalafriada, sister of Theodoric. Her husband Thrasamund, one of the best of the Vandal kings, died in 523, and was succeeded by his cousin the elderly Hilderic. This man, though a son of Huneric, the most rancorous of all the persecutors of the Catholic Church, shared not his father's animosity against the orthodox. It was generally believed that his mother Eudoxia had influenced him in favour of her form of faith; and Thrasamund on his death-bed had exacted from him an oath that he would never use his kingly power for the restoration of their churches to the Catholics. The oath was given; but Hilderic, who could say with Euripides' hero

BOOK IV.  
CH. 13.

Troubles  
with the  
Vandals.

Accession  
of Hilderic.

'My lips have sworn, my mind unsworn remains,'

devised a clever scheme for escaping from its obligation. The promise had been that he would not use *his kingly power* for the forbidden purposes. Therefore after Thrasamund's death, but before Hilderic had put on the Vandal crown or been proclaimed king in the streets of Carthage, he issued his orders for the return of all the Catholic bishops from exile; he opened the churches, which for more than two generations had never echoed to the words 'being of one substance with the Father;' and he made Boniface, a

Hilderic  
favours the  
Catholics.

BOOK IV. strenuous assertor of orthodoxy, bishop of the  
 CH. 13. African Church <sup>1</sup>.

Opposition  
 of the  
 Queen  
 Dowager,  
 Amala-  
 frida.

Hilderic's entire reversal of the policy of his predecessor brought him speedily into collision with that predecessor's widow. The stately and somewhat imperious Amalafriada, who had been probably for twenty years Queen of the Vandals, was not going tamely to submit to see all her husband's friends driven away and his whole system of government subverted. She headed a party of revolt; she called in the assistance of the Moors, ever restless and ever willing to make war upon the actual ruler of Carthage; and battle was joined at Capsa, about three hundred miles to the south of the capital, on the edge of the Libyan desert. Amalafriada's party were beaten, and she herself was taken captive. So long as her brother Theodoric lived she was kept a close prisoner. Now that the great head of the Amal line was laid low, the Vandal king had the meanness and the cruelty to put his venerable prisoner to death.

Defeat of  
 her party.

Her cap-  
 tivity and  
 death,  
 526 or 527.

Angry  
 messages  
 between  
 Ravenna  
 and Car-  
 thage.

The insult was keenly felt at the Court of Ravenna, and produced a fatal alienation between the two kingdoms. A letter of angry complaint was written by Cassiodorus<sup>2</sup>, and ambassadors were sent to demand an explanation. No satisfactory explanation could be given; for the story which Hilderic endeavoured to circulate, that Amalafriada's death was natural, seems to have borne falsehood upon its face. What followed we are not

<sup>1</sup> Victor Tunnunensis, s. a. 523.

<sup>2</sup> Var. ix. 1.

able to say. Probably there was a threat of war, BOOK IV.  
CH. 13. replied to by menaces of reprisal from the still Threats  
of war. powerful Vandal fleet against the Italian coast. At least we know of no other opportunity to which we can so suitably refer Cassiodorus' own account of his services to the kingdom at a time when it was threatened by foreign invasion<sup>1</sup>. 'When the care of our shores,' he makes his young sovereign say, 'occupied our royal meditations, he [Cassiodorus] suddenly emerged from the seclusion of his cabinet, and boldly, like his ancestors, assumed the character of a general. He maintained the Gothic warriors at his own charges, preventing the impoverishment of our exchequer on the one hand, and the oppression of the Provincials on the other. When the work of victualling the ships was over, and the war was laid aside, he again distinguished himself as an administrator by his peaceful settlement of the various suits which had grown out of the sudden termination of the contracts for the commissariat.'

We seem to read in this passage of a threatened Hostilities  
collapse. Vandal invasion of Bruttii and Lucania, of Cassiodorus' preparations for defending his native province, and of the sudden collapse of hostilities about which neither nation was really in earnest. It was not from the Ostrogothic nation that the impending ruin of the dynasty of Gaiseric was to proceed<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Var. ix. 25.

<sup>2</sup> In the early years of the new reign some operations were undertaken against the Gepidæ which were viewed with great

BOOK IV. Five years after these events another of the  
 CH. 13. Arian and Teutonic monarchies of Europe received  
 its death-blow. The reader may remember that,  
 after the defeat and captivity of Sigismund, his  
 brother Godomar raised from the dust the torn  
 banner of the Burgundians, and maintained the  
 independence of his native land against the  
 Frankish invaders. Now Godomar's turn also was  
 come. Chlotochar and Childebert again entered  
 the land. They besieged Autun. Godomar, after  
 one or perhaps two campaigns, took to flight.  
 Theudibert, the remaining brother of the Frankish  
 partnership, was persuaded to forget his relation-  
 ship to the family of Sigismund when the invasion  
 seemed likely to prove successful. In the year 534  
 the kingdom of Burgundy, which had lasted for all  
 but a hundred years since its settlement in Savoy,  
 was finally swallowed up in the vast nebulous mass  
 of the Frankish monarchy, Theudibert, Chlotochar,  
 and Childebert dividing the spoils between them<sup>1</sup>.

dissatisfaction by the Emperor, but did not at the time lead to any actual rupture between the two states. This information we get from Cassiodorus (*Variae*, xi. 1), and it is confirmed by Justinian's complaint (hereafter to be noticed) as to the sack of Gratiana. From the same letter we infer that war was all but actually declared between the Goths and the Franks in the year 526, but that, owing to the death of Theodoric, the two nations resolved to remain at peace.

<sup>1</sup> The materials for the history of the Frankish conquest of Burgundy are scanty and contradictory. The account given above is substantially that of Jahn (*Geschichte der Burgundionen*, ii. 68-78), and not very different from that of Binding (270-271).



This is all that needs to be said about the affairs of Western Europe during the reign of Athalaric. With the Papacy the relations of the Gothic monarchy seem to have been outwardly amicable. The 'martyred' John was succeeded by Felix III; he by Boniface II, a man of Gothic extraction; and he by another John, the second of the name. There is nothing in the short reigns of these pontiffs, at peace with Constantinople and outwardly at peace with Ravenna, which need occupy our attention.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 13.  
Death of John I, 25 May, 526.  
Felix III, 12 July, 526, to 18 Sept. 530.  
Boniface II, 21 Sept. 530, to 17 Oct. 532.  
John II, 1 Jan. 533, to 27 May, 535<sup>1</sup>.

Only, the election of the first of the series, Felix III, should be noticed, since it seems to have been ordered by the dying Theodoric and confirmed by his grandson. This we learn from a letter<sup>2</sup> addressed by Cassiodorus to the Roman Senate. There had evidently been at least the threat of a contested election, but the minister, speaking in the name of Athalaric, exhorts all parties to forget the bitterness of the past debate. He thinks that the beaten party may yield without humiliation, since it is the King's power which has helped the winning side. The letter suggests the idea of a contest, the decision of which has been voluntarily referred to Theodoric, and the whole tone of it is extremely difficult to reconcile with any story of the death of Pope John I which represents him as a martyr, wilfully allowed by a persecuting king to perish in a dungeon. Had this been the version

<sup>1</sup> The dates of accession and death of each pontiff are taken from Clinton's *Fasti Romani*.

<sup>2</sup> Var. viii. 15.

BOOK IV. of the story generally accepted at Rome, it is hard  
 CH. 13.            to believe that in a very few months the relations  
 between King and Pope would have been so  
 friendly as we find them in this letter <sup>1</sup>.

526-534. From this short sketch it will be seen that few  
 events of great importance occurred in Italy during  
 the eight years of the reign of Athalaric. Con-  
 stantinople, not Ravenna, was now once more the  
 place to which the chief action of the great drama  
 was transferred, and already all Roman souls were  
 aflame with the reports of the splendour, the  
 reforms, and the victories of Justinian.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find in this nomination by Theodoric anything so extraordinary as Baronius (vii. 116), and, following him, Bower (ii. 320) and Milman (i. 326) have done. All these writers look upon the nomination as an important enlargement of the royal prerogative in connexion with the choice of the Pope, and one which was meant to form a lasting precedent: and from their various points of view they praise it or blame it accordingly. To me it looks like the reference of *one* disputed election to the king, and therefore nothing more than was undoubtedly done at the time of the contest between Symmachus and Laurentius.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### JUSTINIAN.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources :—*

PROCOPIUS : JOANNES LYDUS, a civil-service clerk of BOOK IV.  
Constantinople from 511 to 552, whose treatise *De Magistratibus* gives us valuable information as to the internal CH. 14.  
affairs of the Empire : the *CHRONICON PASCHALE* (or *ALEXANDRINUM*), the last entry in which belongs to the year 628, in the reign of Heraclius : JOANNES MALALAS, a writer possibly earlier than the last-mentioned, but whose date, not yet accurately determined, may be placed anywhere between 600 and 800 : THEOPHANES (758–816).

It will be seen from this list that, though we begin with contemporaries, we come down to historians separated by a considerable interval from the accession of Justinian. Any one, however, who examines minutely the account given by all the above authorities of such an event as the Nika-riot at Constantinople will see that their stories, though full of animation and variety, are in no important respect discordant ; and will feel that probably the very latest of them had access to some valuable contemporary memoirs which have since perished.

In quoting PROCOPIUS, I refer not only to his standard work, *De Bellis*, but also to the *Anecdota* or *Historia Arcana*. The fact that this is really the work of Procopius is, I think, now established almost beyond the possibility of doubt, especially by Dahn in his 'Prokopius von Cäsarea.' But the book is pervaded by passionate, almost insane hatred of Justinian, Theodora, and their favourites ; and we ought perhaps hardly to consider any fact as proved

BOOK IV. which depends on the Anecdota alone. The proper course  
 CH. 14. seems to be to consult it, as we might consult the Letters of Junius for information as to the reign of George III, but to accept its statements with all possible caution and to abandon them at once whenever they are found to clash with any dispassionate historical authority.

There is one frequently quoted authority which I have thought it best not to cite. This is the so-called 'Life of Justinian by Theophilus,' of which Alemannus has made considerable use in his notes to the Anecdota of Procopius. On this authority rest the usual statements as to the barbarian names of Justinian and his parents (Uprauda, Istok, Biglenitza), the story of his hostage-ship at the Court of Theodoric, and some other particulars of his life. The brilliant discovery of this 'Life by Theophilus,' which was made by Mr. Bryce in the library of the Barberini Palace at Rome, clears up what has long been a mystery as to the source from whence Alemannus drew his information. It does not, however, enhance the value of the document itself, which seems to be a somewhat late mediæval romance compiled from Slavonic sources. While awaiting Mr. Bryce's publication of the document and critical estimate of its value, I prefer in the mean time to draw my information from sources of more undoubted authority.

*Guides :—*

I cannot touch even the outskirts of the forest of literature that has grown up around the name of Justinian. My guides have been Gibbon, never more worthy of his fame than in the five chapters which he devotes to the reign of the great legislator; the two articles by Mr. Bryce in the Encyclopaedia Britannica and the Dictionary of Christian Biography. Roby's 'Introduction to the study of Justinian's Digest' and Moyle's Edition of the Institutes are strongly recommended to the student.

SOME time after his accession to the Empire, the elderly Anastasius was troubled with a restless

curiosity to know who should be his successor. BOOK IV.  
He had three nephews, Hypatius son of one of CH. 14.  
his sisters, and the brothers Probus and Pompeius, Omen as to  
the suc-  
cessor of  
Anasta-  
sius.  
who were possibly children of his brother. Inviting  
them one day to dine with him at the palace,  
he caused three couches to be spread upon which  
his nephews might take their siesta. Under the  
pillow of one of the couches he had secretly  
slipped a paper with the word REGNUM written  
upon it. 'Whichsoever of my nephews,' thought  
he, 'chooses that couch, he shall reign after me.'  
Unfortunately when the time for the noontide  
slumber came, Hypatius chose one couch, the two  
brothers in their love for one another chose to occupy  
the second together, and the pillow that had  
'regnum' beneath it was left undimpled. Then  
Anastasius knew that none of his nephews should  
wear the diadem after him<sup>1</sup>.

It was not one of the three delicately nurtured Early life  
of Justin.  
princes, but a man who had begun life in very  
different fashion, who was to be clothed with the  
out-worn purple of Anastasius. In the reign of  
Leo, three young peasants from the central high-  
lands of Macedonia, tired of the constant struggle  
for existence in their poverty-stricken homes,  
strode down the valley of the Axius (*Vardar*)  
to Thessalonica, determined to better their lot  
by taking service in the army. They had each  
a sheep-skin wallet over his shoulder, in which  
was stored a sufficient supply of home-baked

<sup>1</sup> This curious story is told us by the Anonymus Valesii.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 14.

biscuit to last them till they reached the capital: no other possessions had they in the world. Being tall and handsome young men, Zimarchus, Ditybistus, and Justin—so the peasant-lads were named—had no difficulty in entering the army: nay, they soon found places in the ranks of the guards of the palace, an almost certain avenue to yet higher promotion. Once indeed Justin had a narrow escape from death. For some offence—probably against military discipline—which he had committed, he was ordered into arrest and condemned to death by his captain John the Hunchback<sup>1</sup>, under whose orders he had been sent upon the Isaurian campaign. But a figure of majestic size appeared to the Hunchback in his dreams and threatened him with sore punishment if he did not release the prisoner, who was fated to do good service to the Church in days to come. After this vision had been seen for three successive nights, the general thought it must be from above and dismissed Justin unharmed<sup>2</sup>.

Destined  
successor  
of Anasta-  
sius.

Now, in the aged Emperor's perplexity, when with fasting and prayer he had besought from Heaven an indication as to who should be his successor, it was revealed to him that the destined one was he who should be first announced to him in the sacred bed-chamber on the morrow morning. The first person to arrive was Justin, who had now attained the high rank of Count of the

<sup>1</sup> Consul in 499.

<sup>2</sup> Procopius, *Anecdota*, 6.

Guardsmen<sup>1</sup>; come to report the execution of some orders given to him on the previous night. The aged Emperor bowed his head and recognised his destined successor. So firmly was this belief implanted in his mind that when, at some great ceremonial in the palace, Justin, eager to set right some mistake in the procession in front of the Emperor, brushed too hastily past him and trod upon the skirts of the purple mantle, the Emperor uttered no hasty word, but mildly said, 'Why such haste?' which men understood to mean, 'Canst thou not wait till thy turn comes to wear it? It will come before long.'

These are the legendary half-poetical adornments of the prosaic story which was told in a previous chapter, concerning the elevation of the orthodox Justin, by means of the misappropriated gold of Amantius, on the death of the Monophysite Anastasius. Whatever the precise chain of causes and effects which brought it to pass, the result was that an elderly Macedonian peasant<sup>2</sup>, unable to read or write, but strictly orthodox as regards the subtle controversy between Leo and Eutyches, was seated on the throne of the Eastern Cæsars. The difficulty arising from the presence of an unlettered emperor on the throne was evaded by making a wooden tablet containing the needful perforations through which the imperial scribe

<sup>1</sup> Comes Excubitorum.

<sup>2</sup> Justin was born in 452, and was therefore two years older than Theodoric.

BOOK IV. drawing his pen dipped in purple ink might trace  
 CH. 14. the first four letters of his name<sup>1</sup>. Proclus, the Quæstor, composed his speeches and acted as his prompter on all state-occasions. Upon the whole, the elderly Emperor, good-tempered, clownish, and of tall stature, seems to have played this last scene in his strangely varied life without discredit, if also without any brilliant success.

His nephew, Justinian, the real ruler. It was seen, however, in the negotiations with the Roman See as to the close of the schism, and it became more and more visible to all men as time went on, that the real wielder of all power in the new administration was the Emperor's sister's son JUSTINIAN. More than thirty years of age<sup>2</sup> at his uncle's accession, and having, probably through that uncle's influence, already filled some post in the civil service of the Empire; a man always eager for work and a lover of the details

<sup>1</sup> This is Procopius' account of the matter: 'In order that the documents which required the imperial signature might exhibit it, the following contrivance was adopted. In a little piece of wood was carved the shape of four letters of the Latin alphabet [IVST]. This tablet was placed on the document: a pen dipped in the [purple] ink which the Emperors are wont to use was put in his hand, and then the assistants taking the Emperor's hand and guiding it so as to make the pen travel round through all the perforations of the tablet, thus at length produced an imperial signature at the foot of the document.' I suspect, as has been before stated, that this is the origin of the similar story as to Theodoric's signature.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bryce considers 483 the most probable date for the birth of Justinian. He would thus be thirty-five at Justin's accession (Dict. of Christian Biography: Justinian).



of administration; such a nephew was an invaluable assistant to the rustic soldier who had to preside over the highly cultured and polished staff of officials through whom he must seem to govern the Empire.

The influence of Proclus the Quæstor gradually paled before that of the all-powerful nephew, whose servant he willingly became. A more formidable rival was the stout soldier Vitalian, who had upheld the standard of orthodoxy in the evil days of Anastasius, and whose restoration to office was an indispensable part of the reconciliation with the See of Rome. He probably looked for the reversion of the imperial dignity after the death of its aged possessor, and when he found himself raised to the rank of Magister Militum and created Consul (for the year 520), he might almost seem set forth to the people as Emperor Elect. To prevent any such mistake for the future, Justinian, or some one of his friends, caused him, in the seventh month of his consulship, to be attacked in the palace by a band of assassins. He fell, pierced by sixteen wounds: his henchmen, Paulus and Celerianus, fell with him, and the triumph of the party of Justinian was secure<sup>1</sup>.

In the correspondence with Rome, Justinian

<sup>1</sup> Marcellinus Comes mentions the murder but does not ascribe it to Justinian; Victor Tunnunensis says that it was attributed to the faction of Justinian the Patrician. Procopius, who is mistaken as to the time of its occurrence, ascribes it to Justinian after he had become Emperor.

BOOK IV. had called Vitalian 'his most glorious brother<sup>1</sup>,'  
 CH. 14. and the fact that the two men had solemnly partaken together of the Holy Communion<sup>2</sup> should, according to the feelings of the age, have secured for the Master of the Soldiery an especial immunity from all murderous thoughts in the heart of his younger rival. The dark deed was not in accordance with the general character of Justinian, who showed himself in the course of his reign averse to taking the lives even of declared enemies : but there seems little reason to doubt that in this case he at least sanctioned, if he did not directly instigate, the murder of a dangerous competitor.

Justinian  
 Consul,  
 521.

In the following year Justinian celebrated his own consulship with a splendour to which, under the reign of the frugal Anastasius, the Byzantine populace had long been strangers. A sum of 280,000 solidi (£168,000) was spent on the machinery for the shows or distributed as largesse to the people. Twenty lions, thirty panthers, and a multitude of other beasts, appeared at the same time in the Amphitheatre. Horses in great numbers, and equipped in magnificent trappings, were driven by the most highly skilled charioteers of the Empire round the Circus. Already, however, even in the midst of the general rejoicing a note of discord was struck between the future Emperor and his subjects. So great was the

<sup>1</sup> 'Frater noster gloriosissimus Vitalianus' (Epist. ad Hormisdam, ap. Migne, lxiii. 476).

<sup>2</sup> Procopius, *Anecdota*, 6.

excitement of the people, raised no doubt by the victory of one or other of the rival factions in the Circus, that the Consul found it necessary to strike out of the programme the last race which should have been exhibited<sup>1</sup>.

A successor thus announced to the people beforehand was almost certain of the diadem. In fact Justinian was associated in the Empire four months before the death of his uncle, and appears to have succeeded to sole and supreme power without difficulty.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 14.

Associated  
in the Em-  
pire.

Justinian  
Emperor,  
1 April,  
527.

Delivered by the death of Justin from one associate in the Empire, Justinian lost no time in providing himself with another, of a kind such as Augustus would indeed have marvelled to behold using his name and wielding his decorously veiled supremacy.

Death of  
Justin,  
1 Aug. 527.

During the reign of Anastasius a certain Acacius, who had charge of the wild beasts of the Amphitheatre for the Green party, died<sup>2</sup>, and, as he had saved nothing out of his small salary, his widow and three daughters were left nearly destitute. The widow became the wife or the paramour of another menagerie-keeper, for whom she tried to retain her

Early his-  
tory of  
Theodora.

<sup>1</sup> Marcellinus Comes gives us these particulars: 'Numerosos praeterea phaleratosque in Circo caballos, jam donatis quoque impertivis aurigis, una duntaxat ultimaque mappa insanienti populo denegata.' The *mappa* is the cloth that was dropped as a signal for starting the racers. I do not understand the 'donatis quoque impertivis aurigis.'

<sup>2</sup> We learn from this and similar statements that the factions of the Circus had a common purse and a common organization of their own.

BOOK IV. late husband's situation. But though the three  
 CH. 14. little girls, Comito, Theodora, and Anastasia, appeared like sacrificial victims with fillets on their heads, and stretched out their little hands beseechingly to the spectators, the Greens, who were entirely guided by their manager Asterius, took away the place from their stepfather and gave it to another man. The Blues, the rival faction, were more accommodating, and having lately lost their keeper by death, gave his post to the husband of the widow of Acacius. In one of those little fillet-crowned heads was born on that day an undying resentment against the Green party, and an undying attachment to the Blue.

Her character.

The child Theodora grew up into a lovely woman, rather too short of stature, but with a delicate red-and-white complexion, and with brilliant quickly-glancing eyes, which told of the keen, restless, nimble intellect within. She evidently had something of the charm which belongs to a clever and beautiful Frenchwoman. Unfortunately, however, she was utterly destitute of womanly virtue or womanly shame. The least moral performer of the opera bouffe in Paris or Vienna is a chaste matron by comparison with the life of unutterable degradation which Theodora is said to have led in girlhood and early womanhood, as a prostitute and a dancer on the stage at Cyrene, at Alexandria, and throughout the cities of the East.

Justinian falls in love with her.

Returned to Constantinople, this bright and fascinating though abandoned woman kindled an

irrepressible passion in the breast of the decorous and middle-aged student Justinian. His aunt Lupicina, who had taken the more stately name of Euphemia, and who had been first the slave and then the wedded wife of Justin, firmly and, for the time, successfully opposed his scheme of marrying Theodora. Though lowly born herself, she would not consent that her husband's heir should be the instrument by which the unspeakable degradation of hailing such a woman as Augusta should be inflicted on the Roman Empire. Before long, however, the Empress Euphemia died, and then Justinian, whose passion had but grown stronger by delay, at once married the daughter of the menagerie-keeper. Laws which had come down from the old days of the Republic, forbidding the union of a Senator with a woman of notoriously bad character, were abrogated by the feeble old Emperor on the imperious request of his nephew. Theodora was raised to the dignity of a Patrician, and when at length Justinian wore the imperial diadem he insisted on sharing it with her, not as Empress-Consort, to borrow the terms of a later day, but as Empress-Regnant must Theodora sit upon the throne of the Roman world. All ranks in Church and State crouched low before the omnipotent prostitute. The people, who had once acclaimed her indecent dances on the stage, now greeted her name with shouts of loyal veneration, and with outspread hands implored her protection as if she were divine. The clergy grovelled before her,

BOOK IV.  
CH. 14.

Their  
marriage.

Theodora  
Augusta.

BOOK IV. calling her Mistress and Sovereign Lady, and not  
 CH. 14. one Christian priest with honest indignation protested against this degrading adulation.

Her insatiable pride.

Raised to the throne of the world, Theodora assumed a demeanour in some degree corresponding to her elevation. Though not absolutely faithful to her husband, she disgraced his choice by no such acts of open licentiousness as those by which Messalina had insulted the Emperor Claudius. It would seem as if her own nature underwent a change, and as if Pride now took possession of the character which hitherto had been swayed only by Lust. Heartless she had always been, in the midst of her wild riot of debauchery; and heartless she remained in the stupendous egotism which made Justinian and all the ranks of the well-ordered hierarchy of the Empire the ministers of her insatiable pride.

Contrast between her character and Justinian's.

In all things it seems to have been her fancy to play a part unlike that of her husband. He was strictly orthodox and Chalcedonian, she was a vehement Monophysite. He was simple and frugal in his personal habits, however extravagant as a ruler; she carried the luxury of the bath and the banquet to the highest point to which an opulent Roman could attain. He seldom slept more than four hours out of the twenty-four; she prolonged her siesta till sunset and her night's sleep till long after sunrise. He was merciful by temperament; she delighted in the power of being cruel. He showed himself easy of access to all his



ch of S. Vitale at Ravenna.





subjects, and would often hold long and confidential conversations with persons of undistinguished rank; she surrounded herself with an atmosphere of unapproachable magnificence, and while rigorously insisting that her subjects should present themselves in her audience-chamber, made the ceremony of audience as short, as contemptuous, and as galling to every feeling of self-respect as it was possible to make it. A pitiable sight it was to see the consuls, the senators, the captains and high functionaries of that which still called itself the Roman Republic waiting, a servile crowd, in this harlot's ante-chamber. The room was small and stifling, but they dared not be absent. Her long slumbers ended, and the ceremonies of the bath and the toilette accomplished, an eunuch would open the door of the hall of audience. The wretched nobles pressed forward, or, if behind, stood on tip-toe to attract the menial's notice. He singled out one and another with contemptuous patronage. The favoured one crept in behind the eunuch into the presence-chamber, his heart in his mouth for fear. He prostrated himself before the haughty Augusta; he kissed reverently the feet which he had once seen briskly moving in lascivious dance on the public stage; he looked up with awe, not daring to speak till spoken to by the supreme disposer of all men's lives and fortunes. Such is the miserable picture presented to us by Procopius of the degradation of the great Roman commonwealth under its Byzantine rulers. Alas,

BOOK IV.  
CH. 14.

Theodora's  
audiences.

BOOK IV. for the day when the Senate, that assembly of  
 CH. 14. kings, received with majestic gravity the over-awed  
 ambassador of King Pyrrhus! Alas, for the selfish  
 corruption of the *optimates*, and yet more for  
 the misguided patriotism of a Caius Gracchus  
 or a Livius Drusus, which had turned the old and  
 noble Republic into an Empire, foul itself and  
 breeding foulness!

Justinian's  
 conscientious la-  
 bour for  
 the State.

Let it be said for Justinian, who had brought  
 this shame upon the State, that he gave his days  
 and nights freely to what he deemed to be its  
 service. If he was insatiable in drawing all power  
 into his own hand, he at least shrank not from the  
 labour, even the drudgery, which the position of a  
 conscientious autocrat involves. Especially, at the  
 very beginning of his reign, did he devote himself  
 to that which his experience as a high officer of  
 state under his uncle had shown him to be neces-  
 sary, the reform of the laws of the Empire.  
 Speaking without technical precision, one may say  
 that the jurisprudence of Rome at this period con-  
 sisted, like our own, of two great divisions, Statute  
 Law and Case Law. The Statutes as contained  
 in the Theodosian Code were insufficient, and the  
 Cases contained in the *Responsa Prudentum*, the  
 Institutions and the Sentences of great jurists such  
 as Gaius, Paullus, and Ulpian, were redundant, be-  
 wildering, and often contradictory. Before Jus-  
 tinian had been a year on the throne he had  
 appointed a commission, consisting of nine officials  
 of high rank, to inquire into and codify the Statute

Law re-  
 form.

13 Feb.  
 528.

Law. The leading spirit in this Commission and the chief mover in all the legal reforms of Justinian was the far-famed Tribonian, who was raised successively to the dignities of Quæstor and Master of the Offices; a man whose love of money and far from spotless integrity could not avail to dim the splendour of a reputation acquired by his vast learning, and made bearable by his gentle courtesy to all with whom he came in contact.

After little more than a year of labour the commissioners had completed the first part of their duties, and the Code of Justinian in twelve books was issued by the sovereign authority, expanding and superseding the Code of Theodosius and all previous collections of imperial rescripts.

The next piece of work was a harder one. Tribonian and his fellow Commissioners were directed to arrange in one systematic treatise, called the *Digest*<sup>1</sup>, all that Roman lawyers of eminence had said concerning the principles of the law, as the varying circumstances of civil society had brought point after point under their attention. In fact their duty was similar to that which would be laid upon an English lawyer if he was called upon to codify the 'judge-made law' of England, incorporating with it all that is of importance and authority in the text-books, and where there is a conflict of opinion deciding which opinion is to prevail. This immense work, which 'condensed the wisdom of nearly two thousand treatises into

BOOK IV.  
CH. 14.  
Codex.

Code published  
7 April,  
529, re-  
pealed and  
repub-  
lished 16  
Nov. 534.

Digest or  
Pandects.

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise the Pandects.

BOOK IV. fifty books, and recast three million "verses" from  
 CH. 14. the older writers into one hundred and fifty  
 thousand<sup>1</sup>, was accomplished in three years by  
 Tribonian and his colleagues. Work done in such  
 fierce haste as this could hardly be all accurate,  
 but probably no injustice which it could cause was  
 so great as that which it removed by letting day-  
 light into the thick jungle of those three millions  
 of legal sentences.

The Digest, which was divided into fifty books, is not arranged in any scientific order, but follows apparently more or less closely the order of that which had for centuries been the great programme of Roman jurisprudence, the so-called Perpetual Edict of the Prætors.

The Code and the Digest being finished, Tribonian and his two most eminent colleagues were directed to prepare a short scientific treatise on the amended law of Rome, for the benefit of students. Thus came into being the Four Books of the *Institutes*<sup>2</sup>, that book by which the fame of Justinian has been most widely spread over the civilised world in the two hemispheres. The far-reaching relations in time of such a book as this are vividly apprehended when we remember that as it rests on the treatise of Gaius—which Niebuhr discovered in palimpsest in the Cathedral Library of Verona—it is itself rested upon by our own eighteenth

<sup>1</sup> Justinian's Constitution 'Tanta' (Cod. i. 17. 2).

<sup>2</sup> More properly, Institutions. The text of the Prooemium calls them *Institutiones*.

Commis-  
sion for the  
Digest,  
15 Dec.  
530.

Publica-  
tion of the  
Digest,  
16 Dec.  
533.

The In-  
stitutes.

Publica-  
tion of the  
Institutes,  
21 Dec.  
553.

century Blackstone, who of course had the name and the arrangement of this book in his mind when he composed his *Institutes of English Law*. Justinian's name and titles head the majestic manual. Of course Tribonian and the two professors, his colleagues, are really responsible for the literary execution of the work. Still, the historical student is never so well disposed to take a lenient view of the faults of the great Emperor as when he finds Cæsar Flavius Justinianus, Alamannicus, Gothicus, Vandalicus, and so forth, crowned with names of victory over many barbarous races, but cheering the young student to the commencement of his task, and promising not to encumber his mind at first with details, lest he should disgust him at the outset, and cause him to abandon his studies in despair.

Notwithstanding his attempt to put the stamp of finality on his two great works, the Code and the Digest, neither Justinian himself nor his indefatigable Quæstor could keep their hands from all further law-making. The *Novellæ Constitutiones*, generally spoken of under a title which has since acquired such a strangely different meaning, that of *Novels*, were promulgated at intervals for nearly thirty years, and in some respects seriously altered the unalterable Code.

Except for some over-activity in issuing fresh laws after the publication of his Code, the fame of Justinian as a legislator is unassailable. The hour had come for clearing broad and traversable high-

BOOK IV. ways through the stately but sky-hiding forest of  
 CH. 14. Roman jurisprudence. With Tribonian for his engineer-in-chief, Justinian undertook this necessary work, and did it nobly. Rightly and justly therefore is the name of the peasant's son from the valley of the Vardar mentioned with reverence, wherever, from the Mississippi to the Ganges, teachers of the law expound the greatest of Rome's legacies to the nations, the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

He was not  
 so great as  
 an admin-  
 istrator.

But it is a trite axiom in politics and in every-day life, that good legislation does not necessarily imply good administration. Many a man whose journal records the most excellent maxims for the conduct of his life, has been a torment to his family and friends. Many a public company, with admirably-framed Articles of Association, has chosen the pleasant road to an early bankruptcy. Many an Oriental state has proclaimed, and is proclaiming at the present day, the most excellent principles of government, not one of which it ever dreams of reducing into practice.

As an administrator Justinian does not occupy nearly so high a position as that to which his legislative triumphs entitle him. He certainly had one of the most necessary qualifications for a ruler, the power of selecting fitting instruments for his work. The man who chose Tribonian for his legal adviser, Belisarius and Narses for his generals, the designers of Saint Sophia for his architects, can assuredly have been no mean judge of human character. He had also the power of forming

truly grand conceptions, and is superior herein to two monarchs, with each of whom some points in his character tempt us to compare him.—Louis XIV of France and Philip II of Spain. These merits, however, were more than counterbalanced by two great faults—intense egotism and financial extravagance. Coming as he did from the lower ranks of society to the administration of an old and highly-organized state, he was determined to leave his mark on every city of the Empire, on every department of the State. Some changes, like those involved in the codification of the Roman law, required to be made, and here the imperial egotist's passion for change worked well for the State. But besides this, many old and useful institutions were swept away, simply in order that the name of Justinian might be magnified. Local self-government received from him some of its severest blows. The postal service<sup>1</sup>, one of the best legacies from the great days of the Empire, he allowed to be ruined by greedy and shortsighted ministers, who sold the post-horses and divided the proceeds between their master and themselves. The venerable institution of the consulship, which still linked the fortunes of New Rome with the dim remembrance of the republican virtues of Brutus and Publicola, must be swept away. The schools of philosophy at Athens, touched certainly with the feebleness of age, but still showing an unbroken descent from Socrates, and deserving to be spared, if only for

His egotistic innovations.

<sup>1</sup> *Cursus publicus.*

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 14.

the sake of their late illustrious pupil Boethius, were closed by imperial decree, and the seven last Platonists were driven forth into exile, obtaining at length by the intercession of the King of Persia permission to exist, but no longer to teach, in that which had once been the mother city of all philosophy.

His extra-  
 vagance.

The mania of the empurpled Nihilist for destroying every institution which could not show cause for its existence by ministering to the imperial vanity, would have been less disastrous if it had not been coupled with an utter indifference to expense. Whatever dispute there may be as to other parts of the character of Justinian, there can be none as to his having been one of the worst of the many bad financiers who wore the diadem of the Cæsars.

In reading the two histories in which Procopius records the vast operations of this monarch, both in peace and war<sup>1</sup>, we are inclined to ask, 'Did the question once in his whole reign occur to the mind of Justinian, whether he was justified in spending the money of his subjects on this campaign which he meditated, or on that palace or basilica for which the architect had furnished him with plans?' Certainly the results of his financial administration speak for themselves:—the carefully and wisely hoarded treasure of Anastasius all spent, the very wars themselves starved, and in some cases protracted to three or four times their necessary length by the emptiness of the exchequer,

<sup>1</sup> The 'De Aedificiis' and 'De Bellis.'



and the people of his realms left at Justinian's death in a state of exhaustion and misery greater, if that be possible, than the subjects of Louis XIV of France after that monarch's seventy years' quest of 'glory.'

The treasure of Anastasius had perhaps been melting away during the nine years of the reign of Justin. During this time the war with Persia was begun, a war about which something will be said in the following chapter. Before Justinian had been five years on the throne the financial oppression of his subjects, particularly in the country districts, was becoming intolerable. Owing to changes in the mode of collecting the land-revenue and the abolition of the *cursus publicus*, the inhabitants were impoverished by the oppressive rights of pre-emption<sup>1</sup> claimed by the government, and worn out with forced labour<sup>2</sup> in moving produce from the interior of the country to the sea. Women with babes at their breasts were forced to take part in this cruel toil, and often did they, their husbands, and brothers fall dead by the road-side, where they were left, unpitied and unburied<sup>3</sup>. There was no time for funeral rites; the Emperor's corn must be delivered in so many days at the sea-port, where, without fail, some venal officer or some slave of one of the palace slaves

<sup>1</sup> Συνομή.

<sup>2</sup> Angaria, nearly equivalent to the French *corvées*.

<sup>3</sup> Joannes Lydus, de Magistratibus, p. 264 (ed. Bonn), from whom most of the details here given are drawn.

BOOK IV. stood ready to take his tithes of the tithes collected  
 CH. 14. at the cost of so much agony.

New taxes. The very names of the new taxes imposed on various pretexts, about twenty in number, were terrible to the bewildered people<sup>1</sup>. And this was what they had earned by those delirious shouts of joy which hailed the accession of Justin and the death of Anastasius, the tender-hearted Anastasius, who with such infinite trouble had rooted out one obnoxious tax, the Chrysargyron, in the room of which Justinian had planted a score.

The peasants flock into the cities.

Despairing of earning a subsistence in the country, the dispirited peasantry flocked into the towns, above all into the capital city. In Constantinople there was at least food to be had, for the corn-rations were still distributed to the people; and in Constantinople there was the delicious excitement for an absolutely idle populace, of the races in the Hippodrome. We have already made some little acquaintance with the contending colours of these circus-factions. Once four in number, they had now, by the disuse or obscurity of the Red and the White, become practically reduced to two, the Blue and the Green<sup>2</sup>.

Factions of the circus.

<sup>1</sup> Here are those preserved by Lydus, but evidently much mutilated by uncomprehending copyists:—*consualia*, *holographica*, *bouleutica*, *homodula*, *homocensa*, *aphantica*, *encataleimmena*, *politica*, *tamiaca*, *deputata*, *recolata*, *refusa*, *cerastismi*, *ropae*, *paralla(x)a*, *topi*, *endomatica*, *metatorica* . . . . *ellephoros apaitesis*.

<sup>2</sup> Cassiodorus (Var. iii. 51) seems to speak of all four colours as still used: '*Colores autem in vicem temporum quadrifaria divisione funduntur.*'

And such was the excitement produced among the BOOK IV.  
favourers of these two colours, by the victory or CH. 14.  
defeat of their respective champions, that the contemporary Byzantine historian can call it nothing less than a madness, a curse, and a disease of the soul. They would pour out their money; they would expose themselves to blows and the most contemptuous insults, yea, even to death itself; they would rush into the thickest of a fray, well knowing that in a few minutes the city-guards would be upon them, and would drag them off to the dungeon and to death. All this they heeded not if only the Blues might take their revenge on the bodies of their antagonists for the victory of a Green charioteer, if only the Greens might pay off a long score of insults by breaking the heads of a mob of presumptuous Blues. Murder was of course the frequent consequence of these faction-fights; and it was perhaps not always murder in hot blood, but sometimes secret and premeditated. Even women, though not allowed to visit the theatre, were bitten with the madness of the strife; and brothers, friends, the companions of a life-time were turned into irreconcilable enemies by these absolutely senseless quarrels. Certainly of all the strange exhibitions of his character which Man has given since he first appeared upon our planet, few have been more unutterably absurd than the fights of Blues and Greens in the Hippodrome of Constantinople.

It was evident, soon after his accession, that the

BOOK IV.

CH. 14.

Justinian  
favours the  
Blues.Scene in  
the Hip-  
podrome,  
13 Jan.  
532.

husband of Theodora meant to favour the Blue party, and in a few years, a long list of grievances was recorded in the hearts of the opposite faction against him. Such was the state of feeling in the multitude—the Blues jubilant with imperial favour, the Greens sore at heart and indignant against their oppressor, a multitude of the country-folk, having not as yet taken sides definitely with either colour, but remembering and cursing the tyrannical acts which had driven them from their immemorial homes—when on the morning of the Ides of January, 532<sup>1</sup>, the august Emperor took his seat in the *podium* and commanded the races to begin. Race after race, till twenty-two races had been run, was disturbed by the clamours of the angry Green faction. Their fury was chiefly directed against the Grand Chamberlain and Captain of the Guard, Calopodius<sup>2</sup>, to whom they attributed their ill-treatment. At length Justinian, worried out of his usual self-control, began to argue with the interrupters; and so the following extraordinary debate took place, in shrill shouts to and from the Imperial *podium*.

*The Green party.* ‘Many years mayest thou live,

<sup>1</sup> Marcellinus Comes and Malalas.

<sup>2</sup> Calopodius had been, under Anastasius, a favourer of the Monophysites, and therefore probably of the Green party. He was accused of having stolen from under the altar of the Great Church the written covenant by which Anastasius bound himself to Macedonius to keep inviolate the decrees of Chalcedon (Theophanes, s. a. 512; p. 133, ed. Paris). But no doubt with the change of sovereigns he had changed his colour and his creed.

Justinianus Augustus. *Tu vincas*<sup>1</sup>. O only good one, I<sup>2</sup> am oppressed. God knows it, but I dare not mention the oppressor's name lest I suffer for it.'

BOOK IV.  
CH. 14.  
532.  
Dialogue  
between  
the Em-  
peror and  
the Green  
party.

The Emperor's answer to the people came back from the lips of a stalwart *Mandator* who stood beside his throne, while a busy short-hand writer (*Exceptor*) at once began to take down all the words of this strange dialogue, that they might be enrolled in the official *Acta* of the Empire.

*Mandator*. 'Whom you mean, I know not.'

*The Greens*. 'O thrice August one, he who oppresses me will be found at the shoemakers' shops<sup>3</sup>.'

*Mandator*. 'I know not whom you are speaking of.'

*The Greens*. 'Calopodius the Guardsman oppresses me, O Lord of all.'

*Mandator*. 'Calopodius has no public charge.'

*The Greens*. 'Whatever he may be, he will suffer the fate of Judas. God will reward him according to his works.'

*Mandator*. 'Did you come hither to see the games, or only to rail at your rulers?'

<sup>1</sup> 'Mayest thou conquer.' This conventional acclamation to the sovereign was still uttered in Latin, though written down in Greek characters, τοῦ βίγκας.

<sup>2</sup> The dialogue shifts from the singular number to the plural with strange abruptness, but I have thought it better not to remove these blemishes.

<sup>3</sup> τὰ τζαγγαρία, rendered by the Latin translator 'ad sutorias officinas;' apparently some taunt at the low origin of Calopodius, or perhaps a pun on his name ('the fine-footed one').

BOOK IV.  
CH. 14.

*The Greens.* ‘If any one oppresses me, I hope he will die like Judas.’

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*Mandator.* ‘Hold your peace, ye Jews<sup>1</sup>, ye Manicheans, ye Samaritans.’

*The Greens.* ‘Do you call us Jews and Samaritans? We all invoke the Virgin, the Mother of God.’

Some sentences of scarcely intelligible religious abuse between the two parties to the dialogue follow. Then says the Mandator—‘In truth, if you are not quiet I will cut off your heads.’

*The Greens.* ‘Be not enraged at the cry of the afflicted. God himself bears all patiently. [How can I appeal to you in your palace?] I cannot venture thither, scarcely even into the city except by one street when I am riding on my mule<sup>2</sup>.’

*Mandator.* ‘Every one can move freely about in this city, without danger.’

*The Greens.* ‘You talk of freedom, but I do not find that I can get it. Let a man be ever so free, if he is suspected of being a Green, he is taken and beaten in public.’

*Mandator.* ‘Gallows-birds! have you no care for your own lives, that you thus speak?’

*The Greens.* ‘Take off that colour [the emblem of the Blues] and do not let justice seem to take sides. . . . I wish Sabbatius [the father of Justinian] had never been born. Then would he never have

<sup>1</sup> A play on the words. The Greens hope that Justinian may die like *Judas*. He thereupon calls them *Judaei*.

<sup>2</sup> The translation is very doubtful here. *Μίαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν προέρχομαι, ὅτ' ἂν εἰς βορδόνην (?) καθέζομαι.*

begotten a murderous son. It is twenty years since [one of our party] was murdered at the Yoking-place<sup>1</sup>. In the morning he was looking on at the games, and in the evening twilight, O Lord of all, he had his throat cut.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 14.  
532.

*The Blues* here interposed with angry denial. 'All the murders on the race-course have been committed by you alone.'

*The Greens*. 'Sometimes you murder and run away.'

*The Blues*. 'You murder and throw everything into confusion. All the murders on the race-course are your work alone.'

*The Greens*. 'Lord Justinian! They stir us up to strife, but no one kills them. Remember, even if you do not wish to do so, who slew the wood-seller at the Yoking-place, O Emperor!'

*Mandator*. 'You slew him.'

*The Greens*. 'Who slew the son of Epagathus, O Emperor?'

*Mandator*. 'Him too you slew, and then tried to throw the blame on the Blues.'

*The Greens*. 'Again! and again! Lord have mercy on us! Truth is trodden under foot by a tyrant. I should like to throw these things in the teeth of those who say that God governs the world. Whence then this villainy?'

*Mandator*. 'God cannot be tempted with evil.'

<sup>1</sup> Zeugma. According to the commentator this was a suburb of Constantinople, where the mules were unyoked that brought the body of St. Stephen to the capital.

BOOK IV. *The Greens.* “God cannot be tempted with  
 CH. 14. evil.” Then who is it that allows me to be op-  
 532. pressed? Let any one, whether Philosopher or  
 Hermit, read me this riddle.’

*Mandator.* ‘Blasphemers and accursed ones!  
 when will ye be quiet?’

*The Greens.* ‘If your Majesty will fawn upon  
 that party, I hold my peace, though unwillingly.  
 O Thrice August one, I know all, all: but I am  
 silent. Farewell, Justice: you have no more busi-  
 ness here. I shall depart hence, and then I will  
 turn Jew. It is better to become a Heathen than  
 a Blue, God knows<sup>1</sup>!’

*The Blues.* ‘We hate the very sight of you.  
 Your petty spite exasperates us.’

*The Greens.* ‘Dig up the bones of the [mur-  
 dered] spectators.’

With that the whole faction of the Greens  
 streamed out of the Hippodrome, leaving the  
 Emperor and the Blue party sole occupants of the  
 long rows of stone *subsellia*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Μᾶλλον δὲ Ἑλληνίσαι συμφέρει καὶ μὴ Βενετίσαι, ὁ Θεὸς οἶδεν.

<sup>2</sup> The dialogue between Justinian and the Greens, which Gibbon truly calls one of the most singular that ever passed between a prince and his subjects, is reported in full only by Theophanes. As he is a late authority (ninth century) and often inaccurate, the authenticity of the dialogue has been questioned. But he appears to be quoting from the official *Acta*, the first few lines of which are given in nearly the same words by the Paschal Chronicle (circa 630). The very obscurity of some of the sentences seems to show that Theophanes was transcribing some document which he only imperfectly understood: and it is equally difficult to imagine what motive he



The day was drawing towards a close when this multitude of enraged Orientals poured forth into the streets of Constantinople. Soon it was evident that the tumults which had embittered the later days of Anastasius were to be renewed, on a larger scale, and with more appalling circumstances, by reason of the crowds of hungry, idle, and exasperated rustics who had flocked into the town. Fire began to be applied to the buildings round the Hippodrome, and to the porticoes of the Palace in which the household troops were lodged. All through the earlier stages of the sedition Justinian kept quiet in his palace, with the nobles who had assembled there according to custom on the Ides of January, to offer their congratulations and to receive from his hands the tokens of their various promotions for the new year<sup>1</sup>. Probably his expectation was, that the insurrection, if unopposed, would wear itself out; or that, at the worst, the fury of the attacked Blues would check the fury of the attacking Greens.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 14.  
532.  
Commencement of insurrection.

Fire-raising.

Soon, however, an ominous symptom appeared. The Blues began to sympathise with the Greens, and to join in the wild orgie in which their rivals were engaged. In a recent attempt to deal out

The Blues and Greens fraternise.

could have had for inventing a dialogue so full of insults against the honoured name of Justinian, and from what spurious source, if so desirous, he could have obtained so many touches characteristic of the times.

<sup>1</sup> I combine the statement of Malalas (p. 474, ed. Bonn) with that of Procopius (i. 24, vol. i. p. 121 same edition), and with the fact that Hypatius and Pompeius were at the Palace.

BOOK IV. even-handed justice between the two factions, the  
 CH. 14. Prefect of the City had arrested seven notorious

532.

murderers, chosen indifferently from both parties. Four had been sentenced to death by beheading, three by hanging. The sword had done its work surely, but the gallows had broken under the weight of their victims, and two of the culprits, one a Blue, the other a Green, had thus escaped for a time the sentence of the law. The good monks of the neighbouring monastery of St. Conon had found them not quite dead, had put them on board ship, and had carried them to the church of St. Lawrence. The Prefect of the City insisted that the law should have its due, but popular sympathy was aroused on behalf of the wretches who had so narrowly escaped death. A common interest in the fate of their friends seems to have brought the two factions, hating one another with such deadly hatred, into momentary accord. As the old watch-words of party were suddenly become obsolete, they invented new ones. Not the loyal cry, 'August Justinian, may you conquer!' but 'Long live the friendly Greens and Blues<sup>1</sup>!' was to be the battle-shout of the united factions, and 'Nika' (Victory) their secret pass-word.

The insur-  
 rection  
 becomes  
 political.

With this reconciliation of the Circus-factions the sedition assumed a more important and a political character. The name of the chamberlain Calopodius drops out of the story, and those of the Quæstor Tribonian, of the Prætorian Prefect, John of

<sup>1</sup> Φιλανθρώπων Πρασίνων καὶ Βενέτων πολλά τὰ ἔτη (Malalas).

Cappadocia, begin to be heard. Tribonian, with all his matchless knowledge of the law, was suspected, perhaps justly suspected, of sometimes framing the new laws so as to suit the convenience of those litigants who approached him with the heaviest purse in their hands. John of Cappadocia was undoubtedly a man absolutely devoid of principle, coarse, unlettered, vicious, but one whose dæmonic force of will and whose relentless heart were all put at the disposal of his master for the purpose of wringing the maximum of taxes out of a fainting and exhausted people.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 14.

532.  
Cries  
against  
Tribonian  
and John  
of Cappa-  
docia.

When the cry for the removal of these ministers came, Justinian at once yielded to it, and replaced them by men who stood higher in favour with the people. But still the riot went on. The futile endeavours of the soldiers to cope with it only increased its fury ; and, sure mark that all the lowest and most lawless elements of society had broken loose, Fire was the favourite weapon in the combat. The Senate-house, the Palace of the Prætorian Prefect, the Baths of Zeuxippus, the Baths of Alexander, were all burnt. At last, either because the mob had grown wild and desperate with destruction, or because the wind which had sprung up respected not the distinctions which they would have made, the sacred buildings themselves were given to the devouring flame. The great church of Saint Sophia, and its neighbour the church of Saint Irene, fell in blackened ruin. Between these two edifices, the dwellings of Divine Wisdom and

General  
conflagra-  
tion.

BOOK IV. Peace, the charity of a devout man of earlier time <sup>1</sup>,

CH. 14.

532.

Sampson by name, had reared a hospital <sup>2</sup> for the reception of the sick and aged poor. This noble illustration of the spirit of Christianity shared the fate of its statelier neighbours, and, alas for the madness of the populace, all the sick folk who were lying in the wards of the hospital perished in the flames.

Thus for five days raged the demon Fire through the streets of Constantinople <sup>3</sup>. Through the short January day thick clouds of smoke rolled round basilica and portico. At night two red and flaring lines mirrored themselves in the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus. The ineffectual efforts of the soldiers to suppress the riot did but increase the mischief. The Octagon <sup>4</sup> was set fire to by them in their endeavours to expel the rebels, and the flames thus kindled consumed the church of St. Theodore and the vestry adjoining it.

Still for some time the insurrection lacked an

<sup>1</sup> Procopius de Aedificiis, i. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ξενών, ἀνθρώποις ἀνεμμένους ἀπαρουμένους τε καὶ νοσοῦσι τὰ ἔσχατα εἰ πρὸς τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ τὸ σῶμα νοσαίεν* (Procopius, ubi supra). Is not this one of the earliest instances of the establishment of a hospital?

<sup>3</sup> It would be interesting to have the comments of an expert in the archaeology of Constantinople on the lists of buildings burnt in the Nika, especially those of Theophanes and the Paschal Chronicle. As far as I can ascertain from the materials before me, the fire seems not to have reached Byzantium proper (at the end of the promontory), but to have raged chiefly in the valley between this district and the second hill westward, on that hill itself, and to have reached perhaps into the third valley.

<sup>4</sup> This was probably a public library: see Ducange, Constantinopolis Christiana, ii. 152.

aim and a leader. Justinian was despised, but no name was suggested instead of his. On the first or second day, it is true, the rioters marched to the house of Probus (no doubt the nephew of Anastasius and brother of Pompeius), searched the house for arms, and shouted as they searched, 'Probus for Emperor of Romania!' but not succeeding in their quest, nor prevailing on Probus to accept the offered diadem, they cast fire into his house and added it to the general destruction.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 14.

532.  
The rebels  
are without  
a leader.

Probus will  
not accept  
the diadem.

On Sunday, the fifth day of the insurrection<sup>1</sup>, Justinian sought to propitiate the mob by following the example of Anastasius and making an appeal to their compassion. Taking his place in the seat of honour in the Circus, he held on high the roll of the Holy Gospels. The populace streamed once more into the Hippodrome, to hear what their sovereign would say to them. Laying his hand on the sacred books, he swore a solemn oath: 'By this power I swear that I forgive you all your offences, and will order the arrest of none of you, if only you will now return to your obedience. The blame is none of yours, but all mine. For the punishment of my sins I did not grant your requests when first you addressed me in this place.' The humiliation was as great as that of Anastasius, but not so efficacious in dis-

18 Jan.  
532.  
Justinian  
appeals in  
vain to  
the com-  
passion of  
the mob.

<sup>1</sup> Combining Procopius and the Paschal Chronicle, I reckon that the insurrection actually commenced on the 14th of January (Wednesday), and that the proclamation of Hypatius and Pompeius occurred on the morning of the 19th.

BOOK IV. arming the fury of the mob. Some shouted 'Justiniane Auguste, tu vincas!' but many were silent,  
 CH. 14. and there was even heard the insulting cry, 'O  
 532. ass, thou art swearing falsely !'

He returns  
 to the  
 palace;

With his dignity ruffled and his easy temper disturbed Justinian returned to the palace. There, apparently, all the nobles who had assembled on the Ides of January were still mustered, not having dared to return to their homes through the raging populace. The Emperor's eye fell on Hypatius and Pompeius, the nephews of Anastasius, and in an angry voice he ordered them to leave the palace. Procopius doubts whether to refer this strange order to suspicion of a conspiracy on their part, or to the influence of a mysterious destiny. The humbler theory, that it was due to mere ill-temper and annoyance, may perhaps be deserving of consideration. The two cousins naturally suggested that it was unfair to throw them at such a critical moment in the very path of conspirators and rebels; but Justinian insisted, and forth they went, slinking under cover of the twilight to their homes.

and orders  
 the  
 nephews  
 of Ana-  
 stasius to  
 leave it.

19 Jan.  
 532.

The popu-  
 lace pro-  
 claim  
 Hypatius  
 Emperor.

Next day, when the news of their departure from the palace was noised abroad, the whole multitude flocked to the house of Hypatius, intent on proclaiming him Emperor. In the campaign against Vitalian, eighteen years before<sup>2</sup>, Hypatius had

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπιτορκέις, σγαύδαρι. Ducange (in his note on the Paschal Chronicle) suggests γάδαρε, and translates as above.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 461.

held the highest command, and the course of events seems to have pointed him out as, upon the whole, the most eminent of the nephews of Anastasius. When the multitude announced their intention of proclaiming Hypatius in the Forum, his wife Mary, a woman of great ability and noble character, with tears and cries besought them not to lead her husband to certain death. Hypatius also earnestly pleaded that he had no desire for the dangerous honour. But the people were inexorable. Mary's entwining arms were thrust aside, and Hypatius was borne by the shouting multitude to the Forum of Constantine, where he appears to have been soon after joined by his cousin Pompeius. As no diadem was at hand, a collar of gold was placed on the head of Hypatius. He was raised high up on the steps of the statue of Constantine, clothed in the white *chlamys* which was to mark his military rank, and all the vast multitude shouted with one accord, 'Hypatie Auguste, tu vincas!'

There was a discussion among the adherents of the new Emperor whether they should at once march to the palace of Justinian and grapple with their foe. Had they done so, Justinian would probably have been faintly remembered in history as a sovereign who made some attempt to reform the Roman laws and perished in a tumult after a reign of five years. And in truth this was the view which he himself was prepared to take of the chances for and against him. In a council held in the palace his voice apparently was for flight by

BOOK IV.  
CH. 14.

532.  
Council in  
the palace  
of Justi-  
nian.  
Theodora's  
voice is for  
resistance.

the sea-gate, outside of which his ships were moored. But then was heard the manly voice of Theodora, insisting on resistance to the death. 'When man has once come into the world, death sooner or later is his inevitable doom. But as for living, a royal fugitive, that is an intolerable thought. Never may I exist without this purple robe ; never may the day dawn on me in which the voices of all who meet me shall not salute me as Sovereign Lady<sup>1</sup>. If then, O Emperor, you wish to escape, there is no difficulty in the matter. Here is the sea : there are the ships. But just consider whether, when you have escaped, you will not every day wish that you were dead. For my part, I favour that ancient saying, "There is no grander sepulchre for any man than the Kingship."'

Operations  
of Belisa-  
rius and  
Narses.

The stirring words of Theodora prevailed. Belisarius, a young officer who had acquired great renown in the Persian war, was commissioned to attack with his small but disciplined body of troops the vast mob of Constantinople ; and at the same time a middle-aged Armenian named Narses, an eunuch who had attained the rank of Grand Chamberlain in the imperial household, stole out of the palace with a heavy purse of money in his hand, to persuade and bribe the leaders of the Blue faction back to their old allegiance.

While this council was resolving on resistance

<sup>1</sup> Μη γὰρ ἂν γενοίμην τῆς ἀλουργίδος ταύτης χωρίς, μηδ' ἂν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην βιώην, ἐν ᾗ με δέσποιναν οἱ ἐντυχόντες οὐ προσεραῶσω.



to the uttermost, that of Hypatius resolved on procrastination. The advice of a Senator named Origen had determined them to leave the palace of Justinian unattacked, trusting that its occupant would soon be a fugitive, and to make for the old palace, which still bore the name of Flaccilla, the wife of Theodosius. On their way to this building the whole multitude halted for a time in the Hippodrome. Hypatius, who was still a most unwilling claimant of the purple, at this juncture sent one of the noble guard<sup>1</sup> named Ephraemius to Justinian with this message: 'Thy enemies are all assembled in the Circus; thou canst do with them what thou wilt.' Unfortunately Ephraemius met the Emperor's physician and confidant Thomas, who had heard of the rumoured flight, but had not heard of the later resolution to defend the palace. 'Whither are you going?' said Thomas to the glittering Candidatus: 'there is no one in the palace; Justinian has fled.' This message, brought to Hypatius, seemed to show that there was nothing for him but to reign; and he accordingly accepted the situation, mounted to the *podium*, and probably harangued the Roman people assembled in the Circus as their lawful Emperor.

Better had it been for Hypatius to be crouching, as he crouched eighteen years before, by the Scythian shore, up to his neck in the water and only his head showing, 'like a sea-bird's,' above the waves. He was in less danger then from the

BOOK IV.  
Ch. 14.

532.  
Deliberations of the friends of Hypatius.

Message of Hypatius to Justinian.

Belisarius attacks the multitude in the Hippodrome.

<sup>1</sup> Candidati.

BOOK IV. savage Huns than now from the insulted Emperor  
 CH. 14. whom he had failed to dethrone. Belisarius heard  
 532. that the rebels were all in the Hippodrome. With  
 the instinct of a born general he saw in a moment  
 his one chance of victory. With his band of dis-  
 ciplined soldiers, most of them barbarians<sup>1</sup>, he  
 mounted the broad and stately *cochlea* (spiral  
 staircase) which led from the palace to the Em-  
 peror's box in the Hippodrome. A barred door  
 prevented his entrance. He shouted to the soldiers,  
 some of his own veterans, who were in attendance  
 on Hypatius, 'Open the door, that I may get to  
 the usurper!' The soldiers, who wished to commit  
 themselves to neither side, feigned not to hear.  
 Then did Belisarius well-nigh despair of success,  
 and, returning to the palace, he told the Emperor  
 that his cause was ruined. But there remained  
 another gate called the Brazen Gate, on the side to  
 which the populace had set fire, and to it, amid  
 falling timbers and over smoking ruins, Beli-  
 sarius and his soldiers forced their way. This  
 entrance adjoined the portico of the Blues, and  
 perhaps was for this reason better adapted to the  
 purposes of Belisarius; for at the same time the  
 leaders of the Blue party who had received the  
 bribes of Narses were beginning to shout, 'Justiniane  
 Auguste, tu vincas!' Then was heard the war-cry  
 of Belisarius; the flashing swords were seen; sus-  
 picions of treachery, which soon grew into panic  
 fear, fell upon the multitude. The one desire of

<sup>1</sup> The Paschal Chronicle calls them Goths (p. 876, ed. Migne).

every citizen was to escape from the Hippodrome, a desire impossible of fulfilment; for, lo! at the same moment Mundus, another of Justinian's generals, hearing the uproar and rightly divining the manœuvre of Belisarius, pressed in to the Circus by another gate, called, as if in prophecy, the Gate of the Dead. The two generals did their bloody work relentlessly, so that no civilian, either citizen of Constantinople or stranger, either partisan of the Blues or the Greens<sup>1</sup>, who chanced that day to be in the Hippodrome, left it alive.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 14.  
532.

It was estimated that 35,000<sup>2</sup> persons fell in this tumult. Justinian announced his victory as if it had been won over some foreign foe, in exulting letters to all the great cities of his Empire. The triumph was won by ruthless disregard of human life, by an utter refusal to attempt to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty: but it was not a wholly barren one for the State. After this terrible lesson, it was long before the populace of Constantinople attempted to renew the disturbances which had disgraced the later years of Anastasius.

The massacre in the Hippodrome.

Hypatius and his cousin Pompeius were dragged out of the imperial box in the Circus and brought into the presence of Justinian. They fell prostrate before him, and began to sue for pardon on the plea that it was by their persuasion that the enemies of Justinian had been collected in the

Fate of Hypatius and Pompeius.

<sup>1</sup> So says Theophanes (p. 158).

<sup>2</sup> Joannes Lydus says 50,000.

BOOK IV. Hippodrome. 'That was well done,' said the Emperor (who had not yet heard of the message sent by Hypatius), 'but if the multitude were so willing to obey your orders, could you not have done it before half the city was burnt down?' He ordered them away to close confinement, upon which Pompeius, a man with whom all things till then had gone smoothly, began with tears and groans to bewail his hard fate. The more rugged Hypatius sharply rebuked him: 'Courage, my cousin: do not thus demean thyself. We perish as innocent men: for we could not resist the pressure of the people, and it was out of no ill-will to the Emperor that we went into the Hippodrome.'

On the following day they were slain by the soldiers, their goods were confiscated, and their bodies were cast into the sea. After a few days, however, Justinian relented towards them, having heard the true story of the message of Hypatius. Thomas, the doctor who had so ill served the interests of his august patient, was ordered to be beheaded. The property of the two unfortunate Patricians was restored to their relatives, and commands were issued for the burial of their bodies. Only that of Hypatius, however, could be recovered from the keeping of the Bosphorus, and over this when buried, Justinian, with all his clemency, could not deny himself the pleasure of carving an insulting epitaph<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Here lies the Emperor of Luppā.' The insult is too subtle to reach the ears of posterity.

The blackened heaps representing the stately buildings of Constantinople reminded a spectator who saw them of the masses of lava and cinders surrounding the cones of Vesuvius and Lipari. Soon however, by the command of the Emperor, troops of workmen were busily engaged in clearing away the rubbish and laying the foundations of new churches, baths, and porticoes. Thus was employment found for the ruined provincials who still swarmed in the city: and before long a new and fairer Constantinople rose from the ruins of the old<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 14.

So ended the celebrated sedition of the Nika. Its chief interest for us is that it brings us face to face with two men who gathered great fame in Italy, Belisarius and Narses.

<sup>1</sup> The astronomer will be interested in reading the account of a meteoric shower which occurred in the year of the Nika sedition (532). Theophanes says: 'The same year there was a great running of the stars (*ἀστέρων γέγονε δρόμος πολὺς*) from evening till dawn, so that all were struck with amazement and said, "The stars are falling:" nor do we know of such a thing having ever happened at any other time.'

## CHAPTER XV.

BELISARIUS.

**Authorities.**

*Sources* :—

PROCOPIUS and MALALAS.

*Guides* :—

BOOK IV. CH. 15. For a complete analysis of the character of Procopius, literary and political, and for a careful estimate of his position in reference both to Justinian and Belisarius, I must refer my readers to Dahn's 'Prokopius von Cäsarea.' In the history of the Persian War I have been helped by Rawlinson's 'Seventh Oriental Monarchy,' in that of the Vandal campaign by Papencordt's 'Geschichte der Vandalen.' Lord Mahon's 'Life of Belisarius,' though occasionally helpful, is upon the whole a disappointing performance.

War between the Empire and Persia, 526-532.

THE peace between the Roman and the Persian Empires which was concluded in 505, after lasting for twenty-one years, was broken upon a strange cause of quarrel. The Persian king, Kobad, now far advanced in years, in order to secure the succession to the throne for his favourite son Chosroes, proposed to the Emperor Justin that that monarch should adopt him as his son. Justin was prepared to assent, but, listening to the dissuasions of the Quæstor Proclus, who feared that Chosroes might

found on such an adoption a claim to the Roman as well as the Persian diadem, he eventually refused this act of courtesy. There were already some grievances against the Romans rankling in the mind of Kobad. They would not pay their promised quota towards the defence of the passes of the Caucasus from the Northern barbarians. They had built, contrary to agreement, the strong city of Daras close to the Persian frontier, almost overlooking the lost and bitterly-lamented city of Nisibis<sup>1</sup>. When tidings came that the Macedonian peasant who called himself Augustus would not recognise the descendant of so many kings as his son, or would at most only confer upon him that military adoption as 'son-in-arms' which was a compliment paid to Gepid and Ostrogoth princes, the old monarch of Ctesiphon was furious. He must have war with Rome; and war accordingly was waged by him and his son after him, for five years, among the Mesopotamian highlands and on the fertile plains of Syria.

With the details of this war we have no concern except in so far as they are connected with the entrance upon the stage of history of the young hero-general, Belisarius. Born about the year 505, probably of noble parentage, in the same Macedonian mountain-country<sup>2</sup> from which Justin and his

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.  
526.

Early history of Belisarius.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> I believe our only hint as to the birthplace of Belisarius is in the *De Bello Vandalico* of Procopius (i. 11): "Ὁρμητο δὲ ὁ Βελισάριος ἐκ Γερμανίας, ἢ Θρακῶν τε καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν μεταξὺ κείται. 'Between the Thracians and Illyrians' exactly describes Jus-

BOOK IV. nephew had descended to Thessalonica, Belisarius  
 CH. 15. was serving in the body-guard of Justinian, and  
 526. had the first manly down upon his lip<sup>1</sup> when, in the  
 year 526, he and another officer of his own age  
 were entrusted with the command of the troops  
 which were to invade the Persian (or Eastern)  
 portion of Armenia. Fields were laid waste and  
 many hapless Armenians were carried into cap-  
 tivity, but no successes in battle were earned by  
 the young generals.

Belisarius  
 command-  
 ant of  
 Daras,  
 527.

Soon after, Belisarius was made commandant of  
 the newly-erected fort and city of Daras: and  
 while in this command he made a selection which  
 has had more to do with his subsequent renown  
 than many victories. He chose 'Procopius of  
 Cæsarea who compiled this history' to be his  
 Judge-Advocate<sup>2</sup>. The office which I attempt to  
 indicate by this suggested English equivalent was  
 known among the Romans by names which we  
 have borrowed from them, those of Counsellor and  
 Assessor<sup>3</sup>. For a Roman general like Belisarius,  
 exercising by virtue of his office judicial power  
 over civil as well as military persons, but having  
 received himself no legal education, it was abso-  
 lutian's native land of Dardania. But I cannot help thinking  
 that 'Germania' is due to some error of transcribers. Can the  
 true name be *Graniriana*, which, I know not on what autho-  
 rity, appears in our classical atlases about twelve miles north  
 of Naissus, at the site of the modern Alexinatz?

Procopius  
 the 'coun-  
 sellor' of  
 Belisarius.

Nature of  
 his office.

<sup>1</sup> Ὑπηνήτης.

<sup>2</sup> Τότε δὴ αὐτοῦ ξύμβουλος ἤρέθη Προκόπιος, ὃς τὰδε ξυνέγραψε.

<sup>3</sup> Consiliarius and Assessor: in Greek, ξύμβουλος and πέρ-  
 εδρος.



lutely necessary to have a trained jurist ever by his side, who might so guide his decisions that they should be conformable to the laws of the Empire. Occasions would also often arise in connection with the diplomatic duties that Belisarius had to discharge towards the rulers of the lands invaded by him, in which the presence of a learned Byzantine official would be of great assistance to a comparatively unlettered soldier. Such an adviser, legal assessor and diplomatic counsellor, was Procopius: not the general's private secretary, but, it may be said, in a certain sense, his official colleague, though in a very subordinate capacity.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.

Whether Procopius held precisely this relation to Belisarius during all the fifteen years that they were campaigning together, in Mesopotamia, in Africa and in Italy, it is difficult to say. It is slightly more probable that the official tie may have been sundered, and that the learned civilian may have remained on as a visitor and trusted friend in the tent of his chief, by whom he was occasionally employed on semi-military enterprises which required especial tact and exercise of the diplomatic faculty. It seems clear that, during all the period above mentioned, something more than official relations existed between the two men; that the counsellor loved and admired the general, and that the general respected and liked the counsellor. We shall have hereafter to trace, or if we cannot trace, to conjecture, the disastrous influences by which a friendship so honourable to both

His fifteen years of intimacy with the general, 527-542.

BOOK IV. parties, and cemented by so many years of com-  
 CH. 15. mon danger and hardships, was at last broken  
 asunder; and owing to which Procopius in his  
 old age became the passionate reviler of the hero  
 whom in his youth and middle life he had so  
 enthusiastically admired.

Literary position of Procopius. The position occupied by Procopius in the his-  
 tory of literature is interesting and almost unique.  
 After so many generations of decline, here, at  
 length, the intellect of Hellas produces a histo-  
 rian, who, though not equal doubtless to her  
 greatest names, would certainly have been greeted  
 by Herodotus and Thucydides as a true brother of  
 their craft. Procopius has a very clear idea how  
 history ought to be written. Each of his books, on  
 the Persian, the Vandal, and the Gothic wars, is  
 a work of art, symmetrical, well proportioned, and  
 with a distinct unity of subject<sup>1</sup>. His style is  
 dignified but not pompous, his narrative vivid,  
 his language pure, and the chief fault that we  
 can attribute to it is a too great fondness for  
 archaisms, especially for old Homeric words, which  
 are somewhat out of place in the pages of a prose  
 author. He exhibits a considerable amount of  
 learning, but without pedantry: and resembles  
 Herodotus in his eager, almost child-like interest  
 in the strange customs and uncouth religions of  
 barbarian nations. He picks up from hearsay all

<sup>1</sup> One must except from this statement the so-called fourth  
 book of the Gothic Wars, which is a mere supplement to all the  
 others, and has no unity of subject.

that he can as to a land like Thulë (Iceland or the BOOK IV.  
North of Norway) lying within the Arctic Circle, CH. 15.  
and only regrets that, though earnestly desirous of  
the journey, he has never been able to visit that land  
in person and be an eye-witness of its wonders<sup>1</sup>.

In politics Procopius shows himself an ardent Political  
lover of the glory of the great Roman Empire, of attitude of  
which he feels himself still thoroughly a citizen. In Procopius.  
his most important work (the *De Bellis*) he preserves  
a truly dignified tone towards the Emperor, whose  
great achievements he praises without servility:  
but he often contrives to introduce in the speech  
of a foreign ambassador or the letter of a hostile  
king some tolerably severe Opposition-criticism on  
the home or foreign policy of the omnipotent Jus-  
tinian. Very different from the manly and moderate  
tone of this his standard work are the sickening  
adulation of the *De Aedificiis* and the venomous  
tirade of the *Anecdota*, both of which books must  
belong to the old age of Procopius, the former being  
apparently written to the Emperor's order and  
therefore crowded with insincere and extorted  
compliments, while the latter was never to leave  
the author's desk while he lived, and therefore  
received all the pent-up bitterness of his insulted  
and indignant soul.

The attitude of Procopius towards the religious His reli-  
questions which agitated the Eastern world is as gious posi-  
tion.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐς ταύτην ἵέναι τὴν νῆσον, τῶν τε εἰρημένων αὐτόπτη  
γενέσθαι, καίπερ γλιχομένω τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ξυνημέχθη (De Bell. Gotth.  
ii. 15; p. 206).

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.

peculiar as his literary position. While all, or nearly all of his contemporaries are taking sides in the bitter theological controversies of the day, he stands aloof and looks coldly on the whole shrill logomachy. That he can speak the language of the Christian faith, when Court etiquette requires him to do so, is proved by some passages in the *De Aedificiis* which have an entirely Christian sound<sup>1</sup>. But, though he will not go to the stake for his faith, nor indeed forego any chance of Court favour for the sake of it, it is clear that his real convictions are not Christian, but that he is a philosophical Theist of the school of Socrates and Plato: and we may be almost certain that he derived his religious creed as well as his rhetorical style from those philosophers of the University of Athens, whom Justinian banished and silenced in his lifetime<sup>2</sup>. In his own writings he wavers in some degree between a devout Theism and a half sullen acquiescence in the decrees of a blind, impersonal destiny: but, upon the whole, Theism rules his mind, and he sometimes speaks, even with a reverent love, of the dealings of Providence with mankind. Probably

<sup>1</sup> These are collected by Dahn (Prokopios, 196-201). The heathen inhabitants of Borium turn to Christianity in order to save their souls (vi. 2). Jesus is emphatically recognised as the Son of God (v. 7). The Samaritans insulted the Christian mysteries in a manner 'about which we [Christians] must keep silence,' and so on.

<sup>2</sup> Probably indignation at this act of shabby oppression and bigotry is one cause of the bitter tone of the *Anecdota*.

the following passage from an early chapter of his Gothic history<sup>1</sup> tells us as much as he himself knew about his innermost thoughts on religious subjects. After describing an embassy from the Pope to the Emperor 'on account of the doctrine about which the different Churches of Christendom dispute among themselves,' he continues,—

'But upon the points in dispute. I, *though well acquainted with them*, shall say as little as possible, for I hold it to be proof of a madman's folly to search out what the Nature of God is like. For, by man, not even the things of a man can in my opinion be accurately apprehended, far less those which pertain to the Nature of God. I shall therefore pass over these subjects in safe silence, only remarking that I do not disbelieve in those things which other men reverence. For I would never say anything else concerning God, except that He is altogether good and holds all things in His own power. But let every one else, whether priest or layman, speak on such subjects according to his own presumed knowledge.'

There have been times in the history of the world, with reference to which an inquiry of this kind as to the religious opinions of their describer would be irrelevant and almost impertinent. No one who knows the spirit of the sixth century will say this of Procopius. His attitude of aloofness from special theological controversy secures his impartiality between warring sects. His phi-

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.  
Procopius's  
confession  
of faith.

His Hel-  
lenism an  
important  
element in  
his charac-  
ter as a  
historian.

<sup>1</sup> i. 3.

BOOK IV. losophical Theism is the key to much that would  
 CH. 15. otherwise be perplexing in his own writings. As  
 a 'Hellenising' rather than a Christian historian he stands in a direct line of succession from authors with whose works we have already made considerable acquaintance, Ammianus, Eunapius, Priscus, and Zosimus: and it would be an interesting inquiry, had we space for it, to ascertain where his Heathenism agrees and where it differs from theirs. Upon the whole, in the age of change and transition in which he lived, Procopius would seem to have clung fast to two great facts in the World-History of the Past, the wisdom of Greece and the greatness of Rome, and not to have accepted that clue to the interpretation of the Present and the anticipation of the Future which was offered him by Augustine's vision of the City of God.

Belisarius  
 Magister  
 Militum,  
 530.

From this sketch of the character of the biographer we return to survey the actions of his hero, the young imperial guardsman, Belisarius. The campaigns of the three years from 527 to 529 seem to have consisted of desultory and indecisive skirmishes: but in the last year Belisarius was appointed *Magister Militum per Orientem*; and this concentration of power in the hands most capable of wielding it was soon followed by a brilliant victory. In 530, in the midst of negotiations for peace, the Persian *Mirran* or commander-in-chief, Perozes, made a dash at the new, much-hated fortress of Daras. In point

Persian  
 attack.

of strategy he seems to have shown himself superior to the imperial general, since he was able to concentrate 40,000 men for the attack, while Belisarius could muster only 25,000 for the defence. Deeming the battle as good as won Perozes sent an arrogant message to the Roman commander: 'Prepare me a bath in Daras, for I intend to repose there to-morrow.' But when the Persian troops advanced to the attack they soon perceived that they were in the presence of a master of tactics and that their victory would not be an easy one. Under the walls of Daras Belisarius had ordered his troops to dig a long but not continuous trench, with two side-trenches sloping away from it at an obtuse angle at either end. His irregular troops, consisting chiefly of Huus<sup>1</sup>, Heruli, and other barbarians, were stationed in the intervals which had been purposely left between the various parts of this line of defence. Behind them, ready to take advantage of any victory which might be won by the irregulars,

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.  
§ 30.

<sup>1</sup> Both here and in other passages of his histories Procopius has somewhat perplexed his successors by talking about the *Massagetæ*. He gives us, however, the key to the riddle in a passage in the *De Bello Vandalico* (i. 11): 'Aegan was of the race of the *Massagetæ*, whom they now call *Huns*.' He always prefers archaic words and names, calls Constantinople *Byzantium*, and *Dyrrachium Epidamnus*: and on the same principle prefers to call the Huns *Massagetæ* because he finds the latter name in Herodotus and not the former. But there is no need for modern historians to follow his example: and I therefore use the word with which the story of Attila has made us familiar, instead of its shadowy Herodotean equivalent.





and fell to the earth from the violence of their onset. Then ensued a struggle which of the two champions should first rise from the ground; a struggle which the gymnastic skill of Andreas terminated in his favour. He struck the Persian who had risen on one knee, with another blow he felled him to the earth, and so slew him amid the tumultuous applause of the Roman soldiery.

That night was passed by both armies in their previous positions. In the early morning (while the Persian general was marching up 10,000 additional troops from the city of Nisibis), messages were interchanged between the generals. Belisarius, avowing that he held it to be the highest mark of generalship to obtain peace, invited the Mirran even now, at the eleventh hour, to relinquish an attack which, made as it was in the midst of negotiations for peace, had in it something of the nature of treachery, and to retire within the Persian frontier. The Mirran replied: 'If you were not Romans we would listen gladly to your arguments: but you belong to a nation which neither promises nor oaths can bind. We have met you now in open war, and will either die here or fight on till old age overtakes us, that we may force you to do us justice.' Said Belisarius: 'Calling us hard names alters not the truth of facts. God and justice are on our side.' The Mirran answered: 'We too know that the gods are on our side, and with their help we shall

BOOK IV.  
Ch. 15.

530.

Battle of  
Daras.  
Second  
day.

BOOK IV. to-morrow be in Daras. As I said before, let my  
 CH. 15. bath and my breakfast be prepared within the  
 530. fortress.' Belisarius put the letters on the point  
 of his standards, as a symbol to all the army  
 that he fought against men who were truce-  
 breakers and perfidious.

Before beginning the action, the Mirran did his best to re-assure his soldiers as to the unexpected check of the previous day, and the strange new signs of cohesion and discipline exhibited by their Roman antagonists. His oration, as reported by Procopius, is, if we may rely on its genuineness, the most striking of all testimonies to the genius of the Roman general in turning a disorderly mass of discordant nationalities into a harmonious whole, animated by one spirit, and mighty either for onset or resistance. Belisarius, in his brief speech to his soldiers, insisted on the paramount necessity of order and discipline, the secret of their previous day's success and the means of securing on that day a far more splendid triumph. Especially he bade them not to be discouraged by the superior numbers of the enemy. The Persians possessed some brilliant *corps d'élite* (such as the troops known as the Immortals): but the great mass of the army, according to the Roman general's statement, consisted of squadrons of clumsy rustics, labourers rather than soldiers, good at undermining walls or plundering the bodies of the slain, but whose only notion of fighting consisted in covering themselves with

their huge shields, keeping their own bodies safe for a time, but powerless to injure the enemy.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.  
530.

The battle began at noon, the Persians, who dined late, having purposely chosen this time for the attack, because they deemed that the Romans, debarred from their usual mid-day meal, would be faint with hunger. A cloud of arrows from both sides soon darkened the air. In number the missiles of the Persians greatly exceeded; but a favouring wind gave a deadly energy to the fewer darts of the Romans. The Mirran had drawn up his army in two divisions, intending continually to recruit his first line with drafts from the unwearied troops behind them. On the Roman side, the trench with its two flanking lines was still the framework of the position: but Pharas the Herulian, anxious to do great deeds, and not seeing his opportunity in the crowded lines at the left-hand angle of the trenches, asked and obtained leave to make a long flank march and to occupy an eminence in the rear of the Persian right.

Two generals, under the Mirran, commanded the Persian army, Pituazes on the left, Baresmanas on the right. The onset of Pituazes at first met with some success: perhaps the withdrawal of Pharas had unduly weakened the Roman line at the point assailed by him. Soon, however, the generals who were posted behind the main trench saw their opportunity to make a charge on the

BOOK IV. advancing Persians: and at the same time the  
 CH. 15. appearance of Pharas on his hill in their rear  
 530. turned the repulse into defeat. Belisarius, who  
 saw that no further danger was to be apprehended  
 from this quarter, withdrew Sunica, a Hunnish  
 commander who had been stationed on the left of  
 the main line, and swung him and his 600 Hunnish  
 horsemen round to strengthen the Roman right, at  
 this time sorely pressed by the advancing Persians.  
 In fact, the Roman troops at the end of the main  
 line were already in full flight. But the Huns on  
 the flanking trench, under Simas and Ascan, joined  
 by their brethren under Sunica and Aegan, now  
 swooped down upon the pursuing Persians. Sunica  
 himself, at the critical moment of the battle, struck  
 down the standard-bearer of Baresmanas. The  
 Persians found that they were being assailed both  
 on the right and the left. They wavered a little  
 in their headlong pursuit: the fugitive Romans find-  
 ing themselves not followed, turned and faced  
 them: they were soon hopelessly cut off from the  
 rest of the Persian army. Sunica slew Bares-  
 manas and dashed him from his horse to the  
 ground. Great fear fell on all the Persians when  
 they saw their standard fallen, their general's  
 horse riderless. Five thousand of their soldiers,  
 thus surrounded, were cut to pieces: and the rest  
 of the Persians, seeing the slaughter, dashed down  
 their great shields and fled in panic from the field.

Defeat of  
 the Per-  
 sians.

Belisarius, mindful of his great inferiority in  
 numbers and fearful of an ambushade, forbade a

distant pursuit of the enemy. The battle, which was a decisive one, had in truth been gained by tactics not unlike those which had in old times been practised by the Parthians against their enemies, namely, by taking advantage of the disorder into which the very fact of pursuit betrays an apparently successful squadron. We can see that the mode of fighting is as dissimilar as possible to the old steady advance of the heavy-armed legions of Rome. Belisarius's army, Roman only in name, consists largely of Huns, Herulians, and other stalwart barbarians drawn from along the northern frontier of the Empire. Courage they have in abundance: they need but discipline to make them irresistible, and that the subtle brain and commanding presence of Belisarius, a born general and king of men, supply in perfection.

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 15.  
 530.  
 Character  
 of the  
 tactics of  
 Belisarius.

How entirely the success of the imperial arms was due to the personal ascendancy of Belisarius over his troops was clearly shown in the campaign of 531, when, for want of proper subordination on their part, the battle of Sura was lost by the Romans. In the deliberations in the Persian Court at the beginning of that year, Perozes, the late Mirran, appeared shorn of his dignity, and no longer wearing the circlet of gold and pearls which had before wreathed his brows. This was the punishment inflicted by the King of Kings on the general who had lost the battle of Daras. While the King and his counsellors were discussing the possible routes for invading the Empire by the old

Campaign  
 of 531.

Advice of  
 a Saracen  
 chief to the  
 Persian  
 king.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.

531.

battle-fields of Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia, Alamundar, king of the Saracens, who had been all his life waging a guerrilla war against the Empire on its Arabian frontier, proposed a new plan of campaign. He would avoid the strong border fortresses on the Upper Euphrates and its affluents, cross the river lower down, traverse the wide desert north of Palmyra, and so, reaching that frontier of the Empire upon which there were no fortresses, because the desert was supposed to be its bulwark, strike boldly at Antioch itself. The plan thus proposed, coming from the lips of the king of the Saracens, was a too fatal forecast of the woes which should fall upon the Empire from that very quarter, when the sons of the desert should no longer be serving as vassals of the Persian king, but should be overthrowing empires on their own account, and fighting under the standard of the Prophet.

The Persians invade Syria.

The counsel of Alamundar pleased Kobad and his nobles, and accordingly 15,000 men were ordered to cross the Middle Euphrates at Circesium<sup>1</sup>, their new general being a Persian noble named Azareth, and Alamundar himself being their guide across the desert. The expedition at first obtained some successes, and the citizens of Antioch, fearing for

<sup>1</sup> It is pointed out by Rawlinson (*Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, p. 374) that Malalas here is more to be depended upon as to the route of the invaders than Procopius. The mention by the latter of the province of Commagene, 100 miles or so to the north of the district really invaded, is an instance of his too frequent topographical inaccuracy.

the safety of their city, streamed down the valley of the Orontes to the coast of the Mediterranean<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.

But tidings of the invasion having reached Belisarius, he ventured to leave the upper frontier comparatively undefended and to make a forced march with an army of 20,000 men to the little lake of Gabbula, about sixty miles east of Antioch, where the enemy were mustered. On hearing of his approach they abandoned the enterprise in despair, and began to retreat towards the Persian frontier.

531.

Belisarius followed, slowly pushing them down the western bank of the Euphrates, avoiding a pitched battle, and each night encamping in the quarters which the enemy had occupied the night before.

Belisarius  
pursues the  
invading  
army in its  
retreat.

He had in this way reached the little town of Sura, nearly opposite the city of Callinicus. The latter, though on the other side of the Euphrates, was a Roman city, for down to this point both banks of the great river were still included in the Empire. Here the invaders were intending to cross the Euphrates and make their way back across the desert to their own land. Nor was Belisarius minded to stop them. True, they still carried with them some of the spoil which they had gathered in the plains of Chalcis, but the shame of a thwarted enterprise more than outweighed this advantage.

But now arose a strange delusion in the Roman army, shared alike by the most experienced officers and by the rawest recruits just drawn from following the plough in the valleys of Lycaonia, to face,

The army  
clamours  
for a battle.

<sup>1</sup> Malalas, p. 462 (ed. Bonn).

BOOK IV. for the first time, the realities of war<sup>1</sup>. They all  
 CH. 15. thought that they could read the fortunes of the  
 53<sup>1</sup>. game better than the general: and they dared to  
 impute to that dauntless spirit the greatest of all  
 sins in a soldier's code of morality—cowardice. In  
 vain did Belisarius remonstrate against this infa-  
 tuated determination to jeopardy the substantial  
 fruits of the campaign for the sake of the mere  
 name of victory. In vain did he remind them that  
 they were exhausted by the rigour of their Paschal  
 19 April, fast:—it was the day before Easter Sunday, and no  
 53<sup>1</sup>. orthodox Byzantine would touch any food from  
 daybreak to nightfall. All was in vain. The sol-  
 diers only shouted more loudly what they had  
 before murmured in secret, 'Belisarius is a coward!  
 Belisarius hinders us from beating the enemy!'  
 Seeing that the troops were getting out of hand,  
 and knowing that some of their officers were openly  
 siding with the men, Belisarius with a heavy heart  
 yielded to their clamour, pretended that he had  
 only opposed, in order to test, their eagerness, and  
 made his arrangements for the coming battle.

Arrange-  
 ment of  
 the troops.

The Romans, with their faces to the south,  
 touched the shore of the Euphrates with their left,  
 and at this end of their line was stationed the bulk  
 of the Roman infantry. In the centre, Belisarius  
 himself commanded the cavalry, at that time the  
 most important portion of the army. On the

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπεὶ ἄρτι τῆς γεωργίας ἀφέμενοι ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου κατέστησαν, ἀγνώτα σφίσι τὰ πρότερα ὄντα (Procop. de Bello Pers. i. 18; p. 96, ed. Bonn).



right, the Roman position was strengthened by the steepness of the ground. Here fought those Saracen tribes who were friendly to the Empire, and mingled with them were some soldiers who bore the name of Isaurians. In reality, however, they were the Lycaonian rustics to whom reference has already been made. Like the name of Switzer after the great battles of Granson and Morat, so was Isaurian in the armies of the Empire, a title of honour sometimes claimed by men who had little right to it.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.  
531.

On the other side, Azareth and his Persians by the Euphrates faced the Roman left and centre : while the Saracens under Alamundar faced their countrymen on the Roman right.

For some time the battle hung in suspense. Both armies were fighting with missile weapons, and the Roman archers, though less numerous, drew a stronger bow and did more deadly execution than the Persian. After two-thirds of the day had thus elapsed, an impetuous charge of Alamundar caused the Roman right to waver. Ascan the Hun, by the prodigies of valour which he performed, checked for some time the rout of this portion of the army, but after he and the 800 braves who were with him had fallen, there was no longer a show of resistance in this part of the field. The Lycaonian rustics, who were lately so loud in teaching lessons of valour to Belisarius, fell like sheep before the knife, scarcely lifting a weapon in self-defence. The

Battle of  
Sura (or  
Callinicus).

BOOK IV. Saracens, pursued by their brother Saracens and  
 CH. 15. the mighty Alamundar, streamed in disorder across  
 531. the plain.

Rout of the  
 Romans.

Belisarius, when he saw the death of Ascan, was forced to flee with his cavalry to the infantry beside the Euphrates. Dismounting from his horse, he fought as a foot-soldier in the ranks, and bade his companions do the same. Turning their backs to the river, the little band of Romans with tightly-locked shields formed a solid wedge, against which the masses of Persian cavalry dashed themselves in vain. Again and again the unavailing charge was attempted. At length night fell, and under its friendly shelter Belisarius and the brave remnant of his army escaped across the river to Callinicus, where they were safe from the Persian pursuit. When Easter Sunday dawned, the Persians as masters of the field buried the bodies of the slain, and found to their dismay that as many of their own countrymen as of the Romans lay upon the plain.

Return of  
 the Per-  
 sians to  
 their own  
 land.

The event of the battle, though abundantly vindicating the wisdom of Belisarius in desiring to decline it, did not greatly alter the course of the campaign. The Persian generals continued their retreat: and when they appeared in the presence of Kobad, the aged monarch asked them what Roman city they had added to his dominions, or whether they had brought him any of the spoil of Antioch. 'Not so, O King of Kings,' answered Azareth, 'but we return from winning a victory over Belisarius and the Roman army.' 'At what

cost?' said Kobad. 'Let the arrows be counted.' It was an ancient custom in the Persian state that the army, when about to start for a campaign, should defile before the king, and that each soldier should cast an arrow into a basket at his feet. The baskets were sealed with the king's seal, and kept in a place of safety till the return of the host. They then again marched in order past the king, each soldier as he passed drawing forth an arrow from the basket. The arrows undrawn told the tale of the soldiers who returned not from the enemy's land. Now, after the day of Sura so numerous were these, the arrows of the dead, that Kobad taunted the triumphant general with his too dear-bought victory; and never after was Azareth entrusted with any high command.

Four months after the battle of Sura, Kobad died; his long and eventful life being ended by a rapid attack of paralysis. His third son, the celebrated Chosroës or Nushirwan, succeeded to the throne, though not without a struggle, in which he put to death every male of his father's house. Possibly these domestic troubles made him the more ready to end the war with the Roman Emperor. After some little diplomatic wrangling a peace, proudly called 'The Endless Peace<sup>1</sup>,' was arranged between the two Empires. The fortresses taken on either side were to be restored; Daras was not to be occupied as a military post; and Justinian was to pay Chosroës 11,000 pounds'

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.  
531.

Death of  
Kobad,  
8 Sept. 531.

Accession  
of Chos-  
roës.

Peace con-  
cluded,  
532.

Ratified by  
Justinian,  
533.

<sup>1</sup> Ἡ ἀπέραντος καλουμένη εἰρήνη (Procopius, i. 22 ; p. 114).

BOOK IV. weight of gold (£440,000) as a contribution to-  
 CH. 15. wards the expenses of guarding the Caucasus  
 frontier from the barbarians. Upon the whole,  
 the terms were a confession on each side that  
 the game was drawn.

Recall of  
 Belisarius,  
 531.

Meanwhile, shortly after the battle of Sura,  
 Belisarius had been recalled to Constantinople by  
 his master, who already meditated employing the  
 talents of this brilliant officer in an entirely new  
 field. It was probably at this time that the young  
 general met and married the woman who was  
 thenceforward to exercise so mighty an influence  
 over his fortunes. Antonina, whose father and  
 grandfather had been charioteers, and whose mother  
 had been a woman of loose character connected  
 with the theatre, could not be considered on the  
 score of birth an equal mate for the young guards-  
 man. In years also she had the disadvantage,  
 being according to Procopius<sup>1</sup> twenty-two years,  
 and certainly not less than twelve years, her  
 husband's senior. She was a widow, and had  
 two grown-up children, when Belisarius married  
 her. The strong and abiding affection which  
 bound the great general to this strangely chosen  
 wife, his deference for her clear and manly judg-  
 ment, his toleration of her strange vagaries, and  
 even of the stain which she more than once

Age and  
 character  
 of Anto-  
 nina.

<sup>1</sup> He says that Antonina was sixty in 543, and therefore  
 born in 483. I suspect that Procopius has added some years  
 to her age, but the ages of her children make it impossible that  
 she could be born much, if at all, after 493. The birth-year of  
 Belisarius was probably about 505.

brought upon his honour, all seemed like a re-  
flection of his imperial master's passion for Theo-  
dora. At present, however, the two great ladies,  
the comic dancer and the actress's daughter, were  
not on friendly terms with one another. At a later  
period, the friendship of Theodora for Antonina  
was to be a factor strongly influencing the fortunes  
of Belisarius both for good and for evil.

The service upon which Justinian meditated  
employing Belisarius was to lie in the lands of  
the West, as far from Constantinople in that  
direction as the plains of Mesopotamia were in  
the other. He was to renew the attempt, in which  
Basiliscus had failed so disastrously sixty-five years  
before—the attempt to pull down the great Vandal  
kingdom and restore the provinces of Africa to the  
sway of the Emperor.

Two months after the battle of Sura a revolu-  
tion took place at Carthage which furnished Jus-  
tinian with an admirable pretext for such an  
enterprise. We have seen that Thrasamund was  
succeeded by Hilderic, the elderly grandson of  
Gaiseric, with Catholic sympathies derived from  
his mother Eudocia, daughter of Valentinian III.  
Not only by his religious divergence from the  
ancestral creed was Hilderic ill-fitted for the  
Vandal throne. His subjects, though they had  
lost much of their old warlike impetuosity, still  
loved at least to talk of battle and the camp:  
while Hilderic, in the exceeding softness and ten-  
derness of his nature, could not bear that any one

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.

The pro-  
jected Van-  
dal war.

Hilderic  
King of the  
Vandals,  
May, 523.

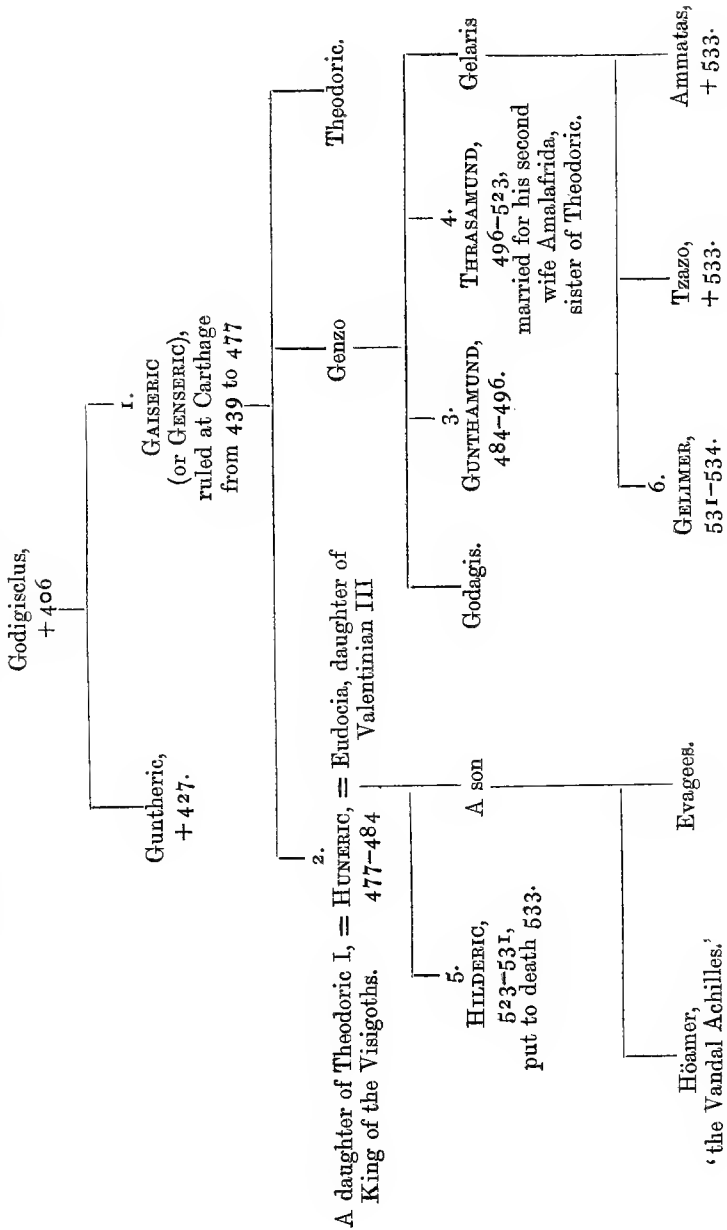
BOOK IV. should even speak of warlike matters in his  
 CH. 15. presence<sup>1</sup>. For eight years the Vandal nation  
 and the family of Gaiseric bore, with increasing  
 impatience, the rule of such a king. At length,  
 Gelimer in June, 531, his cousin Gelimer, the great-grand-  
 deposes Hilderic, son of Gaiseric, a man who had himself almost  
 June, 531. passed middle life, a warrior and head of a  
 brotherhood of warriors, unwilling to wait any  
 longer, thrust the feeble Hilderic from the throne  
 and mounted it himself, with the full consent of  
 the Vandal nobility. The two nephews of Hil-  
 deric, one of whom, Höamer, had been called, on  
 rather slight martial cause, the Achilles of the  
 Vandals, shared his captivity.

Remon- On hearing these tidings Justinian, who had  
 strances of Justinian. commenced a friendly correspondence with Hil-  
 deric before his own accession to the throne, wrote  
 to remonstrate with Gelimer, and to insist that the  
 aged monarch should continue to wear at least  
 the title, if not to wield the power, of a king.  
 Throughout the correspondence the Emperor as-  
 sumed the attitude of one who watched over the  
 execution of the testament of Gaiseric, Gaiseric once  
 the irreconcilable enemy of Rome, but now, by a  
 constitutional fiction, her traditional friend and ally.

Höamer To the remonstrances of Justinian, Gelimer re-  
 blinded. plied by blinding the Vandal Achilles and by  
 subjecting Hilderic and his other nephew to a yet

<sup>1</sup> Οὔτε Χριστιανοῖς οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ χαλεπὸς ἐγεγόνει, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον μαλθακός τε λίαν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἄχρι ἐς τὰ ὄτα τὸ πρᾶγμα οἱ τοῦτο ἐθέλων ἵέναι (Procopius, De Bell. Vand. i. 9).

GENEALOGY OF THE VANDAL KINGS.



BOOK IV. closer captivity. A letter of stronger remon-  
 CH. 15. strance from Constantinople was answered by a  
 Further correspond- brief and insolent note, in which 'King Gelimer  
 ence. informed King Justinian<sup>1</sup> that nothing was more  
 Insolence of Gelimer. desirable than that a monarch should mind his  
 own business.' Irritated by this reply, Justinian  
 began seriously to meditate an expedition to  
 chastise the insolence of the Vandal. Negotia-  
 tions were commenced with Chosroës which re-  
 sulted in 'the Endless Peace' with Persia, and  
 a pretext was made for recalling Belisarius to  
 Constantinople that the plan of the coming cam-  
 paign might be discussed with him.

Belisarius  
 in the in-  
 surrection  
 of the  
 Nika,  
 532.

All these schemes were for a time cut short by  
 the terrible insurrection of the Nika, in which the  
 timely presence of Belisarius at the capital saved  
 the throne of Justinian. That chapter closed, the  
 Emperor began again to discuss with his coun-  
 sellors his designs of African conquest. The pro-  
 posed war was universally unpopular. The terrible  
 loss of treasure and life in the unsuccessful expe-  
 dition of Basiliscus was in every one's mouth.  
 Each general dreaded the responsibility of so  
 distant and uncertain an enterprise. The soldiers,  
 who seemed to themselves to have come from the  
 uttermost ends of the earth toward the sun-rising,  
 murmured at the thought of visiting the equally  
 distant lands of the sunset, before they had had

<sup>1</sup> Βασιλεὺς Γελίμερ Ἰουστινιανῶ βασιλεῖ. Of course βασιλεὺς is  
 a regular title for the Eastern Emperor: but Gelimer seems to  
 wish to put himself on an equality with Justinian.



time to taste any of the pleasures of the capital. The great civil officers groaned over the prospect of the toil they would have to undergo and the odium they must incur in collecting money and stores for so remote an expedition.

The chief of these civil officers, the ablest, the most illiterate, and the most unscrupulous man among them, the Prætorian Prefect, John of Cappadocia, delivered an oration in full consistory, earnestly dissuading the Emperor from his enterprise. 'You wish, O Augustus, to reach with your arms the city of Carthage. That city lies at a distance from us of 140 days' journey if you go by land. If you sail to it you must cross a wide waste of waters and reach the utmost limits of the sea. Should misfortune overtake your army, it will be a whole year before we hear the tidings of it. And even if you conquer Africa, O Emperor, never will you be able to hold it while Italy and Sicily own the sway of the Ostrogoth. In a word, success in my opinion will bring you no lasting gain, and disaster will involve the ruin of your flourishing Empire.'

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.  

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Speech of  
John of  
Cappado-  
cia against  
the African  
expedition.

For the time Justinian was shaken by the unanimous opposition of his counsellors, and was willing to relinquish the project. But the insulting words of Gelimer rankled in his breast; the glory of restoring the province of Africa to the Empire and her Church to the Catholic communion was too alluring to be abandoned: and when a Bishop from a distant Eastern diocese announced

The project  
abandoned.

BOOK IV. that he had come to Constantinople, commissioned  
CH. 15. by the Almighty in a dream, to rebuke the slack-  
533. ness of Justinian and to say, 'Thus saith the Lord,  
 I myself will be his partner in the war and I will  
 subdue Libya under him,' the ardour of the Em-  
The project peror could no longer be restrained; soldiers and  
resumed. ships were collected, and Belisarius was ordered  
 to be in readiness to take the command of the  
 expedition on the earliest possible day. He was  
 invested, for the second time, with the rank of  
*Magister Militum per Orientem*: he was sur-  
 rounded by a brilliant staff, and Archelaus the  
 Patrician, formerly Prætorian Prefect, was attached  
 to the expedition as Paymaster of the Forces.

Belisarius was accompanied by his two trusty  
 counsellors, Antonina and Procopius. The latter  
 tells us honestly that he had shared the general  
 dread and dislike of the enterprise, but he too had  
 had his favourable dream which had put him in  
 better heart and caused him to enter upon the  
 service with eagerness.

Numbers  
of the army  
and fleet.

The army consisted of 10,000 infantry and 5000  
 cavalry, and was composed of regular Roman sol-  
 diers and *foederati*, the latter probably prepon-  
 derating. Huns and Heruli occupied prominent  
 positions, not only in the ranks but in the general's  
 tent. The fleet conveying this army comprised  
 500 ships, the largest of which was of 750 tons  
 burden, and the smallest 45<sup>1</sup>. The large number

<sup>1</sup> 50,000 and 3000 medimni respectively. The computation is  
 nearly that adopted by Papencordt (*Gesch. der Vandalen*, 136).

of 20,000 sailors (forty to each ship, great and small) manned this fleet. There were besides ninety-two fast war-ships, of the kind called *dromones*, rowed by 2000 Byzantines. These ships had only one bank of oars, and were roofed over to protect the rowers from the enemy's darts. We may perhaps consider that they occupied a similar position in the Byzantine fleet to that held by the torpedo-boats of to-day in a modern navy.

About Midsummer-day, in the year 533, the armament, the subject of so many hopes and fears, sailed from the quay in front of the Imperial Palace at Constantinople. Epiphanius the Patriarch came on board the general's ship, offered the accustomed prayers, and, for greater good-fortune, left a newly-baptized soldier, a convert to Christianity, under the flag of Belisarius. Calms detained the fleet for some days in the Hellespont, and, while there, two drunken Hunnish soldiers slew a man with whom they had quarrelled<sup>1</sup>. Belisarius hung them up at once in sight of the whole army on a hill overlooking Abydos. Their comrades murmured; but the general, in a short, vigorous speech, reminded them that their only hope of success in the enterprise which they had undertaken lay in the observance of strict justice, without which neither God's favour nor man's could be looked for by them. And as for the plea of drunkenness, no man, whether Roman

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.  
533.  
The fleet  
sets sail,  
June, 533.

<sup>1</sup> Procopius says that of all mankind the Huns were the most intemperate in drinking.

BOOK IV. or barbarian, should be allowed to plead that as  
 CH. 15. an excuse for his crime, which was rather its  
 533. aggravation. The soldiers heard the general's  
 words, looked upon the gallows from which their  
 comrades were hanging, and conceived a salutary  
 fear of offending against the laws which found  
 so prompt a defender.

Detention  
 at Me-  
 thone.

The winds were not favourable, and at Methone<sup>1</sup>  
 there was another long detention of the fleet.  
 The misery of sickness was added to the misery  
 of inaction, and that sickness was caused by the  
 dishonest cupidity of a Byzantine official. John  
 of Cappadocia, who had contracted to supply the  
 fleet with a certain number of pounds' weight of  
 biscuit, had sent the dough to be baked at the fur-  
 nace which heated one of the public baths at Con-  
 stantinople. He had thus economised baker's wages  
 and fuel, and he had prevented the shrinking in  
 volume which resulted from a proper application  
 of the process. But the so-called twice-baked  
 bread<sup>2</sup>, only once baked and that imperfectly,  
 was a loathsome and corrupting mass when the  
 sacks containing it were opened at Methone. The  
 commissaries at first insisted on supplying it to  
 the men. A pestilence was the natural result,  
 from which five hundred soldiers died. As soon  
 as the matter came to the ears of Belisarius, he

Dishonesty  
 of John of  
 Cappado-  
 cia.

<sup>1</sup> Now Modon, near Navarino, at the S. W. corner of the Morea.

<sup>2</sup> Τὸν ἄρτον . . . δις μὲν ἐπάναγκες ἐς τὸν πηγέα εἰσάγεσθαι. In other words, it ought to be *biscuit*, not bread.

at once reported the Prefect's dishonesty to Justinian, stopped the issue of the unsound stores to the troops, and purchased the bread of the district for distribution among them.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.  
533-

At length the fleet reached Zante and there took in water. Still so idly flapped their sails that it took them sixteen days to cross from Zante to Catania in Sicily, and during this passage many of the ships' crews suffered severely from want of water. On board the general's ship, however, there was abundance; for the provident Antonina had stored a large quantity of the precious fluid in some glass *amphorae*, which she had then deposited in an improvised wooden cellar, constructed in the hold of the ship and carefully covered over with sand. Thus the general and his staff, including the grateful Procopius, had always plenty of cool draughts of water, while their comrades on board the other ships were parched with thirst.

Voyage  
from Zante  
to Catania.

About two months had probably elapsed from the time of the fleet's departure from Constantinople before it reached Sicily. Owing to the unhealed quarrel between the Vandals and Ostrogoths, resulting from the death of Amalafriada, and owing also to the relations of intimate alliance which the Romanising Amalasintha had established with Justinian, Sicily afforded the imperial troops not only a safe but a friendly resting-place, where they could refit and re-victual their ships at pleasure. Without this advantage,

Friendly  
reception  
in Sicily.

BOOK IV. which the madness of the Vandals had thrown  
 CH. 15. in their way, it may be doubted if the Byzantine  
 533. expedition could possibly have succeeded.

Anxiety of  
 Belisarius.

Belisarius, however, notwithstanding this point in his favour, was racked with doubts and fears as to the issue of the campaign. His absolute ignorance of the numbers and position of the Vandal army, his want of all information as to the best points for landing, or the condition of the roads, were most unsatisfactory to a general who, with all his splendid personal courage, looked upon war as a science and knew what the postulates of that science demanded. And then, he knew not whether he should be allowed to join battle with the Vandals by land. They had a powerful fleet and might attack him, as they had attacked Basiliscus, by sea. Ominous murmurs were being uttered by the disheartened soldiery—and some of them reached his ears—that, though they would do their duty in an engagement on land and would show themselves brave men there, if they were attacked at sea by the ships of the enemy they would at once seek safety in flight.

Procopius  
 sent to  
 Syracuse.

Oppressed by these cares, Belisarius sought the quarters of his counsellor Procopius. He wished that the secretary should visit the city of Syracuse, ostensibly in order to buy stores for the army, but really to obtain all possible information as to the doings of the Vandals, the near neighbours of Sicily. Procopius gladly accepted the mission, and after some days presented himself at the

general's quarters at Caucana<sup>1</sup>, the meeting-place of the troops on the south coast of the island, about fifty miles from Syracuse. The Secretary's face showed that he brought good tidings, and he had a living voucher for their truth. Almost immediately on his arrival at Syracuse he had met with a person who had been a friend of his from childhood, but who, on account of his interest in some shipping property, had quitted the East and was now settled in the Sicilian capital. When Procopius cautiously propounded his questions about Carthage, his friend replied, 'I have the very man who can give you the needed information. This servant of mine returned but three days ago from Carthage: ask him.' The servant declared that no preparations worth speaking of were being made by the Vandals to meet the Byzantine armament. They did not even know that it had left Constantinople. Gelimer was at an inland place called Hermione, a considerable distance from Carthage. And, most important of all, by a piece of rare good-fortune for the Romans, all the best Vandal soldiers had sailed away to Sardinia, under the command of Tzazo, Gelimer's brother, to put down the rebellion of one Godas, a Goth who had been sent thither by the Vandal King to collect tribute, but who was now trying to open communications with the Emperor on

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 15.  
 533-

Vandal expedition to Sardinia under Gelimer's brother Tzazo.

<sup>1</sup> I see no sufficient reason for Lord Mahon's proposal to read Catana, in defiance of all MS. authority, instead of Caucana.

BOOK IV. his own account, and affected the airs of an  
 CH. 15. independent sovereign.

533.  
 Procopius  
 kidnaps his  
 Sicilian  
 friend's  
 slave.

All this was better news than Procopius had dared to hope for. That Belisarius might be satisfied of its truth, he took his friend's slave down with him to the port, which was still called 'the Harbour of Arethusa,' continued an eager conversation with the man till they were on board ship, and then gave a sign to the captain to weigh anchor and leave the harbour with all speed. The owner of the kidnapped slave, Procopius's friend from childhood, stood on the shore bewildered and inclined towards anger: but his old schoolfellow shouted out to him that he must not be grieved, for that it was absolutely necessary that the man should be brought into the general's presence; but after he had shown the Roman army the way to Carthage he should soon be sent back to Syracuse bringing a large reward<sup>1</sup>.

Voyage to  
 Africa.

Cheered by the tidings brought by this messenger Belisarius ordered the mariners to hoist sail. They passed the islands of Malta and Gozo, and the next day, a brisk east wind having sprung up, they reached the coast of Africa. It was now about the beginning of September, and nearly three months since they had sailed forth from the harbour of Constantinople.

The point of the African coast which the fleet

<sup>1</sup> Dahn suggests that possibly the kidnapping was only apparent, and that the slave was really a consenting party to his abduction (Procopius, 23).



had made was called Caputvada<sup>1</sup>, and was about 130 miles in a straight line south by east of Carthage. The coast of Africa here runs nearly due north and south, and the corner where it turns from its usual east and west direction, the very conspicuous promontory of Cape Bon<sup>2</sup> (called by the Greeks and Romans Hermæum), lies 130 miles due north of Caputvada, and about thirty east of Carthage.

Before landing, Belisarius called a council of war on board his ship. The Patrician Archelaus, his civil Assessor and Paymaster-General, was earnest in his advice that they should not land there, but sail round to the great pool<sup>3</sup> close to the harbour of Carthage, where there would be shelter and ample berthing-room for all the ships, and where they would be quite close to the scene of operations. There was much to be said on behalf of this view, and it was well said by Archelaus, who, as master of the commissariat department, especially insisted on the difficulties that would beset the provisioning of the troops upon a land-march if the fleet, their base of supply, should be dashed to pieces against the Libyan coast. Belisarius, however, who felt that he could trust his troops by land and could not trust them by sea, refused to give the Vandals another chance of bringing on a naval engagement, and gave his decisive voice in

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.

533.  
The fleet  
reaches  
Caputvada.

Council  
of war.

Archelaus  
tries to dis-  
suade Beli-  
sarius from  
landing.

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Procopius κεφαλή βράχους, 'Shoal-promontory'; now called Ras Kapoodia.

<sup>2</sup> Or Ras Addar.

<sup>3</sup> Stagnum.

BOOK IV. favour of disembarking at Caputvada and proceeding from thence to Carthage by land. The soldiers were ordered at once to fortify the position at Caputvada with the usual fosse and vallum of a Roman camp<sup>1</sup>. In doing so they discovered a copious spring of excellent water, welcome for its own sake, but doubly welcome because it was looked upon as something supernatural and a token of Divine favour on the enterprise.

533.  
Disem-  
barkation.

Syllectum  
opens its  
gates.

Defection  
of the  
Vandal  
postmaster.

As it proved, this *fossatum* or entrenched camp was not needed by the Romans. The extraordinary apathy, or panic, or over-confidence of the Vandals still left the imperial army free from attack. The neighbouring city of Syllectum, at the persuasion of the Catholic bishop and the leading citizens—men doubtless of Roman nationality—gladly opened her gates to the Emperor's generals. An even more important defection was that of the Vandal Postmaster of the Province<sup>2</sup>, who placed all the post-horses of his district at the general's disposal. One of the King's messengers (*veredarii*) was captured, and Belisarius sought to make use of him to circulate Justinian's proclamation, which, in the usual style of such documents, stated that

<sup>1</sup> Procopius' words will be interesting to all students of Roman fortifications: Βελισσαρίος ἐκέλευε τὴν τε τάφρον ὀρύσσειν καὶ τὸ χαρακῶμα περιβαλέσθαι. . . . Αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦτε τάφρος ἀρώρυκτο καὶ τὸ χαρακῶμα ξυντετέλεστο, καὶ οἱ σκολόπες κύκλῳ πανταχόθεν ξυνεπεπήχασα. Here we have the fosse, the vallum, and the palisading, exactly the Pfahl-graben of the Germans.

<sup>2</sup> Ὁ τοῦ δημοσίου δρόμον ἐπιμελόμενος: Procurator (?) Publici Cursus.

the invading army came, not to make war on the people of the land, but only on the tyrant and usurper Gelimer. The *veredarius* handed copies of the proclamation to some of his friends, but not much came of his proceedings. Sovereigns and statesmen generally overrate the importance of such manifestoes.

For eleven days<sup>1</sup> Belisarius and his army moved steadily northwards, covering a distance of about thirteen miles a day. A force of 300 men under the command of his steward<sup>2</sup>, John the Armenian, preceded the main body of the army at a distance of about three miles. The Huns rode at the same distance to the left. Thus, if danger threatened from either quarter, the general was sure to have early notice of it. His right wing was of course sufficiently protected by the sea, where his ships slowly accompanied the march of the land forces. Belisarius sternly repressed the slightest disposition on the part of his soldiers to plunder, and insisted on every article of food required being punctually paid for. He was rewarded for this exercise of

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.  
533.

Order of  
march of  
the imperial  
army.

<sup>1</sup> The Itinerarium makes the distance from Tusdrus (which is about as far off as Caputvada) to Carthage, 157 Roman miles. Procopius tells us that Belisarius marched 80 stadia a day. The stadium is generally considered equivalent to the eighth of a Roman mile, but we know from Procopius (*De Bello Gotthico*, i. 11) that 113 of his stadia = 19 Roman miles, or, roughly, six of his stadia = one mile. This would give about 13½ Roman miles for each day's march: and eleven of these marches would bring the army to Decimum, ten miles from Carthage.

<sup>2</sup> Called at this time *Optio*: *ὅς οἱ ἐπεμελείτο τῆς περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν δαπάνης· ὀπτίωνα τοῦτον κλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.*

BOOK IV. discipline by the hearty good-will of the pro-  
 CH. 15. vincials, who evidently gave no information of  
 533. his movements to the enemy. The soldiers, too,  
 had their reward for their painful self-denial when,  
 about sixty miles from Carthage, they reached the  
 'Paradise' which surrounded the beautiful palace  
 of the Vandal kings at Grassé. Here were spring-  
 ing fountains, a great depth of shade, and fruit-  
 trees in overpowering abundance. Into these  
 lovely gardens poured the dusty, travel-worn By-  
 zantines, and found them indeed a Paradise. Each  
 soldier made himself a little hut under the boughs  
 of some fruit-tree and ate his fill of its luscious  
 produce: yet, strange to say, when the bugle  
 sounded and the army had to leave the too brief  
 delights of Grassé, it seemed as if there was still  
 the same wealth of fruit upon the trees that hung  
 there when the first soldier entered.

The Para-  
 dise of the  
 Vandal  
 kings at  
 Grassé.

Gelimer's  
 move-  
 ments.

Now at length, on the 13th of September<sup>1</sup>, four  
 days after leaving Grassé, when the army reached  
 Ad Decimum, came the shock of grim war to inter-  
 rupt this pleasant promenade through the enemy's  
 land. When Gelimer heard the tidings of the  
 enemy's landing, his first step was to send orders  
 to Carthage that Hilderic and his surviving rela-  
 tives and friends should be put to death: his

Death of  
 Hilderic.

<sup>1</sup> We get this date from the statement of Procopius (*De Bell. Vand. i. 21*) that Ammatas marched out of Carthage on the eve of St. Cyprian's day. This festival, which now falls on the 16th of September, according to the old ecclesiastical calendar fell on the 14th. Papencordt (p. 152, n. 1) is my authority for this statement.

next, to desire his brother Ammatas, who com-  
 manded at Carthage, to arm all the Vandal sol-  
 diers and prepare for a combined attack on the  
 invaders. The place chosen for this combined  
 attack was a point ten miles from Carthage (Ad  
 Decimum), where the road went between steep  
 hills, and it seemed possible to catch the enemy  
 as in a trap. Three divisions were to co-operate  
 in the movement. While Ammatas, sallying forth  
 from Carthage, attacked the Roman van, King  
 Gelimer himself with the main body of the army  
 was to fall upon their rear, and at the same hour  
 his nephew Gibamund, moving over the hills from  
 the west, was to fall upon their left flank.

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Plan of the  
 Vandals'  
 triple  
 attack.

The plan was skilfully conceived, and Procopius  
 himself expresses his astonishment that the Roman  
 host should have escaped destruction. Some part  
 of the credit of their deliverance was due to the  
 arrangements made by Belisarius for obtaining  
 early information of what was going on in front  
 of him and on his left flank, but more to the  
 Chance or Fate or Providence (Procopius scarcely  
 knows which to style it) that caused Ammatas to  
 issue too early from Carthage and deliver his  
 attack too soon<sup>1</sup>. He came about noonday, and

Battle of  
 Ad Deci-  
 mum,  
 13 Sept.  
 533.

<sup>1</sup> How was it possible, before the invention of watches, to reckon with any certainty on concerted operations upon the battle-field? The clepsydra and other such clumsy contrivances for the measurement of time would surely be useless here. No doubt a practised eye would learn the time with sufficient accuracy from the position of the sun in the heavens when the sky was clear. But how, if it was overcast? Apparently the

BOOK IV. dashed impetuously, with only a few of his fol-  
 lowers, against the Roman vanguard, led by John  
 the Armenian. Ammatas slew with his own hand  
 twelve of the bravest of the imperial soldiers, but  
 he then fell mortally wounded, and his death  
 changed the whole fortune of the day. His men  
 fled, and John's pursuing soldiers wrought grievous  
 havoc among the Vandals issuing from Carthage,  
 who, in no regular order, were scattered along  
 the road from the city to the battle-field. Pro-  
 copius says that lookers-on conjectured that 20,000  
 Vandals were thus slain, but the estimate was  
 probably an exaggerated one.

CH. 15.  
 533.  
 Death of  
 Ammatas.

Defeat of  
 Gibamund.

Equally unsuccessful was Gibamund's attack on  
 the left flank of the Roman army. According to  
 the arrangement of Belisarius above described, the  
 troops that he fell in with were the covering  
 squadron of Huns. The Vandals had often heard  
 of the headlong bravery of these old enemies of  
 the Gothic nations, but had not before met them  
 in battle. Now, a Hun belonging to a noble  
 family, which had by long usage a prescriptive  
 right to draw first blood in every battle, rode  
 alone close up to the Vandal ranks. These, sur-  
 prised or terrified, did not assail the solitary  
 champion, who returned to his comrades, shouting  
 loudly that God had given these aliens to them as  
 food for their swords. The Hunnish squadron

inevitable effect of storms and mist must have been hopelessly  
 to bewilder the leaders of an army, as to their position in time  
 as well as in space.

advanced, and the Vandal detachment, two thousand men in number, fled panic-stricken from the field.

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533.

Very different at first was the fortune of the main body of their army led by Gelimer himself. Procopius's description of this part of the action is somewhat confused; but it seems clear that the hilly nature of the ground hid the movements of Belisarius and Gelimer from one another. The Roman general had inadvertently drawn out his line too wide; and the Vandal King, equally by accident, slipped in between Belisarius and the centre of his army. He was thus enabled to make a most dangerous flank attack on the Roman centre, and in fact to gain the victory, if he had known how to keep it. If after his defeat of the infantry he had moved to the left against the small body of cavalry that surrounded Belisarius, he might easily have overwhelmed them. If he had pushed forward he would have annihilated John's forces still scattered in all the disorder of pursuit, and saved Carthage. He did neither. As he was leisurely descending a hill, his possession of which had given him the victory over the Roman centre, he came upon the dead body of Ammatas, still unburied and gashed with honourable wounds. Grief at this sight drove every thought of battle from the mind of Gelimer. He burst out into loud bewailings, and would not stir from the place till he had given his brother befitting burial. Meanwhile Belisarius was rallying his fugitive soldiers;

Temporary  
success of  
Gelimer.

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CH. 15.

533.  
 Gelimer  
 loses the  
 day.

was learning the true story of the vanguard's encounter with Ammatas; put heart into his beaten army, and before nightfall had got together a large body of men with whom he dashed at full speed against the unprepared and unmarshalled Vandals. Now at length the battle was really won. Gelimer's soldiers fled westwards from the field in wild disorder, and the Romans of all three divisions encamped that night among the hills of Ad Decimum, victorious.

Gelimer's ill-timed display of sorrow for his brother was attributed by Procopius to a Heaven-sent infatuation. A modern historian is probably more disposed to turn it into ridicule. But after all, there is a touch of Northern chivalry and tenderness even in the absurdity of the proceeding. Hardly would any rhetoric-loving Greek or materialistic Roman have been tempted to lose a battle in order to take the last farewell fittingly of the relics of a brother.

March to  
 Carthage,  
 14 Sept.  
 533.

On the next day Antonina and the rearguard of the troops came up, and the whole army moved on over the ten miles which separated them from Carthage, and encamped at nightfall at the gates of the capital. The whole city gave itself up to merriment: lights were lit in every chamber, and the night shone like the day. The Vandals, hopelessly outnumbered and recognising that the sceptre had departed from their nation, clustered as timid suppliants round the altars; but Belisarius sent orders into the city that the lives of all of that



people who peaceably submitted themselves were to be spared. Meanwhile, still fearing some stratagem of the enemy, and doubtful also of the self-restraint of his soldiers, he refused for that night to enter the illuminated city. Next day, having satisfied himself that the enemy had indeed vanished, and having harangued his soldiers on the duty of scrupulously respecting the lives and property of the Carthaginian citizens, fellow-subjects with themselves of the Roman Emperor, and men whom they had come to deliver from the degrading yoke of the barbarian, he at length marched into the city, where he was received with shouts of welcome by the inhabitants. The hundred years of Vandal domination were at an end. The Emperor, Senate, and People of Rome were again supreme in the great colony which Caius Gracchus had founded on the ruins of her mighty antagonist. And yet, strange contradiction, suggestive of future labours and dangers for the great commander, at that very time Rome herself, her Senate and her People, obeyed the orders of the Gothic princess, Amalasantha.

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Carthage  
 entered,  
 15 Sept.  
 533.

The exhortations of Belisarius to his troops bore memorable fruit. Never did soldiers march into a conquered town in more friendly guise. Although it was notorious that generally even a little handful of imperial soldiers marching into one of the cities of the Empire would fill the air with their boisterous clamour, and would terrify the peaceful inhabitants with their military braggadocio, now the

Orderly  
 conduct of  
 the troops.

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CH. 15.

533.

whole army entered in perfect order and without an unnecessary sound. No threats were heard, no deed of insolence was done. The secretaries of the army, gliding about from rank to rank, distributed to each man his billet, and he departed tranquilly to his appointed lodging. In the workshops, the handicraftsmen plied their accustomed tasks; in the agora, the buyer and the seller bargained as of old. No one would have dreamed from the appearance of the city that a mighty revolution had that very day been consummated in the midst thereof.

Escape of  
the Byzantine  
merchants.

On the morning of this eventful day many Byzantine merchants whom Gelimer in his rage had arrested, and whom he meant to have put to death on the very day of the battle of Ad Decimum, were cowering in a dark dungeon in the King's palace, expecting every moment to be ordered forth to execution. The gaoler entered and asked them what price they were willing to pay for their safety. 'My whole fortune,' each one gladly answered. 'You may keep your money,' said he. 'I ask for nothing but that you should help me if I too should be in danger of my life.' With that he removed a plank from before their prison window. With blinking eyes they looked forth to the blinding sky over the blue Mediterranean, and saw the imperial fleet drawing near to the city of their captivity. The chain which had stretched across the harbour was broken by the citizens' own hands, and they were crowding down to the port to wel-

come their deliverers<sup>1</sup>. At that sight the prisoners knew that their chains also were broken. The gaoler opened the prison doors and went down into the streets in their company.

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533.

When noon was come, Belisarius, who had already entered the palace and seated himself on the throne of Gelimer, commanded that the mid-day meal should be served to him and to his officers in the Delphic chamber, the great banqueting-hall of the palace. Among the generals and officers sat the secretary Procopius, and mused on the instability of Fortune, as he found himself and his comrades waited upon by the royal pages, and eating, from the gold and silver plate of the Vandal, the very same luxurious meats and drinking the same costly wines which had been prepared for the repast of Gelimer himself.

Belisarius  
in Geli-  
mer's  
palace.

A similar example of sowing without reaping was furnished by the cathedral church of Carthage, named after her great martyred bishop, St. Cyprian. Many a time, says Procopius, during the stress of the Vandal persecution, had the saint appeared in visions to his disciples and told them that they need not distress themselves, since he himself in time would avenge their wrongs. On the eve of his great yearly festival, which, as it chanced, was the very day that Ammatas rode forth from Carthage to fall among the hills of Ad

The ca-  
thedral  
claimed  
by the  
Catholics.

<sup>1</sup> In point of fact the fleet did not enter the harbour, but for nautical reasons took up their position in the *Stagnum* on the south-west of it.

BOOK IV. Decimum, the Arian priests, who had of course the  
CH. 15.  
 533· sole right to minister in the cathedral, made great preparations, sweeping out the church, making ready the lights, bringing their costliest treasures out of the sacristy. Then came the decisive victory, by which African Arianism was for ever overthrown. The orthodox Christians flocked to the church, lighted the lamps, displayed the treasures, and rejoiced that they had at length received the long-delayed fulfilment of the promise of Saint Cyprian.

Gelimer's  
 camp at  
 Bulla  
 Regia.

Gelimer, after the defeat of Ad Decimum, formed a camp at Bulla Regia, in the province of Numidia, and about a hundred miles west of Carthage. Here were collected the remains of the Vandal army, a still formidable host, and here were stored the vast treasures of the kingdom, those treasures which ninety-five years of sovereignty in the rich and fertile province of Africa had enabled the family of Gaiseric to accumulate.

Inter-  
 cepted  
 letter from  
 Tzazo.

While he was in this camp, meditating how best to recover possession of his capital, a letter was despatched from his brother Tzazo, the commander of the expedition to Sardinia. Tzazo, who had as yet heard nothing of the disasters of his people, wrote in a cheerful tone, announcing the easy victory which he had gained over the rebels, and prognosticating that even so would all the other enemies of the Vandals fall before them. By the irony of Fate, the messengers brought this letter to Carthage and had to deliver it to the

hands of Belisarius, who read it and dismissed them unharmed.

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Meanwhile Gelimer, who had perhaps gained information of the contents of the letter, wrote to his brother. 'Not Godas, but some cruel decree of destiny wrenched Sardinia from us. While you, with all our bravest, have been recovering that island, Justinian has been making himself master of Africa. With few men did Belisarius come against us, but all the ancient valour of the Vandals seemed to have departed, and with it all our old good-fortune. They turned faint-hearted when they saw Ammatas and Gibamund slain, and fleeing, left horses and ships and the province of Africa, and, worst of all, Carthage itself, a prey to our enemies. Here then we sit encamped in the plain of Bulla. Our only hope is in you. Leave Sardinia to take care of itself, and come and help us. It will be at least some comfort in our calamities to feel that we are bearing them together.'

533.  
Gelimer  
summons  
him from  
Sardinia.

When Tzazo and his Vandals received these grievous tidings in Sardinia, they broke forth into lamentations, all the more bitter because they had to be repressed whenever any of the subject islanders were near. Then, with all speed, they set sail, reached the point of the African coast where the Numidian and Mauritanian frontiers joined, and marched on foot to the plain of Bulla, where they met the rest of the army. The two brothers, Gelimer and Tzazo, fell on one another's necks and remained for long locked in a silent embrace,

The army  
of Sardinia  
returns.

Pathetic  
meeting  
of the two  
brothers.

BOOK IV. neither of them able to speak for tears, but clasp-  
 CH. 15. ing one another's hands. Their followers did the  
 533. same, and for a space no word was uttered. Neither the victory in Sardinia nor the defeat at Ad Decimum was spoken of by either host. The lonely and desolate spot where they met, and which was all that they could now call home, told with sad and sufficient emphasis all the tale of the last fatal month<sup>1</sup>.

Belisarius repairs the fortifications of Carthage.

After the battle of Ad Decimum active hostilities on both sides had ceased for a time. Belisarius had been busily engaged in the superintendence of a great number of workmen whom he had engaged to repair the numerous breaches caused by time and neglect in the walls of Carthage, to dig a fosse around it, and plant stakes upon the vallum formed of the earth thrown up out of the fosse. Gelimer had attempted nothing beyond a guerrilla war, conducted by some of the African peasants, with whom he was personally popular, and stimulated by a bounty for the head of every Roman brought into his camp.

Gelimer marches to the neighbourhood of Carthage.

Now that, by his junction with Tzazo, he found himself at the head of forces considerably outnumbering the Roman army<sup>2</sup>, Gelimer took a bolder

<sup>1</sup> Ἰκανὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ χρόνος τεκμηριῶσαι τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἐγένετο. Compare Milton :—

‘Though the event was dire  
 As this place testifies and this dire change  
 Hateful to utter.’

<sup>2</sup> ‘Ten times larger,’ he says in his speech before the battle of Tricamaron; but this is probably an exaggeration either on his part or on that of Procopius.

line; marched to Carthage; broke down the aque-duct, an exceedingly fine one, which supplied the city; and encamped at Tricamaron, a place about twenty miles distant from the capital, from whence he could block more than one of the roads leading thither. The secret negotiations which he set on foot with the Arians in Carthage and in the army of Belisarius were discovered by the general, who at once hung Laurus the chief traitor, on a hill overlooking the city. With the fierce and ungovernable Huns, who had listened to Gelimer's proposals, it was not possible to take such severe measures. In the battle which all men knew to be now impending they had determined to take no active part till Fortune should have declared herself, and then to join the victorious side.

At length, about the middle of December, Belisarius marched forth from Carthage to fight the battle of Tricamaron. Gelimer, who had placed the Vandal women and children in the middle of his camp, in order that their cries might stimulate their husbands and fathers to a desperate defence, harangued his troops, adjuring them to choose death rather than defeat, which involved slavery and the loss of all that made life delightful both for themselves and for these dear ones. Tzazo added a few words, specially addressed to the army of Sardinia, exhorting them, who had yet suffered no defeat, to prove themselves the deliverers of the Vandal name. The battle began stubbornly. Twice was the desperate charge of

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CH. 15.

533.

Battle of  
Tricamar-  
ron,  
15 (?) Dec.  
533.

BOOK IV. the Roman cavalry, under John the Armenian,  
 CH. 15. beaten back; and the third charge, though more  
 533. successful, led to a fierce hand-to-hand encounter,  
 in which for some time neither side could get the  
 better of its antagonists. But then, in the crisis of  
 the battle, Tzazo fell. Gelimer, again unmanned  
 by a brother's death, forgot his own valour-breath-  
 ing words and hurried swiftly from the field. The  
 Huns now struck in on the side of the Romans.  
 The rout of the Vandals was complete, and they  
 fled headlong from the field, leaving camp, trea-  
 sure, children and wives, all at the mercy of the  
 enemy.

Flight of  
 Gelimer.

Demoral-  
 isation of  
 the Roman  
 army.

The utter demoralisation which spread through-  
 out the conquering army at the sight of this  
 splendid prize would have ensured their over-  
 throw, had Gelimer and a few faithful followers  
 hovered near to take advantage of it. Intent on  
 stripping off the golden armour of the Vandal  
 officers, enraptured at finding themselves the pos-  
 sessors of money, of jewels, of comely and noble-  
 looking slaves, the host of barbarians who bore  
 the name of a Roman army abandoned all thought  
 of military obedience, forgot even the commonest  
 maxims of prudence in the presence of a beaten  
 foe, and were intent upon one only aim, to convey  
 themselves and their spoil back within the walls of  
 the city as soon as possible. Murder went as ever  
 hand in hand with lust and greed. Not one of the  
 Vandal warriors who was captured was admitted  
 to quarter. When day dawned, Belisarius, stand-



ing on a neighbouring hill to survey the scene, succeeded by his shouted adjurations in restoring some degree of order, first among the soldiers of his own household, and then, through their means, in the rest of the army. So were all the soldiers with their captives and spoils at length safely marched back to Carthage. The numerous Vandal suppliants in the churches of the district were admitted to quarter, and preparations were made for shipping off the greater number of them as prisoners to Constantinople. Experienced officers were sent to Sardinia, to Corsica, to the Balearic Isles, to Ceuta and other Mauritanian towns, and easily brought all these recent possessors of the Vandals into the obedience of the Emperor. At Lilybæum only in Sicily (now Marsala) were they unsuccessful. Here the Goths, though friendly to the Romans, entirely refused to recognise that conquest gave Justinian any right to claim Amalafri-  
 frida's dowry, and declined to surrender the city.

BOOK IV.  
 CH. 15.

533.  
 Belisarius restores discipline.

The Vandal possessions in the Mediterranean secured.

Affair of Lilybæum.

When Gelimer escaped from the field of Tricameron, Belisarius ordered John the Armenian to follow after him night and day, and not to rest till he had taken him prisoner. For five days did this pursuit continue, and on the following day it would probably have been successful but for a strange misadventure. There was among John's soldiers a barbarian named Uliaris, a brave soldier, but flighty, impetuous, and a drunkard. On the morning of the sixth day, at sunrise, Uliaris, who was already intoxicated, saw a bird sitting on a

Pursuit of Gelimer.

BOOK IV. tree and tried to shoot it. He aimed so clumsily  
 CH. 15. that his arrow, missing the bird, pierced his general from behind in the nape of his neck. John languished a few hours in great pain and then expired, desiring that the offence of his unwilling murderer might be forgiven. Belisarius, who was at once sent for, wept bitterly at the grave of his friend, whose character and achievements had seemed to mark him out for a high career; and fulfilled his dying wishes by pardoning Uliaris.

533.  
 Death of  
 John the  
 Armenian.

Gelimer at  
 Pappua.

But meanwhile the hard-pressed Gelimer had succeeded in escaping from his pursuers to a steep mountain called Pappua, on the very verge of the Numidian province. Here he with his nephews and cousins, the remnant of the proud family of Gaiseric, dwelt for three months, dependent on the hospitality and loyalty of the half-savage Moors who inhabited this district. A terrible change it was for the dainty Vandals, the most luxurious of all the races that overran the Roman Empire, to have to live cooped up in the fetid huts of these sons of the desert. The Vandal was accustomed to sumptuous meals, for which earth and sea were ransacked to supply new delicacies. The Moor did not even bake his bread, but subsisted upon uncooked flour. The Vandal dressed in silken robes, wore golden ornaments, and daily indulged in all the luxury of the Roman bath. The squalid Moor, swarming with vermin, wore both in winter and summer the same rough tunic and heavy cloak; he never washed himself, and his only couch was

Contrast  
 between  
 the habits  
 of the Van-  
 dals and  
 the Moors.

the floor of his hut, upon which, it is true, the wealthy Mauritanian spread a sheep-skin before he laid him down to rest. In the delights of the chase, the theatre, and the hippodrome had passed the pleasure-tinted days of the Vandal lords of Africa. Now, instead of this ceaseless round of pleasure, there was only the dull and sordid monotony of a Moorish hamlet on a bleak mountain<sup>1</sup>.

After the death of John, Pharas the Herulian with a band of hardy followers had been told off for the pursuit of Gelimer, and had followed him as far as the foot of the mountain. His attempt to carry the position by storm had failed. The Moors were still faithful to the exile, and the steep cliffs could not be climbed without their consent. Pharas therefore was obliged to turn his siege into a blockade; and during the three winter months at the beginning of 534 he carefully watched the mountain, suffering none to approach and none to leave it. At length, knowing what hardships the Vandal King must be enduring, he wrote him a skilful and friendly letter, asking him why, for the sake of the mere name of freedom, he persisted in depriving himself of all that made life worth living. He concluded thus: 'Justinian, I have heard, is willing to promote you to great honour, to confer upon you the

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.  
534.

Pharas the  
Herulian  
exhorts  
Gelimer to  
surrender.

<sup>1</sup> Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, ii. 6. The hints here given, not only as to the luxury but the immorality of the Vandals, show the change for the worse which a century of domination in Africa had wrought in them. Compare vol. i. p. 520.

BOOK IV. rank of a Patrician, and to give you houses and  
 CH. 15. lands. Surely to be fellow-servant with Belisarius  
 534. of so mighty an Emperor is better than to be  
 playing the king in Pappua, really serving the  
 caprices of a few squalid Moors, and that in the  
 midst of hunger and every kind of hardship not  
 only for yourself but for your unhappy kindred.'

Gelimer's  
 reply.

Gelimer's answer was characteristic. 'I thank  
 you for your counsel, but I will not be the slave  
 of a man who has attacked me without cause  
 and upon whom I yet hope to wreak a terrible  
 revenge. He has brought me, who had done him  
 no wrong, to this depth of ruin, by sending Beli-  
 sarius against me, I know not whence. But let  
 him beware. Some change which he will not like  
 may be impending over him also. I can write no  
 more: my calamities take from me the power of  
 thought. But be gracious to me, dear Pharas,  
 and send me a lyre, and one loaf of bread and  
 a sponge.'

His three  
 requests.

The end of this singular letter was a hopeless  
 puzzle to the Herulian general, till the messenger  
 who brought it explained that Gelimer wished  
 once more to experience the taste of baked bread,  
 which he had not eaten for many weeks, that  
 one of his eyes was inflamed owing to his inability  
 to wash it, and that having composed an ode on  
 his misfortunes he wished to hear how it sounded  
 on the lyre.

Gelimer  
 decides to  
 surrender.

After all, a trifling incident broke down the  
 stubborn resolution of Gelimer. A Moorish woman

had scraped together a little flour, kneaded it into dough, and put it on the coals to bake. Two boys, one of them her son and the other a Vandal prince, nephew of Gelimer, looked at the process of cooking with hungry eyes, and each determined to possess himself of the food. The Vandal was first to snatch it from the fire and thrust it, burning hot and gritty with ashes, into his mouth. At that the Moor caught him by the hair of his head, slapped him on the cheek, pulled the half-eaten morsel out of his mouth, and thrust it into his own. Gelimer, who had been watching the whole scene from beginning to end, was so touched by the thought of the misery which his obstinacy was bringing upon all belonging to him, that he wrote to Pharas, retracting his former refusal, and offering to surrender if he could be assured that the terms mentioned in the previous letter were still open to him.

Pharas sent the whole of the correspondence to Belisarius, who received it with great delight, and sent a guard of *foederati* named Cyprian to swear that the terms of surrender named by Pharas should be kept. Gelimer came down from his hill; the mutual promises were exchanged, and in a few days the Vandal King was introduced into the presence of his captor at a suburb of Carthage named Aclæ.

When Gelimer met Belisarius, to the surprise of all the bystanders, he burst into a loud peal of laughter. Some thought that the sudden re-

The terms settled.

Belisarius and Gelimer meet, March 534.

BOOK IV. verse in his fortunes, the hardships, and the in-  
 CH. 15. sufficient food of the last few months had touched

534. his brain; and to a matter-of-fact historian this will perhaps still seem the most probable reason for his conduct. Procopius, however, assigns a more subtle cause. The Vandal King, suddenly, at the end of a long and prosperous life, cast down from the height of human happiness, perceived that all the prizes for which men contend here so earnestly are worthless. They are making all this coil about absolute nothingness, and whatever happens to them here is really worthy only to be laughed at. The story, as told by Procopius, and some other passages in the life of Gelimer, suggest that the character of the Vandal King might be so studied as to throw some light on that most enticing yet most difficult problem, Shakespeare's conception of the character of Hamlet.

Imputa-  
 tions  
 against the  
 loyalty of  
 Belisarius.

Meanwhile the conqueror—as well as the con-  
 quered—was feeling some of

‘The stings and arrows of outrageous Fortune.’

Some of his subordinates, envious of his glory, sent secret messages to the Emperor that Belisarius was aiming at the diadem. No doubt his having seated himself on the throne of Gelimer on that day when he entered the palace of the Vandal King lent some probability to the utterly baseless charge. The general, by good fortune, obtained a duplicate of the letter written by his enemies: and thus, when a message came back from Justinian, ‘The

Vandal captives are to be sent to Constantinople: choose whether you will accompany them or remain at Carthage,' he knew what answer was desired. To return was by his own act to dispel the accusation of disloyalty: to stay would have been at once to take up the position which his enemies would fain assign to him of a pretender to the crown. He wisely and as a good citizen chose the former course.

On his return to the capital, Belisarius was rewarded for his splendid services to the Senate and People of Rome by the honours of a triumph, which, says Procopius, had for near six hundred years never been enjoyed by any but an Emperor. Even now he had not quite the full honours of an ancient Roman triumph. He walked from his palace, whereas a Scipio or a Fabius would have ridden in his chariot. But before him walked the throng of Vandal captives, ending with Gelimer and his kinsmen, all that remained of the mighty Asding name. When the Byzantine populace saw those strong and stately forms, they marvelled the more at the skill of the general who had brought all their power down into the dust. Gelimer himself, as he passed through the streets, and when he came into the Hippodrome and saw Justinian sitting on his throne and the ranks and orders of the Roman people standing on either side of him, neither laughed nor wept, but simply repeated again and again the words of the kingly Hebrew preacher, 'Vanity of vanities: all is vanity.'

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.

534.

Triumph of  
Belisarius.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.

534.

Treatment  
of Gelimer,

and of the  
family of  
Hilderic.

Vessels  
from the  
Temple at  
Jerusalem.

When he reached the throne of Justinian, the attendants took off the purple robe which floated from his shoulders and compelled him to fall prostrate before the peasant's son who bore the great name of Augustus. It may have been some mitigation of his abasement that his conqueror, the triumphant Belisarius, grovelled with him at Justinian's feet. When the triumph was ended, Gelimer was admitted probably to a private audience of the Emperor. The rank of Patrician which had been promised him could only be his on his renouncing the Arian heresy, and this he steadily refused to do. He received, however, large estates in the Galatian province, and lived there in peace with his exiled kinsfolk. The children and grandchildren of Hilderic, who had the blood of Valentinian and Theodosius in their veins, and who also no doubt professed the Catholic faith, were especially welcomed and honoured by Justinian and Theodora, received large sums of money, and seem to have been invited to remain at the Byzantine Court.

Besides the other magnificent spoils which were exhibited at this triumph, the thrones and sceptres, the costly raiment, the pearls and golden drinking-cups, many of which had formed part of Gaiseric's spoil of Rome eighty years before, there were also carried in the procession the vessels of the Temple at Jerusalem which had once adorned the triumph of Titus. But, as has been already described<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 286-7.



a Jew who was acquainted with a friend of the Emperor said : ‘If those vessels are brought into the Palace they will cause the ruin of this Empire. They have already brought the Vandal to Rome, and Belisarius to Carthage : nor will Constantinople long wait for her conqueror if they remain here.’ The superstitious side of Justinian’s nature was affected by this suggestion, and he sent the sacred vessels away to Jerusalem to be stored up in one of the Christian churches.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.  
534.

The next year, when Belisarius entered upon his consulship, he had a kind of second triumph, which was in some respects more like the antique ceremony. He was borne on the shoulders of the captives : then he rode in his triumphal car and scattered gifts to the crowd from out of the Vandal spoils. Silver vessels and golden girdles and money from the great Vandal hoard were scattered by the new Consul among that Byzantine populace which claimed the title of the Roman People.

Consulship  
of Belisarius,  
535.

The fall of the Vandal monarchy was an event full of meaning for the future history of Africa. There can be little doubt that in destroying it Justinian was unconsciously removing the most powerful barrier which might in the next century have arrested the progress of Mohammedanism : and thus, in the secular contest between the Aryan and Semitic peoples, the fall of the throne of Gaiseric was a heavy blow to the cause of Europe and a great gain to the spirit of Asia.

Effects and  
causes of  
the fall of  
the Vandal  
kingdom.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 15.

The reasons which produced this overthrow cannot here be enumerated at length. It is clear, however, that in the Vandal monarchy there was less approach towards amalgamation between the Teuton invaders and the Roman provincials than in any of the other kingdoms founded by the Northern invaders. The arrogance of Gaiseric and his nobles and the ferocity of their persecution of the Catholics had opened a chasm between the two nations, which could perhaps never have been bridged over. Then upon this state of affairs supervened the weakening of the fibre of the conquering race and its loss of martial prowess, through the progress of luxury and through the increase of something which was perhaps not wholly undeserving of the name of culture. The quarrel with the Ostrogoths deprived the Vandals of their natural allies, and gave to Belisarius the best possible base for his invasion of Africa. The character of Gelimer, impulsive, sentimental, unstable, additionally weighted the scale against his subjects. And finally, that which some would be disposed to call mere accident, the invasion of Sardinia, the absence of storms while the Roman fleet was voyaging along the coast, the failure of the concerted operations at Ad Decimum, all combined to turn the doubtful enterprise of Justinian and his general into an assured and splendid victory.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE ERRORS OF AMALASUNTHA.

#### Authorities.

*Sources:—*

PROCOPIUS, de Bello Gotthico, i. 2-4; JORDANES, de Rebus BOOK IV.  
Geticis, cap. 59; and CASSIODORUS, Variarum, lib. x. The CH. 16.  
last-mentioned authority, like a severely edited Blue-book,  
tells us as little as possible of the real course of events.  
Even the few meagre sentences of Jordanes give more  
information as to the accession of Theodahad and the death  
of Amalasantha than the sixteen folio pages of the letters  
of Cassiodorus.

THE imperial conquest of Africa foreboded at The Vandal war  
made the Gothic war  
necessary.  
no very distant date trouble for the Gothic lords  
of Italy. Truly had John of Cappadocia advised  
the Emperor that he could not expect long to  
retain the lands which owned Carthage as their  
capital while the intervening lands of Italy and  
Sicily were in alien, possibly hostile, hands.  
Already the grievance of the unsundered fort-  
ress of Lilybæum was an indication of the coming  
estrangement between the hitherto friendly mo-  
narchies; a hint to any reflecting Gothic statesman  
that his nation had not done wisely in so im-  
mensely facilitating the imperial triumph over its  
old Vandal ally.

Ambassadors were speedily sent by Justinian

BOOK IV. to bring his grievances—which related not to  
 Ch. 16. Lilybæum alone—before the Court of Ravenna:  
 but these ambassadors were also charged with  
 private messages to the Ostrogothic princess more  
 important than their formal demand for the sur-  
 render of the Sicilian fortress. These private  
 messages related to the increasingly strained re-  
 lations between Amalasintha and her own subjects,  
 relations which had already caused her, a Gothic  
 ruler, to utter strange cries for help to the Roman  
 Emperor.

Embassy  
 from Jus-  
 tinian to  
 Amala-  
 sintha.

Difficulties  
 of Amala-  
 sintha's  
 position.

The daughter of Theodoric was a woman en-  
 dowed with many splendid gifts, but she was  
 placed in a difficult, one is inclined to say in a  
 hopelessly false, position, and the very splendour  
 of her gifts only made her failure to fill that  
 position more notorious. The mere fact that she  
 was a woman made it almost impossible that she  
 should command the hearty loyalty of her Gothic  
 subjects. That which John Knox inveighed  
 against as 'the monstrous regiment of a woman,'  
 though common among the Celtic nationalities<sup>1</sup>,  
 was almost unknown to the Teutons. Tacitus,  
 near the close of the 'Germania,' speaks of the  
 remote tribe of the Sitones as differing from other  
 German races in that they were governed by a  
 woman: 'so far had they degenerated not only  
 from liberty but even from slavery.'<sup>2</sup> That pe-

<sup>1</sup> The cases of Cartismandua and Boadicea in Britain seem to justify this assertion.

<sup>2</sup> 'Cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur. In

culiar development of the Teutonic spirit of honour to women which we call chivalry, and which was to make the stalwart knights of the Middle Ages proud to serve under a Lady Paramount, and the counsellors of Elizabeth support her throne with an enthusiastic loyalty of devotion such as few of the kings her predecessors had experienced,—all this was yet in the far future. For the present the Gothic warriors felt themselves distinctly degraded by having to obey the commands of a woman, though nominally only a Regent, and though she was the mother of their King.

It probably availed little against this disparaging view of a woman ruler, that she was possessed of great intellectual accomplishments, that she could speak Latin and Greek as fluently as the ambassadors who came to discourse with her in either tongue, and yet had not lost the full use of the rich Gothic vocabulary of her ancestors<sup>1</sup>. The sensibility to the culture of the vanquished lords of Italy, which Amalasantha showed in her friendships, in her speech, in her daily occupations, was all matter for distrust and suspicion to those of her Gothic countrymen who wished to stand fast by the old ways. Still this

Her intellectual accomplishments.

*tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant* (Germania, xlv).

<sup>1</sup> *'Atticæ facundia claritate diserta est. Romani eloquii pompa resplendet, nativi sermonis ubertate gloriatur: excellit cunctos in propriis, cum sit aequaliter utique mirabilis'* (Cass. Var. xi. 1).

BOOK IV.  
CH. 16.

Her man-  
ner of  
educating  
Athalaric.

might have been borne with as a woman's whim ; but when they perceived that she was bringing up the King of the Goths, the descendant of all the Amal warriors, to the same studious habits, their dislike deepened into indignation. The great Theodoric had said<sup>1</sup>, in his proclamation to the Goths, even when Cassiodorus held the pen, 'What is not learned in youth is unknown in riper years. Bring forth your young men and train them in martial discipline.' A young Amal hero should be learning (like the Persian lads of old) 'to ride and to draw the bow, and to speak the truth.' He should be out daily with the young nobles, his equals in age, practising every kind of manly exercise. Instead of this, the unhappy Athalaric had daily to visit the school of a grammarian, to learn what Priscian had just written about the eight parts of speech, or what Boethius (that traitor Boethius) had translated from the Greeks about the science of arithmetic. His only companions were three old men, of Gothic blood, it is true, but whom the princess had selected because 'she perceived them to be more intelligent and reasonable than the rest of their countrymen<sup>2</sup>:' a doubtful recommendation in the eyes of their more impetuous and younger fellow-nobles.

Remon-  
strances of  
the Goths.

At length, a chance event brought matters to a crisis, and emancipated Athalaric from female rule. For some act of disobedience Amalasantha

<sup>1</sup> Cass. Var. i. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Procopius, De Bell. Gotth. i. 2.

flogged her royal son, who came forth from the bed-chamber into the apartment of the men, sobbing bitterly. A Gothic king, flogged by a woman and crying over the chastisement; that was too much for the warriors to endure. They clustered together, and some voices were heard openly proclaiming the cruel calumny that Amalasantha wished to kill her boy that she might marry a second husband, and with him lord it over both Goths and Italians. Soon a deputation, composed of men of such high rank that the princess could not refuse to listen to them, sought an interview with Amalasantha. In a formal harangue the chief speaker represented that the young King's education was not being conducted in a way that was either suitable for himself or just towards his subjects. 'For letters,' said they, 'are very different from valour: and the teachings of aged men generally lead only to cowardice and meanness. A lad, therefore, who is one day to dare great deeds, and to win high renown, ought to be at once liberated from the fear of schoolmasters and to practise the use of arms. Theodoric, who was himself devoid of literature and yet so mighty a king, would never permit the children of the Gothic warriors to be sent to a grammarian's to study: for he always said "If they once learn to fear the tutor's strap, they will never look unblenching on sword and spear." Therefore, O Lady, let the pedagogues and the old courtiers take their leave, and give to your son suitable

BOOK IV. companions of his own age, who may stir him  
 CH. 16. up to manly exercises, so that when he comes to  
 man's estate he may know how to rule after the  
 fashion of the barbarians.'

Amala-  
 suntha's  
 compli-  
 ance.

Amalasintha turned pale with anger as she listened to this bold harangue: but, with all her gifts of oratory, she knew when to be silent and when to feign acquiescence in the dictates of a power that was too strong for her. Such a time was now come. She professed to listen to the counsels of the nobles with pleasure, and promised to comply with their request. Athalaric was relieved from his lessons and from his gray-headed companions, whose place was taken by a band of Gothic striplings. Possibly his mother, irritated at the overthrow of her schemes for his education, ceased to take any further interest in the formation of his character, and used no care in the selection of these young comrades. It is certain that Athalaric's training went at one rebound from the extreme of strictness to the extreme of laxity. We do not hear of the martial exercises in which he was to be practised, but we do hear that his young companions soon initiated him into habits of intoxication and other forms of vice. His health, perhaps undermined by the too severe application which had been demanded of him as a child, soon began to give way under his unbridled licentiousness, and before he was sixteen years of age it was manifest to all, and even to Amalasintha herself, that the young



King of the Goths would never attain to man's estate.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 16.

Meanwhile the movement of disaffection towards the princess, once begun, had not been stayed by her concessions. The old Gothic party were now in declared hostility to the Regent, and at length audaciously ordered her to quit the royal palace. Athalaric, who was now of an age at which he might have exerted some influence on public affairs, was aware of the painful position in which his mother was placed; but, mindful of her former severity and caring more for his vicious pleasures than for any thought of filial duty, he refused to take her part in any way, and rather seemed to take pleasure in showing how lightly he regarded her counsels. That little golden circlet which, since the world began, has sundered so many hearts bound together by the ties of natural affection, had fatally and finally severed this woman from her son.

Further movements of disaffection among the Goths.

Still the daughter of Theodoric did not quail before her enemies, though they were every day growing more clamorous, and every day her position as ruler in her son's name was growing weaker by his more evident hostility. She singled out the three nobles who were most eminent in the party opposed to her authority and ordered them to leave the court and betake themselves to separate places of abode as widely parted from one another as the length and breadth of Italy would allow. The historian unfortunately does not give us the names of these dismissed nobles, but we can hardly be

Amalasu-  
tha's harsh  
measures  
towards  
the Gothic  
leaders.

BOOK IV. wrong in supposing that if Tulum was alive he  
 CH. 16. was one of them. The chief among the Gothic  
 generals, a man who had only just passed the  
 prime of life, and a kinsman by marriage of the  
 family of the Amals, he must, if still living, have  
 played an important part in all the discussions as  
 to the education of the young King; and from  
 what we know of his character we may infer that  
 his influence would not be exerted on Amalasan-  
 tha's side<sup>1</sup>.

Negotia-  
 tions with  
 Justinian.

The dismissed nobles kept up communications  
 with one another and were now, almost in their  
 own despite, converted into conspirators against  
 the princess. Being informed of this she prepared  
 to strike a bolder stroke. She sent messengers to  
 Justinian to inquire if he would be willing to  
 receive her in case of her departure from Italy.  
 The Emperor promised her a warm, an eager  
 welcome, and ordered that a palace at Dyrrha-  
 chium should be prepared for her reception. The  
 royal treasure, amounting to the enormous sum  
 of 40,000 pounds' weight of gold, more than  
 £1,600,000 sterling, was placed on board a ship  
 which was sent by the princess, under the charge  
 of some of her trustiest adherents, to anchor in  
 the harbour of Dyrrhachium. That she should  
 have been able, in the precarious condition of her

Removal  
 of the  
 national  
 treasure.

<sup>1</sup> Felix Dahn, in his romance 'Der Kampf um Rom,' makes  
 the names of the three nobles Tulum, Ibbas, and Pitzias; a very  
 probable conjecture as to the first two names. Pitzias was  
 still living when the Gothic war broke out.

authority as Regent, thus to deal with what was really the national reserve of gold, shows how absolute was the power transmitted by Theodoric to his successors.

Having thus provided herself with a refuge in case of the failure of any of her plans, Amalasantha gave secret orders to some of her Gothic courtiers, daring men and entirely devoted to her interests, to seek out the three disgraced nobles in their various places of retirement and put them to death. There was no pretence of judicial process: it was but a triple murder committed under the shadow of the royal authority.

The plans of the unscrupulous princess succeeded better than they deserved. In each case the assassin's blow was fatal; and Amalasantha, now deeming herself secure, ordered the treasure-ship back from Dyrrhachium, and no longer thought of fleeing across the Hadriatic. Such was the state of affairs when the ambassadors of Justinian arrived in Italy to discuss the question of Lilybæum. An irreconcilable breach had been made between Amalasantha and the patriotic party among the Goths. The son in whose name she exercised the regal authority was visibly sinking into a drunkard's grave. The nobles, perhaps startled by the sudden display of ruthless energy on the part of one whom they had despised both as a woman and as a pedant, were pausing to consider what step should next be taken, and waiting till the death of the nominal king should make the situa-

BOOK IV.  
CH. 16.

The murder of the three nobles.

Temporary success of Amalasantha.

BOOK IV. tion clearer, by compelling Amalasantha to ask  
Ch. 16.  
 534. from the nation a formal sanction of her right  
 to reign.

Embassy of  
 Alexander.

Com-  
 plaints of  
 Justinian.

Ostensibly, the mission of the Senator Alexander, who now arrived at Ravenna on an embassy from Constantinople, was to set forth the various grievances which Justinian had sustained from the Goths. Lilybæum, which had belonged to Gelimer, now by the fortune of war the slave of the Emperor, was clearly that Emperor's property, but was detained from him by Gothic officers. Ten Hunnish deserters from the army of Africa who had escaped to Campania had been received into the Gothic service by Uliaris<sup>1</sup>, the commandant of the garrison of Naples. In some renewed border-wars with the Gepidæ, the army of Sirmium had taken and sacked the city of Gratiana, which was in the imperial province of Mœsia, and with which they had no business to meddle. The letter brought by Alexander rehearsed all these grievances and concluded with a growl of menace: 'Pray consider what is the necessary end of proceedings such as these.'

Amalasan-  
 tha's reply.

Amalasantha, or Cassiodorus under her dictation, prepared a suitable reply. She suggested that it was unfair in a great prince like Justinian to try to fasten a quarrel upon a boyish sovereign unversed in public affairs; and dwelt on the services which the Goths had performed to the Empire at the time of the Vandal expedition, by giving the troops a

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confounded with Uliaris the drunkard and the accidental cause of the death of John the Armenian. See p. 687.

free market in Sicily and supplying the cavalry, who had really been the winners of the imperial victories, with the horses which were essential to their success. As for Lilybæum, it was a mere rock of no pecuniary value, which had once belonged to the Goths and ought to belong to them again.

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CH. 16.  
534.

This was apparently all that passed on this occasion between the Emperor and the Regent-mother. The real purport of the embassy was very different. In a secret interview Alexander enquired if Amalasantha still purposed throwing herself on the protection of Justinian, and received in return a formal proposal, made under the seal of absolute secrecy, to surrender the Gothic kingdom in Italy to the Emperor. Seldom has even diplomacy itself veiled a sharper contrast between the real and the apparent, than when this princess, in public proudly refusing to surrender one rocky promontory in Sicily, was in the *secretum* of the palace bargaining away, for a promise of personal safety, the whole of Sicily, Italy, and Illyricum to the stranger.

Real purport of Alexander's mission.

Amalasantha's offer.

But even below this intrigue lay another which was being carried on under cover of zeal for the welfare of the Church. With Alexander had started two ecclesiastics, Hypatius Bishop of Ephesus, and Demetrius Bishop of Philippi, who had been sent ostensibly to discuss some point of church doctrine<sup>1</sup> with Pope John II. Their real

Ecclesiastical mission.

<sup>1</sup> Procopius says that he could easily explain what this point

BOOK IV. mission was to enter into conversation on affairs  
 CH. 16. of state with an important personage who was  
 534. then in or near Rome, the heir presumptive of the  
 Gothic crown, Theodoric's nephew, Theodahad.

Character  
 of Theoda-  
 had.

It has been already hinted<sup>1</sup> that this man, the son of Amalafrida and the nearest male heir to Theodoric after Athalaric<sup>2</sup>, was not by virtue of his own qualities an eligible candidate for the throne. On the contrary, he, like the bulk of the Merovingian kings, is an illustration of the way in which a degenerate Romanised Goth might unite the vices of the two contrasted nations and the virtues of neither. Greedy and cowardly, with a varnish of philosophic culture over the laziness and dulness of the barbarian, a student of Plato and a practitioner of every kind of low chicanery, fond of Latin literature, but with no trace of the old Roman valour, devoid of gratitude and destitute of honour; such was the man who would now in a very short time be the sole male representative of the great Amal dynasty. By the favour of his uncle he had received, probably from the confiscated estates of the friends of Odovacar, broad lands in the province of Tuscia, and was already by far the largest proprietor in that part of Italy.

of doctrine was, but does not choose to do so: and here he inserts the confession of theistic faith which was quoted in the preceding chapter (see p. 643).

<sup>1</sup> See p. 586.

<sup>2</sup> Amalaric, the Spanish grandson of Theodoric, fell in a war with the Franks in the year 531, and was succeeded by Theudis, whose power had long overshadowed his own.

But to Theodahad, as Procopius satirically observes, BOOK IV.  
CH. 16.  
‘to have neighbours of any kind seemed a sad mis-  
fortune.’ The whole fair province of Tuscia, the His cu-  
pidity.  
broad valley of Arno in the north, the villages  
which lie within sight of cloudy Radicofani in the  
centre, the Campagna lands in the south beyond  
the Ciminian mount, extending within sight of  
the towers of Rome, all must be one vast *latifun-  
dium* belonging to the Gothic prince. While he  
was sitting in the portico of his palace, apparently  
immersed in the study of Plato or reading the  
lines in which Horace described himself as

‘Happy enough with his one Sabine farm<sup>1</sup>;

he was all the while scheming how, by a judicious  
mixture of fraud and force, to extrude some Gothic  
soldier or Roman provincial from the nearest ‘Na-  
both’s vineyard’ that had not yet been grasped  
by his all-compassing cupidity. Twice in his  
uncle’s lifetime had he been sharply rebuked for  
these over-reaching practices. ‘Avarice,’ as Cassio-  
dorus was commissioned to tell him, ‘was a vulgar  
vice, which the kinsman of Theodoric, a man of  
the noble Amal blood, was especially bound to  
avoid.’ If Theodahad should not at once yield  
to the king’s mandate, a stout Saio was to be de-  
spatched to compel restitution to the rightful  
owners<sup>2</sup>. Undeterred by the disgrace of having  
to listen to such reproofs as these, perhaps pre-  
suming on the minority of his young cousin and

<sup>1</sup> ‘Satis beatus unicus Sabinis.’

<sup>2</sup> See Cass. Var. iv. 39 and v. 12.

BOOK IV. the weakness of a female reign, Theodahad had  
 CH. 16. been of late years pursuing even more eagerly his  
 534. course of chicanery and violence; and at the time  
 which we have now reached a large deputation  
 of the inhabitants of Tuscia was at the court  
 of Ravenna declaring 'that Theodahad was op-  
 pressing all the inhabitants of that country, taking  
 away their lands on no pretence, and was not only  
 thus offending against private individuals, but was  
 even trenching largely on the royal *patrimonium*<sup>1</sup>.'

Theodahad  
 is desirous  
 to treat  
 with Jus-  
 tinian.

The knowledge of his own unpopularity, and the  
 estrangement which these acts had produced be-  
 tween himself and his royal relatives, gave to  
 Theodahad a feeling of insecurity which was no  
 doubt increased by the wonderful and unexpected  
 victories of the Empire in Africa. The downfall  
 of the Vandal throne probably gave to all persons  
 connected with the new barbaric royalties a sense  
 of the precariousness of their splendid positions;  
 a presentiment that their power was but for a  
 little time, and that soon the Roman Emperor  
 would be again, what he had been for so many  
 centuries, the unquestioned lord of civilised Eu-  
 rope. Whatever may have been the cause, when  
 the ecclesiastical deputies from Constantinople,  
 Hypatius and Demetrius, obtained their secret in-  
 terview with Theodahad they found him willing,  
 even eager, to enter into negotiations with their  
 master. Let a large sum of money be paid down,  
 and let the rank of Senator be conferred upon him,

<sup>1</sup> Procop. de Bell. Gotth. i. 4.



and he would hand over the whole of Tuscia to the Emperor, and spend the remainder of his days as a courtier at Constantinople.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 16.  
534.

When the ambassadors returned to make report of their mission, it might reasonably seem to Justinian that the whole kingdom of Italy was about to fall into his hands without toil or bloodshed, only by a little judicious expenditure of treasure. All that was needed appeared to be to continue the negotiations which had been commenced with Amalasantha and Theodahad, to keep the two intrigues from being entangled with one another, and at the right moment to make bold and liberal drafts on the Count of the Sacred Largesses at Constantinople. For this purpose a rhetorician of Byzantium, named Peter, a Thessalonian by birth, and one of the ablest diplomatists in the imperial service, was chosen. Peter, who had been Consul eighteen years before, was at this time in full middle life<sup>1</sup>, a man of good diplomatic address, subtle, gentle, and persuasive. He knew, however, as was shown by his conduct of these negotiations, when to make felt the iron hand which at this time was always present within the velvet glove of Byzantine diplomacy.

Embassy  
of Peter.

The appointment of Peter as ambassador, nominally to renew the demand for Lilybæum, really to carry these secret negotiations to a successful issue,

Change in  
position of  
the parties  
before  
Peter's  
arrival.

<sup>1</sup> He can hardly have been more than forty-five or fifty years of age, as we find him twenty-eight years later, in 562, sent to Mesopotamia to negotiate a treaty with Persia (Menander, 3).

BOOK IV. probably took place in the autumn of 534. When  
CH. 16.  
 534. he arrived upon the scene some months later, he found that events had marched with terrible rapidity, and a totally different state of affairs awaited him from that which had been contemplated by the Emperor in his instructions.

Edict of restitution against Theodahad.

In the first place, the enquiry into the acts of Theodahad demanded by his Tuscan neighbours had taken place. The prince had been found clearly guilty of the charges brought against him, and had been condemned to make restitution of all the lands that he had wrongfully appropriated either from private individuals or from the royal domain. Theodahad, smarting under the shame of this sentence and powerless henceforward to remove his neighbour's landmark, had become the bitter enemy of the Regent.

Death of Athalaric, 2 Oct. 534<sup>1</sup>.

Almost immediately after the termination of this affair came the event, so long looked for, yet so bewildering when it came, the death of the hapless young king Athalaric, in the eighteenth year of his age, worn out with drunkenness and debauchery. All the schemes of Amalasantha were thus threatened with immediate overthrow. The success which had hitherto attended them was probably due to the fact that, so long as she could use the king's name, the whole army of functionaries who worked the machinery of the State,

Increased difficulties in Amalasantha's position.

<sup>1</sup> We get this date only from the 'Annals of Ravenna,' as preserved in Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 322 (ed. Holder-Egger).

inherited from the Western Emperors, were at her service and ready to obey her bidding. But now, to get that name of royalty without which no Roman official was safe in obeying her orders, she must face her Gothic subjects, and at least go through the form of being freely chosen by them. So much, notwithstanding all the centralising and despotic tendencies of Theodoric's system, the instinct of a German nationality still required. Without this election, even her scheme of resigning the sceptre to Justinian could not be realised: and yet to obtain it she must face an assembly of those free Gothic warriors whom for the last eight years she had been persistently thwarting and humiliating; nay, she must see the clouded countenances of the relatives of those three nobles whom she had murdered, and whose death, according to old Teutonic notions, still called for vengeance at the hands of their kinsmen.

It must have been the pressure of necessities such as these that drove the princess to an act so extraordinary that Procopius could only account for it by the explanation, which is no explanation, that Amalasantha was 'fated to perish.' She determined to share the throne with Theodahad, trusting to his sense of gratitude for this elevation to leave her still virtually sole sovereign. Sending for him, she assured him with a winning smile that she had long looked upon her son's early death as inevitable, and had felt that all the hopes of the house of Theodoric must be centred in *him*. Seeing,

BOOK IV.  
Ch. 16.  
534.  
She decides to offer a partnership in the kingdom to Theodahad.

BOOK IV. however, with regret that he was not popular either  
 CH. 16. with the Goths or Italians, she had devoted herself  
 534. to the task of putting him straight with his future  
 subjects, in order that there might be no obstacle  
 to his accession to the throne. This had been the  
 object of the late judicial investigation; and, pain-  
 ful as the process might have been to himself, this  
 result was now accomplished. She therefore now  
 invited him to ascend the throne with her; but he  
 must first bind himself by an awful oath that he  
 would be satisfied with the name of kingship, and  
 would leave her as much of the actual substance of  
 power as she possessed at that moment.

Theodahad  
 accepts the  
 proposal.

Theodahad listened, professed entire acquiescence  
 in all that the Regent had done in the past, and  
 promised that the sole direction of affairs should  
 remain in her hands for the future. The scheme  
 was then made public: some sort of assent was  
 probably obtained from the *Comitatus* or from an  
 armed assembly of the Goths; and Amalasantha  
 and Theodahad were hailed as joint sovereigns of  
 the Goths and Romans in Italy.

Nature of  
 the new ar-  
 rangement.

As to the main outlines of this transaction there  
 can be no difference of view. Amalasantha asso-  
 ciated Theodahad with herself in the kingdom as  
 a brother, not as a husband. The new King was  
 already married, and the letters written for his  
 wife Gudelina by Cassiodorus to the sovereigns of  
 Byzantium give us the idea that she was a woman  
 of eager and ambitious temperament, who possibly  
 urged on her husband to labours and to crimes

from which his more sluggish nature would have shrunk. A point as to which there may reasonably be some divergence of opinion is, how far the popular assent was needed, even in form, for the new bestowal of the crown. It may be observed that I have abstained from speaking of Amalasintha as Queen before the death of her son; and my conjecture is that there was some formality of popular election after the death of Athalaric, in compliance with which his mother and her colleague ascended the throne. There is something to be said, however, for a more strictly monarchical view of the transaction, according to which Amalasintha may have become Queen in her own right as heiress to her son, and then, by a mere exercise of her sovereign power, may have associated Theodahad with her in the kingdom<sup>1</sup>.

The facile pen of Cassiodorus was at once called into requisition to write the epistles which etiquette required from the new sovereigns. In two letters to Justinian, Amalasintha and Theodahad announced the beginning of their joint reign, and recommended themselves to the favour of a sovereign the maxim of whose Empire had always been friendship with the Amals. In two letters to the Senate, the sister praised the noble birth, the patience and moderation, the prudence and the literary talent of her brother (not even the pen of Cassiodorus could write the words 'the courage of Theodahad'): and the brother exalted the serene

BOOK IV.  
CH. 16.

534.

Letters announcing the accession of Amalasintha and Theodahad.

<sup>1</sup> This is Dahn's view.

BOOK IV. wisdom of his sister, who, after causing him to  
 CH. 16. make acquaintance with her justice<sup>1</sup>, had weighed  
 534. him in the scale of her accurate judgment and  
 found him worthy to share her throne. As the  
 Divine Wisdom has allotted to man two hands, two  
 ears, two eyes, so was the Gothic kingdom to be  
 thenceforward administered by two sovereigns,  
 who, partaking of all one another's counsels, would  
 rule the land in perfect harmony.

Theoda-  
 had's in-  
 gratitude.

Words, vain words, with no trace of reality  
 behind them! We seem to perceive the influence  
 of Cassiodorus on the mind of his pupil, in Ama-  
 lasuntha's over-estimate of the power of mere  
 words, not only to veil unpleasant facts, but to  
 smooth them away out of existence, and by the  
 magic of a well-turned period to breathe noble  
 instincts into a base and greedy soul. The Queen  
 soon found that in trusting to the generosity or  
 the gratitude of Theodahad she was leaning on a  
 broken reed. In fairness to her partner it must  
 be confessed that she had brought the affairs of  
 her kingdom into such a state of almost hopeless  
 bewilderment, that only a very brave, zealous,  
 and loyal colleague could have extricated her  
 from her difficulties: and Theodahad was none  
 of these. The kinsmen of the three murdered

<sup>1</sup> 'Cujus prius ideo justitiam pertuli, ut prius ad ejus pro-  
 vocationis gradum pervenirem.' The expression is peculiar, but  
 agrees remarkably with the account given by Procopius of  
 Amalasantha's apology for her conduct in promoting the edict  
 of restitution.

nobles, already a powerful party, and including some of the noblest of the Goths, now found themselves reinforced by one who bore the title of King. They, or he—it is not easy to assign the exact share of responsibility for these deeds—broke out into open violence and slew some of the chief adherents of the Queen. Amalasantha herself was hurried away from Ravenna to one of the two lonely islands which rise out of the waters of the lake of Bolsena. This lake, named from the ancient Etrurian city of Vulsinii, is now the picture of desolation. Malaria rules upon its shores, and scarcely a sign of human habitation appears upon them outside of the villages of Bolsena at its head, Montefiascone and Marta at its foot. The handiwork of Nature is beautiful, the blue lake lying under its forest of oak, and the hills to the north of it stretching up to dark, volcanic, Monte Amiata on the horizon: but man has done nothing to improve it. A strange awe seizes one as one looks down upon the white rocks of the little islet of Marta, now entirely uninhabited, but with a few steps cut in the rock which are said to have led to the prison of Amalasantha. One seems to see the boat rowed by Theodahad's servants bearing the hapless Queen who had so lately ruled from Sicily to the Danube: one feels how her weary eyes rested on the hills around, the Tuscan hills, all owned by the hateful traitor

BOOK IV.  
CH. 16.

535.

Imprisonment of Amalasantha, 30 April, 535<sup>1</sup>.  
The lake of Bolsena.

<sup>1</sup> We get this date, like that of the death of Athalaric, only from Agnellus.

BOOK IV. Theodahad: and one knows that her clear and  
 CH. 16. manly intelligence must have at once perceived  
 535. that she was brought to this desolate rock only  
 to die.

Theoda-  
had's em-  
bassy to  
Constanti-  
nople.

For the moment Theodahad spared the life of  
 his victim. It perhaps suited him to have a  
 hostage for his own safety in the negotiations  
 which he was about to recommence with By-  
 zantium. He despatched an embassy, at the head  
 of which were two Senators, Liberius and Opilio  
 524. (the latter of whom had been Consul eleven years  
 before with the Emperor Justin), to report the  
 imprisonment of Amalásuntha, to deprecate the  
 Emperor's anger, and to promise that she should  
 receive no injury. An accusation against her that  
 she had plotted against her partner's life was  
 made the excuse for the violence used towards  
 her, and was apparently supported by a letter  
 of confession and self-reproach extorted from the  
 helpless Queen.

Their re-  
port to  
Justinian.

When the ambassadors arrived at Constanti-  
 nople, all, with one exception, described the recent  
 deeds of Theodahad in such terms as they de-  
 served, Liberius especially, who was a man of high  
 and honourable character, vindicating the conduct  
 of Amalásuntha from all blame. Opilio alone (who  
 was probably father of Cyprian the accuser of  
 Boethius) insisted that reasons of state had jus-  
 tified all that had been done by Theodahad.

Journey  
of Peter.

Meanwhile the ambassador Peter, travelling in  
 the opposite direction, had been gradually learning



the events which changed the whole object of his journey. Soon after starting, he met the ambassadors who told of Athalaric's death and the elevation of Theodahad. When he came in sight of the Hadriatic he met Liberius and Opilio, from whom he heard of the Queen's imprisonment. He prudently went no further westward, but communicated the tidings to the Emperor and waited for fresh orders. When those orders arrived they were, to hand to the Queen a letter in which Justinian assured her that he would exert himself to the utmost for her safety. Peter was directed to make no secret of this letter, but to exhibit it to Theodahad and all the Gothic nobles, among whom the Emperor calculated that it would sow dissensions which might further his schemes of conquest.

Before Peter arrived at Ravenna the tragedy of Amalasantha's fate was ended. The party of the three nobles found it an easy task to work upon Theodahad's fears and to persuade him that there was no safety for him or for them so long as the Queen lived. He consented to their murderous counsels; they repaired to Vulsinii, crossed the lake, climbed the white cliffs, and murdered the unhappy daughter of Theodoric in her bath. Theodahad loudly protested that the deed was done without his knowledge or approval, but as he loaded the murderers with honours and rewards, none heeded his denial.

Peter at once sought an audience with Theo-

BOOK IV.

CH. 16.

535.

Death of  
Amala-  
suntha,  
May (?),  
535.

BOOK IV. dahad and informed him that, after the deed of  
 CH. 16. wickedness which had been done, there must be  
 535- war without truce or treaty between him and  
 Peter declares a the Emperor<sup>1</sup>. Contrary, however, to the custom  
 truceless war against usual both in ancient and modern times, he seems  
 Theodahad. after this declaration to have remained still at the  
 Gothic Court, evidently intending to see what  
 diplomatic advantage he might yet obtain from  
 the fears of the guilty King<sup>2</sup>.

Cause of  
 Amalasintha's mis-  
 fortunes.

So perished Amalasintha, Queen of the Goths  
 and Romans, a woman worthy not only of a less  
 tragic death, but of a more successful life, had she

<sup>1</sup> Πέτρος μὲν οὖν Θεοδάτῳ τε ἄντικρυς ἐμαρτύρατο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 Γότθοις ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δεινοῦ τούτου ἐξεργασμένου ἄσπονδος βασιλεῖ  
 τε καὶ σφίσιν ὁ πόλεμος ἔσται (Procop. de Bell. Goth. i. 4).

Charge  
 in the  
 Anecdota  
 against  
 Theodora  
 of being  
 the cause  
 of Amala-  
 sintha's  
 death.

<sup>2</sup> Procopius in his Anecdota makes Peter himself privy to  
 Amalasintha's death. According to the account of the matter  
 there given by him, when Amalasintha conceived the idea of  
 abdicating the throne and retiring to Constantinople, Theodora,  
 fearing the effect on her husband's affections of the presence of  
 so beautiful and accomplished a woman, of royal blood, deter-  
 mined to prevent the visit, and gave secret instructions to  
 Peter to that effect, when he set forth on his embassy. Ac-  
 cordingly on his arrival in Italy, Peter 'using I know not  
 what arguments, persuaded Theodahad to make away with  
 Amalasintha.' For this service Peter was rewarded with the  
 dignity of Master of the Offices, but he earned by it the hatred  
 of all good men. There is here a direct contradiction, which is  
 indeed acknowledged by the author, between the two versions  
 of the same transaction given by him: but he says that fear of  
 Theodora prevented him from giving the true account of the  
 matter before. Different enquirers will probably come to  
 different conclusions when the evidence is thus conflicting.  
 To me the story given in the History seems simple, straight-  
 forward, and coherent, and I am disposed to reject the account  
 in the Anecdota as a malicious after-thought of the revengeful  
 old age of Procopius.

only possessed, in addition to her rare intellectual gifts, the humbler qualities of tact, insight into the minds of others, and some power of sympathising even with the unreasonable prejudices of those around her. She led a pure life, had a high and queenly spirit, and was earnest in the pursuit of wisdom, seeming as it were a kind of Gothic Minerva, sprung from the Gothic Jove. But half of her splendid qualities might have been wisely exchanged for the gift of reading the thoughts of the rough barbarians who guarded her throne, and above all, for sufficient remembrance of what is in the heart of a child, and sufficient imagination of what is in the heart of a boy, to keep her from the alternate errors of over-strictness and over-laxity by which she ruined the health and character of her son Athalaric.

BOOK IV.  
CH. 16.

NOTE I. ON THE OSTROGOTHIC COINAGE.

NOTE I. THE coins of the Ostrogothic Kings figured on the opposite plate, though for the most part contemptible as works of art, furnish an interesting commentary on the peculiar relations existing between Ravenna and Byzantium.

Before describing them, however, let us notice the little silver coin (No. 1), which may be probably ascribed to Odovacar. Its technical description is—

Silver. 'A Half-Siliqua' (twenty-four Siliquae went to the Solidus Aureus, and therefore the Half-Siliqua would be worth about three-pence).

'*Obverse.* FL. OD[OV]AC. Profile of Odovacar (?) with moustache.

'*Reverse.* Monogram of ODOVA surrounded with a wreath.'

The very few coins of this type that are preserved are in poor condition, and the lettering must be considered doubtful; but on the whole it is probable that we have here a genuine coin of Odovacar, and if so, it is important to observe that it bears his own effigy, and that there is no allusion direct or indirect to the Emperor at Constantinople.

We now pass to the Ostrogothic coins. Those here figured of Theodoric and his grandson are thus described:

No. 2. Silver. 'Half-Siliqua of Theodoric.'

'*Obv.* DN (Dominus Noster) ANASTASIVS PP AVG (in reversed letters). Extremely youthful profile of Anastasius with diadem and paludamentum (military cloak).

'*Rev.* INVICTA ROMA. Monogram of THEODORICVS. Cross and star.'

It will be seen that here we have no effigy of Theodoric, only his monogram. None of the Ostrogothic Kings





ODOVACAR.



ATHALARIC.



THEODORIC.



WITIGES.



THEODAHAD.



WITIGES.



BADUILA (TOTILA.)



TEIAS.



LEO II & ZENO.



JUSTIN I & JUSTINIAN.



ANASTASIVS.

COINS OF OSTROGOTHIC KINGS OF ITALY,  
AND CONTEMPORARY EMPERORS OF THE EAST.

appears ever to have put his own effigy on any gold or silver coin. As we have no copper coins of Theodoric we are unable to say whether he put his effigy on these. The utter absence of portraiture in the effigy of Anastasius will be at once remarked. The at least septuagenarian Emperor is a young lad of eighteen, of an almost girlish type of beauty.

NOTE I.

No. 3. Copper. 'Piece of Ten Nummi of Athalaric.' (As the Solidus Aureus contained 6000 Nummi, and the Siliqua 250, this piece was theoretically equivalent to one twenty-fifth of a Siliqua, or about a farthing of English money.)

'*Obv.* INVICTA ROMA. Helmeted bust of Rome.

'*Rev.* D N ATHALARICVS. Warrior standing with spear and shield: in the field s c (Senatus Consulto) and x (Decem Nummi).'

The silver coins of Athalaric bear the effigy of Justin or Justinian; the copper bear sometimes these Imperial effigies, sometimes, as above, a bust of 'Invicta Roma' or of 'Felix Ravenna,' a female bust with a mural crown. There is no instance of the effigy of Athalaric being found on a coin.

Of Amalasantha alone no coins have been found. This fact confirms the view taken in the preceding chapter, that Amalasantha was not regarded as queen till after the death of her son and the association of Theodahad.

No. 4. Copper. 'Piece of Forty Nummi of Theodahad.'

'*Obv.* D N THEODAHATVS REX. Bust of Theodahad with closed crown, jewelled robe, and cross on breast.

'*Rev.* VICTORIA PRINCIPVM. Victory marching, on prow, with wreath and palm-branch. s c in field.'

As to this coin I cannot do better than quote the striking words of Mr. Keary (*Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S. xviii. 157):—

'This is in every way a remarkable piece. It is the first coin ever issued having the portrait of a King of the

NOTE I. Teutonic race. The busts which appear upon the contemporary coins of the Vandals, or upon the other coins of this dynasty, are in no sense portraits or attempts at portraits. Though they are surrounded by the name of the King, they are merely conventional busts copied directly from the imperial coins; and the same remark applies to the coins of Theodeberht the Frank, which begin to appear about this time. But in the case of the coins before us there can be no doubt that a portrait was intended, and that the features of Theodahat, down to the slight moustache upon the upper lip, are given with as much skill as the artist possessed. The dress, too, is worth noticing. Its magnificence is barbaric, and to our eyes almost Oriental; and we here see the closed crown which has been throughout mediæval and modern Europe the symbol of empire. The Roman imperial office was expressed by the *diademed* head; the Germanic invaders of Roman territory adopted the crown as the symbol of nobility and of kingship. We may guess from these coins that the Ostrogoths, while they took the DN, which was the title applied to the Roman Emperors, did not finally adopt either the imperial title or the imperial diadem. They adhere to the "rex" and the crown, which has, perhaps, more sacred associations for *them*.'

I may add that we have in this piece an illustration of the paradox which so often meets us in the Imperial coinage, that the worse the sovereign the better is the artistic character of his coins. Also that we may perhaps read *Victoria Principum* (in the plural) as alluding to the association of Theodahad and Amalasantha.

No. 5. Silver. 'Siliqua of Witigis.'

'*Obv.* DN IVSTINIANVS PP AVG. Youthful bust of Justinian in armour and paludamentum.

'*Rev.* Within wreath DN VVITIGES REX.'

No. 6. Copper. 'Piece of Ten Nummi of Witigis.'

'*Obv.* INVICTA ROMA. Helmeted bust of Rome.

'*Rev.* Same as of No. 5.'



The conventionality of the numismatic artist has not often been more strongly exemplified than in these coins. The Gothic King, who was during his whole reign at bitter war with Justinian, puts the effigy of that Emperor on his silver pieces: and the warrior, the chief event of whose reign was his long and unsuccessful siege of Rome, stamps the image of 'Roma,' which he too truly found 'Invicta,' on the copper pieces in which he paid the discomfited besiegers.

NOTE I.

There are no effigies of Witigis on coins of any description.

The monogram of his wife 'Matasunda' is found on the reverse of a silver siliqua, bearing on the obverse the effigy of Justinian.

No coins of Ildibad or Eraric have been found.

We now come to the reign of Totila (Baduila), whose coins at once tell the tale of the increased bitterness of the feud between the Goths and Justinian.

No. 7. Silver. 'Siliqua of Totila.'

'*Obv.* DN ANASTASIVS PP AVG. Youthful effigy of Anastasius (closely resembling that of Justinian in No. 5).

'*Rev.* In wreath DN BADVILA REX.'

No. 8. Copper. 'Piece of Five Nummi of Totila.'

'*Obv.* DN BADVILA REX. Totila, full face, with closed crown and jewelled robe.

'*Rev.* (FLOREA)S SEMPER. Warrior standing with spear: x in the field.' (Mr. Keary thinks this x is a mistake for v, as from the size it can hardly be a piece of Ten Nummi.)

We see that, on account of the hostility between Totila and Justinian, the effigy of the latter is omitted from the silver coins of the former, upon which that of Anastasius, who has been dead for near thirty years, again appears. On one silver coin, instead of Anastasius the effigy of Totila is figured. Also on the copper coinage, instead of any pretence of celebrating 'Invicta Roma,' Totila puts his own

NOTE I. image with a crown not unlike that of Theodahad. One of his copper coins has the likeness of a female with a mural crown, and the legend FELIX TICINVS, probably with reference to Totila's coronation at Ticinum.

No. 9. Silver. 'Siliqua of Teias.'

'*Obv.* DN ANASTASIVS PP AVG. Feminine effigy of Emperor.

'*Rev.* DN THILA REX in wreath.'

All the coins of Teias bear the effigy of Anastasius. Friedländer conjectures that they were struck at Ticinum, both Rome and Ravenna being in the hands of the enemy. The King's name is spelt sometimes Theia, sometimes (as here) Thila.

It will be observed that there are no gold coins in our list, none having been struck by any Ostrogothic King. For the reasons of this abstinence on their part see vol. iv. pp. 611-612, and the curious passage there quoted from Procopius.

#### BYZANTINE COINS.

A few coins of contemporary Emperors are added.

No. 10. Gold. 'Solidus Aureus of Leo II and his father Zeno.'

'*Obv.* DN LEO ET ZENO PP AVG (no plural modifications, though for two Emperors). Conventional head of Emperor in armour and helmet, holding spear and shield.

'*Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE: ZENO in exergue. Front figures, man and boy seated on a throne, both with nimbus: cross between them.'

No. 11. Copper. 'Follis or Piece of Forty Nummi of Anastasius.'

'*Obv.* DN ANASTASIVS PP AVG. Bust of Anastasius with diadem and paludamentum.

'*Rev.* M (Greek numeral for forty). Below € , to denote

the fifth year of the Emperor's reign. A star on each side, NOTE I.  
a cross above. CON in exergue.'

No. 12. Gold. 'Solidus Aureus of Justin I and Justinian.'

'*Obv.* DN IVSTIN ET IVSTINI PP AVG (no plural modifications). CONOB in exergue. Front figures of two Emperors, each with nimbus: cross between them.

'*Rev.* VICTORIA AVGGG. (sic). Θ (ninth year of Justinian's reign). CONOB in exergue. Angel standing, holding cross and orb.'

The best information on the subject of the Ostrogothic coinage is to be found in 'Die Münzen der Ostgothen,' by Julius Friedländer (Berlin, 1844), and in the valuable articles on 'The Coinage of Western Europe, from the Fall of the Western Empire till the Accession of Charlemagne,' contributed to the Numismatic Chronicle (1878), by Mr. C. F. Keary of the British Museum.



May, 1888.

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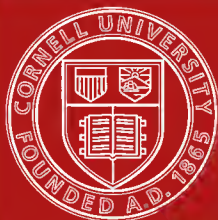
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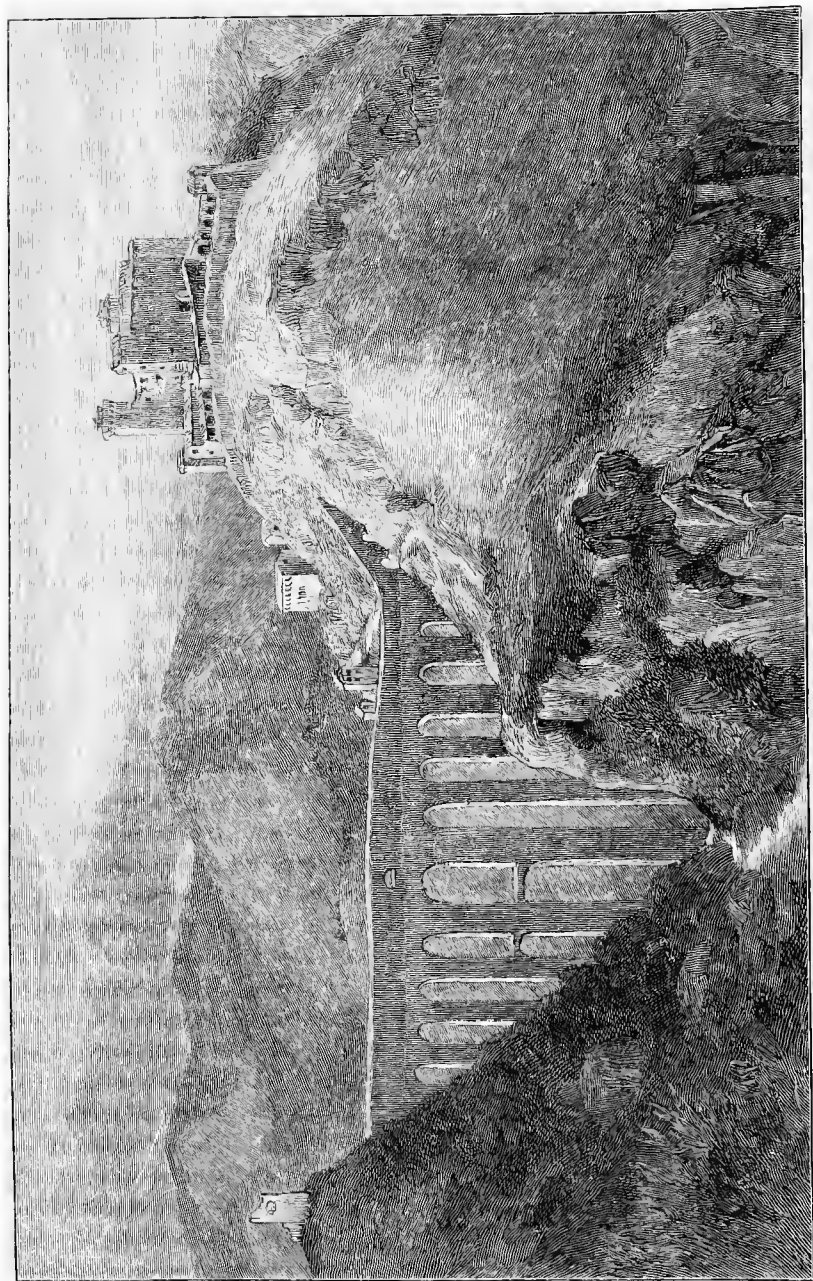
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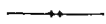
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## CORRIGENDA



P. 32, l. 10, *dele* '2' after '*Ferruge Castrum*.'

P. 169, l. 14, for '626' read '625.'

P. 179, l. 10, *alter* 'camphio' to 'camfio.'

P. 257, l. 25, for '626' read '625.'

P. 335, l. 28, 'the whole of the Terra di Otranto . . . passed under Lombard rule.' *Add* 'We must probably except Otranto itself, which seems to have remained Imperial, as stated on p. 516.'

P. 515-6. The assertion that Piacenza remained subject to the Empire for a generation requires to be modified, as we see from the letter of the Exarch (vol. v. p. 273) that it was in 590 under the sway of a Lombard Duke, by whom it was surrendered to the Empire. Also the recovery of this city by Agilulf (about 601) is rather a matter of inference than of direct statement, at any rate by Paulus.







# BOOK VII.

## *THE LOMBARD KINGDOM.*



### CHAPTER I.

#### THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

THE century whose early years witnessed the death of Pope Gregory the Great, and the establishment of something like peaceful relations between the Empire and the Lombards in Italy, was one of a strangely mingled character. As far as Western Europe was concerned—perhaps we might say as far as the Aryan races were concerned—it was, on the whole, monotonous, uneventful, unimportant; but the changes wrought during its course in the regions of the East, the immense spiritual revolution which it witnessed among the Semitic peoples, and which has profoundly modified the condition of a quarter of the human race at the present day,—these characteristics entitle the seventh century to a place in the very foremost rank of the great epochs of the world's history.

Let us briefly survey the events which were happening in the rest of Europe and round the Mediter-

BOOK VII. ranean Sea during the hundred years which now lie  
 CH. I. before us.

The  
 Seventh  
 Century  
 in Eng-  
 land.

In England, the great achievement of Gregory—the introduction of Christianity—was carried triumphantly forward. Edwin of Deira, in his youth the hunted outlaw, in his manhood the king of Northumbria, and the mightiest in all the land of Britain, wrought with brain and sword for the supremacy of the faith which he had learned from Paulinus. Benedict Biscop introduced into the barbarous land the architecture and the mosaics of Italy. The statesman-archbishop Wilfrid of York won for Rome that victory over the usages and teaching of Iona which even the memory of the saintly Aidan was unable long to postpone. When the century closed, the body of St. Cuthbert, monk and bishop, had been for thirteen years lying in its first resting-place at Lindisfarne; and the chief herald of his fame, that Baeda who was to be known by the title of Venerable, was still a young deacon of twenty-seven years of age. The great Northumbrian kingdom to which they both belonged, and of which the seventh century had beheld the glory, was already slowly falling into ruins.

In France.

In France the chief characteristic of the century was the decay of the Merovingian race, and the ever-increasing importance of the Mayors of the Palace. The Frankish kingdoms were indeed for a few years reunited under Chlotochar II, the son of Fredegundis, and both that king himself and his son Dagobert (628–638) showed some traces of the old daemonic energy which had made the first Merovingians terrible, if not beloved. But the realm was soon again parted asunder, the ‘Germany’ and the ‘France’ of a future



day already beginning to reveal themselves, as Austrasia BOOK VII.  
on the one hand, and Neustria with Burgundy on the CH. I.  
other. The kings of this divided realm, a wearisome succession of Chilperics and Childeberts and Theodorics, scarcely exhibit even a vice which can help us to distinguish them from one another. They are already 'rois fainéants,' for the possession of whose persons rival Mayors of the Palace fight and conspire, but who have no self-determining character of their own.

Of these Mayors of the Palace we, of course, watch with most interest the 'Arnulfings,' who will one day be known as the 'Karlings,' the descendants of two Austrasian grandees, Pippin<sup>1</sup>, and Arnulf, bishop of Metz, whose combined desertion (as will be hereafter told) delivered over Brunehildis and her great-grandchildren into the hands of her hereditary enemy. But owing to the premature clutch at the name as well as the reality of the kingly power, made by Grimwald, son of Pippin (656), the fortunes of the Arnulfings were for a time during the latter part of the century under a cloud, and other figures fill the confused picture. Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace for the three kingdoms, governs with a strong and grasping hand, is imprisoned, emerges from confinement, gets hold of one of the royal puppets, and again rules in his name. A bewildering succession of Mayors of the Palace, for Neustria, for Austrasia, even for a mere section of Austrasia, such as Champagne, pass before us, and civil war and assassination supply the staple of the dreary annals of the chronicler.

At length (689) the waters of Chaos begin to subside. The Arnulfings reappear on the scene. Pippin, second

<sup>1</sup> Called by later writers Pippin of Landen.

BOOK VII. of the name<sup>1</sup>, grandson of Arnulf on the paternal, of  
 CH. I. the first Pippin on the maternal side, becomes Mayor  
 of the Palace of all the three kingdoms; and, in the  
 strong hands of that able general and administrator,  
 the Frankish realm enjoys some degree of rest from  
 tumult, and peace from external enemies when the  
 seventh century closes.

Already we have to note in these Arnulfinf statesmen, sprung as they were from the loins of a man who in later life became a bishop, and even a monk, a strong tendency to link their cause with that of the Church, perhaps to oppose to the ghastly licentiousness of the later Merovingian kings something of that higher standard of morality and religion, for which the barbarised Church of the Franks was dimly and fitfully striving.

In Spain. In Spain the seventh century was a period of dreary and scarce interrupted decline. The Visigothic nation, which had, under Recared (589), solemnly renounced the Arian heresy, now rushed into the other extreme of narrowest and most bigoted orthodoxy. The king was an elected ruler, who never succeeded in founding a dynasty that lasted for more than two generations. The nobles, turbulent and rapacious, were perpetually conspiring against their king, or oppressing their poorer neighbours. The bishops were now the most powerful order in the state: their assemblies, the councils of Toledo, of which fourteen were held during the seventh century, were the real Parliaments of the realm. There was a scanty infusion of the lay nobility in these councils, but the predominant voice belonged to the

<sup>1</sup> Commonly, but on insufficient authority, called Pippin of Heristal (see Dahn's *Deutsche Geschichte*, ii. 209).

ecclesiastics, whose influence was seen in the ever sterner and more cruel legislation directed against the unhappy Jews (so long the faithful clients of the Arian Goths), and in the sickening adulation with which usurper after usurper, if only successful and subservient to the Church, was addressed by the Council, and assured of the Divine favour and protection. Every symptom showed that the Visigothic kingdom in Spain was 'rotten before it was ripe.' Eleven years after the seventh century had closed, judgment was pronounced upon the earth-cumbering monarchy. 'The Moors,' that is, the Saracen conquerors of Africa, crossed the straits of Gibraltar: and in one victorious battle brought the whole fabric of the Gothic state to the dust. A slender remnant of the nation fled for shelter to the mountain fastnesses of the Asturias, but the great mass of the Spanish population bowed beneath the Moorish yoke, and repeated the prayer of Islam when the voice of the muezzin was heard from the minaret. The work of the Scipios was undone, and Spain, lost to the Aryan world, had once more a Semite lord. The same fate had previously overtaken Egypt, Cyrene, and Carthage. These fair provinces, once the granary of Rome, were now for ever lost to her Empire, and only in our own century have the civilisation and religion of Europe been able to exert an influence, and that but a superficial influence, on the great Orientalised, Mohammedanised regions of Northern Africa.

BOOK VII.  
CH. I.

Saracen  
conquests  
in Africa.

The rapid conquests of the Saracens along the Southern shore of the Mediterranean invite us to give a brief glance at the events which had meanwhile been occurring at Constantinople and in the regions of the East. The seventh century, in the story of the Roman

Events in  
Constanti-  
nople.

BOOK VII. Empire, must be remembered as the period of the  
CH. I. dynasty of Heraclius.

Phocas,  
 602-610.

We left Phocas, the murderer of Maurice, wearing the Imperial diadem, and receiving the shameful congratulations of Pope Gregory. For eight years this coarse and brutal soldier filled the highest place in the civilised world. We are bound to look with some distrust on the record of the crimes of a fallen sovereign when written by the servants of a hostile dynasty; but after making every deduction on this score we cannot doubt that Phocas was a cruel and jealous tyrant, as well as an utterly incapable ruler, and that the Empire passed through one of its deepest gulfs of humiliation while he was presiding over its destinies.

Expedi-  
 tion of the  
 young  
 Heraclius,  
 610.

At length deliverance for Constantinople came from distant Carthage, still a member of the great 'Roman Republic,' though not long to remain in that condition. Heraclius, Exarch of Africa, after two years of preparation, sent two armaments forth for the delivery of the Empire. One, embarked on high, castle-like ships, went by sea; the other, consisting chiefly of infantry, assembled at Alexandria, and went by land. Each was under the command of a young general; the navy under Heraclius, junior, the Exarch's son,—the land force under his nephew Nicetas; and it was understood that the diadem was to be worn by him who first arrived at Constantinople. The winds were favourable to the sailors, and in this race for Empire the young Heraclius won. The servants of the hated Phocas made but a feeble and faint-hearted resistance. Heraclius tarried for a while at Abydos, where a host of exiles driven into banishment by the tyrant gathered round him. The brother of Phocas, to whom the custody of

the long walls had been committed, fled with precipitation, and soon Heraclius, with his castled ships, was anchored in the harbour of St. Sophia. A short battle, perhaps a naval engagement, followed. The African troops won a complete victory, and Phocas, deserted by all his followers, was brought into the presence of his conqueror with his arms tied behind his back. According to the well-known story, a short dialogue took place between them. Heraclius said, 'Is it thus, oh! miserable man, that you have governed the Empire?' Phocas answered, 'May you be able to govern it better!'<sup>1</sup> Heraclius, seated on his curule chair, kicked the fallen tyrant, and ordered him to be 'cut up like dogs' meat.' His body, and those of his brother and two of his most hated ministers, were then burned in a place called the Bull.

BOOK VII.  
CH. I.  
Capture  
and exe-  
cution of  
Phocas.

The young Heraclius, as liberator of the Empire, has something about him which attracts our sympathy and admiration; but when we are reading his story, as told by John of Antioch or the monk chronicler Theophanes, it is impossible not to feel how thoroughly barbarised were all, even the best men of this epoch of the Empire. The same thought strikes us when we look upon the grotesquely barbarous coins of Heraclius. The Greek Republics had had their young and chivalrous tyrannicides, their Aristogeitons and their Timoleons; but great as is the descent from the glorious *stater* of Rhodes or Cyzicus to the strange *aureus* of Heraclius, so great is the fall from the tragic beauty of the deeds of the Greek tyrannicides to the coarse brutality of the murderers of Phocas.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ο δὲ εἶπεν, Σὺ κάλλιον ἔχouis διοικῆσαι, Joann. Ant. 218 (ap. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. v).

BOOK VII.  
CH. I.

Heraclius,  
Emperor,  
610-641.

Persian  
War.

It was indeed at a perilous and difficult crisis that Heraclius seized the helm of the state. The Avars (who about this time made a terrible raid into Italy, almost obliterating Friuli from the list of Lombard duchies) were now at the height of their power, and were able to roam over Thrace unchecked right up to the long wall of Anastasius. On the other hand the Persian king Chosroes, grandson of the great Nushirvan, under pretence of avenging the death of his benefactor Maurice (who had won for him the throne), had not only overrun Syria, but had sent a victorious army through the heart of Asia Minor, to encamp finally at Chalcedon, within sight of Constantinople. Thus the Roman Empire, though still owning in theory the fairest part of three continents, was in danger of seeing itself confined within the narrow limits of the capital. The overthrow of Phocas and consequent change of dynasty at Constantinople did not arrest the Persian career of conquest. The overtures for peace made by Heraclius resulted only in an insulting answer from 'the noblest of the gods, the king and master of the whole earth, Chosroes, to Heraclius, his vile and insensate slave.' Syria was again overrun, Egypt was turned into a Persian province, the army of the Persians was again seen encamped at Chalcedon. None of the Persian triumphs, not even the conquest of Egypt (which involved the loss of the chief corn supplies of Constantinople), affected either Emperor or people so profoundly as the capture of Jerusalem, and, with it, of that identical Holy Cross which Helena believed herself to have discovered three centuries before, and which had given its name to so many churches in Italy and in every province of the Empire. Nevertheless, for twelve

years Heraclius seemed to be sunk in lethargy, and to endure with patience the insolence of the Persians. It is probable that he was really during this time consolidating his power, disciplining his forces, and persuading the factious nobles of the state to acquiesce in his assuming something like an ancient dictatorship for the salvation of the Republic <sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. I.

At length, in 622, a fateful year for Asia and the world, Heraclius, having completed his preparations, and having coaxed the Chagan of the Avars into temporary good humour, set forth on the first of his great Persian campaigns. These campaigns were six in number, and presented some of the strangest vicissitudes recorded in history; but through all, the untiring patience, the resourceful generalship, the unfaltering courage of Heraclius, revealed themselves, and once again, as eleven hundred years before, the disciplined armies of Greece proved themselves mightier than the servile hordes of Persia.

Asiatic  
campaigns  
of Hera-  
clius,  
622-628.

Heraclius, after penitential exercises and in reliance on the virtue of a heavenly picture of the Virgin, set sail from Constantinople on the day after Easter, and voyaged through the Archipelago, and along the southern coast of Asia Minor till he reached the shores of Cilicia and the neighbourhood of Issus, already memorable for one great victory of Hellas over Iran. From thence he plunged into the defiles of Taurus, succeeded by a series of brilliant manœuvres in utterly

<sup>1</sup> This is the view taken by Professor Bury of the real character of these first twelve years of Heraclius as to which history is so strangely silent. He thinks that the apparently wild scheme of transferring the seat of empire from Constantinople to Carthage was really a stroke of successful policy by which the Emperor brought the Byzantine nobles and populace to reason (ii. 219).

BOOK VII.  
CH. I.

baffling the Persian generals, and at length won a decisive victory in the highlands of Cappadocia. He was thus encamped upon the line of communication between the Persian king and his generals at Chalcedon, hoping doubtless to compel the retreat of the latter. But for some years the Persian standards were still visible at Chalcedon, and once, half way through the war, Constantinople was straitly besieged by the combined forces of Persians and Avars. But not all their endeavours could recall Heraclius from his career of conquest, nor force the Roman mastiff to relinquish his hold of the Persian leopard. At one time he would be wintering in the passes of the Caucasus, forming a network of alliances with the rough tribes of Colchis and Albania. Then he would descend into Media, lay waste the plains of Azerbaijan, and avenge the desecration of Jerusalem by burning the birthplace of Zoroaster. Then would follow a campaign by the upper waters of the Euphrates, or among the difficult ranges of Taurus, and in almost all of these campaigns victory followed the Roman eagles, and the Persian generals, serving a suspicious and unreasonable master, grew more and more disheartened and bewildered by the strategy of their foe. At length a decisive victory within sight of Nineveh, followed by the capture and spoliation of the royal palace of Dastagherd, completed the ruin of the Persian king. The long-stifled rage of his subjects broke forth against a tyrant who was safe only while he was presumed to be irresistible. Chosroes fled: his son Siroes, whom he had sought to exclude from the succession to the throne, conspired against him; eighteen of his other sons were slain before his eyes, and he himself perished

627.

628.



miserably in the Tower of Oblivion, to which he had been consigned by his unnatural offspring. Heraclius had little to do but to look on at the death-throes of the Persian kingdom. He was able to dictate his own terms, which were just and moderate: the restoration of the conquered provinces of the Empire, and of the precious Cross, which he brought in triumph to Constantinople, and next year carried back in pilgrim fashion to Jerusalem. In all the long duel between the Republic and the Arsacidæ of Parthia, between the Empire and the Sassanidæ of Persia, a duel which had been going on since the days of Crassus the Triumvir, no victory had been won, so brilliant, so complete, apparently so final, as these wonderful victories of Heraclius.

And yet these seeming brilliant triumphs of western civilisation were only the prelude to its most disastrous and irreparable defeat. The darkly brooding East renounced the worship of Ormuzd, and the belief in Ahriman, she abandoned the attempt to substitute a Monophysite creed for the cautious compromise of Chalcedon; but it was only in order to emerge from the burning deserts of Arabia with blood-dripping scimitar in her hand, and with this cry upon her fanatic lips, 'There is no God but God: Mohammed is the Prophet of God.'

The career of the Saracen conquerors, though in after years it was to include Sicily, and even parts of Italy within its orbit, did not immediately exercise any direct influence on the Hesperian land. The Arabs are not among the invaders whose deeds this history has undertaken to describe<sup>1</sup>; and therefore it will be

<sup>1</sup> The chief dates for the Saracen invasions of Italy and Sicily are as follows:—First firm foothold obtained in Sicily by the

BOOK VII. sufficient here to enumerate a few dates which indicate  
 CH. I. their onward whirlwind course of conquest through  
 the seventh century.

Saracen  
 conquests.

In 622, the year when Heraclius set forth for his death-grapple with Persia, Mohammed made that celebrated retreat from Mecca to Medina, which has been, ever since, the great chronological landmark for the world of Islam. In 628, he wrote to the Emperor, as well as to the Kings of Persia and Abyssinia, calling upon all to accept the new divinely given creed. In 629 was the first shock of battle between the Empire and the Children of the Desert, when Khalid, 'the Sword of God,' won a doubtful victory. In 630, Mohammed returned in triumph to Mecca, where he died on the 8th of June, 632.

Under Mohammed's successor, the Caliph Abu Bekr, though he only reigned two years, great part of Syria was overrun by the Arab swarms, the decisive battle of Yermuk was won by Khalid in 634, and in the year after Abu Bekr's death (635), Damascus was taken. Omar, the next Caliph (634-643), saw the conquest of Syria and Palestine completed, Jerusalem itself taken (637), and Egypt wrested from the Roman Empire. Heraclius himself, so lately the brave and resourceful general, seemed struck by mental impotence, and fled in terror to Chalcedon (638), bent apparently only on saving his own imperial person, and the precious wood of the Holy Cross which he carried with him from Jerusalem. In the midst of the ruin of his Empire,

Flight of  
 Heraclius  
 from  
 Syria.

Saracens under the Aglabite Khalifs, 827; Rome besieged and St. Peter's taken by the Saracens, 846; Defeat of the Saracens on the Garigliano, 916; Sicily conquered by the Fatimite Khalifs, 964; Norman conquest of Sicily and final subjugation of the Saracens, 1060-1089.

with provinces which had once been kingdoms wrested BOOK VII.  
from the grasp of his nerveless arm by the followers CH. I.  
of an Arabian camel-driver, it seems to have been a consoling thought that at least that precious relic would not fall again into the hands of the infidel.

Meanwhile, Persia, enfeebled by her disastrous struggle with Heraclius, and having no energy of religious conviction in her people which could struggle against the faith of the Arabians, hot as the sand of their own deserts, fell, but not quite so speedily as Syria and Egypt. The war of Saracen conquest began in 632. In 636 the great battle of Cadesia was lost by the Persians, and their famous banner, the jewel-loaded leathern apron of a blacksmith, fell into the hands of the invader. But the struggle was still continued by the sons of Iran, and it was not till 641 that the battle of Nehavend destroyed their last hopes of successful resistance.

The conquest of Northern Africa seems to have been one of the hardest tasks that were undertaken by the followers of the prophet<sup>1</sup>. Carthage was not taken till 697: it was retaken by the Imperial general, and not finally captured till 698, two years before the close of the century. But if the conquest was slow, it

<sup>1</sup> Freeman (*History and Conquests of the Saracens*, p. 85) remarks on this fact: 'While Egypt was won almost without a blow, Latin Africa took sixty years to conquer. It was first invaded under Othman in 647, but Carthage was not subdued till 698, nor was the province fully reduced for eleven years longer.' He attributes this delay to the strong Imperial spirit of the citizens of Carthage—'Roman in every sense: their language Latin, their faith orthodox,'—and to the sturdy barbarism of the Mauritanians, who had fought for their rude liberty against the Caesars, and had no intention of surrendering it to the Caliphs.

BOOK VII. was sure, and the path of the conquerors was prepared  
 CH. 1. for that final onrush which, in 711, added the great peninsula of Spain to the dominions of the Caliph.

Great schism in the Moham-medan world, Shiites and Sun-nites, 659.

In one generation, not the conquering power, but the fervour of faith, the absolute oneness of purpose which at first animated all the followers of Mohammed, had departed. Omar's successor, Othman (644-655), was more of a worldly king and less of an apostle than any of his predecessors, and he perished in a rebellion caused by his weak favouritism, and fomented by the ambitious and intriguing Ayesha, widow of the Prophet. The murder of Othman was used, most unjustly, to stir up popular feeling against Ali the next Caliph (655-659), the brave, pious, simple-hearted son-in-law of the Prophet. Schism and civil war followed, and the student who has followed with any sympathetic interest the story of the early believers in Islam, finds with indignation that the story ends with the assassination of Ali, and the murder of his two sons Hassan and Hosein, grandsons of the Prophet, by order of the descendants of his most persistent enemy<sup>1</sup> (661-680). In the person of Moawiyah this hostile family ascended the throne (now indeed a throne) of the Caliphs, and fixed their luxurious abode among the gardens of Damascus. The faith of Islam, like the faith of Christ, but with a far more rapid decline, had fallen away from its first fervour, and was accepting the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them at the

<sup>1</sup> Abu Sofian, father of Moawiyah. The death of Hassan was caused by poison, and the connection of Caliph Moawiyah with it was only a matter of suspicion. But the death of Hosein after the battle of Cufah was a veritable martyrdom, and the Caliph Yezid, son of Moawiyah, must be held responsible for it.

hands of the Dark Spirit. Like Christianity also, but again with swifter development, it was rent asunder by a mighty schism. The well-known division between the Shiites, who venerate the memory of Hassan and Hosein, and the Sunnites, who at least condone the guilt of their murderers, still cleaves the Moslem world with a chasm quite as deep as that which separates the Latin Church from the Greek, or the Protestant from the Catholic.

Still, notwithstanding its spiritual decay, the spirit of Islam was a mighty force in that effete world of Hellenic Christianity. Still, as the drilled and uniformed Jacobins of France carried far the standards of Napoleon, did the Saracen warriors, with the religious maxims of the Koran on their lips, do the bidding of the sensual and worldly-minded Ommiade Caliph at Damascus. It was in the year 672, fifty years after the Hegira, under the reign of the great-grandson of Heraclius, that the fleets and armies of Moawiyah set sail for Constantinople, eager to earn the great blessing promised by the Prophet, 'The sins of the first army that takes the city of Caesar are forgiven.' But not yet, nor for near eight centuries to come, was the fulfilment of that promise to be claimed. For five years (673-677) (magnified by tradition to seven) did the Arab wave dash itself in vain against the walls of Constantinople. The fire-ships of the Greeks carried havoc into their great Armada, the land army sustained a disastrous defeat, with the loss of 30,000 men, and at last the baffled armament returned, not without fatal storm and shipwreck, to the Syrian waters. Then was peace made on terms most honourable to the Empire, including

BOOK VII. the restoration of captives, and a yearly tribute of  
 CH. I. £120,000 from Damascus to Constantinople: and for  
 a generation peace in the Eastern waters of the Medi-  
 terranean seems to have been maintained, though  
 North Africa was during this very time witnessing  
 the steady progress of the Saracen arms.

Monothe-  
 letism.

While such tremendous conflicts as these were going forward, conflicts in which the very existence of the Empire, the mere continuance of the Christian Church, would seem to have been at stake, it might have been supposed that theological metaphysics would at least be silent, that all who professed and called themselves Christians would be drawn together by the sense of a common danger, and would agree at least to postpone, if they could not absolutely relinquish, the verbal disputations on which they had wasted so much energy. On the contrary, the seventh century was disastrously distinguished by the fury of one of the bitterest and least intelligible of all these disputes. Monophysitism had filled the world with turmoil for nearly two hundred years. Now Monotheletism took its place as chief disturber of the nations.

It was in that eventful year 622, which witnessed the withdrawal of Mohammed to Medina, and the departure of Heraclius for the Persian war, that the Emperor seems to have first conceived the idea that the Monophysite dissenters might after all be reconciled with the Church, which accepted the decrees of Chalcedon, by a confession on the part of the latter that, though the Saviour had two natures, he had only one will, 'only one theandric energy.' Through all the later events of his chequered reign, his successes

against the Fire-worshippers of Persia, his defeats by the Allah-worshippers of Arabia, he seems to have held fast to this scheme of reuniting the Church by the profession of *Monothelite* doctrine. Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul, the successive Patriarchs of Constantinople, zealously and ably abetted his designs. The Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria subscribed to the same doctrine: even the Pope (Honorius I), when appealed to, gave judgment in words which might be understood as at least permitting, if not ordaining, the teaching of the Monothelite faith. For a time only Sophronius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, stood, like another Athanasius, alone against the world. But the current soon began to set in the contrary direction. The very willingness of the Monophysite schismatics to accept the new doctrine aroused suspicion among those who had been for two centuries fighting the battle of Chalcedon: and the Popes of Rome<sup>1</sup>, far from the fascination of the Imperial presence, and under no political compulsion to propitiate the Monophysites of Egypt and Syria, resisted with vehemence the new Eirenicon. The Emperor, however, still persevered in his plan, though he tried to broaden the issue by withdrawing from it one or two terms of technical theology which appeared unnecessary. In 638, the year after the loss of Jerusalem, the year before the Saracen invasion of Egypt, there appeared at Constantinople an Ecthesis, or exposition of the Faith, which was affixed by the orders of Heraclius to the great gates of the church of St. Sophia. This document<sup>2</sup>, after repeating in orthodox

BOOK VII.  
CH. I.

635.

The Ecthesis of Heraclius. 638.

<sup>1</sup> Severinus 640; John IV 640-642; Theodorus 642-649.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in full by Baronius, s. a. 639.

BOOK VII. terms <sup>1</sup> the doctrines of the Trinity, of the Incarnation,  
 CH. I. of the two natures in Christ, declared that many were  
 638. scandalised by the thought of two operations <sup>2</sup>, two  
 warring wills of the Saviour, that not even Nestorius  
 in his madness, though he had divided Christ into  
 two persons, had dared to say that their wills were  
 contrary one to the other. 'Wherefore,' said the  
 Ecthesis, 'following the holy Fathers in this and in  
 all things, we confess one will of our Lord Jesus  
 Christ, the very God, so that there was never a  
 separate will in His body when animated by the  
 intellect, which worked by a contrary motion natural  
 to itself, but only such a will as operated when and  
 how, and to what extent the God who was the Word  
 willed <sup>3</sup>.'

Then followed the usual profession of faith in the  
 five great Councils, including Chalcedon, and the usual  
 anathema of all the great heretics, from Novatus and  
 Sabellius to Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas.

This new declaration of faith, accepted generally  
 in the East, except by the Patriarch of Jerusalem,  
 was energetically repudiated at Rome, where Honorius,  
 the peaceful and the unmetaphysical, no longer filled  
 the Papal chair. First Severinus and then John IV

<sup>1</sup> Not very dissimilar, as it seems to me, to the so-called Athanasian creed.

<sup>2</sup> The Ecthesis forbade the use of the word energy (= operation), whether by those who asserted or those who denied the existence of one energy in Christ.

<sup>3</sup> 'Unde sanctos Patres in omnibus et in hoc sequentes unam voluntatem Domini nostri Jesu Christi verissimi Dei confitemur ut pote in nullo tempore animati intellectualiter ejus corporis separatam, nec ex proprio impetu contrario motu unito ei Deo verbo in una substantia naturalem ejus producere motionem sed quando et qualem et quantam ipse Deus Verbum voluerat.'



set themselves to combat the new doctrine, and the latter Pope, while piously shielding the memory of Honorius, visited with absolute anathema the Ecthesis of Heraclius. The tidings of this condemnation, however, can hardly have reached the ears of the Imperial theologian. The anathema was probably pronounced in January, 641, and on the eleventh of February in the same year, Heraclius, who had long been suffering from a painful disease, died; thus ending one of the most glorious and one of the most disastrous reigns in the whole long history of the Eastern Caesars.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 1.

641.

Death of  
Heraclius.

With the death of Heraclius, a dispute, which had probably been long foreseen, broke out concerning the succession to the throne. Heraclius, after the death of his first wife Eudocia, had married his niece, the beautiful but ambitious Martina. Such a union, forbidden by Church law, and repugnant to the general feeling of Christendom, had been denounced even by the friendly Green faction in the Circus, and the Patriarch Sergius, who was ever the loyal henchman of Heraclius, wrote him a long letter, entreating him not thus to sully his fair fame; but passion won the day, and, in spite of all remonstrances, Martina became the Augusta of the Romans. Now, however, when after the death of her husband the middle-aged woman, whose beauty was probably faded, presented herself in the Hippodrome before the citizens of Constantinople, and claimed under her husband's will the right to administer the Empire as the senior partner of two Emperors; her stepson Constantine and her own son Heraclonas, the voices of the multitude clamoured against such a partition of power, crying out (as if Pulcheria and Theodora had been forgotten

Disputed  
succes-  
sion.

614.

BOOK VII. names), 'You are honoured as the mother of the  
CH. I. Emperors, but they as our Emperors and lords.' For

641.

the moment Martina retired into the background, and Constantine, third of that name, was recognised as Emperor, with Heraclonas for his younger colleague. After three months and a half, Constantine, apparently a weak and delicate man, died at Chalcedon, not without suspicion of foul play: and then Martina, as mother of Heraclonas, became again the chief person in the Empire. Neither she nor her children, however, were popular in Constantinople, and a large part of the army supported the claims of the young Heraclius, a boy of ten years old, son of the lately deceased Constantine. For a short time Heraclonas and the young Heraclius, whose name was changed to Constans<sup>1</sup>, reigned together in apparent harmony; but there were mutual suspicions and jealousies, a sort of veiled civil war, and a popular insurrection<sup>2</sup>. The upshot of the whole business was that Martina and her son Heraclonas were banished, after punishments of that barbarous kind which was becoming characteristic of the Eastern Empire had been inflicted upon them. The tongue of the widowed Empress was cut out and her son's nose was slit. These punishments were inflicted by order of the Senate, by whose vote the child Constans became sole ruler of the Roman

Sept. (?)  
642.

<sup>1</sup> More properly Constantine (IV), that being his title on the coins and in contemporary documents; but Constans, the name given him by Theophanes (possibly a popular nickname), is that by which he is generally known in history. Paulus calls him both Constantine and Constans.

<sup>2</sup> The events connected with this disputed succession are very obscurely indicated by the meagre authorities for the history of the time.

Empire. We shall meet with him again in a future chapter, and shall see his heavy hand laid on the Pope of Rome and on the people of Italy.

Constans reigned from 642 to 668, and was succeeded by his son Constantine IV (or V), who in 685 was followed by his son Justinian II. With this strange, powerful, savage man, who, though named Justinian, resembled much more closely Nero or Commodus than the astute, diplomatic legislator whose name he bore, the dynasty of Heraclius came to an end (711). Something will have to be said in future chapters about all these three Emperors. It will be enough for our present purpose to repeat and emphasise the fact that the seventh century, which in the history of religion will ever be remembered as the century of Mohammed, was, in Imperial history, the century of the dynasty of Heraclius.

BOOK VII.  
CH. I.

Constantine IV  
(Constans),  
632-658.  
Constantine V,  
668-685.  
Justinian II, 685-711.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE FOUR GREAT DUCHIES.

#### I. The Duchy of Trient.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.

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*Sources* :—

PAULUS following GREGORY and SECUNDUS.

*Guide* :—

My chief guide in this section is *Bartolommeo Malfatti* (author of 'Imperatori e Papi'), who has contributed two admirable papers on the subject to the 'Archivio Storico per Trieste, l'Istria e il Trentino, 1882-3.' In the first, 'I confini del Principato di Trento,' he discusses the boundaries of the Duchy and afterwards of the Prince-Bishopric of Trient. In the second, 'I castelli Trentini distrutti dai Franchi,' he examines with great care the statements of Paulus as to the Frankish campaigns in the Tridentine territory. Such an investigation as this, undertaken by one who knows thoroughly the district as well as the authorities, gives great confidence to a historian who is able to follow such a guide.

WE are already confronted with that difficulty of treating the history of Italy from one central point of view, which recurs in a far more embarrassing form in the history of the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages.

The Lombard Monarchy, as the reader must have already perceived, was a very loosely aggregated body; the great Duchies were always tending to fly off from

the central mass, and to revolve in orbits of their own. Two of them, Spoleto and Benevento, did in the end succeed in establishing a virtual independence of the Kingdom which had its seat at Pavia. There were two others, Trient and Friuli, which never quite succeeded in accomplishing the same result, being nearer to the heart of the monarchy, and not being liable, as the southern duchies were, to have their communication with the Lombard capital intercepted by bodies of Imperial troops moving between Rome and Ravenna. But though these great northern dukes did not achieve their independence, there can be little doubt that they desired it, and there is, to say the least, sufficient evidence of a separate political life in their states to make it desirable to treat their histories separately, though this course will involve us in some unavoidable repetition.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.  
—  
Semi-  
independ-  
ence of  
some  
Lombard  
duchies.

#### DUKES OF TRIDENTUM.

EUIN  
or EVIN,  
569-595 (?),  
married a daughter  
of Garibald duke  
of the Bavarians.

GAIDWALD,  
'vir bonus ac fide  
Catholicus,'  
595 —.

ALAHIS,  
circa 680-690.

TRIDENTUM, which I generally speak of under its modern name TRIENT, has made a great mark in the ecclesiastical history of the last three centuries, owing to the choice that was made of this city as the seat of the Council that was summoned to define the faith, and so regulate the practice of the Churches still

Geogra-  
phical  
position  
of Trient.

BOOK VII. obedient to the see of Rome after the storms of the  
CH. 2. Reformation.

In Roman times, and in the centuries with which we are now dealing, its importance was derived from the fact that it was one of the chief border towns of Northern Italy, an outpost of Latin civilization far up under the shadow of the Alps, and the capital of the district watered by the upper Adige.

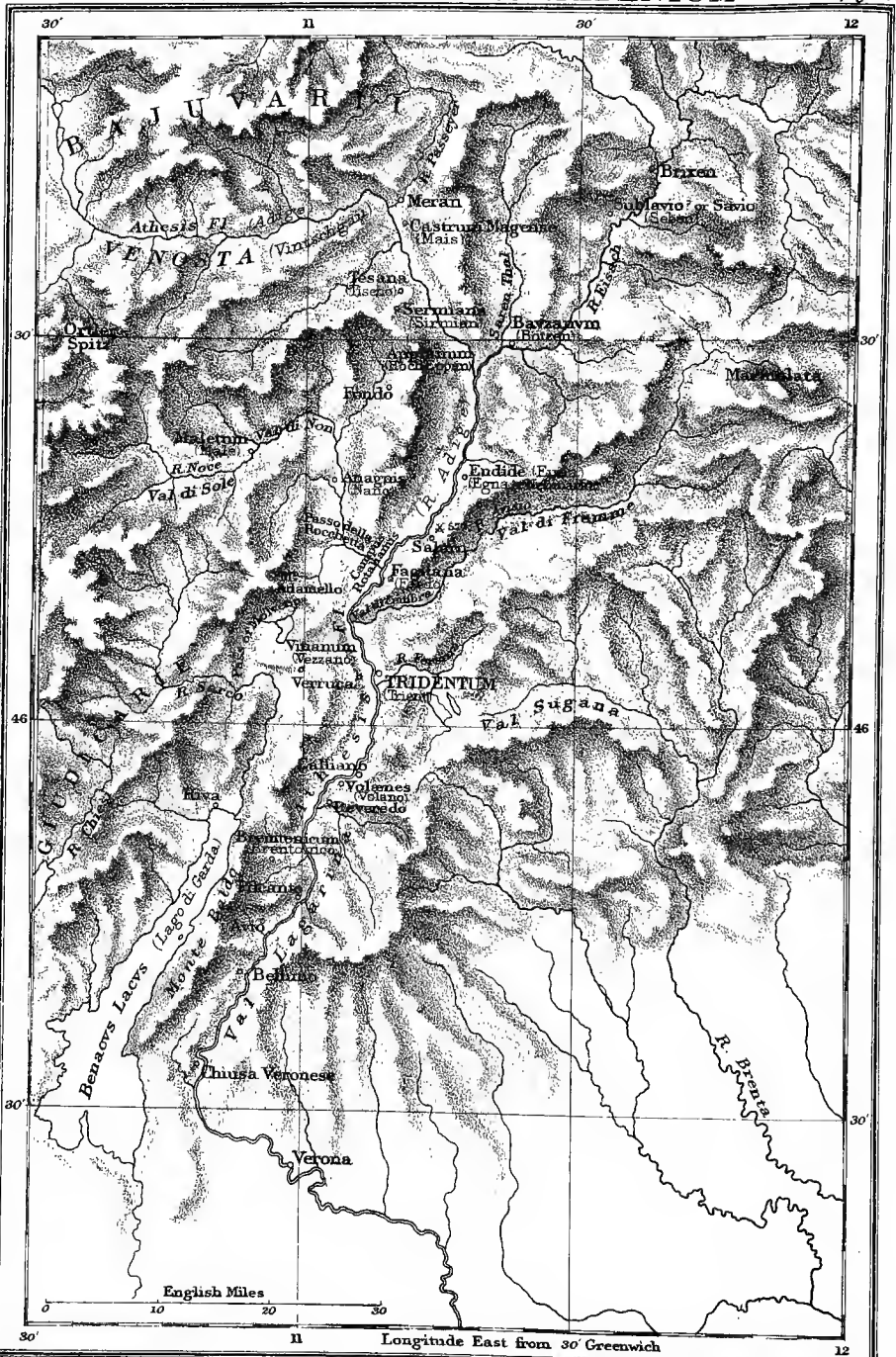
The modern province of Tyrol, as every traveller among the Eastern Alps knows, is composed of two main valleys, one running East and West, the valley of the Inn, and another running in the main North and South, the valley of the impetuous Adige. With the former, which constitutes Northern Tyrol, we have here no concern, and we have not to deal with quite the whole of the latter. The Adige descends from the narrow watershed which separates it from the Inn, and flows through the long trough of the Vintschgau (called in old times Venosta) to Meran, situated at the confluence of the stone-laden Passeyer, and proud of its memories of the Tyrolese patriot Hofer. Here in the days of the Emperors was the Roman station *Castrum Magense* (the modern Mais). About twenty miles further down the valley, the Adige, which here flows over dark slabs of porphyry rock, is joined by the Eisach, coming down from Brixen, and from the long Pusterthal. The next important stream that joins it is the Noce, which falls in from the West, after flowing round the base of the mighty mountain mass of the Adamello, and through the interesting valleys of Italian-speaking people known as the Val di Sole and the Val di Non. A little lower down, the Avisio, which has risen at the foot of the noble Dolo-

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# MAP OF THE DUCHY OF TRIDENTUM

To face page 26





mitic mountain, the Marmolata, after then flowing through the Val di Cembra, joins the Adige from the East. Soon afterwards we reach at last the battlemented walls of the city of Trient, the true centre, as has been before said, of the Adige valley, being about equally distant from Meran in the North, and from Verona in the South. An unimportant stream, the Fersina, is all that here brings its contribution to the central river; but the position of Tridentum is important for this reason, that only a few miles off, and across a low watershed, we enter the broad valley which is known as the Val Sugana, and through which flows the stream of the Brenta, a stream that takes its own independent course past Bassano and Padua to the Adriatic, and there, more than any other single river, has been 'the maker of Venice.'

For the rest of its course the Adige flows through the narrow Val Lagarina, shut in by high hills on either side, and receiving no affluent of importance till it emerges upon the great Lombard plain, and darts under the embattled bridges of Verona, beyond which city we must not now follow its fortunes.

On the West, however, side by side with the Adige, during the last thirty miles of its course above Verona, but studiously concealed from it by the high barrier of Monte Baldo, stretches the long Lago di Garda, largest if not loveliest of all the Italian lakes; the sheet of water whose sea-like billows and angry roar when lashed by the tempest were sung by the great bard of not far distant Mantua<sup>1</sup>. Into this lake at its northern end pours the comparatively unimportant stream of

<sup>1</sup> 'Fluctibus et fremitu adsurgens Benace marino,' Virgil, *Georgics*, ii. 159, 160.

BOOK VII. the Sarco, which draws its waters from the melted  
CH. 2. snows of the southern sides of Monte Adamello, as the Noce draws its waters from the North and West of the same great mountain-chain.

Every one who has travelled in the Tyrol knows that it is emphatically a land of mountain ridges and intervening valleys. Lakes like those of Switzerland are hardly to be met with there, but we find instead a cluster of long sequestered valleys, each of which is a little world in itself, and which, but for the artificial necessities of the tourist, would have little communication one with another. In order, therefore, to describe the territory of the Duchy of Trient under the Lombards, we have only to enumerate the chief valleys of which it was composed.

Limits of  
 the Duchy  
 of Trient.

According to Malfatti (whose guidance I am here following), when the Lombards first entered this region (probably in the year 569), and established themselves there under the rule of their duke Euin (or Evin), they took possession of the central valley of the Adige, about as far northward as the *Mansio* of Euna (represented by the modern town of Neumarkt), and southward to a point not far from the present Austro-Italian frontier, where the mountains are just beginning to slope down to the Lombard plain<sup>1</sup>.

Of the lateral valleys, those watered by the Noce, the Avisio and the Sarco were probably included in the Duchy; and with the Sarco may have been also included the whole of the long and narrow valley of the Giudicarie, which touches that stream at its lower

<sup>1</sup> Malfatti is inclined to fix the boundary at the little Veronese town of Belluno, which must not be confounded with the larger Belluno on the Piave.

end. The short valley of the Fersina, of course, went with Tridentum, and probably also some portion, it is impossible to say how much, of the Val Sugana.

The boundary to the north is that which is most difficult to determine. As has been said, Malfatti fixes it in the earliest period at Euna. At that time we are to think of Bauzanum (Botzen), Castrum Magense (in the neighbourhood of Meran), and the valley of Venosta (Vintschgau), as all in the possession of the Bavarians, who were subject to the over-lordship of the kings of the Austrasian Franks. But as the tide of war ebbed and flowed, the Lombard dominion sometimes reached perhaps as far north as Meran in the valley of the Adige, and Brixen in the valley of the Eisach; and the Venostan region may have seen the squadrons of the Lombards, though it hardly can have owned them as its abiding lords.

The first duke of Tridentum, as has been said, was *Euin* or *Evin* (569–595?), who seems to have been a brave and capable man, and a successful ruler. It was he who began that system of alliance with the Bavarian neighbours on the north which was afterwards carried further by Authari and Agilulf: for he, too, married a daughter of Duke Garibald, and a sister of Theudelinda.

It was probably a short time after Duke Euin's marriage (which we may date approximately at 575), that an army of the Franks, under a leader named Chramnichis, entered the Tridentine territory, apparently in order to avenge the Lombard invasion of Gaul by the three dukes Amo, Zaban, and Rodan, which had been valiantly repelled by Mummolus<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. v. p. 220. Malfatti (p. 302) brings down the date of this invasion to 584, but I hardly think he shows sufficient

BOOK VII. The Franks captured the town of Anagnis ('above  
 CH. 2. Trient, on the confines of Italy<sup>1</sup>'), which seems to be reasonably identified with Nano in the Val di Non. The inhabitants, who had surrendered the town, seem to have been considered traitors to their Lombard lords, and a Lombard count named Ragilo, who (under Euin, doubtless) ruled the long Val Lagarina south of Trient, coming upon Anagnis in the absence of the Franks, retook the town and plundered its citizens. Retribution was not long in coming. In the Campus Rotalianus, the meadow plain at the confluence of the Noce and the Adige<sup>2</sup>, Chramnichis met Ragilo returning with his booty, and slew him, with a great number of his followers. The Frankish general then, we are told, 'laid waste Tridentum,' by which we are probably to understand the territory round the town rather than the town itself, as the capture of so important a place would have been more clearly indicated by the historian. For Chramnichis also the avenger was nigh at hand. Duke Euin met him 'and his allies,' possibly some Roman inhabitants of the Tridentine who, like the citizens of Anagnis, had embraced the cause of the Catholic invader. The battlefield was Salurn on the Adige, a little north of the Campus Rotalianus. This time fortune favoured the Lombards. Chramnichis and his allies were slain, the booty was recaptured, and Euin recovered the whole Tridentine territory<sup>3</sup>.  
 cause for such a departure from his authority (Paulus, H. L. iii. 9).

<sup>1</sup> 'Anagnis Castrum, quod super Tridentum in confinio Italiae positum est.'

<sup>2</sup> For this identification and that of all the other places about to be mentioned, I must refer to Malfatti's paper 'I Franchi nel Trentino.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Expulsisque Francis Tridentinum territorium recepit.'

Not only did Euin resume possession of his duchy after the Frankish inroad, but he seems to have extended its limits; for when the Franks next invade the country, all the valley of the Adige as far as Meran, and that of the Eisach nearly up to Brixen, appear to be in the keeping of the Lombards. It is a probable conjecture, but nothing more, that this extension of the territory of the Lombards may have been connected in some way with the domestic troubles of their Bavarian neighbours, when Garibald their duke was attacked, possibly deposed, by his Frankish overlords<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.  
Lombard  
annexa-  
tion.

In the year 587, Duke Euin commanded the army sent by Authari into 'Istria.' Conflagration and pillage marked his steps, and after concluding a peace with the Imperialists for one year, he returned to his king at Pavia, bearing vast spoils<sup>2</sup>.

Lombard  
invasion  
of Istria.

The next Frankish invasion of the Tridentine duchy was in 590, the year of Authari's death, when, as we have already seen<sup>3</sup>, the Austrasian king and the Roman Emperor joined forces for the destruction of the unspeakable Lombards. We need not here repeat what the generals of the western armies, Audovald and Olo, accomplished, or failed to accomplish, against Bellinzona and Milan. Chedin<sup>4</sup>, the third Frankish general, with thirteen 'dukes' under him, invaded the Lombard kingdom by way of the valley of the Adige,

Frankish  
invasion  
under  
Chedin,  
590.

<sup>1</sup> 'Cum propter Francorum adventum perturbatio Garibaldo regi advenisset' is all that we can learn as to the punishment of Garibald (Paulus, H. L. iii. 30).

<sup>2</sup> Paulus, H. L. iii. 27.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. v. p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> Called Chenus in the Byzantine letter to Childebert, apud Troya, iv. i. 121.

BOOK VII. coming probably through the Engadine and down the  
 CH. 2. Vintschgau to Meran<sup>1</sup>. Thirteen strong places were  
 590. taken by them : the sworn conditions upon which the  
 garrisons or the inhabitants surrendered these towns  
 were disregarded with characteristic Frankish faithless-  
 ness, and the citizens were all led away into captivity.  
 The names of these captured fortresses can for the  
 most part be identified, and enable us to trace the  
 southward progress of the invaders through the whole  
 Tridentine territory. Tesana and Sermiana (Tiseno  
 and Sirmian) are placed on the right bank of the  
 Adige, some ten or twelve miles south of Meran. The  
 position of Maletum is uncertain, but it was probably  
 at Male, in the Val di Sole<sup>2</sup>. Appianum is the castle  
 of Hoch Eppan on the mountains opposite Botzen.  
 Fagitana is probably Faedo on the hilly promontory  
 between the Adige and the Avisio, overlooking the  
 former battlefield of the Rotalian plain. Cimbria must  
 be placed somewhere in the lower part of the valley of  
 the Avisio, which is still known as the Val di Cembra.  
 Vitianum is Vezzano, a few miles west of Trient.  
 Bremtonicum is Brentonico between the Adige and the  
 Lago di Garda, nearly on a level with the head of the  
 latter. Volaenes is Volano, a little north of Roveredo.  
 The site of Ennemase must remain doubtful. If it is  
 intended for Euna Mansio it is mentioned out of its  
 natural order, as that station, whether rightly placed  
 at Neumarkt or not, was certainly not far south of  
 Botzen. The names of the other three 'camps' cap-  
 tured are not given us, but we are told that two were

<sup>1</sup> See Malfatti, *ubi supra*, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> I do not think Malfatti (p. 319) shows sufficient cause against this identification.

in Alsuca (the Val Sugana), and one in [the territory of] Verona <sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.

590.

But where during this inflowing of the Frankish tide was the warlike duke of Tridentum? We are not expressly told, but, remembering that the letter of the Exarch of Italy to Childebert <sup>2</sup> mentions not only that Authari had shut himself up in Pavia, but that 'the other dukes and all his armies had enclosed themselves in their various castles <sup>3</sup>,' we may conjecture that

<sup>1</sup> The passage of Paulus (H. L. iii. 31) from which these details are taken is a specimen, and not a very successful one, of his manner of dovetailing his authorities together. All the rest of the campaign of the Three Dukes is given in the words of Gregory of Tours (x. 3), the extract from whom ends with this sentence, 'Chedinus autem cum tredecim ducibus, laevam Italiae ingressus quinque castella cepit, quibus etiam sacramenta exegit.' Notice that Paulus does not even alter the 'laevam' of Gregory, who is writing as one north of the Alps, to the 'dexteram' which would be suitable in an Italian. Then comes the following passage, evidently an extract from the history of Secundus, and not quite agreeing with what has gone before, inasmuch as it enumerates thirteen castles instead of five: 'Pervenit etiam exercitus Francorum usque Veronam et deposuerunt castra plurima per pacem post sacramenta data, quae se eis crediderant, nullum ab eis dolum existimantes.' Nomina autem castrorum quae diruerunt in territorio Tridentino ista sunt: Tesana, Maletum, Sermiana, Appianum, Fagitana, Cimbra, Vitianum, Bremtonicum, Volaenes, Ennemase, et duo in Alsucâ, et unum in Veronâ. Haec omnia castra cum diruta essent a Francis, cives universi ab eis ducti sunt captivi. Pro Ferruge vero castro intercedentibus episcopis Ingeuino de Savione et Agnello de Tridento data est redemptio per capud [sic] uniuscujusque viri solidus unus usque ad solidos sexcentos.' Paulus then with a few connecting words resumes the extract from Gregory.

<sup>2</sup> Troya, iv. i. 121. See vol. v. p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> 'Et hoc habuimus in tractu quia Autharit [sic] se in Ticinis incluserat, aliique Duces omnesque ejus exercitus per diversa se castella recluserant.'

BOOK VII. Euin, in obedience to the plan of defence devised for  
 CH. 2. — the whole kingdom, was holding Trient with a strong force, ready to resist a siege, but renouncing the attempt to prevent the ravage of his territory.

Siege of  
 Verruca.

Over against the capital city of Trient on its western side stood the high hill-fortress of Verruca, as to the construction and repair of which, under Theodoric, we have some interesting information in the letters of Cassiodorus<sup>1</sup>. This castle probably it was which the historian calls '*Ferruge castrum*<sup>2</sup>,' and which underwent a rigorous siege by the invading army. The fortress would have been compelled to surrender, but two bishops, Agnellus of Tridentum and Ingenuinus of Savio<sup>2</sup>, interceded for the garrison, who were permitted to ransom themselves at the rate of a solidus<sup>3</sup> a head. The total ransom amounted to 600 solidi<sup>4</sup>.

Retreat  
 of the  
 Franks.

It will be remembered that the campaign of the allied powers in 590 ended in a treaty between the Franks and the Lombards, which the Imperialists viewed with deep disgust, but the conclusion of which

<sup>1</sup> Variarum, iii. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Savio is probably the same as Sublavio, a station mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary, on the highway between Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) and Verona: and it is believed to correspond with Seben, in the valley of the Eisach, a little south of Brixen. It is from this intervention of the bishop of Seben on behalf of the Lombard garrison that Malfatti infers that the Lombard duchy, before the Frankish invasion, included the valley of the lower Eisach, a probable but not a proved hypothesis.

<sup>3</sup> Twelve shillings.

<sup>4</sup> £360. The words used by Paulus (see note on p. 31) are peculiar. The last four words seem a roundabout way of saying that the garrison were 600 in number, if that be the writer's meaning. Is it possible that he means that the ransoms varied from one solidus for a common soldier to 600 solidi for a chieftain?



they were powerless to prevent. Probably the ransom of the garrison of Verruca was arranged for in these negotiations. The Frankish historian mentions the unwonted heat of the Italian summer as having exercised an unfavourable influence on the health of the invaders, and describes them as returning to their homes, decimated by dysentery, worn by hunger, and compelled to part with their raiment, and even with their arms, in order to procure necessary food. We can well understand that the Tridentine duchy was not at this time a highly cultivated or wealthy district, and that after three months of ravage not even the licence of a brutal soldiery<sup>1</sup> could extract any more plunder from the exhausted peasantry.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.  
590.

This, however, was the last invasion—as far as we know—that the Tridentine territory had to undergo for more than a century. The peace concluded by Agilulf with the Frankish kings must have been an especial blessing to this district, which had no other foes to fear except those who might enter their country from the north; since high mountain ranges secured them from invasion on the east and west, and on the south was the friendly territory of Verona.

Peace in  
the Tri-  
dentine.

It was probably about five years after the Frankish invasion that Duke Euin died, and was succeeded by *Gaidwald*, perhaps not a member of Euin's family<sup>2</sup>, but who is spoken of as 'a good man and a Catholic.' With peace, and probably some measure of prosperity, the relations between the Lombards and the Romano-

Duke  
Gaidwald,  
595.

<sup>1</sup> See Greg. Tur. x. 3 for the ravages committed by the Frankish troops in their own territory.

<sup>2</sup> The words of Paulus, '*datus est eidem loco dux Gaidoaldus,*' sound as if he had no hereditary claim to succeed Euin.

BOOK VII. Rhaetian population in the valley of the Adige were  
 CH. 2. growing more friendly, and now both ruler and people were no longer divided by the difference of creed.

The 'centrifugal' tendency, as it has been well called, so often to be found in these Teutonic states, and so especially characteristic of the Lombards, carried both Gaidwald of Trient and his neighbour of Friuli into opposition, estrangement, perhaps, rather than open rebellion, against King Agilulf. How long this estrangement may have lasted, or in what overt acts it may have borne fruit, we cannot say. All that we know is that the joyful year 603, perhaps the very Eastertide which witnessed the baptism of Theodelinda's son in the basilica of Monza, saw also the reconciliation of Gaidwald and his brother duke with Agilulf<sup>1</sup>.

Duke Alahis (close of the seventh century).

From this point we hear very little more of the separate history of the Adige valley. We know neither the date of Gaidwald's death, nor the names of any of his successors save one. That one is a certain Alahis, who about the year 680 fought with the Count (Gravio) of the Bavarians, and won great victories over him, obtaining possession of Botzen (which had evidently therefore passed out of Lombard hands), and of many other strong places. These successes so inflated his pride that he rebelled against the then reigning king Cunincpert (688-700), with results which will have to

<sup>1</sup> 'Hoc anno Gaidoaldus dux de Tridento et Gisulfus de Forojuli cum antea a regis Agilulfi societate discordarent, ab eo in pace recepti sunt' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 27). If we are to take 'hoc anno' precisely, and as referring to what goes before, the death of the Emperor Maurice, the reconciliation of the two dukes must be dated in 602. But it seems rather to be connected with what follows—the baptism of Adalwald, which took place in 603.

be recorded when we come to that king's reign in the course of general Lombard history.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.

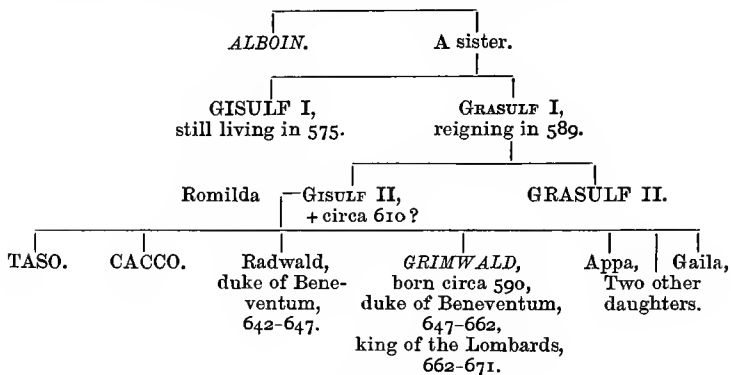
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For the earliest period of the Lombard monarchy our information as to the duchy of Trient, doubtless derived from its citizen, 'the servant of Christ,' Secundus<sup>1</sup>, is fairly full and satisfactory; but after his death (612) this source dries up, and none other is opened to us in its stead.

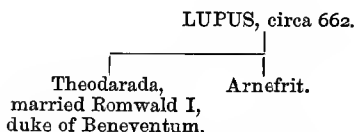
<sup>1</sup> 'Sequenti quoque mense Martis defunctus est apud Tridentum Secundus servus Christi de quo saepe jam diximus, qui usque ad sua tempora succinetam de Langobardorum gestis composuit historiolum' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 40).

## DUKES OF FORUM JULII.

(Names of the dukes in capitals : kings of Italy in *Italic* capitals : conjectural links in the genealogy in small capitals.)



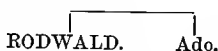
AGO.



WECHTARI

(a native of Vicenza, contemporary with Grimwald, 662-671).

LANDARI.



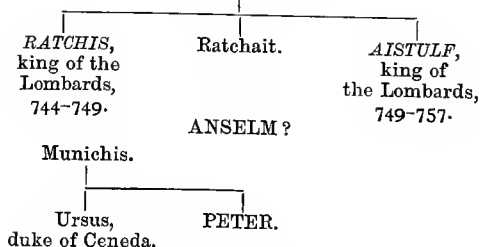
ANSPRIT

(his usurpation occurred between 688 and 700).

FERDULF.

CORVULUS.

PEMMO,  
a native of Belluno.



RATGAUD,  
775-776.

II. Duchy of Friuli.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.

*Source* :—PAULUS.

*Guides* :—

My chief guide for this section is *De Rubeis*, Monumenta Ecclesiae Aquilejensis (Argentinae, 1740); but I have also received much benefit from the conversation and writings of Cav. G. Grion, a learned and patriotic citizen of Cividale. On the difficult question of Gisulf's genealogy I have been much helped by two papers in the first volume of *Crivellucci's Studi Storici*. The ordinary theory identifying Alboin's nephew with the Gisulf who was killed in the Avar invasion in the early part of the seventh century is beset with chronological difficulties, for a full statement of which I must refer to those papers. I accept Crivellucci's theory of two Gisulfs, but venture to differ from him by suggesting that Gisulf II may have been nephew, not grandson, of Gisulf I.

From the Armenian convent, or from any island on the north of Venice, the traveller on a clear afternoon in spring sees the beautiful outline of a long chain of mountains encircling the north-eastern horizon. He enquires their names, and is told that they are the mountains of Friuli. Possibly the lovely lines of Byron's 'Childe Harold' recur to his memory:—

Situation  
of Friuli.

'The moon is up, and yet it is not night;  
Sunset divides the sky with her; a sea  
Of glory streams along the Alpine height  
Of blue Friuli's mountains';

and the very name Friuli bears to his ears a sound of idyllic beauty and peace. Yet the name really speaks of war and of prosaic trade; of the march of legions and the passage of long caravans over dusty Alpine roads to the busy and enterprising Aquileia. Friuli,

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.

once Forum Julii<sup>1</sup>, derived its name, perhaps its origin, from the greatest of the Caesars, who probably established here a market for the exchange of the productions of Italy with those of the neighbouring Noricum, with which it communicated by means of the Pass of the Predil. Reading as we do in Caesar's Commentaries so much about his operations in Trans-Alpine Gaul and in Britain, we are in danger of forgetting the vast amount of quiet work of an organising kind which he achieved while tarrying in winter quarters in his other two provinces, Cis-Alpine Gaul (that is, Northern Italy), and Illyricum. This north-eastern corner of Italy is eloquent of the memory of that work. The mountains which part it off from the tributaries of the Danube are called the Julian Alps; the sequestered valley of the Gail is said to have been named Vallis Julia<sup>2</sup>, and two towns, Julium Carnicum, north of Tolmezzo, and this Forum Julii<sup>3</sup>, in the valley of the Natisone, also tell of the presence of the great dictator.

Reason  
for the  
choice of  
Forum  
Julii

This place, Forum Julii, now known not as Friuli but as *Cividale*<sup>4</sup> (as having been the chief *Civitas* of the district), was chosen as the capital of the great

<sup>1</sup> Called Forum Julium by the cosmographer of Ravenna, but I prefer to adopt the (surely more correct) form of the name used by Paulus.

<sup>2</sup> So say Gilbert and Churchill (*Dolomite Mountains*, p. 179).

<sup>3</sup> There is another and perhaps better known Forum Julii in Provence, the name of which has been transformed in Fréjus.

<sup>4</sup> According to De Rubeis (p. 560), the first trace of the city's new name, 'Civitas Austria,' is to be found in a charter of the year 1097. In the sixteenth century there appears to have been an unsuccessful attempt to revive the old name Forum Julii for the city (p. 1102). This name, however, was never lost for the district, which, as the *Marca* or *Comitatus Forojuliensis*, had a separate existence throughout the Middle Ages, owning the Patriarch of

frontier duchy. Aquileia had been the chief city of the province, and the high roads which still converged towards that Venice of the Empire, the Pontebba and Predil Passes, the Pass of the Pear Tree, the road which skirted the Istrian coast—all these gave its distinctive character to the region. But Aquileia, though, as we have seen, it still retained its ecclesiastical importance, was not the place chosen for the seat of the Lombard duke. It was probably too near the sea to be altogether safe from the galleys of Byzantium; it was perhaps already beginning to be tainted with malaria; it was possibly considered not the best place for watching the passes over the mountains. Whatever the cause, the place chosen by the Lombards was, as has been said, Forum Julii, a town which held a respectable position under the Empire<sup>1</sup>, but which attained its highest pitch of prosperity and importance under its Lombard rulers. Though now shorn of some of its old glory, Cividale is still one of the most interesting and picturesque cities of the Venetian mainland. It is situated on the north-eastern margin of that great alluvial plain, and clings, as it were, to the skirts of the mountains which are climbed by the highway of the Predil Pass. The city is divided from one of its suburbs by a deep gorge, through which,

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.  
(now Cividale) as the capital of the border-duchy.

Present aspect of Cividale.

Aquileia as its feudal superior. In 1418 it became subject to Venice as the result of a war between the Patriarch and the Republic.

<sup>1</sup> Forum Julii was evidently considered under the Empire one of the three most important places in the district of Carni, which nearly corresponded with the modern duchy of Friuli. Ptolemy (iii. 1. 29) enumerates Forum Julii (Φόρος Ἰουλίος), Concordia and Aquileia as the three chief inland cities of the Carni; and Cassiodorus (Var. xii. 26), on behalf of the Gothic king, remits the contributions of corn and wine which had been ordered from the cities of Concordia, Aquileia and Forum Julii.

blue as a turquoise, flow the waters of the river Natisone on their way to the ruins of desolate Aquileia. The gorge is spanned by a noble bridge (Il ponte del Diavolo), and its steep cliffs are crowned by the tower of the church of St. Francesco, and—more interesting to an archaeologist—by the quaint little building called Il Tempietto. This was once a Roman temple, dedicated, it is said, to Juno, but afterwards converted into a Christian basilica. The low marble screen which separates the choir from the nave, and the six statues at the west end, stiff and Byzantine in the faces, but with some remembrance of classical grace in the fall of their draperies, give a decidedly archaic character to the little edifice, and may perhaps date from the days of the Lombards<sup>1</sup>.

The museum of Cividale is rich in objects of interest; a Roman inscription of the end of the second century making mention of *Colonia Forojuliensis*; a very early codex of the Four Gospels, with autographs of Theudelinda and other illustrious personages of the Middle Ages<sup>2</sup>; the Pax of St. Ursus, an ivory slab about six inches by three, representing the Crucifixion and set in a silver-gilt frame, which used to be handed to strangers to kiss, in token of peace<sup>3</sup>; and many other valuable relics of antiquity. But the relic which

<sup>1</sup> The Tempietto has been much altered and remodelled; but it seems to be admitted that no important change has been made in it since the eleventh, or at latest the twelfth, century.

<sup>2</sup> There is an interesting article by C. L. Bethmann, on the curious signatures scattered over this MS., in the second volume of the *Neues Archiv* (pp. 115-128).

<sup>3</sup> On this 'Pax' the sun and moon are represented (probably as veiling their faces at the sight of the Crucifixion). The Sun is represented as a young woman, the Moon as a stern old man; a curious evidence of Teutonic influence on symbolic art.



is most important for our present purpose is the so-called Tomb of Gisulf. This is an enormous sarcophagus, which, when opened, was found to contain a skeleton, a gold breast-plate, the golden boss of a shield, a sword, a dagger, the end of a lance, and a pair of silver spurs. There was also an Arian cross of gold with eight effigies of Christ, and a gold ring with a coin of Tiberius I attached to it, which perhaps served as a seal. Undoubtedly this is the tomb of some great barbarian chief; but, moreover, there are rudely carved upon the lid the letters CISULF, which are thought by some to indicate that we have here the tomb of Alboin's nephew, Gisulf I, or his great-nephew, Gisulf II. This opinion is, however, by no means universally accepted, and it has been even asked by a German critic 'whether local patriotism may not have so far misled some enthusiastic antiquary as to induce him in clever fashion to forge the name of the city's hero, Gisulf<sup>1</sup>.'

Such then is the present aspect of the little city which now bears the proud name of Cividale, and which once bore the even greater name of Forum Julii<sup>2</sup>. No doubt the chief reason for making this

<sup>1</sup> See A. Crivellucci, 'Studi Storici,' i. 84, quoting Freudenberg.

<sup>2</sup> Bethmann (referring to Venantius Fortunatus in Vita S. Martini) contends that the capital of the duchy, which he calls Castrum Julium, was at first fixed at *Julium Carnicum*, now the little village of Zuglio, among the mountains to the north of Tolmezzo, and that it was afterwards removed to Cividale. I do not think this theory ought to be accepted. It is most improbable that the Lombard duke would be willing to fix his quarters so high up among the mountains in the rainiest region of all Europe. At Tolmezzo, some eight miles below Zuglio, the average rainfall for the year is 75 inches, and in one year amounted to 141 inches (see Ball's Eastern Alps, p. 544). Gisulf might as well, nay

BOOK VII. a stronghold of Lombard dominion was to prevent  
 CH. 2. that dominion from being in its turn overthrown by a fresh horde of barbarians descending from the mountains of Noricum. Alboin remembered but too well that entrancing view of Italy which he had obtained from the summit of 'the royal mountain,' and desired not that any Avar Khan or Sclovene chieftain should undergo the same temptation, and stretch out his hand for the same glittering prize.

Gisulf,  
 first duke  
 of Forum  
 Julii.

It was then with this view that (as has been already related <sup>1</sup>) Alboin selected his nephew and master of the horse <sup>2</sup>, GISULF, a 'capable man,' probably of middle age, and made him duke of Forum Julii, assigning to him at his request some of the noblest and most war-like *faras*, or clans, of the Lombards for his comrades and his subjects. Horses also were needed, that their riders might scour the Venetian plain and bring swift tidings of the advance of a foe; and accordingly Gisulf

better, have remained on the north of the Alps as fix his seat at Julium Carnicum. How would his illustrious *faras* have relished the prospect of shivering away their lives in those mountain solitudes? and how would the troops of high-bred horses be reared in the narrow valley of the Chiasso? Moreover, by comparing the Antonine Itinerary with the Geographer of Ravenna, we can clearly distinguish *Castrum Julium* (Zuglio) from *Forum Julii* (Cividale), and Paulus throughout always speaks of 'Civitas vel potius castrum *Forojulianum*' as the capital of Gisulf.

[I am informed by S. Grion that the identification of Zuglio with Forum Julii was the device of the citizens of Udine, between which city and Cividale much local jealousy existed. The Roman inscription mentioned above puts it beyond a doubt that Cividale was the colony of Forum Julii, and the theory for which Bethmann contended has now scarcely any supporters.]

<sup>1</sup> See vol. v. p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> Marpahis: derived by Meyer (p. 298) from *marh* = horse, and *paizan* = to bridle (connected with Anglo-Saxon *boetan*): or, as before remarked = 'the mare-bitter.'

received from his sovereign a large troop of brood mares of high courage and endurance <sup>BOOK VII.</sup> <sup>CH. 2.</sup> <sup>Boundaries of the Ducatus Forojulienis.</sup> <sup>1.</sup>

The boundaries of the duchy of Forum Julii cannot be ascertained with even the same approximation to accuracy which may be reached in the case of the duchy of Tridentum. Northwards it probably reached to the Carnic, and eastwards to the Julian, Alps, including, therefore, the two deep gorges from which issue the Tagliamento and the Isonzo. Southwards it drew as near to the coast-line as it dared, but was limited by the hostile operations of the Byzantine galleys. The desolate Aquileia, however, as we have already seen, was entirely under Lombard, that is, under Forojulian domination, and Concordia was won from the Empire about 615 <sup>2</sup>. Opitergium (Oderzo) was a stronghold of the Empire in these parts till about the year 642. The Lombard king (Rothari), who then captured the city, beat down its fortifications, and a later king, Grimwald, about 667, having personal reasons of his own for holding Opitergium in abhorrence, razed it to the ground, and divided its inhabitants among the three duchies of Friuli, Treviso,

<sup>1</sup> 'Igitur ut diximus dum Alboin animum intenderet, quem in his locis ducem constituere deberet, Gisulfum, ut fertur, suum nepotem virum per omnia idoneum, qui eidem strator erat, quem linguâ propriâ *marpahis* appellant, Forojulianae civitati et totae (*sic*) illius regioni praeficere statuit. Qui Gisulfus non prius se regimen ejusdem civitatis et populi suscepturum edixit, nisi ei quas ipse eligere voluisset Langobardorum *faras* (hoc est generationes vel lineas) tribueret. Factumque est, et annuente sibi rege quas obtaverat (*sic*) Langobardorum praecipuas prosapias ut cum eo habitarent accepit. Et ita demum ductoris honorem adeptus est. Poposcit quoque a rege generosarum equarum greges, et in hoc quoque liberalitate principis exauditus est' (H. L. ii. 9).

<sup>2</sup> See Diehl, *Études*, &c., p. 50. n. 7, and authorities there cited.

The fact of this threefold division gives us some idea how far westward the duchy of Forojulii extended. In this direction it was bounded neither by the Alps nor by the unfriendly sea, but by other Lombard territory, and especially by the duchy of Ceneda (Ceneda)<sup>1</sup>. The frontier line between them is drawn by some down the broad and stony valley of the Tagliamento, by others at the smaller stream of the Livenza<sup>2</sup>. On the latter hypothesis Gisulf and his successors ruled a block of territory something like fifty miles from west to east and forty miles from north to south. Broadly speaking, while Aquileia and the roads leading to it gave the distinctive character to this duchy, the necessity of guarding the passes against barbarous neighbours on the north gave its dukes their chief employment. It was emphatically a border principality, and *markgraf* was the title of its chief in a later century. The neighbours in question were perhaps the *Bavarians* at the north-west corner of the duchy; but far more emphatically all round its north-eastern and eastern frontiers, the *Slavonians*, from whom are descended the Slovenic inhabitants of the modern duchy of Carniola. Behind these men, in the recesses of Pannonia, roamed their yet more barbarous lords, the Asiatic *Avars*, the fear of whose terrible raids lay for centuries as a nightmare upon Europe.

<sup>1</sup> As there was the seat of a bishopric at Belluno, we may perhaps conjecturally place the residence of a Lombard duke at that city, ruling the valley of the upper Piave, and possibly part of the valley of the Brenta (see Pabst, p. 438).

<sup>2</sup> See De Rubeis, p. 223. He remarks, 'Fines ampliores decursu temporum obtinuit Ducatus Forojuliensis.'

For a reason which will shortly be stated, the information vouchsafed to us by Paulus as to the earliest history of the duchy of Friuli is less complete than that which he gives us as to the neighbouring duchy of Trient; an inferiority which is all the more noticeable since the Lombard historian saw in Friuli the cradle of his own race. From the year 568 till about 610, we have only two or three meagre notices of the history of Forum Julii in the pages of Paulus; but some hints let fall in the correspondence of the Exarch of Ravenna with the Frankish king enable us partly to supply the deficiency. *Gisulf*, the nephew of Alboin, was, as we are expressly informed, still living at the time of the commencement of the interregnum (575)<sup>1</sup>. His reign, however, was apparently not a very long one, for in the year 589 we find another person playing a prominent part in the politics of north-eastern Italy, by name *Grasulf*; and this man, who was in all probability a brother of *Gisulf* I, was almost certainly duke of Forum Julii. To this *Grasulf*, who was evidently an influential personage as he was addressed by the title 'Your Highness<sup>2</sup>,' a strange but important letter was addressed in the name of the Frankish king Childebert<sup>3</sup> by a secretary or other official named

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.

Early  
rulers of  
the duchy.

*Gisulf* I.

*Grasulf* I.

<sup>1</sup> Paulus (H. L. ii. 32) mentions 'Gisulfus' as 'dux Forumjuli.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Vestra Celsitudo.'

<sup>3</sup> I take both the date of this letter, and its connection with Childebert, on the authority of Troya and Weise. The letter itself (No. XLII in Troya, iv. 1) is simply entitled 'Gogo Grasulpho de nomine regis,' but it seems to be admitted on all hands that this king is Childebert. Gregory of Tours informs us that there was a Gogo who was 'nutricius' ('foster-father') of the child-king Childebert; but he says that he died not long after the sixth year of that king's reign, about 582-83. If therefore the date assigned to this letter (589) be right, it cannot have been written by that

BOOK VII. Gogo. In this letter the Frankish secretary acts as  
 CH. 2. a sort of 'honest broker' between the Emperor and

Childe-  
 bert's  
 letter to  
 Grasulf,  
 589 (?).

the Lombard chief. He says in brief, 'Your Highness has made known to us by your relation Biliulf a certain proposition very desirable for all parties, which ought to be put into shape at once, that we may break the obstinacy of our foes. The most pious Emperor has signified that he is going to send a special embassy, and we may expect its arrival any day: but as time presses we will lay before you two courses and leave it to you to decide between them.

'I. If you can give the Republic sufficient security<sup>1</sup> for the fulfilment of your promises, we are prepared to hand over to you the whole sum of money in hard cash. Thus the injuries done to God will cease; the blood of our poor Roman relations will be avenged, and a perpetual peace will be established [between you and the Empire]<sup>2</sup>.

'II. But if you are not satisfied with the authority of the document which conveys to you the Emperor's

Gogo. But in our great ignorance of the transactions of these times I do not see anything in the contents of this letter to forbid the hypothesis that it was written about 583 or 584, and therefore possibly by the 'nutricius' Gogo. In that case Crivellucci's suggestion that Grasulf's treason was caused by pique at the election of Authari would receive striking confirmation.

This letter is full of enigmatical passages, partly proceeding from corruption of the text, and I do not pretend to give anything like a literal translation.

<sup>1</sup> Or rather perhaps 'if you are satisfied with the security offered you by the Republic,' but Gogo's language is very obscure.

<sup>2</sup> 'His itaque omnibus adimpletis instituite placita (?) et tentemus pariter Dei injuriam et sanguinem parentibus nostris Romanis (Christo praesule) vindicare, ita ut in perpetuae pacis securitatem, vel de reliquis capitulis utriusque partibus opportunis intercurrentibus, in posterum terminetur.'

offer<sup>1</sup>, and therefore cannot yet come to terms, the most pious Emperor will send plenipotentiaries, and you also should send men to meet them somewhere in our territory. Only we beg that there may be no more delay than such as is necessarily caused by a sea voyage in this winter season; and that you will send persons who have full power finally to settle everything with the representatives of the Emperor.

‘Do this promptly, and we are prepared to join our forces with yours for the purpose of revenge [on the common foe], and to show by our actions that we are worthy to be received by the most pious Emperor into the number of his sons.’

Obscure as is the wording of this letter, there can be no doubt as to its general purport. Grasulf, evidently a man of high rank and great power, is a traitor to the national Lombard cause, and is preparing to enter into some sort of federate relation with the Empire, if he can receive a sufficiently large sum of money: and for some reason with which we are not acquainted, the Frankish king, or rather his secretary, is employed as the go-between to settle the price of Grasulf’s fidelity, and the terms of payment.

If the intending traitor was, as I believe him to have been, a nephew of Alboin, and the duke of the great frontier-province of the new kingdom, it is evident that we have here a negociation which might have been of the utmost importance to the destinies of Italy. And the suggestion<sup>2</sup> that one motive for

<sup>1</sup> A conjectural translation of ‘*Si in vos vigor Pontificii (sic) non consistit ut jam de praesenti possitis haec omnia fiducialiter pacisci.*’

<sup>2</sup> Made by Crivellucci, p. 68.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.

Grasulf's meditated treason may have been resentment at his own exclusion from the throne when, at the end of the interregnum, he, Alboin's nephew, was passed over, and the young Authari was invested with the robes of the restored kingship, seems to me one which has much to recommend it on the score of probability, though we can produce no authority in its favour.

Second  
letter.  
Exarch  
Romanus  
to Childe-  
bert, 590.

However, the negotiations for some reason or other fell through, and Grasulf did not surrender the duchy of Forum Julii to the Empire. For in the year 590, the Exarch Romanus, writing to King Childebert, and describing the course of the war, says, 'Returning [from Mantua] to Ravenna, we decided to march into the province of Istria<sup>1</sup> against the enemy Grasulf. When we arrived in this province Duke Gisulf, *vir magnificus*, son of Grasulf, desiring to show himself in his youthful manhood better than his father, came to meet us that he might submit himself, his chiefs, and his entire army with all devotion to the holy Republic<sup>2</sup>.'

Here again, though we have no express identification

<sup>1</sup> Some difficulty has been caused by the use of the words 'the province of Istria,' because it is thought that the territory of Forum Julii would not be included within its limits, the Isonzo having been of old the boundary between Istria and Venetia. But I think that both the express words of Paulus (H. L. ii. 14) and the usage of Gregory I justify us in saying that Venetia and Istria were at this time always treated as one province, which (especially since the greater part of Venetia had fallen into the hands of the Lombards) was often called by the name of Istria alone.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ravennam remeantes in Histriam provinciam, contra hostem Grasoulfum deliberavimus ambulare. Quam provinciam venientes, Gisulfus Vir Magnificus, Dux, filius Grasoulfi, in juvenili aetate meliorem se patre cupiens demonstrare, occurrit nobis, ut cum omni devotione Sanctae Reipublicae, se cum suis prioribus et integro suo exercitu, sicut fuit (? fecit) subderet' (Troja, iv. 1, No. XLVI). See vol. v. p. 273.



of the actors in the drama with the ducal family of Friuli, everything agrees with the theory that they are the persons concerned. Duke Grasulf, as we may reasonably conjecture, was only half-hearted in his treachery to the Lombard cause. When it came to the point of actually surrendering fortresses, or giving any other sufficient security for the fulfilment of his compact with the Roman Republic, the negotiation broke down. His son Gisulf, who had perhaps succeeded his father Grasulf in the course of this campaign of the Exarch's<sup>1</sup>, took an opposite line of policy to his father, and professed that he would do that which Grasulf had failed to do. He would show himself more loyal to the Empire than his father, and would bring over all the heads of the Lombard *faras*, who were serving under him, and all their men, to the holy Republic.

However, as far as we can discern the misty movements of these Sub-Alpine princes, Gisulf did not in the end prove himself any more capable friend to the Empire than Grasulf had done. If there had been any wholesale surrender of Forojulian fortresses to the Exarch we should probably have heard of it from Paulus. As it is, all that the Lombard historian tells us is that Gisulf of Friuli, as well as his brother-duke Gaidwald of Trient, having previously stood aloof from the alliance of King Agilulf, was received by him in

Gisulf (II)  
reconciled  
to Agilulf,  
603.

<sup>1</sup> We might in this way explain the fact that Romanus marches 'contra hostem Grasoulfum,' and yet that Gisulf is spoken of as 'Dux.' Or his father may have been old and infirm, and he may have been associated with him as 'Dux,' and put in command of the main body of the army which he here proposes to lead over to the enemy.

BOOK VII. peace after the birth of his son<sup>1</sup>, and that Gisulf con-  
 CH. 2. curred with the king in promoting the election of  
 Abbot John as the schismatic Patriarch of Aquileia  
 after the death of Severus in 606<sup>2</sup>.

Invasion  
 of the  
 Avars,  
 610 (?).

But terrible disaster from an unexpected quarter  
 was impending over the house of Gisulf and the duchy  
 of Friuli. We have seen that hitherto, from the time  
 of the Lombards' departure from Pannonia, their  
 relations with the Avar lords of Hungary had been  
 of the most friendly character. There had been  
 treaties of alliance; menacing cautions to the Frankish  
 kings that if they would have peace with the Avars  
 they must be at peace with the Lombards also; joint  
 invasions of Istria; help given by Agilulf to the Great  
 Khan<sup>3</sup> by furnishing shipwrights to fit out his vessels  
 for a naval expedition against the Empire<sup>4</sup>. Now,  
 for some reason or other, possibly because the Lom-  
 bards were growing too civilized and too wealthy for  
 the taste of their barbarous neighbours, the relations  
 between the two peoples underwent a disastrous  
 change. Somewhere about the year 610, the Khan  
 of the Avars mustered his squalid host, and with 'an  
 innumerable multitude' of followers appeared on the  
 frontier of Friuli<sup>5</sup>. Duke Gisulf set his army in

<sup>1</sup> 'Hoc anno Gaidoaldus dux de Tridento et Gisulfus de Foro juli cum antea a regis Agilulfi societate discordarent ab eo in pace recepti sunt' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 27).

<sup>2</sup> 'His diebus defuncto Severo patriarcha ordinatur in loco ejus Johannes abbas patriarcha in Aquileiâ vetere cum consensu regis et Gisulfi ducis' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 33). See vol. v. p. 481.

<sup>3</sup> Or Chagan.

<sup>4</sup> Paulus, H. L. iv. 24. 20.

<sup>5</sup> 'Circa hæc tempora rex Avarum quem sua lingua Cacanum appellant cum innumerabili multitudini veniens Venetiarum fines ingressus est' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 37). Some writers, in order to lessen the difficulties of the Gisulf genealogy, bring the Avar

array, and went boldly forth against the enemy, but all his Lombard *faras* were few in number in comparison with that multitudinous Tartar horde: they were surrounded and cut to pieces; few fugitives escaped from that terrible combat, and Gisulf himself was not among the number. There was nothing left for the remnant of the Lombards but to shut themselves up in their stronghold, and to wait for the help which doubtless they implored from King Agilulf. Seven strong fortresses, partly in the valley of the Tagliamento and partly under the shadow of the Julian Alps, are expressly mentioned as having been thus occupied by the Lombards, besides the capital and several smaller castles<sup>1</sup>.

But the kernel of the national defence was, of course, Forum Julii itself, where the few survivors of Gisulf's host, with the women and the lads who had been too young for the battle, manned the walls, whence they looked forth with angry, but trembling hearts on the Avar hordes wandering wide over the

invasion forward to 602. The date usually assigned to it is 611. I do not think the vague 'Circa haec tempora' of Paulus immediately following the history of the reign of Phocas (602-610) will enable us to go further than I have done in the text. If the death of Severus, the Patriarch of Aquileia, occurred in 606, the Avar invasion must be placed after that date, since Gisulf concurred in the nomination of his successor (see Crivellucci, pp. 79-80). He places the invasion about 603, but I think this is too early.

<sup>1</sup> The seven fortresses are Gemona, Artenia, Osopo and Reunia (perhaps = the modern *Ragegna*) in the valley of the Tagliamento, Nemaes (*Nimis*) under Monte Bernardin, Ibligo (*Ipplis*, about five miles south of Cividale), a fortress 'whose position is altogether impregnable,' and Cormones (*Cormons*), still further to the south, now situated on the railway between Udine and Görz. I take the identification of sites from the M. G. H., but have not as much confidence in them as in Malfatti's work on the Tridentine castles.

BOOK VII. fair land, burning, robbing and murdering. Hardly  
CH. 2.  
610 (?) more than a generation had passed since the Lombards had been even thus laying waste the dwellings of the 'Romans,' and now they were themselves suffering the same treatment at the hands of a yet more savage foe. The family of the dead warrior Gisulf, as they stood on the battlements of Forum Julii, consisted of his widow Romilda and his four sons, of whom two, Taso and Cacco, were grown up, while Radwald and Grimwald were still boys. There were also four daughters, two of whom were named Appa and Gaila, but the names of the other two have perished.

Romilda's  
 crime.

The Avar host of course besieged Forum Julii, and bent all their energies to its capture. While the Grand Khan was riding round the walls of the city, seeking to espy the weakest point in its fortifications, Romilda looked forth from the battlements, and seeing him in his youthful beauty, felt her heart burn with a shameful passion for the enemy of her people, and sent him a secret message, that if he would promise to take her for his wife she would surrender to him the city with all that it contained. The Khan, with guile in his heart, accepted the treacherous proposal; Romilda caused the gates to be opened; and the Avars were within the city. Every house was, of course, plundered, and the citizens were collected outside the walls that they might be carried off into captivity. The city itself was then given to the flames. As for Romilda, whose lustful heart had been the cause of all this misery, the Khan, in fulfilment of his plighted oath, took her to his tent, and for one night treated her as his wife; but afterwards handed her over to the

indiscriminate embraces of his followers, and finally impaled her on a stake in the middle of the plain, saying that this was the only husband of whom Romilda was worthy. The daughters of the traitress, who did not inherit her vile nature, succeeded by strange devices in preserving their maiden honour; and though sold as slaves and forced to wander through strange lands, eventually obtained husbands worthy of their birth, one of them being married to the king of the Alamanni, and another to the duke of the Bavarians<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.  
610 (?).

As for the unhappy citizens of Forum Julii, their captors at first somewhat soothed their fears by telling them that they were only going to lead them back to their own former home in Pannonia. But when in the eastward journey they had arrived as far as the Sacred Plain<sup>2</sup>, the Avars either changed their minds, or revealed the murderous purpose which they had always cherished, and slaughtered in cold blood the Lombard males who were of full age, dividing the women and children among them as their slaves. The sons of duke Gisulf, seeing the wicked work begun, sprang on their horses, and were about to take flight. But it was only Taso, Cacco, and Radwald who were yet practised horsemen, and the question arose what should be done with the little Grimwald, who was thought to be yet too young to keep his seat on a galloping horse. It seemed a kinder deed to take his life than to leave him to the squalid misery of

Fate of the  
Lombard  
captives.

<sup>1</sup> Paulus, H. L. iv. 37, from whom all this narrative is taken, relates these two distinguished marriages of Gisulf's daughters with a 'dicitur.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Cum patriam revertentes ad campum quem Sacrum nominant pervenissent.' Apparently this place has not been identified with any modern site.

BOOK VII. captivity amongst the Avars; and accordingly one of  
 CH. 2. his older brothers lifted his lance to slay him. But  
 610 (?). the boy cried out with tears, 'Do not pierce me with  
 thy lance; I, too, can sit on horseback.' Thereupon  
 the elder brother stooped down, and catching Grim-  
 wald by the arm, swung him up on to the bare back  
 of a horse, and told him to stick on if he could. The  
 lad caught hold of the bridle, and for some distance  
 followed his brothers in their flight. But soon the  
 Avars, who had discovered the escape of the princes,  
 were seen in pursuit. The three elder brothers, thanks  
 to the swiftness of their steeds, escaped, but the little  
 Grimwald fell into the hands of the foremost of the  
 band. The captor deemed it unworthy of him to  
 smite with the sword so young an enemy, and deter-  
 mined rather to keep him, and use him as a slave. He  
 therefore caught hold of his bridle, and moved slowly  
 back to the camp, delighting in the thought of his  
 noble prize: for the slender figure of the princely boy,  
 his gleaming eyes, and thick clustering locks of flaxen  
 hair were fair to behold, especially to one accustomed  
 to nought but the mean Kalmuck visages of the  
 swarthy Avars. But while the captor's heart was  
 swelling with pride, grief at his captivity burned in  
 the soul of Grimwald.

'And mighty thoughts stirred in that tiny breast!'

He quietly drew from its sheath the little sword which  
 he carried as the child of a Lombard chief, and  
 watching his opportunity dealt with all his might  
 a blow on the crown of the head of his Avar captor.

<sup>1</sup> Paulus here quotes a line from Virgil—

'*Ingentes animos angusto in pectore versans.*'

The quotation is from *Georgic iv.* 83, where it is applied to the soldier-bees.

Wonderful to tell, the stripling's stroke was fatal. The Avar fell dead from his horse, and Grimwald, turning the head of his steed rode fast after his brothers, whom he overtook, and who hailed him with shouts of delight both at his escape, and at his first slaughter of a foe.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.  
610 (?).

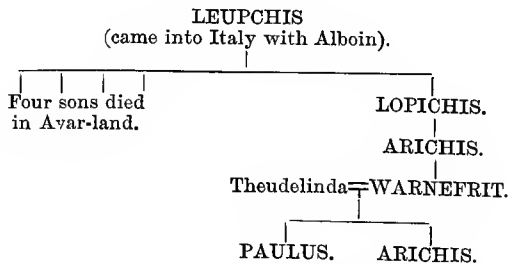
So runs the story of Grimwald's escape as told in the pages of Paulus. It is Saga of course: and in order to magnify the deeds of one who became in after years the foremost man of the Lombard nation, it is very possible that the bards have somewhat diminished the age of the youthful warrior. But it is not worth while to attempt the now hopeless task of disentangling poetry from prose. A historian who is so often compelled to lay before his readers mere names of kings and dukes without one touch of portraiture to make them live in the memory, may be excused for wishing that many more such Sagas had been preserved by the Lombard chronicler.

Happily at this point Paulus interrupts the course of the general history, in order to give us some information as to the fortunes of his own forefathers<sup>1</sup>; and this little chapter of family history helps us to understand the immense and terrible importance of the Avar raid into Friuli, a raid which in many ways reminds us of the Danish invasions of Anglo-Saxon England in the ninth and tenth centuries; like them blighting a young and tender civilization, and like them probably destroying many of the records of the past.

Story of  
the ances-  
tors of  
Paulus  
Diaconus.

<sup>1</sup> 'Exigit vero nunc locus, postpositâ generali historiâ, pauca etiam privatim de meâ, qui hæc scribo, genealogiâ retexere, et quia res ita postolat (*sic*) paulo superius narrationis ordinem replicare.'

The first of his ancestors mentioned by Paulus is Leupchis<sup>1</sup>, who came into Italy in the year 568 at the same time with the great body of his countrymen<sup>2</sup>. After living many years in Italy he died, leaving behind him five young sons, who having apparently escaped death by reason of their tender age, were all swept by the tempest of the invasion from Friuli into Avar-land. Here they groaned under the yoke of their captivity for some years; but when they had reached man's estate, the youngest, named Lopichis, by an inspiration from above, conceived the thought of returning to Italy, and regaining his freedom. Having resolved on flight he started, taking with him only his quiver and his bow, and as much food as he could carry. He was utterly ignorant of the road, but, strange to say, a wolf was his guide through the mountain solitudes. When he halted the wolf halted too: when he lagged behind, the creature looked around to see if he were following, and thus he at length perceived that the wild beast was his divinely appointed guide. But after some days' wandering

<sup>1</sup>GENEALOGY OF PAULUS DIACONUS.

<sup>2</sup> The language of Paulus seems to leave it doubtful whether Leupchis was actually one of Alboin's soldiers, though he came from Pannonia at the same time as the rest of his countrymen.



amid the desolate mountains (probably in the district of the Karawanken Alps) his provisions came to an end, and his death seemed nigh at hand. Faint with hunger, he fitted an arrow to the string and aimed at his heaven-sent guide, thinking that even its flesh might save him from starvation. The wolf, however, seeing what he meditated, vanished from his sight. Then Lopichis, despairing of life, fell to the ground and slept: but in his slumber he saw a man who seemed to say to him, 'Arise! why sleepest thou? Resume thy journey in the opposite direction to that in which thy feet are now pointing, for there lies the Italy of thy desire.' He arose at once, journeyed in the direction indicated, and soon came among the dwellings of men. It was a little Slavonic village that he entered; and there he found a kindly woman who, perceiving that he was a fugitive, received him into her cottage, and hid him there, and perceiving moreover that he was nearly dead with hunger, gave him food gradually and in small quantities as he was able to bear it. At length, when he had sufficiently recovered his strength, she gave him provisions for the journey, and pointed out to him the road to Italy, which country he entered after certain days. He at once sought his old home, but found no trace of the ancestral dwelling left, only a vast tangle of thorns and briars. Having cleared these away, he came upon a large elm growing within the old enclosure of his home, and in this tree he hung up his quiver<sup>1</sup>. Some of his relatives and friends gave him presents which enabled him to rebuild his house and to marry a wife:

<sup>1</sup> As a sign of taking possession (?).

BOOK VII. but the property which had once been his father's he  
 CH. 2. could not recover, as the men who had occupied it  
 pleaded successfully the rights of long possession. Lopichis was the father of Arichis, Arichis of Warnefrit, and Warnefrit, by his wife Theudelinda (named no doubt in honour of the great Lombard queen) had two sons, one of whom was the historian, and the other (named after his grandfather) was his brother Arichis<sup>1</sup>.

Dukes  
 Taso and  
 Cacco.

Extension  
 of terri-  
 tory  
 North-  
 ward.

We return to the history of the duchy of Friuli, of which, after the death of Gisulf, and the withdrawal of the Avars, Taso and Cacco, the two eldest sons of Gisulf, became joint lords. They seem to have been valiant in fight, for they pushed the boundaries of their territory northward as far as Windisch-Matrei, adding the whole long valley of the Gail to their dominions, and compelling the Sclovene inhabitants of that region to pay tribute, which they continued to do for more than a century<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It seems probable that Paulus has omitted some links in the family genealogy. Three generations are very few to cover the period between the Avar invasion and Charles the Great, between Leupchis, who came (presumably as a full-grown man) into Italy in 568, and Paulus himself, who was born about 720. Besides, it is strange that Leupchis, a grown man in 568, should leave five little children ('pueruli') at the time of the Avar invasion in 610. Most likely, then, owing to the destruction of records during that invasion, a generation has been omitted from the historian's own pedigree, as well as from that of duke Gisulf. Even after Lopichis' return the number of generations (say three to 120 years if Lopichis was born in 600) is somewhat scanty, though not impossibly so.

<sup>2</sup> Till the time of duke Ratchis (740). 'Hi suo tempore, Sclavorum regionem quae Zellia appellatur usque ad locum qui Medaria dicitur possiderunt (*sic*). Unde usque ad tempora Ratchis ducis idem Sclavi pensionem Foro-Julanis ducibus persolverunt'

But the two sons of Gisulf, who had escaped from the swords of the Avars, fell before the vile treachery of a Byzantine official. The Exarch<sup>1</sup> Gregory invited the young duke Taso to come and meet him at the Venetian town Opitergium (*Oderzo*), which was still subject to the Empire, promising to adopt him as his 'filius per arma,' the symbol of which new relationship was the cutting off of the first downy beard of the young warrior by his adoptive father. Fearing no evil, Taso went accordingly to Opitergium with Cacco, and a band of chosen youthful warriors. As soon as they had entered the city, the treacherous governor caused the gates to be shut, and sent a band of armed men to attack the young Forojulian chiefs. Seeing that death was inevitable, they resolved to sell their lives dearly, and having given one another a last farewell, the two dukes and their comrades rushed through the streets and squares of the city slaying all whom they met. The slaughter of Roman citizens was terrible, but in the end all the Lombards were left dead upon the pavement of Opitergium. The Exarch ordered the head of Taso to be brought to him, and with traitorous fidelity cut off the beard of the young chieftain, so fulfilling his promise<sup>2</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.  
—  
Treachery  
of the  
Exarch (?)  
Gregory.

Such is the story of the massacre of Opitergium

(Paulus, H. L. iv. 38). For the identification of Zellia with the Gail-thal I am indebted to Gilbert and Churchill (*Dolomite Mountains*, p. 179 note). It seems to me much more probable than the identification with Cilli. For Medaria, Waitz suggests *Windisch-Matrei*.

<sup>1</sup> Paulus calls him 'Patricius Romanorum,' but we can hardly be wrong in interpreting this to mean Exarch.

<sup>2</sup> 'Fredegarius' (so-called) tells a story (iv. 69) which seems to be derived from this, as to the murder of Taso, 'duke of Tuscany,'

BOOK VII. as related to us by the Lombard historian. It is  
 CH. 2. possible that there is another side to the story, and that some excesses of Taso's henchmen may have provoked a tumult, in which he and his brother perished: but as it is told to us the affair reminds us of the meditated massacre of Marcianople<sup>1</sup>; and like that massacre it was bitterly avenged.

Grasulf (II) duke. The two young dukes of Friuli being thus cut off in their prime, their uncle Grasulf, brother of Gisulf, succeeded to the vacant duchy<sup>2</sup>. Radwald and Grimwald, sore at heart at being thus passed over, took ship, and sailed for Benevento, where, as we shall

by the Patrician Isaac. According to him Charoald (Ariwald), king of the Lombards, offers Isaac that he will remit one of the three hundredweights of gold which the Empire pays yearly to the Lombards if he will put Taso out of the way. Isaac accordingly invites Taso to Ravenna, offering to help him against 'Charoald,' whom Taso knows that he has displeased. Taso repairs to Ravenna with a troop of warriors, who, through fear of the Emperor's displeasure, are prevailed upon to leave their arms outside the walls. They enter the city, and the prepared assassins at once rush upon and kill them. Thenceforward the yearly *beneficia* from the Empire to the Lombards are reduced from three hundredweights of gold to two. Soon after 'Charoald' dies. As Ariwald's reign lasted from 626 to 636, and as Isaac did not become Exarch till 620, it seems to me absolutely impossible in any way to reconcile this wild story with the events described by Paulus, which must have happened many years earlier. Either 'Fredegarius,' who is a most unsafe guide, has got hold of an utterly inaccurate version of the death of Taso, son of Gisulf II, or the coincidence of name is accidental, and the story of 'Fredegarius' relates to some completely different series of events to which we have lost the clue.

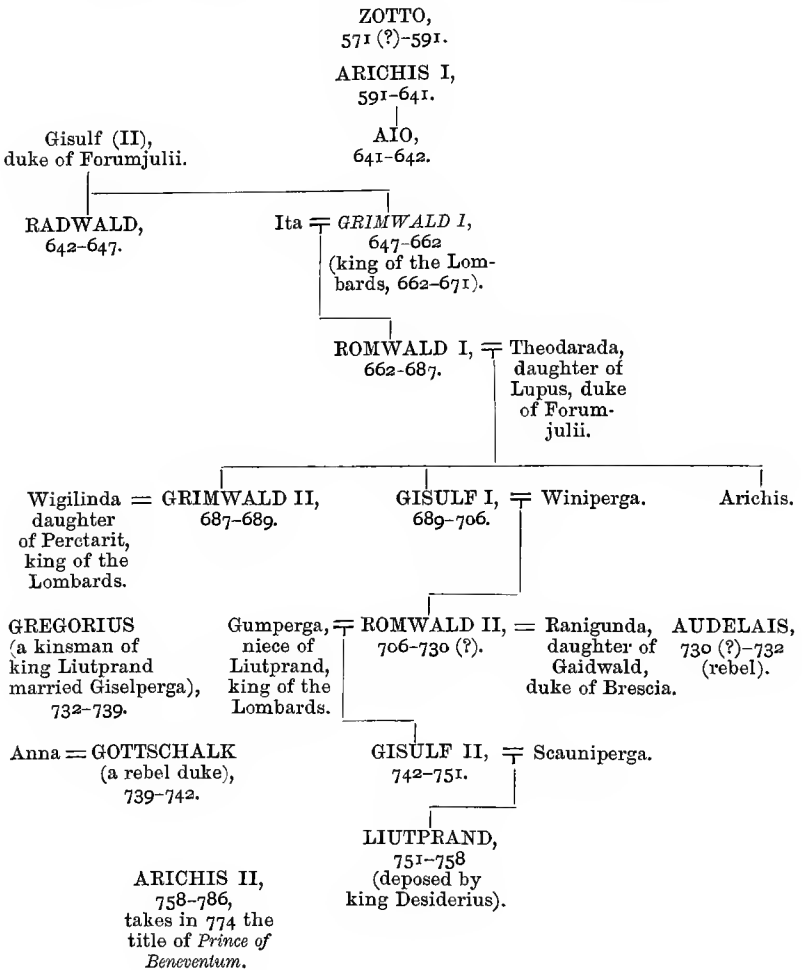
<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 109 (p. 257, second edition).

<sup>2</sup> I do not attempt to assign any date for these events. De Rubeis puts the Avar invasion in 615, the accession of Grasulf (II) 616, and his death 661. The last date is almost certainly too late, but we have only conjecture to guide us.

see, they had an old friend in the person of the reigning duke. We, too, will follow their example, and leave Friuli for Benevento, for there is nothing further recorded of the history of the former duchy for half a century after the invasion of the Avars.

## DUKES OF BENEVENTUM.

(Names of the dukes in capitals : king of Italy in *Italic capitals*.)



### III. Duchy of Benevento.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.

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*Source* :—PAULUS.

*Guides* :—

My chief guide in this section has been Cav. Almerico *Meo-martini*, engineer and architect. Both his elaborate treatise 'I Monumenti e le opere d' arte della Città di Benevento (1889–1894), and still more the personal explanations with which he favoured me in the course of a recent visit to the city, have been of the greatest possible service.

*De Vita*, Thesaurus Antiquitatum Beneventanarum (Rome, 1754 and 1769) : *Isernia*, Istoria della Città di Benevento (1883) : and *Hirsch*, Das Herzogthum Benevent (Leipzig, 1871), have also all been found helpful, especially the last named work.

BENEVENTO stands in an amphitheatre of hills overlooking the two rivers Calore and Sabato, which meet near its western extremity, and flowing on together for about thirty miles, pour their waters into the channel which bears the name of the Voltorno<sup>1</sup>, and so pass out by Capua to the sea.

Situation  
of Bene-  
vento.

The city of Beneventum, as we have already seen<sup>2</sup>, laid claim to a high antiquity, professing to have been founded by Diomed, and to show the tusks of the monstrous boar, which in the days of his grandfather ravaged the territory of Calydon. Leaving these mythical glories on one side, we remark only that it was a city of the Samnites possibly at one time inhabited by the Etruscans of Campania, and that about the time of the Third Samnite War (B.C. 298–290) it passed under the dominion of Rome. In its

Early his-  
tory of  
the city.

<sup>1</sup> My reason for using this expression is that it seems to me that both from the length of its course, and the volume of its waters, Calore has more right to the name of the united river than Voltorno.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. p. 85.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.

neighbourhood (B.C. 275) Manius Curius won that decisive victory over Pyrrhus, which settled the question whether the Roman or the Greek was to be master in the Italian peninsula. Seven years after this (B.C. 268) the Romans, true to their constant policy of pinning down newly conquered territories by the establishment of miniature Roman republics among them, sent a colony to the city by the Calore; and on this occasion that city, which had previously been called Maleventum, had that name of evil omen, which it had accidentally received, changed into the more auspicious Beneventum, by which it has thenceforth been known in history<sup>1</sup>. The chief importance of Beneventum arose from its being situated on the great *Via Appia*, which led from Rome through Capua to Tarentum and Brundisium. Many a schoolboy has read the passage in the *Iter Brundisium* in which Horace describes the officious zeal of the innkeeper at Beneventum, who, while blowing up his fire to roast a few lean thrushes for his illustrious guests, narrowly escaped burning down his own house<sup>2</sup>. Some portion of

Situation  
on the *Via*  
*Appia*.

<sup>1</sup> As was stated in vol. iv. p. 85, Procopius without hesitation ascribes the original name Maleventum to the fierce winds to which, from its elevated situation, it was exposed. And certainly to me, when passing the night there, and hearing the wind, which seemed dashing with all its fury and with stormy tears against the windows of my inn, the derivation seemed probable enough. It seems, however, to be now pretty well settled that the original Oscan name *Malies* was Grecised into *Malioenton* or *Maleventum* as Acragas was changed into Agrigentum, and that *ventus*, wind, does not really enter into its composition.

<sup>2</sup> 'Tendimus hinc rectâ Beneventum ubi sedulus hospes  
Pene arsit macros dum turdos versat in igni:  
Nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam  
Vulcano, summum properabat lambere tectum.'

(Sat. i. 5. 71-73).



the bridge by which the Appian Way crossed the river Sabato is still standing, and is known by the somewhat mysterious name of *Il Ponte Lebbroso*<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.

But a century after Horace's Brundisian journey the greatest of the Roman Emperors stamped his name on Beneventum by a noble work of public utility, and by a stately monument. The old road to Brundisium, over which Horace travelled, had apparently been a mere mule-track where it crossed the Apennines<sup>2</sup>, the road which was passable by wheeled carriages making a bend to the south, and circling round by Tarentum. In order to avoid this deviation, and to save a day in the through journey from Rome to the east, the Emperor made the new and splendid road across the mountains which thenceforward bore the name of *Via Trajana*.

Via Trajana.

<sup>1</sup> The Leprous Bridge. At the eastern end of this bridge are some massive stones, evidently of Roman workmanship. Many of them are pierced with 'luis-holes,' and it is suggested that from these the epithet leprous may have been derived. In the eleventh century a great part of the bridge was destroyed by a certain Rector, who, obtaining a concession from Prince Landulf VI, dammed up the stream, and erected a mill instead of the bridge.

<sup>2</sup> The authority for this statement is Strabo, vi. 3. 5: Δύο εἰσὶν ὁδοὶ, μία μὲν ἡμιονικὴ διὰ Πευκετίων καὶ Δανυτιῶν καὶ Σανυτιῶν μέχρι Βενενοῦντου· ἐφ' ἧ ὁδῷ Ἐργατία πόλις εἶτα Κελία . . . καὶ Κανύσιον καὶ Κερδονία. ἡ δὲ διὰ Τάραντος μικρὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ· ὅσον δὲ μᾶς ἡμέρας περίοδον κυκλεύσαντι ἡ Ἀππία λεγομένη ἀμαξήλατος μᾶλλον. It is incidentally confirmed by Horace's lines in the *Iter Brundisium*:—

‘Incipit ex illo montes Apulia notos  
Ostentare mihi quos torret Atabulus, et quos  
Nunquam erepsemus nisi nos vicina Trivici  
Villa recepisset . . . . .  
Quatuor hinc rapimur viginti et millia *rhedis*.’

The emphatic mention of *rhedis* shows that the part of the journey immediately preceding had been performed on the backs of horses or mules.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.  
The Arch  
of Trajan.

To commemorate this great engineering work there was erected on the north side of the city in the year 114, a triumphal arch dedicated to 'Nerva Trajanus Optimus Augustus, Germanicus et Dacicus' by the Senate and people of Rome<sup>1</sup>. This noble work, which has hardly yet received from archaeologists the attention which it deserves<sup>2</sup>, though it has suffered much at the hands of sportive barbarians, still casts a light upon the reign of the best of Roman Emperors, only less bright than that thrown by the celebrated column at Rome. It is like the same Emperor's Arch at Ancona, but not despoiled of its bas-reliefs; like the Arch of Constantine, but with its best works of art restored to their rightful owner; like the Arch of Titus save for the incidental interest which the latter derives from the fact that it records the calamity of the chosen people. Here, notwithstanding the irritating amputations effected by the mischievous hands of boys of many generations, we can still discover the representation of the chief scenes in the life of Trajan, his adoption by Nerva, his triumphal entry into Rome, his victory over the Dacian chief Decebalus. Here we can see him achieving some of his great peaceful triumphs, giving the 'congiarium'

<sup>1</sup> The inscription gives the date 'Tribunicia Potestate XVIII. Imperator VII, Cos VI.' These dates correspond with the year mentioned above (A. D. 114), the year in which Trajan set out on his expedition to the East. This fact, and the absence of 'Parthicus' from the Emperor's titles, prove, I think, that Cav. Meomartini is right in refusing to find any reference in the sculptures on the Arch to the subjugation of Armenia, or other events of the Parthian War.

<sup>2</sup> I must except the very painstaking work of Monsignor Rossi (Naples, 1816), and the yet more elaborate and trustworthy work of Cav. Meomartini, to which I have already referred.

to the citizens of Rome, founding an asylum for orphans, and hailed by the Senate's enthusiastic acclamations as Optimus Princeps. And lastly, here we see the Roman sculptor's conception of an Imperial apotheosis : Trajan's sister Marciana welcomed into the assembly of the Immortals by Capitolian Jupiter, while Minerva and Ceres, Bacchus and Mercury, look on approvingly.

It was not only the Via Appia and the Via Trajana that entered the gates of Beneventum. A branch of the other great southern road, the Via Latina, led off to it from the neighbourhood of Teanum, and another road skirting the northern side of Mons Tifernus connected it with Aesernia and the north-east end of Latium. The more we study the Roman itineraries the more are we impressed with the importance of Beneventum as a military position for the Lombards commanding the southern portion of Italy, watching as from a hostile outpost the movements of the duke of Neapolis, blocking the great highroad between Rome and Constantinople, and cutting off the Romans on the Adriatic from the Romans on the Tyrrhene Sea. Yet though doubtless strategic considerations weighed heaviest in the scale when the Lombard chiefs were choosing their southern capital, the character of the climate had also probably something to do with their selection. Children of the north, and denizens of the forest and the moorland, the Lombards (or at any rate some of the Lombards) shrank at first from fixing their homes in the sultry alluvial plains. The cooler air of the uplands, the near neighbourhood of the great Apennine chain, even the boisterous wind which blustered round the walls

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.

Strategical  
importance of  
Bene-  
vento.

BOOK VII. of Beneventum were all additional recommendations  
 CH. 2. in the eyes of the first generation of invaders who had  
 crossed the Alps with Alboin.

‘The Sam- The duchy of Benevento is often spoken of by  
 nite Paulus as the duchy of the Samnites<sup>1</sup>. At first the  
 duchy.’ use of so archaic a term of geography strikes us as  
 a piece of mere pedantry, and only provokes a smile ;  
 but when we look a little more closely into the matter  
 our objection to it almost disappears. The attitude  
 of the old Samnite mountaineers to the lowlanders  
 of Campania, Greek, Etruscan, Oscan, or Roman, seems  
 reproduced in the attitude of the Lombards of Bene-  
 vento to the Imperialist duke of Neapolis, and the  
 citizens of Salernum and Paestum. The pass of the  
 Caudine Forks, the scene of Rome’s greatest humili-  
 ation (whether it be placed at S. Agata dei Goti or  
 at Arpaia), was within fifteen miles of Benevento.  
 Though wars, proscriptions and the horrors of the  
 Roman *latifundia* may have well nigh exterminated all  
 the population in whose veins ran a drop of the old  
 Samnite blood, the faithful memory of the mountaineer  
 may have retained some trace of those great wars,  
 which once made each pass of the Apennines memor-  
 able ; and even as the Vandals of Carthage avenged  
 the wrongs of their long vanished Punic predecessors,  
 so possibly some faint tradition of the ungenerous treat-

<sup>1</sup> ‘Defuncto Arichis . . . Aio, ejus filius Samnitum ductor effectus est’ (H. L. iv. 44). ‘Aput Beneventum . . . mortuo Raduald duce . . . Grimuald ejus germanus dux effectus est gubernavitque ducatum Samnitium annis quinque et viginti’ (H. L. iv. 46). ‘Post quem [Romuald] ejus filius Grimualdus tribus annis Samnitum populos rexit’ (H. L. vi. 2). ‘Defuncto itaque Gisulfo Beneventano duce, Samnitum populum Romuald, ejus filius, regendum suscepit’ (H. L. vi. 39).

ment of that noble Samnite general C. Pontius of Telesia BOOK VII.  
by his Roman conquerors may have reached the ears of CH. 2.  
Arichis or Grimwald, and nerved them to more bitter  
battle against the Roman dwellers in the plain below.

I have briefly touched on the history of Beneventum Glance at  
the later  
history of  
Bene-  
vento.  
before it became the seat of a Lombard duchy. The  
chief architectural monuments of Lombard domination  
belong to the reign of Arichis II, and are therefore  
outside the limits of this volume. But having followed  
the fortunes of the city so far, I may here record the  
fact that the Lombard duchy of Benevento lasted as  
an independent state till the latter part of the eleventh  
century, when the Norman conquest of Southern Italy,  
contemporaneous with the Norman conquest of Eng-  
land, extinguished its existence along with that of its  
old Greek or Imperial foes. The city of Benevento  
itself, in the troubles connected with the Norman  
invasion, became a part of the Papal territory (1053),  
and so remained down to our own times, though  
entirely surrounded by the dominions of the Neapolitan  
kings, and seventy miles distant from the frontier of  
the States of the Church. In the plain below the city  
walls, on the banks of the river Calore, was fought in  
1266 that fatal battle in which Manfred, the last of  
the Hohenstauffen princes, was defeated by Charles  
of Anjou, the first, but by no means the last, of the  
French lords of Southern Italy. From various causes  
Benevento lost much of the importance which had  
belonged to it at the beginning of the Middle Ages.  
During the Saracen invasions of the ninth and tenth  
centuries the old Roman roads fell into decay, and the  
great Via Appia and Via Trajana no longer brought  
traders to its gates. When Naples ceased to be under

BOOK VII. a Byzantine ruler, it naturally took the place of Bene-  
CH. 2. vento as capital of Southern Italy. Later on the position of the city as a mere *enclave* of the Popes, surrounded by the territory of sometimes unfriendly princes, was doubtless unfavourable to its commercial growth. Thus it has come to pass that Benevento now possesses only a little over 20,000 inhabitants, and has played no important part in the later history of Italy. In fact the historian of the nineteenth century will perhaps find his chief reason for remembering it in the fact that in the short-lived Empire of Napoleon it gave the title of Prince to that strange and shifty intriguer, the Sisyphus of modern politics, Bishop or Citizen Talleyrand. It now, however, of course, forms part of the kingdom of Italy, and is capital of a province. With good roads, and becoming again by the construction of two or three converging railroads, somewhat of a focus of communication for Southern Italy, it is likely to be an important agricultural centre, and may perhaps regain by trade some of the importance which it lost by politics and war.

But we have wandered thirteen centuries away from our proper subject. We must return to the middle of the sixth century. The still existing city walls, to a large extent of Roman workmanship, the eight gates by which they are pierced, the arch immediately outside them, the remains of the baths and amphitheatre, the ruins of a vast warehouse outside the city, all help us to imagine its appearance as it lay in desolate grandeur for some twenty years or more after Totila had thrown down its walls, and before the "unspeakable Lombard" came marching along the Appian Way to ravage and to rule.

•

It was probably about the year 571, three years after Alboin's first entrance into Italy, that a Lombard chief named Zotto entered the city—an easy prey by reason of its ruined walls—and established himself there as its duke<sup>1</sup>. From this centre, in the course of his twenty years' reign, he extended his dominions far and wide over Southern Italy. Naples, which was no doubt the chief object of his desire, he never succeeded in capturing, though he besieged it in 581<sup>2</sup>. But Aquinum, more than sixty miles north-west of Benevento (that little Volscian town which was one day to become famous as the birthplace of a great theologian and philosopher), was laid waste about the year 577 by the swords of barbarians<sup>3</sup>, who were probably the soldiers of Zotto. And towards the end of Zotto's reign, about the year 590, the little town of Atina,

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.

Founda-  
tion of the  
Duchy of  
Bene-  
vento.  
Duke Zot-  
to, 571 (?)—  
591.

<sup>1</sup> The date of the foundation of the duchy of Benevento has been the subject of much discussion, but, upon the whole, the notice in Paulus (H. L. iii. 33), 'Fuit autem primus Langobardorum dux in Benevento nomine Zotto, qui in eâ (*sic*) principatus est per curricula viginti annorum,' which gives us 571 for the beginning of Zotto's reign (it ended in 591), seems to agree sufficiently well with the course of the Lombard invasion. The year 569, for which Di Meo contends, seems decidedly too early. (See Ferdinand Hirsch, *Das Herzogthum Benevent*, p. 3).

<sup>2</sup> So says a fragment, not perhaps of very high authority, quoted by Troya (iv. i. 30), 'Eo jubente ego Petrus Notarius S. Ecclesiae Neapolitanae, emendavi sub die Iduum Decembrium Imperatore Domino nostro Tiberio Constantino Augusto (*sic*) anno septimo post consulatum ejus Agusti (*sic*) anno tertio Indictione quinta-decimâ *obsidentibus Langobardis Neapolitanam civitatem . . . codicem.*' These dates are equivalent to December 13, 581.

<sup>3</sup> 'Quo (Iovino) adhuc superstite, ita cuncti inhabitatores civitatis illius et barbarorum gladiis et pestilentiae immanitate vastati sunt, ut post mortem illius nec quis episcopus fieret, nec quibus fieret inveniri potuisset' (Greg. Dialog. iii. 8).

BOOK VII. somewhat north of Aquinum, and not far from Arpinum  
CH. 2. (the birthplace of Marius and Cicero), was entered by the ruthless Lombards, and its bishop, Felix, after an episcopate of thirty years, 'died as a martyr under the hands of the Beneventan duke, the city and the great church being also destroyed<sup>1</sup>' at the same time.

Destruction of the monastery on Monte Cassino.

It was apparently about the same time, or perhaps a year earlier (589), that the great convent, which the saintly Benedict had reared sixty years before on Monte Cassino, was stormed in the night by Zotto's savage followers. They laid hands on everything valuable that they could find in that abode of willing poverty, probably not much besides the vessels of divine service, and perhaps some ornaments of the founder's tomb. Not one of the monks, however, was taken, and thus was fulfilled the prophecy of their father Benedict, who long before, predicting the coming calamity, had said, 'With difficulty have I obtained of the Lord that from this place the persons alone should be granted me<sup>2</sup>.' The fugitive monks escaped to Rome, carrying with them the original manuscript of the Benedictine Rule, and some other writings; the regulation weight for the bread, and measure for the wine, and such scanty bed furniture as they could save from the general ruin<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Chronicon Atinense in *Anecdota Ughelliana*, quoted by Hirsch (p. 5).

<sup>2</sup> 'Qui universa diripientes, nec unum ex monachis tenere poterunt, ut prophetia venerabilis Benedicti patris quam longe ante praeviderat impleretur quâ dixit, "Vix apud Deum optinere potui, ut ex hoc loco mihi animae cederentur."' Perhaps an allusion to Gen. xiv. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Paulus (H. L. iv. 17) assigns the destruction of Monte Cassino with a vague 'circa haec tempora' to the year 601. But it is generally agreed that this is a mistake, and that the event occurred



It was under the fourth successor of St. Benedict that BOOK VII.  
CH. 2. this ruin of the great convent took place<sup>1</sup>, and notwithstanding all the softened conditions of life in Italy during the generations that were to follow, it was 130 years before the *Coenobium* of Monte Cassino rose again from its ruins.

In the year 591 Duke Zotto died, having pushed the Death of  
Duke Zotto,  
591. terror of his ravages, as we can see from the early letters of Pope Gregory, far into Apulia, Lucania and Calabria<sup>2</sup>. In all this career of conquest he had been apparently acting on his own responsibility, with very little regard to the central power, such as it was, in Northern Italy: and indeed, during half of his reign there 'had been no king over Israel,' only that loose confederacy of dukes of which he must have been nearly, if not quite, the most powerful member. But either Zotto left none of his own family to succeed him, or the obvious danger to the Lombard state, involved in the independence of Benevento, stirred up the new king, Agilulf, to a vigorous assertion of the right which was undoubtedly his in theory, to nominate Zotto's successor. His choice fell on Arichis<sup>3</sup>, who was a kinsman of Gisulf, duke of Friuli, and who had, according to Paulus, acted for some time as instructor of his younger sons in all manly exercises<sup>4</sup>.

at least eleven years earlier. (See Hirsch, p. 4, and Jacobi, *Die Quellen des Lombardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus*, p. 26).

<sup>1</sup> The succession, as given by Paulus, was Benedict, Constantine, Simplicius, Vitalis, Bonitus (under whom the destruction took place).

<sup>2</sup> Canosa in Apulia, Tauri in Calabria, Velia, Buxentum and Blanda in Calabria were all more or less deserted by the citizens or the clergy (Greg. Ep. i. 44, 53, 41; ii. 16, 17, 43).

<sup>3</sup> Called Arogis by Pope Gregory.

<sup>4</sup> 'Mortuo igitur Zottone Beneventanorum duce Arigis in loco

BOOK VII. The reign of Arichis I lasted fifty years, from 591 to  
 CH. 2. 641, and was an important period in the history of the

ipsius a rege Agilulfo missus successit, qui ortus in Forojulii fuerat et Gisulfi Forojulani ducis filios educarat eidemque Gisulfo consanguineus erat' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 18). This statement, coupled with the already entangled family history of Gisulf of Friuli, has caused no little perplexity to the commentators. Arichis, as we shall see, died in the year 541, at an advanced age, and can hardly have been much more than thirty at his accession to the duchy of Benevento. But how could Grimwald, son of Gisulf, be one of his pupils before 591,—that Grimwald who was still a little boy who had not learned to ride at the time of the Avar invasion, which is generally dated about 610? As Lupi remarks, it was not the business of Lombard chiefs to tend babes in the nursery, and not even the earliest date that can possibly be assigned to the Avar invasion (say even 603), would allow Grimwald to be more than a baby when Arichis was in the palace of Forojulii. It is clear, therefore, that we must abandon the idea of Grimwald at any rate having been trained by Arichis. Even as to his elder brothers Taso and Cacco the matter is difficult enough, for the eldest of these was young enough to be adopted as 'filius per arma' by the Exarch after his father's death (say about 612). How can his birth, therefore, be placed earlier than about 585, six years before Arichis becomes duke of Benevento? Crivellucci, whose analysis of the Forojulian pedigree is otherwise most satisfactory, seems to me only to cut the knot—and not in a satisfactory manner—by bringing the Avar invasion forward to 603. So difficult is the problem that one is inclined, with Di Meo and Hirsch, to cut the knot in another fashion by saying that Paulus is altogether wrong, and that Arichis had nothing to do with the education of the sons of any duke of Friuli. Only as we have seen reason to think that there is a missing link in the Forojulian pedigree, and that Paulus himself may have made some confusion between Gisulf I and Gisulf II, I would suggest that it may have been the children of an earlier generation whom Arichis instructed. Gisulf I may have had sons, none of whom succeeded him in the duchy, or (which is, I suspect, the true solution) it was really Duke *Grasulf I* whose sons Arichis trained up; that is to say, Gisulf II and *Grasulf II*. On this hypothesis, when Arichis in middle life received the two young princes Radwald and Grimwald at his court, it was not his old pupils

new duchy. I have called it a reign advisedly, for whatever may have been the theory of his relation to the Lombard king ruling at Pavia, it is clear that in practice Arichis acted as an independent sovereign. We have seen him, in a previous chapter, making war on his own account with Naples and Rome: nay more, we have seen that King Agilulf himself could not conclude a peace with the Empire till Arichis was graciously pleased to come in and give his assent to the treaty. It is suggested<sup>1</sup> that if Agilulf, on Zotto's death, had taken proper measures for ensuring the dependence of the duchy of Benevento on the central monarchy, he might still have accomplished that result: but whether this be so or no, it is clear that the long and successful reign of a great warrior like Arichis, a reign, too, which coincided with many weak and short reigns of his nominal superiors at Pavia, established the virtual independence of the southern duchy. There was apparently no royal domain reserved in all that long reach of territory; there were no officers acting in the king's name, or appointed by him; and when at last the reign of Arichis came to an end his successor was chosen without even a pretence of consulting the Lombard sovereign.

It was during this reign that the duchy of Benevento received that geographical extension which, in the main, it kept for centuries. Roughly speaking, it included the old Italian provinces of Samnium, Apulia, Campania, Lucania, and Bruttii, except such parts of the coast—and they were considerable, and included all themselves, but the sons of one of them, that he welcomed to Benevento.

<sup>1</sup> By Hirsch, p. 18.

BOOK VII. the best harbours—as were still held by the Empire.  
 CH. 2. The capital and heart of the duchy were in the province of Samnium, and ‘the people of the Samnites’ is, as we have seen, the phrase generally used by Paulus when he is speaking of the Lombards of Benevento. It is certainly with a strange feeling of the return of some great historic cycle that we find Rome engaged in a breathless struggle for her very existence with Carthage in the fifth century after Christ, and with ‘the Samnites’ in the sixth.

The limits of the Samnite duchy cannot now be very exactly defined. On the north-west the frontier must have run for some distance side by side with that of the *Ducatus Romae* along the river Liris, and under the Volscian hills. In the Sabine territory and Picenum, the Fucine lake and the river Pescara<sup>1</sup> probably formed the boundary with the other great Lombard duchy of Central Italy, that of Spoleto. The easternmost peninsula (sometimes called the heel of Italy), which lies between the gulf of Taranto and the Adriatic, and which includes Taranto itself, Otranto and Brindisi, was still held by the Empire at the death of Arichis. So did the extreme south, the toe of Italy, forming a large part of the ancient province of Bruttii. Consentiae (Cosenza)<sup>2</sup> seems here to have been close to the border line between the Imperial and the Lombard dominions. Rossano was still Imperial, and a line

<sup>1</sup> Hirsch (p. 9, quoting Erchempert in *Monumenta Sanctorum*, iii. p. 243) says that Chieti belonged at this time to the duchy of Benevento, and was not detached therefrom and joined to that of Spoleto till the time of Charles the Great. I presume that the river Sangro would then become the boundary of the two duchies.

<sup>2</sup> There is some doubt about Cosenza. Hirsch (p. 9. n. 5) makes it Lombard; Diehl (p. 77) Imperial.

drawn across the peninsula from that city to Amantia formed the frontier between 'Romania and Varbaricum.' The patient monks of Cassiodorus therefore, in their convent at Squillace, could study theology and grammar, and transcribe the treatises of their founder, undisturbed under the aegis of the Empire. Further north all the lovely bay of Naples, with its fine harbours and flourishing cities, owned the sway of the Roman Augustus. It was not till towards the end of the reign of Arichis (probably about 640) that the city of Salerno passed, apparently by peaceful means, into the keeping of the Lombards<sup>1</sup>.

The few facts which illustrate the internal history of the duchy, and especially those which throw any light on the condition of the conquered Roman inhabitants, will come under our notice in later chapters. It will be enough to say here that all the symptoms would seem to show that the oppression was harder, the robbery of cities and churches more ruthless, the general relation of the two nations more unnatural, in the duchy of Benevento (and probably in that of Spoleto also) than in the northern kingdom. No Theudelinda was at work here to help forward the blessed work of amalgamation between the races. It is true that in the spring of 599 we find Pope Gregory writing to Arichis, and asking for help in the felling of timber in the forests of Bruttii for the repairs of the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul<sup>2</sup>. As before

Relations  
of the  
Dukes of  
Bene-  
vento with  
the Popes.

<sup>1</sup> See Hirsch, p. 8. The surrender of Salerno must have taken place after 625, for a letter is addressed by Pope Honorius (who ruled from 625 to 638) to Anatolius, Magister Militum at that place. The city was not destroyed, and kept its bishop, Gaudiosus. All this looks like a peaceful surrender.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. v. p. 428.

BOOK VII. said, we must not conclude that because the Pope in this  
 CH. 2.

letter addresses 'Arogis' as his son, he had joined the Catholic Church. It is true that Gregory would hardly have used this mode of address to a notorious idolater, perhaps hardly to a bitter Arian persecutor; but these Lombard conquerors were not as a rule sufficiently interested in theology to be persecutors. They were simply rough, sensual, boorish children of the forest, men who, if there were any object to be gained, would address the great bishop of Rome as 'Father,' and would be glad to be addressed by him as 'Glorious Son,' but would not surrender an ounce of church plate, nor recall a single bishop from the exile into which their suspicions had driven him, for all the loving exhortations of the Holy Father.

Religious  
 condition  
 of Bene-  
 vento.

Thus it came to pass that all through the long-reign of Arichis, the Catholics of his duchy were in a lamentable state of spiritual destitution. The unusually large number of episcopal cities which were once to be found in Southern Italy seem to have remained widowed of their bishops, and the convents, like Monte Cassino itself, lay, probably for the greater part of the seventh century, in ruins. Even Benevento, the capital of the duchy, had perhaps no resident bishop till shortly before St. Barbatus came to it (in 663) to restore the ruins of many generations. The life of this saint (from which some quotations will be made in a note to a later chapter) draws a lamentable picture of the foolish and degrading superstitions by which the people of Benevento, though calling themselves baptized Christians, were still held in bondage. Salerno seems to be the only city in this region (except those that remained in the possession of the Empire)

which can show an absolutely unbroken line of bishops during all this troubled time; and this exceptional prosperity is probably accounted for by the fact of its peaceful surrender to the conquerors <sup>BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.</sup> <sup>—————</sup> <sup>1.</sup>

Arichis had probably been reigning some twenty or five-and-twenty years when (as was told in the last section) his young kinsmen, Radwald and Grimwald, having left Friuli in disdain, landed from their little bark <sup>Radwald and Grimwald arrive at Benevento.</sup> <sup>2</sup>, and made their way to the court of Benevento. They were received by Arichis with the utmost cordiality, and brought up as his own sons. He had indeed one son of his own named Aio, but over him there hung a mystery which clouded the last years of the life of Arichis. When the great King Rothari took his seat on the Lombard throne, Arichis ordered his son <sup>Aio, son of Arichis, at Ravenna, 636.</sup> to repair to Pavia, probably with a message of dutiful submission from one who, though in fact king of all Southern Italy, yet owned the king of the Lombards as his lord <sup>3</sup>. On his way, the young prince tarried at Ravenna. Whether he ever completed his journey to Pavia we are not informed, but when he returned to Benevento all men noted a strange alteration in his behaviour. Dark rumours were spread abroad that by

<sup>1</sup> In this paragraph I follow Hirsch, who seems to have enquired carefully into the ecclesiastical history of the duchy. A certain Barbarus, bishop of that city, is addressed by Pope Gregory (Epp. iv. 41 and xiii. 13), but the tone of both letters, and the commissions entrusted to him, seem clearly to indicate as Hirsch points out) that he was then living in Sicily, an exile from his see. The chief sees which can be shown to have been still existing in the first half of the seventh century are Paestum, Buxentum, Blanda, Capua, Siponto, and perhaps Lesina (Hirsch, p. 16. n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> *Navicula*.

<sup>3</sup> We can only speak conjecturally as to the degree of submission to Rothari which Aio's mission may have expressed.

BOOK VII. the malice of the Romans some maddening potion had  
 CH. 2. been brewed for him at Ravenna. Perhaps we may conjecture that the maddening potion was only that Circean cup of enchantment which the dissolute cities of the Romans have so often held out to the easily-tempted sons of the Teutons; but, whatever the cause, Aio from that time forth was never again in full mental health.

Aio succeeds his father,  
641.

Seeing this fatal change, Arichis, when he felt his last hour approaching, commended Radwald and Grimwald to the Lombards as his own sons, and advised that one of them rather than Aio should be his successor. The advice, however, was disregarded, and on the death of Arichis, the brain-sick Aio became 'leader of the Samnites.' Neither chief nor people seem to have taken any heed of the right which the king of the Lombards must have in theory possessed to name the new duke of Benevento.

Slavonian invasion,  
642.

We are told that Radwald and Grimwald, not murmuring at their exclusion from the throne, to which the will of Arichis had seemed to open the way, obeyed Aio in all things as their elder brother and lord. His reign, however, was not to be of long duration. A year and five months after his accession, a cloud of Slavonic invaders descended on Apulia. They came by way of the sea, with a multitude of ships, and landed at Sipontum; a city which has now disappeared from the face of the earth, but which stood under the peninsular mount of Garganus, near to the spot where, six centuries later, the last of the Hohenstauffens built out of its ruins his capital of Manfredonia. Here the Slavonians pitched their camp, which they fortified with pits dug all round it, and covered probably with



brushwood. Thither came Aio with an army, but unaccompanied by his two friends. Riding rashly forward, he fell into one of the hidden pits, and was killed, with many of his followers, by the on-rushing Slavonians. The news was brought to Radwald, who, in order to avenge his patron's death, dealt wilily. He had not forgotten the Slavonic speech which he had learned long ago in the mountains of Friuli, and, approaching the camp of the invaders, he spoke to them friendly words in their own tongue. Having thus lulled their suspicions to sleep, and made them less eager for the battle, he fell upon them at unawares, and wrought great slaughter in their ranks. Thus was Aio's death avenged, and the remnant of the Slavonians returned in haste to their own land. Radwald, who now became without dispute duke of Benevento, reigned for five years only, and at his death was succeeded by his brother Grimwald. The only event which is recorded of the latter's reign as mere duke of Benevento is that 'the Greeks' (as the Romans of the East are now beginning to be called) came to plunder the sanctuary of the Archangel Michael on Mount Garganus; a deed which recalls the ignoble raid upon Apulia made by the ships of Anastasius in the days of Theodoric the Ostrogoth<sup>1</sup>. Grimwald, however, fell upon the sacrilegious invaders with his army, and destroyed them with a great destruction.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.  
Death of  
Aio.

Radwald,  
duke, 642-  
647.  
Grim-  
wald,  
duke, 647-  
662.

At this point we rejoin for a time the main stream of Lombard history: for Grimwald, who is certainly its greatest name in the seventh century, became, as we shall see, in the latter years of his life, king of all the Lombards. Thus the history of the lad who so

<sup>1</sup> See vol. iii. p. 442.

BOOK VII. marvellously escaped from his Avar captors binds  
CH. 2. together the two duchies of Friuli and Benevento, and  
the kingdom of Pavia. The eventful story of that last  
stage of the life of Grimwald must be reserved for  
a future chapter.

IV. The Duchy of Spoleto.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.

*Source*:—PAULUS.

*Guides*:—

'I Duchi di Spoleto,' by Achille Sansi, and articles by Prof. Sordini of Florence, a native of Spoleto.

THE geographical importance of the duchy of Spoleto has been already brought before the reader's notice <sup>1</sup>. We have seen that it represented that struggle for the possession of the Flaminian Way which, since Rome and Ravenna were the two great foci of Imperial dominion in Italy, must have been always going on with more or less vigour for nearly two centuries.

Geographical importance of duchy of Spoleto.

It is true that the great Via Flaminia itself went from Narnia to Mevania <sup>2</sup>, and so passed about twenty miles west of Spoletium; but the road which branched off from Narnia to the east, and led through Interamna, Spoletium and Fulginium northward, and so on through Petra Pertusa to Ariminum <sup>3</sup>, was also a great highway, and we have seen reason in the course of the previous history <sup>4</sup> to believe that it was looked upon, at any rate so long as the tunnel of the Petra Pertusa was open, as *the* great highway between Rome and Ravenna.

Evidently the object of the Lombard dukes who placed their capital at Spoleto was to keep their hands on the throttle-valve of the Empire, and they probably

<sup>1</sup> Vol. v. chapter viii.

<sup>2</sup> Narni to Bevagna. I do not think the letters of Gregory, i. 81 and iii. 64, make it probable that at any rate up to 593 Mevania had been captured by the Lombards.

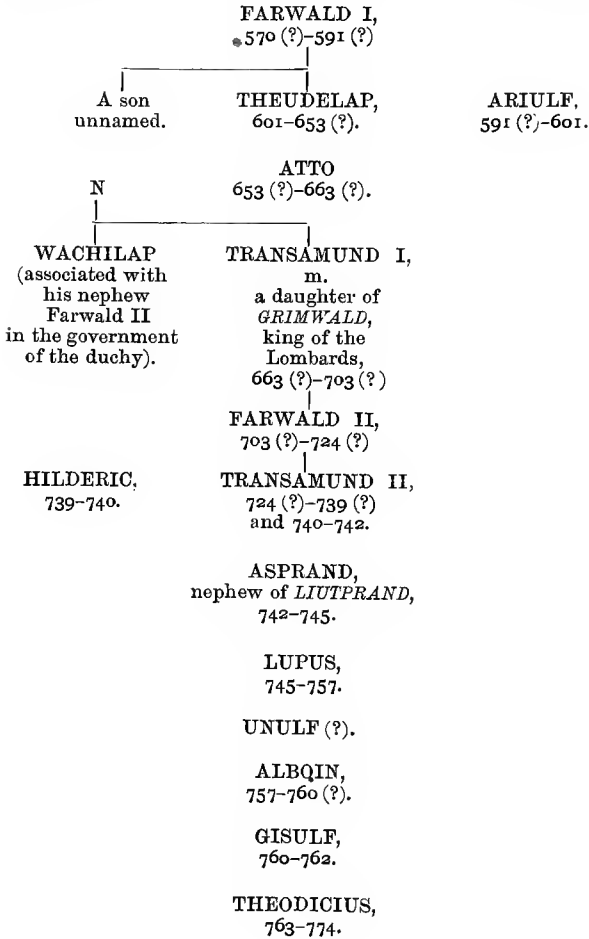
<sup>3</sup> Antonine Itinerary, pp. 125-126.

<sup>4</sup> See vol. iv. chap. x.

## DUKES OF SPOLETIUM

To the downfall of the Lombard kingdom.

(Names of the dukes in capitals : kings of Italy in Italic capitals.)



always nourished the hope of being able to close all the three roads across the Apennines<sup>1</sup> which lay in their immediate neighbourhood, and so to conquer Rome.

Spoleto itself, a city rich in historical associations of widely-parted centuries, and standing in the midst of one of the loveliest landscapes of Italy, was well worthy of the high place which it held in the early Middle Ages, and deserves far more careful study than it has yet received either from the artist or the historian. It stands upon a high hill, half encircled by the little stream of the Tessino. Faintly seen on the northern horizon are the long terraces of Assisi and the high rock-citadel of Perugia. Round it on all sides rise the beautiful hills of Umbria, with all that charm of outline and of colour which assuredly helped to train the eyes of Raffaele and Perugino to discern the Beautiful. The traveller winds his way under the city walls, whose Cyclopean masonry tells of races that fought and built in the peninsula while the hills of Rome were still a sheep-walk. He climbs under many an intersecting archway up the steep lanes which lead him to the heart of the city. Bright-eyed little children and gaily-kerchiefed women come out to look at the *forestiere*: a little tired, he reaches the top, and suddenly, between two picturesque street-lines, he sees a bit of the beautiful amphitheatre of plain, a bit of the deep purple of the mountains of Umbria.

Yet, as so often in Italy, the visitor to Spoleto finds the historic interest even more powerful to attract him than the beauty of landscape with which Nature woos his regards. Here, near the bottom of the city wall, stands an arch bearing the name of the Porta Fuga,

<sup>1</sup> By Perugia, Bevagna, and Foligno.

BOOK VII. and commemorating the memorable repulse of Hannibal  
CH. 2.  
 on that day when, flushed with his victory by Lake Trasymene, he marched up to its walls, expecting an immediate surrender; but, beaten back with heavy loss, began to understand, from the resistance of that one brave colony, how great a task he had taken in hand when he set himself to war down Rome<sup>1</sup>.

We mount higher to the crest of the hill, and find ourselves under an arch erected probably twenty-one years after the birth of Christ, bearing an inscription on its front, which states that it is dedicated to Germanicus and Drusus, the adopted and the real sons of Tiberius. The palace of the Municipality, which stands on the highest ground of the city, is erected over the remains of a spacious Roman house which is believed, apparently on sufficient evidence, to have belonged to the mother of Vespasian.

The citadel of La Rocca.

We leave the city by one of its eastern gateways, and we find ourselves under the splendid mass of the citadel (fitly called by the townspeople La Rocca), which, standing on its great promontory of cliff, towers above us on our left. Round the base of the cliff far below us circles the tiny torrent of the Tessino. But another, an artificial river, calls away our atten-

<sup>1</sup> 'Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spoletum venit. Inde quum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset cum magnâ caede suorum repulsus coniectans ex unius coloniae haud nimis prospere tentatae viribus quanta moles Romanae urbis esset in agrum Picenum avertit iter' (Livy, xxii. 10). It should be mentioned that there is some doubt as to the derivation of Porta Fuga given above. Sansi thinks that its real name was Porta Furia, and that the gate, though undoubtedly Roman, is at any rate in its present form of a date considerably later than the Punic wars.

tion from the natural streamlet. For before us rise BOOK VII.  
the ten lofty and narrow arches of a noble aqueduct, CH. 2.  
which, at a height of nearly 300 feet, spans the valley The aqueduct.  
and bridges the stream, carrying the pure water from  
the mountains into the heart of the city. It is called  
the Ponte delle Torri, and it carries a roadway at  
a little lower level than the channel of the aqueduct.

Both these two splendid structures speak to us of the Teutonic invaders of Italy. The citadel is undoubtedly on the site of the fortress raised by Theodoric, though there may be none of the actual work of the great Ostrogoth in the present building, which was reared in the fourteenth century by Cardinal Albernoz. A very strong local tradition connects the aqueduct with Theudelap, who, as we shall see, was the Lombard duke of Spoleto during the greater part of the seventh century. The pointed character of the arches makes it scarcely possible that they, at least, are of so early a period, and probably much of the grand structure which we now behold dates from the thirteenth century or even later; but cautious and accurate enquirers are inclined to admit that there is some value in the tradition which I have mentioned, and that at least in the great stone piers which support the brick arches, we may see the actual work of the subjects of Duke Theudelap<sup>1</sup>.

This is not the place for anything like a complete

<sup>1</sup> This, I think, represents the opinion of Prof. Sordini as communicated to me verbally in 1894. He does not think that the Lombard dukes greatly enlarged the circuit of Spoletium, but holds that, with the exception of some churches, and perhaps the aqueduct, they left the city very much as they took it over at the time of the conquest.

BOOK VII. enumeration of the monuments of mediæval antiquity  
 CH. 2. at Spoleto ; and I must leave undescribed the Doric

Other  
 objects of  
 interest in  
 Spoleto.

columns of some Pagan temple which now form part of the church of the Crucified One, the joyously grotesque bas-reliefs on the exterior of S. Pietro, and the gigantic stones—surely of pre-Roman workmanship—which form the base of the tower of S. Gregorio. But as illustrating what was said above as to the wealth of various memories that is stored up in these Italian cities, I may observe that the cathedral—not in itself extremely interesting, having suffered much transformation at the hands of Renaissance architects—is connected with the tragic story of Fra Filippo Lippi. His half-faded frescoes telling the story of the Virgin, line the choir of the church. His sepulchral monument, erected by Lorenzo dei Medici with an inscription in Politian's finest Latinity, is to be seen in a chapel on the north side of the choir. In this city it was that the artist monk won the love of a nobly-born lady, Lucrezia Buti, and here it was—so men said—that her indignant relatives mixed for him the fatal cup which ended his stormy life.

Modern  
 History.

If we descend to our own times we learn that in 1860 the fortress of Theodoric and Albernoz was one of the last positions that held out for the Pope-King when all Italy was rallying round the standard of Victor Emmanuel. The garrison, chiefly composed of Irishmen, bravely resisted the besiegers, but was at last forced to capitulate by a cannonade from the surrounding heights.

At present Spoleto, which contains about 11,000 inhabitants, has suffered some diminution of its importance, owing to having lost its position as *capo luogo*



of the province, and this has led to a decay of interest in its antiquities. But, as I before said, there are probably few cities in Italy which would better reward the spade of the excavator or the brush of the artist.

At the time when the savage hordes of the Lombards swarmed through the gateways of Spoleto, the minds of the citizens were still filled with the memory of a certain holy hermit named Isaac, who many years before came from Syria, and suddenly appearing in Spoleto, craved from the guardians of the great church permission to remain there as long as he might desire, in order to offer up his prayers. So small a request was readily granted; but when the holy man had remained standing for three days and nights in the attitude of prayer, one of the attendants, deeming him an impostor, slapped him on the cheek, and ordered him out of the church. At once a foul spirit seized the too hasty custodian, and caused him to fall prostrate at the feet of the unknown hermit, crying out, 'Isaac is casting me forth.' The holy man—whose name the unclean spirit alone knew—delivered his assailant from the evil one, and at once the news of his spiritual victory spread through the city. Men and women, noble and ignoble, flocked into the church to behold him, besought him to take up his abode with them, offered him houses and lands for the erection of a monastery. But Isaac, who feared peril to his poverty as the miser fears peril to his wealth, refused all their offers, saying continually, 'The monk who seeks for possessions in this world is no monk,' and built himself a humble cell in a desert place not far from the city. Here he abode many years, performing many wonderful works, the recital of which may be read in the Dia-

BOOK VII. logues of Gregory the Great <sup>1</sup>, from which the preceding  
 CH. 2. narrative is taken. As we are told that he continued almost to the very end of the Gothic domination, the fame of his sanctity must still have been fresh when Spoletium was severed from the Empire, and when her churches were profaned by the tread of the 'unspeakable Lombard.'

Boundaries of the duchy.

Such then was the city which became the capital of the Lombard domination in Central Italy. Its dukes ruled over a territory bounded by the Adriatic on the east, and by the Tiber valley (or the hills which enclosed it) on the west. On the south, a line drawn across from Subiaco by the Fucine Lake, and along the river Pescara, may roughly represent the boundary between Spoleto and Benevento. On the north the little river Musone was perhaps the boundary which separated the Spoletine dukes from hostile Ancona, while the Imperial garrisons along the Flaminian Way probably disputed with varying success the possession of all the territory northward of Tadino. Thus, stated in terms of classical geography, the dukes of Spoleto ruled the southern wedge of Umbria, the greater part of Picenum, and almost the whole of the territory which upon the maps is usually allotted to the Sabines.

Duke Farwald,  
571 (?)—  
591 (?)

The first duke of Spoleto was *Farwald*, who, if it be true that Zotto was ruling in Beneventum in 571, had probably established himself at least as early in his more northern capital.

Capture of Classis.

The chief exploit of Farwald's reign was the capture of Classis, which occurred probably about 579 or 580 <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> iii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> The indications of time in Paulus (H. L. iii. 13) are as usual

while the inefficient Longinus was still the Imperial BOOK VII.  
CH. 2. governor of Italy. A great achievement truly this must have been, and one which, had the Lombards possessed the same fertility of resource which was shown by their Vandal kinsfolk, might have turned Classis into a second Carthage, and given them the empire of the Mediterranean. As it was, it seems difficult to suppose that they ever seriously interrupted the communications even of Ravenna, and Constantinople; for Exarchs came and went, and letters seem to have been freely interchanged between the Emperor and his representatives. It was therefore probably only the town, not the whole even of the harbour of Classis, of which the Lombards kept possession; but even so, it must have been a galling thing for the 'Romans' of Ravenna to feel that the invaders had established themselves in that place, which with Caesarea was joined by one continuous line of houses to their own city, that the domes and towers from which in its pictured semblance on the walls of S. Apollinare, the procession of Virgin martyrs set forth to adore the Holy Child<sup>1</sup> were now in the hands of heretics and idolaters.

Classis seems to have been held by the Lombards of Spoleto for eight or nine years, and was finally reconquered for the Empire (perhaps in the year 588), by that Romanized Teuton Droctulf, on whose tomb, as we have seen, this military operation was recorded as one of the proudest of his triumphs<sup>2</sup>. Classis retaken by Droctulf.

vague, but he connects the capture of Classis with the mission of Gregory as *apocrisarius* to Constantinople, which we have seen reason to date about 579.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. iii. p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> 'Inde etiam retinet dum Classem fraude Faroaldus, Vindict

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.

Rome  
threaten-  
ed.

July 13,  
574-June  
2, 575.

July 30 to  
Nov. 26,  
579.

Against the older and more venerable capital by the Tiber, it is possible that Farwald also urged his savage soldiery. When we hear that before the consecration of Pope Benedict I, there was an interval of more than ten months and three days<sup>1</sup>, during which the Papal throne remained unoccupied; we may reasonably conjecture that Lombard pressure, either from the side of Tuscany, or from that of Spoleto, was the cause of this long delay. At the next vacancy, when, after an interval of nearly four months, Pelagius II was chosen without the leave of the Emperor, we are expressly told that this was done because Rome was being besieged by the Lombards, and they were making great ravages in Italy<sup>2</sup>. And this besieger of Rome is more likely to have been Farwald than any other of the Lombard dukes.

Duke  
Ariulf,  
591-601.

Farwald died about the year 591<sup>3</sup>, possibly of the pestilence which was then ravaging Italy. He was succeeded by *Ariulf*, apparently not a relation; certainly not a son. Possibly in this case the theoretical right of the king to nominate all the dukes was successfully claimed by the new sovereign Agilulf.

Thanks to the letters of Pope Gregory, this duke of

ut classem classibus arma parat.' (See vol. v. p. 246.) A. Sansi (p. 14) puts the recapture of Classis about 584-5: Weise (p. 47) in 588. We have really only conjecture for either date.

<sup>1</sup> 'Et cessavit episcopatus menses x dies iii' (*sic*) (Lib. Pont.). The interval was really ten months and twenty days.

<sup>2</sup> 'Hic ordinatur absque jussione Principis, eo quod Langobardi obsiderent civitatem Romanam et multa vastatio ab illis in Italia fieret' (Liber Pontificalis: Vita Pelagii II).

<sup>3</sup> Not before 590, because he was for a time contemporary with the papacy of Gregory I (Life of S. Cetheus ap. Bollandist. 13 June). Not long after 591, for in July 592, Ariulf is duke of Spoleto (Greg. Ep. ii. 29).

Spoleto is to us something more than a mere name. We saw him, in the summer of 592, addressing that boastful letter to Gregory about the promised surrender of Suana which caused the Pope such strange searchings of heart, whether he should advise the Suanese citizens to keep or to break their promise. Soon after, negotiations for peace followed with Gregory himself; but Ariulf still kept up his somewhat swaggering tone, and insisted that the gratuities for his allies (or subordinates), Auctarit and Nordulf, should be handed over to him before he would say one word about peace.

While Ariulf appears to make war and peace with sublime independence of his nominal over-lord at Pavia, he throughout co-operates loyally with his brother duke Arichis of Benevento, and whenever the latter attacks Naples he helps him to the utmost of his power by a demonstration against Rome, or against one of the outposts on the Flaminian Way.

But Ariulf's campaign of 592, including, as it probably did, a virtual siege of Rome, ended in a partial peace concluded by Gregory with the Lombard duke; and this concession on Ariulf's part seems to have been due to the feelings of veneration aroused in his heart by a personal interview with the pontiff. And though the peace itself was disavowed at Ravenna, and exposed the Pope to bitter reproaches at Constantinople for his 'fatuity' in listening to the promises of such an one as Ariulf, the good understanding thus established between Pope and Duke seems never to have been entirely destroyed; and in a dangerous sickness the Lombard chief asked for and obtained the prayers of Gregory for his recovery.

BOOK VII.

CH. 2.

599.

In the final negotiations, however, which at last resulted in the great peace of 599, the Pope complained with some bitterness of the hindrances which came from the side of Ariulf. To Gregory the duke of Spoleto's stipulations that there should be no act of violence committed against himself, and no movement against the army of Arichis, seemed altogether unfair and deceitful<sup>1</sup>, and the fact that a certain Warnilfrida, by whose counsel Ariulf was ruled in all things, refused to swear to the peace, confirmed his suspicions. It is, of course, impossible for us to apportion the precise share of praise and blame due to each of the parties to these obscure negotiations; and, as I before remarked<sup>2</sup>, the change of Gregory's tone with regard to Ariulf between 592 and 599 is an important feature in the case. But, on the other hand, it may fairly be urged on Ariulf's behalf, (1) that his previous dealings with the Imperial court had taught him caution, since he had seen a treaty which had been concluded by him with Rome torn up at Ravenna, and followed by an aggressive movement on the part of the Exarch; and (2) that his stipulations on behalf of Arichis showed his steadfast truth to the duke of Benevento, and his determination not to make himself safe by the sacrifice of that faithful ally.

Ariulf at  
Cameri-  
num.

The only other incident in the life of Ariulf that has been recorded is that curious story which has been already extracted from the pages of Paulus<sup>3</sup>, and which seems like a barbaric version of the share taken by the Great Twin Brethren in the battle of the Lake Regillus. It was when he was warring against

<sup>1</sup> 'Omnino iniquum et dolosum' (Greg. Ep. ix. 98).

<sup>2</sup> Vol. v. p. 418.

<sup>3</sup> H. L. iv. 16 (see vol. v. p. 365).

Camerinum that Ariulf saw a champion, unseen by others, fighting bravely by his side, and it was soon after the battle that he identified his ghostly defender with St. Sabinus, whose figure he saw depicted on the walls of his basilica. Paulus assigns no date to this story, which is connected with his obituary notice of Ariulf. Seeing how near Camerinum is to Spolegium, we should feel inclined to put the campaign against the former city early in the victorious reign of Ariulf: indeed, it is difficult to understand why his predecessor should have penetrated as far north as Classis, leaving such a stronghold as Camerinum in his immediate neighbourhood untaken.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 2.  
—  
Appearance of St. Sabinus.

Ariulf's reign, though a memorable, was not a long one. He died in 601, about ten years after his accession; and on his death a contest arose between the two sons of his predecessor Farwald, which should succeed to the vacant dignity. The dispute was decided by the sword—we have again to note how little voice King Agilulf seems to have had in regulating the succession to these great duchies—and Theudelap, the victor in the fight, was crowned duke on the field of battle<sup>1</sup>. We know neither the name nor the fate of his unsuccessful rival.

*Theudelap* wore for more than half a century (601–653) the ducal crown of Spoleto. This long reign, which during the greater part of its course coincided with that of Arichis at Benevento (591–641), had doubtless an important influence in rendering both of the southern duchies more independent of the northern kingdom. At Pavia during this half

Duke Theudelap, 601–653.

<sup>1</sup> 'Qui cum victoriam (*sic*) coronatus est' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 16).

BOOK VII. century four kings<sup>1</sup> bore sway; two of whom<sup>2</sup> were able  
 CH. 2. and successful rulers, but the other two<sup>3</sup> were an infant and an usurper. It cannot be doubted that, during this long period, that part of Lombard Italy which lay south and east of the Flaminian Way would be growing less and less disposed to respond to any effectual control on the part of the kings who dwelt north of the Apennines.

Of the events of the long reign of Theudelap we are absolutely ignorant. It is generally supposed to have been peaceful; but this may be only because record fails us of the wars in which he may have been engaged. Some of the early mediaeval buildings of Spoleto are traditionally attributed to his reign; but of this also there appears to be no clear proof; though (as I have already said) there is some reason to think that popular tradition is not altogether wrong in assigning to Theudelap some share at least in the construction of that noble aqueduct which is the great glory of the city of Spoleto.

Duke Atto,  
653-663.

There has been, to use a geological term, a complete denudation of all this part of the history of Lombard Italy; and if we know little of Theudelap himself, we know still less of his successor *Atto* (653-663), who is to us a mere name in the pages of Paulus Diaconus<sup>4</sup>. The story of the later dukes will be told chiefly in connection with that of the Lombard kings, against whom they were frequently found in rebellion.

<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking five, but Rodwald's accession took place a very short time before the death of Theudelap.

<sup>2</sup> Agilulf and Rothari.

<sup>3</sup> Adalwald and Ariwald.

<sup>4</sup> H. L. iv. 50; v. 16.



WE have some hints as to the proceedings of the Lombards in Central Italy, furnished to us by the church writers of the period, which from their character we cannot accept as sober history, and yet which supply us with too vivid a picture of the times to be altogether omitted.

I. Chief among these are the marvellous stories told by Pope Gregory in his strange wonder-book the *Dialogues*. This book was composed in 593, in the early years of his pontificate, before he had tamed Ariulf, or corresponded with Theudelinda, or hurled meek defiance at the Emperor Maurice. Possibly in the later years of his life, after peace with the invaders had been brought about by his means, he might have spoken with rather less bitterness concerning them. The geographical indications furnished by the *Dialogues*<sup>1</sup> all point, as we might have expected, to the Lombards of the duchy of Spoleto as the ravagers with whom Gregory's friends were chiefly brought in contact. In one place<sup>2</sup> we hear (and it is an almost solitary instance of religious persecution) of their putting four hundred captives to death because they refused to worship a goat's head, round which the Lombards themselves circled in rapid dance, singing an unholy hymn. Of course, these barbarians must have been mere idolaters, who did not pretend to the name even of Arian Christianity. We may perhaps be allowed to conjecture that they belonged rather to that *colluvies gentium*, Bulgarians, Sarmatians, Gepidae, who came with the Lombards into Italy<sup>3</sup>, than to the Lombards properly so called.

At Spoleto itself, the Arian bishop of the Lombards demanded of the bishop of the city a church which he might dedicate

<sup>1</sup> 'Valeria provincia' (i. 4, iv. 21), 'provincia quae Sura [? Sora] nominatur' (iv. 22), 'ex Nursiae provincia' (iii. 37), 'in Marsorum provincia' (iv. 23).

<sup>2</sup> Dial. iii. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Paulus, H. L. ii. 26.

NOTE A. to his error<sup>1</sup>. On the firm refusal of the Catholic prelate he announced that he should come next day and forcibly enter the church of St. Paul. The guardian of that church hastened to it, closed and bolted the doors, extinguished all the lights at eventide, hid himself in the recesses of the church, and awaited the result. In the early morning twilight the Arian bishop came with a multitude of men prepared to break open the doors of the church. Suddenly, by an unseen hand, all the bolts of the doors were loosed, the doors opened with a crash, the extinguished lamps burst into flame, and the intruding bishop, seeking to pass the threshold of the church, was struck with sudden blindness and had to be led back by a guide to his home. The miracle of light at the same instant given to the church, and taken away from the heretical bishop, struck all the Lombards in that region with awe, and there was no further attempt to deprive the Catholics of their churches.

Some of Gregory's most characteristic stories are told<sup>2</sup> us concerning a certain presbyter of the province of Nursia, named Sanctulus, who had recently died and appeared to him in vision at the hour of his departure. This Sanctulus passing by saw some Lombards toiling in vain at an olive-press, from which no oil would run forth. He brought a skin and told them to fill it for him. The barbarians, already chafed by their wasted labour, answered him with angry and threatening words; but the holy man called for water, which he blessed and cast into the press, and now there gushed forth such a stream of oil that the labouring Lombards filled not their own vessels only, but his bladder also. In a similar way he fed the workmen employed in rebuilding the church of St. Lawrence destroyed by the Lombards, with a large and beautiful white loaf miraculously hidden in that which was supposed to be an empty oven. All these miracles seem to have procured for him a certain amount of favour from the barbarians, and when a deacon was brought into the city, whom some Lombards had taken prisoner, and were about to put to death, they consented to hand him over to the custody of Sanctulus, but only on condition that

<sup>1</sup> 'Cum ad Spoletanam urbem Langobardorum episcopus, scilicet Arianus, venisset, et locum illic ubi solemnia sua ageret non haberet, coepit ab ejus civitatis episcopo Ecclesiam petere, quam suo errori dedicaret' (Dial. iii. 29).

<sup>2</sup> Dial. iii. 37.

he should answer for his safe keeping with his own life. At midnight, when the Lombards were all wrapt in slumber, the saint aroused the deacon and commanded him to fly, saying that he was in the bands of God and feared not the consequences for himself. Next morning, when the Lombards came and found their bird flown, they were of course vehemently enraged. 'You know,' said they, 'what was agreed upon between us.' 'I know it,' he answered. 'But you are a good man: we would not willingly torture you. Choose by what death you will die.' 'I am in God's hands: slay me in any manner that He shall permit.' Then they consulted together and decided that his head should be cut off by the stroke of a strong Lombard swordsman. At the news that so great a saint and one whom they so highly revered was to be put to death, the Lombards gathered from far and near to witness the famous sight<sup>1</sup>. The saint asked leave to pray, which was granted him; but as he remained long time on the ground prostrate in prayer, the executioner gave him a kick and said, 'Rise, kneel down, and stretch out your neck.' He obeyed; he stretched out his neck; he saw the flashing sword drawn to slay him, and uttered only prayer: 'Saint John<sup>2</sup>, receive my soul.' The executioner swung his sword high in air, but there it remained, for his stiffened arm was unable to bring it down again. Then all the Lombards crowded round the holy man and begged him to arise. He arose. They begged him to release the executioner's arrested arm, but he replied, 'I will in no wise pray for him, unless he will swear never to slay a Christian man with that hand.' The penitent executioner swore the oath, and at the saint's word of command brought down his arm, and plunged the sword back into its sheath. The miracle struck a deep awe into the hearts of all the barbarians, who crowded round the saint and sought to buy his favour by presents of horses and cattle which they had plundered from the country-folk; but he refused all these and only claimed, and this successfully, that all the captives whom they had taken should be restored to freedom.

<sup>1</sup> 'Cognito itaque quod Sanctulus, qui inter eos pro sanctitatis reverentia magni honoris habebatur occidendus esset, omnes qui in eodem loco inventi sunt Langobardi convenerunt (*sicut sunt nimiae crudelitatis*) laeti ad spectaculum mortis.' Ten years later Gregory would perhaps have somewhat modified this sweeping assertion.

<sup>2</sup> Meaning probably John the Baptist, the patron saint of the Lombards.

NOTE A. Less fortunate, or less strong in faith, was a certain abbot named Suranus, who, having at the news of the approach of the Lombards given away all the stores laid up in the monastery and therefore having nothing to give when the barbarians came round him, clamouring for gold, was carried off by them to a forest among the mountains. He succeeded in escaping, and dwelt for some time in a hollow tree, but one of the Lombards finding him, drew his sword and slew him. When his body fell to the ground the mountain and the forest were shaken together as though the trembling earth confessed herself unable to bear the weight of his holiness <sup>1</sup>.

A deacon in the land of the Marsi being beheaded by a Lombard, the foul fiend at once entered into the murderer, who fell prostrate at the feet of his victim <sup>2</sup>. Two monks in the province of Valeria being taken by the raging Lombards were hung on the branches of a tree and died the same day. At evening the two dead monks began to sing with clear and sweet voices, to the joy of their fellow-captives who yet remained alive, but to the terror and confusion of the barbarians who had murdered them <sup>3</sup>.

Such are the chief stories told by the great Pope concerning the evil deeds of the Lombards of Central Italy.

II. Another source of information of a similar kind is opened to us by the Life of St. Cetheus (or Peregrinus), bishop of Amiternum, a city now destroyed, which once stood about forty miles south-east of Spoleto, at the foot of the Gran Sasso d' Italia.

The Life is given in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* (xiii June), on the authority of two MSS., one of which is considerably fuller than the other. I have no means of judging of the age of the MSS. or the authority of the narrative of which I will give a brief abstract, using as much as possible the words of the biographer.

' In the time of Pope Gregory, Emperor Phocas <sup>4</sup>, and Farwald

<sup>1</sup> 'Cujus corpore in terram cadente, mons omnis protinus et silva concussa est, ac si se ferre non posse pondus sanctitatis ejus diceret terra quae tremisset' (*Dial.* iv. 22).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 21.

<sup>4</sup> This is of course an error. The accession of Phocas was thirty-four years after the entry of the Lombards into Italy.

duke of Spoleto, the Lombards entered Italy and overflowed the boundaries of the Romans, Samnites and Spoletines. Of this nation, two most evil and ignoble men, sons of concubines, named Alais and Umbolus, came to the city of Amiternum, which they ravaged and plundered in their usual barbaric fashion. Unable to bear their cruelty, Cetheus bishop of the city fled to Rome and besought the protection of Pope Gregory, who assured him that in no long time the Lombards would repent and seek the Papal blessing. For this Cetheus prayed, and before long his prayer was granted, the Lombards from Amiternum coming to implore the Pope's benediction, which he would only grant them on condition of their receiving back their bishop<sup>1</sup>. All the priests and other clergy poured forth from the gate of the city to meet him on his return and welcomed him in the name of the Lord.

'Now dissensions arose between the two Lombard dukes, of whom Alais held the eastern and Umbolus the western gate. Each sought to kill the other, and there was great sadness among the Christians in that city. Alais, plotting with his friends the ruin of the city, sent messengers to Vesilianus [the Roman] count of Orta, praying him to make a midnight attack on the city of Amiternum, and utterly destroy it. Of this design the blessed bishop Cetheus, abiding in his cell, was utterly ignorant. Now there were in that city a God-fearing couple named Fredo and Bona, who went at eventide into the church and prayed, and then having received the bishop's blessing returned to their home. When bed-time came, Fredo did not take off his clothes, but lay down as he was. On his wife asking him the reason he answered, "I am shaken with an immense trembling and I greatly fear that to-night this city will perish." "God will forbid it," said she: but he said, "Bring me my weapons of war and place them by my head, and then we shall sleep secure." This he said, being warned by the Holy Ghost, for he knew naught of the counsels of Alais.

'At midnight a cry was heard, "Arise, arise, an enemy attacks the city!" The most christian Fredo rose from his wife's side, and donning his arms, ran through the streets crying, "Rise,

<sup>1</sup> Was this conversion the result of Ariulf's reconciliation with Gregory in 592?

NOTE A. most holy father Cetheus, rise and pray for us! The city perisheth, we shall lose all our goods and shall ere daybreak be slain with the sword." Bishop Cetheus arose, and rushed into the street, calling aloud on Christ who delivered Daniel from the lions and the Three Children from the fiery furnace, to save the people of Amiternum from their foes. The prayer was heard, the invaders were struck with panic and retired having lost many of their number.

'Next day all the citizens came together to see by what means the enemy could have entered the city. They found ladders raised near the church of St. Thomas, and discovered that all this had been done by the counsel of Alais. He was brought bound into the midst of the people<sup>1</sup>, who thundered forth the words, "Death to the traitor!" and began to consider how best to torture him. But Cetheus besought them not to lay hands on him but to cast him into prison and call a meeting<sup>2</sup> of all in that city, both small and great, who should lay upon him a penance lasting many days, that his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.

'At once uprose the impious Umbolus in wrath and fury, and said, "Thou too, O Cetheus, wast certainly privy to this treacherous scheme, for the ladder set against the church of St. Thomas was placed there by thy magic arts. Thou art unworthy to be bishop any longer." The blessed Cetheus swore by the crucified Son of God, by the undivided Trinity, and by the holy Gospels, that he was innocent of any such design; but Umbolus, stopping his ears, ordered him and Alais to be led bound into the midst of the city and there beheaded in the sight of all the people.

'On the road to execution Cetheus sang Psalms with such a loud and triumphant voice that the awe-stricken guardsman<sup>3</sup>, though he gladly struck off the head of Alais, refused to strike a blow at the holy man. Full of fury, Umbolus ordered Cetheus to be brought before him and began to taunt him with his bonds. The bishop declared that the curse of Cain the fratricide should rest upon him<sup>4</sup>, and that he should dwell for ever with

<sup>1</sup> This is surely a Lombard *folc-mote*.

<sup>2</sup> *Conventus*. This was to be of Romans as well as Lombards, and might take a different view of the case from the *folc-mote*.

<sup>3</sup> *Spiculator*.

<sup>4</sup> For the death of Alais (?).

the Evil One. Turning then to his guards he said, "Why, oh NOTE A.  
sons of iniquity and servants of darkness, do ye keep me thus in chains? Is it because ye recognise in me a servant of the true God? In His name I will gladly bear not chains only, but death itself: but you, Arians and infidels that ye are, shall have your mansions with Judas Iscariot in the unquenchable Tartarus, and among the wandering spirits shall be your portion: yea, and cursed for ever shall ye be, because ye have scorned my preaching and have refused to listen to the corrections of Truth. But to thee Umbolus, most unutterable of men, none shall ever give the kiss of peace. He who blesses thee shall be accursed, for the curser of Satan curses thee."

'Filled with rage, Umbolus ordered him to be bound and led away to the river Pescara and thrown into it from the marble bridge. So was he thrown in, but by the blessing of God he came to shore safe and sound. Again and again was he thrown in at the tyrant's command by the raging people, but always came safely to the shore. Then the most impious Umbolus ordered them to bring the holy man into his presence, and to fasten under his feet a millstone weighing five hundred-weight, and drown him in the deepest part of the river. Then after another prayer he was thrown into the stream, and at once yielded up his breath, but his body was carried [down the river and across the Adriatic] to the city of Jaterna [Zara in Dalmatia], where a fisherman found it with the millstone still attached to it and surrounded by a holy light. News of the discovery was brought to the bishop and clergy of Zara, who at once perceived that it was the body of a holy man, and buried it near the shore in the odour of sanctity. Often at night was a light like that of a lamp seen to hover round the corpse's head; and a blind man received sight by visiting the tomb. But as none knew the martyr's name, the men of Zara called him only by this name, Peregrinus.'

With all the marks of the handiwork of the conventional martyrologist, there are some touches in this narrative which indicate a real knowledge of the circumstances of the time, and point to a nearly contemporary origin. The Lombards are still 'unspeakable': the split between the two Lombard dukes and the intrigue of one of the rivals with the Imperial general

NOTE A. are events of only too frequent occurrence in Lombard history : and lastly the martyrdom as it is called, is not due to religious intolerance on the part of the Lombards, but to merely political causes. Bishop Cetheus is drowned, not because he upholds the creed of Nicaea, but because he is suspected of complicity in the betrayal of the city to the Greeks, and various circumstances suggest even to us the thought that the suspicion was not altogether without foundation.



## CHAPTER III.

### SAINT COLUMBANUS.

*Sources :—*

BOOK VII.  
CH. 3.

Our chief authority for the history of Columbanus is the life of that saint by JONAS, a monk of Bobbio, who, though not himself personally acquainted with Columbanus, wrote what he had heard from the saint's friends and companions. The date of the composition of this biography is probably between 640 and 650. Jonas was evidently well trained in the school attached to the monastery, and knew the classical poets only too well for the comfort of his readers. Sometimes his sentences are a mere cento of quotations from their works. Take for instance the first :—

‘Columbanus igitur qui et Columba ortus est in Hiberniâ insulâ quae est in extremo Oceano sita, et spectat Titanis occasum, dum vertitur orbis et lux occiduas ponti descendit in umbras : unde denuo peracto cursu noctis irradiat totum redivivo lumine mundum.’

Jonas is not perfectly informed as to Gaulish affairs : for instance—he makes Sigibert, the husband of Brunichildis, king of Austrasia and Burgundy. But upon the whole he seems to be an honest narrator, though intent, like all the authors of this kind of literature, on magnifying the miraculous achievements of his hero.

The letters of Columbanus are quoted from the text given in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

We have also the life of Gallus by WALAFRID STRABO (ninth century ?), to which we are indebted for some passages in the later life of the saint, who was the spiritual superior of Gallus.

BOOK VII. He, too, writes in a somewhat florid but not absolutely barbarous style.  
 CH. 3.

*Guides:—*

Les Moines de l'Occident, by *Count Montalembert*. Six Months in the Apennines ; or a Pilgrimage in search of Vestiges of the Irish Saints in Italy, by *Margaret Stokes*.

IN relating the history of the four great duchies, we have travelled far down through the seventh century. We must now retrace our steps to the very beginning of that century, and follow the fortunes of the Lombard kingdom established at Pavia, from the year 603 onwards. It will be remembered that this year witnessed the greatest of King Agilulf's triumphs. Cremona, Mantua, Brexillum, all surrendered to his generals ; the whole valley of the Po became a Lombard possession ; the Exarch Smaragdus was forced to conclude peace on terms humiliating to the Empire ; the kidnapped daughter of Agilulf, with her husband Gottschalk, was restored to her father ; and, most fortunate event, as it seemed, of all, the new dynasty was consolidated by the birth of Theudelinda's son Adalwald, who was baptized according to the Catholic rite by Bishop Secundus of Trient.

Last years  
of Agilulf.

Agilulf lived for twelve or thirteen years after this year of triumph, but, with one exception, that period seems to have been marked by no political events of great importance for the Lombard kingdom. The exception referred to—and it was a lamentable one—was that terrible invasion of the once friendly Avars which (as was told in the last chapter) blasted the reviving prosperity of the border duchy of Friuli.

Circa 610.

Renewals  
of the  
Peace

Relations with the Empire consisted chiefly of a series of renewals of the peace of 603. It had been

arranged that that peace should endure till the 1st of April, 605<sup>1</sup>. In the summer of that year we must suppose the war to have been in some measure renewed, and the Lombards to have been successful, for two cities on the east of Lake Bolsena, Orvieto and Bagnorea<sup>2</sup>, were lost by the Empire. In November of this year (605) Smaragdus was fain to conclude a year's peace with Agilulf at a cost of 12,000 solidi<sup>3</sup>. In 606 the peace was renewed for three years more. It was, perhaps, in 609, at the end of this interval that Agilulf sent a great officer of the household<sup>4</sup> to the Emperor Phocas. He returned, accompanied by the Imperial ambassadors, who brought gifts from their master, and renewed the yearly peace<sup>5</sup>. And so the diplomatic game went on, somewhat in the same fashion as between Spain and the United Provinces in the early part of the seventeenth century. The Roman Emperor could not recognise the Lombards as lawful possessors of any part of the soil of Italy, but he was willing to postpone from year to year the effort to expel them; and the Lombard king, sometimes by the inducement of a large payment of money, was made willing to allow the operation to be so postponed. Emperor succeeded Emperor at Constantinople—the revolution which placed Heraclius on the Imperial throne broke

BOOK VII.  
CH. 3.  
—  
with the  
Empire.

<sup>1</sup> Paulus, H. L. iv. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Urbs Vetus, Balneus Regis.

<sup>3</sup> £7200.

<sup>4</sup> 'Misit rex Stablicianum notarium suum ad Focatem imperatorem' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 35). Stablicianus is generally taken as a proper name, but is it not more probably the description of an office, like that of Comes Stabuli, Grand Constable?

<sup>5</sup> '[Stablicianus] rediens cum legatis imperatoris, factâ pace annuali, Agilulfo regi idem legati imperialia munera optulere' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 35).

BOOK VII. out in the autumn of 610—and Exarch succeeded  
 CH. 3. Exarch at Ravenna, but the long-delayed war never  
 came during that generation.

Relations With his powerful neighbours on the west, the rela-  
 with the tions of Agilulf were also in the main peaceful. When,  
 Franks. in July, 604, the infant Adalwald was solemnly raised  
 upon the shield in the Roman hippodrome at Milan,  
 and declared king over the Lombards, the ambassadors  
 of the Austrasian king, Theudebert II, were standing  
 by, and in their master's name they swore to a per-  
 petual peace between the Lombards and the Franks,  
 to be sealed by the marriage of the royal babe with  
 their master's daughter<sup>1</sup>.

League A few years later we hear of Agilulf as joining  
 against a quadruple alliance against Theodoric II of Burgundy.  
 Theodoric II of Bur- This young king, sensual and profligate like all the  
 gundy. Merovingian brood, had repudiated with insult the  
 607. daughter of the Visigothic king, Witterich. Some said  
 that the divorce was suggested by Theodoric's grand-  
 mother Brunichildis, who in her eager clutch of regal  
 power would rather that her descendant wallowed in  
 sinful lusts than that she herself should be confronted  
 in the palace by the influence of a lawful queen. But  
 however this may be—and Brunichildis, struggling  
 against the increasing power of the great nobles of  
 the Court, was bitterly assailed by the calumnies of  
 her foes—the offence seemed likely not to go un-  
 punished. A powerful combination was formed. The

<sup>1</sup> 'Igitur sequenti aestate mense Julio levatus est Adaloaldus rex super Langobardos apud Mediolanum in Circo, in praesentiâ patris sui Agilulfi regis, adstantibus legatis Teudiperti regis Francorum et desponsata est eidem regio puero filia regis Teudiperti et firmata est pax perpetua cum Francis' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 30).

insulted Witterich obtained the alliance of the culprit's brother, Theudebert of Austrasia, of his cousin Chlotochar of Neustria, and even, strange to say, of Agilulf of Italy, who perhaps considered himself bound to follow his ally Theudebert wheresoever he might lead him. However, this formidable combination led to no results, and the meagre annals of the time do not even inform us whether Burgundy was ever invaded by the confederate kings. Evidently Theodoric II, the resources of whose kingdom were directed by the wary old politician Brunichildis, was the most powerful of all the Frankish monarchs. The long-smouldering feud between him and his brother broke out in 612 into open hostilities. Theodoric was twice victorious, took his brother prisoner, and put him, together with his infant son, to death. What became of the little princess, the affianced bride of Adalwald, we are not informed. Theodoric then turned against the only remaining Frankish king, Chlotochar of Neustria, whose neutrality in the previous struggle he had purchased by a promised cession of territory. It seemed as if the long rivalry between the offspring of Fredegundis and that of Brunichildis was about to end in the triumph of the latter, and as if the grandson of Sigibert was to reunite under his sceptre all the wide dominions of Clovis and Chlotochar I. But just at this critical moment Theodoric II died, leaving four infant, but bastard, children behind him. In the name of her great-grandson Sigibert, eldest of the four, Brunichildis aspired to rule over Burgundy and Austrasia, and hoped to conquer Neustria. But the deadly enmity of the Austrasian nobles to the old queen prevented this consummation. Two great nobles, Arnulf, bishop

BOOK VII. of Metz, and Pippin<sup>1</sup>, went over to the party of Chlo-  
 CH. 3. tochar, and by their defection determined the result  
 613. of the campaign. The battle, which was to have been  
 fought at Chalons-sur-Aisne, was only a sham fight,  
 the armies of Austrasia and Burgundy turning their  
 backs without striking a blow. Brunichildis and her  
 great-grandchildren were captured. Two of the latter  
 were put to death; one escaped, but vanished from  
 the eyes of men; the life of the fourth was spared  
 because he was the godson of the conqueror. Bruni-  
 childis herself, after being—so it is said—tormented  
 for three days, and then paraded through the Frankish  
 camp on a camel, was tied by her hair, her hands and  
 her feet to a vicious horse, and so dragged and tram-  
 pled to death. The long strife between the two houses  
 was at an end, and while Fredegundis, unquestionably  
 the most wicked of the two queens, had died quietly  
 in her bed sixteen years before, the able, unscrupulous,  
 and beautiful Brunichildis lived on into old age only  
 to meet this shameful and terrible end.

Death of  
 Brune-  
 childis.

597.

With the unfortunate Frankish queen and her de-  
 scendants is closely connected the name of one who  
 exercised a mighty influence on the spiritual history  
 of Theudelinda, and, through her, on the religious his-  
 tory of Italy—the Irish saint Columbanus.

Early  
 years of  
 Colum-  
 banus.

Columbanus or Columba (the second) was born in  
 West Leinster probably in 543<sup>2</sup>, the same year which

<sup>1</sup> Commonly but erroneously called Pippin of Landen.

<sup>2</sup> We derive this date from a poem addressed to his friend  
 Fidolius, in which Columbanus says that he has now completed  
 his eighteenth olympiad (i. e. his seventy-second year): 'Nunc ad  
 olympiadis ter senos venimus annos.' As Columbanus died in  
 615, we cannot put the date of his birth later than 543: but as  
 the poem need not have been written in the year of his death

saw the death of the greatest of monks, St. Benedict. BOOK VII.  
CH. 3.  
He was well born, and was educated in those arts and sciences a knowledge of which still lingered in Ireland while Gaul and Italy were almost submerged under the flood of barbarian invasion. When the fair and noble youth was growing up into his comely manhood<sup>1</sup>, visions of beautiful women began to haunt his imagination. Marriage was hopeless, for he had been in some sort vowed by his mother to the service of the Church. Renewed earnestness in his studies, devotion to grammar, rhetoric, geometry, the reading of the Scriptures, failed to banish the alluring dream. At length, by the advice of a pious nun, though against the earnest entreaties of his mother, he resolved to leave his paternal home in Leinster; and, after spending some time in the school (which was probably also a monastery) taught by St. Sinell on an island in Lough Erne, he entered the great monastery which had then been recently founded by St. Comgall at Benchor or Bangor in the county of Down. Here, too, he was doubtless still engaged in intellectual labour, for this was one of the most learned monasteries of the time. Ovid and Virgil were studied within its walls; music was held in high honour; some, probably, of those beautiful Irish MSS. which are among the most precious possessions of our great libraries were illuminated by the monks of Bangor.

Columbanus, however, though no foe to liberal cul-

(though he speaks of himself as 'morbis oppressus acervis'), it is quite possible that his birth should be put somewhat earlier than that date.

<sup>1</sup> 'Cum eum elegantia formæ præsertim corporis candor et pubertas nobilis omnibus gratum redderet' (Jonas, cap. ii.).

BOOK VII.  
CH. 3.

He goes  
forth as a  
mission-  
ary.

ture, was possessed by the missionary spirit, and, after spending many years at Bangor, he set forth with twelve companions, bent on preaching the Gospel, but not knowing whither they should go<sup>1</sup>. They reached the shores of Britain, where the Saxons and Engles were then dwelling in heathen darkness; but it was not reserved for them to anticipate the glory of Augustine and Aidan. After a short stay in the island they again set sail with anxious hearts, and landed in Gaul. After they had pursued their missionary career in this country for some time, the fame of St. Columbanus reached the ears of Sigibert, king of Austrasia<sup>2</sup>, the husband of Brunichildis. He sent for the Irish saint, begged him to remain in his kingdom, and at length overcame his reluctance to do so by the gift of a ruined village named Anagratis<sup>3</sup>, in a wild and rocky region of the Vosges. -

Colum-  
banus at  
Anagratis.

Here Columbanus established his monastery, and here he dwelt in peace during the stormy years that followed the death of Sigibert. There was nothing in his possessions to tempt the cupidity of the fierce dukes and simoniacal bishops of the Frankish king-

<sup>1</sup> Jonas says, 'Vicesimum ergo aetatis annum agens,' but this does not agree with his previous statement, 'Peractis itaque annorum multorum in monasterio circulis.' Montalembert says, 'Columban, alors âgé de trente ans, sort de Bangor,' and if there be any authority for reading 'tricesimum' instead of 'vicesimum,' this would give a much more satisfactory chronology.

<sup>2</sup> Jonas, as already stated, erroneously makes Sigibert king of Austrasia and Burgundy, but this error does not seem to me to be a sufficient reason for expunging Sigibert's name from the narrative altogether. As that king was killed in 575, we cannot refer Columbanus' arrival in Gaul to a later date.

<sup>3</sup> Said to be now represented by the hamlet of Faucogney in the department of Haute-Saône.



doms. The diet of Columbanus and his monks was for some time the bark of trees, wild herbs, and little crab apples<sup>1</sup>, but, as we afterwards hear of the monks ploughing and reaping, we may infer that, at any rate from their second season onwards, they were not destitute of bread. For the saint himself, even the austerities of the coenobitic life were not sufficient. Leaving his monastery to govern itself for a time, he retired to a cave in the rocks, which was already the abode of a bear. On hearing the word of command from the saint, 'Depart hence, and never again travel along these paths,' the wild beast meekly obeyed. The fame of the preaching of the saint, and, still more, the fame of his miracles and exorcisms, drew so large a number of postulants to Anagratís that Columbanus found it necessary to establish another monastery, larger and more famous, at Luxovium (now Luxeuil), which was situated within the dominion of Guntram of Burgundy, and was eight miles south of Anagratís. This place, though a ruin like the other, was the ruin of a larger and less sequestered settlement. It still shows the remains of a Roman aqueduct, and when Columbanus and his companions settled within its walls, the hot springs which had supplied its baths were still flowing, and the marble limbs of the once-worshipped gods of the heathen gleamed through the thickets which had been growing there probably since the days of Attila. Eventually, even Luxovium was found to be insufficient to hold all the monks who flocked to its holy shelter, and a third monastery was reared on the neighbouring site of Ad Fontanas.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 3.Luxo-  
vium.Ad Fon-  
tanás.

<sup>1</sup> 'Pomorum parvulorum quæ eremus illa ferebat, quas etiam Bulgulas vulgo appellant' (Jonas, cap. viii).

BOOK VII.  
CH. 3.

Unfriendly relations with the Gaulish prelates.

But all this fame and popularity brought its inevitable Nemesis of jealousy and dislike. Columbanus was revered by the common people, but with the high ecclesiastics of Gaul his relations were probably unfriendly from the first. We can see that there was not, and could not be, sympathy between the high-wrought, mystical Irish saint, and the coarse and greedy prelates of Merovingian Gaul. He was, intensely, that which they only pretended to be. To him the kingdom of God was the only joy, the awful judgment of Christ the only terror. They were thinking the while of the sensual delights to be derived from the revenues of the bishoprics which they had obtained by simony. If they trembled, it was at the thought of the probable vengeance of the heirs of some blood-feud, the next of kin of some Frankish warrior whom they had lawlessly put to death. Intellectually, too, the gulf between the Gaulish bishops and Columbanus was almost as wide as the moral divergence. He retained to the end of his days that considerable tincture of classical learning which he had imbibed under Sinell and Comgall. He and his Irish companions were steeped in Virgil and Horace. When they sat down to write even on religious subjects, quotations from the Aeneid flowed with only too great copiousness from their pens; and the Latin prose of Columbanus himself, though often stilted and somewhat obscure, is almost always strictly grammatical. Comparing him with one of the most learned of his Gaulish contemporaries, Gregory of Tours, whose countless grammatical blunders would be terribly avenged on an English schoolboy, we see that the Irish saint moved in an altogether different intellectual plane from his Gaulish

episcopal neighbours, and we can easily believe that he did not conceal his contempt for their ignorance and barbarism. BOOK VII.  
CH. 3.

Another cause of difference between Columbanus and his Frankish neighbours, and one which could be decorously put forward by the latter as the reason for their dislike, was the divergence between him and them as to the correct time for keeping Easter. In this matter the Irish ecclesiastics, with true Celtic conservatism, adhered to the usage which had been universal in the West for more than two centuries, while the Frankish bishops, dutifully following the see of Rome, reckoned their Easter-day according to the table which was published by Victorius in the year 457, and which brought the Roman usage into correspondence with the usage of Alexandria. The difference, much and earnestly insisted upon in the letters of Columbanus, turned chiefly on two points: (1) The Irish churchmen insisted that in no case could it be right to celebrate Easter before the vernal equinox, which determined the first month of the Jewish calendar; (2) they maintained that since the Passover had been ordained to fall on the night of the full moon, in no case could it be right to celebrate Easter on any day when the moon was more than three weeks old. In other words, they allowed the great festival to range only between the 14th and the 20th day of the lunar month, while the Latin Church, for the sake of harmony with the Alexandrian, allowed it to range from the 15th to the 22nd. In theory it would probably be admitted that the Irishmen were nearer to the primitive idea of a Christian festival based on the Jewish Passover; but in practice—to say nothing of

BOOK VII.  
CH. 3.

the unreasonableness of perpetuating discord on a point of such infinitely small importance—by harping as they did continually on the words ‘the 14th day,’ they gave their opponents the opportunity of fastening upon them the name of *Quarto-deciman*, and thereby bringing them under the anathema pronounced by the Nicene Council on an entirely different form of dissent<sup>1</sup>.

Letter  
to Pope  
Gregory.

On this subject, the celebration of Easter, which absorbed an absurdly large amount of his time and thoughts, Columbanus addressed a letter to Pope Gregory the Great<sup>2</sup>. The dedication is too characteristic not to be given in full:—

‘To the holy lord and father in Christ, the most comely ornament of the Roman Church, the most august flower, so to speak, of all this languishing Europe, the illustrious overseer<sup>3</sup>, to him who is skilled to enquire into the theory of the Divine causality, I Bar-Jonah (a mean dove) send greeting in Christ.’

It will be seen that Columbanus, here, as in several other places, indulges in a kind of bilingual pun on his own name. The Hebrew equivalent of Columba, a dove, is Jonah. So here he makes Columbanus equivalent to Bar-Jonah, which in his modesty he translates ‘vilis

<sup>1</sup> The *Quarto-decimani* condemned by the Nicene Council kept the day of the Passion on the fourteenth of Nisan, on whatever day of the week it might happen to fall. Columbanus and his friends always commemorated the Passion on Friday, and the Resurrection on Sunday. The difference between them and their opponents was as to the beginning and end of the period during which, in order to ensure this result, Good Friday must be allowed to swing to and fro on either side of the fourteenth of a month corresponding to the Jewish Nisan.

<sup>2</sup> Dated in the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica* 595–600. It does not seem possible to fix the date more accurately.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Speculatori egregio.’

Columba'; and elsewhere he recognises that it is his fate to be thrown overboard like his namesake Jonah, for the peace and safety of the Church.

The letter itself argues with much boldness and some skill against the practice of celebrating Easter at a time when the moon does not rise till after two watches of the night are past, and when darkness is thus triumphing over light. He warns the Pope not to set himself in opposition to the great Jerome by condemning the Paschal calculations of Anatolius, whom Jerome had praised as a man of marvellous learning. He asks for advice on two points, (1) whether he ought to communicate with simoniacal and adulterous bishops, and (2) what is to be done with monks who, through desire of greater holiness, leave the monasteries in which they have taken the vows, and retire to desert places, without the leave of their abbot. He expresses his deep regret at not being able to visit Rome for the sake of seeing Gregory, and asks to have some of the Pope's commentary on Ezekiel sent to him, having already perused with extreme pleasure his book, sweeter than honey, on the *Regula Pastoralis*.

It would be interesting to know what reply the great Roman Pope made to the great Irish abbot, but Gregory's letter to Columbanus, if written, has not come down to us. Some years later, about 603 or 604, a synod was held (probably at Chalons-sur-Saone) at which the question of the schismatical observance of Easter in Luxovium and the sister monasteries was the chief subject of discussion. To the Gaulish bishops 'his holy fathers and brethren in Christ, Columba<sup>1</sup> the sinner' addressed a remarkable letter. He praised

BOOK VII.  
CH. 3.

Letter  
to the  
Gaulish  
Synod,  
603-4.

<sup>1</sup> He uses here the shorter form of his name.

BOOK VII. them for at last assembling in council, even though it  
 CH. 3. was in order to judge him; and this praise recalls Gregory's oft-repeated censure of the Gaulish bishops for their neglect of synodal action. After exhorting them to the practice of humility, he discusses at some length the great Paschal question, and begs them not to celebrate the Resurrection before the Passion by allowing Easter to fall before the equinox, and not to overpass the 20th day of the lunar month, 'lest they should perform the sacrament of the New Testament without the authority of the Old.' Then he turns to more personal affairs, and utters a pathetic prayer for peace. 'In the name of Him who said, "Depart from Me: I never knew you," suffer me, while keeping your peace and friendship, to be silent in these woods, and to live near the bones of my seventeen departed brethren. Suffer me still to live among you as I have done for these past twelve years<sup>1</sup>, and to continue praying for you as I have ever done and ought to do. Let Gaul, I pray you, contain both you and me, since the kingdom of heaven will contain us if we are of good desert, and fulfil the hope of our one calling in Christ Jesus. Far be it from me to contend with you, and to give our enemies, the Pagans and the Jews, occasion to triumph in our dissensions. For if it be in God's ordering that ye should expel me from this desert place, whither I came from across the seas for the love of my Lord Jesus Christ, I can only say with

<sup>1</sup> It will be observed that he speaks of having been among them twelve years. He probably dates from the time of his coming into the kingdom of Burgundy, thus confirming the suggestion that Anagratis was in Austrasia, and that when he migrated to Luxovium he crossed from one kingdom to another. The letter was probably written about thirty years after his arrival in *Gaul*.

the prophet [Jonah], "If for my sake this tempest is come upon you, take me and cast me into the sea, that this turmoil may cease."'

Thus not only amid the increasing cares of his three great monasteries, but amid increasing conflicts with the hostile bishops of Gaul, passed the middle years of the life of Columbanus. If men hated him, the brute creation loved him. Many of the stories told of him reveal that mysterious sympathy with the lower animals which he shared with an even greater religious revivalist, St. Francis of Assisi. One of his disciples long after told his biographer that often when he had been walking lonely in the desert, his lips moving in prayer, he had been seen to call birds or wild creatures to him, who never disobeyed the call. Then would the saint stroke or pat them, and the shy, wild things rejoiced like a little dog in his caresses. Thus, too, would he call down the little squirrels from the tops of the trees, and they would nestle close to his neck, or play hide and seek in the folds of his great white scapular<sup>1</sup>.

We have already heard how the bear at the summons of Columbanus quietly yielded up to him its dwelling in the cave. One day when he was walking through the forest, with his Bible hung by a strap to his shoulder, he pondered the question whether it were worse to fall into the hands of wild beasts or of evil men. Suddenly, as if to solve the problem, twelve wolves rushed forth, and surrounded him on the right hand and on the left. He remained immovable, but

<sup>1</sup> 'Et ferusculam quam vulgo homines *Squirium* vocant, saepe de arduis arborum culminibus accersitam' (Jonas, cap. xvi). The classical word for squirrel is *sciurus*.

BOOK VII. cried aloud, 'Oh! Lord, make haste to help me.' The  
 CH. 3. savage creatures came near, and gathered round him, smelling at his garments; but, finding him unmoved, left him unharmed, and disappeared in the forest. When he came forth from the wood, he thought that he heard the voices of Suevic robbers roaming through the desolate region, but he saw not their forms, and whether the sounds were real, or an illusion of the Evil One to try his constancy, he never knew<sup>1</sup>.

One day, when he came into the monastery at Luxovium to take some food, he laid aside the gloves which had shielded his hands while working in the field. A mischievous raven carried off the gloves from the stone before the monastery doors on which the saint had laid them. When the meal was ended, and the monks came forth, the gloves were nowhere to be found. Questions at once arose who had done this thing. Said the saint, 'The thief is none other than that bird which Noah sent forth out of the ark, and which wandered to and fro over the earth, nor ever returned. And that bird shall not rear its young unless it speedily bring back that which it has stolen.' Suddenly the raven appeared in the midst of the crowd, bearing the gloves in its beak, and, having laid them down, stood there meekly awaiting the chastisement which it was conscious of having deserved. But the saint ordered it to fly away unharmed<sup>2</sup>. Once upon a time a bear lusted after the apples which formed the sole fruit of the saint and his companions. But when Columbanus directed his servant, Magnoald, to divide the apples into two portions, assigning one to the bear, and reserving the other for the use of the

<sup>1</sup> Jonas, cap. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Jonas, cap. xiv.



saint, the beast, with wonderful docility, obeyed, and, contenting itself with its own portion, never dared to touch the apples which were reserved for the man of God. Another bear, howling round the dead body of a stag, obeyed his bidding, and left the hide untouched, that out of it might be made shoes for the use of the brotherhood; and the wolves, which gathered at the scent of the savoury morsel, stood afar off with their noses in the air, not daring to approach the carcass on which the mysterious spell had been laid.

But the time came when the saint had to solve his own riddle, by proof that men, and still more women, could be harder and more un pitying even than the wolves. The young king of Burgundy, Theodoric, already, at the age of fourteen, had a bastard son born to him, and by the year 610 he had several children, none of them the issue of his lawful wife. These little ones their great-grandmother, Brunichildis, brought one day into the holy man's presence, when he visited her at the royal villa of Brocoriacum<sup>1</sup>. Said Columbanus, 'What do you mean by bringing these children here?' 'They are the sons of a king,' answered Brunichildis, 'fortify them with your blessing.' 'Never,' said he, 'shall these children, the offspring of the brothel, inherit the royal sceptre.' In a rage, the old queen ordered the little ones to depart. As the saint crossed the threshold of the palace, a thunderstorm or an earthquake shook the fabric, striking terror into the souls of all, but not even so was the fierce heart of Brunichildis turned from her purpose of revenge.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 3.

Dispute  
with  
Theodoric  
and Brunichildis.

<sup>1</sup> 'Bourcheresse, near Autun,' says Montalembert.

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CH. 3.

His ene-  
mies at  
Court.

There were negotiations and conversations between the saint and the sovereign. Theodoric, who throughout seems to have been less embittered against the saint than his grandmother, said one day, in answer to a torrent of angry rebuke for his profligacy, 'Do you hope to win from me the crown of martyrdom? I am not so mad as to perpetrate such a crime.' But the austere, unsocial habits of the saint had made him many enemies. There was a long unsettled debt of hatred from the bishops of Gaul for the schismatical Easter and many other causes of offence; and the courtiers with one voice declared that they would not tolerate the continued presence among them of one who did not deem them worthy of his companionship. Thus, though the harsh words concerning the royal bastards may have been the torch which finally kindled the flame, it is clear that there was much smouldering indignation against the saint in the hearts of nobles and churchmen before ever these words were spoken. By the common people, on the other hand, Columbanus seems to have been generally beloved.

Captivity  
at Besan-  
çon.

The resultant of all these conflicting forces was an order from the Court that Columbanus should leave his monastery of Luxovium, and take up his residence in a sort of *libera custodia* at Vesontio (*Besançon*). Finding himself laxly guarded, he went up one Sunday to the top of the mountain which overlooks the city of Besançon and the winding Doubs. He remained till noon, half expecting that his keepers would come to fetch him; but, as none appeared, he descended the mountain on the other side, and took the road to Luxovium. By this daring defiance of the royal

orders he filled up the measure of his offences, and BOOK VII.  
Brunichildis at once sent a cohort of soldiers to arrest CH. 3.  
the holy man and expel him from the kingdom. They found him in the church of the monastery, singing psalms with the congregation of the brethren. It seemed as if force would have to be used in order to tear him from his beloved Luxovium, but at length, yielding to the earnest entreaties of his monks, and of the soldiers, who prayed for forgiveness even while laying hold of the saint's garments, he consented to go with them quietly. The monks all wished to follow him, but only his Irish fellow-countrymen were allowed to do so, while those of Gaulish birth and the strangers from Britain were ordered to remain behind. He was taken by way of Besançon and Autun to Nevers, and Transportation to Nantes.  
there was put on shipboard and conveyed down the Loire to Nantes. Many miracles, especially the cure of those afflicted with evil spirits, marked his progress. At Auxerre he said to a certain Ragamund, who came to act as his escort, 'Remember, oh! Ragamund, that this Chlotochar, whom you now despise, will within three years be your lord and master.' The prophecy was the more remarkable because the king of Neustria was at that time much the weakest member of the Frankish partnership, and quite over-shadowed by his cousins of Austrasia and Burgundy. Theodoric, especially, was then at the zenith of his power; and the route traversed by Columbanus and his guards shows that something like three-quarters of that which is now France must have owned his dominion. When, in their voyage down the stream, they came opposite the shrine of the blessed Martin of Tours, Columbanus earnestly besought his keepers to let him

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land and pay his devotions at the holy sepulchre. The inexorable guards refused, and Columbanus stood upon the deck, raising sad eyes to heaven in mute protest against their cruelty. But suddenly the vessel stopped in her course, as though she had let down her anchor, and then began mysteriously to turn her head towards the water-gate of Tours. Awed by this portent, the guards made no further resistance to his will; and Columbanus, landing, spent the night in vigils at the tomb of St. Martin. It was a memorable scene, and one worthy to be celebrated by an artist's or a poet's genius; for there the greatest Gaulish saint of the sixth century knelt by the tomb of his greatest predecessor of the fourth century, the upbraider of Brunichildis communed with the spirit of the vanquisher of Maximus.

Colum-  
banus at  
Tours.

When day dawned Columbanus was invited by Leuparius, bishop of Tours, to share his hospitality. For the sake of his weary brethren he accepted the invitation, though it came from a Gaulish bishop, and spent the day at the Episcopal palace. At the evening meal, when many guests were present, Leuparius, either through ignorance or want of tact, asked him why he was returning to his native country. 'Because that dog, Theodoric, has forced me away from my brethren,' said the hot-tempered saint. At the table was a guest named Chrodoald, a kinsman by marriage of Theudebert, but loyal to Theodoric<sup>1</sup>. He, with demure face, said to the man of God, 'Methinks it is

<sup>1</sup> 'Unus e convivis, Chrodoaldus nomine, qui amitam Theoderberti regis in conjugium habebat, regi tamen Theoderico fidelis erat.' This distinction between the relations of Theudebert and Theodoric looks as if they were the sons of different mothers.

better to drink milk than wormwood,' thus gently hinting that such bitter words ill became saintly lips. Columbanus said, 'I suppose you are a liege man of Theodoric?' 'I am,' he answered, 'and will keep my pledged faith so long as I live.' 'Then you will doubtless be glad to take a message from me to your master and friend. Go, tell him that within three years he and all his race shall be utterly rooted up by the Lord of Hosts.' 'Oh! servant of God,' said Chrodoald, 'why dost thou utter such terrible words?' 'Because I cannot keep silence when the Lord God would have me speak.' Like another Jeremiah denouncing woe on the impious Jehoiakim was this Irish saint, as he hurled his fierce predictions among the trembling courtiers of Theodoric.

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CH. 3.

After all, the dauntless Irishman was not carried back to his native land. When he arrived at Nantes, the bishop and count of that city, in obedience to the king's orders, set him on board a merchant vessel carrying cargo to 'the Scots,' that is to the inhabitants of Ireland<sup>1</sup>. But though the ship, impelled by the rowers and by favouring gales, was carried out some way from the land, great rolling waves soon forced her back to the shore. The ship-master perceived that his saintly cargo was the reason of his disappointment. He put Columbanus and his friends ashore, and the ship proceeded on her voyage without difficulty.

Is not  
carried  
back to  
Ireland.

Columbanus, who seems to have been left at liberty to go whither he would, so long as he did not return to Burgundy, visited Chlotochar in his Neustrian

At the  
Courts of  
Chlo-  
tochar

<sup>1</sup> 'Reperta ergo navi quae Scotorum commercia vexerat' (Jonas, cap. xxii).

BOOK VII.  
CH. 3.

and Theu-  
debert.

capital, gently chided him for his Merovingian immoralities, and advised him to remain neutral in the war which had now broken out between Theodoric and Theudebert. Under the protection of an escort given him by Chlotochar he reached the dominions of Theudebert<sup>1</sup>, who gave him a hearty welcome, and invited him to choose some place in the Austrasian territory suitable for the erection of a monastery, which might serve as a base of operations for the missionary work planned by him among the pagans on the border. Such a retreat, after two abortive attempts by the lake of Zurich and at Arbon, he found finally at Bregenz, by the Lake of Constance, whither he travelled up the Rhine, doubtless with much toil of oar to the rowers assigned him by the king. The barbarous Alamanni who dwelt by the banks of the Upper Rhine were still worshippers of Wodan, and filled a large barrel, holding ten gallons, with the beer which they brewed and drunk in his honour<sup>2</sup>. When the saint heard from the idolaters

<sup>1</sup> In the course of this journey he arrived at the villa of Vulciacum on the banks of the Marne, where he was welcomed by its lord, Autharius, and his wife Aiga. He gave his blessing to their children Ado and Dado, who afterwards rose high in the service of the kings Chlotochar and Dagobert, but retired from the world, and founded monasteries in the Jura according to the rule of Columbanus. Note here the names of this Austrasian nobleman and his wife, so similar to those of two successive Lombard kings, Authari and Ago (= Agilulf).

<sup>2</sup> 'Reperit eos sacrificium prophanum libare velle, vasque magnum quod vulgo *Cupam* vocant quod vinginti modia [*sic*] amplius nec minus capiebat, cervisiâ plenum in medio positum aiunt illi se Deo suo, Vadono nomine, quem Mercurium ut alii aiunt autumant esse, litare velle' (Jonas, cap. xxvi). Notice the word '*cupa*,' which explains our own *cooper*.

what hateful work they were engaged in, he drew near and breathed upon the barrel, which suddenly burst asunder with a loud crash, spilling all the liquor on the ground. BOOK VII.  
CH. 3.

In the 'temple' of Bregenz (a ruined Christian oratory once dedicated to St. Aurelia) the stranger found three brazen images fixed to the wall. These images received the idolatrous worship of the people, who said, 'These are our ancient gods, by whose help and comfort we have been preserved alive to this day.' His friend and follower, Gallus, who was able to preach not only in Latin, but in the 'barbaric tongue,' exhorted the multitude who had assembled in the temple to turn from these vain idols and worship the Father and the Son. Then, in the sight of all, Columbanus seized the images, hammered them into fragments, and threw the pieces into the lake. Some of the bystanders were enraged at this insult to their gods, but the more part were converted by the preaching of Gallus. Columbanus sprinkled the temple with holy water, and, moving through it in procession with his monks chanting a psalm, dedicated it afresh to God and St. Aurelia. Columbanus at Bregenz.

This Gallus, whose knowledge of the Suevic tongue proved so helpful on this occasion, was the same St. Gall who, by the monastery which he founded, has given his name to one of the cantons of Switzerland. He was an Irishman of noble birth who came with Columbanus to the country of the Franks, and accompanied him in all his journeys but the last. From his life we learn some comparatively unimportant particulars about the life of the saint and his followers in Switzerland which need not be repeated here. But St. Gallus on the shore of the lake.

BOOK VII.  
CH 3.

it would be wrong to omit one narrative which has in it a touch of poetry, and which shows how the grandeurs of the Swiss landscape blended themselves with those thoughts of the spirit world which were ever uppermost in the souls of these denizens of the convent. St. Gallus, who was the chief fisherman of the party, and who in fact provided all their food except the wild fowl and the fruits of the wilderness, was once, in the silence of the night, casting his nets into the waters of Lake Constance, when he heard the Demon of the mountain calling from the cliffs with a loud voice to the Demon of the lake. 'Arise,' said he, 'for my help, and let us cast forth these strangers from their haunts; for, coming from afar, they have expelled me from my temple, have ground my images to powder, and drawn away all my people after them.' Then the Demon of the lake answered, 'All that thou complainest of I know too well. There is one of them who ever harasses me here in the water, and lays waste my realm. His nets I can never break, nor himself can I deceive, because the divine name which he invokes is ever on his lips; and by this continual watchfulness he frustrates all our snares.' Hearing these words, the man of God fortified himself with the sign of the cross, and said, 'In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ I command you that ye depart from this place, and do not presume to injure any one here.' Then he returned and told the abbot what he had heard. The brethren were assembled at once in the church, though it was the dead of night, and their voices filled the air with psalmody. But even before they began the holy song, there were heard dread voices of the Demons floating about from



summit to summit of the mountains, cries and wails as of those who departed in sadness from their home, and confused shrieks as of those who were pursued by the avenger<sup>1</sup>.

About this time visions of missionary service among the Slavonic tribes on the border of Venetia began to float before the mind of Columbanus, but an angel appeared to him in a dream, and, holding forth a map of the world, indicated to him Italy as the scene of his future labours<sup>2</sup>. Not yet, however, was the time come for this enterprise: meanwhile he was to wait in patience till the way should open for his leaving Austrasia. It was by the bloody sword of fratricidal war that the way to the saint's last harvest-field was laid open. It has been told how the long grudge between the two grandsons of Brunichildis burst at last into a flame, and hostilities began. Columbanus, with prophetic foresight of the result, perhaps also with statesmanlike insight into the comparative strength of the two kingdoms, left his solitude, sought the Court of Theudebert, and exhorted him to

BOOK VII.  
CH. 3.  
Again at  
the Court  
of Theude-  
bert.

<sup>1</sup> This passage in the life of St. Gall recalls two well-known utterances of our own poets:—Wordsworth's

'Two voices are there, one is of the sea; one of the mountains'; and Milton's

'The lonely mountains o'er,  
And the resounding shore,

A voice of weeping heard and loud lament;  
From haunted spring, and dale  
Edged with poplar pale,

The parting genius is with sighing sent.'

<sup>2</sup> The passage in Jonas (cap. xxvi) is obscure, but the description of the map is interesting: 'Angelus Domini per visum apparuit parvoque ambitu velut paginali solent stylo orbis describere circum, mundi compagem monstravit.'

BOOK VII. decline the contest and at once enter the ranks of the  
 CH. 3. clergy. The king and all his courtiers raised a shout

612. of indignant derision. 'Never was it heard that a Merovingian, once raised to the throne, of his own will became a priest.' 'He who will not voluntarily accept the clerical honour,' said Columbanus, 'will soon find himself a clergyman in his own despite'; and therewith he departed to his hermitage. The prophecy was soon fulfilled. The two armies met on the field of Toul. Theudebert was defeated, fled, gathered a fresh army, and was again defeated on the  
 613. field of Tolbiac<sup>1</sup>, where a terrible slaughter was made in the ranks of both armies. Betrayed by his friends, he was captured by his brother and carried into the presence of their grandmother, who had never forgiven him or his for her exile from Austrasia. She at once shorn his long Merovingian locks, and turned him into a tonsured cleric; and not many days after, she or Theodoric ordered him to be put to death. Close upon these events followed, as has been already related, the sudden death of Theodoric II, the murder of his children, and the reunion of the whole Frankish monarchy under the sceptre of the lately despised and flouted Chlotochar.

Battle of  
 Tolbiac  
 seen by  
 Colum-  
 banus in  
 a vision.

The bloody day of Tolbiac was seen in a dream by Columbanus, overtaken by sudden slumber as he was sitting reading in a hollow oak in his beloved wilderness<sup>2</sup>. The disciple who listened to his story of the

<sup>1</sup> Zulpich, near Cologne.

<sup>2</sup> I venture here on a slight deviation from my authority. 'Eâ horâ ergo quâ apud Tulbiacum commissum est bellum, supra quercus putrefactum truncum vir librum legens residebat.' I imagine him to have been reading, not over, but in the decayed tree.

battle said, 'Oh, my father, pray for Theudebert, that he may conquer his and our enemy, Theodoric.' 'Unwise and irreligious is thy advice,' said Columbanus. 'Not thus hath the Lord commanded us, who told us to pray even for our enemies.' Afterwards, when the tidings came of the great encounter, the disciple learned that it had been fought at the very day and hour when the saint beheld it in his vision.

The battle of Tolbiac broke the last thread that connected Columbanus with the kingdom of the Franks, and accordingly, leaving Gaul and Germany behind him, he pressed forward into Italy. One only of his faithful band of followers did not accompany him. Gallus, who had sickened with fever, and who perhaps felt that his special gifts as a missionary to the Suevi would be wasted when he had crossed the Alps, remained behind on the shores of Lake Constance, which he had learned to love. As St. Paul with Mark when he departed from him and Barnabas at Perga, so was Columbanus deeply grieved with the slackness of spirit of his disciple, upon whom he laid a solemn injunction never to presume to celebrate mass during the lifetime of his master.

Columbanus was received with every mark of honour and esteem by Agilulf and Theudelinda<sup>1</sup>. He remained

<sup>1</sup> Was this the first occasion on which Columbanus visited Italy? Abbot L. della Torre started the theory that the saint paid a previous visit in 595; that he then founded the monastery of Bobbio, and remained in Italy till 598. This theory was accepted by Pagi and many other scholars, among the latest of whom is Carlo Troya (*Storia d'Italia*, iv. 2. 27). Muratori, however, never adopted it, and there can be little doubt that he was justified in his scepticism. There is no hint in his biography by Jonas of any such early interruption to the saint's Gaulish career,

BOOK VII. apparently for some months at Milan, arguing with the  
 CH. 3. Arian ecclesiastics who still haunted the Lombard

613. Court. 'By the cautery of the Scriptures,' as his biographer quaintly says, 'he dissected and destroyed the deceits of the Arian infidelity, and he moreover published against them a book of marvellous science<sup>1</sup>.' But all men who knew Columbanus knew that he would not be content to dwell long in palaces or cities, but that he must be sighing for the solitude of the wilderness and the silence of the convent. It was doubtless from a knowledge of this desire that a certain man named Jocundus came one day to King Agilulf, and began to expatiate on the advantages for a monastic life afforded by the little village of Bobium (Bobbio), about twenty-five miles from Placentia. This place, situated on the banks of the little river Trebia (which witnessed the first of Hannibal's great victories over the Romans), lies away from the great high-roads of the Lombard plain, its cities and its broad river, and nestles in a fertile valley shut in by the peaks of the

and in fact the only evidence for the theory is certain documents by Troya (iv. I, ccxvi. and ccxlix.) under the date 601. These documents profess to be (1) a grant from Agilulf to Columbanus of the basilica of Bobbio and the territory for four miles round it, and (2) a letter from Columbanus to Gregory I, by which the former places his newly founded monastery under the protection of the Pope. The dates of these documents, however, are confessedly quite wrong, as they quote years of the Indiction which do not correspond with the regnal years also quoted by them; and it is now generally admitted that (as argued by Waitz in the *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1856) these early Bobbio documents are forgeries. With this admission the whole theory of an earlier visit of Columbanus to Italy falls to the ground, and it is needless to spend any more time on its refutation.

<sup>1</sup> 'Contra quos etiam libellum florentis scientiæ edidit' (Jonas, cap. xxix).

central Apennine chain. It has its own little stream, the Bobbio, confluent with the Trebia and abounding in fish. Everything marked it out as being, according to the description of Jocundus, a place well suited for the cultivation of monastic excellence; and thither Columbanus joyfully retired. He found there a half-ruined basilica of St. Peter, which he at once began to restore with the help of his followers. The tall firs of the Apennines were felled, and their trunks were transported over rough and devious ways down into the fertile valley. The alacrity of the aged saint, who personally helped in the pious toil, became in the next generation the subject of a miracle. 'There was a beam which, if placed on level ground, thirty or forty men would have drawn with difficulty. The man of God, coming up to it, placed the immense weight on the shoulders of himself and two or three of his friends; and where before, on account of the roughness of the road, they had, though unencumbered, walked with difficulty, they now, laden with the beam's weight, moved rapidly forward. The parts seemed reversed, and they who were bearing the burden walked with triumphant ease, as if they were being borne along by others.'

Such were the beginnings of the great monastic house of Bobbio. It has for us a special interest (and this is our justification for spending so long a time over the life of its founder), for there can be little doubt that the monastery of Bobbio, even more than the holiness and popularity of Queen Theudelinda, was the means of accomplishing that conversion of the Lombards to the Catholic form of Christianity, which at last, though not in the first or second generation,

BOOK VII.

CH. 3.

613.

Special  
importance of  
Bobbio.

BOOK VII. ended the religious duality of Italy. True to his early  
 CH. 3. literary and philosophical instincts, Columbanus seems, with all his austerities, ever to have preserved the character of an educated Churchman. Learned as the Order of Benedict became in after years, we shall probably not err in supposing that at this time it was surpassed in learning by the Order of Columbanus. The library of Bobbio was for many centuries one of the richest, probably *the* richest, in Italy, and many of the most precious treasures now deposited in the Ambrosian library at Milan have been taken thither from the monastery of Columbanus<sup>1</sup>.

Arian  
 treatises.

It is noteworthy that among these treasures are to be found some considerable fragments of the Gothic Bible of Ulfilas, and of his Commentary on the Gospel of John<sup>2</sup>. Apparently Columbanus, in his controversies

<sup>1</sup> The monograph by G. L. Krafft, 'De Fontibus Ulfilae Arianismi ex Fragmentis Bobiensibus erutis' (Bonn, 1860), brings out very well this special connexion of the monastery of Bobbio with the literature of the Arian controversy. He concludes: 'Thus the convent of Bobbio became a citadel for the defence of the Catholic faith, and for the attack on German Arianism, which the Lombards alone of all the Germanic nations were at that time professing and strongly upholding. Accordingly in this one abode, as in an arsenal, almost all the writings relating to German Arianism have been preserved for us. I mention here in passing the Paris Codex, which contains the memoir of Auxentius on the Arian teaching of Ulfilas, the origin of which G. Waitz says to be uncertain, but which I think must be traced back to this same convent of Bobbio, whose most ample treasures have been dispersed in all directions. Nor is it to be wondered at that after Arianism was vanquished the monks of Bobbio should have begun to turn these codices to another account, writing Latin treatises over those which were in the Gothic or Lombard tongue, the knowledge of which they had completely lost.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Skeireins Aivaggeljons thairh Johannen' (edited by Massmann, Munich, 1834).

with the Arians at Milan, did not neglect the whole-  
 some practice of studying his opponents' arguments in  
 their own books, and to this wise liberality of thought  
 may have been due some portion of his success. Nor  
 was the secular, Pagan side of literature unrepresented  
 in the library of Bobbio. The great palimpsest now  
 in the Vatican, in which Cardinal Mai discovered,  
 under St. Augustine's Commentary on the Psalms  
 (119-140), Cicero's lost treatise, *De Republicâ*, bears  
 yet this inscription on one of its pages, 'Liber Sancti  
 Columbani de Bobio<sup>1</sup>.'

BOOK VII.  
 CH. 3.

Pagan  
 literature.

A quaint exemplification of the saint's unextin-  
 guished love for classical literature is furnished by the  
 verses which, at the age of seventy-two, and probably  
 within a few months of his death, he addressed to  
 a certain friend of his named Fedolius. They are  
 written in a metre which he calls Sapphic, but which  
 a modern scholar would rather call Adonic, being  
 entirely composed of those short lines (dactyl and  
 trochee) with which the Sapphic verse terminates :—

The  
 Saint's  
 Sapphics.

'Take, I beseech you,  
 Now from my hands this  
 Trumpery gift of  
 Two-footed verses ;  
 And for your own part  
 Frequently send us

<sup>1</sup> See Cardinal Mai's preface to Cicero *de Republicâ*, 1823 (p. xxiii). He says that these words, written apparently in the tenth century, are to be found in nearly all the codices which once belonged to the library of Bobbio. They do not therefore necessarily imply any personal connexion with Columbanus. Mai attributes the original MS. of Cicero to a date not later than the sixth century, possibly as early as the second or third. The superimposed text of Augustine he thinks to be not later than the tenth century.

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Verses of yours by  
Way of repayment.  
For as the sun-baked  
Fields when the winds change  
Joy in the soft shower,  
So has your page oft  
Gladdened my spirit.'

Columbanus then proceeds through about eighty lines to warn his friend against avarice. The examples of the curse of riches are all drawn from classical mythology. The Golden Fleece, the Golden Apple, the Golden Shower, Pygmalion, Polydorus, Amphiarus, Achilles, are all pressed into the poet's service; and as the easy and, on the whole, creditable lines flow on, the idea is suggested to the reader's mind that probably Fedolius was no more inclined to avarice than his adviser, but that the commonplaces about avarice expressed themselves so easily in the Adonic metre that the saint had not the heart to deny himself the pleasant exercise. He ends at last thus :—

'Be it enough, then,  
Thus to have spun my  
Garrulous verses.  
For when you read them,  
Haply the metre  
May to you seem strange.  
Yet 'tis the same which  
She, the renowned bard  
Sappho, the Greek, once  
Used for her verses.  
You, too (the fancy  
Haply may seize you  
Thus to compose verse).  
Note my instructions :  
Always a dactyl  
Stands in the first place ;  
After it comes next



Strictly a trochee,  
But you may always  
End with a spondee.  
Now then, my loved one,  
Brother Fedolis,  
Who when you choose are  
Sweeter than nectar,  
Leave the more pompous  
Songs of the sages,  
And with a meek mind  
Bear with my trifling.  
So may the World-King,  
Christ, the alone Son  
Of the Eternal,  
Crown you with Life's joys.  
He in his Sire's name  
Reigneth o'er all things  
Now and for ever.

Such is the verse I have framed, though tortured by cruel  
diseases,  
Born of this feeble frame, born too of the sadness of old age.  
For while the years of my life have hurried me downward  
and onward,  
Lo! I have passed e'en now the eighteenth Olympian mile-  
stone.  
All things are passing away: Time flies and the traitor returns  
not.  
Live: farewell. In joy or in grief remember that Age comes.'

These dallyings with the classic Muse surprise us, not unpleasantly, in the life of so great a saint, who was the founder of a rule more austere than that of St. Benedict. Still greater becomes our surprise when we learn that, according to a tradition which, though late, seems to be not wholly unworthy of belief, even monastic austerity was not sufficient for the saint in these years of his failing strength, and that he must needs resume the life of a hermit. To this day a cave is pointed out in a mountain gorge a few miles from

Resumes  
a hermit  
life.

BOOK VII. Bobbio, to which Columbanus is said to have retired  
 CH. 3. for the last few months, perhaps years, of his life, only returning to the monastery on Sundays and saints' days to spend those seasons of gladness with his brethren <sup>1</sup>.

Inter-  
course  
with the  
Lombard  
king and  
queen.

We hear more of Columbanus in the monastery and in the cave than in the palace, but there can be no doubt that his interviews with Agilulf and Theudelinda were frequent and important. He helped the Bavarian queen with all the energy of his Celtic nature in fighting against Arianism, but he also (unfortunately for his reputation with the ultra-orthodox) threw himself with some vehemence into her party in the dismal controversy of the Three Chapters. For Theudelinda, it is evident, notwithstanding the pious exhortations of popes and archbishops, still remained unconvinced of the damnation of the three Syrian ecclesiastics; and now, finding that the new light which had risen upon Italy was in the same quarter of the theological heaven with herself, she determined to use his influence on behalf of the cause which she held dear. At her request and Agilulf's, Columbanus addressed a long letter to Pope Boniface IV <sup>2</sup>, the third successor of Gregory the Great in St. Peter's chair.

Three  
Chapters  
Contro-  
versy.

Letter  
of Colum-  
banus to  
Pope Boni-  
face IV.

The address of his letter is peculiar. Columbanus often alludes to the garrulity which has been for centuries the characteristic of his race, and as we seem to

<sup>1</sup> Jonas says nothing about this cave-retreat, which is particularly described in the *Miracula* (tenth century). See the description of the cave in Miss Stokes' charming book, *Six Months in the Apennines*, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Successors of Gregory I:—Sabinianus, 604–606; Boniface III, 607; Boniface IV, 608–615. The letter is No. 5 in the collection of St. Columbanus' letters in the *M. G. H.* (p. 170).

hear the words of this fulsome dedication, uttered in the rich, soft Irish brogue, an epithet unknown to the dignity of history seems the only one which will describe the saintly communication :—

‘To the most beautiful Head of all the Churches of Europe, to the sweetest Pope, to the lofty Chief, to the Shepherd of Shepherds, to the most reverend Sentinel, the humblest to the highest, the least to the greatest, the rustic to the citizen, the mean speaker to the very eloquent, the last to the first, the foreigner to the native, the beggar to the very powerful : Oh, the new and strange marvel! a rare bird, even a Dove, dares to write to his father Bonifacius.’

However, when Columbanus has fairly commenced the letter thus strangely precluded, no one can accuse him of indulging in ‘blarney.’ He speaks to the Pope with noble independence, recognising fully the importance of his position as representative of St. Peter and St. Paul, but telling him plainly that he, the Pope, has incurred suspicion of heresy, and exhorting him not to slumber, as his predecessor Vigilius did, who by his lack of vigilance has brought all this confusion upon the Church<sup>1</sup>.

It is not very clear what Columbanus desired the Pope to do, for the letter, which is inordinately long and shows traces of the garrulity of age as well as of the eloquence of the Irishman, is singularly destitute of practical suggestions, and evinces no grasp at all of the theological problem. It appears, however, that he recommends the Pope to summon a council, and that

<sup>1</sup> ‘Vigila itaque, quaeso papa, vigila et iterum dico : vigila, quia forte non bene vigilavit Vigilius, quem caput scandali isti clamant qui vobis culpam injiciunt.’

BOOK VII.  
CH. 3.

he does not recognise 'a certain so-called fifth council in which Vigilus was said to have received those ancient heretics, Eutyches, Nestorius, and Dioscorus<sup>1</sup>. What we are concerned with, however, is the information afforded us by this letter as to the sentiments of the Lombard king and queen; and this is so important that it will be well to extract the sentences containing it in full. 'If I am accused of presumption, and asked as Moses was, "Who made thee a judge and a ruler over us?" I answer that it is not presumption to speak when the edification of the Church requires it; and if the person of the speaker be cavilled at, consider not who I, the speaker, am, but what it is that I say. For why should the Christian foreigner hold his peace when his *Arian neighbour* has long said in a loud voice that which he wishes to say, "For better are the wounds of a friend than the deceitful kisses of an enemy"? . . . I, who have come from the end of the world, am struck with terror at what I behold, and turn in my perplexity to thee, who art the only hope of princes through the honour of the holy Apostle Peter. But when the frail bark of my intellect could not, in the language of the Scriptures, "launch out into the deep," but rather remained fixed in one place<sup>2</sup> (for the paper cannot hold all that my mind from various causes desires to include in the narrow limits of a letter), I found myself in addition *entreated by the king* to suggest in detail to your pious ears the whole

<sup>1</sup> 'Dicunt enim Eutychem, Nestorium, Dioscorum antiquos ut scimus hereticos a Vigilio *in synodo nescio quâ in quinta* receptos fuisse.' It cannot be necessary to point out how utterly wild is this accusation against the unfortunate Vigilus.

<sup>2</sup> Have we an allusion here to the reported miracle which prevented the saint's return to Ireland?

story of his grief; for he mourns for the schism of his people, for his queen, for his son, perchance also for himself: since *he is reported to have said that he, too, would believe if he could know the certainty of the matter.* . . . Pardon me, I pray, who may seem to you an obscure prater, too free and rough with his tongue, but who cannot write otherwise than he has done in such a cause. I have proved my loyalty<sup>1</sup>, and the zeal of my faith, when I have chosen to give opportunity to my rebukers rather than to close my mouth, however unlearned it be, in such a cause. These rebukers are the men of whom Jeremiah has said<sup>2</sup>, "They bend their tongues like their bow for lies." . . . But *when a "Gentile" king begs a foreigner, when a Lombard begs a dull Scot to write*, when the wave of an ancient torrent thus flows backward to its source, who would not feel his wonder overcome his fear of calumny? I at any rate will not tremble, nor fear the tongues of men when I am engaged in the cause of God. . . .

'Such, then, are my suggestions. They come, I admit, from one who is torpid in action, from one who says rather than does; from one who is called Jonah in Hebrew, Peristera in Greek, Columba in Latin; and though I am generally known only by the name which I bear in your language, let me now use my old Hebrew name, since I have almost suffered Jonah's shipwreck. But grant me the pardon which I have often craved, since I have been forced to write by necessity, not from self-conceit. For almost at my first entrance into this land I was met by the letters of a certain person, who said that I must beware of you, for you had fallen away into the error of Nestorius.

<sup>1</sup> 'Germanitatem meam.'

<sup>2</sup> Jer. ix. 3.

BOOK VII. Whom I answered briefly and with astonishment that  
 CH. 3. I did not believe his allegation; but lest by any chance I should be opposing the truth, I afterwards varied my reply, and sent it along with his letter to you for perusal<sup>1</sup>.

‘After this, another occasion for writing was laid upon me *by the command of Agilulf*, whose request threw me into a strangely blended state of wonder and anxiety, for what had occurred seemed to me hardly possible without a miracle. For these kings have long strengthened the Arian pestilence in this land by trampling on the Catholic faith; but now they ask that *our* faith shall be strengthened. Haply Christ, from whose favour every good gift comes, has looked upon us with pitying eye. We certainly are most miserable, if the scandal is continued any longer by our means. Therefore *the king asks you*, and the queen asks you, and all men ask you, that as speedily as possible all may become one; that there may be peace in the country, peace among the faithful; finally, that all may become one flock, of which Christ shall be the shepherd. Oh, king of kings! do thou follow Peter, and let all the Church follow thee<sup>2</sup>. What is sweeter than peace after war? What more delightful than the union of brethren long separated? How pleasant to waiting parents the return of the long-absent son! Even so, to God the Father the peace of His sons will be a joy for countless ages, and the gladness of our mother the Church will be a sempiternal triumph.’

The letter ends with an entreaty for the prayers of

<sup>1</sup> Columbanus is here very obscure, and I am not sure that I have caught his meaning.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Rex regum, tu Petrum, te tota sequatur ecclesia.’

the Pope on behalf of the writer, 'the vilest of sinners.'

Now I must ask the reader to set over against this letter of Columbanus, written probably about 613 or 614, very shortly before Agilulf's death, the following statement of Paulus, which occurs at an early point in the history of his reign<sup>1</sup>:—'By means of this queen [Theudelinda] the Church of God obtained much advantage. For the Lombards, when they were still involved in the error of heathenism<sup>2</sup>, plundered all the property of the Churches. But the king, being influenced by this queen's healthful intercession, *both held the Catholic faith*<sup>3</sup>, and bestowed many possessions on the Church of Christ, and restored the bishops, who were in a depressed and abject condition, to the honour of their wonted dignity.'

Was Agilulf converted from Arianism? Statement of Paulus.

These words certainly seem to imply that Agilulf was persuaded by his wife to embrace her form of faith. We should indeed have expected some other word than 'held' to describe the conversion of a heretic, and throughout the paragraph the historian is thinking more of the outward and visible effects of the king's conversion than of the internal process. Still, the passage cannot, as it seems to me, be made to assert anything less than the catholicity of Agilulf, and it does not describe a death-bed conversion, but the whole character of his reign.

On the other hand, the letters of Gregory for the

<sup>1</sup> H. L. iv. 6.

<sup>2</sup> 'Cum adhuc gentilitatis errore tenerentur.' I do not see how we can translate 'gentilitatis' by any weaker word than heathenism.

<sup>3</sup> 'Et catholicam fidem tenuit.'

BOOK VII. first fourteen years of that reign, and this letter of  
 CH. 3.

Columbanus within a couple of years of its close, bring before us an entirely different mental state. The Agilulf whom they disclose to us is tolerant, and more than tolerant, of the religion of the queen who has invited him to share her throne. He allows his son, the heir to the Lombard crown, to be baptized with Catholic rites. He is anxious that the Three Chapters Schism should be ended, and that there should be religious peace in his land. If the orthodox would but agree among themselves, and not worry him about the damnation of Theodore, Ibas, and Theodoret, he is almost ready himself to believe as they believe, but meanwhile he is still 'vicinus Arius'; and in the Arian faith, for anything that the contemporary correspondence shows us, he died as well as lived. Different readers will perhaps come to different conclusions on such conflicting evidence, but upon the whole I am inclined to disbelieve the alleged conversion of Agilulf<sup>1</sup>.

Religious  
 laxity of  
 the Lom-  
 bards.

The whole discussion is to my mind another evidence of the loose, limp hold which the Lombards had on any form of Christian faith. The Vandals, in the bitterness of their Arianism, made the lives of their Catholic subjects in Africa miserable to them. Visigothic Alaric, Arian though he was, would rather lose a campaign than fight on Easter Day; and his successors, when

<sup>1</sup> This is the conclusion reached by Weise (pp. 271-273), and he supports it by the description of a marble bas-relief in the church of St. John the Baptist at Monza. Herein Theudelinda and her two children were represented as standing in the foreground, bringing consecration offerings to the Baptist; while Agilulf—as one not in full church communion with them—knelt behind them praying with folded hands. I do not think we can lay much stress on this difference of representation.



they at length embraced the orthodox form of faith, BOOK VII.  
CH. 3. became such ardent Catholics that they virtually handed over the government of the state to the councils of bishops. But the Lombards, though heterodox or heathen enough to plunder and harry the Church, had no interest in the theological battle, and whether their greatest king was Arian or orthodox was probably more than many of his counsellors knew, perhaps more than he could himself have told them.

The last event recorded in the life of Columbanus was the visit of Eustasius, his dear friend, disciple, and successor in the Abbotship of Luxovium. Visit of  
Eustasius  
to Colum-  
banus. He came on an embassy from Chlotochar, now, after the death of Theodoric, unquestioned lord of all the Frankish kingdoms. Chlotochar knew well how the saint had been harassed by their common foe, Brunichildis, and how in the days of his own humiliation Columbanus had predicted his coming triumph. Gladly, therefore, would the king have had him return to Luxovium, that all things might go on as aforetime in the Burgundian monastery. But Columbanus probably felt himself too old and weary to undertake a second transplantation. He kept Eustasius with him for some time, giving him divers counsels as to the government of the monastery, and then dismissed him with a grateful message to Chlotochar, commending Luxovium to his special protection.

After a year's residence at Bobbio Columbanus died, Death of  
Colum-  
banus. on the 23rd of November, 615, having on his death-bed handed his staff<sup>1</sup> to a deacon, with orders to carry it to Gallus as a sign that he was forgiven for his old

<sup>1</sup> 'Baculum ipsius quem vulgo Cambotam (?) vocant' (Vita S. Galli, cap. xxv).

BOOK VII. offence, and was now at liberty to resume his minis-  
 CH 3. trations at the altar.

615.  
 Subse-  
 quent his-  
 tory of his  
 rule.

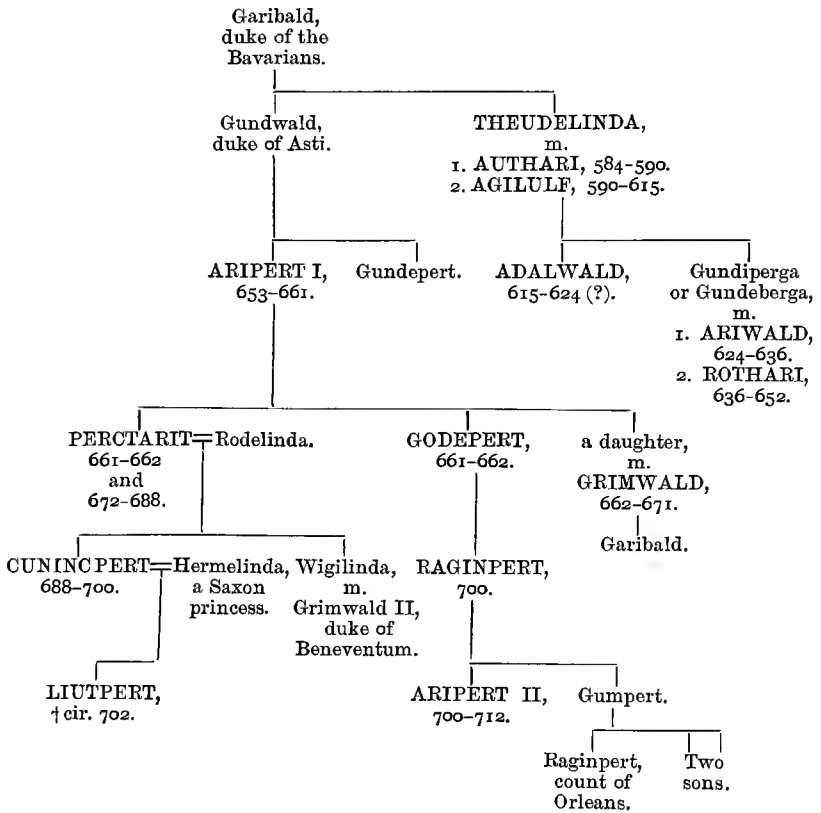
The rule of Columbanus, somewhat harsher than that of Benedict, both in respect of abstinence from food and of corporal chastisement for trivial offences, spread far and wide over Gaul. Luxovium (or Luxeuil) became the mother of many vast monasteries, the schools of which were especially renowned for the admirable education which the sons of Frankish nobles there received from the disciples of Columbanus. In Italy, already preoccupied by the followers of Benedict, the spread of the Columbanian rule was probably less universal, as Bobbio does not seem to have vied with Luxeuil in the number of her daughter convents. But in all, whether Gaulish or Italian, the rule of Columbanus early gave way to that of Benedict, in whose monastic code there was perhaps less of the wild Celtic genius, more Roman common sense, less attempt to wind men up to an unattainable ideal of holiness, more consideration for human weakness than in that of the Irish saint. Above all—and this was perhaps the chief reason for the speedy triumph of the Benedictine rule—Gregory the Great had given the full, final, and emphatic sanction of Papal authority to the code of his master, Benedict; while in Columbanus, with all his holiness of life and undoubted loyalty to the chair of St. Peter, there had been a touch of independence and originality, a slight evidence of a disposition to set the Pope right (in reference both to the keeping of Easter and the controversy about the Three Chapters), which perhaps prevented the name of the Irish saint from being held in grateful remembrance at the Lateran. Whatever the cause,

in Burgundy at any rate, at the Council of Autun in BOOK VII.  
CH. 3. 670, the rule of Benedict was spoken of as that which 615. all persons who had entered into religion were bound to obey. Thus little more than fifty years after his death the white scapular of Columbanus was disappearing before the black robe of Benedict.

We have seen that Columbanus died in the year Death of  
Agilulf. 615. In the same or, possibly the following year<sup>1</sup> Agilulf, king of the Lombards, died also, and Theudelinda was a second time left a widow.

<sup>1</sup> The date assigned to this event by Waitz in the edition of Paulus in the *M. G. H.* and by many other enquirers is 616; but Weise, p. 253, seems to show good reason for dating it in 615. Even so, it is difficult to get room for the ten years of Adalwald, and the twelve of Ariwald before the accession of Rothari. There must in any case be a great deal of guess-work in Lombard chronology.

## LOMBARD KINGS OF THE BAVARIAN LINE.



## CHAPTER IV.

### THEUDELINDA AND HER CHILDREN.

#### Authorities.

#### *Sources :—*

For this part of the history PAULUS, who has now lost the BOOK VII.  
guidance of SECUNDUS, is very arid and unsatisfactory. He CH. 4.  
frankly confesses that he knows nothing as to the reign of  
Ariwald ; and he is not much better informed as to Adalwald  
and Rothari. Our chief source thus failing us, we have to  
eke out our information from the LIBER PONTIFICALIS (as  
critically edited by Abbé Duchesne), and from the chronicles  
of the so-called FREDEGARIUS. Some account has already been  
given of this chronicler, apparently a Burgundian ecclesiastic,  
who has in very uncouth fashion, and in even worse Latin  
than that of Gregory of Tours, sought to continue the work  
of that historian<sup>1</sup>. In the first three books of his chronicles  
he is little more than a copyist, transcribing long passages from  
Jerome, Hippolytus, Idatius, Isidore, and Gregory of Tours. In  
the fourth book, however, which begins with the twenty-third  
year of King Guntram (583), he begins to write as a more  
independent historian, though even here it is thought that  
he had some short Burgundian annals before him. His history  
ends in 642, and he himself apparently died before 663. There  
is therefore reason to think that from about 631 onwards he  
speaks strictly as a contemporary ; and ill-informed and inac-  
curate as he often shows himself, this fact, in the great dearth

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<sup>1</sup> Not omitting, however, to begin from the Creation of the World.

BOOK VII. of authorities for the seventh century, gives this part of his  
 CH. 4. work a high value, and justifies us in sometimes preferring his authority to that of Paulus Diaconus, where the two seem to be in collision.

From a few quotations which I have given, the reader will see how low the standard of Latinity had sunk even among the ecclesiastics of Burgundy, itself one of the least barbarous regions of Gaul, by the middle of the seventh century.

Adalwald,  
615-624.  
His failure  
as a ruler.

THE story of the joint reign of Theudelinda and Adalwald, after the death of the strong and statesman-like Agilulf, is obscure and melancholy. We might conjecture that we should find in it a repetition of the tragedy of Amalasantha and her son; but there is no trace in our authorities of those domestic dissensions which brought the dynasty of Theodoric to ruin.

Not apparently  
due to his  
mother's  
zeal  
against  
Arianism.

We might also with more reason conjecture that the fervent zeal of Theudelinda for the Catholic faith provoked a reaction among her Arian subjects; and certainly the fact that the rival who succeeded in hurling Adalwald from his throne was a zealous Arian<sup>1</sup> would lend some probability to the hypothesis. But, though it is true that Paulus tells us that 'under this reign the churches were restored, and many gifts were bestowed on sacred places,' there is no evidence of anything like aggressive war being waged by the royal rulers against the Arian sect. On the contrary, we may still read a most curious letter in which Sisebut, king of the Visigoths, exhorts the young king to greater zeal in 'cutting off the putrid errors of the heretics by the knife of experience,' inveighing with

<sup>1</sup> This is stated by the contemporary monk, Jonas, in his life of Bertulf, second abbot of Bobbio. I owe the quotation to Abel (*Essay on Das Christenthum bei den Langobarden*, appended to his translation of Paulus, p. 246).

all the zeal of a recent convert against the Arian contagion, and lamenting that so renowned a nation as the Lombards, so wise, so elegant, and so dignified, should sit down contented under the yoke of a dead and buried heresy<sup>1</sup>. Of course it is possible that this and similar exhortations may have lashed the young ruler into a fury of persecution on behalf of the now fashionable orthodoxy, and that this may have been one of the things which cost him his crown; but our scanty historical evidence tells rather against than in favour of that suggestion. The historian of the Lombards distinctly attributes the fall of Adalwald to his own insanity<sup>2</sup>. A strange but contemporary story connects that insanity in a mysterious way with the influence of the court of Ravenna; and this will therefore be a fitting place to piece together the scanty notices that we possess of the Byzantine governors of Imperial Italy during the first quarter of the seventh century.

We have already seen how the ineffectual Longinus was superseded, probably in 585, and his place given to the energetic but hot-headed Smaragdus; how Smaragdus, interfering too violently in the Istrian schism, was recalled in 589, and was succeeded by Romanus, the Exarch whose apparent indifference to the fate of Rome aroused the indignation of Pope Gregory; how, on the recall of Romanus, Callinicus succeeded to the government, and administered the

BOOK VII.  
CH. 4.

Succession  
of Ex-  
archs :  
(Longinus,  
567-585.)  
Smarag-  
dus,  
585-589.

Romanus,  
589-597(?).

<sup>1</sup> This odd effusion of newly-born Catholic zeal is to be found in Troya, i. 571-576.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sed dum Adaloald *eversa mente insaniret* postquam cum matre decem regnaverat annis de regno ejectus est, et a Langobardis in ejus loco Arioald substitutus est' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 41).

BOOK VII.  
CH. 4.

Callini-  
cus,  
597(?) - 602.  
Smarag-  
dus  
(second  
time), 602 -  
611.

Column of  
Phocas.

affairs of Italy, generally in a friendly spirit to the Pope, from 597 to 602, and then, on the downfall of the Emperor Maurice, was superseded in favour of Smaragdus, who a second time sat as Exarch on the tribunal of Ravenna. The second administration of Smaragdus lasted in all probability from 602 to 611. Its chief political events, the dastardly abduction of the daughter of the Lombard king with her family, and the heavy price which the Empire had to pay for that blundering crime, in the loss of its last foothold in the valley of the Po, have already been related. One proof of Smaragdus' servile loyalty to the usurper Phocas (fitting master of such a man) has not been mentioned. All visitors to Rome know the lonely pillar with a Corinthian capital, which stands in the Forum, near the Arch of Severus, and which, when Byron wrote his fourth canto of 'Childe Harold,' was still

'the nameless column with the buried base.'

They know also how, in 1816, an English nobleman's wife<sup>1</sup> caused the base to be unburied, and recovered the forgotten name. It was then found that the inscription on the base recorded the fact that Smaragdus, the Exarch of Italy, raised the column in honour of an Emperor whose innumerable benefits to an Italy, free and peaceful through his endeavours, were set forth in pompous terms. The Emperor's name had been obliterated by some zealous adherent of his successful rival; but there could be no doubt that the name which was originally engraved there in the year 608 was Phocas.

Not to Smaragdus himself was left the humiliating

<sup>1</sup> The Duchess of Devonshire.



task of thus effacing the memorials of his former devotion to a base and cruel prince<sup>1</sup>. It was on the 5th of October, 610, that the brave young African governor, Heraclius, was crowned as Emperor by the Patriarch of Constantinople, and it was probably early in the following year that Smaragdus was recalled for the last time, and a new governor, Joannes<sup>2</sup>, took his place. The five years of this Exarch's rule were

BOOK VII.  
CH. 4.

Joannes,  
611-616.

<sup>1</sup> The following is the text of the inscription on the column of Phocas, as given by Canina, i. 191 :—

(opt)imo . clementis(simo) . (piissi)moque  
principi . domino . (n . focae . imperator)i  
perpetuo . a . D(e)o . coronato . triumphatori .  
semper . Augusto .

Smaragdus . ex . praepos . sacri . palatii  
ac . patricius . et . exarchus . Italiae  
devotus . ejus . clementiae  
pro . innumerabilibus . pietatis . ejus  
beneficiis . et . pro . quiete  
procurata . Ital . ac . conser(vat)a . libertate  
hanc . st(atuam majesta)tis . ejus  
aurisplend(ore fulgen)tem . huic  
sublimi . colu(m)n(ae ad) perennem  
ipsius . gloriam . imposuit . ac . dedicavit  
Die . prima . mensis . Augusti indict. . und  
P.C. pietatis . ejus . anno . quinto (?)

The chronology seems to require 'quarto' instead of 'quinto.' It will be seen that the column was surmounted by a gilded statue of Phocas.

<sup>2</sup> This governor (whose name is given us by the *Liber Pontificalis*, and confirmed by Marini's *Papiri Diplomatici*, 123) is generally called by modern writers *Lemigius Thrax*. I speak doubtfully of a negative proposition, but it seems to me that there is no other authority for this name than the sixteenth-century writer Rubeus, in his *History of Ravenna* (p. 198). Rubeus has a provoking habit of making assertions of this kind without quoting the source of his information, and till I find some better authority than his, I prefer to leave 'Lemigius Thrax' out of my history. I see that Diehl (*Études sur l'Administration Byzantine*, p. 173, n. 2) is of the same opinion. He puts Lemigius in brackets.

BOOK VII. marked by no brilliant achievement. He renewed the  
 CH. 4. peace with Agilulf (probably from year to year<sup>1</sup>); he  
 saw probably the Lombard fugitives from the terrible  
 Avar invasion of Istria sweep across the plain, but  
 we hear nothing of this, and are told only of the disas-  
 trous termination of his rule. An insurrection seems  
 to have taken place at Ravenna, and Joannes was  
 killed in the tumult<sup>2</sup>. Eleutherius was appointed to  
 succeed him; but when he arrived he found all his  
 district in a flame, and the last remains of Imperial  
 government in Italy apparently on the verge of  
 ruin. For Joannes of Compsa<sup>3</sup>, either a general in  
 the Imperial army, or possibly a wealthy Samnite  
 landowner<sup>4</sup> (if any such men were still left in Italy),  
 seeing the apparent dissolution of all the bonds of  
 Imperial authority, took military possession of Naples,  
 and declared himself—Emperor, Exarch, Duke, we  
 know not what—but it was such an usurpation of  
 authority as justified the chronicler from whom we get  
 these facts in calling him ‘tyrannus<sup>5</sup>.’ His usurped

Eleutherius, 616-620.

Rebellion of Joannes Comp-sinus.

<sup>1</sup> Paulus only mentions one renewal (H. L. iv. 40).

<sup>2</sup> We get a hint of this fact from the *Liber Pontificalis*: ‘Eodem tempore veniens Eleutherius Patricius et Cubicularius Ravenna [*sic*] et occidit omnes qui in nece Joannis Exarchi et Judicibus [*sic*] Reipublicae fuerant mixti’ (Vita Deusdedit, p. 319, ed. Duchesne). This certainly looks like a popular insurrection, but does not justify us in positively asserting the fact. The reading ‘Judicibus’ in the plural, however ungrammatical the construction of the sentence, certainly favours that hypothesis.

<sup>3</sup> Now Conza, about sixty miles due east of Naples. (See vol. v. p. 47.)

<sup>4</sup> This is Muratori’s view, confirmed by Weise (p. 275).

<sup>5</sup> See *Liber Pontificalis*: ‘Hic (Eleutherius) venit Roma et susceptus est a sanctissimo Deusdedit Papa optime: qui egressus de Roma venit Neapolim qui [*sic*] tenebatur a Joanne Campsino intarta (?). Qui pugnando Eleutherius patricius ingressus est

rule, however, lasted not long, for 'after not many days' we are told the Patrician Eleutherius expelled and slew him. On his march to the scene of conflict, the new Exarch had passed through Rome, and had there been graciously received by the reigning pontiff Deusdedit, from whose life we derive this information. After the Neapolitan revolt came a renewal of the Lombard war. Agilulf was now dead, but Sundrar, the Lombard general, who had been thoroughly trained by Agilulf in all the arts of war, valiantly upheld the cause of his nation, and struck the Imperial armies with blow upon blow. At last the Exarch found himself obliged to sue for peace, but only obtained it on condition of punctually paying the yearly tribute of five hundredweight of gold (about £22,500 sterling), which (as we are now told) had been promised to Agilulf to induce him to raise the siege of Rome<sup>1</sup>.

Exploits  
of the  
Lombard  
general  
Sundrar.

When peace was thus concluded with the Lombards, Eleutherius, who well knew the necessities of the Emperor Heraclius, at that time hard pressed by the Avars on the North, as well as by the Persians on the East, began to entertain treasonable thoughts of

Rebellion  
of Elen-  
therius.

Neapolim et interfecit tyrannum. Reversus est Ravennam et datâ rogâ militibus pax facta est in tota Italia' (loc. cit.). 'Intarta,' which occurs again in the next life, applied to Eleutherius, seems to mean 'usurper.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Eraclius Eleutherium ad tuendam partem Italiae, quam nondum Langobardi occupaverant, mittit. . . . Eleutherius adversus Langobardos saepe inito bello vincitur per Sundrarium maxime Langobardorum ducem, qui apud Agilulfum bellicis rebus instructus erat. Animum amiserat Eleutherius et cum saepe suorum ruinam cerneret, pacem cum Langobardis facit, eâ tamen conditione, ut quinque centenaria, quae dudum, cum ad obsidendam Romam Agilulfus rex venisset, per singulos annos dare Langobardis statuerant persolverent Romani' (Prosperi Contin. Havniensis).

BOOK VII. independent sovereignty. In the fourth year of his  
 CH. 4.  
 619. rule (619) he assumed the diadem and proclaimed himself Emperor. Though wielding the great powers of Exarch, he was himself but an Eunuch of the Imperial household<sup>1</sup>. That such a man should aspire to be Emperor of the Romans seemed to bring back the shameful days of Eutropius and Arcadius. Eleutherius set forth from Ravenna at the head of his troops for Rome, intending probably to get himself crowned by the Pope<sup>2</sup>, and to sit in what remained of the palace of the Caesars on the Palatine. But the ignominy of such a rule was too great even for the degenerate Byzantines who made up the 'Roman' army in the seventh century. When the Eunuch-Emperor had reached the village of Luceoli on the Flaminian Way (a few miles north of the place where his great prototype the Eunuch Narses won his victory over Totila), the soldiers revolted, and slew the usurping Exarch, whose head they sent as a welcome present to Constantinople.

Isaac  
 the Ar-  
 menian,  
 625(?)—  
 644.

The next Exarch of whom we have any certain and satisfactory information is Isaac the Armenian, but as he died in 644, and his epitaph records that he ruled Italy for eighteen years, we have about five years unaccounted for, between 620, when we may consider that a new Exarch in succession to Eleutherius would have arrived at Ravenna, and 626 (or rather, probably 625), when the rule of Armenian Isaac seems to have begun. It is possible that this gap should be filled by the name of a certain Eusebius, who comes before us

Euse-  
 bius (?).

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless this is the meaning of 'Eleutherius patricius eunuchus' in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

<sup>2</sup> Boniface V (619–625), successor to Deusdedit.

as the representative of the Emperor in that dark, mysterious story to which I have already referred as containing almost our only information as to the causes of the fall of the young king, Adalwald. The story is thus delivered to us by the anonymous Burgundian historian who is conventionally known as 'Fredegarius'. 'In that same fortieth year of Chlotharius [Chlotochar II, king of the Franks, whose accession was in 584], Adloald, king of the Lombards, son of king Ago [Agilulf], after he had succeeded his father in the kingdom, received with kindness an ambassador of the Emperor Maurice<sup>2</sup>, named Eusebius, who came to him in guile. Being anointed in the bath with certain unguents whose nature I know not, he thenceforward could do nothing else but follow the counsels of Eusebius. Under his persuasion he set himself to slay all the chief men and nobles in the kingdom of the Lombards, intending, when they were put out of the way, to hand over to the Empire himself and all the Lombard nation. But after he had thus slain with the sword twelve of their number for no fault assigned, the rest of the nobles, seeing that their life was in danger, chose Charoald [= Ariwald], duke of Turin, who had to wife Gundeberga, sister of King Adloald, and all the oldest and noblest of the Lombards conspiring in one design raised this man to the kingdom. King Adloald, having received poison, perished.'

BOOK VII.  
CH. 4.

624.

Story of  
the fall of  
Adalwald  
as told by  
'Frede-  
garius,'  
624.

And at this point we get a side-light on these mysterious events from the correspondence in the Papal

Letter  
from Pope  
Honorius  
to Isaac.

<sup>1</sup> iv. 49, 50.

<sup>2</sup> This is a dismal blunder. Maurice was killed in the year 602, twenty-two years before the time of which the chronicler is here speaking.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 4.

625.

chancery. Pope Honorius I, who succeeded Boniface V in November, 625, addressed a letter, apparently in the early months of his pontificate<sup>1</sup>, to Isaac, the new Exarch of Ravenna. In this letter<sup>2</sup> the Pope says that he has learned with regret that some bishops in the regions beyond the Po have embraced the cause of the usurper so warmly that they have spoken most un-episcopal words to Peter, son of Paul, declaring that they will take on their consciences the guilt of his perjury if he will agree with them not to follow Adulubald, but the tyrant Ariopalt<sup>3</sup>. 'The glorious Peter' (he is evidently some layman high in office) 'has scorned their words, and persists in holding fast the faith which he swore to Ago, father of the aforesaid Adulubald; but the crime of the bishops, whose advice should have been given on the other side to strengthen him in his observance of his oath, is none the less odious to the Pope; and as soon as, by the decree of Providence, Adulubald has been restored to his kingdom, he desires the Exarch to send the offending bishops into the regions of Rome, that they may be dealt with according to their sins<sup>4</sup>.'

Death of  
Adalwald.

But the pious hopes of Honorius for the triumph of the righteous cause were not fulfilled. King Adalwald died of poison, and a modern historian<sup>5</sup> unkindly in-

<sup>1</sup> Jaffi and Ewald assign this letter of Honorius I to December, 625.

<sup>2</sup> Copied by Troya, iv. i. 591.

<sup>3</sup> The reader will observe what trouble these Lombard names gave to the scribes in the Papal chancery.

<sup>4</sup> 'Cum nutu supernae virtutis Adulubaldus in suum regnum fuerit restitutus, praefatos Episcopos in Romanas partes adjuvante vos Deo destinare dignamini, quia hujusmodi scelus nulla patiemur ratione inultum.'

<sup>5</sup> Weise, p. 284.

sinuates that the fatal draught was administered by order of Isaac, desirous to rid himself of a guest whose unwelcome presence at his court was certain to involve him in disputes with the new Lombard king. Of this, however, we have no hint in our authorities, and we must be careful not to record our imaginations as facts. Only so much can we safely say as to this mysterious passage in Lombard history, that the young king fell in some strange way under the power of a certain Eusebius, who is called an ambassador, but who may have been sent as an Exarch into Italy; that the voluptuary character of Roman civilization (not idle here is the allusion to the *bath* as the medium of enchantment) proved too much for the brain of the Teuton lad, who lent himself with fatuous readiness to all the sinister purposes of his treacherous friend<sup>1</sup>. It was not a case of Catholic against Arian, otherwise the Transpadane bishops (though probably upholders of the Three Chapters) could hardly have supported so vigorously the cause of the usurper. But it probably was a plan such as Theodahad the Ostrogoth, Huneric the Vandal, Hermenigild the Visigoth, conceived, and such as very likely other weak-brained barbarian kings had often dallied with, of surrendering the national independence, and bartering a thorny crown for the fattened ease of a Byzantine noble. The plan, however, failed. Adalwald lost his crown and life. The Exarch Eusebius (if Exarch he were) was recalled to Constantinople, and succeeded by Armenian Isaac, and Ariwald, son-in-law of Agilulf and Theudelinda, sat, apparently

BOOK VII.

CH. 4.

626 (?).

<sup>1</sup> A modern student of mental disease would perhaps see in the story of Adalwald an instance of crimes committed by 'suggestion.'

BOOK VII. with the full consent of the people, on the Lombard  
 CH. 4. throne. The chronology of all these events is somewhat uncertain; but on the whole it seems probable that the strife between Adalwald and his successor, if it began in 624, lasted for about two years, and that it was not till 626 that the death of the former left Ariwald unquestioned ruler of the Lombard people.

Silence of the historians as to Theudelinda's part in this revolution. And Theudelinda, the mother of the dethroned and murdered king, what was her part in the tragedy? It is impossible to say. No hint of interference by her for or against her unhappy son has reached our ears. If it be true, as 'Fredegarius' tells us, that the successful claimant was husband of her daughter, it is easy to conjecture the motives which may have kept her neutral in the strife. But she did not long survive her son. On the 22nd of February, 628<sup>1</sup>, the great queen passed away. She left her mark doubtless on many other Italian cities, but preeminently on the little town of Modicia (*Monza*), where she and her husband loved to spend the summer for the sake of the coolness which came to them from the melting snows of Monte Rosa. Here she built the palace on whose pictured walls were seen the Lombards in that Anglo-Saxon garb which they brought from their Pannonian home<sup>2</sup>. Here, too, she reared a basilica in honour of John the Baptist, which she adorned with many precious ornaments of gold and silver, and en-

Her death, 628.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly 627; but on the whole the inscription, which assigns her death to the year 628, and which a certain Tristan Calchus asserts that he saw in ancient letters on the wall of a church in Monza (he says Moguntiacæ, but evidently means Modoetiensis), seems to be the best information that we have on the subject. See Troya, iv. 2. 1, and Weise, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. v. p. 154.



riched with many farms<sup>1</sup>. The church has been more than once rebuilt, but there may perhaps still remain in it some portions of the original seventh-century edifice of Theudelinda, and in its sacristy are still to be seen not only the Iron Crown of the Lombards but the gold-handled comb of Theudelinda, and the silver-gilt effigies of a hen and chickens which once probably served as a centrepiece for her banquet table<sup>2</sup>.

Of the ten years'<sup>3</sup> reign of Ariwald after his rival's death Paulus honestly confesses that he has nothing to relate<sup>4</sup>. We have again to draw on the inaccurate but contemporary historian 'Fredegarius' for information as to two events which made some stir in the court of Pavia during his reign, the degradation of a queen, and the murder of a Lombard duke.

Gundiperga<sup>5</sup> (as Paulus calls the wife of Ariwald) was a lovely and popular queen, zealous for the faith, and abounding in works of charity to the poor. But there was a certain Lombard nobleman named Adalulf,

Ariwald  
king of the  
Lombards,  
626-636.

Fredegar-  
rius' story  
of Queen  
Gundi-  
perga and  
Taso 'duke  
of Tus-  
cany.'

<sup>1</sup> Paulus, H. L. iv. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lund, in his book 'Como and the Italian Lake-land,' p. 91, says, 'There is a tradition that after her patriotic labours Theudelinda sought rest, and at last ended her days in the old castle which crowns the hill beyond Varenna' (on Lake Como); I give the tradition, to be taken for what it is worth.

<sup>3</sup> Paulus (H. L. iv. 42) gives Ariwald twelve years, and the VII attributed to him in one MS. of the Origo (§ 6) are probably a corruption of XII. But as Rothari's reign was undoubtedly begun not later than 636, these twelve years are probably reckoned from 624, the date of the first elevation of Ariwald.

<sup>4</sup> 'De cujus gestis ad nostram notitiam aliquid minime pervenit' (H. L. iv. 41).

<sup>5</sup> Fredegarius (iv. 51) calls her Gundeberga. We notice the Lombard tendency to sharpen *molles* into *tenucs*.

BOOK VII. who was frequently in the palace, being busied in the  
 CH. 4. king's service; and of this man the queen in the innocence of her heart chanced one day to say that Adalulf was a man of goodly stature. The favoured courtier hearing these words, and misreading the queen's character, presumed to propose to her that she should be unfaithful to her marriage vow, but she indignantly scorned the proposal, and spat in the face of the tempter. Hereupon, fearing that his life would be in danger, Adalulf determined to be beforehand with his accuser, and charged the queen with having three days previously granted a secret interview to Taso, the ambitious duke of Tuscany, and having at that interview promised to poison her present husband, and raise Taso to the throne. Ariwald (or Charoald, as 'Fredegarius' calls him), believing the foul calumny, banished his queen from the court, and imprisoned her in a fortress at Lomello.

More than two years Gundiperga languished in confinement; then deliverance reached her from a perhaps unexpected quarter. Chlotochar II, king of the Franks, sent ambassadors to Ariwald, to ask why such indignities were offered to the Lombard queen, who was, as they said, a relation of the Franks<sup>1</sup>. In reply

<sup>1</sup> 'Parentem Francorum.' It is not very easy to see how this claim of Frankish kinship for Gundiperga was made out. True, her grandmother Walderada had been the wife of two Frankish kings, Theudebald I and Chlotochar I, but she had apparently no issue by either. The father of Theudelinda, as it is pretty clearly proved, was Garibald, duke of the Bavarians. Possibly he was of Frankish origin, or the above-named marriage of Walderada, though fruitless of issue, may have been considered to entitle her children, even by another husband, to claim kindred with Frankish royalty. See Weise, pp. 104-112, where the subject is discussed at considerable length.

Ariwald repeated the lies of Adalulf as if they were true. Then one of the Frankish ambassadors, Answald by name, suggested on his own account, and not as a part of his master's commission, that the judgment of God should be ascertained by two armed men fighting in the lists, and that the reputation of Gundiperga should be cleared or clouded according to the issue. The counsel pleased Ariwald and all the nobles of his court. The cause of Gundiperga was now taken up by her two cousins, Gundipert and Aripert (the sons of her mother's brother Gundwald), and, perhaps hired by them, an armed man named Pitto entered the lists against Adalulf. The queen's champion was victorious; her traducer was slain, and she, in the third year of her captivity, was restored to her royal dignity.

But though King Ariwald was convinced that he had done his gentle queen injustice, his suspicion of the treasonable designs of the Tuscan Duke Taso remained, and was perhaps not without foundation. In the year 631<sup>1</sup> he sent ambassadors to the patrician Isaac, asking him to kill Duke Taso by any means that were in his power. If the Exarch would confer this favour upon him, the Lombard king would remit one of the three hundred-weights of gold which the Empire was now by treaty bound to pay to him. The proposition stirred the avaricious soul of Isaac, who at once began to cast about for means to accomplish the suggested crime. He sent men to Taso, bearing this message: 'I know that you are out of favour with King Ariwald, but come to me and I will help

Ariwald and the Exarch Isaac conspire for the murder of Taso.

<sup>1</sup> The ninth year of the Frankish king Dagobert I (counting from his accession, not from his father's death). (Fred. iv. 67-9.)

BOOK VII. you against him.' Too easily believing in the Exarch's  
 CH. 4. goodwill, Taso set out for Ravenna, and with fatal imprudence left his armed followers outside the gate of the city. As soon as he was well within the walls, the assassins prepared for the purpose rushed upon him and slew him. News of the murder was brought to King Ariwald, who thereupon fulfilled his promise, and graciously consented to remit one third of the usual tribute 'to Isaac and the Empire<sup>1</sup>.' Soon after these events<sup>2</sup> King Ariwald died.

No doubt there are some improbabilities in the story thus told by 'Fredegarius' as to the murder of Taso, and possibly Pabst is right in rejecting it altogether<sup>3</sup>. The name and the circumstances look suspiciously like a repetition of the story told by Paulus of the assassination of Taso of Friuli<sup>4</sup>, and the title 'Dux Tusciae' is almost certainly wrong, for, at any rate a little later on, there was more than one duke in 'Tuscia<sup>5</sup>.' On the other hand, it is possible that two men of the name of Taso (not an uncommon name among the Lombards) may have been murdered by a treacherous Roman governor, and it is also possible, if the two stories describe the same event, that the contemporary though alien 'Fredegarius' may have heard a more correct version than the native but much later historian Paulus.

Gundi-  
perga weds  
Rothari

On the death of Ariwald, if we may trust 'Fredegarius,' the precedent set in the case of Theudelinda

<sup>1</sup> 'Partibus Isaciae et emperiae.'

<sup>2</sup> Five years, if our chronology be correct.

<sup>3</sup> Geschichte des Langobardischen Herzogthums, p. 430.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> Dukes of Lucca and Clusium.

was repeated, and the widowed queen was asked to decide for the Lombard nation as to his successor. Her choice fell on Rothari<sup>1</sup>, duke of Brescia, whom she invited to put away his wife and to be joined with her in holy matrimony. Rothari swore by all the saints to love and honour Gundiperga alone, and thereupon by unanimous consent of the nobles was raised to the throne. Both queen and nobles, however, if 'Fredegarius' is to be believed, had soon reason to repent of their choice. He drew tight the reins of discipline (which had probably been relaxed under the reign of the usurper Ariwald), and, 'in pursuit of peace,' struck terror into the hearts of the Lombards, and slew many of the nobles, whom he perceived to be contumacious<sup>2</sup>. Forgetful also of his solemn promises to Gundiperga, and perhaps partly influenced by dislike to her Catholic ways (he being himself an Arian), he confined her in one little room in the palace of Pavia, and forced her to live there in privacy, whilst he himself held high revel with his concubines. She however, 'as she was a Christian woman,' blessed God even in this tribulation, and devoted herself continually to fasting and prayer. The chronicler makes no mention of the earlier divorced wife of Rothari, but one would fain hope that the remembrance of that injured woman's wrongs helped to reconcile Gundiperga to her

BOOK VII.  
CH. 4.

and raises  
him to the  
throne.

<sup>1</sup> Called by 'Fredegarius' Chrothacharius and Chrotharius, nearly the same name as that of the Frankish kings.

<sup>2</sup> 'Chrotharius cum regnare cepisset multus nubilium Langobardorum, quos sibi sinserat contomacis interfecit. Chrotharius fortissemam disciplinam et timorem in omnem regnum Langobardorum pacem sectans fecit' (Fredegarius, iv. 70). I leave Fredegarius' grammar and spelling as I find them.

BOOK VII. own fate, and gave reality and truth to her words of  
 CH. 4. penitence. At length, after five years of seclusion, an embassy from the Frankish king, Clovis II<sup>1</sup>, again brought the wrongs of this 'relation of the Franks' before the notice of the Lombard ruler. Again the Frankish intercession prevailed, and Gundiperga, being brought forth from her seclusion, wore once more her regal ornaments, and sat in the high seat by the side of her lord. All the farms and other possessions of the royal fisc belonging to her, which had been apparently impounded during her seclusion, were restored to her, and to the day of her death she lived in queenly splendour and opulence. Aubedo, the Frankish ambassador who had so successfully pleaded her cause, received in secret large rewards from the restored queen<sup>2</sup>. This is the last that we hear of Queen Gundiperga, who probably died somewhere about the middle of the seventh century. As her mother had done at Monza, so she at Pavia reared a basilica in honour of St. John the Baptist, which she adorned with lavish wealth of gold and silver and precious vestments. There, too, her corpse was interred.

The careers of these two women, mother and daughter, Theudelinda and Gundiperga, present some

<sup>1</sup> Son of Dagobert I, grandson of Chlotochar II.

<sup>2</sup> In the passage of 'Fredegarius' (iv. 71, which gives us this information we are told that the Frankish ambassador arrived at 'Papia coinomento (cognomine) Ticino, civitatem Aetaliae (Italiae).' If I am not mistaken, 'Fredegarius' is the earliest author who mentions Ticinum by its modern name Papia (= Pavia). The editor of 'Fredegarius' (Bruno Krusch) makes the obvious suggestion that this story looks like a mere repetition of that previously told as to Gundiperga's disgrace during the reign of her first husband. But, on the other hand, it is possible that both events actually occurred.

points of resemblance and some of striking contrast. BOOK VII.  
Each was twice married to a Lombard king; each CH. 4.  
was entrusted by the nation with the choice of  
a successor to the throne; one saw a son exiled and  
slain, the other a brother; each was the Catholic wife  
of an Arian husband, but one apparently preserved to  
her death the unswerving loyalty of the Lombard  
people, while the other had twice to undergo imprison-  
ment, and once at least the stabs of cruel calumny.  
Their united lives extended from Alboin to Rothari,  
from the first to the last Arian king of Italy, and  
covered the whole period of an important ecclesiastical  
revolution—the conversion of the Lombards to the  
Catholic form of Christianity.

We have hitherto seen only the unfavourable side  
of the character of Gundiperga's second husband. We  
may now listen to the more favourable testimony of  
Paulus, who says<sup>1</sup>, 'The kingship of the Lombards  
was assumed by Rothari, by birth an Arobus. He  
was a man of strong character, and one who followed  
the path of justice, though he held not the right line  
of the Christian faith, being stained by the infidelity  
of the Arian heresy. For in truth the Arians, to  
their own great harm and loss, assert that the Son is  
inferior to the Father, and the Holy Spirit inferior  
to the Father and the Son; but we Catholics confess  
the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit to be  
one true God in three persons, with equal power and  
the same glory. At this time in almost all the cities  
of the realm there were two bishops, one a Catholic,  
the other an Arian. In the city of Ticinum the place

Rothari's  
character  
as pour-  
trayed by  
Paulus.

His  
Arianism.

<sup>1</sup> H. L. iv. 42.

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CH. 4.

is still shown where the Arian bishop had his baptistery, residing near the basilica of St. Eusebius, while another bishop resided at the Catholic church. However, the Arian bishop who was in that city; Anastasius by name, being converted to the Catholic faith, afterwards ruled the Church of Christ. This King Rothari arranged in a series of writings the laws of the Lombards, which they were retaining only in memory and by practice, and ordered that the Edict thus prepared should be called a Code<sup>1</sup>. But it was now the seventy-seventh<sup>2</sup> year since the Lombards had come into Italy, as the same king has testified in the prologue to his edict.'

His legislation.

Rothari's conquests in the Riviera and Venetia.

'Now King Rothari took all the cities of the Romans which are situated on the sea-coast from Luna in Tuscany up to the boundary of the Franks. In the same way also he took and destroyed Opitergium [*Oderzo*], a city placed between Treviso and Friuli; and with the Romans of Ravenna he waged war at the river of Aemilia, which is called Scultenna [*Panaro*]. In which war 8000 fell on the side of the Romans, the rest taking flight<sup>3</sup>.'

It is evident that we are here listening to the exploits of one who, however harsh a ruler either of his nobles or of his wife, did at least know how to rule successfully. His conquests from the Empire are hardly less extensive than those of Agilulf. Genoa and the coast of the Riviera ('di Ponente' and 'di

<sup>1</sup> 'Hic Rothari rex Langobardorum leges quas solâ memoriâ et usu retinebant, scriptorum serie composuit codicemque ipsum edictum appellari praecepit.'

<sup>2</sup> Really the seventy-sixth year, according to the MSS. of the Edict and the true chronology.

<sup>3</sup> H. L. iv. 42-45.



Levante') are wrested finally from the grasp of Constantinople. Oderzo is taken, and its walls are demolished. So must we understand the word used by Paulus in this place<sup>1</sup>, since the utter destruction of Opitergium<sup>2</sup> is placed by him about twenty-five years later, and is attributed to another king of the Lombards, Grimwald<sup>3</sup>. Finally, Rothari wins a great victory over the forces of the Exarch on the banks of the river which flows past Modena, and perhaps at the very point where it intersects the great Emilian highway.

These victories were probably won at the expense of Isaac of Armenia, whose eighteen years' tenure of the Exarchate (626-644) included one half of the reign of Rothari. Visitors to Ravenna may still see the stately sarcophagus of this Byzantine governor of fragments of Italy, which is placed in a little alcove behind the church of S. Vitale. Upon the tomb is carved an inscription in twelve rather halting Greek iambs, with a poor modern Latin translation. The inscription may be rendered into English thus:—

'A noble general here is laid to rest,  
 Who kept unharmed Rome and the Roman West.  
 For thrice six years he served his gentle lords,  
 ISAAC, ally of kings, this stone records.  
 The wide Armenia glories in his fame,  
 For from Armenia his high lineage came.  
 Nobly he died. The sharer of his love,  
 The chaste SUSANNA, like a widowed dove  
 Will spend her rest of life in ceaseless sighs.  
 She mourns, but his long toil hath won its prize,  
 Glory alike in East and Western Land,  
 For either army owned his strong command.'

Isaac's  
 epitaph

<sup>1</sup> 'Diruit.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Funditus destruxit.'

<sup>3</sup> H. L. v. 28.

BOOK VII.  
 CH. 4.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 4.

It is not difficult to read through the conventional phrases of this vapid epitaph the unsuccessful character of Isaac's Exarchate. Had there been any gleam of victory over the Lombard army, the inscription would have been sure to record it. As it is, the utmost that can be said of him is that he 'kept Rome and the West unharmed,' but if our reading of his history be correct, he probably kept the beautiful Riviera unravaged by surrendering it to the enemy.

Events of  
Isaac's Ex-  
archate.

Some of the events of Isaac's government of Italy, to which his epitaph makes no allusion, are brought before us by the meagre narratives of the Papal biographer<sup>1</sup>.

Death of  
Pope  
Honorius,  
October 10,  
638.

It was in 638, six years before the death of Isaac, that his old correspondent, Pope Honorius, died. A Roman ecclesiastic, Severinus, was chosen as his successor, and the Exarch, who had at this time the right of approval of the Papal election, sent the *Chartularius*<sup>2</sup>, Maurice (by whose advice, we are told, he wrought much evil), as his representative to Rome. Maurice, taking counsel with some ill-disposed persons, stirred up 'the Roman army' (that is, probably, the civic militia) by an inflammatory harangue concerning the wealth of the Papacy. Pointing to the episcopal palace of the Lateran, he exclaimed, 'What marvel that you are poor when in that building is the hoarded wealth of Honorius, to whom the Emperor, time after time, sent your arrears of pay, which he, holy man

Strange  
proceed-  
ings of the  
*Chartula-  
rius*  
Maurice at  
Rome, 638.

<sup>1</sup> 'Liber Pontificalis' in Vitis Severini et Theodori.

<sup>2</sup> Diehl (*Administration Byzantine*, 155) discusses at some length the functions of the *Chartularius*, but is obliged to leave the problem unsolved. Evidently *this* *Chartularius* was a man in high office.

that he was, heaped up in the treasure-chambers of BOOK VII.  
yon stately palace.' At these words burning resentment CH. 4.  
against the Church filled all hearts, and the 638.  
whole body of citizens, from the greybeard down to the stripling, rushed with arms in their hands to the Lateran palace. They were, however, unable to force an entrance, so strongly was it guarded by the adherents of Severinus. For three days the armed band besieged the Lateran, and at the end of that time Maurice, having persuaded the 'Judges' (that is, the civil authorities of the City) to accompany him, claimed and obtained admission to the palace. Then he sealed up all the rich vestments which he found in the Church's wardrobe and all the treasures of the Lateran palace, 'which Emperors, Patricians and Consuls had left, for the redemption of their souls, to the Apostle Peter, to be employed in almsgiving and the redemption of captives.' Having done this, he wrote to the Exarch Isaac that all was ready and he might now come and help himself at his leisure to the splendid spoil. Soon Isaac arrived, and immediately banished the leading clergy to various cities of Italy. Having thus disarmed ecclesiastical opposition, he proceeded to take up his dwelling in the Lateran palace, where he abode eight days, calmly appropriating its wealth of centuries. To the indignant members of the Papal household the spoliation must have seemed not less cruel and even more scandalous (as being wrought in the name of a Roman Emperor) than that celebrated fortnight of plunder when Gaiseric and his Vandals stripped the gilded tiles from the roof of the Capitol. Part of the booty Maurice sent to Heraclius, thus making the Emperor an accomplice in his deed. The

Isaac's  
spoliation  
of the  
Lateran.

BOOK VII. soldiers may have received their arrears of pay out of  
CH. 4.  
 640. the proceeds of the plunder, but assuredly no contemptible portion found its way to the Exarch's palace at Ravenna, whence it may have been transported by the widowed dove Susanna, after her husband's death, to their Armenian home.

Papal suc- Pope Severinus, after this act of spoliation, was  
 cession : installed by the Exarch in St. Peter's chair, but died  
 Severinus, little more than two months after his elevation<sup>1</sup>.  
 640 ;  
 John IV, 640-642 ;  
 Theodore, 642-649. Another short pontificate<sup>2</sup> followed, and then Theodore succeeded to the Papacy—a Greek by birth, but as stout as any Roman for the defence of the Roman see against the Patriarchs of Constantinople. In his pontificate Isaac and Maurice reappear upon the scene

Rebellion of Maurice, 643(?). in changed characters. The Chartularius again visited Rome, again allied himself with the men who had helped him in his raid upon the treasures of the Church, and persuaded the soldiers in the City and the surrounding villages to swear fidelity to him and renounce their allegiance to Isaac, whom he accused of seeking to establish an independent throne. The Exarch, however, whether loyal or not to the Emperor, showed himself able to cope with his own rebellious subordinate. He sent Donus the *Magister Militum* and his treasurer to Rome, doubtless with a considerable body of troops. At once all the 'Judges' and

<sup>1</sup> The long interval (one year, seven months, and seventeen days) between the death of Honorius and the installation of his successor was perhaps due to negotiations with Constantinople about the Monothelete controversy, as well as to the troubles described above. It is interesting to read in the *Liber Pontificalis* that Pope Severinus renewed the mosaics in the apse of St. Peter's.

<sup>2</sup> That of John IV (640-642).

the Roman militia, who had just sworn fealty to Maurice, struck with fear, abandoned his cause and gave in their adhesion to his enemy. On this Maurice fled for refuge to the church of S. Maria Maggiore<sup>1</sup>, but being either forced or enticed from that sanctuary was sent, with all his accomplices, heavily chained with collars of iron<sup>2</sup>, to Ravenna. By the Exarch's orders, however, he was not suffered to enter the city, but was beheaded at a place twelve miles distant<sup>3</sup>, and his head, the sight of which gladdened the heart of the Armenian, was exhibited in the circus of Ravenna. His followers, with the iron collars still round their necks<sup>4</sup>, were led away into strict confinement while Isaac revolved in his mind the question of their punishment. But before he had decided on their fate, he himself died, 'smitten by the stroke of God,' and the liberated captives returned to their several homes. Isaac was succeeded in the Exarchate by Theodore Calliopas, who was twice the occupant of the palace at Ravenna. In his second tenure of office Italy witnessed strange scenes—the banishment of a Pope and the arrival of an Emperor; but the description of these events must be reserved for a future chapter.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 4.

643-4.

Death of  
Isaac.Theodore  
CalliopasExarch,  
644-646  
and

653-664.

<sup>1</sup> 'Fugit ad Beatam Mariam ad Praesepe.' I cannot explain this addition to the name of the Church.

<sup>2</sup> 'Miserunt bojam in collum ejus' (Lib. Pont.).

<sup>3</sup> Called Ficulae.

<sup>4</sup> 'Imbojati.'

## CHAPTER V.

### THE LEGISLATION OF ROTHARI.

#### Authorities.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

#### *Sources :—*

ROTHARIS LEGES as given in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Tom. I. Pars II), and Troya's *Storia d'Italia* (Vol. IV. Parte II). There are slight differences in the text between these two editions, and the laws are not always numbered in the same way. I have generally followed Troya's numbering.

#### *Guides :—*

Carl Meyer's *Sprache und Sprachdenkmäler der Langobarden* (Paderborn, 1877) furnishes us with a useful glossary and careful orthography of the strange Lombard words to be met with in the Code. I have also found the *Histoire de la Législation des Anciens Germains* par Garabed Artin *Davoud Oghlou* (Berlin, 1845) a great help in classifying and comparing the Lombard laws. The author was of Armenian extraction and born at Constantinople. It is not often that the East gives us a scholar who so patiently investigates the history of Western Europe.

IN the last chapter we were concerned with the external events of the reign of Rothari, who for sixteen years (636–652) wore the Lombard crown. Our information as to those events is certainly meagre and unsatisfactory enough, but the main interest of the reign for us is derived from a feature of its internal politics, the fact, namely, that Rothari was the first great legislator of his people.

Rothari as  
legislator.

The Lombards had now been for two generations encamped on the soil of Italy, yet during all that time, as Paulus tells us, their laws had lived but in the memory of unlettered judges, who remembered only so much as frequent practice rendered familiar<sup>1</sup>; and this, in a country which had been subject to the most scientific system of jurisprudence that the world has ever seen, and had witnessed its gradual development from the Laws of the Twelve Tables to the Code, the Institutes, and the Digest of Justinian. It was time that this reproach should be in some measure removed from the Lombard nation, and accordingly on November 22<sup>2</sup>, 643, King Rothari published to the world his 'Code' in 388 chapters, written by the hand of the notary Answald<sup>3</sup>. The Prologue of this monument of barbarian jurisprudence is worth quoting:—

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.  
643.

Publica-  
tion of his  
Code, Nov.  
22, 643.

'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ begins the Edict which with God's help the most excellent man Rothari, king of the Lombards, hath renewed, with the nobles who are his judges<sup>4</sup>. In the name of Almighty God, I, Rothari, most excellent man and king; and seventeenth king of the nation of the Langobardi; by the blessing of God in the eighth year of my reign, and the thirty-eighth of my age, in the second Indiction; and in the seventy-sixth year after the Langobardi marching under Alboin, at that time their king, were brought by divine power into

Prologue.

<sup>1</sup> 'Leges quas solâ memoriâ et usu retinebant.' H. L. iv. 22. See also the extract from the Chronicus Gothanum (vol. v. p. 148), where the mysterious word *cadarfida* is used, apparently of the unwritten 'common law' of the Lombards.

<sup>2</sup> See § cclxxxviii. of the Code.

<sup>3</sup> Or Arswald.

<sup>4</sup> 'Renovavit cum primatos iudices suos.'

BOOK VII. the province of Italy; prosperously given forth in my  
 CH. 5. palace at Ticinum <sup>1</sup> :—

643.

‘How great has been our care and anxiety for the welfare of our subjects, the tenour of the following Edict will declare: both on account of the constant oppressions of the poor, and also on account of the extravagant exactions from those who are known to have larger property, but how they suffer violence we well know <sup>2</sup>. Therefore, considering the compassion of Almighty God, we have thought it necessary to correct the present law, [inviting] our chief men to renew and amend it, adding that which is lacking, and removing that which is superfluous. And we have provided that it shall be all embraced in one volume, that each one may have permission to live quietly, according to law and justice, to labour against his enemies on behalf of his own opinion <sup>3</sup>, and to defend himself and his borders.

‘Therefore, since these things are so, we have judged it useful to preserve to future ages the memory of the names of the kings our predecessors, from the time when kings first began to be named in the Lombard nation, as far as we have been able to learn them from ancient men, and we have ordered the Notary to affix them to this parchment.’

<sup>1</sup> The want of grammatical construction in the original is imitated in the translation.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Tam propter assiduas fatigationes pauperum quam etiam superfluae exactiones ab his qui majorem virtutem habere noscuntur, quomodo vim pati cognovimus.’ Once for all—correct grammar is not to be looked for in the Lombard laws.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Propter opinionem contra inimicos laborare.’ Have we here a hint of the necessity of mutual toleration between Catholic and Arian?



Then follow the names of sixteen kings, with the families from which they sprang<sup>1</sup>. In the seventeenth place he names himself, 'I, who as aforesaid am in God's name King Rothari,' and he recounts the uncouth names of his progenitors belonging to the family Harodos through twelve generations<sup>2</sup>. He then proceeds:—

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

<sup>1</sup> These names (which I give according to the recension in Meyer's *Sprache der Langobarden*) are nearly but not quite the same as those given in the *Origo*, which where they vary are here inserted in brackets. They are—

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1. AGILMUND, of the family Regugintus (Gugingus).</p> <p>2. LAAMISIO (LAJAMICHO).</p> <p>3. LETH (LETHUC).</p> <p>4. HILDEOCH (ALDIHOC).</p> <p>5. GUDEOCH (GODEHOC).</p> <p>6. CLAFFO.</p> <p>7. TATO.            Winigis.</p> <p>8.                    WACHO.</p> <p>9. WALTHARI (WALTARI), son of WACHO.</p> | <p>10. AUTHARI or AUDOIN, of the family of Gaisus (Gausus).</p> <p>11. ALBOIN, son of AUDOIN, who, as aforesaid, led the army into Italy.</p> <p>12. CLEPH, of the family Beleos.</p> <p>13. AUTHARI.</p> <p>14. AGILULPH (ACQUO): a Thuringian of the family of Anawas.</p> <p>15. ADALWALD.</p> <p>16. HARIWALD (AROAL), of the family of Caupus.</p> |
|--|---|

<sup>2</sup> Pedigree of Rothari of the family of Harodos:—

Rothari's pedigree.

USTBORA  
 |  
 MAMMO  
 |  
 FACCHO  
 |  
 FRONCHONO  
 |  
 WRO  
 |  
 WEHILO  
 |  
 HILTZO  
 |  
 ALAMAN  
 |  
 ADHAMUND  
 |  
 NOCTZO  
 |  
 NANDINIG  
 |  
 ROTHARI.

‘And this general order we give lest any fraud creep into this Edict through the carelessness of copyists. But it is our intention that no such copies be received or have any credit except such as are written or certified<sup>1</sup> (?) on request by the hand of Arswald, the notary who has written it by our orders.’

The reader will not expect nor desire that in this book, which is not a law-book but a history, I should give a complete analysis of the 388 chapters, short as they are, which make up the Code of Rothari. I will only notice those provisions of the Code which illustrate the condition of Lombard society, will quote some of the curious words which the barbarians from beyond the Danube added to the vocabulary of Latium, and above all will notice any provision—if such is to be found in the Code—which illustrates in the most remote manner the condition of the conquered Romans under their Lombard lords. The importance of calling attention to this point (which is connected with one of the most difficult questions in the whole history of the Middle Ages) will abundantly appear in a later chapter. The reader must not look for anything like orderly arrangement or scientific division of the field of law. It would not be the Lombard Code if it possessed either of these qualities.

Offences  
against  
the king  
and his  
peace,  
i-xxv.

The Code begins with offences against the person of the king and the peace of the state. The conspirator against his life, the inviter of his enemies into the kingdom, the harbourer of brigands<sup>2</sup>, the exciter of the soldiers to mutiny, the treacherous officer who deserts his comrades on the field of battle, are all to be punished with death.

<sup>1</sup> *Reconditum.*

<sup>2</sup> *Scamaræ.*

But on the other hand, the man who takes counsel with the king himself concerning the death of one of his subjects, or who actually slays a man by the royal order, is to be held guiltless, and neither he nor his heirs are to suffer any disquietude by reason of the murder, because 'the king's heart is in the hand of God, and it is not possible for a man to escape<sup>1</sup> whom he has ordered to be slain.' If one man accuses another of a capital offence, the accused may appeal to the *campio*<sup>2</sup>, or wager of battle. If he fail his life may be forfeited, but if his accuser fail he must pay the *guidrigild*, or price of blood, of which half shall go to the king, and half to the man whom he has slandered<sup>3</sup>. This word *guidrigild* is explained shortly after. If two free men without the king's order have plotted together as to the death of a third, and have carried their intention into effect, he who was the actual murderer shall compound for the dead man according to the price fixed, 'that is to say, his *guidrigild*.' If many persons of honourable birth have conspired together to kill a man, they shall be punished in *angargathungi*. This barbarous word is explained as meaning that they shall compound for the murder according to the rank of the person slain<sup>5</sup>. If they

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

The *guid-*  
*rigild*  
(= were-  
gild).

<sup>1</sup> 'Se edoniare' = idoneum se facere, to purge himself from guilt; l. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The German *Kampf*. <sup>3</sup> l. 9.

<sup>4</sup> 'Tunc ille qui homicida est componat ipsum mortuum sicut appetiatus fuerit, id est *guidrigild* suum' (l. 11).

<sup>5</sup> l. 14: 'Si vero plures fuerint, si ingenui fuerint, qualiter in angargathungi id est *secundum qualitatem personae* ipsum homicidium componant.' Meyer (*Sprache der Langobarden*, p. 278) explains *gathungi* as = worth, dignity; and *angar* = land. The whole expression according to him denotes 'the value of a person as depending on the amount of his possessions in land.'

BOOK VII. have carried off plunder from the dead man's body,  
 CH. 5. that is a plain case of *ploderaub*<sup>1</sup>, or robbing the dead,  
 and must be atoned for by a payment of 80 solidi  
 (= £48).

'If any of our barons,' says Rothari, 'wishes to come to us<sup>2</sup>, let him come and go in safety and unharmed. Any one doing him any injury on the road shall pay a composition according to the terms set forth below in this Edict<sup>3</sup>.' We note this early appearance of the word 'barons' without venturing to define its exact value.

Offences  
 on the  
 king's  
 highway,  
 xxvi-  
 xxviii.

Laws 26-28 provide for the security of travellers by the highway, under the strange title, 'De *Wegworin* id est *horbitariam*.' The German word (derived from *wec* = way, and *werran* = to block or hinder) explains itself pretty easily as an obstruction of the high road. Its Latin equivalent is the aspirated form of the word which we use for the *orbit* of a planet. As to those sturdy rogues who do violence to travellers on the highway, the law is that 'if any one shall place himself in the way before a free woman or girl, or do her any injury, he shall pay 900 solidi (£540), half to the king, and half to her to whom the injury shall have been done, or to the person to whom the right of protecting her (*mundium*) belongs.' This *mundium*, or claim to represent the rights of a female relative, is a word which we shall meet with again later on.

'If any one shall place himself in the way before

<sup>1</sup> *Blutraub*, blood-theft. The reader will observe the Lombard form of these words, with its beautiful exemplification of Grimm's Law.

<sup>2</sup> 'Si quis ex baronibus nostris ad nos venire voluerit' (l. 17).

<sup>3</sup> The fine is apparently fixed by the next law at 900 solidi (£540).

a free man, he shall pay him 20 solidi (£12), always supposing that he has not done him any bodily injury. If he have, he shall pay for the wounds or blows which he has inflicted according to the rate to be hereafter mentioned, and shall also pay the 20 solidi for stopping him on the highway <sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

‘If any one shall place himself in the way before another man’s slave or handmaid, or *Aldius*, or freedman, he shall pay 20 solidi to his lord <sup>2</sup>.’

This word *Aldius*, which we shall meet with again in the laws of Rothari, might introduce us to a long and difficult controversy, which I shall not enter upon at this time. It is clear that the *Aldius* was in a state of imperfect freedom. He is named between the slave and the freedman, and his claim for damages from the highway robber is not paid to himself, but handed over to his lord. It is suggested that the vast mass of formerly free ‘Romans,’ or non-Lombard inhabitants of Italy, were reduced by the conquest to this condition of *Aldionate*, a suggestion which for the present shall neither be accepted nor rejected, but which I will ask the reader to bear in mind when next the word *Aldius* meets him in Rothari’s Code.

The *Aldius* or half-free man.

Law 31 is headed *De Walapauz*: ‘If any man shall unjustly do violence to a free man by way of *walapauz*, he shall pay him 80 solidi (£48). *Walapauz* is the act of one who stealthily clothes himself in the garments of another, or changes the appearance of his head or face with the intention of thieving.’ Apparently the modern burglar, who with blackened face breaks into a house by night, is guilty, though he knows it not, of the crime of *Walapauz*.

The crime of *Walapauz* (disguise assumed for criminal purposes), xxxi.

<sup>1</sup> l. 27.

<sup>2</sup> l. 28.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

Nocturnal  
entry,  
xxxii-  
xxxiii.

And this leads us to a curious custom which prevailed when a man was found, with however innocent intentions, by night in another man's courtyard. 'If a free man shall be found by night in the courtyard of another, and shall not give his hands to be tied—if he be killed, no claim for compensation shall be made by his relations. And if he shall give his hands to be tied, and shall be bound, he shall pay for himself 80 solidi (£48): because it is not according to reason that a man should enter in the night-time silently or stealthily into another man's courtyard; but if he have any useful purpose or need of his own, let him cry out before he enters.'

Similarly a slave found at night in the courtyard of a householder, and not giving his hands to be tied, if he be slain shall furnish no claim for compensation to his lord: and if he give his hands, and is bound, shall be set free on payment of 40 solidi (£24)<sup>1</sup>.

Scanda-  
lum,  
xxxv-xl.

*Scandalum*, that is, an act of violence committed in a church, was to be atoned for by a special fine of 40 solidi (£24), laid on the altar of the church. Within the king's palace it was a capital offence, unless the culprit could move the king's soul to mercy. *Scandalum* committed by a free man in the city where the king was abiding, required a fine of 12 solidi (£7 4s.), even if no blow were struck; of 24 solidi in addition to the ordinary tariff for wounds if the brawler had struck a blow. In the case of a slave these fines were diminished one half. One half again all round was the abatement, if the city in which the brawl took place were not one in which the king was residing<sup>2</sup>.

We now come to the laws fixing the fines that were

<sup>1</sup> ll. 32, 33.

<sup>2</sup> ll. 35-40.

to be paid for all sorts of bodily injuries, and these will be best exhibited in tabular form. We begin with the cases in which the injured person is a free man<sup>1</sup>:—

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.  
Compen-  
sation for  
bodily in-  
juries to a  
free per-  
son, xliiii-  
lxxv.

Blows struck in sudden quarrel causing a wound or bruise . . . . . 3 solidi apiece up to 12 solidi.

‘If more blows are inflicted they are not to be counted, but let the wounded man rest content with himself.’

Blow with the fist . . . . . 3 solidi.

Blow with the palm of the hand . . . . . 6 solidi<sup>2</sup>.

Blows on the head, only } . . . . . 6 solidi up to 18.  
breaking the skin }

Blows on the head, breaking bones: (per bone) 12 solidi  
(no count to be taken above 36 solidi).

‘But the broken bones are to be counted on this principle, that one bone shall be found large enough to make an audible sound when thrown against a shield at 12 feet distance on the road. The said feet to be measured from the foot of a man of moderate stature, not the hand.’

The deprivation of an eye is to be atoned for by the payment of half the fine due for actual homicide, ‘according to the quality of the person injured.’

The cutting off of the nose to be atoned for by half the fine for homicide.

Cutting the lip . . . . . 13 solidi.

If so cut that one, two, or three teeth appear . . . . . 20 solidi.

Knocking out the front teeth . . . . . 16 solidi per tooth.

Knocking out the grinders . . . . . 8 solidi per tooth<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It will not be necessary to turn all these fines into their equivalents in English money. The solidus may be taken as equivalent to twelve shillings.

<sup>2</sup> Why this difference? Was it because a slap with the open palm was considered more insulting?

<sup>3</sup> So in Muratori, and more probable than the 19 in Troya’s text.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

Cutting off an ear—a quarter of the fine for homicide.	
Wound on the face . . . . .	16 solidi.
Wound on the nose, causing a scar . . . . .	16 solidi.
Similar wound on the ear . . . . .	16 solidi.
Fracture of the arm . . . . .	16 solidi <sup>1</sup> .
Wounding without breaking the arm . . . . .	8 solidi.
Blow on the chest <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	20 solidi.
Piercing the rib . . . . .	8 solidi.
Cutting off a hand—half the fine for homicide; if so stricken as to cause paralysis, but not cut off <sup>3</sup> — a quarter of the full fine.	
Cutting off a thumb—a sixth part of the fine for homicide.	
Cutting off the second finger . . . . .	17 solidi.
Cutting off the third finger (which is the middle one)	6 solidi.
Cutting off the fourth finger . . . . .	8 solidi.
Cutting off the fifth finger . . . . .	16 solidi.
Cutting off a foot—half the fine for homicide.	
Cutting off the great toe . . . . .	6 solidi.
Cutting off the second toe . . . . .	6 solidi.
Cutting off the third toe . . . . .	3 solidi.
Cutting off the fourth toe . . . . .	3 solidi.
Cutting off the fifth toe . . . . .	2 solidi.

At the end of this curiously minute tariff of penalties for injuries to the person, we have the following interesting exposition of the motive of the law:—

Heightened  
tariff  
for these  
injuries.

‘For all the wounds and blows above mentioned, which may pass between free men<sup>4</sup>, we have purposely

<sup>1</sup> These laws are given variously in Muratori and Troya, but neither text gives the provision for *fracture* of the arm, which must certainly have been there, and which we may, I think, venture to insert from the analogy of that part of the Code which deals with the injuries of slaves.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Si quis alium intra capsum plagaverit’ (l. 59).

<sup>3</sup> ‘Et si sic siderata fuerit et non perexcusserit’ (l. 60).

<sup>4</sup> ‘Quae inter homines liberos evenerit.’ This seems to imply



ordained a larger composition than was in use among our ancestors, in order that the *faida* (feud), which is enmity, may be postponed after the receipt of the above-mentioned composition, and that more may not be required, nor any thought of guile be harboured in the heart; but let the cause be finished between the parties, and friendship remain. And should it happen that within the space of a year he who was wounded dies of the wounds themselves, then let the striker pay in *angargathungi*, that is [the full fine for homicide] according to the quality of the person injured, what he was worth<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

*Faida*  
quod est  
inimicitia  
postponatur.

The increased wealth of the Lombards after the settlements in Italy evidently had made them able to pay a higher sum for the luxury of vengeance on an enemy, and justified the sufferer in demanding an ampler compensation for his wounds. At the same time, the motive of the royal legislator in lightening his penal code is clearly apparent. As the Lombard nation was putting off a little of its old savagery in the light of Roman civilisation, it was becoming more and more necessary that feuds should cease, and that the old right of private war and the notion of vengeance as the inalienable right of the kinsmen of a murdered man should be restricted within the narrowest limits, and if possible should vanish out of the nation's life. A provision follows for the case of a man who has unintentionally caused the death of an unborn child. It is said that if the mother of the child is free, and has herself escaped death, her price shall be

that doer and sufferer must both belong to the class of freemen for this tariff to be applicable.

<sup>1</sup> l. 74.

BOOK VII. fixed as that of a free woman according to her rank in  
 CH. 5. life, and the half of that price shall be paid for her  
 dead child<sup>1</sup>. If she dies, her composition is paid  
 apparently without any compensation for the death of  
 her offspring. And as before, let the feud cease be-  
 cause the injury was done unwittingly<sup>2</sup>. This pro-  
 vision, that the composition shall be paid according to  
 the mother's rank in life, seems again to point to a  
 table of compositions graduated according to the suf-  
 ferer's place in the social hierarchy, which appendix  
 to the laws of Rothari we no longer possess.

Injuries to  
 Aldii or  
 household  
 slaves,  
 lxxvii-cii.

The twenty-six laws which next follow<sup>3</sup> deal with  
 injuries inflicted on another man's *Aldius*, or *household*  
*slave*<sup>4</sup>. At first sight we might think that here *Aldius*  
 and *Servus Ministerialis* were equivalent terms: but  
 remembering the way in which *Aldius* was used in  
 a previous law<sup>5</sup> along with 'slave' and 'freedman,' we  
 cannot doubt that we have here to deal with two  
 classes of men differing in their degree of dependence,  
 whose services, generally speaking, were of the same  
 value to their lord. The one is the *Aldius*, the client  
 or serf, generally perhaps a member of the vanquished  
 Roman population; the other is the household slave,  
 who may belong to any nationality whatever, who by  
 the fortune of war or the stress of pestilence or famine

<sup>1</sup> 'Si ipsa mulier libera est et evaserit, appetietur ut libera  
 secundum nobilitatem suam et medietatem quod ipsa valuerit  
 infans ipse componatur' (l. 75).

<sup>2</sup> 'Cessante faida eo quod nolendo hoc fecit.'

<sup>3</sup> ll. 77-102.

<sup>4</sup> 'Si quis Aldium alienum aut servum ministerialem plagaverit  
 in caput' (l. 78).

<sup>5</sup> l. 28.

has lost his liberty, and like our countrymen the boys from Deira who excited the compassion of Gregory, has been brought to Italy by the slave-dealer, and sold to a Lombard master.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

For a member of either of these two classes, the composition for wounds and bruises (paid doubtless to his master, not to himself) was generally about a third of that which was payable for a similar injury to a free man. In the case of the loss of an eye, a hand or a foot, the fine was half of that for homicide, the same proportion but not the same amounts as in the case of the corresponding injury to a free man. And for many of the more important injuries it is provided that the culprit shall pay to the lord not only the fixed composition, but an allowance for the loss of the man's labour and the doctor's fees<sup>1</sup>.

The next section, containing twenty-three laws, deals with injuries inflicted on a yet lower class—*'servi rusticani,'* the *'plantation hands'* of whom we used to hear in the days of American slavery. Here again the same general principle prevails: for serious injuries, the loss of an eye or a hand, half the fine for homicide: for others a composition which is generally about a sixth or an eighth of that which is paid for a free man, and in many cases compensation for loss of labour and the doctor's charges.

Injuries  
to rural  
slaves,  
ciii-cxxvi.

Any blow on hand or foot to either *Aldius* or slave which results in paralysis of the stricken member is to be atoned for as if it had been cut off<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. g. *'Si quis Aldio alieno aut servo ministeriali pollicem de manu excusserit componat solidos viii excepto operas [sic] et mercedes Medici'* (l. 89).

<sup>2</sup> l. 126: *'Simili modo componatur tanquam si eum excussisset'*

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

'All wounds and blows inflicted on the *Aldius*, the household slave or rustic slave, as also on the *Aldia* and the servant-maid, are to be atoned for according to the tenour of this decree. But if any doubt arise either as to the survival or the speedy cure of the injured person, let the lord receive at once half of the composition for the wound: the remainder being kept in suspense till the event be ascertained.

'Within a year's space, if the man recover, the balance unpaid for the wounds themselves shall be handed over to the lord; but if he die the lord shall receive the whole composition for the dead man, allowing for that which has already been paid for the wounds.

'The man who has inflicted a wound is himself to go and seek a physician. If he fail, then the wounded man or his lord is to seek the physician, and the other shall pay for loss of labour and doctor's fees as much as shall be adjudged by learned men<sup>1</sup>.'

Murder of  
*Aldius*,  
house-  
hold slave,  
or rural  
slave,  
cxxix-  
cxxxvii.

Now at length, after all these minute details as to minor injuries inflicted on men of less than free condition, we come to the full composition to be paid in the event of their actual murder:—

He who kills another man's *Aldius* must pay (doubtless to the lord, though this is not expressly stated) 60 solidi.  
He who kills another man's household slave 'approved and trained'<sup>2</sup> . . . . . 50 solidi.  
He who kills a household slave of secondary importance

(ap. Muratori), a better reading it seems to me than that of Troya, 'tanquam si eum occidisset.'

<sup>1</sup> l. 127-128.

<sup>2</sup> 'Si quis servum ministerialem probatum ut supra aut doctum occiderit' (l. 130). I know not to what the 'ut supra' refers.

to the foregoing, who bears nevertheless the name of household slave <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	25 solidi.
He who kills a foreman swineherd who has two or three or more men in training under him . . . . .	50 solidi.
For an inferior swineherd . . . . .	25 solidi.
He who kills a farm servant <sup>2</sup> , a cowherd <sup>3</sup> , a shepherd <sup>4</sup> , goatherd or other herdsman, if a foreman . . . . .	20 solidi.
If one of his under-men <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	16 solidi.
He who kills a rustic slave under the farm-labourer <sup>6</sup>	16 solidi.
Any one who by accident kills the infant child of a slave or farm-labourer shall be assessed by the judge according to the age of the child, and the money which it was able to earn, and shall pay accordingly.	

The provision as to accidents connected with the craft of the forester has an interesting bearing on the current legal doctrine of 'common employment.' If two or more men are felling a tree which falls upon a passer-by and kills or injures him, they shall pay the composition for homicide or maiming in equal proportions. If the like accident befall one of the workers, they shall reckon one portion for the dead man, and pay the rest in equal shares. Thus, if two men were felling the tree and one were killed, the survivor would pay half the composition, for his comrade; if three, each survivor would pay a third, and so on. 'And the feud shall cease inasmuch as the injury was

Accidents  
in tree-  
cutting,  
'Common  
employ-  
ment,'  
cxxxviii.

<sup>1</sup> 'De alio vero ministeriale qui secundus ei invenitur, tamen ut nomen ministerialem habeat' (l. 131).

<sup>2</sup> 'Servum massarium.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Servum bubulcum *de sala*.' I do not find any satisfactory explanation of these words.

<sup>4</sup> The reading 'pecorario' seems to make better sense than 'percario' (l. 136).

<sup>5</sup> 'Pro discipulo autem qui sequens est.'

<sup>6</sup> 'Servo rusticano qui sub massario est' (l. 134).

BOOK VII. accidental.' In a later law (152) it is expressly enacted  
 CH. 5. that if a man hires workmen, one of whom is drowned or struck by lightning, or crushed by a blown-down tree, his composition shall not be claimed from the hirer of his labour, provided the death was not directly caused by the hirer or his men.

Poisoning,  
 cxxxix-  
 cxlii.

A curious little group of laws on *poisoning* next comes before us<sup>1</sup>. The free man or woman who mixed a cup of poison for another, but never found an opportunity to administer the fatal dose, was fined 20 solidi (£12). If the poison were administered, but without a fatal result, the fine was half the composition for homicide. If death ensued, of course the whole composition was paid.

So, too, if a slave presented the poisoned cup, but failed to kill his victim, the master of the slave must pay half the composition which would have been due in case of death; and the whole composition if death ensued. In either event, however; the slave was to be handed over to be put to death, and the master had a right to deduct his market value from the penalty which he paid for the slave's crime.

Recrudescence of the *faida*, cxliii.

But all this machinery of the *guidrigild*, however carefully worked, would sometimes fail to efface from the mind of the sufferer the memory of his wrongs. The retaliatory blow would after all be struck, and the terrible *faida* would begin once more. In order to guard against this recrudescence of the blood-feud, it was enacted that any one who, after he had received the composition for a slaughtered relative, and after accustomed oaths of mutual amity had been sworn, took vengeance with his own right hand and slew the

<sup>1</sup> ll. 139-142.

murderer, should, besides paying the ordinary composition for the new homicide<sup>1</sup>, repay twice the composition which he had received; and similarly, if it were only a wound or a bruise which had been inflicted upon him, he should repay double the composition paid him for that injury.

Again, we are brought by the next pair of laws face to face with one of the most difficult questions of modern legislation, that of 'employers' liability.' If we rightly interpret the words of the code<sup>2</sup>, there was a guild of master masons who took their name from the town of Como, the headquarters of the building trade of that day. According to Muratori<sup>3</sup>, even down to the middle of last century troops of masons from the Italian lakes used to roam over the other provinces of Italy, seeking employment as builders. Possibly the fact previously noticed<sup>4</sup>, that the Lake of Como was for so many years a stronghold of the dying Imperial cause in Upper Italy, may have had something to do with this continued existence of an active building trade in the hands of the *Magistri Comacini*. However this may be, it was enacted that if in the course of their building operations the fall of material caused a fatal accident either to one of the workmen, or to a passer-by, the composition should not be payable by the owner of the house, but by the 'Comacine Master.' 'For after by the contract<sup>5</sup> he has received

<sup>1</sup> This is not very clearly stated, but I think may be inferred from the tenour of the law (l. 143).

<sup>2</sup> 'Si Magister Comacinus cum collegante suo cujusque domum ad restaurandum vel fabricandum susceperit' (l. 144).

In his note on this law.

<sup>4</sup> See vol. v. p. 244.

<sup>5</sup> 'fabula.'

BOOK VII. good money for his hire, it is not unreasonable that he  
CH. 5. should bear the loss <sup>1</sup>.'

Injuries  
by fire,  
cxlvi-  
cxlix.

Laws as to fire-raising follow. The man who has intentionally and with evil mind <sup>2</sup> kindled a fire in his neighbour's house must repay the damage threefold; the value of the burnt property to be assessed by 'neighbouring men of good faith.' An accidental fire caused by a man carrying burning coals nine feet or more away from his own hearth was to be compounded for by a payment merely equivalent to the value of the things destroyed <sup>3</sup>.

Injuries  
to water-  
mills, cl-  
cli.

From fire the legislator passes to mills, probably water-mills. Any one breaking down another man's mill was to pay 12 solidi [£7 4s.] to the injured miller. For some reason or other, judicial fairness was more than usually doubtful in cases of this kind, and accordingly a judge who delayed his decision, or wrongfully gave leave for the destruction of a mill, was to pay 20 solidi [£12] to the king's palace <sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, wrong might be done by building as well as by destroying a mill. There were men who did illegally what the 'free selectors' of Australia do in virtue of

<sup>1</sup> The conclusion of the law which next follows (145) seems to reverse the principle here laid down. I fear that there is some distinction between them which I have failed to apprehend.

<sup>2</sup> 'Asto animo.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Ferquida id est simile,'—another curious Lombard word.

<sup>4</sup> 'Districtus ab stolesazo,' being compelled to pay by the *stolesaz*. Who is this officer? Meyer translates 'judge,' deriving the word from *stol* and *sizzan*, and making it equivalent to 'him who sits on the stool (throne) of judgment.' But there is a various reading *sculdaiz*, and it seems to me probable that the reference here is to the well-known magistrate whom the Lombards called by that name, and whose designation survives in the *schultheiss* of modern German.



the laws of the colony—who settled themselves down on another man's land and built a mill beside his stream. In such a case, unless the intruder could prove his right, the mill and all the labour that he had expended upon it went to the rightful owner of the soil<sup>1</sup>.

We now come to the section of the Code which deals with the laws of inheritance<sup>2</sup>. The feature which to our ideas seems the most extraordinary, and which is, I believe, peculiar to the Lombard laws, is the provision which is made for illegitimate alongside of legitimate children. If a Lombard left one legitimate and any number of illegitimate sons, the former took two-thirds of his property at his death, the latter all together one-third.

Laws of inheritance, cliii-clxxi.

If he left two sons born in wedlock, they inherited each two-fifths, the collective bastards one-fifth. If there were three of the former class, they took each two-sevenths, and one-seventh was divided among the bastards.

If there were four, the bastards took a ninth; if five, an eleventh; if six, a thirteenth; if seven, a fifteenth. Beyond this point apparently the law-giver would not go in providing for the division of the inheritance.

In all cases where there was legitimate male issue, the daughters took nothing; but if a man left one daughter born in wedlock, and a number of illegitimate sons, the former took one-third of the inheritance, the

<sup>1</sup> L. 151. These laws about mills may remind the English reader of the keen litigation about water-power which is described by George Eliot in 'The Mill on the Floss.'

<sup>2</sup> LL. 153-171: curiously interrupted by a parenthesis (163-166) chiefly dealing with crimes against a man's near kindred.

BOOK VII. latter one-third, and the remaining third went to the  
 CH. 5. other next of kin. If the daughters were two or more  
 in number they took a half, the bastards a third, and  
 the next of kin a sixth.

Where there was no next of kin to claim under these provisions, the 'king's court' claimed the vacant inheritance. As relationship did not count beyond the seventh generation<sup>1</sup> we may believe that in that barbarous age, and with a roving population, the 'king's court' was not seldom a successful claimant.

No man might declare his illegitimate sons legitimate, or put them on an equality with the sons born in wedlock, except with the consent of the latter given after they had attained 'the legitimate age.' This was reached, however, at the early period of twelve years. As with the Romans, so with the Lombards, a father had not absolute power over the disposal of his property. Except in the case of certain grievous crimes against filial duty (if a son had purposely struck his father, or plotted his death, or committed adultery with his stepmother), no father might disinherit his son, nor even '*thing*' away to another in his lifetime the property that should rightly devolve upon him<sup>2</sup>. And the obligation was a mutual one: except to his own offspring, the son might not '*thing*' away his property to prevent it from being inherited by his father. The Latinised German word '*thingare*,' which meets us in this and many other Lombard laws, gives us an interesting glimpse into the political life of primeval Germany. In an earlier chapter of this work<sup>3</sup>

Meaning  
 of *thingare* :  
 connection with  
 Folks-  
 Thing.

<sup>1</sup> l. 153.

<sup>2</sup> 'Nulli liceat sine certâ culpâ filium exhaeredare, nec quod ei debetur per legem alii thingare' (l. 168).

<sup>3</sup> Vol. iii. p. 260.

a slight sketch was attempted of the Folks-Thing, or BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.  
national assembly of the Germans. Referring to that chapter for a fuller discussion of the subject, I may add that not many miles from the place where I am now writing<sup>1</sup>, there was discovered about ten years ago an altar which bore the inscription DEO MARTI THINGSO, and which, in the opinion of some of the best German archaeologists, was dedicated to Mars, the god of the assembly, in whose name the priests commanded silence and punished the offenders who were brought up for judgment<sup>2</sup>. Thus from a bare hillside in Northumberland has come in recent years a testimony to the widespread institution of the *Thing* among our Teutonic forefathers. Before such an assembly it was the custom of the Lombards that all transactions connected with property (especially perhaps property in land) should take place, and it was for this reason that a too generous (or perhaps spiteful) father was forbidden *thingare* his property to the detriment of his natural heirs.

From this custom of making every donation of property in the presence of the *Thing*, the donation itself came to be called *Thinx*<sup>3</sup> or *Gairethinx*. As *ger* in the Old High-German language signifies a spear, and as we know<sup>4</sup> that the Germans always came armed to

<sup>1</sup> At the Roman camp of Borcovicus near Housesteads in Northumberland.

<sup>2</sup> This is the view of Prof. Scherer as communicated to Prof. Hübner, and stated by him in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, x. 157. He quotes Tacitus, *Germania*, c. vii. The altar was erected by the 'Tuihanti (?) Germani cives.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Omne *Thinx* quae est donatio' (l. 171).

<sup>4</sup> From Tacitus, *Germ.* xi.

their assemblies, it is suggested<sup>1</sup> that the *gairethinx* or spear-donation may have been an especially solemn form of transfer of property<sup>2</sup>. One of the laws of Rothari said, 'If any man wishes to *thing* away his property to another, let him make the *gairethinx* itself not secretly, but before free men, inasmuch as both he who *things* and he who is the receiver are free men, that no contention may arise in future<sup>3</sup>.'

Now however solemnly a childless man might have '*thinged*' away his property, when for any cause he despaired of having issue of his own, if he afterwards begat legitimate sons, the previous *thinx* was utterly null and void, and the sons succeeded to the property as if it had never taken place. And even daughters and illegitimate children ousted the claim of the receiver of the *thinx* to all but a fraction of the inheritance<sup>4</sup>.

On the other hand, a childless<sup>5</sup> man who at the solemn *thing* should pronounce the word *lidinlaib*, thereby expressing that the donee was to enter upon the property at his death, incurred obligations which, if he continued childless, he could not lightly set aside. He became in fact, what our lawyers call 'tenant for life,' and not 'without impeachment of waste,' for he must thenceforward confine himself to the reasonable

<sup>1</sup> By Meyer, *Sprache der Langobarden*, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> And thus in a certain sense corresponding to the 'ex jure Quiritium' of Roman law, *quiris* being the old Sabine word for spear. But this is, of course, a mere coincidence.

<sup>3</sup> 'Si quis res suas alii *thingare* voluerit, non absconse, sed ante liberos homines ipsum *gairethinx* faciat, quatenus qui *thingat* et qui *gisel* (the witness) fuerit, liberi sint, ut nulla in posterum oriatur intentio (? contentio)' (l. 172). <sup>4</sup> l. 171.

<sup>5</sup> This is not stated, but we may infer it from the terms of the law.

use of the property, and must in no wise fraudulently dissipate the same. If, however, necessity came upon him, and he found himself compelled to sell or mortgage the property with the slaves upon it, he might appeal to the receiver of his *thinx*: 'You behold under what compulsion I am about to part with that property which I gave to you at my death. If it seem good to you, help me now and I will preserve this property for your benefit.' If the donee of the *thinx* thus called upon refused to help his benefactor, then any alienation or encumbrance of the estate made by the latter remained valid in spite of the donation <sup>1</sup>.

We now come to the marriage laws of Rothari, an interesting section of the Code <sup>2</sup>. But before entering upon it we must notice one important law which governs the whole relations of Lombard womanhood, whether married or single: 'It shall not be lawful for any free woman, living according to the law of the Lombards under our sway, to live under the power of her own free will, or as it is called to be *selpmundia*, but she must always remain under the power of men, if not a husband or relative under that of the king's court, nor shall she have the power of giving or alienating any property, moveable or immoveable, without the consent of him in whose *mundium* she is living <sup>3</sup>.' The principle here laid down was recognised by most, if not all the German tribes whose laws have come down to us; though none deals quite so minutely with this question of the guardianship of women as the Lombard Code. The wording of the law may seem

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

Marriage laws, clxxxviii-cciv.

Every woman to be under the *mundium* (guardianship) of some man.

<sup>1</sup> l. 173. Lidinlaib is derived by Meyer from *lidan*, to die, and *laib* or *laip*, a survivor (?).

<sup>2</sup> ll. 178-204.

<sup>3</sup> l. 204.

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at first sight inconsistent with that high honour in which the Germans from the time of Tacitus downward are said to have held their women. But on reflection we perceive that the institution of this *mundium* or guardianship is chiefly intended for the woman's protection, and is a necessary consequence of the barbaric character of the rest of the Code. In a state of society where the *faida* or blood-feud was still a recognised principle, slowly and with difficulty giving way to the scarcely less barbarous *guidrigild*; under a system of laws which, as we shall see, tolerated the *camfio*, or wager of battle, as the test of right and wrong, what chance would a poor weak woman, if self-championed (*selpmundia*), have had of maintaining her rights? It was evidently necessary that she should have some male protector and representative, who if he had to assume responsibility for her acts, must have the deciding voice in the disposition of her property: and accordingly under the *mundium* of some man the Lombard woman lived from her cradle to her grave; if not under the *mundium* of a father, under that of a husband or a brother; if all these failed her, then under the *mundium* of the king's court. At the same time, though the institution of the *mundium* may have been originally designed for the woman's protection, it was undoubtedly sometimes a coveted prize. The regulations in the Lombard Code as to the division of the *mundium* among the brothers, even the illegitimate brothers<sup>1</sup>, of the daughters of the house show that this view was taken of the guardian's position: and when the king's court came in and claimed the

<sup>1</sup> l. 161.

*mundium* of a wealthy heiress, we can well believe that some of the abuses of the right of wardship and marriage which prevailed in feudal times may have been in measure anticipated by the Lombard rulers. This, however, is a mere conjecture, not supported so far as I know by anything that is to be found in the scanty documents that have come down to us.

I must direct the reader's attention to one clause in the sentence above quoted from the 204th law of Rothari: 'Any free woman *living* under our sway *according to the law of the Lombards*<sup>1</sup>.' This passage clearly implies that King Rothari had subjects who were not living according to the law of the Lombards. This has a bearing on a very wide and important controversy which will be referred to in a subsequent chapter.

Meanwhile our business is with the Lombard law alone, and we may now trace by such indications as that law affords us the history of the courtship and marriage of a Lombard woman. We must not, however, expect that the Code will reveal to us the sentimental aspect of a Lombard marriage: on the contrary, some of the provisions will remind us of the discussions which take place in many a French farmhouse at the present day concerning the precise amount of the *dot* of the daughter of a thrifty *propriétaire*.

When a Lombard suitor asked for the hand of a woman in marriage, if her guardian accepted him, a ceremony of betrothal was solemnised, and a written contract (*fabula*) was drawn up between the parties. The suitor covenanted to give a price which was called

<sup>1</sup> 'Nulli mulieri liberae sub regni nostri ditionem Legis Langobardorum viventi.'

BOOK VII. the *meta*<sup>1</sup>; and some substantial guarantor<sup>2</sup> joined in  
 CH. 5. the covenant with him<sup>3</sup>. If all went well, and the course of the matrimonial negotiations flowed smoothly, the father or brother in whose *mundium* the bride had hitherto been gave, probably on the eve of the wedding, a certain dowry to the bride which was called her *faderfio* (father's money)<sup>4</sup>. To this was added on the morning after the marriage a substantial present from the newly-wedded husband to his wife, according to the universal custom of the German tribes; and this present, which was called the *morgangebe* by the Alamanni, and the *morgengifa* among our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, was modified into *morgincap* among the sharp-speaking Lombards<sup>5</sup>.

But if the progress of the suit were not prosperous, and if the solemn betrothal did not ripen into marriage, the laws of Rothari had much to say about that contingency. If for two years after the betrothal the

<sup>1</sup> Connected with our English word *meed*, and with the German *mieth*. It is sometimes called *met-fiu*, the meed-money.

<sup>2</sup> Called *fide-jussor*, a term taken from the Roman law.

<sup>3</sup> Who kept the *meta*? Was it compensation to the father (if he had the *mundium*) for the loss of his daughter's services, or did it form part of the provision for the married couple? The laws do not seem clear on this point, but it seems to me probable that the father kept the *meta* during his life, and that after his death it came to the daughter.

<sup>4</sup> This *fio* or *fihu*, the Lombard word for money, is a word with an interesting history. It is connected with the German *vieh*, and the Latin *pecus* (= cattle), and carries us back to a state of society when wealth consisted chiefly in flocks and herds. (Our English word *stock* might be used as an ambiguous equivalent.) In Gothic, *faihu* = wealth, and the word used by Ulfilas to translate mammon is *faihu-thraihns*.

<sup>5</sup> See vol. v. p. 207, for the discussion about Queen Galswintha's morning-gift.



suitor kept on delaying the fulfilment of his promise, the father or brother, or he who had the *mundium* of the affianced woman, might exact from the guarantor the payment of the *meta*, and might then give the damsel in marriage to another<sup>1</sup>. But perhaps the reluctant suitor alleged as a reason for his refusal that the woman had lost her chastity. In that case her parents must get twelve neighbours or kinsfolk to swear with them that the accusation was false<sup>2</sup>. If they could do this the woman's reputation was considered to be cleared, and the suitor must either take her to wife, or pay a double *meta* as a penalty for the wrongful accusation.

If, however, for her sins<sup>3</sup> it should happen that a woman was sorely afflicted after her betrothal, if she became a leper or a demoniac, or lost the sight of both eyes, then the suitor might reclaim his *meta*, and was not bound to take her in marriage. If, on the other hand, the guardian of a woman, after solemnly betrothing her to one man, connived at her marriage to another, he had to pay twice the *meta* to the injured suitor.

Once married, the woman passed under the *mundium* of her husband, and if she survived him remained under the *mundium* of his representative. If she had a son grown to adolescence it seems probable that he would be her guardian, but of course this would often not be

<sup>1</sup> l. 178.

<sup>2</sup> 'Liceat eam parentibus purificare cum duodecim sacramentalibus suis' (l. 179).

<sup>3</sup> 'Si peccatis imminentibus contigerit,' a view of human calamity which would have had the hearty approval of Job's three friends.

BOOK VII. the case, and she would then be under the *mundium*  
 CH. 5. of some brother or kinsman of her late husband, who might be indisposed to relinquish the profitable trust. The royal legislator therefore clearly stated that the widow had the right to betake herself<sup>1</sup> to another husband if he was a free man. In this case the second husband was bound to repay to the heir of the first, half of the *meta* which had been paid on the first espousals, and if the latter refused to accept this, then the wife might claim her whole *faderfio* and *morgin-cap*<sup>2</sup>, and she returned under the *mundium* of her parents, who might give her in marriage to whom they would.

We have several indications that this enforced *mundium* of the widow under her late husband's heir led sometimes to strained and painful relations. Any one having the *mundium* of a free wife or maiden who falsely accused her of adultery, or called her a witch<sup>3</sup>, or conspired against her life, lost the *mundium* unless he were the father or the brother of the injured woman<sup>4</sup>; and in this and several other cases the *mundium* went, in default of relations, to the king's court. Lastly, to end the story of the matrimonial life of the Lombard woman, if a man slew his wife for any cause which was not sufficient in law to justify her death, the murderous husband had to pay 1200 solidi (£720), half to her parents or relations, and half

<sup>1</sup> 'Potestatem habeat ad alium maritum ambulandi' (l. 182).

<sup>2</sup> But apparently in this case he retained the *meta*. This looks as if the *meta* might easily be a large sum, more than twice the size of *faderfio* and *morgin-cap* combined.

<sup>3</sup> 'Striga, quod est Masca.'

<sup>4</sup> ll. 196-198. Do these laws apply to the husband? I think not.

to the king. If the murdered woman had left sons, these inherited the *morgincap* and *faderfio*: if not, they went to her parents, or failing them, to the king's court. But if the wife plotted against her husband's life, she was at his mercy and he might do to her whatsoever he would. If she slew him, she was herself to be put to death, and her property, if she left no children, went to the husband's heirs. Always, even in presence of the ghastliest domestic tragedies, the Lombard legislator keeps a cool head, and remembers to say what shall be the destination of the *faderfio* and the *morgincap*.

Interspersed with the marriage laws of which I have spoken are some which deal somewhat more with the moral side of the relation between the sexes. Thus the seduction<sup>1</sup> of a free woman was punished by a fine of 20 solidi (£12), which was increased to 100 solidi (£60) if the seducer refused to marry his victim. If a man persuaded the betrothed bride of another to marry him he had to pay 20 solidi to the parents as penalty for seducing their daughter from her duty<sup>2</sup>, and 20 more in order to end the feud (*faida*) caused by his misconduct. Moreover he had to pay to the injured affianced suitor twice his *meta*. These comparatively light punishments fell on him who had by gentle means won the forbidden prize. Crimes of violence were rightly punished much more severely. Forcible compulsion of a woman to marry subjected the offender to a fine of 900 solidi (£540), half of which went to the parents of the damsel, and half to the king's court. The injured wife was at liberty to go

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.  
Laws  
about  
sexual im-  
morality.

<sup>1</sup> 'anagrìph.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Pro anagrìph' (l. 189).

BOOK VII. forth from the offender's house with all her possessions,  
 CH. 5. and might place herself under the *mundium* of a father, a brother, an uncle, or the king, as she might choose.

In this connection we meet with a law which has given rise to much discussion :—

Ancilla  
 gentilis,  
 Ancilla  
 Romana.

‘If any man shall commit fornication with a female slave belonging to the nations, he shall pay to her lord 20 solidi. If with a Roman, 12 solidi<sup>1</sup>.’

It is only in this casual reference to an act of immorality that we find in all the laws of Rothari the slightest express reference (doubtless there are many implied references) to the great mass of the subject population of Italy who called themselves, and were called by their conquerors, by the once proud name of Roman. And this reference carries us but a little way. The poor bondwoman of Roman extraction is evidently compared unfavourably with her fellow slave of ‘Gentile,’ that is of Teutonic or Slavonic origin, the kinswoman it might be of the Anglian lads whom Gregory saw in the market-place. But, after all, it is not her wrong, but the injury done to her master, that is in the mind of the legislator. It is to him that the fine is paid, and all that we learn from this passage is that the stout, strong ‘gentile’ woman who had come across the seas or from the countries beyond the Alps was a more valuable possession to her master than one of the oppressed, emaciated, famine-wasted daughters of Italy.

Acts of immorality committed chiefly against women of servile condition are dealt with in laws 205–214,

<sup>1</sup> ‘Si quis cum ancillâ gentili fornicatus fuerit, componat domino ejus solidos xx. Et si cum Romanâ xii solidos’ (l. 194).

and we then come to the interesting subject of marriages contracted between persons of unequal *status*, one free, the other unfree<sup>1</sup>.

In these marriages the general rule seems to have been that which also prevailed in the Roman law, that the issue of the marriage shared the condition of the mother. Thus if an *Aldius* married a free woman, on his death she and her sons might go forth from his house free, but on condition of renouncing the *morgin-cap* which her late husband had given her, and giving back to his lord the sum which he had once paid to her parents for her *mundium*. If a slave married a freed woman<sup>2</sup> or an *Aldia* she lost the qualified freedom which she had possessed, during the marriage, but might reclaim it on her husband's death, and go forth free with her children. If an *Aldius* married an *Aldia* or a freed woman the sons became *Aldii* on the estate of their father's lord<sup>3</sup>. If he married a female slave, the children of the marriage were slaves of their mother's master. But if he ventured to lift his eyes to a free woman, and make her his wife, he ran the risk of hearing sentence of death pronounced upon him. The relations of the woman who thus demeaned herself had the right to slay her, or to sell her for a slave into foreign parts, and divide her substance among themselves. If they failed to do this, the king's officers might lead her away to the king's court, and set her to work among the female slaves at the loom.

Unequal  
marriages,  
ccxvi-  
ccxxi.

<sup>1</sup> ll. 216-221.

<sup>2</sup> Davoud Oghlou rightly suggests *liberta* as an emendation for *libera* in this law (l. 217).

<sup>3</sup> 'Patrem sequantur et sint aldiij cujus et pater est' (l. 218); an exception to the general rule.

BOOK VII. So jealous was the Lombard law of the honour and  
 CH. 5. reputation of the free Lombard woman<sup>1</sup>.

But, lastly, there was the possible alternative case, that a free man might wish to marry one of his own female slaves. For such a union the law had no such terrors as those inflicted in the converse case of the marriage of a free woman with a slave. But he might only marry her on condition of first enfranchising her, which he must do in a solemn manner by way of *gairethinx* before the assembly of the people. The enfranchised slave, who was now declared to be *wurdi-bora*<sup>2</sup>, might now become her late master's lawfully-wedded wife, and could bear him legitimate sons, with full claim to succeed to his inheritance.

Manumis-  
sion of  
slaves,  
cexxiv-  
cexxvi.

From this subject, by a natural transition, the legislator passes to that of the manumission of slaves<sup>3</sup>.

Of this manumission, as he informs us, there were four kinds.

I. Abso-  
lute eman-  
cipation,  
making  
the sub-  
ject of it  
*fulc-free*  
and  
*amund*.

(1) The fullest and most complete was that which was practised when a man wished to give his male or female slave absolute freedom to go where he pleased, and dispose of his property as he would. To accomplish this, he first handed over the slave by solemn *gairethinx* to another free owner; that second owner to a third, and the third to a fourth. This last owner led the slave to a place where four roads met, handed him in the presence of witnesses an arrow<sup>4</sup>, the free man's

<sup>1</sup> I say Lombard woman, because it seems to me improbable that this applies to the case of the marriage between a free Roman woman and a slave.

<sup>2</sup> 'Worthy-born,' or perhaps 'worthy-bearer,' referring to the condition of her offspring (l. 222).

<sup>3</sup> ll. 224-226 (225-229 in Muratori).

<sup>4</sup> The words of Rothari's law (224) are 'ducat eum in quadru-

weapon, murmuring a certain form of words which had been handed down from dim antiquity, and then pointing to the cross-roads, said, 'You have unfettered power of walking whither you will.'

A slave or *Aldius* thus enfranchised became folk-free<sup>1</sup> (that is, a sharer in the freedom of the Lombard people), and entirely out of his late master's *mundium*<sup>2</sup>. If he died without natural heirs, neither his patron nor his patron's heirs succeeded to his property, but it went to the king's court.

(2) The second form of manumission was that of the slave who was remitted *impans*, that is, 'to the king's wish.' This passage remains hopelessly dark to us, but we are told that the slave thus liberated was '*amund*' (perhaps, however, not folk-free').

(3) The third form of manumission made its subject 'folk-free,' but not '*amund*.' He lived like a free Lombard in the family of his late master, and under his *mundium*. He had received the 'liberty of the four ways,' and could go where he willed, and do what he pleased, but his property, in default of natural heirs, went to his late master.

(4) The fourth form of manumission, an incomplete and partial affair, not accompanied with 'the liberty of

bium (quadrivium) et thingat *gaida* et *gisilis*.' *Gaida* is the old Lombard word for a spear; *gisilis* for witnesses. I have added a little from Paulus Diaconus (H. L. i. 13), who is evidently describing this method of enfranchisement in *gaida et gisilis*: 'Igitur Langobardi . . . plures a servili jugo ereptos ad libertatis statum perducunt. Utque rata eorum haberi possit ingenuitas, sanciunt more solito *per sagittam*, immurmurantes nihilominus ob rei firmitatem quaedam patria verba.'

<sup>1</sup> *Fulc-free*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Qui a se extraneum id est *amund* facere voluerit.'

BOOK VII. the four ways,' left its subject only an *Aldius*, that is,  
 CH. 5. ————— as we have seen, it left him in a semi-servile condition,  
 not 'folk-free' on the one hand, but on the other able  
 to contract a valid marriage with a free woman, and  
 probably not liable to the indignity of personal chas-  
 tisement<sup>1</sup>.

The section on manumission ends with the following law, which has an important bearing on the question hereafter to be discussed, of the condition of the subject Romans under the Lombards:—

'All freedmen who shall have received their liberty from Lombard lords ought to live under the laws of their lords, and for their benefactors, according to the concession which shall have been made to them by their own lords<sup>2</sup>.'

This provision certainly looks as if for some persons, and at some times, the 'living according to the law of the Lombards' was not a privilege to be sighed for, but a duty, to be if possible evaded. But more of this hereafter.

Vendors  
 and pur-  
 chasers,  
 cccxxvii-  
 cccxxvi.

The law of vendors and purchasers comes next in order<sup>3</sup>, but there is not much here that need claim our attention, except that we notice that the period required to give a prescriptive title to property is very short, only five years. So short a prescription perhaps points to a semi-barbarous state of society still existing among the Lombards, and to frequent changes of

<sup>1</sup> This last statement is only conjectural.

<sup>2</sup> 'Omnes liberti qui a dominis suis Langobardis libertatem meruerint, legibus dominorum et benefactoribus suis vivere debeant, secundum qualiter a dominis suis propriis eis concessum fuerit' (l. 226).

<sup>3</sup> ll. 227-236.



ownership by violence. If a man had been left as long as five years in undisturbed possession of land, or slaves, or jewels, it might be presumed that he was the rightful owner.

Also we observe that no slave, and even no *Aldius*, could sell property of any kind without the consent of his master or patron. An exception was necessarily made in the case of a slave who had charge of a farm (*servus massarius*), whose business it was to sell off the young stock, and who did not require the formal consent of his master for each transaction of this kind<sup>1</sup>.

Six laws follow concerning the removal of boundaries<sup>2</sup>, the usual punishment for which offence was a fine of 80 solidi (£48) in the case of a free man ; a fine of half that amount or death in the case of a slave. It is interesting to observe that a frequent method of marking the boundaries was by notching the forest trees<sup>3</sup>.

The slave who thus falsified the markings on the forest trees was punished by amputation of his right hand ; and here, with that delightful discursiveness which characterises the Lombard code, we learn that the same punishment was inflicted on any one who, without the king's order, stamped gold or coined money,

Removing  
land-  
marks,  
cxxxvii-  
cexli (bis).

Coining  
and for-  
gery,  
cexlii,  
cexliii.

<sup>1</sup> The law says, 'Servus massarius licentiam habeat de peculio suo': but 'peculium' seems here to be used as equivalent to 'pecus,' and not to bear its special juristic meaning of a slave's own property.

<sup>2</sup> ll. 237-241 (*bis*).

<sup>3</sup> These remarks were called *theclatura* or *snaida*. The first is apparently a non-Teutonic word, but I have not met with any probable derivation for it. The second, a Lombard word, is probably connected with *schneiden*, to cut.

BOOK VII. and also on any one who forged a charter or other  
 CH. 5. document<sup>1</sup>.

Burglari- A measure of police, for the peace and good order of  
 ous entry the cities, follows. 'If any free man enters any city or  
 into a city. village<sup>2</sup> *by the wall*, or leaves it in the same manner,  
 without the cognisance of his magistrate<sup>3</sup>, he shall pay  
 the king's court a fine of 20 solidi (£12). An *Aldius* or  
 slave committing the same offence is to pay a fine of  
 10 solidi. If he commits a robbery he shall pay the  
 fine for such robbery imposed by this edict in addition.'

Pigno-  
 ratio,  
 cexlv-  
 eclvii.

Then follow some obscure and difficult laws<sup>4</sup>, which  
 I will not presume to interpret, as to the custom of  
*pignoratio*, which was a sort of distraint upon the  
 goods of a debtor executed by a creditor on his own  
 responsibility. He was not allowed to resort to this  
 process of self-compensation till after he had on three  
 successive days called upon the debtor to pay his  
 debt, and if he made any mistake in executing it (for  
 instance, if he took the slave of A as security for  
 the payment of the debt of B), he might have to  
 restore eight times the value of the pledge so taken,  
 unless he could swear that he had done it inadver-  
 tently<sup>5</sup>. So too the man who had given a pledge

<sup>1</sup> 'Si quis sine jussione Regis aurum signaverit aut monetam confinxerit manus ejus incidatur' (l. 242). 'Si quis chartam falsam scripserit, aut quodlibet membranum, manus ejus incidatur' (l. 243).

<sup>2</sup> 'Castrum.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Sine notitiâ Judicis sui' (l. 244). The terms of this law look as if it were meant for the Roman rather than the Lombard population.

<sup>4</sup> ll. 245-257.

<sup>5</sup> The Roman story of the arrest of Virginia by order of Appius Claudius the Decemvir perhaps illustrates the kind of abuse of

(*wadia*) for the maintenance of an action and failed to redeem it within six days was fined 12 solidi. BOOK VII  
Ch. 5.

The section of the edict which deals with theft contains eleven short and simple laws<sup>1</sup>; the next section, that which is concerned with the case of fugitive slaves, is about twice as long, though it contributes only thirteen laws to the collection<sup>2</sup>. Evidently under the Lombard kings, as under the Presidents of the United States who reigned before Abraham Lincoln, the recapture of fugitive slaves was a matter which occupied a considerable part of the thoughts of the local magistrates.

As for theft, if the article stolen was of the value of 10 *siliquae* (5 shillings), the thief, if a free man, had to restore the value of the object ninefold, and to pay a fine of 80 solidi (£48). He might, it is true, escape from this heavy fine by accepting the penalty of death. For the slave the fine was 40 solidi, the rest of the punishment was the same. The free woman (if 'folk-free') arrested in the act of theft was only called upon to pay the ninefold value. No other fine was to be exacted from her, but she was to go back to her home and muse on the injury which she had done to her reputation by attempting so indecent an action. Any one finding gold or an article of raiment on the highway, and raising it higher than his knee, if he did not declare what he had discovered to the magistrate was to restore ninefold.

We pass to the laws which deal with the case of

the law of debtor and creditor which made this stringent provision necessary.

<sup>1</sup> ll. 258-268.

<sup>2</sup> ll. 269-281.

BOOK VII. slaves escaping from their masters. If such a slave  
 CH. 5.  
 Fugitive slaves,  
 cclxix-  
 cclxxxi.

or a free man escaping from justice were caught, it was the duty of the magistrate of the place where the capture occurred to hand over two solidi as a reward to the captor, and keep the slave that he might restore him to his master, or the fugitive that he might restore him to his pursuers. Did such a fugitive, having once been caught, escape, his keeper must swear that he had not intentionally released him, but had guarded him to the utmost of his power. Otherwise (apparently) he made himself responsible for the consequences of his escape. If the fugitive, when challenged and summoned to surrender, did not give his hands to be tied, the pursuer slaying him was not to be held answerable for his death <sup>1</sup>.

All men were bound to hinder the slave in his flight, and to assist in detaining him. If a ferryman rowed him across a stream he was put on his defence, and unless he could swear a solemn oath that he was ignorant of the fugitive slave's condition, he was compelled to join in the quest, and if that were unsuccessful, to pay to the owner a sum equal to the slave's value, and a fine moreover of 20 solidi (£12) to the king's court. If the slave took refuge in a private house, the owner was justified in breaking into it, the fury of the pursuing master being deemed sufficient justification for the technical offence against the rights of property <sup>2</sup>. If any one knowingly har-

<sup>1</sup> Nor if he were slain by the fugitive was any demand to be made [of the slave's master?] on account of that murder ('et si ille qui fugacem hominom comprehendere voluerit ab ipso occisus fuerit non requiratur') (l. 269).

<sup>2</sup> 'Non reputetur culpa domino pro eo quod in curte alterius

boured a fugitive slave, or supplied him with food, or showed him the way, or gave him a lift on his journey, the man who had thus helped the fugitive was bound first of all to go forth and find him, and if he failed to do that must pay the value of the slave, and of any property which he might have carried off with him, together with compensation for the work which had been damaged by the slave's flight.

As a rule, any one in whose house a slave sought shelter was bound to send a message to the master announcing the fact. If he failed to do so, and kept the slave more than nine nights<sup>1</sup>, he was responsible for any injury that the slave might commit, or for the loss to the owner caused by his death.

These rules applied to all classes. Even the officers of the king's court, the *Gastaldius*, or *Actor Regis*, the dignitaries of the Church, a priest or a bishop might not permanently shelter a fugitive slave, but having been summoned three times were bound to surrender him to his lord. If it happened, however (as seems often to have been the case), that the householder with whom the slave had taken refuge came forth and made peace between the slave and his master, persuading the latter to receive him back 'in favour and peace,' and if afterwards the master, breaking his promise, avenged himself on his slave for his flight, he must for such violation of his plighted word pay to an ordinary householder 20 solidi (£12), or twice that

*furorem in servum suum habens, rem suam apprehendere visus est*' (l. 278).

<sup>1</sup> 'Si quis mancipium fugax in casâ suâ nesciente domino super novem *noctes* habuerit' (l. 279). Notice the Teutonic custom of reckoning by nights instead of days; our *fortnight*.

BOOK VII. amount to one of the king's officers, or to a dignitary  
 CH. 5. of the Church, if it was one of these whose intercession  
 had thus been rendered of no avail. In the last case, that of broken faith with a bishop or priest, the forty solidi were to be deposited 'on the sacred altar where the injury had been done<sup>1</sup>.'

The general tenour of these laws seems to show that the sympathy of the whole community, not of the semi-servile rustics only, but also of the rich and powerful, was wont to be on the side of an escaping slave, and that the royal legislator must raise his voice loudly to secure a hearing for the rights of property in human flesh as then recognised by the law.

Offences  
 against  
 the public  
 peace,  
 cclxxxii-  
 cclxxxv.

We come to a short section of the Code which deals with offences against the public peace. To enter another man's house in wrath and passion<sup>2</sup> was such an offence, and was called *hoveros*, a word which perhaps signifies 'house-storming<sup>3</sup>.' The penalty for such an offence, if committed by a man, was 20 solidi (£12), but 'a woman cannot commit the offence of breach of the house-peace, which is *hoveros*: because it seems to be absurd that a woman, whether free or bond, should be able, like a man, to do violence with arms<sup>4</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Aut sit culpabilis ipsi Ecclesiae solidos xl., ita ut per actorem regis exigantur, et in sacro altari ubi injuria facta est ponantur' (l. 277).

<sup>2</sup> '*Haistan*, id est irato animo,' or as we say, with hasty temper (l. 282).

<sup>3</sup> Meyer derives *hoveros* from *hof*, a court, and an extinct root *riusan*, to break, perhaps connected with rush. It is curious that Meyer connects it with the German *rohr*, a reed.

<sup>4</sup> 'Mulier curtis rupturam, quod est *hoveros*, facere non potest; quod absurdum esse videtur ut mulier libera aut ancilla, quasi vir, cum armis vim facere possit' (l. 283).

The next two laws<sup>1</sup> point to the danger to the State arising from the oppressed condition of the slaves or *coloni*. BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

‘If the slaves, by the advice of the country-folk (*rusticani*), shall enter a village with an armed band to do mischief, any free man under the sway of our kingdom who shall put himself at their head shall run the risk of losing his life, and shall at all events pay 900 solidi (£540), half to the king, and half to him to whom the injury was done. If the leader be a slave, and not a free man, let him be put to death. The slaves are to pay 40 solidi (£24), to be divided as aforesaid.’ ‘How much the wretched dare.’

The second law deals with something like a resisted eviction. Here the *rusticani*, whom I take to be equivalent to *coloni*, are the movers in the tumult, and their punishment is less heavy than that of slaves.

‘If for any cause the country-folk shall collect together to make a conspiracy and a sedition, and shall threaten any one<sup>2</sup>, or forcibly carry off a slave or a beast which the lord may have wished to remove from the house of his slave, then he who has put himself at the head of the rustics shall die, or redeem his life according to his fixed price, and all who have run into that sedition to do evil shall pay 12 solidi (£7 4s.), half to the king, and half to him who has suffered from the act of violence.’ Assaults committed by the rustics on the lord attempting to recover his property are to be compounded for according to the before-mentioned tariff. If any of the rustics be killed, no claim for compensation is to arise.

<sup>1</sup> ll. 284, 285.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Et cuicumque se anteposuerint.’

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CH. 5.

These two laws are of considerable importance for their bearing on the question hereafter to be discussed as to the extent of the application of these laws of Rothari; whether meant for Lombards alone, or for Lombards and Romans equally. It will be noticed that the words of the first law are very general—‘any free man under the sway of our kingdom<sup>1</sup>.’ These words should certainly cover the case of a free but subject Roman as well as of a Lombard. But then it is enacted that he shall be put to death, or shall at least pay a fine of 900 solidi. It may be argued that while the free Roman was to be put to death without question, the free Lombard was to have the chance of redeeming himself by a fine<sup>2</sup>. A somewhat similar alternative is offered in the next law to the ringleader of the rustics, perhaps in view of the same difference of nationality.

Rural life,  
cclxxxvi—  
ccclviii.

The seventy-three laws<sup>3</sup> which follow take us over a wide field, and I regret that the space at my disposal does not allow me to copy in detail the picture which they give us of the economic and social condition of the Lombards. More than we might have expected from the inhabitants of a land so rich in cities as Italy, these laws seem to bring before us a population of country-dwellers, I had almost said of country-squires, who still, like their ancestors in the first century, ‘shun the continuous row of houses, and settle, scattered over their various homes, as the fountain, the moor or the grove may have caught the fancy of each<sup>4</sup>.’ We

<sup>1</sup> ‘Quicumque liber homo sub Regni nostri ditione.’

<sup>2</sup> ‘Animae suae incurrat periculum aut certe comonat solidos deccc.’ <sup>3</sup> ll. 286–358.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est,



see them fencing round their meadows with planks or quickset hedges<sup>1</sup>, and often trying to claim more than they can thus encompass<sup>2</sup>. One lawless neighbour breaks down the fence entirely, and is fined 6 solidi: or he pulls out one plank or one bough, and has to pay 2 solidi; or whole squares of lattice-work<sup>3</sup>, and pays 3 solidi. Another with unjust mind hacks to pieces the woodwork of a plough (which our Lombard kinsmen called *plovum*), or steals the bell from a horse's neck, or the yoke or the harness-thongs from the patient ox. The fine for the first of these misdeeds is 4 solidi; for the other acts, and for most of those offences against rural peace which are about to be enumerated, the fine is 6 solidi.

The elaborate laws for the protection of vines show that the Lombards appreciated that slender and delicate tree which is married so happily to the elm everywhere in the rich plain of Lombardy, and by the fame of whose joyous fruitage they themselves, according to the *Saga*, had been tempted into Italy<sup>4</sup>. But we read with astonishment that though the wayfarer might help himself to three grapes without offence, for any taken above that number he must pay the regulation fine of 6 solidi<sup>5</sup>.

ne pati quidem inter se junctas sedes. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit' (Tacitus, *Germania*, xvi).

<sup>1</sup> The plank fence is called by a Latin name, 'sepes assiata': the generic word for hedge is the Teutonic *eterzon* (compare Anglo-Saxon *eodor* and German *zaun*, each of which = hedge): the quickset hedge is 'sepes stantaria.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Tantum vindicet cujus terra est quantum clausurâ potest defendere' (l. 358).

<sup>3</sup> 'Perticas transversarias' (l. 292).

<sup>4</sup> See p. 62.

<sup>5</sup> 'Si quis super tres uvas de vineâ alienâ tulerit componat

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

Dangerous  
fences.

The announcement that the maker of a hedge by which man or beast is injured or slain will be held responsible for the injury, or even for the homicide, strangely reminds us of modern controversies about barbed wire-fencing; but he who digs a ditch round his plot of land is liable to no claim for compensation for man or beast injured by falling into it, 'because he did it for the safety of his field, and not with guile'; and the same exception applies to the digger of a well, 'because the well-water is a common gift for the benefit of all'.

Bee-hives.

We find a similar allusion to natural right in the laws relating to the taking of honey. If a man steal a bee-hive with the bees inside it he pays 12 solidi; if he find a swarm of bees on a tree on which the owner has set his mark, he pays 6 solidi; but if there be no mark on the tree he may take the honey and keep it 'by the law of nature.' Only this 'law of nature' does not apply to the *gahagia*<sup>2</sup> or game-coverts of the king; and even in other forests, if the lord chances to come riding by, the finder of the honey must give it up to him, but shall not be liable to any further blame for taking it.

Young  
falcons.

A similar rule applies to the finding of young falcons on an unmarked tree. Here, too, the finder may keep

solidos vi: nam si usque tres tulerit, nulla sit ei culpa' (l. 301). 'Uva' may mean not a single grape, but a cluster; but even so the law seems very strict for Italy.

<sup>1</sup> 'Quia putei aqua communis omnium est utilitas' (l. 306).

<sup>2</sup> 'Si quis de arbore signato in silvâ alterius apes tulerit componat sol. vi; nam si signatum non fuerit, tunc qui invenerit jure naturæ habeat sibi, excepto *gahagio* Regis, et si contigerit dominus cujus silva est supervenire, tollat sibi ipso (*sic*) mel et amplius culpa non requiratur' (l. 319). *Gahagium* = German *gchege*.

them unless the lord of the forest comes upon the scene. But if on any pretence, from trees marked or unmarked, he takes young falcons from the nest in the king's *gahagium*, he must pay a fine of 12 solidi.

The Lombards were apparently a nation of horsemen, and many laws are devoted to questions connected with matters equestrian. To knock out a horse's eye, or cut off its ear, or do it any other bodily injury, subjected the offender to the penalty of restoring another horse of equal value<sup>1</sup> to that which he had maimed. To cut off the hairs of its tail<sup>2</sup> was punished with a fine of 6 solidi. To make any disfiguring marks upon it, whereby the owner might be prevented from knowing his own, was so obviously the next step to theft that it was punished accordingly by a fine of ninefold the horse's value<sup>3</sup>. To mount another man's horse and ride it about in the neighbourhood was an offence punishable with a fine of 2 solidi; but to take it off on a journey without the owner's leave was virtual theft, and punished by the ninefold fine. But sometimes a man would find himself quite innocently in possession of a horse that did not belong to him. It had come straying into his courtyard, and was doing damage there. What must an honest Lombard do in such a case? He must take the horse to the local

Horse-  
manship.

<sup>1</sup> *Ferquido*, a word of rather frequent occurrence, meaning 'equivalent.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Si quis caballi alieni caudam cappellaverit, id est setas tantum comp. soli. vi.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Furti pena sit culpabilis, id est in *ahtugild* sibi nonum reddat' (l. 341). This passage proves that *ahtugild* (eight-fold) and *nonum reddere* have the same meaning. The offender has to restore the stolen animal and eight times its value, that is, *nonum reddere*.

magistrate or to the congregation assembling at the church door<sup>1</sup>, four or five times, and must make proclamation to all men by the voice of the crier: 'I have found a horse and I know not whose it is.' Having done this, if no owner appeared, he might safely keep it and ride it as his own; but when the horse died he must keep a note of the markings on its skin, that he might have somewhat to show to the owner should he at last make his appearance. If he complied with these regulations he was free from all further responsibility; if he failed in any of them he was liable to the ninefold fine.

Perhaps a man who had lost his horse would entrust the quest for it to a servant, telling him the marks by which to know the missing animal, and the searcher would in his ignorance lay hands upon the wrong horse and ride it off to his master's stable. Thereupon the real owner of the second horse appears upon the scene and brings a charge of horse-stealing. Then let him in whose keeping the horse is make solemn oath that the mistake was involuntary, and if he have treated the horse well while it was in his stables he shall be subject to no further action.

(Game-laws.

The laws respecting the pursuit of game are numerous, but except for those previously quoted, which imply that the king's own *gahagium* was strictly preserved, they do not seem to indicate that jealous monopoly of the pleasures of the chase which was characteristic of feudal times. If a stag or any other wild creature has been shot by a man it becomes his, but the right of property in it lasts for only twenty-four

<sup>1</sup> 'Ducat eum ad iudicem qui in loco ordinatus est, aut certe ante ecclesia (*sic*) in conventus (*sic*).'

hours<sup>1</sup>. If a passer-by finds a wild beast wounded by a hunter or caught in his snares, it is his duty to carry the prize to the hunter, for which he shall be rewarded by the right shoulder and seven ribs<sup>2</sup>. If he conceals the capture, he shall pay the hunter a fine of 6 solidi<sup>3</sup>. If he be injured by a wild beast which has been caught in a snare, he has a right to compensation from the setter of the snare. But if of his own free will and out of desire of gain he goes to such a wild beast, either ensnared or surrounded by dogs, and tries to make it his prey, then the consequences are on his own head, and he has no redress against the first huntsman<sup>4</sup>.

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CH. 5.

If a beast being wounded by the hunter meets a man, and slays him in its fury, the hunter will be held answerable for homicide. But this holds good only so long as the hunter is actually pursuing his quest with his dogs and his artillery. When he has given it up, and turned homewards, he ceases to be liable for the consequences of the rage of the wounded animal<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> l. 314.

<sup>2</sup> l. 312.

<sup>3</sup> l. 313.

<sup>4</sup> l. 311.

<sup>5</sup> 'Nam si ipsam feram postposuerit et se ab ea *tornaverit* . . . non requiratur ab eo qui plagavit aut incitavit' (l. 309). Muratori connects this passage with the curious story told by Theophanes, that the Imperial army, fighting against the Avars in Thrace (587), fled in panic because a soldier had cried out *τῆ πατρώα φωνῇ* to the owner of a baggage mule whose load had fallen off, *τόρνα, τόρνα, φράτρε*. Theophylact Simocatta, whose testimony on the point is even more valuable, as he was a contemporary of Maurice and Phocas, and wrote therefore about two centuries before Theophanes, says, *ἐπιχωρίφ γλώττη εἰς τοῦπίσω τραπέσθαι ἄλλος ἄλλφ πρασέταττε ῥετόρνα μετὰ μεγίστου τaráχαν φθεγγόμενοι* (Hist. ii. 15). Mr. Bury (ii. 123, n. 1) considers these words 'the earliest extant specimen of the Roumanian or Wallachian language.' It is curious that such common and widely-spread words as 'turn,' 'return,' and the

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

Injury to  
a female  
slave,  
cccxix.

This whole section with which we are now dealing is concerned mainly with laws relating to animals, but after reading that he who strikes a cow in calf, and causes her to miscarry, must pay one tremissis (the third part of a solidus), and he who does a similar injury to a mare in foal shall pay one solidus, we are shocked to find<sup>1</sup> that he who strikes another man's female slave, thereby causing abortion, pays only 3 solidi, only half the fine for stealing a horse's halter, or pulling the hairs out of its tail. There is nothing in the Code of this strange semi-barbarous people which goes so far to justify St. Gregory's phrase 'nefandissimi Langobardi' as this.

Lunacy,  
cccxliii.

Incidentally to the discussion of injuries wrought by animals (which must, as a rule, be compounded for by their masters) we learn that 'if, as a punishment for his sins, a man becomes rabid or demoniac, and does damage to man or beast, compensation shall not be claimed from his heirs,' and conversely, if he himself be killed while in that state of frenzy, his heirs shall not be entitled to claim *guidrigild* on his behalf.

Herds of  
swine,  
cccxlix-  
cccli.

The various laws about swine and swineherds show that the unclean creature which Virgil does not condescend to notice in the Georgics played an important part in the husbandry of the Lombards. If a man found a herd of swine rooting about in his meadow, he might kill one, and not be asked to compensate the owner<sup>2</sup>. If not in a meadow, but still feeding on land which was not their owner's, he might keep one as a hostage, and claim compensation for the rest at the

like should have travelled into Western Europe from Thrace by way of the Avars and the Lombards.

<sup>1</sup> l. 339.

<sup>2</sup> l. 350.

rate of 3 siliquæ (amounting to the eighth of a solidus) per pig<sup>1</sup>. The champion boar of one of these great herds of swine was a valuable animal, and went among the Lombards by the name of *sonorpair*<sup>2</sup>, and the theft of this hero among swine was punished by a fine of 12 solidi. But it was ordained that unless the herd consisted of at least 30 swine, its champion should not be considered to have attained to the dignity of a *sonorpair*. The swineherds (*porcarii*) were evidently a quarrelsome class of men, themselves often the slaves of serfs, and two laws<sup>3</sup> are devoted to the special question of the quarrels with 'assault and battery' which arose among them.

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CH. 5.

Lastly, to close this agricultural section of the Code, it is ordained that 'no one shall have liberty to deny to travellers the right of grazing their horses, except it be in a meadow at haytime, or in a harvest-field. But after the hay or other crops have been gathered in, let the owner of land only vindicate the possession of so much of it as he can surround by a fence. For if he shall presume to remove the horses of travellers from the stubbles<sup>4</sup>, or from the pastures where other cattle are feeding, he shall pay the ninefold fine for these horses because he has dared to remove them from the open field which is *fornaccar* (land that has yielded its crop). We ask ourselves here what it was that the churlish Lombard landowner had to repay *in ahtugild*. It seems hardly credible that it can

Pasture  
for travel-  
lers,  
ccclviii.

<sup>1</sup> l. 351.

<sup>2</sup> From *sunor*, a herd, and *pair*, a boar. 'Dicitur *sonorpair* quia omnes verres in grege battit et vincit' (l. 351).

<sup>3</sup> ll. 352 and 353.

<sup>4</sup> 'De stuplis.'

BOOK VII. have been the actual value of the horse to which he  
 CH. 5. had denied a meal. Was it the computed value of the  
 horse's grazing?

Judicial  
 procedure,  
 ccclix-  
 cccclxvi.  
 Institu-  
 tion of  
*sacramen-*  
*tales.*

From these pastoral and agricultural provisions we pass to the laws<sup>1</sup> which regulate the judicial procedure of the Lombards. A rude and primitive kind of procedure it was, one from which the barbarous 'wager of battle' was not yet entirely eliminated, but in which that appeal to brute force was being gradually superseded by a rough, but generally effective appeal to the conscience of the accused person and his friends. For we have now to deal with that system of combined swearing to the truth of a fact, or the falsehood of an accusation, which is generally called *compurgation*, and out of which probably sprang the Anglo-Saxon jury. But as the word 'compurgation' is a term of later introduction—unknown, I believe, to any of the barbaric codes—and as the functions of a modern jury are altogether unlike, almost opposed to those of the fellow-swearers of the Lombard law, we shall do well to avoid the use of either term, and confine ourselves to the word *sacramentales*, which is that always used in the Codes not only of the Lombards, but of the Alamanni, the Frisians, and the Bavarians. The Lombard name for these persons seems to have been *Aidos*, a word obviously connected with the Gothic Aiths, the German Eid, and the English Oath, and meaning swearers; but the Lombard legislator writing in Latin prefers to use the words *sacramentum* and *sacramentalis*, connected of course with the modern French *serment*. The principle involved in this judicial process, so unlike our modern ideal of judicial investigation,

<sup>1</sup> ll. 359-366.



but so widely spread through all the Teutonic nations, was evidently this:—One free German warrior accuses another of a certain offence, say of having stolen his horse, or murdered his slave. The accused man denies the fact; a multitude of his friends gather round him, and echo his denial: it seems as if there would be a bloody quarrel between the two parties. In earlier centuries the matter would have been thus settled by the strong hand, but now in the age of the migration of the peoples, a somewhat clearer vision of a possible ‘Reign of Law’ has dawned upon the Teutonic mind. In order to prevent the interminable *faida* (blood-feud) from breaking out upon this trivial occasion, it is ordained that a given number of the friends of each disputant shall by solemn oath, either upon the Holy Gospels or upon their weapons of war consecrated by a Christian priest, assert their belief in the truth of the statements made by him whose cause they favour. It may be said, ‘And how much further does that process carry you? Of course each group will swear till sunset to the truth of its own side of the question.’ Apparently it was not so; there was still much reverence for truth in these rough, Rome-conquering Teutons. They were not like some modern party-politicians, or like a jury of Celtic farmers. They recognised in some degree the inviolable claims of truth, and this old pagan virtue of theirs was reinforced by the awful sanctions of the Church and by the dread of endless torment awaiting him who swore falsely on the Holy Gospels or the consecrated arms. Some rough examination or discussion of the facts of the alleged offence probably took place among the *sacramentales*, and at length it was generally found (this must have been the

BOOK VII. case, or the practice would have fallen into disuse) that  
 CH. 5. on one or other side a 'swearer' yielded to the force of evidence, and admitted either that the plaintiff had failed to make good his attack, or the defendant his defence. When this was done, when either one of the litigants or any of his supporters said 'I no longer dare to swear to the truth of our cause,' then the *sacramentum* was said to be broken, and the beaten party must pay his *guidrigild* if defendant, or if plaintiff must renounce his claim<sup>1</sup>.

These appear to be the general principles which governed the trial by *sacramentum*. It has been already remarked how utterly it differed from the trial by jury, which is in a sense its offspring: The modern juror is chosen expressly as a disinterested and impartial person: the *sacramentales* were chosen because they were friends and relatives of one or other of the litigants. The modern juror is exhorted to dismiss from his mind all previous knowledge that he may have acquired of the case, and to judge only on the evidence before him. The *sacramentalis* judged from his previous knowledge, and almost from that alone. Unanimity is required of a modern English jury, and one obstinate juror who holds out against the remaining eleven is an object of general dislike, and is laboured with till he can be brought to a better mind. The one *sacramentalis* who yielded to conviction, and declared

<sup>1</sup> As the 363rd law of King Rothari says: 'Tunc intelligitur sacramentum esse ruptum quando in praesenti sacrosancta evangelia (*sic*) aut arma sacrata, ipse qui pulsatur cum sacramentalibus suis conjunxerint et non ausus fuerit jurare; et si ipse aut aliquis de sacramentalibus ipsius se subtraxerit, tunc intellegatur sacramentum ruptum esse.'

that he durst not swear to the truth of his principal's assertion, was in the Teutonic institution the hero of the day, and it was his act of 'breaking the *sacramentum*' which decided the right and wrong of the dispute.

Having thus described the general principle of trial by *sacramentum*, let us briefly consider the manner in which such a trial was conducted according to the legislation of Rothari.

As soon as a matter of dispute arose between two free Lombards, the plaintiff (who was called *ille qui pulsat*) called upon the defendant (*ille qui pulsatur*) to furnish security for the satisfaction of his claim. The defendant then gave some material pledge (*wadia*), probably of no great value, and 'found bail,' as we should say, or in other words prevailed on some one of his friends to act as guarantor (*fidejussor*) that the plaintiff's claim should be duly met<sup>1</sup>. Twelve 'nights' (in Teutonic phrase) were allowed him in which to appear and rebut the claim by his oath, and if, by reason of illness or for any other cause, he failed to do so, twelve more nights were allowed, and so on as excuse was pleaded. But if, on one pretext or other, he evaded his obligation for a whole year, judgment went against him by default. And similarly, he who made the claim, if

<sup>1</sup> There was a close connection between the *wadia* and the *fidejussor*, which was apparently this. The *wadia* was deposited as a material evidence of the defendant's liability to meet the plaintiff's claim. He was, however, bound to give more substantial security by finding a solvent *fidejussor* who would go bail for him, and to whom, on his appearance, the *wadia* was handed over to keep till the termination of the suit. See 'Launegild und Wadia' by Dr. Anton Val de Lievre (Innsbruck, 1877), pp. 165-188. (Unfortunately I only met with this treatise while these sheets were passing through the press.)

BOOK VII. he delayed for a whole year to establish it by means of  
 CH. 5. *sacramentales*, lost all right to speak of the claim there-  
 after, and presumably had to restore the *wadia*. For  
 the rule was, 'Let him who is prepared to give the  
*sacramentum* have firm possession of the matter in  
 dispute.' If neither party thus made delay, and the  
 cause came on for trial, it was the duty of the plaintiff  
 (if the case were a grave one, affecting values of 20 solidi  
 or upwards<sup>1</sup>) to nominate six *sacramentales* from among  
 the near kindred of the *defendant*. In thus nominating,  
 however, he might not choose any man who was known  
 to be at enmity with his kinsman—for instance, any  
 one who had struck him a blow, or conspired for his  
 death, or who had *thinged* away property to another  
 to which that kinsman had a claim. The defendant  
 associated himself with these six men, and then appa-  
 rently these seven chose five others, of whom it is only  
 enacted that they should be free men<sup>2</sup>. We should  
 have expected to find that these last five were to be  
 all kinsmen of the plaintiff, to match the six kinsmen  
 of the defendant, but the law is not so written. The  
 group of twelve *sacramentales* thus collected then pro-  
 ceeded to swear as to the rights of the case on the  
 Holy Gospels, and it would seem that they must have  
 gone on swearing until the strain upon the conscience  
 became too great to be borne, and the *sacramentum*

<sup>1</sup> But how if the cause of action were not civil, but criminal? The answer is, that under the system of *guidrigild* every cause (with a few very rare exceptions) was capable of being translated into the language of a civil action.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ad evangelia sacra juret cum xii *aidos* suos, id est sacramentales: ita ut sex illi nominentur ab illo qui pulsatur, et septimus sit ille qui pulsatur, et quinque *quales voluerint liberos*' (l. 359).

was broken by the defendant or one of his kinsmen refusing to swear any longer. If this did not happen, we must suppose that judgment was given for the defendant. Truly a strange way of arriving at truth in litigation, and one which seems unduly to favour the defendant, but in practice it cannot have been a complete failure, or men would not have continued to use it for centuries. If the cause were less important, represented by a value between 12 and 20 solidi (£7 4s. to £12), there were only six *sacramentales*, three chosen by the plaintiff, and two by the defendant, who himself became the sixth. And the whole number swore, not on the Gospels, but on the consecrated arms<sup>1</sup>. If the matter in dispute were of less value than 12 solidi there were only three *sacramentales*, the defendant, the nominee of the plaintiff, and a third chosen by both. They swore simply *ad arma*, apparently without any special religious rite. There are various provisions with which I need not now weary the reader, for the case of the death of a litigant or a *sacramentalis* before the cause was decided, but the following law is worth quoting entire: 'If a man be attacked (*pulsatus*) by another on account of any fault, and denies it, let it be lawful for him to justify himself (*se idonei*) according to the law and the gravity of the accusation (*qualitatem causae*). But if he shall openly proclaim that he committed it, let him pay composition according to that which is set down in this Edict; for it shall not be allowable for any man after he has openly confessed, afterwards to deny by *sacramentum* the guilt which he has once admitted.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ad arma sacrata.' We have, I think, no further information as to the ceremony here alluded to.

BOOK VII. Because we have known many in our kingdom who  
 CH. 5. have set up such wicked contentions. These things have moved us to correct them by the present law and bring them to a better state of mind.'

*Camfio*  
 (wager of  
 battle).

Besides this system of trial by *sacramentales*, there evidently still survived the older and yet more barbarous system of the *camfio*<sup>1</sup>, the warrior who offered what our forefathers called 'wager of battle.' As to this practice the laws unfortunately give us scarcely any information. We are told, however, that certain questions, such as the legitimacy of a son, the murder of a wife by her husband, the right to the *mundium* of a married woman, were to be decided by free *sacramentales*, 'because it appears to us unjust that so grave a matter should be disposed of in battle by the resisting power of one man's shield<sup>2</sup>.' On the other hand, the man who has in anger called a free woman (in another man's *mundium*) a harlot or a witch, if he repeats the charge in cold blood and maintains its truth, must prove it by a *camfio*. The woman accused of plotting the death of her husband may prove her innocence either by the *sacramentum* or by persuading some *camfio* to fight in her behalf.

It was ordained<sup>3</sup> that no *camfio* in going forth to the judicial combat should presume to carry upon his person magical spells<sup>4</sup> or anything of that kind. 'Let him bring only the stipulated arms, and if any suspicion arise that he is privily wearing articles of magic, let

<sup>1</sup> Connected, as was before pointed out, with the modern German *Kampf*, and our *champion*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Quia injustum videtur esse ut tam grandis causa sub uno scuto per pugnam dimittatur' (ll. 164-166).

<sup>3</sup> By l. 368.

<sup>4</sup> 'Maleficia.'

enquiry be made by the judge; and if any such be found upon him, let them be torn out and cast away. And after these enquiries let the *camfio* himself lay his hand in the hand of his comrade<sup>1</sup> in the presence of the judge, and declare in a satisfactory manner<sup>2</sup> that he has nothing pertaining to enchantment on his person. Then let him go to the encounter.'

An important law<sup>3</sup> defines the position of the *ware-gango*, or foreigner who has come to settle in the land 'under the shield of our royal power<sup>4</sup>.' It is declared that men of this class ought to live according to the laws of the Lombards, 'unless they have obtained from our Piety the right to live according to some other law. If they have legitimate sons, let them be their heirs just like the sons of the Lombards; but if they have no legitimate sons, they shall have no power to *thing* away their property, or to alienate it by any other form of conveyance without the king's command.' The language of this law clearly shows that there were other laws besides those of the Lombard invaders prevalent within the peninsula; but here, as in a previous enactment, 'living according to the laws of the Lombards' seems to be spoken of as rather a duty than a privilege. Probably the explanation at any rate of this law is, that the king's court was determined to keep its grasp on the property of these wealthy *waregangi* in the event, perhaps a frequent event, of their dying without legitimate male issue.

This tendency of the king's court to enforce and

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

*Waregango*  
(privi-  
leged  
alien),  
ccclxvii.

<sup>1</sup> 'Conlibertus' here apparently = 'backer' or 'second.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Ante judicem satisfaciens dicat.'

<sup>3</sup> l. 367.

<sup>4</sup> The *waregango* of Lombard law is the *μέτρονος* of Athenian, the *peregrinus* of Roman law.

BOOK VII exaggerate all pecuniary claims against the private  
 CH. 5. individual (a tendency which may be partly excused

Claims of  
 the king's  
 exchequer,  
 cccxix-  
 cccxxiii.

by the fact that apparently there was no regular system of taxation in the Lombard state) is further manifested by laws 369 to 373. In all cases in which the king is interested as plaintiff, the composition payable to him is to be double that payable to a subject, the only exceptions being that of forcible abduction and marriage of a woman, or murder, in both of which the already heavy fine of 900 solidi is not to be exceeded. If a slave of the king commit murder, the king's court will pay the prescribed *guidrigild*, and the slave will then be hung over the dead man's grave; but in all cases involving the fine of 900 solidi the king's court is not to be called upon to pay the fine, though the slave will incur the risk of capital punishment.

Then, further, for the protection of the officers of the court who are executing the orders of their lord, it is enacted that if a *sculdhaizo* (which we may perhaps translate 'justice of the peace') or other agent of the king<sup>1</sup> is killed or assaulted in the performance of his duty, the offender shall, over and above the ordinary *guidrigild*, pay a fine of 80 solidi (£48) to the king's court<sup>2</sup>. But in order to guard against those abuses of official position for the sake of private gain, which in the days of the Roman Republic made the government of the provinces a byword, it was enacted that no *gastaldius*<sup>3</sup> receiving any gift by *gairethinx* from a private person during his tenure of office should be allowed to retain such gift except by a special 'precept of the

<sup>1</sup> 'Actor regis.'

<sup>2</sup> l. 374.

<sup>3</sup> Revenue officer or Royal Intendant.



king's indulgence.' Without such express sanction any property acquired by him during his administration went straight into the grasp of the king's court<sup>1</sup>.

The Lombards, as may be discerned from the character of their early sagas related to us by Paulus, were a somewhat superstitious people, haunted by the fearful and shadowy forebodings of the German forest-life, and especially afraid of the mysterious might of women who were in league with the powers of darkness. Hence the words *striga*<sup>2</sup> and *masca*, signifying 'witch,' were terms of deadliest insult; and it was ordained (as we have seen) that any man (except a father or a brother) who had the *mundium* of a woman, forfeited that profitable guardianship if he called her by either of these opprobrious names<sup>3</sup>. Apparently some of the strange old superstitions about blood-sucking vampires increased the horror of these words, for, says the legislator, 'Let no one presume to kill another man's *Aldia* or female slave on the ground of her being a *striga*, which is commonly called *masca*. It is a thing not to be conceived of by Christian minds as possible that a woman can eat a living man from inside him. Therefore the penalty for any such offence shall be 60 solidi (£36), in addition to the ordinary *guidrigild*; half of the fine to go to the owner, and half to the king's court. And if any judge shall have ordered the man to do that wicked deed, he

Lombard  
supersti-  
tions:  
vampires  
and  
witches,  
ccclxxvi.

<sup>1</sup> l. 375.

<sup>2</sup> *Strega* is still the regular Italian word for witch, and was applied by the common people of Florence to a recent illustrious visitor to their city, because no rain fell during her residence there.

<sup>3</sup> l. 198.

BOOK VII. shall pay the above-written penalty out of his own  
 CH. 5. pocket<sup>1</sup>.

A brawl-  
 ing wo-  
 man,  
 ceclxxviii.

Some curious belated laws about the fines for various forms of bodily injury form the conclusion of the Code. I will not describe them here, but will end with one strange provision as to the death of a 'brawling woman':—

'If a free woman rushes into a brawl<sup>2</sup> where men are striving, and receives a wound or a blow, or is slain, she shall be paid for according to her nobility<sup>3</sup>; and the composition shall be so paid as if it had been the woman's brother against whom the offence had been committed. No further blame [on account of her being a woman] shall be attached to the offender, nor shall the [regular] fine of 900 solidi be exacted, seeing that she herself rushed into the quarrel, because it is an indecent thing for a woman so to do<sup>4</sup>.'

'Com-  
 pounded  
 for accord-  
 ing to his  
 price' (?).

It will be seen that here the expression is used that the slain woman is to be compounded for 'according to her nobility;' and in several of the laws of Rothari, especially the later laws, we have a similar expression: 'let him be compounded for according to his computed price' (*sicut appreciatus fuerit*). These words raise one of the most difficult questions in connection with Lombard jurisprudence. In most of these barbarian codes, as is well known, we have a nicely graduated table of social distinctions, with corresponding varieties

<sup>1</sup> l. 376.

<sup>2</sup> 'In scandalum cucurrerit' (l. 378).

<sup>3</sup> 'Apprecietur secundum nobilitatem suam.'

<sup>4</sup> By law 201 it is provided that if any one *asto animo* (with malice prepense) kills a free woman he shall pay 1200 solidi. It is suggested by Davoud Oghlou (ii. 20) that this is made up of 900 fine, and 300 *guidrigild*. Troya (iv. 2. 357) suspects the error of a copyist.

in the *weregild*<sup>1</sup> paid for each. Thus according to the Alamannic Code, the life of a member of the most noble class (*priorissimus Alamannus*) is appraised at 240 solidi; of the middle class of nobility (*medianus Alamannus*) at 200 solidi; of the *minoflidis*, or simple free man, at 160 solidi. Among the Salian Franks the murderer of an *antrustion* or *grafion* (men belonging to the two highest classes of nobility) had to pay 600 solidi; of a *sagibaron* or legal assessor of the court 600 or 300 solidi, according to his rank; and of a Roman *conviva regis* (king's guest) 300 solidi. Among the Ripuarian Franks the *weregild* of a bishop was 900 solidi; of a priest 600; of a deacon 500; of a sub-deacon 400; and so in several other instances. Now these words, 'according to her nobility,' and 'as he shall have been appraised,' clearly point to some such gradations of *guidrigild* among the Lombards also, but it is not easy to find it in the Code. We have, it is true, the distinction between the compositions for a free man, an *Aldius*, and a slave, but there the differentiation apparently ends. What is the reason of this strange silence? An Italian commentator<sup>2</sup>, whose main thesis is the utter subjugation and servitude of the Romans under the Lombard yoke, maintains that the silence was intentional, and veiled one of the state secrets (*arcana imperii*) of the conquerors. He calls that secret the *variable guidrigild*, and asserts that the composition to be paid for a slain Lombard noble being written down in no code, remained hidden in the breast of the governor, and might be imposed by him according to his will. This *variable guidrigild* he asserts to have been one of the

<sup>1</sup> = *guidrigild*.

<sup>2</sup> Troya, iv. 2. 377.

BOOK VII. main instruments used by the conquering tribe to  
 CH. 5. keep their vanquished neighbours in a state of semi-servitude. This theory may be true, but I confess that I have not yet met with any adequate proof of it. To me it seems more probable, either that the tariff of composition for a slain or wounded noble has been omitted for some reason or other by the copyists of Rothari's manuscript, or that it was never inserted in the Code because it was so well known to all men that its rehearsal seemed unnecessary.

Rothari's  
 Perora-  
 tion.

We come now at last to the conclusion of the whole matter; to the 'Peroration of King Rothari,' which, like the Prologue, shall be translated in full<sup>1</sup> :—

'We now confirm this Edict, which by God's grace we have composed after earnest study and long vigils. By the Divine favour we have persevered in our task, enquiring into and calling to remembrance the ancient laws of our fathers. Those which were not written we have nevertheless learned; and we have added to them those things which seemed to be expedient for the common welfare of all, and of our own race [in particular]; acting herein with the advice and by the consent of the nobles, the judges, and all our most prosperous army<sup>2</sup>; and we now order them to be written down on this parchment, with this one reservation, that all things which by the Divine clemency have been ascertained by our own accurate enquiry, or which old men have been able to remember concerning the ancient laws of the Lombards, are to be

<sup>1</sup> But translation must be partly paraphrase, for the construction of the king's sentences is hopelessly bad.

<sup>2</sup> 'Pari consilio parique consensum (*sic*) cum primatibus iudicibus, cunctoque felicissimo exercitu augentes constituimus.'

subjoined to this Edict<sup>1</sup>. We add, moreover, hereto our confirmation by *gairethinx*, that this law may be firm and enduring, and that both in our own most prosperous times and in all time to come it may be kept inviolably by all our successors.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 5.

‘Here ends the law which King Rothari with his noble judges<sup>2</sup> has renewed.’

There is, however, appended to the Edict a provision that all causes already decided shall be left undisturbed, but that any which are still in progress on that twenty-second day of November, of the second Indiction (643), shall be decided according to the provisions of the Edict. Also that no copies of the Edict are to be deemed authentic but those which are written or attested by the hand of Answald the notary.

Thus then did King Rothari, standing on a spear, or holding a spear in his hand, in the assembly of the chiefs of his nation in the palace at Pavia, solemnly confirm by the ceremony of *gairethinx* the Code which contained the laws and customs of his barbaric forefathers, with such additions as the statesmen of his kingdom, after seventy-six years of residence on the soil of Italy, deemed it advisable to append thereto. But he and they were dwelling in a land which had witnessed the birth and development through nearly a thousand years of the most comprehensive and the

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the missing table of *guidrigilds* for men of higher rank than the simple free man, which seems necessary for the explanation of the words ‘*sicut appretiatus fuerit*,’ was part of the legislation, which according to this proviso was to be afterwards appended to the Edict.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Cum primatos iudices suos.’

BOOK VII. most scientific system of jurisprudence that the world  
CH. 5. has yet seen. The Roman Law, as codified by Justinian, was then in force at Ravenna and at Naples, as it is now, with necessary modifications, in force at New Orleans and at Batavia. Yet to this Code, one of the most splendid achievements of the human intellect, King Rothari and his peers do not refer in one line of their Edict. Their only mention of the great name of Rome, as has been already pointed out, is in that passage where an injury done to a Roman female slave is assessed at a lower rate than a similar injury to her Teutonic fellow-sufferer. And so the Lombard invaders, like children, repeat the lessons which they have learned from their forefathers of the forest, and try to fit in their barbarous law terms into the stately but terribly misused language of Latium. Throughout, Roman ideas, Roman rights, the very existence of a Roman population, are not so much menaced or invaded, as calmly ignored. The Code of Rothari, promulgated on the sacred soil of Italy, in a land which had once witnessed the promulgation of the Code, the Institutes, and the Digest of Justinian, is like the black tent of the Bedouin pitched amid the colonnades of some stately Syrian temple, whose ruined glories touch no responsive chord in the soul of the swart barbarian.

## CHAPTER VI.

### GRIMWALD AND CONSTANS.

#### Authorities.

##### *Sources* :—

PAULUS; the LIBER PONTIFICALIS (otherwise called 'Anastasius'); and, for the sufferings of Pope Martin, a contemporary document called 'Commemoratio eorum quae saeviter et sine Dei respectu acta sunt . . . in sanctum et apostolicum novum revera Confessorem et Martyrem Martinum papam.' I take my quotations from this document from Baronius.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.

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##### *Guides* :—

'Imperatori e Papi,' by *Bart. Malfatti*, an admirable sketch of the mutual relations of the Emperors and the Popes.

*Bury's* History of the Later Roman Empire (London, 1889).

THE central figure of Lombard history in the seventh century is (as I have already said) King Grimwald. It is true that his reign (662-671) was not a long one, but it was filled with important events, and included the most serious encounter with the power of the Eastern Empire that had been witnessed since Alboin entered Italy. Moreover, the events of his early and middle life attached a kind of romantic interest to his

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.

Early  
years of  
Grimwald.

He suc-  
ceeds to  
the duke-  
dom of  
Benevento,  
647.

career which powerfully affected the imaginations of his countrymen. No name, we may safely say, except those of Alboin and Authari, was dearer to the Lombard minstrel than that of Grimwald, and if he has therefore invested him with a robe of beautiful *Saga*, every fold of which may not accurately correspond to the truth of history, we can easily pardon the illusion for the sake of at last finding a man who is something more than a mere name in a pedigree. Telling the tale as it is told us by Paulus, I have already related<sup>1</sup> how Grimwald, son of Gisulf, duke of Friuli, was carried captive by one of the terrible Avar horsemen,—how, though little more than a child, he slew his unsuspecting captor and rejoined his flying brethren; how, after his two elder brothers had been basely assassinated at Opitergium by a treacherous Exarch, Grimwald and his brother Radwald, disdaining to be subject to their uncle, who succeeded to the duchy of Friuli, betook themselves to the court of the old friend of their family, Arichis, duke of Benevento. It has also been told<sup>2</sup> how Aio, the hypochondriac son of Arichis, after a short reign (641–642) was slain by the Slavonian invaders, and how he was succeeded by his kinsman and friend, Radwald (642–647), and he in turn by Grimwald, who reigned for fifteen years (647–662) as duke of Benevento. We have now to trace the course of events which made the fugitive prince of Friuli and the guest-friend of Benevento king in the palace at Pavia, and lord of all Lombard Italy.

Rothari, the legislator of the Lombards, died in the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 53–55 and 58–61.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 79–81.



year 652<sup>1</sup>, and was succeeded by his son RODWALD<sup>2</sup>, whose short and inglorious reign (of five months and seven days) was ended by the sword or the dagger of a Lombard whose wife he had seduced<sup>3</sup>. He was succeeded by ARIPERT, nephew of the great queen Theudelinda, whose family, as has been before said, was the stock from whence most of the Lombard kings were drawn throughout the seventh century. Of the reign of Aripert, which lasted nearly nine years (653-661), all that we learn is that he built, adorned, and richly endowed a church in honour of the Saviour outside the western gate of Pavia, which was called Marenca<sup>4</sup>. On his death he was succeeded by his

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.

Rodwald  
king of the  
Lombards,  
652.

Aripert I,  
king, 653-  
661.

<sup>1</sup> Paulus tells us (H. L. iv. 47) in connection with the death of Rothari a story of the plunder of his grave in the basilica of St. John the Baptist, probably at Monza. St. John appeared to the robber in the visions of the night, and sternly rebuked him for violating the grave of one who, though not a true believer, had commended himself to the saints' protection. Thereafter whensoever the criminal sought to enter St. John's Church, he was struck on the throat by a blow as if from a very strong fist, and rushed back discomfited. This portent was related to Paulus by an eyewitness.

<sup>2</sup> Not to be confounded with Radwald, brother of Grimwald, whose name is also spelt Rodwald.

<sup>3</sup> In connection with Rodwald we have on two points to distrust the authority of our usually trustworthy guide Paulus. (1) He makes him, instead of his father, the husband of Gundiperga, about whom he tells the story of her slandered honour, and its vindication in single combat by 'proprius servus ejus Carellus.' All this is evidently transposed from the reign of Rothari. (2) He makes the duration of Rodwald's reign 'five years and seven days.' It is generally agreed that *annis* here is a mistake for *mensibus*.

<sup>4</sup> This gate, now unfortunately replaced by one of modern date called the Porta di Borgoratto, was perhaps named after the Marici, one of the two Gaulish tribes (the other was the Laevi)

BOOK VII  
CH. 6.

Perctarit  
and Gode-  
pert, 661-  
662.

Civil war  
between  
the bro-  
thers.

Grim-  
wald's in-  
tervention  
solicited  
by Gari-  
pald.

March of  
Grim-  
wald.

two sons, PERCTARIT<sup>1</sup> and GODEPERT, who reigned, the one at Milan and the other at Pavia<sup>2</sup>. It was the first time that the Lombards had tried the Frankish plan of a royal partnership; and that without the justification which might be supposed to exist in the case of the vast Frankish Empire, for the two royal cities of the Lombards were only twelve miles asunder. The experiment answered as ill with the sons of Aripert as with any of the fratricidal posterity of Clovis. Jealousies and suspicions soon arose between the two brother kings, and the discord, fanned by artful councillors on both sides, broke out into an open flame of war. Hereupon, Godepert sent Garipald, duke of Turin, to sue for the help of Grimwald, duke of Benevento, promising him the hand of his sister as a reward for his championship. But Garipald, dealing deceitfully with his master, suggested to Grimwald that he should himself strike a blow for the Lombard crown, pointing out, with some truth, that a strong, experienced and fore-seeing ruler like himself would be better for the nation of the Lombards than these weak youths who were wasting the strength of the realm by their unnatural contest. The temptation was listened to, and Grimwald, having nominated his son Romwald to the duchy of Benevento, set forth for Pavia with a chosen band of warriors. Everywhere on the road he gathered friends and helpers for his now scarcely veiled designs on the supreme power. Transamund, count of Capua, being sent through the who, according to Pliny, H. N. iii. 17, were the founders of Ticinum.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently nearly allied to the Anglo-Saxon name Berhtred, and to the Frankish Berthar.

<sup>2</sup> See genealogy on p. 148.

regions of Spoleto and Tuscany, collected a band of zealous adherents in those two duchies, with whom he met Grimwald on the Aemilian Way. So the host, with ambiguous purpose, rolled on through the valley of the Po; and when Grimwald had reached Piacenza, he sent the traitorous Garipald to announce his coming to Godepert. 'And where shall I receive him?' asked the inexperienced and misdoubting king. 'You have promised him the hand of your sister,' answered Garipald, 'and cannot do less than assign him quarters in the palace. Notwithstanding, when the solemn interview takes place between you, it might be prudent to put on a coat of mail under your royal robes, for I fear that he has designs on your life.' With similar words did the cunning deceiver poison the mind of Grimwald: 'Go to the interview well armed; be vigilant; I doubt the designs of Godepert. I hear that he wears a coat of mail under his mantle.' Accordingly, Grimwald and his followers entered the palace of Pavia, and on the next day the duke of Benevento was ushered into the hall of audience. The two men met apparently in friendly embrace, but even in the act of embracing, Grimwald felt the coat of mail under the regal mantle of his host. The dark suggestions of Garipald seemed in that moment to be verified; and, slaying that he might not be slain, he drew his sword and killed the hapless Godepert. All disguise was then thrown off, and GRIMWALD reigned as king in Pavia. The infant son of Godepert, named Raginpert, was conveyed away to some safe hiding-place by the trusty servants of the late king, and Grimwald, despising his tender years, made no effort to arrest him.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.

662.

Death of  
Godepert.Grimwald  
king of the  
Lombards,  
662-671.

BOOK VII.

CH. 6.

662.  
Flight of  
Perctarit.

When Perctarit, reigning at Milan, heard the tidings of his brother's murder, fearing that he would be the next victim, he left the country with all speed and sought refuge at the barbarous court of the Khan of the Avars. His wife Rodelinda and his little son Cunincpert fell into the hands of Grimwald, who sent them for safe-keeping to Benevento. Except for the one foul deed, the murder of Godepert, into which he was entrapped by the perfidious counsels of Garipald, the hands of Grimwald were unstained by innocent blood.

Assassina-  
tion of  
Garipald.

As for Garipald, the contriver of all this wickedness<sup>1</sup>, he did not long rejoice in the success of his schemes. He had indeed deceived his employers all round, for he had embezzled some part of the presents which he had been ordered to carry to Benevento<sup>2</sup>. The discovery of this fraud would probably before long have alienated from him the new king's favour, but more speedy vengeance overtook him. A certain dwarfish retainer of Godepert, born at Turin, burned to avenge the murder of his master. Knowing that Duke Garipald was coming on Easter Day to pray in the basilica of St. John<sup>3</sup>, he hid himself in the church, climbing up above the baptistery, and holding on by his left arm to the column which supported the canopy<sup>4</sup>. When

<sup>1</sup> In the minstrels' songs evidently Garipald was always used as the villain of the story. He is, in the words of Paulus, 'totius nequitiae seminator,' 'fallendi artifex,' 'talium operum patrator' (H. L. iv. 51).

<sup>2</sup> This appears to be the meaning of the words of Paulus, 'dum munera, quae deferre Beneventum debuerat, non integra deportasset.'

<sup>3</sup> At Pavia? I think so, but it is not clearly stated by Paulus.

<sup>4</sup> 'Super sacrum baptisterii fontem conscendens, laevaque manu

the duke entered the church the little Turinese drew his sword, but kept it concealed under his robes. As soon as Garipald came under the place of his hiding, up flew the robe, out flashed the sword, wielded with all the strength of which the dwarf was capable, and the head of Garipald rolled on the pavement of St. John's basilica. All the followers of the duke rushed upon the dwarf, and pierced him with many wounds. But the little champion died happy, for he had avenged his master.

Grimwald, now, without a rival, king of all the Lombards, took for his second wife the sister of the slain Godepert, who had been betrothed to him before he set out from Benevento. He was probably twice as old as his new queen, but he was a man who, if there had not been that stain of kindred blood upon his hands, might have won the love even of a young bride. Tall, with wellknit limbs, with bald head and full flowing beard, he was, by the admission of all, a man of absolutely dauntless courage, and as great in counsel as in war<sup>1</sup>. Secure in the affections of the Northern Lombards, he sent back the mass of his Beneventan army to their homes, enriched by great gifts, but retained a few of the leaders at his court, endowing them with large possessions.

But though Grimwald was not by nature cruel or suspicious, the thought of the exile Perctarit could

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.

Grimwald's  
second  
marriage.

Embassies  
about the  
exile Perctarit.

se ad columellam (*al.* columnellum) tugurii continens.' *Tugurii* seems to be a corrupt reading for *tegorii*; *tegorium*, according to Ducange, is nearly equivalent to *ciborium*.

<sup>1</sup> 'Fuit autem corpore praevalidus, audaciâ primus, calvo capite, barbâ prominenti, non minus consilio quam viribus decoratus' (Paulus, H. L. v. 33).

BOOK VII. not but sometimes threaten the solidity of his throne.  
CH. 6.

He sent an embassy to the Khan of the Avars, offering him a *modius*<sup>1</sup> full of golden coins if he would surrender the fugitive into his hands. But the barbarian, who had sworn by his idol to Perctarit that he would never abandon him to his foes, replied, 'Without doubt the gods would slay me if I sacrifice this man whom I have sworn in their presence to protect<sup>2</sup>.'

Another embassy came, not this time offering gold, but warning the Khan that the peace which had now long time subsisted between the Avars and the Lombards would not endure unless Perctarit departed from his borders. Evidently the Avars were weaker<sup>3</sup>, or the Lombards stronger, than in the day when Grimwald's own home was ravaged, and himself all but carried into captivity by these terrible barbarians from the Danube. And now the Khan, while still

<sup>1</sup> About a quarter of a bushel.

<sup>2</sup> We get the story of this embassy from the life of St. Wilfrid, whose enemies sought to draw King Perctarit into their schemes against him when he was travelling in Italy many years after the events with which we are now dealing. King Perctarit himself tells the story. 'Fui aliquando in die juventutis meae exul de patria expulsus sub pagano quodam rege Hunnorum degens, qui iniit mecum foedus in deo suo idolo, ut nunquam me inimicis prodidisset vel dedisset. Et post spatium temporis venerunt ad regem paganum sermone inimicorum meorum nuncii, promittentes sibi dare sub jurejurando solidorum aureorum modium plenum, si me illis ad interneconem dedisset. Quibus non consentiens dixit "Sine dubio dii vitam succidant, si hoc piaculum facio irritans pactum deorum meorum"' (Life of St. Wilfrid by Eddius, quoted by Waitz in his edition of the *Historia Langobardorum*).

<sup>3</sup> Probably this was the case. The revolt of the Bulgarians against the Avars must have considerably weakened their power. (See Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, ii. 333.)

faithful to the oath which he had sworn in the presence of his idol, and refusing to surrender Perctarit to his foes, appealed to the generosity of his guest to go whither he would, but not to involve him in war with the Lombards. Thus adjured, Perctarit determined to return to Italy, and throw himself on the clemency of the new king, for all men said that Grimwald was merciful. Having arrived at Lodi, he sent forward a faithful henchman named Unulf, who announced to Grimwald Perctarit's approaching arrival, and received an assurance that since he thus trusted to the king's honour, he should suffer no harm. When admitted to the royal presence Perctarit sought to throw himself at Grimwald's feet, but was gently restrained from that humiliation, and received the kiss of peace. Said Perctarit, 'I am thy servant. Knowing thee to be most Christian and kind, I determined, instead of continuing to dwell amongst Pagans, to trust thy clemency, and come to throw myself at thy feet.' The king renewed his promise, and sealed it with his accustomed oath: 'By Him who gave me life, since thou hast come into mine allegiance, no harm shall happen to thee, and I will arrange that thou shalt have the means of living in comfort.' He then invited the weary fugitive to rest in a spacious dwelling, ordering that all his needs should be sumptuously supplied from the public treasury. But when Perctarit reached the guest-house provided for him by the king, troops of the citizens of Pavia waited upon him to renew their old acquaintance. Whispering tongues reported these visits to Grimwald, assuring him that Perctarit was forming so large a party in the city that he would undoubtedly deprive

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.Perctarit's  
return.

BOOK VII. the reigning king of his crown and life together.

CH. 6.

The banquet.

Again Grimwald listened to the fatal suggestion, 'Slay or be slain,' and forgetful of his sworn promise, began to plan the death of the innocent and unsuspecting Perctarit. The deed was to be done on the morrow, and meanwhile Perctarit was to be intoxicated that he might not perceive his danger and escape. A great banquet was prepared in Perctarit's dwelling, and was shared by many guests. Costly meats and various kinds of wine were brought from the king's table to Perctarit, and he feasted right royally. But one of his father's old servants bringing to the guest a portion from the royal table, bowed so low in salutation that his head went below the board, and then whispered, 'The king has a purpose to slay you.' At once Perctarit gave a sign to the butler who waited upon him to fill his silver goblet with water only. Messenger after messenger brought generous wines from the king, and Perctarit seemed to drink them eagerly, while really imbibing only water. The servants carried back to the king the tidings that Perctarit was drinking heavily, to which Grimwald coarsely replied, 'Let that drunkard drink to-day: to-morrow he will disgorge the wine mingled with blood.' Meanwhile Perctarit found means to communicate with Unulf, and tell him of the impending danger. Then Unulf sent a servant to his own house with orders to bring his bedding from thence, and spread his couch beside that of Perctarit. The guards whom Grimwald had by this time stationed to watch the doors of Perctarit's abode saw the slave enter with the bedding, and then after the supper was ended and all the other guests departed, they saw Unulf



emerge, attended apparently by a young slave, whose head and neck were covered by the bed-clothes, the counterpane and the bearskin, under the weight of which he staggered. His brutal master urged him on with blows and curses, and more than once the overloaded youth fell to the ground while trying to escape from the blows. When they came to the place where the king's sentries were posted, these naturally enquired what was the matter. 'My rascal of a slave,' said Unulf, 'spread my couch in the chamber of that tipsy Perctarit, who has filled himself with wine, and now lies like a corpse on the floor. But I have followed his mad courses long enough. So long as my lord the king lives, I shall henceforward stay in my own house.' When the guards heard this they were glad, and let Unulf and the slave (who of course was Perctarit in disguise) pass without further question. Meanwhile Perctarit's valet<sup>1</sup>, who was the only other person that had been left in the house, made fast the door, and all was settled for the night. But Unulf let Perctarit down by a rope from a corner of the city wall overlooking the river Ticinus, and he, meeting with some of his friends, galloped away with them on some horses which they found grazing in the meadows, and the same night reached the city of Asti<sup>2</sup>, which had not yet submitted to Grimwald, but still held out for the lost cause. Thence one rapid journey to Turin; and the fugitive disappeared over the ridges of the Alps into the friendly country of the Franks. 'Thus,' says Paulus, 'did Almighty God

Perctarit's  
escape.

<sup>1</sup> *Vestiarius*.

<sup>2</sup> The same which Alaric besieged unsuccessfully in 401; see vol. i. p. 284 (713, 2nd edition).

BOOK VII. by His merciful providence deliver an innocent man  
CH. 6. from death, and at the same time preserve from blood-guiltiness a king who really desired to do what was right.'

The mor-  
 row of the  
 escape.

Morning came; the guards still paced up and down before the dwelling of Perctarit; at last the messengers of the king came and knocked at the door. The valet answered from within, 'Have pity on him, and let him sleep a little longer, for he is weary with his journey and is wrapped in deep slumber.' The messengers returned and told their tale to the king, who at once attributed Perctarit's heavy sleep to the potations of the preceding evening. 'But it is time to rouse him now, and bring him to the palace,' said the king. The messengers returned, knocked louder at the door, and were again entreated by the valet to let his master sleep a little longer. 'The drunkard has slept long enough,' said they in a rage, kicked open the door of the chamber, and rushed to the bedside. Finding no Perctarit there, and having hunted for him all over the house, they asked the valet what had become of his master. 'He has fled,' said the servant, who saw that further evasion was impossible. In their fury they seized him by the hair, and with many blows they dragged him into the presence of the king, clamouring loudly for his death as an accomplice in the flight of Perctarit. But the king ordered them to loosen their hold of the prisoner, and commanded him to tell the whole story of the escape. When the tale was ended, Grimwald said to the bystanders, 'What think you ought to be done to the man who has wrought such a deed as this?' They all with one voice exclaimed that 'killing was not enough for him, but he

ought to be put to death with many torments.' 'By Him who gave me life,' said Grimwald, 'the man is worthy of great honour who feared not to expose himself to death for the sake of his master. Let him be taken into my service as a valet.' And with that he promised him great gifts, exhorting him to render to himself the same faithful service that he had rendered to his late lord. Unulf, for whom the king then enquired, had taken refuge in the church of St. Michael, but, receiving the royal promise of his safety, came forth, entered the palace, and threw himself at the feet of the king. From him, too, Grimwald would fain learn the whole story of the escape, and when he heard it he greatly commended his prudence and fidelity, and issued an order that he should be left undisturbed in the possession of all his property<sup>1</sup>. After some time had elapsed, the king asked Unulf whether he now ever regretted not being with Perctarit, to which he answered with a solemn oath that he would rather die with Perctarit than live anywhere else in uttermost delights. The valet gave the same answer when asked whether he would rather be with the king in his palace or with his late master in his wanderings. Their words met with a kindly reception from Grimwald, who praised their loyalty to their lord, and bade Unulf take from his palace what he would, slaves or horses or household furniture, and hasten to the master of his choice. The valet, too, received the same gracious dismissal, and with the help of the king's safe-conduct,

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps bestowed upon him the property of Perctarit. 'At ille cum ei cuncta ex ordine retulisset, rex ejus fidem et prudentiam conlaudans, omnes ejus(?) facultates et quicquid habere poterat eidem clementer concessit' (H. L. v. 3).

BOOK VII. and loaded with his generous presents, they entered  
 CH. 6. France, and were again with their beloved Perctarit<sup>1</sup>.

Frankish  
 invasion.

It may possibly have been the flight of Perctarit into Frankish territory that disturbed the peaceful relations of the two kingdoms; but, whatever was the cause, an army of the Franks, the first that had been seen in Italy in that century, crossed the Maritime Alps, and threatened the throne of Grimwald. They were defeated by an easy stratagem, which speaks ill for the discipline to which they had been subjected. Grimwald having pitched his camp near to theirs, feigned panic and flight, leaving his tents with all their treasures, and especially with good store of wine, open to the invaders. They came, they plundered, they drank, and at night, while they were stretched in the heavy slumber of drunkenness, Grimwald and his warriors came upon them and slew so great a multitude that few found their way back to their own land. The slaughter—battle it can hardly be called—took place at Frenchmen's River, a village not far from the walls of Asti. Thus the 'walls of avenging Asta,' as Claudian called them, a second time witnessed the repulse of an invader<sup>2</sup>.

Emperor  
 Constans  
 II. 642-  
 668.

But a more formidable foe than the weak Merovingian king or his Mayor of the Palace was to trouble the repose of Lombard Italy. Constans II, the grandson of Heraclius, and the heir of his grandfather's fitful

<sup>1</sup> 'Qui omnia sua secundum benignitatem regis sufficienter tolerant, cum ejusdem regis adjutoris Francorum in patriam *ad suum dilectum* Perctarit sunt profecti' (H. L. v. 4).

<sup>2</sup> 'Qui locus, ubi hoc gestum est proelium, *Francorum* usque hodie *Rirus* appellatur, nec longe distat ab Astensis civitatulæ moenibus' H. L. v. 5. The fact that the battle was fought near Asti looks as if that place were still holding out for Perctarit.

energy and of some of his grandfather's genius, conceived the idea of becoming in fact as well as in name Emperor of Rome. It will be desirable here briefly to retrace the earlier stages of his career, and at the same time to take up some dropped stitches in the history of the Popes and Exarchs during the years preceding his invasion of Italy. Constans II (or, as he is more correctly called, Constantine IV) was born in the year 631, and in 642, when only a boy of eleven, found himself by the death of his father<sup>1</sup>, the dethronement of his uncle<sup>2</sup>, and the exile of his grandfather's widow, the ambitious and unscrupulous Martina, sole Emperor of the Romans. A military *pronunciamento* had prepared the way for his accession, but in the speech which he made to the Senate of Constantinople after the downfall of his rivals, he expressed his desire that he might have the Senators as his counsellors, and judges of that which should be for the welfare of his subjects<sup>3</sup>. This probably means that during the early years of his sovereignty the government was practically in the hands of a council of regency composed of the leading members of the Senate. Constans, however, grew up into a strong, self-willed man, and we may presume that while yet in early manhood he brushed aside his senatorial counsellors, and 'governed as well as reigned.' He could not wholly arrest—probably not the strongest of his Imperial predecessors could have arrested—the onrush of the children of Arabia, who wrested Armenia from the Empire, and made a temporary conquest of Cyprus and Rhodes. But he

<sup>1</sup> Constantine III.<sup>2</sup> Heracleonas.<sup>3</sup> διὸ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς ἔχειν συμβούλους καὶ γνώμονας τῆς κοινῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων σωτηρίας (Theophanes, A.M. 6134).

BOOK VII. fought in person in the great naval engagement with  
 CH. 6. the Saracens off the coast of Lycia, in which, though  
 655. defeated and compelled to fly for his life, he seems to  
 have inflicted enough damage on the enemy to prevent  
 their fulfilling their intention of besieging Constanti-  
 656. nople. Shortly afterwards came that great schism  
 between the two rival claimants for the caliphate, Ali  
 and Moawjyah, which still rends the Moslem world  
 asunder, and which gave a welcome breathing-time to  
 the hard-pressed champions of the Empire.

Ecclesiastical  
 position of  
 Constans.

In ecclesiastical matters Constans II showed himself  
 a hard-headed, unsympathetic, indifferent man of the  
 world, determined that his Empire should not be  
 harassed, if he could help it, by the speculative con-  
 troversy which his grandfather had unwisely raised  
 about the divine and human wills of Jesus Christ.  
 638. The *Ecthesis* of his grandfather Heraclius had asserted  
 the Monothelete doctrine, or as it is now decided to be,  
 the Monothelete heresy, that there was but one will  
 in the heart of the Saviour, and this doctrine had been  
 eagerly upheld by successive Patriarchs of Constanti-  
 nople, and as eagerly denounced by successive Popes  
 of Rome<sup>1</sup>. Popes and Patriarchs were excommunicating  
 each other—in one case, to give greater solemnity to

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of Honorius I (625-638), the champion  
 of the weak-brained Lombard, King Adalwald (see p. 158), who in  
 his letter to Sergius the Patriarch of Constantinople (634) gave  
 what seems like a hesitating assent to Monothelete doctrine, and  
 whose memory was anathematised accordingly at the Sixth  
 General Council (680-681), though to modern feeling any alleged  
 slip which he may have made on an abstruse point of technical  
 theology is more than compensated by this Pope's obvious desire  
 to silence vain debate on a subject so inconceivable by man, and  
 so absolutely without relation to practical Christian life.

the transaction, the Pope descended to the crypt which contained the body of St. Peter, and dipped his pen in the consecrated chalice, that he might thus write the damnation of his enemy in the blood of Christ<sup>1</sup>—and all the miserable wrangle of the Monophysite controversy seemed about to be renewed with greater bitterness than ever, at a time when the very existence of Christianity and of the Empire was threatened by the swords of the followers of Mohammed. Utterly weary of the whole dispute, and sympathising apparently neither with his Monothelete grandfather nor with his Dyothelete father, the young Emperor Constans (he was then but seventeen years of age) ordered the removal of the *Ecthesis* from the doors of the great church at Constantinople, and put forth the famous document called the *Type*, in which he attempted the impossible task of imposing silence on warring theologians. 'Inspired by Almighty God,' said Constans, 'we have determined to extinguish the flame of this controversy, and will not allow it any longer to prey upon the souls of men. The Sacred Scriptures, the works of the Fathers, the decrees of the Five General Councils are enough for us. Why should men seek to define beyond these? Therefore no one shall be allowed to speak of one will and one operation, or of two wills and two operations in the person of Christ.'

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.  
648.

The *Type* of  
Constans,  
648.

<sup>1</sup> This profane act was perpetrated by Pope Theodore (648) in reference to the excommunication of Pyrrhus, twice Patriarch of Constantinople (Theophanes, A.M. 6121). Under this year Theophanes gives a summary view of the whole Monotheletic controversy, from which, however, he strangely omits all mention of the *Type* of Constans. Baronius doubts the story of the pen dipped in sacramental wine, which is not mentioned by any other writer than Theophanes.

BOOK VII. Any one transgressing this command shall, if a bishop,  
CH. 6.  
 648. be deposed from his see; if a clergyman, from his clerical office; if a monk, he shall be confined, and banished from his monastery. If he holds any dignity or office, civil or military, he shall be deprived of it. If he is a nobleman, all his property shall be confiscated; if not noble, he shall not only be beaten with stripes, but further punished by perpetual banishment; that all men being restrained by the fear of God, and dreading the condign punishments with which we thus threaten them, may keep unmoved and untroubled the peace of the holy Churches of God.'

Vain hope, by decrees and banishments and chastisements to silence the subtle ecclesiastical intellect when once engaged in a war of words like that aroused by the *Ecthesis!* Bad as that Imperial document had been accounted by the See of Rome, the *impiissimus Typus* was soon discovered to be even worse. Pope Martin, who had just succeeded Theodore (the excommunicator of Pyrrhus), convened a council of 202 Italian bishops, who met in the Lateran palace, anathematised the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople, 'the most impious *Ecthesis*, the wicked *Type* lately put forth by the most serene Emperor Constans,' and all receivers and defenders of the same.

Pope Martin I, 649-653;

his condemnation of the *Type*, 649.

The Pope seeks for allies against the Emperor.

The Pope had the Italian bishops and the general sentiment of the West on his side, but otherwise he stood alone against the Emperor and all the great Eastern Patriarchates. There are indications of his turning to the Frankish kings Clovis II and Sigibert II for aid, for moral at least, if not for physical support<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Acts of St. Audoenus, Bishop of Rouen (quoted by Baronius, s. a. 649. 4).



Did he also invoke the assistance of the Arian king of the Lombards, Rothari, against the author of the *Type*, and the close confederate of the heretical Patriarch of Constantinople? This was charged against him, and in the difficult circumstances of his position it could not be imputed to him as a crime; but the meagre annals of the period do not allow us to pronounce on the justice of the accusation. However, whether on religious or on political grounds a high-spirited young sovereign such as Constans II was not disposed to tolerate the insubordination of the Pope, who was still in theory only a subject of the most Serene Emperor. He sent his chamberlain Olympius as Exarch<sup>1</sup> to Italy with orders to protect and cherish all bishops who accepted the *Type*, to sound the disposition of the army, and if he found it favourable, to bring Pope Martin a prisoner to Constantinople, after which display of power it was hoped that all the other bishops of Italy would readily subscribe the Imperial decree<sup>2</sup>. If, however, he found the army

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.

Olympius  
ordered to  
arrest the  
Pope.

<sup>1</sup> *Note as to the succession of Exarchs at this period.*

Our information on this point is very meagre, and chiefly derived from the *Liber Pontificalis*, but this seems to be at any rate an approximation to the truth:—

	A. D.
Isaac the Armenian . . . . .	626-644
Theodore Calliopas . . . . .	644-646
Plato . . . . .	646-649
Olympius . . . . .	649-652
Theodore Calliopas (restored) . . . . .	653-664

We know nothing about the first administration of Theodore, and we only hear of Plato in the Emperor's letter to his successor as a strong Monothelete, who induced Pyrrhus, ex-Patriarch of Constantinople, to recant his recantation, and return into the Monothelete fold. (*Martini Epistola ap. Baronium*, 645. 17 and 651. 19).

<sup>2</sup> We only know the tenour of the instructions given to Olympius

BOOK VII. hostile, he was to say as little as possible about the  
 CH. 6. *Type*, and simply to strengthen his military hold on  
 Ravenna and Rome. Arriving in the City with these  
 somewhat ambiguous instructions, the new Exarch  
 found all the bishops and clergy of Rome enthusiastic  
 in their defence of the Pope and their condemnation  
 of the Monothelete doctrine. Probably also the army  
 shared the general enthusiasm, for the Exarch re-  
 nounced the perilous attempt to seize the Pope in the  
 midst of his flock. An after generation, however,  
 believed the improbable story that Olympius ordered  
 the assassination of the Pope in the very act of  
 celebrating Mass at the church of S. Maria Maggiore<sup>1</sup>,  
 but that the soldier who was commissioned to do the  
 unholy deed was struck by a supernatural blindness  
 which prevented him from seeing Pope Martin when  
 he was in the very act of handing the chalice to the  
 Exarch, and thus the murder was prevented.

Olympius  
 renounces  
 the at-  
 tempt and  
 proceeds  
 to Sicily.

Whatever the truth may be as to this alleged  
 attempt on the Pope's life, there is no doubt that  
 Olympius completely renounced the attempt to force  
 the Imperial *Type* on the Roman Church. A recon-  
 ciliation took place between Exarch and Pope, so  
 complete as to give some colour to the charge that  
 Olympius aimed at making himself Emperor, and that  
 Martin countenanced him in his treason. But the  
 next step taken by the Exarch showed no disloyalty  
 to the Empire. He crossed over with his army into  
 Sicily in order to combat the Saracens, whose invasions

through the hostile Papal biographer, who certainly misrepresents  
 them in part, for he makes the Emperor Constans call the ad-  
 herents of the *Type* 'hujus haeresis professores.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Mariae ad Praesepe.'

of that island (which were to be continued with more or less intermission for more than four centuries<sup>1</sup>) had already begun. 'For their sins,' however, as we are told, the greater part of his army perished, apparently by sickness, not by the sword; and Olympius himself died also, probably a victim to the same pestilence which had ravaged his camp.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.

Death of  
Olympius,  
652.

The death of Olympius enabled Constans to resume his plans for the arrest of the Pope and the forcible promulgation of the *Type*. Theodore Calliopas, who was sent a second time to Ravenna as Exarch, appeared in Rome with an army on June 15<sup>2</sup>, 653. The position of affairs was not unlike that which had been seen more than a century before<sup>3</sup>, when Belisarius received orders for the deportation of Pope Silverius. Now, as then, the ecclesiastical motive for the *coup d'état* and the unslumbering jealousy between the sees of Rome and Constantinople were veiled by the imputation of political crimes. Martin was accused of having corresponded with the Saracens (doubtless the Saracen invaders of Sicily<sup>4</sup>), as well as of being irregularly elected, of changing the faith delivered to the saints, and of showing insufficient reverence to the Virgin Mary.

Theodore  
Calliopas,  
the new  
Exarch,  
arrives in  
Rome, 653.

<sup>1</sup> Down to the Norman Conquest of Sicily, 1090.

<sup>2</sup> We get this date, or rather the date of the day following the Exarch's arrival, from the Pope's letter to a friend of his who was also named Theodore: 'Ego vero ipse graviter infirmus eram ab Octobrio mense usque ad predictum tempus, id est usque ad decimum sextum Kalendas Julias' (apud Baronium, 650. 14). Observe that the Pope still reckons by Kalends.

<sup>3</sup> In 537. See vol. iv. p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ego aliquando ad Sarracenos nec litteras misi nec quem dicunt tomum' (Ep. Martini, u. s. 8). What can the suggested *tomus* have been?

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CH. 6.

653.

The Pope  
surren-  
ders to the  
Exarch.

At first the Exarch temporised ; professed that he desired to come and adore his Holiness, but he was wearied with his journey, and he was afraid that Pope Martin had filled the Lateran with armed men ; an insinuation to which the Pope replied by inviting the Exarch's soldiers to make a visit of inspection, and see if they could find a weapon or a stone therein. The Pope, who with better reason feared violence, and who had been for eight months in weak health, had his bed placed before the altar in the Lateran Church<sup>1</sup>. Thither<sup>2</sup> came the soldiers of the Exarch in full armour, with swords and lances, and bows with the arrow on the string. 'They there did unutterable things,' says the horrified Pope ; but though their conduct was doubtless indecorous, its atrocity seems somewhat diminished when we find that the only recorded detail relates to the overthrow of the candles, which fell all over the church like leaves in autumn, and the crash of the stricken candelabra, which filled the church with a noise like thunder. Desiring to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, the Pope came forth from his sanctuary, the people shouting as he emerged from the church, 'Anathema to all who say that Martin has changed a jot or a tittle of the faith. Anathema to all who do not remain in *his* orthodox faith even to the death.' So the Pope wended his

<sup>1</sup> The Lateran Church is sometimes called by Pope Martin the Constantinian, sometimes the Church of the Saviour. His companion, who continues the story of his captivity, calls it the Church of St. John. Apparently, therefore, we are here at the precise period of the change in the dedication of the patriarchal basilica, which, according to Gregorovius (i. 84), took place 'erst nach dem sechsten Jahrhundert.'

<sup>2</sup> On Monday, the 17th of June.

way through the City up to the palace of the Exarch, which apparently still stood where the palace of the Caesars had stood, on the Palatine Hill. Multitudes of the clergy and laity, who declared that they would live and die with the Pontiff, on the invitation of the Exarch swarmed after him into the palace. They had hoped if he were banished that they would be allowed to share his exile, but soon after midnight on the morning of Wednesday, the 19th of June<sup>1</sup>, Pope Martin, while all his adherents were kept under close ward in the palace, was hurried on board a little ship which was lying at Portus, his only companions being six acolytes and one household servant.

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653.

On the 1st of July, the ship, slowly sailing, arrived at Misenum, but neither at Misenum nor any of the other cities of beautiful Campania (already called by the equivalent of its modern name, Terra di Lavoro<sup>2</sup>), nor at any of the islands at which they touched was the exile from the Lateran palace allowed to leave the bark, which he felt to be indeed his prison. At last they reached the island of Naxos, where he was detained for more than a year, and there as a great favour he was permitted to reside in an inn in the city, and was twice or thrice indulged with the luxury of a bath. Possibly the Imperial Court hoped that if his courage were not broken as that of Vigilius had been by arrogance and insult, his sickly frame, known to be enfeebled by gout, would sink beneath

Pope Martin's journey to Constantinople.

<sup>1</sup> 'Eadem ergo nocte, quae illucescit in feriâ quartâ, quae erat decimo tertio Kalendas Julius, circa horam quasi sextam noctis.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Non autem Miseni tantum, sed in Terrâ Laboris, et non tantum in Terrâ Laboris quae subdita est magnae urbi Romanorum . . . parata (?) impediunt' (Ep. Martini, 15).

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654.

the hardships which he endured. But the spirit and the bodily frame of the heroic Pope alike disappointed their expectations, and at length, on the 17th of September (654), he was brought into the harbour of Constantinople<sup>1</sup>. There for ten hours on his pallet-bed on the deck of the vessel lay the venerable Pope, racked with gout, wasted by constant diarrhœa, and feeling the nausea consequent on his long voyage. His adoring companions saw him thus 'made a spectacle unto angels and to men'; but the populace of Constantinople, men with wolfish faces and evil tongues, crowded round him, crying out that he was not fit to live. At sunset a squad of guards came, who placed him in a litter, and carried him off to a prison called Prandiaria. For ninety-three days he languished in this dungeon, deprived of all the comforts which were now necessaries to a high-bred Roman ecclesiastic. On the 19th of December (654) he was brought into the presence of the *Sacellarius* or Lord High Treasurer, who had summoned a meeting of the Senate for his trial. He was ordered to stand in the presence of his judges, and when the attendants pointed out that he was unable to stand, the *Sacellarius* thundered forth, 'Then let two of you support him, one on each side, for he shall not be allowed to sit.'

His examination.

The examination, which was conducted through the medium of an interpreter, for the Pope was as ignorant of Greek as his persecutors were of Latin, turned entirely on political matters. The absurd accusation of complicity with the Saracens, which only derived colour from the fact that the Pope had sent money to be

<sup>1</sup> 'Near [the palaces of] Euphemia and Arcadia.' I cannot discover the situation of these palaces.

distributed as alms among the Sicilian poor<sup>1</sup>, seems now to have been tacitly abandoned, and the only charge which was vehemently pressed against him was one of complicity with the treasonable designs of Olympius. Rough and illiterate soldiers from the Exarch's army were brought to prove this charge; and the Pope asked in vain that they might be allowed to give their evidence unsworn, that they might not imperil their souls by perjury. The Pope began his answer to the charge against him thus:—'When the *Type* was prepared and sent to Rome by the Emperor'—but the Prefect Troilus at once stopped him—'Do not bring in any questions about the faith. We are Romans and Christians and Orthodox. It is about the rebellion that we are examining you.' The Pope's constant answer was that he had no power to resist the Exarch, who had the whole army of Italy at his disposal. 'Was it I who made him Exarch, or you at Constantinople? But work your will upon me, and do it speedily.' After this he seems to have tried to give a long harangue, which was faithfully interpreted by an African nobleman named Innocent; but the *Sacellarius* roughly interrupted, 'Why do you interpret what he is saying? We do not want to hear it.' With that he rose up, and all they that were with him, and going into the Emperor's chamber announced that they were ready to pass sentence upon the Bishop of Rome.

That sentence appears to have been a capital one, for the Pope was dragged through the streets of the city with a drawn sword carried before him; but if

<sup>1</sup> I suspect also that he had been in negotiation with the Saracen Emir as to the redemption of captives, but this is not stated.

BOOK VII. such a sentence was pronounced it was commuted into  
 CH. 6. imprisonment and exile. He was forced to stand for

654.

some time in the Hippodrome, as a spectacle to the people, the guards as before supporting him on either side, and the young Emperor looking on through the lattice-work of his banqueting-hall at the humiliation of his great spiritual rival. Little could either persecutor or victim foresee how cruelly, more than five centuries later<sup>1</sup>, the indignities offered to the Roman Pope would be avenged on the Eastern Emperor by the sack of his own city of Constantinople.

The *Sacellarius* then came forth from the banqueting-hall and said, 'See how the Lord has delivered thee into our hands. What hadst thou to hope for that thou shouldst strive against the Emperor? Thou hast abandoned the Lord, and He has abandoned thee.' He ordered one of the guards to cut the strap which bound round his neck the satchel<sup>2</sup> in which the Pontiff was accustomed to carry the sacred books, and then he handed him over to the Prefect, saying, 'Take him, my lord Prefect, and cut him limb from limb.'

His imprisonment.

Loaded with irons, with torn robes, but surrounded by a crowd not now shouting execrations, but saddened and awestruck at what was being done, the successor of St. Peter was dragged through the streets of Constantinople to the prison of Diomedes, in the Praetorian Prefect's palace. As he climbed up the steps of the prison, which were rough and steep, his swollen feet left upon them the stain of blood. He was then thrust into a cold and dreary cell, where the

<sup>1</sup> At the time of the Fourth Crusade, 1204.

<sup>2</sup> This is supposed to be the meaning of the word used by the Pope's friend, 'psachmon.'



irons clanked upon his shivering limbs. One young ecclesiastic who had followed him, as Peter followed his Lord<sup>1</sup>, was permitted to share his dungeon, but the keeper of the prison was also always present, bound to the Pope by a chain, as was the custom in the case of culprits under sentence of death. There were, however, two kind-hearted women, mother and daughter, related apparently to the keepers of the prison, who succeeded in removing the chilled and exhausted Pontiff from the dungeon cell and from the continual presence of the gaoler. They carried him to their own bedroom, and laid him in a comfortable bed, where however he lay speechless till the evening. When evening came, Gregory, a eunuch and Grand Chamberlain, sent his major-domo with some scanty refreshment, who whispered words of intended comfort, 'In all our tribulations we put our trust in God. Thou shalt not die.' The Pope, however, who was worn out and longed for speedy martyrdom, only groaned. The heavy iron chains however were taken off from him and not again imposed.

One cause which led to some alleviation of the Pope's physical sufferings was the troubled conscience of Paul, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who had been fiercely anathematised by successive Popes, but who, being now upon his death-bed, could not endure the thought of the indignities which the remorseless Emperor was heaping on their common enemy. When Constans visited him the day after the trial, and told him what had been done, Paulus turned his face to the

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CH. 6.  
654.

The dying Patriarch's intercession for the Pope.

<sup>1</sup> Throughout the description of these scenes there is an evident attempt to seek for analogies with the treatment of Christ in the Praetorium.

BOOK VII. wall, and said with a groan, 'Ah me! this too will be  
 CH. 6. added to the number of my sins.' At his earnest  
 654. request, the capital sentence passed on the Pope was  
 remitted by Constans, and the rigour of his confinement  
 was somewhat lessened.

Pyrrhus,  
 Patriarch  
 of Con-  
 stanti-  
 nople.

To the patriarch Paul (who died December 26, 654) succeeded Pyrrhus, who, as we have seen, had once himself been a fugitive at Rome, had there renounced the Monothelete heresy, and had then returned, as the orthodox said, 'like a dog to his vomit' when he found himself in the atmosphere of Monothelete Ravenna. This temporary departure from the ruling creed was however objected against him now, when he sought to recover the Patriarchal throne on which he had once before been seated. He declared that he had subscribed to the Pope's *libellus* (1) because he was his guest, and (2) under duress. On these two somewhat inconsistent pleas the imprisoned Pope was now examined by an Assistant-Treasurer who bore the great name of Demosthenes. The Court minion, when he entered the prison, said with an unworthy sneer, 'Our lord the excellent Emperor has sent us to thee, saying, See in what height of glory thou once wast placed, and to what a depth thou now hast fallen. For all this thou hast only thyself to thank.' To which the Pope only replied, 'Glory and thanksgiving in all things to the only King, Immortal and Invisible.' Demosthenes then proceeded to cross-question him about his reception of the fugitive Patriarch Pyrrhus. 'Whence did he draw his subsistence when he was in Rome?' 'From the Roman Patriarchate' [the Lateran Palace]. 'What was your object in thus supplying him with provisions?' 'My good lord, you do not understand the ways of the

Further  
 examina-  
 tion of  
 the Pope.

Roman Church. For I tell you plainly, St. Peter does not repel any one, however poor and miserable, who comes to claim his hospitality, but gives them the whitest bread and divers kinds of wine. If then this is done even to miserable outcasts, in what guise ought we to have received one who came as the honoured bishop of the great see of Constantinople? Then came the question as to duress, the heavy wooden chains which were said to have been fastened on the Patriarch's limbs, and the many grievous things that had been done to him. To which answered the Pontiff, 'All this is utterly untrue, and there are men in Constantinople who were then in Rome, and who know how false is the accusation. There is Plato, once Exarch, who sent his messengers to Pyrrhus at Rome. Ask him, and if fear does not prevent him from speaking the truth, he will tell you. But I am in your hands. Tear me if you will, limb from limb, as the Treasurer said to the Prefect that he ought to do unto me. Work your own will upon me: but I will not communicate with the Church of Constantinople.'

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655.

After eighty-four days' confinement in the prison of Diomede, the unfortunate Pope was again put on ship-board and delivered to the mercies of the stormy Euxine. What object the guards can have had in keeping their unhappy prisoner so long exposed to the miseries of sea-sickness we know not: but it was not till May 15, two months after his embarkation, that he was permitted to land at Cherson, a place which was not the same as the modern city of Cherson, but was situated in the Crimea, then called the Tauric Chersonese. Here he languished for four months, and then died, worn out by disease and

The Pope  
banished  
to Cher-  
son,  
March 13,  
655.

BOOK VII. hardship. From two letters which he wrote to his  
 CH. 6. friends at Rome, we receive a most melancholy im-  
 655. pression of his state during these last four months of  
 his life. He complains bitterly of the lukewarmness  
 and forgetfulness of his Roman friends, who wrote him  
 no letters, and sent him no alleviations of his distress.  
 Almost the only news which he did receive from Rome  
 was the unwelcome intelligence that, yielding to Im-  
 perial pressure, the Roman clergy had acquiesced in  
 his deposition, and elected another Pope, Eugenius I,  
 as his successor<sup>1</sup>. The inhabitants of the country to  
 which Martin was exiled were, according to his accounts,  
 barbarians and heathens, and he suffered from want  
 not only of the comforts, but almost of the necessaries  
 of life. His only chance of buying corn was in small  
 quantities from vessels which came thither laden with  
 salt from the southern shores of the Black Sea<sup>2</sup>, and  
 then he had to pay for it at the high price of one  
 solidus for a bushel<sup>3</sup>.

Eugenius I  
 Pope, Aug.  
 10, 654—  
 June 2,  
 657.

Death of  
 Pope Mar-  
 tin, Sept.  
 17, 655.

Pope Martin died on September 17, 655. He was  
 buried in that wild Crimean land, and miracles, of  
 which there had been some mention during his life,  
 were believed to be wrought at his tomb. On the  
 whole, he must be pronounced one of the noblest  
 figures in the long line of Roman Pontiffs. The

<sup>1</sup> August 10 (?), 654. Curiously enough, the last Pope Martin, he who was elected at the end of the great schism by the Council of Constance, was also succeeded by an Eugenius (IV), 1431.

<sup>2</sup> 'Naviculæ quæ veniunt ex partibus Romaniae (ut hi qui hic sunt nuncupantur)'; an interesting instance of the early use of Romania for the Eastern Empire (Commemoratio, &c., ap. Baron. 652. 5).

<sup>3</sup> Or 96 shillings a quarter; a very high price, and not calling for Baronius' arbitrary alteration of the text, which would make it sixteen times as much (four solidi the peck).

querulous tone of the letters of his exile contrasts somewhat unfavourably with the utterances of that other victim of Imperial persecution, St. Chrysostom. And, as I have before suggested, it is possible that there may have been some foundation for the political charges on which ostensibly his condemnation was based. But on the other hand there can be no doubt that if he had been willing to strike his flag to the Monotheletes, or to accept that arbitrary 'End of Controversy,' the *Type* of the worldly-minded Emperor Constans, he might at once have ended his weary exile and have returned to the comforts and the splendours of the Lateran Palace. This he refused to do for conscience' sake, and he is therefore entitled to rank as one of the few martyrs who have sat in the chair of St. Peter.

I must remind the reader, in returning to the course of Lombard history, that all the events with which we have been recently dealing occurred before the accession of Grimwald. Heraclius published his *Ecthesis* in 638, two years after the accession of Rothari. The *Ecthesis* was taken down, and the *Type* was substituted for it by Constans II in 648, four years before the end of Rothari's reign. When Rothari died (in 652), Martin had been for three years Pope. Exarch Olympius died in that year, and his successor's capture of the Pope occurred in the following year, the date of Aripert's accession to the Lombard throne. Aripert during his reign must have heard of the death of Martin in exile at Cherson, of the death of his successor Eugenius (June, 657), and of the elevation of *his* successor Vitalian, whose long pontificate (657-672) covers the whole of the reign of Grimwald.

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CH. 6.  
655.

Chrono-  
logical  
notes.

Vitalian  
Pope, July  
30, 657-  
Jan. 27,  
672.

BOOK VII. Under the rule of this Pope the Monothelite dispute  
CH. 6. seems to have slumbered. Fairly amicable relations existed between the patriarchates of Rome and Constantinople: Vitalian, though not going as far as Honorius in acceptance of Monothelite doctrine, was apparently willing to leave the question undiscussed, and as this was the very result most desired by Constans, a politician but no theologian, there was peace and the exchange of outward courtesies between Emperor and Pontiff.

Constans sets his face towards the West, 662.

Thus we come down to 662, the year of Grimwald's accession. Towards the close of this year Constans II formed the resolution to quit for ever his capital by the Bosphorus, and to try his fortune as a re-establisher of the Empire in the Western lands. To his contemporaries, accustomed to think of the Roman Augustus as immoveably settled in the East, the resolution seemed like a madman's dream. Even the virtues of this Emperor (for he had some virtues), his rough energy, his broad view of the needs of the Empire, his abhorrence of theological disputation, as well as his undoubted vices, made him unpopular with the enervated, wordy inhabitants of New Rome<sup>1</sup>. Two years previously he had put to death his brother Theodosius, whom he had before forced into holy orders, and now it was said that Theodosius continually appeared to him in the visions of the night, arrayed in the dress of a deacon, and offering him the sacramental cup, saying, 'Drink, my brother!' The Imperial dreamer would take the cup, see that it was filled with blood, and awake with a cry of anguish. This story,

<sup>1</sup> See Bury, ii. 303-4, for an admirable estimate of the character of Constans II.

however, comes from a very late and doubtful source <sup>1</sup>, BOOK VII.  
and perhaps attests only the animosity of Church CH. 6.  
historians against a Monothelete heretic and the per-  
secutor of Popes. The cruel tortures inflicted on the  
Abbot Maximus, the great champion of orthodoxy, 662.  
and two of his disciples, who were flogged, had their  
tongues and right hands cut off, and were banished  
to the inhospitable neighbourhood of Poti, doubtless  
kindled the resentment of many of the Emperor's  
subjects against him. But after all it was perhaps  
statesmanship quite as much as passion which deter-  
mined Constans to quit his native city and seek his  
fortune in the West. His grandfather Heraclius had  
come from Carthage to found his dynasty. He was  
himself called Emperor of Rome, yet Rome and Italy  
were daily slipping from his grasp, the city to the  
Pope, the country to the Lombards. Constans would  
revive the great projects of Justinian, and be in  
fact as well as in name Emperor of Rome. We  
need not therefore believe the late and legendary  
story that when Constans was standing on the deck  
of his cutter, he turned round to look at the receding  
towers and domes of Constantinople, and spat at the  
Imperial City. Better vouched for, however, is the  
fact that he was obliged to take his departure alone,  
and that when he sent from Sicily for his wife and  
his three sons, the citizens (perhaps represented by  
the Senate) refused to allow them to depart.

Constans went first to Athens, where he apparently <sup>He arrives</sup>  
sojourned for some time, and then, probably in the <sup>in Italy,</sup>  
early part of 663, crossed over into Italy, landing at 663.  
Tarentum. Both by his landing-place and in various

<sup>1</sup> Cedrenus, a monk of the eleventh century.

BOOK VII. other ways his expedition reminds us of that other  
 CH. 6. attempt which Greece made 944 years before <sup>1</sup>, under  
 663. Pyrrhus king of Epirus, to conquer Italy. Like that  
 Aeacid prince, Constans sought to ascertain by super-  
 natural means the event of his enterprise. He asked,  
 not the priestess at Delphi, but a certain recluse who  
 was believed to have the spirit of prophecy. 'Shall  
 I vanquish and hold down the nation of the Lom-  
 bards which now dwelleth in Italy?' The holy man's  
 answer, vouchsafed after a night of prayer, was less  
 ambiguous than the response of the oracle to Pyrrhus.  
 'The nation of the Lombards cannot be overcome,  
 forasmuch as a pious queen, coming from another land,  
 has built a basilica in their territory to the blessed  
 John the Baptist, who therefore pleads without ceasing  
 for that people. But the time will come when that  
 sanctuary shall be held in contempt, and then the  
 nation itself shall perish.' The historian who records  
 this prediction considered that he saw its fulfilment  
 when the fall of the Lombard monarchy followed  
 the simoniacal ordination of unworthy and adulterous  
 ecclesiastics in the great basilica of Monza <sup>2</sup>.

Constans  
 enters the  
 duchy of  
 Beneven-  
 to.

Undismayed by this unfavourable answer—if he  
 ever received it—the Emperor pressed on from the  
 region round Tarentum, where he still found subjects  
 loyal to the Empire, and invaded the duchy of Bene-  
 vento <sup>3</sup>, where Romwald the son of King Grimwald  
 ruled. 'The high nest of Acherontia,' as Horace called  
 it <sup>4</sup>, a frontier fortress on one of the outlying buttresses

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 281.

<sup>2</sup> Paulus, H. L. v. 6.

<sup>3</sup> The boundary was probably still made by the two rivers  
 Aufidus and Bradanus.

<sup>4</sup> Ode iii. 4. 14.



of Monte Vulture, resisted all his attacks, but Luceria, BOOK VII.  
CH. 6. 'a wealthy city of Apulia,' was captured, sacked and levelled with the ground. Certainly the Emperor of Rome practised a strange method of delivering Italy. He then marched to Benevento, which he surrounded and tried hard to carry by storm. Young Romwald, sore pressed, sent his tutor <sup>1</sup> Seswald, to entreat his father's aid. On receipt of this message King Grimwald at once set out with a large army to the help of his son. Many of the Northern Lombards, however, deserted on the march. The jealousy or suspicion between Pavia and Benevento was too strong to be overcome even by the presence of the Roman Emperor on the soil of Italy: and the men of the northern provinces said to one another, with self-gratulations on their own superior wisdom, 'The southern duke has helped himself to all that was best worth having in the palace at Pavia, and now he is going to Benevento "to help his son." You will see that he will never return.'

663.

Meanwhile the Imperial army was pressing the siege Siege of  
Bene-  
vento. of the city with all those engines of war the use of which the dexterous Greek understood so much better than the barbarian. By frequent sallies the gallant defenders inflicted grievous losses on the enemy, but the straitness of the siege was great, and day by day they looked for tidings of the approach of the

<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps the best translation that can be offered of *nutricius*, which gives us a blended idea of foster-father, instructor, and, in the case of a young prince, regent or chief counsellor. It is used in this sense occasionally by Gregory of Tours. See Waitz, *Verfassungsgeschichte*, ii. 434 and 437: and compare what has been already said of the relation of Arichis to the young princes of Friuli.

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CH. 6.

663.

Lombard king. At length they saw the messenger Seswald drawing near to the walls, but, alas! as a prisoner led by the Imperial generals. For while he was hovering near to the city seeking how he might enter, he had been captured by the enemy's scouts, who had brought him into the Emperor's presence. From him Constans learned of the near advent of Grimwald with a large army, and these tidings decided him to end the siege by all means as speedily as possible. Seswald was therefore allowed to approach the walls, having promised that he would assure the garrison that Grimwald could not help them. If he failed in this he was told that death awaited him. When the captive tutor was close to the walls, he asked to see his pupil, and as soon as Romwald came to the battlements he cried with a loud voice, 'Stand firm, lord Romwald: thy father is at hand and will soon bring thee help. He is already at the river Sangro<sup>1</sup>, and pitches his camp there to-night with a strong army. Have pity, I pray thee, on my wife and children, for I know that this perfidious race will not suffer me to live.' As soon as he had finished his speech, the Emperor bade that they should cut off his head, and hurl it into the city from a catapult: an ungenerous revenge, and one in which a Teutonic warrior would have hardly permitted himself to indulge. The well-known features were kissed by the grateful lips of Romwald, and the head was deposited in a worthy shrine.

Truce pro-  
claimed.

After all, no battle was fought under the walls of Benevento. Constans was now anxious to depart, and Romwald, whose troops were probably already

<sup>1</sup> I. e. about fifty miles from Benevento.

suffering severely from famine, made 'a bridge of gold for a retreating foe,' handed over his sister Gisa to him as a hostage, and made peace on some terms, the nature of which is not recorded<sup>1</sup>. Constans then started for Naples, where he was secure of a friendly reception, as that city belonged to the Empire; but on his way he was attacked by Mitola, count of Capua, at a place by the banks of the Calore (which a hundred years after was still called Pugna), and was defeated there with much slaughter. This skirmish (for it was probably nothing more) apparently broke the truce concluded under the walls of Benevento. One of the Byzantine nobles, named Saburrus, asked the Emperor to entrust him with the command of 20,000 men with whom he made no doubt that he should vanquish the young duke of Benevento. He set forth, and pitched his camp at Forino, about twenty-five miles east of Naples, which city was now the Emperor's headquarters. When Grimwald, who had by this time joined his son, heard the tidings of the Imperial general's approach he thought to go forth also and fight with him, but with something of the spirit of a young knight of later days, Romwald begged that he, with only a portion of his father's army, might have the glory of this day's encounter. Accordingly Romwald and Saburrus<sup>2</sup> with their small selected armies met on the field of battle. From four different sides sounded the trumpets of

BOOK VII.

CH. 6.

663.

Battle at  
Forino.

<sup>1</sup> The narrative of these events in Paulus is rather confused. I have adopted Waitz's suggestion, and slightly transposed them.

<sup>2</sup> Can this Saburrus be the same person as the Saborius, of Persian descent, who, as we learn from Theophanes (A.M. 6159), revolted against Constans, and eventually lost his life at Adrianople by an accident on horseback?

BOOK VII. Saburrus, as the Imperial forces rushed to the fray.  
 CH. 6.

663.

But in the thick of the battle, a stalwart Lombard named Amalong, who bore 'the king's wand'<sup>1</sup> (probably a spear from which fluttered the royal banner), struck one of the little Greek soldiers through the body with his weapon, which he held stoutly with both hands, and lifting him from his saddle, held the spear high in air, with his victim writhing upon it<sup>2</sup>. The sight of this deed so disheartened the Greeks that they turned to flight, and in that flight the army was cut to pieces. Romwald returned to his father with the glory of victory, and the boaster Saburrus brought back few of his 20,000 men to his master.

Constans  
 visits  
 Rome.

'Constans,' says the Lombard historian, 'seeing that he could avail nothing against the Lombards, turned all his threats and all his harshness upon his own partisans, that is, the Romans.' This may have been the secret reflection of the trembling clergy and citizens when the stern Monothelete Emperor came among them, but the outward signs of mutual amity were observed on the visit which Constans now paid to Rome. It was certainly a memorable event. Three hundred and seven years had elapsed since the awe-stricken Constantius gazed on the glories of yet unruined Rome<sup>3</sup>: nearly two centuries since any person calling himself Emperor had stood upon the Palatine Hill: one hundred and thirty-seven years

<sup>1</sup> 'Unus de regio exercitu, nomine Amalongus qui regium contum, quem vulgo *vandum* regis dicimus, ferre erat solitus' (Paulus, H. L. v. 10).

<sup>2</sup> 'Quendam Graeculum eodem contulo utrisque manibus fortiter percutiens, de sellâ super quam equitabat sustulit, eumque in aera super caput suum levavit' (Paulus, u. s.).

<sup>3</sup> See vol. iv. p. 120.

were yet to elapse ere a barbarian king was to be acclaimed with shouts of *Carolus Imperator* in the streets of Rome. Meanwhile here is this successor of Augustus, who bears by full right the title of Emperor of the Romans, but who is Greek by language, Greek by education, and who, it is to be feared, does not hold the Catholic verity in his heart, since by that arrogant *Type* of his he forbids us even to make mention of the Two Wills in Christ. He has accomplished but little against the terrible Saracens: he has done nothing to deliver Italy from the unspeakable Lombards: we must receive him as our rightful lord, but our hearts fail us when we ask ourselves what he will do in Rome. Such were probably the feelings of Pope Vitalian and his clergy as they went forth along the Appian Way six miles from the gates of the City to meet the Emperor Constans. But his first devout behaviour probably somewhat allayed their terrors. It was Wednesday, the 5th of July (663), when he entered the Eternal City, and he at once proceeded to worship at the great basilica of St. Peter, leaving there a gift upon the altar. On Saturday he went to the church of S. Maria Maggiore, and there, too, he offered his gift. On Sunday the church of St. Peter's was filled with the Greek soldiers. All the clergy went forth with due pomp of lighted tapers to meet the master of that glittering host who was present at the celebration of Mass—doubtless receiving the consecrated elements from St. Peter's successor—and again offered his gift upon the altar; this time a *pallium* stiff with gold. On the next Saturday he visited in equal state the Lateran Church, the home of the great Western patriarchate; he bathed

BOOK VII. in the porphyry font <sup>1</sup>, which legend, then or at a  
 CH. 6. later day, declared to have been used for the baptism  
 663. of Constantine the Great, and he dined in the spacious  
 banqueting-hall which was known as the Basilica of  
 Vigilius <sup>2</sup>. Lastly, on the second Sunday of his visit,  
 he again attended High Mass at St. Peter's, and took  
 a solemn farewell of Pope Vitalian on this the last day  
 of his sojourn in Rome <sup>3</sup>.

His spolia-  
 tion of the  
 City.

Twelve days was the length of the Emperor's visit,  
 but his time was not wholly occupied in hearing Mass  
 and offering gifts upon the altars of the churches.  
 Gold and silver had apparently long vanished from  
 all places but the sacristies of the churches, but there  
 was still much copper on the buildings and in the  
 statues of the City. Between his visits to the basilicas  
 the Emperor usefully employed his leisure in stripping  
 the City of all these copper adornments, even proceed-  
 ing so far as to strip off the copper tiles which covered  
 the dome of Agrippa's Pantheon, now the church  
 of St. Mary of the Martyrs. These spoils, and much  
 else, probably some works of art, possibly some of the  
 treasures of the libraries <sup>4</sup>, were put on shipboard and

<sup>1</sup> I have no express authority for this detail. The words of the  
 Papal biographer are simply 'Iterum Sabbato die venit Imperator  
 ad Lateranas *et lavit se.*' But considering the importance which  
 already began to be attached to the legend of Constantine's baptism  
 at the Lateran, I think we may fairly assume that this was the  
 meaning of his successor's ablutions.

<sup>2</sup> Near the apartment of Pope Gregory the Great (Joannes  
 Diaconus, ii. 25, quoted by Duchesne).

<sup>3</sup> We get the history of the Emperor Constans' visits to the  
 churches from the Liber Pontificalis in Vita Vitaliani.

<sup>4</sup> This is the conjecture of Gregorovius (ii. 155), but neither  
 Constans II nor his subjects seem to me to have been likely to  
 care much for literary plunder.

consigned to Constantinople, at which city however, as we shall shortly discover, they never arrived. It was certainly an unworthy mode of celebrating the Roman Emperor's visit to the City which gave him his title; and the abstraction of the roof of the Pantheon must have reminded Romans who knew anything of the history of their City of the similar procedure of Gaiseric and his Vandals upon the gilt roof of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus<sup>1</sup>. But the necessities of the Empire were great: some of its richest provinces were in the hands of the Saracens; and the robberies of Constans were probably not for himself but for the State. Had there been any blood spilled or any sacred vessels abstracted during the Imperial visit to Rome, we should assuredly have heard of such atrocities. Upon the whole, we may presume that when, on the 17th of July, Constans finally turned his back on the Imperial City, Pontiff and people alike congratulated themselves that they had not suffered greater evils at the hands of their stern sovereign.

From Rome he went to Naples, and from Naples by land to Reggio. He must have remained some weeks in Southern Italy, for it was in September<sup>2</sup> (if not later) that he crossed over from Reggio into Sicily<sup>3</sup>. He remained in that island for five years, making

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.  
663.

Constans  
visits  
Sicily.

663-668.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> 'Per indictionem septimam.'

<sup>3</sup> If the chronology of Theophanes be correct, there had been an invasion of Sicily by the Saracens in the same year in which Constans crossed over into the island. He says, 'In this year [663] a great part of Sicily was carried captive, and they [the captives] were by their own desire planted as settlers in Damascus' (*καὶ ἀκίσθησαν ἐν Δαμασκῷ θελήσει αὐτῶν*). A mysterious entry, but one which must point to an invasion of Sicily by the Saracens.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.

Financial  
oppression  
of the  
Sicilians.

Syracuse his headquarters. The object of this long sojourn in Sicily evidently was that he might use it as his base of operations against the Saracens, who were overrunning the provinces of Northern Africa. He did indeed temporarily recover Carthage, but this success was counterbalanced by a severe defeat which his troops sustained at Tripoli. In Sicily as elsewhere he showed himself grasping and impecunious. The cultivators of Sicily and Sardinia, of Calabria and of the province of Africa, long remembered the oppressive procedure<sup>1</sup> of the tax-gatherers of Constans. So inexorable were their demands that, to satisfy them, husbands were sold into slavery away from their wives, and children from their parents, and, under this intolerable tyranny, life seemed not worth the living. Now too, if we may believe the papal biographer, who writes in great bitterness of spirit against the Monothelite Emperor, Constans exceeded even his Roman exploits by his sacrilegious spoliation of the churches. All over the two islands, and the two provinces which have been named, sacred vessels and other precious ornaments dedicated to the worship of the sanctuary were carried off 'by the command of the Emperor and by the avarice of the Greeks<sup>2</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> The *Liber Pontificalis* gives us the names of these imposts—*diagraptha, capita, nauticationes*. None of these names occur in the terrible list of tax-gatherers' demands given us by Joannes Lydus (*De Magistratibus*, iii. 70). *Capita* are, of course, the 'heads' of taxation with which we have already made acquaintance in the verses of Sidonius (vol. ii. p. 419, 414 second edition). *Nauticationes* are perhaps some forced service on shipboard, like the work of the English press-gangs. I cannot explain *diagraptha*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Nam et vasa sacrata vel cimilia (κειμήλια) sanctarum Dei ecclesiarum imperiali jussu et Graecorum avariciâ sublata sunt' (Paulus H. L. v. 11 : copying the *Liber Pontificalis*).



At length the hard and oppressive reign came to an end, but that end seems to have come rather from the sudden rage of an insulted menial, than from any deep-laid popular conspiracy<sup>1</sup>. One day<sup>2</sup>, when Constans entered the bath which was called Daphne, at Syracuse, the valet who attended him, a certain Andreas, son of Troilus, while the Emperor was scrubbing himself with Gallic soap, lifted high the box in which the soap was kept, smote his master on the head with it, and ran away. As the doors of the bath-house remained long unopened, the attendants who stood without at length burst them open, and found their master lying dead upon the floor. If there had been, as seems probable, no conspiracy, it was nevertheless easy to foresee that the existence of a conspiracy against so harsh and unpopular a monarch would be easily suspected. It was probably

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.  
Death of  
Constans,  
668.

<sup>1</sup> It is true that Theophanes, from whom alone we get the account of the murder of Constans, uses the word *ἔδολοφονήθη* concerning it, but I think it will be evident from the rest of the story that there was no 'malice aforethought' in the case. A conspirator intending to kill the Emperor would surely have provided himself with some more effectual weapon than a soap-box. In fact, Andreas would seem to have been as much surprised as any one at the fatal effect of his blow. It is interesting to see that soap still, in the seventh century, bore the name of *Gallicum*. Pliny, writing in the first century, in speaking of the remedies for swellings in the face, says (H. N. xxviii. 12), 'Prodest et *sapo* : *Gallorum hoc inventum* rutilandis capillis ex sevo [suet] et cinere : optimus fagino (cinere) et caprino (sevo) ; duobus modis, spissus ac liquidus : uterque apud Germanos majore in usu viris, quam foeminis.' It certainly seems that, as far as the use of soap was concerned, the Mediterranean peoples received civilisation from the regions north of the Alps rather than imparted it to them.

<sup>2</sup> On the 15th July of the 12th Indiction, says the *Liber Pontificalis* ; but Duchesne agrees that we must correct the figures 12 to 11, thus making the year 668.

BOOK VII. in order to guard themselves against the certain  
CH. 6. vengeance of the Heraclian house that the courtiers  
 668. determined to raise a new Emperor to the throne.  
 Their choice fell on a certain Armenian named  
 Usurpa- Mizizius<sup>1</sup>, who much against his will accepted the  
 tion of dangerous diadem. He had calculated the chances of  
 Mizizius. success more truly than those who forced the honour  
 upon him. From all parts of Italy, from Istria and  
 Campania, from Africa (the old home of the Heraclians),  
 even from the island of Sardinia, soldiers flocked to  
 Syracuse to suppress this ridiculous rebellion. When  
 the young Constantine, the son of Constans, arrived in  
 Sicily with a great fleet, he found the work already  
 done, and the rival Emperor Mizizius slain<sup>2</sup>. The  
 pretender's head was taken to Constantinople, and  
 with it many of the civil servants of the Empire who  
 had taken part in the rebellion, and who, according  
 to the cruel fashion of Byzantium, were mutilated  
 before they were placed on board the ships which were  
 to convey them to the place of execution.

The Sara-  
 cens at  
 Syracuse.

Events such as these naturally weakened the resist-  
 ing power of the Empire. We hear without surprise  
 that the Saracens suddenly appeared with a large

<sup>1</sup> 'Mecetius' in Paulus.

<sup>2</sup> There is a slight divergence between Theophanes and Paulus as to the agents in the suppression of the revolt of Mizizius. I follow in the main the version of Paulus. His sentence, 'Multique *ex judicibus ejus* detruncati Constantinopolim perducti sunt,' is, I think, important as an indication that the rebellion of Mizizius was an abortive attempt of the civil servants of the Empire to free themselves and the provincials from the yoke of the military governors and the soldiers under them. This view of the matter explains the alacrity of the Imperial soldiers in Italy in suppressing the revolt.

fleet in the Sicilian waters, entered Syracuse, made great slaughter among the people (a remnant of whom fled to fortified camps and the tops of the mountains), and then returned to Alexandria, bearing with them immense booty, including the brazen ornaments, and all the other precious things which Constans Augustus had carried off from Rome.

As for King Grimwald's daughter Gisa, whom the Emperor had borne off from Benevento as a hostage, she too was taken by him to Sicily, and died there. The way in which Paulus mentions her fate inclines us to suppose that it was in some way connected with the troubles of the Saracen invasion.

The remaining events of the reign of Grimwald may be briefly told, and all relate to three out of the four great duchies, whose history in an earlier chapter was brought down to this point. The duchy of Trient is not noticed here.

In SPOLETO, on the death of Duke Atto (663), Grimwald conferred the duchy on his old ally *Transamund*, count of Capua, to whom he was largely indebted for his success in winning the Lombard crown. *Transamund*, who married a daughter of Grimwald, appears to have governed the Umbrian duchy for about forty years, and his descendants, to the third generation, sat on his throne.

At BENEVENTO, young Romwald seems to have remained ever in cordial love and loyalty to his father, and we may conjecture that the kingdom and the duchy were more closely confederate together during the reign of Grimwald than at any other period of their joint existence. The chief event of the young duke's reign seems to have been the arrival of a colony

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.

of Bulgarians in Italy under their duke Alzeco, who, 'with all the army of his duchy,' came to King Grimwald, and promised faithful service on condition of being allowed to reside in his land. Him Grimwald passed on to his son, desiring the latter to provide suitable habitations for him and his people. They were heartily welcomed by the young duke, who assigned to them for their residence a spacious region to the north of his capital, which had lain desert until that time, and which included the cities of Bovianum, Sepinum, and Aesernia. The fact that this broad reach of territory (situated, it is true, among the highlands of Samnium) should have remained desert till these Bulgarians from the Danube country came to occupy it, tells its own sad story of the desolation of Italy. The Bulgarian Alzeco coming thus into the territory of Duke Romwald, in a relation which in a later century would have been described as that of vassalage, had to forego the title of duke which he had hitherto borne, and be content with that of *gastald*, a title which, as we shall hereafter see, expressed more of personal dependence on the sovereign than the title of duke. Even down to the days of Paulus, that is, for a full century after the settlement, though the descendants of these settlers had learned the Latin tongue, the rude Bulgarian speech was still heard in these cities and villages round the skirts of Monte Matese<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Bury's History of the Later Roman Empire, ii. 333, for some interesting remarks on this Bulgarian migration. The words of Paulus are remarkable: 'Per haec tempora Vulgarum dux Alzeco nomine, incertum quam ob causam, a sua gente digressus, Italiam pacifice introiens, cum omni sui ducatus exercitu ad regem Grimwald venit, ei se servitutum atque in ejus patriâ habitaturum promittens. Quem ille ad Romualdum filium Beneventum dirigit,

Meanwhile in the duchy of FRIULI, the old home of Grimwald, disastrous events were occurring. Grasulf, Grimwald's uncle, after apparently a long reign, had been succeeded by *Ago*, of whom Paulus has only to tell us that a certain house called *Domus Agonis* was still visible at Forum Julii<sup>1</sup>.

Duke Ago was followed by *Lupus*, an ambitious and untrustworthy man. Instigated possibly by the patriarch of Aquileia, he led a band of horsemen by a highway cast up in old time across the sands to Grado, plundered that island city, and carried off the treasures of its church. Whether he deposited any of these treasures in the mother and rival church of Aquileia we are not informed. After this came the invasion of Italy by Constans, Romwald's cry for

ut ei cum suo populo loca ad habitandum concedere deberet praecepit. Quos Romualdus gratanter excipiens, eisdem *spatiosa ad habitandum loca quae usque ad illud tempus deserta erant, contribuit, scilicet Sepinum, Bovianum et Iserniam (sic) et alias cum suis territoriis civitates ipsumque Alzeconem, mutato dignitatis nomine de duce gastaldium vocitari praecepit. Qui usque hodie in his ut diximus locis habitantes, quamquam et Latiné loquantur, linguae tamen propriae usum minimé amiserunt.*' It seems probable that this settlement of the Bulgarians was partly a measure of precaution against attack from Rome or Naples. All the three towns named are on the back-way leading from the Via Latina across the mountains to Benevento.

<sup>1</sup> Our dates here are extremely vague. 'Circa haec tempora' (that is apparently about the time of the accession of Constans, 642), 'mortuo aput Forojulii Grasulfo duce, Forojulensem ducatum Ago regendum suscepit' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 50). 'Siquidem ut superius praemiseraimus, Grasulfo Forojulianorum duce defuncto, successor ei in ducato Ago datus, de cujus nomine usque hodie domus quaedam intra Forojuli constituta domus Agonis appellatur. Quo Agone mortuo, Forojulianorum ductor Lupus efficitur' (Ibid. v. 17). As a mere random guess, I would put the accession of Ago about 645, and that of Lupus about 660. De Rubeis, following Sigonius, puts the former in 661, and the latter in 663.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.

Events in  
Friuli.  
Duke Ago.

Duke  
Lupus: his  
capture of  
Grado,

BOOK VII. help to his father, Grimwald's rapid march to succour  
 CH. 6. him. Before setting out the king committed his

and re-  
 bellion  
 against  
 Grim-  
 wald.

palace and all its treasures to Lupus of Friuli, perhaps an old companion of his boyhood. But Lupus shared the general opinion of the northern Italians, that the Beneventan interloper, having once set his face towards the south, would never return to Pavia. He carried himself insolently in his delegated office; and perhaps—though this is not expressly told us—aimed at winning the kingdom for himself. When he learned that Grimwald was returning, Lupus, conscious of his misdeeds, retreated to his duchy of Friuli, and there openly raised the standard of rebellion.

Grimwald  
 invites the  
 Avars into  
 Friuli.

On receipt of these evil tidings, Grimwald, unwilling to stir up a civil war between Lombards and Lombards, resorted to the strange and desperate expedient of inviting the Avars, the savages who, fifty years before, had slain his father and ravaged his home, to come and attack the rebel duke. The Chagan came with a great army, and was met by Lupus apparently on the old battle-ground of Theodosius by the Cold River below the pass of the Pear-tree<sup>1</sup>.

Death of  
 Lupus.

For three days Lupus kept the savage horde at bay, at first with brilliant success, winning decided victories, and carrying great spoil out of their camp. But each day the number of his killed and wounded soldiers rose higher and higher, and still the apparently undiminished Avar horde rolled on towards him. On the fourth day Lupus was slain, and the remnant of his army scarcely succeeded in saving themselves by flight.

<sup>1</sup> 'In loco qui Flovius dicitur.' Bethmann understands this to mean 'Fluvius Frigidus in valle Wipbach provinciâ Krain.' See vol. i. p. 160 (p. 570 in second edition).

The surviving Lombards shut themselves up in the fortified cities, while the Avars as aforetime roamed over the duchy, carrying fire and sword through the wasted land. To Grimwald's ambassadors who came with a gentle suggestion that it was now time to cease from ravage, they replied that they had won Forum Julii by their arms, and did not mean to quit it. Hereupon Grimwald saw himself compelled to assemble an army for the expulsion of the Avars from Italian soil. But according to the *saga*, he effected his purpose not by force but by guile. The Chagan's ambassadors came and feasted at his board ere all his army was yet collected, but he dressed up the same squadrons in different attire on each succeeding day, and made them defile before the eyes of the ambassadors, leading them to suppose that each day fresh reinforcements were coming to his standard. 'With all these multitudes,' said he, 'shall I burst upon the Avars and their Chagan, unless they speedily vanish from the territory of Forum Julii.' The message carried back by the deluded ambassadors struck such terror into the heart of the Chagan that he made all haste to return to his own land.

The daughter of Lupus, Theuderada, was given in marriage to Romwald of Benevento, and in her new home, as we learn from the life of St. Barbatus, she played a part like that of Theudelinda in winning over the still half heathen, and wholly irreligious, Lombards of Benevento to the Christian faith.

His son Arnefrit<sup>1</sup> sought to win his father's duchy, but fled at the approach of Grimwald, and took refuge

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.  
Retreat of  
the Avars.

Theuderada,  
daughter  
of Lupus,  
marries  
Romwald.

Flight and  
death of  
Arnefrit,

<sup>1</sup> This name reminds us of that of the father of Paulus, Warnefrid.

BOOK VII. with the Sclovenes of Carinthia<sup>1</sup>. Afterwards seeking  
 CH. 6. by the help of these barbarians to recover possession  
 son of of his duchy, he was slain by a sudden onset of the  
 Lupus. men of Friuli at a place called Nemaë (now Nimis),  
 about fifteen miles north-west of Cividale.

Wechtari,  
 duke of  
 Friuli.

As the new duke of Friuli, Grimwald appointed  
*Wechtari*, a native of Vicenza, a man who had evidently  
 already reached middle life, and who was, we are told, 'a kind man,  
 gently ruling the people<sup>2</sup>.' Though Arnefrit was dead, his  
 Slavonic allies still troubled the duchy, and hearing that Duke  
 Wechtari, of whom they stood in great awe, had gone to Pavia  
 —doubtless in order to concert measures of defence with King  
 Grimwald—they came with a strong body of men, and pitched  
 their camp at a place called Broxæ, not far from the capital<sup>3</sup>.  
 It happened providentially that Wechtari had on the previous evening

<sup>1</sup> 'Sed metuens Grimwaldi regis vires, fugiit ad Sclovenum gentem in Carnuntum quod corruptè vocitant Carantanum' (Paulus, H. L. v. 22). Of course Paulus is wrong in dragging in Carnuntum (the modern Presburg), which would be in the midst of the Avar territory. The 'Carantanum,' which he blames, is the right name for the country now called Carinthia. Ankershofen (*Geschichte des Herzogthumes Kärnten*, ii. 31, 32) fixes the settlement of the Sclovenes as an advanced guard of the Avars in Carinthia about 596. 'Their neighbours in the plains of Pannonia and on the sea-coast called their new home, surrounded as it was and traversed by mountains, *Goratan*, the mountain land, from which, in course of time, and by foreign chroniclers was formed the Latin 'Carantanum' and the German 'Kärnten.' Whether this derivation be approved or not, in any case Paulus' reference to Carnuntum is quite beside the mark.

<sup>2</sup> 'Vir benignus et populum suaviter regens.'

<sup>3</sup> De Rubeis says (p. 305), 'It is a place in the district of S. Giovanni-in-Antro at the fourth milestone from Cividale. The gate on that side of the city is still called Broxana.'



returned from Pavia, and hearing of this insolent advance of the Sclovenes, he went forth with twenty of his followers to attack them. Seeing so small a troop issue from the city, the Sclovenes said with jeers, 'Lo, here come the patriarch and his clergy.' But when they came to the bridge over the Natiso, on the other side of whose deep gorge the invaders had pitched their camp, Wechtari took off his helmet and showed his bald head and his well-known countenance to the foe. A despairing cry of 'Wechtari! Wechtari!' ran through their ranks, and they all began to think of flight rather than of battle. Then Wechtari, perceiving their panic, charged upon them with his scanty band, and inflicted such slaughter, that out of 5000 Sclovenes, few returned to tell the tale in Carinthia. So runs the *Saga* of Wechtari.

Throughout the long life of Grimwald he seems never to have forgotten the treachery practised by the Patrician Gregory against his brothers Taso and Cacco. The Avars, as we have seen, he could forgive, he could even welcome as allies, but the Romans never<sup>1</sup>. Especially did his anger burn against the city of Opitergium, in which the foul murder was committed. Not satisfied with the partial demolition of that city which had been accomplished some twenty or thirty years before by order of Rothari<sup>2</sup>, he now utterly destroyed it, and parcelled out the citizens who were left in it among the three neighbouring cities of Forum Julii, Ceneta, and Tarvisium (Cividale, Ceneda, and

Grimwald's  
revenge  
on Opitergium.

<sup>1</sup> 'Erat quidem Grimualdo contra Romanos non medioere odium, pro eo quod ejus quondam germanos Tasonem et Cacconem in sua fide decepissent' (Paulus, H. L. v. 28). <sup>2</sup> See p. 168.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.

Treviso). To this day the low estate of the little town, scarcely more than a village, of Oderzo, testifies to the vengeance of the Lombard king.

Sack of  
Forlim-  
popoli.

Equally hard was the fate of the city on the Emilian Way, twenty miles south of Ravenna, which still, in a slightly altered form<sup>1</sup>, preserves its classical name of Forum Populi. Many times had its inhabitants harassed his messengers going and coming in time of peace<sup>2</sup> between Pavia and Benevento. Watching his opportunity, he burst, in the days of Lent, through the unguarded passages of the Apennines, came upon the city on Easter Sunday itself, when the children were being baptized, and slew the citizens with wide and indiscriminate slaughter, not sparing even the deacons who were officiating in the baptism, and whose blood was mingled with the water of ablution. Then he beat down the chief buildings of the city, and left therein but a very few of its former inhabitants<sup>3</sup>. Certainly the Lombard, even

<sup>1</sup> Forlimpopoli.

<sup>2</sup> I think we must infer this, as Forum Populi was far within the Imperial frontier, and in time of war that section of the Emilian Way would be closed to the Lombards.

<sup>3</sup> 'Quadragesimorum tempore per Alpem Bardonis Tusciam ingressus, nescientibus omnino Romanis, in ipso sacratissimo sabato Paschali super eandem civitatem eâ horâ quâ baptismum fiebat (*sic*), inopinâté inruit, tantamque occisorum stragem fecit, ut etiam diacones ipsos qui infantulos baptizabant, in ipso sacro fonte perimeret. Sicque eandem urbem dejecit, ut usque hodie paucissimi in ea commaneant habitatores' (Paulus, H. L. v. 27). I cannot explain 'per Alpem Bardonis.' Waitz's reference to Bardi near Parma does not seem to help us, as that throws the scene of action far too much to the west. It is probably some pass through the Apennines yet to be identified. And we seem to want 'e Tusciâ egressus' rather than 'Tusciam ingressus.' There must, it seems to me, be something wrong with the text.

after a century's sojourn in Italy, fell far below the Visigoth in capacity for civilisation. Alaric at Pol-lentia well-nigh ruined his cause by his unwillingness to fight on Easter-Day, the same day which Grimwald chose for a treacherous revenge and a cruel massacre.

At length the strong, hard, self-reliant man came to a characteristic end. He had been bled, probably for some trifling ailment, by the royal surgeons, and was resting in his palace on the ninth day after the operation. A dove flew past; he longed to reach it with his arrow; he took the bow and shot, but in doing so opened again the imperfectly closed vein, and died of the ensuing hemorrhage. The suggestion that his doctors had mingled poison in their drugs seems unnecessary to explain the death of so self-willed and impetuous a convalescent. He was buried in the basilica of St. Ambrose which he himself (evidently an orthodox Catholic by profession) had reared in the royal city of Ticinum.

It should be mentioned that in July 668, in the sixth year of his reign, Grimwald made a short addition to the code of Rothari. It will not be necessary here to examine this additional code minutely. It may be sufficient to say that it shows a general disposition to uphold the prescription of thirty years, whether against a slave claiming pardon, or against a free man resisting the attempt to reduce him to slavery; that wager of battle is discouraged, and trial by *sacramentum* as much as possible substituted for it; and that there are some stringent provisions against the offence, then evidently increasing, of bigamy. The law of Grimwald also imports from the Roman law

BOOK VII.  
CH. 6.

Death of  
Grimwald,  
671.

Laws of  
Grim-  
wald.

BOOK VII. the principle of representation of a father by his  
CH. 6. children in the event of his having died before the  
ancestor whose property is being divided. From the  
stress laid on this principle by Grimwald we must  
suppose that it had been imperfectly recognised by  
the tribunals of Rothari.

NOTE B. THE STORY OF ST. BARBATUS.

THE life of St. Barbatus, the most eminent apostle of Catholic Christianity in Southern Italy, has an important bearing on the history of the duchy of Benevento in the seventh century, and especially on the invasion of Constans; but hagiology has a character of its own, and refuses to be wrought in harmoniously with secular history, even in that picturesque and saga-like form which that history assumes in the pages of Paulus. I have decided therefore to relegate to a note the condensed narrative of the saint's life and works. NOTE B.

This narrative is derived from two documents published in the great Bollandist collection of the *Acta Sanctorum* under the date 19th of February. One of these lives, we are told, is extracted from an ancient codex written in *Lombard characters* belonging to the Benedictine monastery of St. John at Capua. The other, an expanded and paraphrastic copy of the first, comes from the archives of the church at Benevento. Waitz, who has edited the life of the saint in *Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum* (M. G. H.), mentions eleven MSS., most of which he has consulted, and three of which are 'litteris Beneventanis exarati.' He considers that even the earlier form of the history cannot have been written before the ninth century, and follows Bethmann in rejecting as valueless the later and paraphrastic form which he attributes to the tenth or eleventh century. From some slight indications (chiefly the description of the invading Emperor as 'Constantinus qui et Constans appellatur'), I should be disposed to believe that there is a foundation of contemporary tradition for the earlier document. The following is a greatly condensed translation of the Life:—

'Barbatus (who was born in the year 602) became famous when Grimwald held the reins of the Lombard kingdom, and his son Romwald ruled the Samnites.

NOTE B. 'The Lombards, though baptized, worshipped the image of a viper; and moreover, they devoutly paid homage in most absurd fashion to a certain "sacrilegious" tree not far from the walls of their city. From the branches of this tree was hung a piece of leather; and all those who were to take part in the ceremony, turning their backs to the tree, rode away from it at a gallop, urging on their horses with bloody spurs. Then suddenly turning round, they hurled their lances at the leather, which quivered under their strokes; and each one cut out a little piece thereof, and ate it in a superstitious manner for the good of his soul<sup>1</sup>. And as they paid their vows at this place, they gave it the name *Votum*, which [says the scribe] it still bears.

'All these superstitious practices greatly distressed the soul of Barbatus, who told the people that it was vain for them thus to try to serve two masters. But they, in their blind and beast-like madness, refused to abandon this equestrian form of worship, saying that it was an excellent custom, and had been handed down to them by their ancestors, whom they mentioned by name, and declared to have been the bravest warriors upon earth.

'However, by his miracles, Barbatus began to soften the hearts of the rude people, who even by drinking the water in which he had washed his hands after celebration of the Mass, found themselves healed of their diseases.

'Then "Constantius, who is also called Constans," desiring to restore the kingdom of Italy to his obedience, collected an innumerable multitude of ships, arrived at Tarentum, and ravaged nearly all the cities of Apulia. He took the very wealthy city of Luceria after severe fighting, and by the labour of his robbers levelled it to the earth. Then he went on to Beneventum, where Romwald abode, having a few very brave Lombards with him, and the holy father Barbatus remained there with them. Terrible was the attack of Constans, who harassed the defenders with ever-fresh bands of assailants. This lasted long, but Romwald, magnanimous and unterrified, made a brave resistance,

<sup>1</sup> The second scribe amplifies the simple *corium* (leather) of the first into *putredo corii*, and *ignominiam corii*, and makes the trite reflection, 'Nam quid despicabilius credendum est quam ex mortuis animalibus non carnem sed corium accipere ad esum comestionis ut prave errori subjecti Longobardi fecerunt?'

now fighting from the walls, now making a sudden sally and hasty return into the city, for he was not strong enough to fight in the open plain. Still, though he had slain many of the assailants, his own ranks were thinned, and the inhabitants began to weep and wail, thinking that they would soon be destroyed by the robber-bands of Constans. As for Romwald, he, growing weary of fighting, gave a counsel of despair to his soldiers<sup>1</sup>:—"It is better for us to die in battle than to fall alive into the hands of the Greeks, and so perish ignominiously. Let us open the gates of the city, and give them the hardest battle that we can." Perceiving this discussion, St. Barbatus said, "Never let so many brave young men be given over to destruction, lest they perish everlastingly. Good were the boldness of your hearts, if your minds were not so empty, and your souls so weak." Said Romwald, "What dost thou mean by emptiness of mind, and weakness of soul? Prithee, tell us." Thereupon Barbatus, promising them the palm of victory, if they would follow his counsels, preached a long sermon against idolatry, and exhorted his hearers to the steady and serious worship of Christ<sup>2</sup>.

NOTE B.

'Hereupon Romwald said, "Only let us be delivered from our foes, and we will do all that thou biddest us, will make thee bishop of this place, and in all the cities under our rule will enrich thee with farms and 'colonies.'"

'Barbatus answered, "Know for certain that Christ, to whom ye have now turned in penitence, will set you free, and the assaults of Caesar and his people shall not penetrate the streets of Beneventum, but with changed purpose they shall return to their own borders. And that thou mayest know that I am telling thee the very truth, which shall shortly come to pass, let us come together under the wall. There will I show thee the Virgin Mary, the most pious Mother of God, who has offered up her health-giving prayers to God for you, and now, having been heard, comes to your deliverance."

'After public prayers and solemn litanies, and after earnest private prayer offered up by Barbatus in the Church of the Virgin, the people, with Romwald at their head, assembled at the gate

<sup>1</sup> I take some sentences here from the later MS.

<sup>2</sup> So far the later MS.

NOTE B. which is still called Summa. Then Barbatus desired them all to bow down to the dust, for God loveth a contrite heart, and went, in conversation with Romwald, close under the wall. Then suddenly appeared the Mother of God, at sight of whom the Prince fell to the earth and lay like one dead, till the holy man lifted him from the ground and spoke words of comfort to him who had been permitted to see so great a mystery<sup>1</sup>.

‘On the following day the besieger, who had refused to be turned from his hostile purpose by an immense weight of silver and gold and a countless quantity of pearls and precious stones, now, receiving only the sister of Romwald, turned his back on Beneventum and entered the city of Neapolis. The blessed Barbatus at once took a hatchet, and going forth to Votum, with his own hands hewed down that unutterable tree in which for so long the Lombards had wrought their deadly sacrilege: he tore up its roots and piled earth over it, so that no one thereafter should be able to say where it had stood.

‘And now was Barbatus solemnly chosen bishop of Beneventum. Of all the farms and “*coloniae*” wherewith Prince and people offered to endow him, he would receive nothing, but he consented to have the house of the Archangel Michael on Mount Garganus, and all the district that had been under the rule of the bishop of Sipontum transferred to the See of the Mother of God over which he presided<sup>2</sup>.

‘Still Romwald and his henchmen, though in public they appeared to worship God in accordance with the teaching of Barbatus, in the secret recesses of the palace adored the image of the Viper to their souls’ destruction; wherefore the man of God, with prayers and tears, besought that they might be turned from the error of their way.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to observe how the story grows in minuteness as time goes on. In the earlier MS. the words are simply—

‘*pariterque subeuntes murum visâ Dei genitricis in faciem decidit Princeps, nimioque pavore perterritus et paene exanimis solo consternatus jacebat.*’

In the later MS. this becomes—

‘*Barbatus . . . cum Romualt subiit civitatis murum, et ecce apparuit subito candidae nubis fusio praecipuo plena splendore quae confixa per gyrum turris obumbrabat cacumen, quod eminebat super ipsam portam praefatam, et in medio nubis, delectabilis visio perfuso lumine rutilabat Virginis puerperae vultu et coelorum Reginae perennis.*’

<sup>2</sup> Sipontum had probably lain desolate since its ravage by the Slavonians in 642.



‘Meanwhile Romwald’s wife, Theuderada, had forsaken the way of error, and was worshipping Christ according to the holy canons. Often when Romwald went forth to hunt, Barbatus would come to visit her, and discourse with her concerning her husband’s wickedness. In one of these interviews she, heaving a deep sigh, said, “Oh! that thou wouldest pray for him to Almighty God. I know that it is only by thine intercession that he can be brought to walk in the path of virtue.”

‘*Barbatus*.—“If thou hast, as I believe, true faith in the Lord, hand over to me the Viper’s image, that thy husband may be saved.”

‘*Theuderada*.—“If I should do this, I know of a surety that I should die.”

‘*Barbatus*.—“Remember the rewards of eternal life. Such death would not be death, but a great gain. For the faith of Christ thou shalt be withdrawn from this unstable world, and shalt attain unto that world where Christ reigneth with His saints, where shall be neither frost nor parching heat, nor poverty nor sadness, nor weariness nor envy, but all shall be joy and glory without end.”

‘Moved by such promises she speedily brought him the image of the Viper. Having received it, the bishop at once melted it in the fire, and by the help of many goldsmiths made of it during the prince’s absence a paten and chalice of great size and beauty, for the offering up of the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

‘When all was prepared, on the sacred day of the Resurrection, Romwald, returning from hunting, was about to enter Beneventum, but Barbatus met him, and persuaded him first to come and assist in celebration of the Mass in the church of the Mother of God. This he did, receiving the communion in the golden vessels made, though he knew it not, from the image of the Viper. When all was done, the man of God approached the prince, and rebuked him sharply for tempting God by keeping the Viper’s image in his palace. Should the terrible day of the Divine vengeance come, in vain would he flee to that idol for protection. Hearing these words, Romwald humbly confessed his sin, and promised to give up the image into the bishop’s hands. “That thou needest not do,” said the saint, “since it has already been changed into the vessels from which thou hast received the body and blood of the Lord. Thus what the Devil

NOTE B. had prepared for thy destruction is now the instrument through which God works thy salvation.”

‘*Romwald*.—“Prithee tell me, dearest father, by whose orders the idol was brought to thee.”

‘*Barbatus*.—“I confess that I, speaking in much sorrow to thy wife concerning thy spiritual death, asked her for the image, and received it at her hands.”

‘Thereat one of the bystanders burst in, saying, “If my wife had done such a thing as that, I would without a moment’s delay cut off her head.” But Barbatus turned to him and said, “Since thou longest to help the Devil, thou shalt be the Devil’s slave.” Thereupon the man was at once seized by the Devil and began to be grievously tormented by him. And that this might be a token and a warning to the Lombard nation in after times, the saint predicted that for so many generations [the biographer is not certain of the exact number] there should always be one of his descendants possessed by the Devil, a prophecy which, down to the date of the composition of the biography, had been exactly fulfilled.

‘Struck with terror, all the other Beneventans abandoned their superstitious practices, and were fully instructed by the man of God in the Catholic faith, which they still keep by God’s favour.

‘Barbatus spent eighteen years and eleven months in his bishopric, and died on the eleventh day before the Kalends of March (19th of February), 582, in the eightieth year of his age.’

This curious narrative, however little worthy of credence as a statement of facts, is a valuable piece of evidence as to the spiritual condition of the Lombards of South Italy in the seventh century. We may safely infer from it that conversion to Christianity was a much more gradual process in the south than in the north of Italy. Lupus of Friuli is neither saint nor hero in the pages of Paulus, but his daughter Theuderada is like another Clotilda or Theudelinda to the barbarous, half-heathen rulers of Benevento.

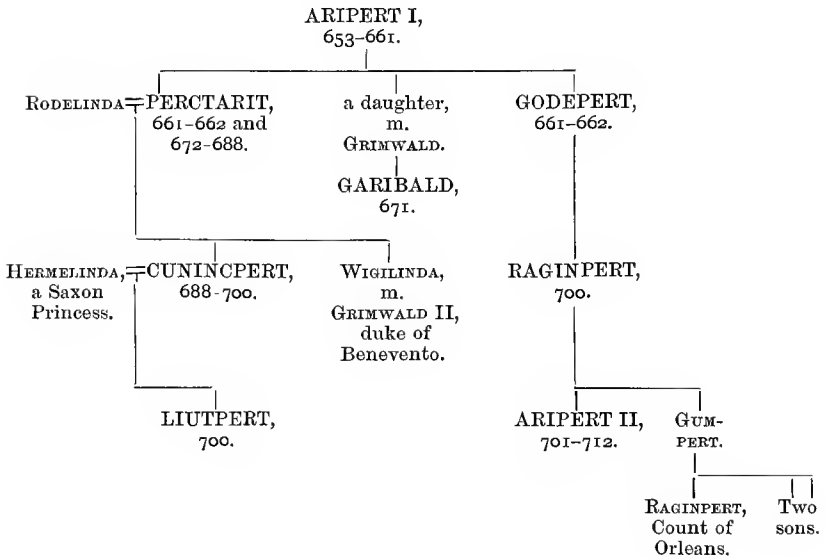
In another Life, contained in the ‘*Acta Sanctorum*,’ that of St. Sabinus (ix Februarii), we have a slight notice of Theuderada as a widow. After the death of her husband she ruled ‘the Samnites’ in the name of her young son [Grimwald II], and

during her regency a certain Spaniard named Gregory came to Spoleto in order to find the tomb of St. Sabinus, who had died more than a century before (in 566). Not finding the sepulchre there, he persuaded the Princess Theuderada to go and seek for it at Canusium. She found the tomb, and on opening it perceived that pleasant odour which often pervaded the sepulchres of the saints. She also found in it a considerable weight of gold, which the biographer thinks had been stored there in anticipation of that invasion of the barbarians which St. Sabinus had foretold. Unmindful of the commission which Gregory had given her to build a church over the saint's tomb, she carried off the gold and returned in haste to Benevento. But when she arrived at Trajan's Bridge over the Anfidus, by the judgment of God her horse slipped and fell. She was raised from the ground by her attendants, but recognised in the accident the vengeance of the saint for her forgetfulness. She hastened back to the holy man's sepulchre, built a church with all speed, reared over his body a beautiful marble altar, and made chalice and paten out of the gold found in the tomb. To the end of his life Gregory the Spaniard ministered in the church of St. Sabinus.

NOTE B.

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## FAMILY OF ARIPERT.



## CHAPTER VII.

### THE BAVARIAN LINE RESTORED.

*Source :—*

Our only source for this part of the history is PAULUS DIACONUS. I have not met with any guide.

#### PERCTARIT (672-688).

KING GRIMWALD died, leaving a grown-up son Romwald, his successor in the duchy of Benevento, and a child Garibald, the nominal king of the Lombards under the regency of his mother, the daughter of King Aripert. It was not to be expected, however, that the banished Perctarit would tamely acquiesce in his exclusion from the throne by his sister's infant son : and in fact, if the story told by Paulus be true, he appeared upon the scene even sooner than men had looked for him. One of the latest acts of Grimwald's reign had been to conclude a treaty of alliance with the king of the Franks<sup>1</sup>, and a chief article of that treaty had been the exclusion of Perctarit from

BOOK VII  
CH. 7.  
Return of  
Perctarit,  
672.

<sup>1</sup> 'Dagobert,' says Paulus (H. L. v. 32), but as the death of Grimwald took place in 671, and the accession, or more strictly the return, of Dagobert II was in 674, it is generally agreed that Paulus must be in error, and that either Chlotochar III or Childeric II must be the king with whom Grimwald nominally made the treaty. In any case it would not be the Merovingian *roi fainéant*, but Ebroin, the stalwart Mayor of the Palace, who would be the negotiator.

BOOK VII. the Frankish realms. The hunted exile had accord-  
 CH. 7. ingly taken ship for 'the kingdom of the Saxons'  
 672. (that is to say, probably the coasts of Kent), but had only proceeded a short distance on his voyage when a voice was heard from the Frankish shore, enquiring whether Perctarit was on board. Receiving an affirmative answer, the voice proceeded, 'Tell him to return into his own land, since it is now the third day since Grimwald perished from the sunlight.' Hearing this, Perctarit at once returned to the shore, but found no one there who could tell him anything concerning the death of Grimwald, wherefore he concluded that the voice had been that of no mortal man, but of a Divine messenger. Returning in all haste to his own land, he found the Alpine passes filled with a brilliant throng of courtiers surrounded by a great multitude of Lombards, all expecting his arrival. He marched straight to Pavia, and in the third month after the death of Grimwald was hailed as king by all the Lombards. The child Garibald was driven forth, and we hear no more of the further fortunes of him or his mother. Rodelinda, the wife of Perctarit, and Cunincpert his son, were at once sent for from Benevento. Romwald seems to have given them up without hesitation, and to have peaceably acquiesced in the reign of the restored Perctarit, whose daughter eventually married his eldest son.

Reign of  
 Perctarit,  
 672-688.

For about seventeen years did 'the beloved PERCTARIT' rule the Lombard state; a man of comely stature, full habit of body, gentle temper, kind and affable to all, and with a remarkable power (attested in the history of his wanderings) of attaching to

himself the affections of those beneath him in station. He was a devout Catholic, and one of the first acts of his reign was to build and richly endow a convent for nuns called the 'New Monastery' of St. Agatha, in that part of Pavia which adjoins the walls whence he had made his memorable escape. Queen Rodelinda also built a basilica in honour of the Virgin outside the walls of Pavia, which she adorned 'with many wonderful works of art,' of all which unfortunately not a trace now remains<sup>2</sup>.

The only exception that we can find to the generally mild character of Perctarit's rule is his treatment of the Jewish people. Like the Visigoths, the Lombards would seem to have written their adhesion to their new faith in the blood and tears of the Hebrew. We learn from the rude poem on the Synod of Pavia that Perctarit caused the Jews to be baptized, and ordered all who refused to believe to be slain with the sword<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Paulus, contrary to our usage, calls this convent for female recluses 'monasterium.'

<sup>2</sup> Paulus here tells us of a curious Lombard custom. Queen Rodelinda's church was called 'Ad Perticas' (The Poles), because it was built near a Lombard cemetery where had stood a great number of poles erected according to Lombard fashion in honour of relations who had died in war, or by any other mischance away from home, and who therefore could not be buried in the sepulchre of their fathers: On the top of the pole was placed the wooden image of a dove, looking towards that quarter of the horizon where the beloved dead was reposing. (H. L. v. 34.)

<sup>3</sup> 'Subolis item Berthari (*sic*) in solium  
Regni suffectus, imitatus protinus  
Exempla patris, ad fidem convertere  
Judaeos fecit baptizandos, credere  
Qui rennuerunt, gladium premere.'

(Carmen de Synodo Ticinensi; see vol. v. p. 483.)

BOOK VII.  
CH. 7.

Associa-  
tion of  
Cuninc-  
pert, 680.

Rebellion  
of Alahis,  
duke of  
Trient.

In the eighth year of his reign Perctarit associated with himself his son Cunincpert, with whom he reigned jointly for more than eight years<sup>1</sup>.

The only break in the generally peaceful and prosperous reign of Perctarit was caused by the seditious movements of Alahis, Duke of Trient, who for some years was a great troubler of the Lombard commonwealth. This Alahis had met in battle and signally defeated the count or *gravio* of the Bavarians, who ruled Botzen and the neighbouring towns<sup>2</sup>. Elated by this victory he rebelled against the gentle Perctarit, shut himself up in Tridentum, and defied his sovereign. The king marched into the valley of the Adige and commenced a formal siege, but in a sudden sally Alahis broke up his camp, and compelled him to seek safety in flight. No victory after this seems to have restored the honour of the king's arms, but by the intervention of the young Cunincpert the rebel duke was induced to come in and seek to be reconciled to his lord. Not forgiveness only, but a great increase of the power of Alahis was eventually the result of this reconciliation. More than once had Perctarit decided to put him to death, but he relented, and at the earnest request of Cunincpert (who pledged himself for the future fidelity of his friend), the great and wealthy city of Brescia, full of noble Lombard families, was added to the duchy of Alahis. Even in complying with this often-urged request, Perctarit told his

<sup>1</sup> 'Ten years,' says Paulus, but this is evidently an error.

<sup>2</sup> 'Hic dum dux esset in Tredentina civitate, cum comite Baioriorum quem illi gravionem dicunt, qui Bauzanum et reliqua castella regebat, conflixit eumque mirificè superavit' (Paulus, H. L. v. 36).



son that he was compassing his own ruin in thus strengthening a man who would assuredly one day seek to upset his throne<sup>1</sup>. BOOK VII.  
CH. 7.

The kings of the Bavarian line appear to have been great builders. About this time Perctarit built, 'with wonderful workmanship,' a great gate to the city of Pavia, which was called *Palatiensis*, because it adjoined the royal palace. And when, soon after, his time came to die, he was laid near the church of the Saviour which his father Aripert had builded in Pavia. Death and  
burial of  
Perctarit,  
688 (?).

#### CUNINCPERT (688-700),

who had already, as we have seen, ruled for some years jointly with his father, was now sole king, and his reign lasted till the end of the century. A strangely compounded character, this large-limbed muscular man, of amorous temperament, and apt to tarry too long over the wine-cup, was also apparently a devout Catholic, a friend of the rulers of the Church, an 'elegant' man, and famous for his good deeds<sup>2</sup>. He had married a Saxon princess named Hermelinda, probably a relative of the king of Kent, in whose dominions he had been on the point of taking refuge<sup>3</sup>. Reign of  
Cuninc-  
pert,  
688-700.

<sup>1</sup> 'Nec destitit patrem optinere, quin etiam ei ducatum Brexine contribueret, reclamante saepius patre quod in suam hoc Cunincpert perniciem faceret, qui hosti suo ad regnandum vires praeberet' (Paulus, H. L. v. 36). One is reminded of James the First's warning to Baby Charles that 'he would one day have his belly-full of Parliaments.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Fuit autem vir elegans et omni bonitate conspicuus audaxque bellator' (Paulus, H. L. vi. 17).

<sup>3</sup> Ecgberht, king of Kent from 664 to 673, had a sister Eormengild, who married the king of Mercia. In the family of his uncle

BOOK VII.  
CH. 7.

Affair of  
Theodote.

Hermelinda, who had seen in the bath a young maiden of the noblest Roman ancestry, named Theodote, incautiously praised in her husband's presence her comely figure and luxuriant growth of flaxen hair, descending almost to her feet<sup>1</sup>. Cunincpert listened with well-dissembled eagerness, invited his wife to join him in a hunting expedition to the 'City' forest in the neighbourhood of Pavia, returned by night to the capital, and gratified his unhallowed passion. How long the intrigue lasted or by what means it was brought to a close we are not told, but when it was ended, he sent her to a convent at Pavia, which long after bore her name<sup>2</sup>.

Usurpation of  
Alahis.

It was apparently soon after Cunincpert's accession that that 'son of wickedness'<sup>3</sup>, Alahis, forgetful of the great benefits which he had received from the king, forgetful of his old intercession on his behalf, and of

uncle Eormenred, all the daughters' names began with 'Eormen' (Eormenbeorh, -burh, and -gyth), as all the sons' names began with 'Æthel.' From one of these families might well spring Eormelind or Hermelinda. (Lappenberg's History of England, translated by Thorpe, i. 285.) It is noticeable that Paulus again uses a compound word like Anglo-Saxon—'At vero Cunincpert rex Hermelinda ex Saxonum-Anglorum genere, duxit uxorem' (H. L. v. 37).

<sup>1</sup> 'Quae cum in balneo Theodotem, puellam ex nobilissimo Romanorum genere ortam, eleganti corpore et flavis prolixisque capillis pene usque ad pedes decoratam vidisset' (Paulus, H. L. v. 37). The fact that any Roman ancestry was reckoned to be *nobilissimum* among the Lombards is important. The profusion of golden hair in a woman so descended is unlike our conventional ideas of Roman race-characteristics.

<sup>2</sup> 'In monasterium quod de illius nomine intra Ticinum appellatum est misit.' Bianchi (quoted by Waitz in loco) says that the convent of St. Mary Theodote is now commonly called 'della Posterla.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Filius iniquitatis Alahis nomine' (Paulus, H. L. v. 36).

the faith which he had sworn to observe towards him, began to plot his overthrow. Two brothers, powerful citizens of Brescia, Aldo and Grauso, and many other Lombards, entered into the plot, for which, doubtless, there was some political pretext, perhaps Cunincpert's inefficiency as a ruler, perhaps his drunken revelries, perhaps his too great devotion to the interests of the Church. Whatever the cause, Alahis entered Pavia during Cunincpert's temporary absence from his capital, and took possession of his palace and his throne. When tidings of the revolt were brought to Cunincpert, he fled without striking a blow to that 'home of lost causes,' the island on Lake Como, and there fortified himself against his foe.

Great was the distress among all the friends and adherents of the fugitive king, but pre-eminently among the bishops and priests of the realm, when they learned that Alahis, who was a notorious enemy of the clergy, was enthroned in the palace at Pavia. Still, desiring to be on good terms with the new ruler, Damian, the bishop of the city, sent a messenger, the deacon Thomas, a man of high repute for learning and holiness, to give him the episcopal blessing. The deacon was kept waiting for some time outside the gates of the palace; he received a coarse and insulting message from its occupant; and when at last admitted to his presence, he was subjected to a storm of invective which showed the deep hatred of the clerical order that burned in the heart of Alahis. That hatred was mutual, and the bishops and priests of the realm, dreading the cruelty of the new ruler, longed for the return of the banished Cunincpert.

BOOK VII.  
CH 7  
His insulting conduct to the clergy.

At length the overthrow of the tyrant came from

BOOK VII.

CH. 7.

Aldo and  
Grauso  
conspire  
against  
Alahis.

an unexpected quarter. Alahis was one day counting out his money on a table, while a little boy, son of his Brescian adherent Aldo, was playing about in the room. A golden *tremisses*<sup>1</sup> fell from the table and was picked up by the boy, who brought it to Alahis. The surly-tempered tyrant, little thinking that the child would understand him, growled out, 'Many of these has thy father had from me, which he shall pay me back again soon, if God will.' Returning home that evening, the boy told his father all that had happened, and the strange speech of the king, by which Aldo was greatly alarmed. He sought his brother Grauso, and took counsel with him and their partisans how they might anticipate the blow, and deprive Alahis of the kingdom before he had completed his design. Accordingly they went early to the palace, and thus addressed Alahis: 'Why do you think it necessary always to remain cooped up in the city? All the inhabitants are loyal to you, and that drunkard Cunincpert is so besotted that all his influence is gone. Go out hunting with your young courtiers, and we will stay here with the rest of your faithful servants, and defend this city for you. Nay more, we promise you that we will soon bring back to you the head of your enemy Cunincpert.' Yielding to their persuasions, Alahis went forth to the vast forest already mentioned called the 'City forest,' and there passed his time in hunting and sport of various kinds<sup>2</sup>. Meanwhile Aldo and Grauso journeyed in haste to the Lake of Como, took ship there, and

<sup>1</sup> The third part of a *solidus aureus*, worth about four shillings.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ad Urbem, vastissimam sylvam, profectus est ibique se jocis et venationibus exercere coepit' (Paulus, H. L. v. 39).

sought Cunincpert on his island. Falling at his feet, they confessed and deplored their past transgressions against him, related the menacing words of Alahis, and explained the insidious counsel which they had given him. After weeping together and exchanging solemn oaths, they fixed a day on which Cunincpert was to present himself at the gates of Pavia, which they promised should be opened to receive him.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 7.  
Return  
of Cuninc-  
pert.

All went prosperously with the loyal traitors. On the appointed day Cunincpert appeared under the walls of Pavia. All the citizens, but pre-eminently the bishop and his clergy, went eagerly forth to meet him. They embraced him with tears: he kissed as many of them as he could<sup>1</sup>: old and young with indescribable joy sang their loud hosannas over the overthrow of the tyrant and the return of the beloved Cunincpert. Word was at the same time sent by Aldo and Grauso to Alahis that they had faithfully performed their promise, and even something more, for they had brought back to Pavia not only the head of Cunincpert, but also his whole body, and he was at that moment seated in the palace.

Gnashing his teeth with rage, and foaming out curses against Aldo and Grauso, Alahis fled from the neighbourhood of Pavia, and made his way by Piacenza into the Eastern half of the Lombard kingdom, a territorial division which we now for the first time meet with under a name memorable for Italy in after centuries, and in another connexion—the fateful name of AUSTRIA<sup>2</sup>. It is probable that there was

Alahis  
raises the  
Eastern  
half of the  
kingdom  
against  
Cuninc-  
pert.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ille omnes prout potuit osculatus est' (Paulus, H. L. v. 39).

<sup>2</sup> The boundary between the Eastern and Western provinces, Austria and Neustria, seems to have been the river Adda. This

BOOK VII. in this part of the kingdom an abiding feeling of  
 CH 7. discontent with the rule of the devout drunkard Cunincpert, and a general willingness to accept this stern and strenuous duke of Trient as ruler in his stead. Some cities, indeed, opposed his party. Vicenza sent out an army against him, but when that army was defeated, she was willing to become his ally. Treviso was visited by him, and by gentle or ungentle means was won over to his side. Friuli collected an army which was to have marched to the help of Cunincpert, but Alahis went to meet them as far as the bridge over the Livenza, at forty-eight Roman miles distance from Friuli. Lurking there in a forest<sup>1</sup> hard by, he met each detachment as it was coming up separately, and compelled it to swear fidelity to himself, taking good care that no straggler returned to warn the oncoming troops of the ambush into which they were falling. Thus by the energetic action of Alahis the whole region of 'Austria' was ranged under his banners against the lawful ruler.

Increasing  
 importance  
 of  
 the cities.

It may be noticed in passing that the language of Paulus in describing these events seems to show that the cities were already acquiring some of that power of independent action which is such a marked characteristic of political life in Italy in the Middle Ages. The turbulent personality of Duke Alahis is indeed sufficiently prominent, but he is the only duke

is, as I have said above, the first mention of Austria in the pages of Paulus. He nowhere mentions Neustria, but both terms are used freely in the laws of Liutprand from 713 onwards.

<sup>1</sup> 'In sylvam quae Capulanus dicitur latens.' The scene of this strange encounter must have been somewhere near Concordia. All traces of a forest in that region have, I imagine, long ago disappeared.

mentioned in the whole chapter. It is 'the cities' of Austria that, partly by flattery, partly by force, Alahis wins over to his side. The citizens of Vicenza go forth to battle against him, but become his allies. It is the 'Forojulani,' not the duke of Forum Julii<sup>1</sup>, that send their soldiers as they suppose to assist King Cunincpert, but really to swell the army of his rival<sup>2</sup>.

Thus then were the two great divisions of the Lombard kingdom drawn up in battle array against one another on the banks of the Adda, the frontier stream<sup>3</sup>. Nobly desirous to save the effusion of so much Lombard blood, Cunincpert sent a message to his rival, offering to settle the dispute between them by single combat. But for such an encounter Alahis had little inclination, and when one of his followers, a Tuscan by birth, exhorted him as a brave warrior to accept the challenge, Alahis answered, 'Though Cunincpert is a stupid man, and a drunkard, he is wonderfully brave and strong. I remember how in his father's time, when he and I were boys in the palace together, there were some rams there of unusual size, and he would take one of them, and lift him up by the wool on his back, which I could never do.' At this the Tuscan said, 'If thou darest not meet

Battle of  
the Adda.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Rodwald, but not even his name is mentioned here.

<sup>2</sup> 'Per Placentiam ad Austriam rediit *singulasque civitates* partim blanditiis, partim viribus *sibi socios adscivit*. Nam Vincentiam veniens, contra eum *ejus cives egressi*, bellum paraverunt, sed mox victi, *ejus socii effecti sunt*. Inde exiens Tarvisium pervasit, pari modo etiam et reliquas civitates. Cumque contra eum Cunincpert exercitum colligeret et *Forojulani* in ejus auxilium juxta fidelitatem suam vellent proficisci,' &c. (Paulus, H. L. v. 39).

<sup>3</sup> 'In campo cui Coronate nomen est castra posuere' (Paulus, H. L. v. 39). Lupi (i. 359) proves that this is Cornate on the Adda, about ten miles south-west of Bergamo.

BOOK VII. Cunincpert in single combat, thou shalt not have  
 CH. 7. me to help thee in thy enterprise.' And thereat he went over at once to the camp of Cunincpert, and told him all these things.

Self-devotion  
 of Deacon  
 Seno.

So the armies met in the plain of Coronate, and when they were now about to join battle, Seno, a deacon of the basilica of St. John the Baptist (which Queen Gundiperga had built at Pavia), fearing lest Cunincpert, whom he greatly loved, should fall in the battle, came up and begged to be allowed to don the king's armour, and go forth and fight Alahis. 'All our life,' said Seno, 'hangs on your safety. If you perish in the war, that tyrant Alahis will torture us to death. Let it then be as I say, and let me wear your armour. If I fall, your cause will not have suffered; if I conquer, all the more glory to you, whose very servant has overcome Alahis.' Long time Cunincpert refused to comply with this request, but at length his soft heart was touched by the prayers and tears of all his followers, and he consented to hand over his coat of mail, his helmet, his greaves, and all his other equipments to the deacon, who being of the same build and stature, looked exactly like the king when arrayed in his armour.

Thus then the battle was joined, and hotly contested on both sides. Where Alahis saw the supposed king, thither he pressed with eager haste, thinking to end the war with one blow. And so it was that he killed Seno, whereupon he ordered the head to be struck off, that it might be carried on a pole amid the loud shouts of 'God be thanked' from all the army<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Cumque caput ejus amputari praecepisset, ut levato eo in conto "Deo gratias" adclamarent.'



But when the helmet was removed for this purpose, lo ! the tonsured head showed that they had killed no king, but only an ecclesiastic. Cried Alahis in fury, 'Alas ! we have done nothing in all this great battle, but only slain a cleric.' And with that he swore a horrible oath, that if God would grant him the victory he would fill a well with the amputated members of the clerics of Lombardy.

At first the adherents of Cunincpert were dismayed, thinking that their lord had fallen, but their hearts were cheered, and they were sure of victory, when the king, with open visor<sup>1</sup>, rode round their ranks assuring them of his safety. Again the two hosts drew together for the battle, and again Cunincpert renewed his offer to settle the quarrel by single combat and spare the lives of the people. But Alahis again refused to hearken to the advice of his followers and accept the challenge ; this time alleging that he saw among the standards of his rival the image of the Archangel Michael, in whose sanctuary he had sworn fidelity to Cunincpert. Then said one of his men, 'In thy fright thou seest things that are not. Too late, I ween, for thee is this kind of meditation on saints' images and broken fealty.' The trumpets sounded again for the charge : neither side gave way to the other : a terrible slaughter was made of Lombard warriors. But at length Alahis fell, and by the help of God victory remained with Cunincpert. Great was the slaughter among the fleeing troops of Alahis, and those whom the sword spared the river Adda swept away. The men of Friuli took no share in the battle,

BOOK VII.  
CH. 7.  
Death of  
Alahis  
and vic-  
tory of  
Cuninc-  
pert.

<sup>1</sup> This is not said by Paulus, but I infer it from the fact that the 'cassis' of the deacon concealed his features.

BOOK VII. since their unwilling oath to Alahis prevented them  
 CH. 7. from fighting for Cunincpert, and they were determined not to fight against him. As soon therefore as the battle was joined, they marched off to their own homes.

The head and legs of Alahis were cut off, leaving only his trunk, a ghastly trophy: but the body of the brave deacon Seno was buried by the king's order before the gates of his own basilica of St. John. Cunincpert, now indeed a king, returned to Pavia amid the shouts and songs of triumph of his exultant followers. In after-time he reared a monastery<sup>1</sup> in honour of St. George the Martyr on the battlefield of Coronate in memory of his victory<sup>2</sup>.

Story of  
 Aldo and  
 Grauso.

There is a sequel to this history of the rebellion of Alahis as told by Paulus, but the reader will judge for himself what claim it has to be accepted as history. On a certain day after the rebellion was crushed, King Cunincpert was sitting in his palace at Pavia, taking counsel with his *Marpahis* (master of the horse) how he might make away with Aldo and Grauso, aforetime confederates with Alahis. Suddenly a large fly alighted near them, at which the king struck with a knife, but only succeeded in chopping off the insect's

<sup>1</sup> Paulus, H. L. vi. 17.

<sup>2</sup> The city of Modena had been half ruined during the insurrection of Alahis, but was raised again from the ground and restored by the king to all its former comeliness. So says the author of the *Carmen de Synodo Ticinensi*:—

‘Elictus (*sic*) gente a Deo ut regeret  
 Langibardorum rebelles conpescuit  
 Bello prostravit Alexo (*sic*) nequissimo  
 Semidiruta nuncupata Motina  
 Urbe pristino decore restituit.’

foot. At the same time Aldo and Grauso, ignorant of any design against them, were coming towards the palace; and when they had reached the neighbouring basilica of St. Romanus the Martyr, they were suddenly met by a lame man with a wooden leg, who told them that Cunincpert would slay them if they entered his presence. On hearing this they were seized with fear, and took refuge at the altar of the church. When the king heard that they were thus seeking sanctuary, he at first charged his *Marpahis* with having betrayed his confidence, but he naturally answered that, having never gone out of the king's presence, nor spoken to any one, he could not have divulged his design. Then he sent to Aldo and Grauso to ask why they were in sanctuary. They told him what they had heard, and how a one-legged messenger had brought them the warning, on which the king perceived that the fly had been in truth a malignant spirit, who had betrayed his secret counsels. On receiving his kingly word pledged for their safety, the two refugees came forth from the basilica, and were ever after reckoned among his most devoted servants. The clemency and loyalty of the 'beloved' Cunincpert need not perhaps be seriously impugned for the sake of a childish legend like this.

It was probably in the early years of Cunincpert's reign that a terrible pestilence broke out among the people, and for three months, from July to September, ravaged the greater part of Italy. Each of the two capitals, Rome and Pavia, suffered terribly from its devastation. In Rome, two were often laid in one grave, the son with his father, the brother with his

BOOK VII.  
CH. 7.

Pestilence  
in Italy.

BOOK VII. sister. At Pavia the ravages of the pestilence were  
 CH. 7.

so fearful, that the panic-stricken citizens went forth and lived on the tops of the mountains, doubtless in order to avoid the malarious air of the Po valley. In the streets and squares of the city, grass began to grow : and the terrified remnant that dwelt there had their misery enhanced by ghostly fears. To their excited vision appeared two angels, one of light and one of darkness, walking through their streets. The evil angel carried a hunting-net in his hand : and ever and anon, with the consent of the good angel, he would stop before one of the houses, and strike it with the handle of his net. According to the number of the times that he struck it, was the number of the inmates of that house carried forth next morning to burial. At length it was revealed to one of the citizens that the plague would only be stayed by erecting an altar to the martyr St. Sebastian in the basilica of St. Peter ad Vincula. The relics of the martyr were sent for from Rome, the altar was erected, and the pestilence ceased.

Culture  
 at the  
 court of  
 Cuninc-  
 pert.

Notwithstanding the interruptions of war and pestilence, the court life of Pavia during the reign of Cunincpert seems to have been, in comparison with that of most of his predecessors, a life of refinement and culture. At that court there flourished a certain renowned grammarian, or as we should say, a classical scholar, named Felix, whose memory has been preserved, owing to the fact that his nephew Flavian was the preceptor of the Lombard historian<sup>1</sup>. To him, besides many other gifts, the king gave a walking-

<sup>1</sup> See vol. v. p. 71.

stick adorned with silver and gold, which was no doubt preserved as an heirloom in his family <sup>1</sup>. BOOK VII.  
CH. 7.

It is noteworthy, as showing the increasing civilisation of the Lombards under this king, that he is the first of his race whose effigy appears on a national coinage. His gold coins, obviously imitated from those of Byzantium, bear on the obverse the effigy of 'Dominus Noster Cunincpert,' and on the reverse a quaint representation of the Archangel Michael, that favourite patron saint of the Lombards, whose image the panic-stricken Alahis saw among the royal standards at the great battle by the Adda. Coinage.

It was in the second year of the reign of Cunincpert, and doubtless before the outbreak of the rebellion, that he received the visit of a king from our own land, who not of constraint, but of his own free will, had laid aside his crown. This was Ceadwalla, king of the West Saxons, a young man in the very prime of life, who had, only four years before, won from a rival family the throne of his ancestors. In his short reign he had shown great activity after the fashion of his Visit of  
Ceadwalla  
the West  
Saxon,  
689.

<sup>1</sup> Cavaliere Grion thinks that it is probable that this Felix is commemorated by an inscription at the grotto of S. Giovanni d'Antro, a few miles from Cividale. As he truly remarks, there is nothing in Paulus' account to prove that Felix always lived at Pavia, though he was undoubtedly a *persona grata* at the king's court. The inscription runs as follows:—

'IACEO INDIGNVS HIC TVMV  
LATVS EGO FELIX AD FVN  
DAMENTA SCORVM ECCLAE  
IOHIS BAPTISTAE AC EVANGELISAE  
IDCIRCO OBSECO OMS ASCENDEN  
TES ET DESCENDENTES VT PRO ME  
IS FACINORIBVS DM PRECARE DIGNE  
MINI.'

BOOK VII.  
CH. 7.

anarchic time, had annexed Sussex, ravaged Kent, conquered and massacred the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, and given to two young princes<sup>1</sup> of that island the crown of martyrdom. But in the attack on Kent, his brother Mul, a pattern of the Saxon virtues, generosity, courtesy, and savage courage, had been burned in a plundered house by the enraged men of Kent. Either the loss of this brother, or the satiety born of success, determined Ceadwalla to lay aside the crown, to go on pilgrimage, if possible to die. He was received with marvellous honour by King Cunincpert, whose wife was in a certain sense his countrywoman. He passed on to Rome, and was baptized on Easter Day by Pope Sergius, changing his rough name Ceadwalla for the apostolic Peter. Either the climate of Rome, the exaltation of his spirit, or the austerities which were practised by the penitent, proved fatal. He died on the 20th of April, 689, ten days after his baptism, and an epitaph in respectable elegiacs, composed by order of the Pope,

<sup>1</sup> The brothers of Arwald, king of the island. The account of the martyrdom in Baeda (iv. 16) is an extraordinary sample of the religious ideas of the age. The two lads are found hiding, and brought to the victorious king, who orders them to be slain. Cyniberet (the same name as that of the Lombard king), abbot of Swallowford, comes to the king, who is being cured of wounds received in battle with the men of Wight; and begs of him that if the boys must be killed they may be first 'imbued with the sacraments of the Christian faith.' The king gives his consent, and the abbot instructs them in the word of truth, washes them in the Saviour's fountain, and makes them certain of an entrance into His eternal kingdom. The executioner soon appears, and the two boys gladly submit to temporal death, not doubting that they thereby pass to the eternal life of the soul. The day of the martyrdom of the 'Fratres Regis Arwaldi Martyres' was long celebrated on the 21st of August (Thorpe on Lappenberg, i. 260).

preserved to after-generations the memory of his high birth, his warlike deeds, the zeal which had brought him from the uttermost ends of the earth to visit the City of Romulus, and the devotion to the Papal See which had caused him to visit the tomb and assume the name of Peter <sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 7.

Near the end of his reign Cunincpert summoned that synod at Pavia which brought about the reconciliation between the Patriarch of Aquileia and the Roman Pontiff, and closed the dreary controversy on the Three Chapters, as has been already told in tracing the history of the Istrian schism <sup>2</sup>.

Synod of  
Pavia, 698.

Cunincpert was generally on the most friendly terms with his bishops and clergy, but once it happened that John, bishop of Bergamo, a man of eminent holiness, said something at a banquet which offended him, and the king, condescending to an ignoble revenge, ordered his attendants to bring for the bishop's use a high-spirited and ill-broken steed, which with a loud and angry snort generally dismounted those who dared to cross his back. To the wonder of all beholders however, as soon as the bishop had mounted him, the horse became perfectly tractable, and with a gently ambling pace bore him to his home. The king was so astonished at the miracle that he gave the horse to the bishop for his own, and ever after held him in highest honour.

A trial of  
horseman-  
ship.

The last year of the seventh century saw the end of the reign of Cunincpert. He must have died in middle life, and possibly his death may have been

Death of  
Cuninc-  
pert, 700.

<sup>1</sup> This epitaph is given by Baeda (H. E. v. 7) and copied by Paulus (H. L. vi. 15).

<sup>2</sup> See vol. v. p. 483.

BOOK VII. hastened by those deep potations which seem to have  
 CH. 7. been characteristic of his race<sup>1</sup>. But whatever were his faults, he had his father's power of winning the hearts of his servants. He was 'the prince most beloved by all<sup>2</sup>,' and it was amid the genuine tears of the Lombards that he was laid to rest by his father's side, near his grandfather's church of 'Our Lord and Saviour.'

**LIUTPERT (700),**

Short  
 reign of  
 Liutpert  
 under the  
 guardianship  
 of  
 Ansprand,  
 700.

the son of Cunincpert, succeeded his father, but being still only a boy, he was under the guardianship of Ansprand, a wise and noble statesman, the father of a yet more illustrious son, who was one day to shed a sunset glory over the last age of the Lombard monarchy. At this time Ansprand had little opportunity of showing his capacity for rule, for after eight months Raginpert, duke of Turin, the son of Godepert, whom Grimwald slew forty years before, a man of the same generation and about the same age as the lately deceased king, rose in rebellion against his kinsman; and marching eastwards with a strong army, met Ansprand and his ally, Rotharit, duke of Bergamo, on the plains of Novara—a name of evil omen for Italy—defeated them and won the crown, which however he was not destined long to wear.

**RAGINPERT (700).**

**ARIPERT II (701-712).**

Reign of  
 Raginpert.

The new king died very shortly after his accession, in the same year which witnessed the death of

<sup>1</sup> Of Perctarit it is said, 'Bibat ebriosus ille' (Paulus, H. L. v. 2); of Cunincpert, 'Quamvis ebriosus sit et stupidi cordis' (Ibid. v. 40).

<sup>2</sup> 'Cunctis amabillimus princeps' (Paulus, vi. 17).



Cunincpert. The boy-king Liutpert and his guardian BOOK VII.  
CH. 7. Ansprand had yet a party, Rotharit and three other dukes<sup>1</sup> being still confederate together. Aripert II, Accession  
of his son,  
Aripert II,  
701. son of Raginpert, marched against them, defeated them in the plains near Pavia, and took the boy-king prisoner. His guardian Ansprand fled, it need hardly be said to the Insula Comacina, where he fortified himself against the expected attack of the usurper.

Rotharit meanwhile returned to Bergamo, and dis- Rebellion  
of Rotha-  
rit. carding all pretence of championing the rights of Liutpert, styled himself king of the Lombards. Aripert marched against him with a large army, took the town of Lodi, which guarded the passage of the Adda, and then besieged Bergamo. The 'battering rams and other machines,' which now formed part of the warlike apparatus of the Lombards, enabled him without difficulty to make himself master of the place<sup>2</sup>. Rotharit the pretender<sup>3</sup> was taken prisoner: his head and his chin were shaved, and he was sent into banishment into Aripert's own city, Turin, where not long after he was slain. The child Liutpert was also taken Death of  
Liutpert. prisoner, and killed by drowning in a bath<sup>4</sup>.

The boy-king being thus disposed of, the faithful Flight of  
Ansprand  
and  
cruelties  
practised  
on his  
family. guardian Ansprand remained to be dealt with. An army, doubtless accompanied by something in the nature of a flotilla, was sent to the Insula Comacina.

<sup>1</sup> Ato, Tatzo, and Farao. There can be no doubt that these are dukes, though we are not told over what cities they ruled.

<sup>2</sup> 'Bergamum obsedit eamque cum arietibus et diversis belli machinis sine aliquâ difficultate expugnans' (Paulus, H. L. vi. 20); an important passage for the history of the art of war.

<sup>3</sup> 'Rotharit pseudo-regem' (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> 'Liutpertum vero, quem ceperat pari modo in balneo vitâ privavit' (Ibid.)

BOOK VII. Learning its approach, and knowing himself powerless to resist it, Ansprand fled up the Splügen Pass by way of Chiavenna and Coire to Theudebert, duke of the Bavarians, who, for the sake doubtless of his loyalty to the Bavarian line<sup>1</sup>, gave him for nine years shelter in his court. The island on lake Como was at once occupied by Aripert's troops, and the town erected on it destroyed<sup>2</sup>. Unable to reach the brave and faithful Ansprand, Aripert, now established in his kingdom, wreaked cruel vengeance on his family. His wife Theodarada, who had with womanish vanity boasted that she would one day be queen, had her nose and ears cut off<sup>3</sup>. The like hideous mutilation was practised on his daughter Aurna, herself apparently already a wife and a mother<sup>4</sup>. Sigiprand, the eldest son, was blinded, and all the near relations of the fugitive were in one way or other tormented. Only Liutprand, the young son of Ansprand, escaped the cruel hands of the tyrant, who despised his youth, and after keeping him for some time in imprisonment, allowed him to depart for the Bavarian land, where he was received with inexpressible joy by his father.

Reign of  
Aripert II,  
701-712.

Pilgrim-  
age of  
Anglo-  
Saxons to  
Rome.

Of the twelve years' reign of Aripert II we have but little information, except as to the civil wars caused by his usurpation of the crown. The inhabitants of Italy saw with surprise the increasing number of Anglo-Saxon pilgrims, noble and base-born, men and

<sup>1</sup> Of course Aripert as well as Liutpert belonged to this line.

<sup>2</sup> 'Exercitus vero Ariperti insulam . . . invadens, ejus oppidum diruit' (Paulus, H. L. vi. 21).

<sup>3</sup> 'Quae cum se voluntate femineâ reginam futuram esse jactaret, naso atque auribus abscisis decore suae faciei deturpata (*sic*) est' (Ibid. 22).

<sup>4</sup> See Paulus, H. L. vi. 50.

women, laymen and clergy, who, 'moved by the instinct of a divine love,' and also deeming that they thus secured a safer and easier passage to Paradise, braved the hardships of a long and toilsome journey, and came on pilgrimage to Rome. It was thus, during the reign of Aripert, that Coinred, king of the Mercians, grandson of that fierce old heathen Penda, came with the young and comely Offa, prince of the East Saxons, to Rome, and there, according to Paulus, speedily obtained that death which they desired<sup>1</sup>. Thus also, sixteen years later, Ine, king of Wessex, lawgiver and warrior, after a long and generally prosperous reign of thirty-seven years, forcibly admonished by his wife as to the vanity of all earthly grandeur, followed the example of his kinsman Ceadwalla, and, resigning his crown to his brother-in-law, turned his pilgrim steps towards Rome, where he died, a humbly clad but not tonsured monk<sup>2</sup>.

King Aripert, however, did not greatly encourage the visits of strangers to his land. When the ambassadors of foreign nations came to his court, he would don his cheapest garments of cloth or of leather, and would set before them no costly wines, nor any other dainties, in order that the strangers might be impressed by the poverty of Italy. One might say that he remembered the manner of the invitation which, according to the *Saga*, Narses had given to his people,

<sup>1</sup> 'His etiam diebus duo reges Saxonum ad vestigia apostolorum Romam venientes, sub velocitate ut optabant defuncti sunt' (H. L. vi. 28: see also vi. 37). Paulus adapts and slightly modifies the statements of Baeda, Hist. Eccl. v. 7 and 19.

<sup>2</sup> Lappenberg, i. 267, quoting Baeda, H. E. v. 7; and William of Malmesbury, i. 2.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 7.

and was determined that no second invitation of the same kind should travel northward across the Alps. Like the Caliph of the next century, Haroun al Raschid, Aripert would roam about by night, disguised, through the streets of the cities of his kingdom, that he might learn what sort of opinion his subjects had of him, and what manner of justice his judges administered. For he was, says Paulus, 'a pious man, given to alms, and a lover of justice, in whose days there was great abundance of the fruits of the earth, but the times were barbarous <sup>1</sup>.'

His devo-  
tion to the  
Church.

Certainly the times were barbarous, if Aripert II was a fair representative of them. There is a taint of Byzantine cruelty in his blindings and mutilations of the kindred of his foes, of more than Byzantine, of Tartar savagery in the wide sweep of his ruthless sword. He was devout, doubtless, a great friend of the Church, as were almost all of these kinsmen of Theudelinda. We are told that he restored to the Apostolic See a large territory in the province of the Cottian Alps, which had once belonged to the Papal Patrimony, and that the epistle announcing this great concession was written in letters of gold <sup>2</sup>. Admirable

<sup>1</sup> 'Fuit quoque vir pius, elymosynis deditus ac justitiae amator; in cujus temporibus terrae ubertas nimia, *sed tempora fuere barbara*' (Paulus, H. L. vi. 35).

<sup>2</sup> There has been some discussion as to whether Paulus (H. L. vi. 28) means to imply that the *whole province* of the Alpes Cottiae formed part of the Papal Patrimony (see Grisar, *Rundgang durch die Patrimonien*, p. 352). But the corrected text of Paulus shows that, though his words are not well chosen, he did not mean to say this, but only that there was a certain part of the Papal Patrimony situated in the above-named provinces.

as are, for the most part, the judgments of character expressed by the Lombard deacon, it is difficult not to think that in this case a gift had blinded the eyes of the wise, and that Aripert's atrocious cruelties to the family of Ansprand are condoned for the sake of the generous gifts which he, like Henry of Lancaster, bestowed on the Church which sanctioned his usurpation.

At length the long-delayed day of vengeance dawned for Ansprand. His friend Theudebert, duke of Bavaria, gave him an army, with which he invaded Italy and joined battle with Aripert. There was great slaughter on both sides, but when night fell, 'it is certain,' says the patriotic Paulus, 'that the Bavarians had turned their backs, and the army of Aripert returned victorious to its camp.' However, the Lombard victory does not seem to have been so clear to Aripert, who left the camp, and sought shelter within the walls of Pavia. This timidity gave courage to his enemies, and utterly disgusted his own soldiers. Perceiving that he had lost the affections of the army, he accepted the advice which some of his friends proffered, that he should make his escape into France. Having taken away out of the palace vaults as much gold as he thought he could carry, he set forth on his journey. It was necessary for him to swim across the river Ticino, not a broad nor very rapid stream: but the weight of the gold (which he had perhaps enclosed in a belt worn about his person) dragged him down, and he perished in the waters. Next day his body was found, and buried close to the Church of the Saviour, doubtless near the bodies of his father and grandfather. His brother Gumpert fled to France, and died there,

BOOK VII. leaving three sons, one of whom, Raginpert, was, in  
CH. 7. the time of Paulus, governor <sup>1</sup> of the important city of  
Orleans. But no more princes of the Bavarian line  
reigned in Italy, where, with one slight interruption,  
they had borne sway for a century.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly Count.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### STORY OF THE DUCHIES, CONTINUED.

FOLLOWING the course of the chief highway of BOOK VII.  
Lombard history, we have now emerged from the CH. 8.  
seventh century and have arrived at the threshold  
of the reign of the greatest, and nearly the last, of  
the Lombard kings. But before tracing the career of  
Liutprand, we must turn back to consider the changes  
which forty years had wrought in the rulers of the  
subordinate Lombard states, and also in the relations  
of the Empire and the Papacy.

#### I. Duchy of Trient.

TRIENT.

Of one turbulent duke of Trient, namely Duke Alahis, Duke Alahis.  
we have already heard, and have marked his attempts,  
his almost successful attempts, to overthrow the sove-  
reigns who ruled at Pavia by the combined exertions of  
all the cities of the Lombard Austria. Apparently the  
forces of the Tridentine duchy were exhausted by this  
effort, for we hear nothing concerning the successors  
of Alahis in the remaining pages of Paulus Diaconus.

#### II. Duchy of Friuli.

FRIULI

The story of the duchy of Friuli, perhaps on account  
of the historian's own connection with that region,  
is much more fully told.

BOOK VII. The brave *Wechtari* from Vicenza was succeeded  
 CH. 8. in the duchy by *Landari*, and he by *Rodwald*.  
 These to us are names and nothing more, but Rod-  
 wald during his absence from Cividale was ousted  
 Duke from his duchy by a certain *Ansfrut*, an inhabitant  
 Ansfrut. (probably a count or *gastald*) of Reunia<sup>1</sup>, on the  
 banks of the Tagliamento. Rodwald fled into Istria,  
 and thence by way of Ravenna (evidently at this  
 time there were friendly relations between king and  
 exarch) he made his way to the court of Cunine-  
 pert. Ansfrut's invasion of the duchy of Friuli had  
 taken place without the king's sanction, and now,  
 not content with the duchy, he aspired to the crown,  
 and marched westward as far as Verona. There, how-  
 ever, he was defeated, taken prisoner, and sent to the  
 king. According to the barbarous Byzantine fashion  
 of the times, his eyes were blinded and he was sent  
 into exile. For some reason or other, probably on  
 account of his proved incapacity, Rodwald was not  
 restored, but the government of the duchy was vested  
 Ado. in his brother *Ado*, who, however, ruled only with the  
 title of Caretaker (*Loci Servator*). After he had  
 governed for nineteen months he died, and was suc-  
 ceeded by *Ferdulf*, who came from Liguria in the  
 Duke West, a stirring chief, but somewhat feather-headed  
 Ferdulf. and unstable<sup>2</sup>, in whose occupation of the duchy  
 a notable event occurred<sup>3</sup>.

The Slovenic neighbours of Friuli were much given

<sup>1</sup> Now Ragogna, about thirty miles west of Cividale.

<sup>2</sup> 'Homo lubricus et elatus.'

<sup>3</sup> Paulus (H. L. vi. 3 and 24) gives us no date for these transactions. We can only say that the usurpation of Ansfrut occurred during the reign of Cuninepert (688-700). After that all is vague.



to cattle-lifting excursions across the border, by which the Lombards of the plain suffered severely. Apparently Duke Ferdulf thought that one regular war would be more tolerable than these incessant predatory inroads: or else it was, as Paulus asserts, simply from a vainglorious desire to pose as conqueror of the Sclovenes that he actually invited these barbarians to cross over into his duchy, and bribed certain of their leaders to support the expedition in the councils of the nation<sup>1</sup>. Never was a more insane scheme devised, and the danger of it was increased by Ferdulf's want of prudence and self-control. A certain *sculdahis*<sup>2</sup> or high-bailiff of the king, named Argait, a man of noble birth and great courage and capacity, had pursued the Sclovene depredators after one of their incursions, and had failed to capture them. 'No wonder,' said the hot-tempered duke, 'that you who are called Argait can do no brave deed, but have let those robbers escape you' (*Arga* being the Lombard word for a coward)<sup>3</sup>. Thereat the *sculdahis*, in a tremendous rage at this most unjust accusation, replied, 'If it please God, Duke Ferdulf, thou and I shall not depart this life before it has been seen which of us

BOOK VII.  
CH. 8.

His wars  
with the  
Sclovenes.

Quarrel  
with  
Argait.

<sup>1</sup> 'Qui dum victoriae laudem de Sclavis habere cupiit, magna sibi et Foro-Julianis detrimenta invexit. Is præmia quibusdam Sclavis dedit, ut exercitum Sclavorum in eadem (*sic*) provinciam suâ adhortatione immitterent' (Paulus, H. L. vi. 24).

<sup>2</sup> Called *Sculdhaiizo* in the laws of Rothari (see p. 232).

<sup>3</sup> Thus we read in the laws of Rothari (381) that if any one called another *Arga*, and afterwards pleads that he only said it in passion, he must first swear that he does not really know him to be *Arga*, and then for his insulting words must pay a fine of 12 solidi (£7 4s.). If he sticks to it that the other man is *Arga*, the matter must be settled by single combat.

two is the greater *Arga*.<sup>1</sup> Soon after this interchange of vulgar abuse<sup>1</sup> came the tidings that the mighty army of the Sclovenes, whose invasion Ferdulf had so foolishly courted, was even now at hand. They came, probably pouring down through the Predil Pass, under the steep cliffs of the Mangert, and round the buttresses of the inaccessible Terglou. Ferdulf saw them encamped at the top of a mountain, steep and difficult of access, and began to lead his Lombards round its base, that he might turn the position, which he could not scale. But then outspake Argait: 'Remember, Duke Ferdulf, that you called me an idle and useless thing, in the speech of our countrymen an *Arga*.<sup>2</sup> Now may the wrath of God light upon that one of us who shall be last up that mountain, and striking at the Slaves.' With that he turned his horse's head, and charged up the steep mountain. Stung by his taunts, and determined not to be outdone, Ferdulf followed him all the way up the craggy and pathless places. The army, thinking it shame not to follow its leader, pressed on after them. Thus was the victory given over to the Sclovenes, who had only to roll down stones and tree-trunks<sup>3</sup> on the ascending Lombards, and needed neither arms nor valour to rid them of their foes, nearly all of

<sup>1</sup> 'Haec cum sibi invicem vulgaria verba locuti fuissent' (Paulus, H. L. vi. 24). Yet *vulgaria verba* probably means rather words spoken in the non-Roman, barbaric tongue, than precisely what we understand by 'vulgar.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Memento, dux Ferdulf, quod me esse inertem et inutilem dixeris et *vulgari verbo arga* vocaveris.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Et magis lapidibus ac securibus quam armis contra eos pugnantes.' I take it that 'secures' were used in felling trees to be used as above.

whom were knocked from their horses and perished miserably.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 8.

There fell Ferdulf himself, and Argait, and all the nobles of Friuli; such a mass of brave men as might with forethought and a common purpose have done great things for their country; all sacrificed to foolish pique and an idle quarrel<sup>1</sup>.

There was indeed one noble Lombard who escaped, almost by a miracle. This was Munichis, whose two sons, Peter and Ursus, long after were dukes of Friuli and Ceneda respectively. He was thrown from his horse, and one of the Sclovenes came upon him and tied his hands; but he, though thus manacled, contrived to wrest the Sclovene's lance from his right hand, to pierce him with the same, and then, all bound as he was, to scramble down the steep side of the mountain and get away in safety.

In the room of the slain Ferdulf, a certain *Corvolus* obtained the ducal dignity. Not long, however, did he rule the city of Forum Julii, for, having fallen in some way under the displeasure of the king (apparently Aripert II), he was, according to that monarch's usual custom, deprived of his eyes, and spent the rest of his life in ignominious seclusion. This and several other indications of the same kind clearly show that these northern dukes had not attained nearly the same semi-independent position which had been achieved by their brethren of Spoleto and Benevento.

Duke  
Corvolus.

<sup>1</sup> 'Tantique ibi viri fortes per contentionis malum et improvidentiam debellati sunt, quanti possent per unam concordiam et salubre consilium multa millia sternere aemulorum' (Paulus, H. L. vi. 24). True for many other passages in Lombard history besides this.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 8.Duke  
Pemmo.

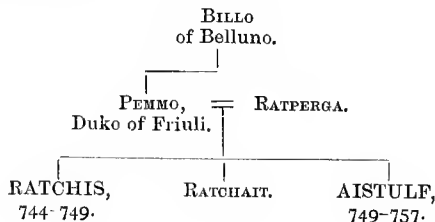
To him succeeded *Pemmo*, and here we seem to reach firmer ground, for this is the father of two well-known kings of the Lombards, and we may yet read in a church of Cividale a contemporary inscription bearing his name. The father of Pemmo was a citizen of Belluno named Billo, who having been engaged in an unsuccessful conspiracy, probably against the duke of his native place, came as an exile to Forum Julii, and spent the remainder of his days as a peaceful inhabitant of that city.

Pemmo himself, who is highly praised by Paulus as a wise and ingenious man, and one who was useful to his fatherland<sup>1</sup>, must have risen early to a high position by his ability, for ancestral influence must have been altogether wanting. He probably became duke of Friuli somewhere about 705<sup>2</sup>, a few years before the death of Aripert II, and held the office for about six and twenty years. The history of his fall will have to be told in connection with the reign of Liutprand, but meanwhile we may hear the story of his family life, as quaintly told by Paulus<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Qui fuit homo ingeniosus et utilis patriae' (Paulus, H. L. vi. 26). Of course 'ingeniosus' is not quite accurately translated by 'ingenious.' If the word 'talented' were ever admissible one would like to use it as a translation of 'ingeniosus.'

<sup>2</sup> De Rubeis (p. 319) fixes his accession at this time, I know not on what authority.

<sup>3</sup> Pedigree of Pemmo:—







ALTAR IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MARTIN AT CIVIDALE  
ERECTED BY RATCHUS IN MEMORY OF HIS FATHER PEMMO DUKE OF FORDUM JULII







‘This Pemmo had a wife named Ratperga, who, as she was of a common and countrified appearance<sup>1</sup>, repeatedly begged her husband to put her away and marry another wife whose face should be more worthy of so great a duke.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 8.

Pemmo's  
domestic  
relations.

‘But he, being a wise man, said that her manners, her humility, and her shame-faced modesty pleased him more than personal beauty. This wife bore to Pemmo three sons, namely, Ratchis, Ratchait, and Aistulf, all vigorous men, whose careers made glorious their mother's lowliness.

‘Moreover, Duke Pemmo, gathering round him the sons of all those nobles who had fallen in the above described war [with the Sclovenes], brought them up on an exact footing of equality with his own children<sup>2</sup>.’

I have said that a single existing monument preserves the memory of Duke Pemmo in the city over which he bore sway. Leaving the central portion of Cividale behind him, and crossing the beautiful gorge of the Natisone by the Ponte del Diavolo, the traveller comes to a little suburb, of no great interest in itself, and containing a modernised church, the external appearance of which will also probably fail to interest him, the little church of St. Martin. The altar of this church is adorned with a bas-relief in a barbarous style of ecclesiastical art. A rudely carved effigy of Christ between two winged saints (possibly the Virgin and John the Baptist<sup>3</sup>) is surrounded by four angels, whose large hands, twisted bodies, and curiously folded

King  
Pemmo's  
altar-slab.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Quae cum esset facie rusticana’ (Paulus, H. L. vi. 26).

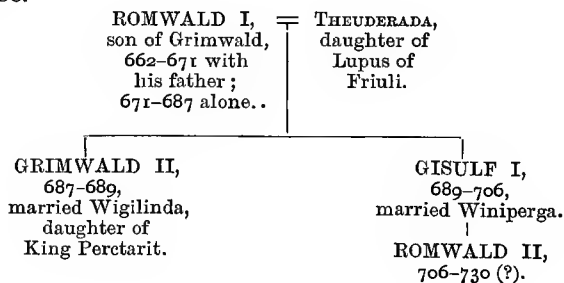
<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> To the latter of whom the church was originally dedicated.

wings show a steep descent of the sculptor's art from the days of Phidias. Round the four slabs which make up the altar runs an inscription<sup>1</sup>, not easy to decipher, which records in barbarous Latin the fact that the illustrious and sublime Pemmo had restored the ruined church of St. John, and enriched it with many gifts, having amongst other things presented it with a cross of fine gold; and that his son Ratchis had adorned the altar with beautifully coloured marbles. Here then, in this little, scarce noticed church, we have a genuine relic of the last days of the Lombard monarchy.

### III. Duchy of Benevento.

Our information as to the history of this duchy during the period in question is chiefly of a genealogical kind, and may best be exhibited in the form of a pedigree.



<sup>1</sup> The inscription is thus given by Troya (Cod. Dip. Lang. No. DXXXIX), but I am not certain of its accuracy:—

(1) de MAXIMA DONA XPI AD CLARIT SVBEIMI CONCESSA  
PEMMONI VBIQVE DIRVTO

(2) FORMARENTVR VT TEMPLA NAM EI INTER RELIQVAS

(3) SOLARIVM BEATI JOHANNIS ORNABIT PENDOLA EX AVRO  
PVLCHRO ALT

(4) ARE DITABIT MARMORIS COLORE RAT. CHIS HIDEBOHRIT.

(It is suggested that this last barbarous word is the name of the *fara* of Pemmo.)

We hear again of the piety of Theuderada, the heroine of the legend of St. Barbatius, and we are told that she built a basilica in honour of St. Peter outside the walls of Benevento, and founded there a convent, in which dwelt many of the 'maids of God.' Her son, *Grimwald II*, married, it will be observed, a daughter of King Perctarit and sister of Cunincpert. Apparently, therefore, the strife between the royal and the ducal line, which was begun by the usurpation of Grimwald, might now be considered as ended.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 8.

Duke  
Grimwald  
II.

After Grimwald's short reign he was succeeded by a brother, *Gisulf I*, whose name recalled the ancestral connection of his family with Friuli, and their descent from the first Gisulf, the *marpahis* of Alboin.

Duke  
Gisulf I.

Gisulf's son, *Romwald II*, reigned at the same time as King Liutprand, and his story, with that of his family, will have to be told in connection with that king, whose sister he married.

Duke  
Romwald  
II.

Though we hear but little of the course of affairs during these years in the 'Samnite duchy,' it is evident that Lombard power was increasing and the power of the Emperors diminishing in Southern Italy. Romwald I collected a great army with which he marched against Tarentum and Brundisium, and took those cities. 'The whole of the wide region round them was made subject to his sway<sup>1</sup>.' This probably means that the whole of the Terra di Otranto, the vulnerable heel of Italy, passed under Lombard rule. Certainly the ill-judged expedition of Constans was

Conquest  
of Tarentum  
by  
Romwald  
I.

<sup>1</sup> 'Parique modo Brundisium et omnem illam quae in circuitu est latissimam regionem suae dicioni subjugavit' (Paulus, H. L. vi. 1).

BOOK VII. well avenged by the young Lombard chief whom he  
 CH. 8. thought to crush.

Romwald's son, Gisulf, pushed the border of his duchy up to the river Liris, wresting from the *Ducatus Romae* the towns of Sora, Arpinum<sup>1</sup>, and Arx. It is interesting to observe that in our own day the frontier line between the States of the Church (representing the *Ducatus Romae*) and the kingdom of Naples (representing the duchy of Benevento) was so drawn as just to exclude from the former Sora, Arpino, and Rocca d'Arce.

Invasion  
 of Cam-  
 pania by  
 Gisulf I.

It was during the pontificate of John VI (701-705), and possibly at the same time that these conquests were made, that Gisulf invaded Campania with a large force, burning and plundering; and arriving at the great granary of Puteoli<sup>2</sup>, pitched his camp there, no man resisting him. By this time he had taken an enormous number of captives, but the Pope sending some priests to him 'with apostolic gifts,' ransomed the captives out of his hands, and persuaded Gisulf himself to return without further ravages to his own land.

SPOLETO.

#### IV. Duchy of Spoleto.

Here, too, we have little more than the materials for a pedigree, as the remarkable denudation of historical materials which was previously noticed<sup>3</sup> still continues.

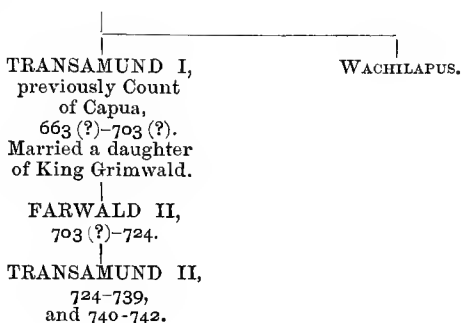
<sup>1</sup> Paulus calls it Hirpinum (H. L. vi. 27).

<sup>2</sup> The remarks of Beloch in his 'Campanien,' p. 137, make me think that 'locum qui dicitur Horrea' must = Puteoli.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 96.

It will be remembered that Grimwald of Benevento, in his audacious and successful attempt on the Lombard crown (661), was powerfully aided by Transamund, Count of Capua, whom he ordered to march by way of Spoleto and Tuscany to collect adherents to his cause, and that soon after his acquisition of sovereign power, he rewarded this faithful ally by bestowing on him the duchy of Spoleto, and the hand of one of his daughters.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 8.  
Transamund, Grimwald's ally, becomes Duke of Spoleto, 663 (?).



Transamund appears to have reigned for forty years (663–703)<sup>1</sup>. He was succeeded by his son *Farwald II*, Duke Farwald of II. evidently named after the famous Duke Farwald of an earlier day, the founder of the duchy, and the conqueror of Classis. Notwithstanding the long reign of Transamund, his son appears to have been young at his accession, and his uncle *Wachilapus* was associated with him in the dukedom<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> These are the dates assigned by Bethmann (Neues Archiv, iii. 238 and 243), and accepted by Waitz. A donation of Farwald II in the Regesto di Farfa (ii. 22) is assigned by the editors to 705.

<sup>2</sup> 'Igitur defuncto Transamundi duce Spolitanorum Farwaldus, ejus filius, in loco patris est subrogatus. Denique Wachilapus germanus fuit Transamundi et cum fratre pariter eundem rexit

BOOK VII.  
CH. 8.

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The story of Farwald II, and his turbulent son *Transamund II*, will be related when we come to deal with the reign of Liutprand.

ducatum' (Paulus, H. L. vi. 30). One is inclined to think either that *Transamundi* is a mistake for *Faroaldi*, or that we should read for 'fratre' 'fratris filio' (the view adopted in the text).

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE, 663-717.

#### Authorities.

#### Sources :—

The LIBER PONTIFICALIS becomes here a first-rate authority. It is curious to compare the copious lives of Sergius and Constantine with the excessively meagre notice of Gregory I a century earlier. Duchesne, in his introduction to the L. P., p. ccxxxiii, while not expressing a decided opinion, seems to consider the lives after 625 as the work of nearly, if not quite, contemporary authors.

THEOPHANES (758-818), and NICEPHORUS (758-828). The character and literary quality of both historians will be discussed in a future chapter.

#### Guides :—

*B. Malfatti* :—‘Imperatori e Papi’ (Pisa, 1816).

*R. Bazmann* :—‘Die Politik der Päpste von Gregor I bis auf Gregor VII’ (Elberfeld, 1868).

FROM the day when Constans entered Rome on his mission of devout spoliation, the fortunes of the Papacy were so closely linked, at least for a couple of generations, with those of the Empire, that we may without inconvenience consider them together. That visit of the Emperor may be considered to have been the lowest point of the humiliation both of the Bishop and the City of Rome. Vigilus and Martin had been

Visit of  
Constans  
to Rome  
(663), the  
lowest  
point of  
Roman  
degrada-  
tion.

LOMBARD KINGS.	EMPERORS.	POPES.	
Grimwald, 662-671. Perctarit, 672-688.	Constantine Pogonatus . 668-685	Vitalian . . 657-672	
		Adeodatus . 672-676	
Cunincpert, 688-700.	Justinian II . . . 685-695	Donus . . 676-678	
		Agatho . . 678-681	
		Leo II . . 682-683	
		Benedict II . 684-685	
		John V . . 685-686	
Aripert II, 700-712.	Leontius . . . 695-698	Conon . . 686-687	
	Tiberius III . . . 698-705	Sergius . . 687-701	
	Justinian II (restored) . 705-711	John VI. . 701-705	
Ansprand, 712. Liutprand, 712-744.	Philippicus . . . 711-713	John VII . 705-707	
		Anastasius II . . . 713-715	Sisinnius . . 708
		Theodosius III . . . 715-717	Constantine . 708-715
		Leo III (the Isaurian) . 717-740	Gregory II . 715-731
		Gregory III . 731-741	



indeed dragged away from their episcopal palace and their loyal flock, and had suffered indignities and hardships in the city by the Bosphorus; but it was surely a lower depth of degradation to stand by, as Vitalian must needs do in trembling submission, with a smile of feigned welcome on his lips, while Constans the heretic, the author of the *Type* against which the Lateran Synod had indignantly protested, alternated his visits to the basilicas with his spoliation of the monuments of Rome. It may well have been at such a time as this that some Roman noble poured forth his feelings of indignation in a short poem which was found by the industrious Muratori in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Modena, and which may be thus translated <sup>1</sup>:—

‘Rome! thou wast reared by noble hands and brave,  
 But downward now thou fall’st, of slaves the slave,  
 No king within thee hath for long borne sway;  
 Thy name, thy glory are the Grecians’ prey.  
 None of thy nobles in thy courts remains,  
 Thy free-born offspring till the Argive plains.  
 Drawn from the world’s ends is thy vulgar crowd,  
 To servants’ servants now thy head is bowed.  
 “The New Rome”—such Byzantium’s name to-day,  
 While thou, the old Rome, seest thy walls decay.  
 Well said the seer, pondering his mystic lore,  
*Rome’s love shall fail, she shall be Rome no more.*  
 But for the Great Apostles’ guardian might,  
 Thou long ago hadst sunk in endless night.’

Poem on  
 the abase-  
 ment of  
 Rome.

<sup>1</sup> This Epigram, as it is called, is given by Muratori (*Ant. Med. Aevi*, ii. 147) and by Troya (*Cod. Dip. Long. No. L*), and is as follows:—

‘Nobilibus fueras quondam constructa patronis,  
 Subdita nunc servis. Heu male, Roma, ruis!  
 Deseruere tui tanto de tempore Reges;  
 Cessit et ad Graecos nomen honosque tuum.

BOOK VII. However, from this time forward there was a steady  
 CH. 9. progress on the part of the people of old Rome towards  
 Tendency towards independence of their Byzantine rulers, and in this  
 freedom from the successful struggle for freedom the Popes were the  
 Byzantine more or less avowed and conscious protagonists. The  
 yoke. day was passing away in which it was possible for  
 the Eastern Caesar to send a policeman to arrest the  
 Pope and drag him off to a Byzantine prison. We  
 shall see one Exarch after another attempt this in-  
 vidious duty in obedience to his master's mandate, and  
 one after another will fall back disheartened before  
 the manifestations of the popular will, which in the  
 end will take the shape of an armed and organised  
 National Guard.

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In te nobilium Rectorum nemo remansit  
 Ingenuique tui rura Pelasga colunt,  
 Vulgus ab extremis distractum partibus orbis,  
 Servorum servi nunc tibi sunt domini.  
 Constantinopolis florens nova Roma vocatur :  
 Moenibus et muris, Roma vetusta, cadis.  
 Hoc cantans prisco praedixit carmine vates,  
*Roma tibi subito motibus ibit Amor.*  
 Non si te Petri meritum Paulique foveret  
 Tempore jam longo Roma misella fores?  
 Mancipibus subjecta jacens jacularis iniquis,  
 Inclyta quae fueras nobilitate nitens,' &c.

There are some more lines, which Muratori was unable to decipher. The 'Servorum servi' in line 8 is understood by Muratori and Troya to apply to the Greeks, and if so it is only a repetition of l. 2. I am inclined to think with Gregorovius that there is at least an allusion to the title 'Servus Servorum Dei' assumed by the Pope. The twelfth line is what is called 'recurrens,' and is the same whichever end it is read from. This is, of course, untranslatable, but I have just hinted at the word-play by placing at the end of the line a word which is an anagram of Rome. The last two lines are a mere repetition of the preceding, and I therefore omit them in the translation.

This result is the more remarkable, as the Popes BOOK VII.  
CH. 9. who presided over the Church during the period in question were for the most part undistinguished men, generally advanced in years—this must have been the cause of their very short average tenure of the see—and with so little that was striking in their characters that even the Papal chronicler can find scarcely anything to say of them except that they ‘loved the clergy and people,’ or ‘gave a large donation<sup>1</sup> to the ecclesiastics and to the poor.’ In order not to burden the text with a multitude of names which no memory will wisely retain, I refer the reader for the Popes of the seventh century to a list at the end of this chapter<sup>2</sup>, and will mention here only those who took a leading part in the development of doctrine and the struggle with the Emperors.

A Sicilian ecclesiastic named Agatho, who occupied Pope  
Agatho.  
678-681. the chair of St. Peter for two years and a half (678-681), had the glory of winning a great ecclesiastical victory, and of settling the Monotheletic controversy on the terms for which Martin and all the Popes since Honorius had strenuously contended.

The young Emperor Constantine IV, whom we last Constantine Pogonatus,  
Emperor,  
668-685. met with in Sicily avenging his father’s murder<sup>3</sup>, and who received the surname Pogonatus (bearded) from the populace of Constantinople, astonished to see their young lord returning to his home with the bushy beard of manhood, was occupied in the early years of his reign by matters too weighty to allow of his spending his time in theological controversy. For five years, as 673-677. has been already said<sup>4</sup>, the great Saracen Armada

<sup>1</sup> ‘roga.’

<sup>2</sup> See Note C, p. 387.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 282.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 15.

BOOK VII. hovered round the coasts of the Sea of Marmora, and  
CH. 9. the turbans of the followers of the Prophet were  
descried on the Bithynian shore by the defenders of  
Constantinople. Delivered from that pressing danger,  
the Emperor had leisure to consider the unhappy con-  
dition of the Church, distracted by that verbal dis-  
putation concerning the will of the Saviour for which  
his grandfather had unhappily given the signal. Con-  
stantine Pogonatus appears to have taken personally  
no decided line in this controversy, but to have been  
honestly anxious that the Church should decide it for  
herself. Four successive Patriarchs of Constantinople,  
generally supported by the Patriarchs of Antioch and  
Alexandria, had upheld Monothelete doctrine, and  
struggled for the phrase 'one theandric energy.' But  
the ecclesiastics of Constantinople probably saw that  
the mind of the Emperor was wavering, and that the  
whole West was united under the generalship of the  
Pope in a solid phalanx against them. It was under-  
stood that George, the new Patriarch of Constanti-  
nople, was willing to recede from the Monothelete  
position, and the Emperor accordingly issued an in-  
vitation to the Pope to send deputies to take part in  
a Conference for the restoration of peace to the Church.  
Pope Agatho had already (27th March, 680) presided  
over a synod of Western bishops in which Monothe-  
letism was unhesitatingly condemned, the voice of the  
young Church of the Anglo-Saxons being one of the  
loudest in defence of the two wills of Christ. He now  
gladly despatched three legates of his own, and three  
bishops as representatives of that synod, to take part  
in the proceedings of the Conference, which gradually  
assumed a more august character, and became, not

•

a mere Conference, but the Sixth Ecumenical Council, the third of its kind held at Constantinople<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.

At this Council, which was held in a domed chamber of the Imperial palace, and which was therefore sometimes called *In Trullo*, 289 bishops are said to have been present, and the sittings of the Council lasted from 7th November, 680, to 16th September, 681. On the left of the Emperor sat the bishops of the West, and on his right the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch and the bishops of the East. It was soon seen which way the decision of the Council would tend. Pope Agatho's legates complained of the novel teaching of the Monothelete Patriarchs of the East. Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, the Abdiel of Monotheletism, upon whom fell the burden of the defence of the lately dominant doctrines, undertook to prove that the dogma of 'one theandric energy' was in harmony with the decisions of the Fourth and Fifth Councils, and with the teaching of Popes Leo and Vigilius. The genuineness of some of his quotations was denied, the aptness of others was disputed. George, Patriarch of Constantinople, formally announced his adhesion to the cause advocated by the Roman Pontiff. An enthusiastic priest named Polychronius, who undertook to prove the truth of Monothelete doctrine by raising a dead man to life, whispered in the ear of the corpse in vain. At length all was ready for the definition of the faith as to the Two Wills of Christ; the ratification of the decrees of Pope Agatho and the Western Synod; the deposition of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, from his high office, and the formal anathema on the dead

Sixth  
General  
Council  
(Third of  
Constanti-  
nople),  
680-681.

<sup>1</sup> See Duchesne's Notes 3 and 4 on the Vita Agathonis in the Liber Pontificalis (p. 355).

BOOK VII. and buried upholders or condoners of Monotheletic  
 CH. 9. heresy.

681. Among these condemned ones were included four  
 Monothe- Patriarchs of Constantinople<sup>1</sup>, one Patriarch of Alex-  
 letism con- andria<sup>2</sup>, Theodore, bishop of Pharan, and — most  
 demned. memorable fact of all—a man too wise and tolerant  
 for his age, Honorius, Pope of Rome.

At this crisis of the Church's deliberations, the *Liber Pontificalis* tells us that 'so great a mass of black spiders' webs fell into the midst of the people that all men marvelled, because at the same hour the filth of heresy had been expelled from the Church.' To the minds of men of the present day the incident would seem not so much an emblem of the extirpation of heresy, as of the nature of the dusty subtleties which seventh-century ecclesiastics, both orthodox and heterodox, were occupied in weaving out of their own narrow intellects and presumptuous souls.

Death of  
 Pope  
 Agatho.

Though Pope Agatho probably heard enough concerning the opening deliberations of the Sixth Council to be assured of the final triumph of his cause, he died many months before the actual decision, and the news of the triumph itself must have reached Rome during the long interval<sup>3</sup> which elapsed between his death and the consecration of his successor. The relations between Rome and Constantinople continued friendly during the rest of the lifetime of Pogonatus; and Pope Benedict II (684-685) received, so it is said<sup>4</sup>, a letter from the Emperor dispensing for the future with the necessity of that Imperial confirmation for which the elected pontiff had hitherto been forced to wait before

Pope  
 Benedict  
 II, 684-  
 685.

<sup>1</sup> Sergius, Pyrrhus, Peter, Paul.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrus.

<sup>3</sup> More than nineteen months.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*.

his consecration could be solemnized. If such a letter, however, were actually sent, the concession seems to have been silently revoked in the following reign.

Of Constantine Pogonatus, who died in 685, we may still behold the contemporary portrait in mosaic on the walls of the solitary church of S. Apollinare in Classe. There he stands, with his two young brethren Heraclius and Tiberius beside him, and hands to Reparatus, the venerable Archbishop of Ravenna, a document marked PRIVILEGIUM. This document was probably meant to confer on the prelates of Ravenna, not entire independence of the Roman See, but the same kind of independence and patriarchal jurisdiction which was enjoyed by the bishops of Milan and Aquileia<sup>1</sup>. It was originally given by Constans near the close of his reign, and was possibly afterward confirmed by Pogonatus and his colleagues<sup>2</sup>.

Portrait of  
Constantine Pogonatus at  
Ravenna.

The figures of the two stripling colleagues of the

<sup>1</sup> See Duchesne's note, *Liber Pontificalis*, i. 349.

<sup>2</sup> From the middle of the seventh century onwards there seems to have been an intermittent strife on this point between the archbishops of Ravenna and the Popes. In his life of Archbishop Maurus (642-671), Agnellus says, 'This pontiff had many vexations with the Roman pontiff, many contests, many worries, many altercations. Several times he visited Constantinople, that he might free his Church from the yoke of the Romans. And so it was done, and the Church of Ravenna was withdrawn [from that yoke], so that no future pastor of that Church need thenceforward go to Rome to seek consecration, nor should he be thenceforward under the rule of the Roman pontiff; but when elected, should be consecrated here by three of his own bishops, and should receive the *pallium* from the Emperor at Constantinople.' These provisions, as the editor of Agnellus in the *M. G. H.* has pointed out, are probably taken from the Privilegium of Constans, dated 'Syracuse, 1 March, 25th year of Constantine the elder' [Constans]: a date equivalent to 666.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.

Constantine and his brothers.

Emperor, Heraclius and Tiberius, suggest some melancholy thoughts as to their fate, thoughts only too much in keeping with the mournful expression so common in these venerable mosaics. Shortly after the accession of Pogonatus, in the year 669, they were declared Augusti, in obedience to the clamours of the soldiers of the Eastern Theme, who flocked to Scutari shouting, 'We believe in the Trinity. We will have three Emperors<sup>1</sup>.' A great noble was sent to appease the mutineers, and to profess compliance with their demands. Through him Constantine invited the leaders in the movement to a friendly conference with the Senate at Constantinople, and when he had these leaders in his power he transported them to Sycae (the modern Pera) and hung them there. The two unfortunate and perhaps unwilling claimants for the Imperial dignity had their noses slit by their jealous brother, and were immured within the palace walls for the remainder of their lives. Such was the manner of man by whose nod deep questions concerning the nature of the Godhead were then decided.

Sons of Constantine.

Pogonatus himself had two sons, Justinian and Heraclius; and it was a mark of his friendly feeling towards the Pope that in the last year of his reign he sent some locks of their hair as a present to Rome, and this valuable offering, accompanied by an Imperial letter, was received with all fitting reverence by the Pope, the clergy, and the 'army' of Rome<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Theophanes, Anno Mundi 6161.

<sup>2</sup> 'Hic [Benedictus II] una cum clero et exercitu suscepit maliones capillorum domini Justiniani et Heraclii filiorum elementissimi principis, simul et jussionem per quam significat eosdem capillos direxisse' (Lib. Pont. in vita Benedicti II). 'Mallo' = the Greek *μάλιον*, is a late Latin word for a curl or lock of hair.



Of the younger of these two princes, Heraclius<sup>1</sup>, we hear nothing: perhaps he, too, like his uncles, passed his life confined within the precincts of that palace which has witnessed so many tragedies. But Justinian II, who succeeded his father in 685 and in whom the dynasty of Heraclius expired, was a man who left a bloody and ineffaceable imprint on the pages of Byzantine history. He was in all things almost the exact opposite of the great legislator whose name he bore. Justinian I was timid, cautious, and calculating. The second of that name was personally brave, but rash, and a blunderer. The first had apparently no temptation to be cruel, and carried his clemency almost to excess. The second was, at any rate in later life, and after opposition had embittered him, as savage and as brutal as an Ashantee king or a bullying schoolboy, a tiger such as Nero without Nero's artistic refinement. Lastly, Justinian I was exceptionally fortunate or extraordinarily wise in his selection of generals and counsellors. His namesake seems to have suffered, not only for his own sins, but for the grievous faults and errors committed by the ministers to whom he gave his confidence<sup>2</sup>.

In the year of the young Emperor's accession Pope Benedict II died, and after the short pontificate of John V there was a contest as to the choice of his successor, the clergy desiring to elect the 'Archpresbyter' Peter, and the army favouring the claims

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.

Justinian II, Emperor, 685-696, and 705-711.

Death of Benedict II.

John V, 685-686. Disputed Papal election, 686.

<sup>1</sup> His name is not mentioned by Theophanes. On the whole it seems most probable that he died before his father.

<sup>2</sup> This is Prof. Bury's opinion (ii. 320). He thinks (ii. 330) that Justinian II in some things consciously imitated his namesake, but failed all the more conspicuously in consequence of that imitation.

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of a certain Theodore, who came next to him on the roll of presbyters<sup>1</sup>. This statement, that the army took such a prominent part in the Papal election, strikes us as something new in Roman politics, and taken in conjunction with the events which will shortly be related, perhaps points to the formation of a local force for the defence of the City, something like what in after-ages would be called a body of militia.

Election  
of Conon.

In this case the clergy had to meet outside the gates of the great Lateran church<sup>2</sup>, as the army kept guard at the doors and would not suffer them to enter. The military leaders themselves were assembled in the quaint circular church of St. Stephen. Messengers passed backwards and forwards between the parties, but neither would give way to the other, and the election seemed to be in a state of hopeless deadlock. At length the chief of the clergy met, not in the Lateran church, but in the Lateran palace<sup>3</sup>, and unanimously elected an old and venerable Sicilian priest named Conon to the vacant office. When the old man with his white hairs and angelic aspect was brought forth to the people, the civil magnates of the City<sup>4</sup>, many of whom probably knew the calm and unworldly life which the simple-hearted old man had led, gladly acclaimed him as Pope. So, too, did the leaders of the army, in whose eyes the fact that

<sup>1</sup> 'In cujus electione dum ad episcopatum quaereretur, non minima contentio facta est, eo quod clerus in Petrum archiepiscopum intendebat, exercitus autem in sequentum ejus Theodorum presbyterum' (Lib. Pont. in Vitâ Cononis).

<sup>2</sup> Basilicæ Constantinianæ.

<sup>3</sup> In episcopio Lateranensi.

<sup>4</sup> 'E vestigio autem omnes judices unâ cum primatibus exercitus . . . simul acclamaverunt.'

Conon was himself a soldier's son <sup>1</sup> may possibly have been some recommendation of his merits. It took some time before the rank and file of the army would abandon the cause of their candidate Peter, but at length they too came in, and submissively greeted the new Pope, whose unanimous election was, according to the custom of that time, announced by a special mission from all the three orders <sup>2</sup> to the court of the Exarch Theodore <sup>3</sup>.

The election of Conon had been a politic expedient for allaying domestic strife, but he was so old and in such weak health that he could scarcely officiate at the necessary ordination of priests, and after only eleven months' pontificate he died.

Again there were rival candidates and a contested election, before the long and memorable pontificate of Sergius could be begun. The Archdeacon Paschal had already, during Conon's lifetime, been intriguing with the new Exarch John Platyn in order to obtain by bribery the succession to the Papal Chair. He had a large party favouring his claims, but Theodore, now Arch-presbyter, had also still his zealous supporters among the people. The army does not appear to

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.

Death of  
Conon,  
Sept. 21,  
687.

Another  
disputed  
election.

<sup>1</sup> The Liber Pontificalis says that Conon was 'oriundus patre Thracasio.' Duchesne truly observes that this does not mean that he was born in Thraee, but son of an officer in the 'Thracesian troop' which is mentioned by Theophanes (Anno Mundi 6203).

<sup>2</sup> Clergy, army, people.

<sup>3</sup> 'Videns autem exercitus unanimitatem cleri populique in decreto ejus subscribentium, post aliquod (*sic*) dies et ipsi flexi sunt et consenserunt in personâ prædicti sanctissimi viri, atque in ejus decreto devotâ mente subscripserunt et missos pariter unâ cum clericis et ex populo ad excellentissimum Theodorum exarchum, ut mos est, direxerunt' (Lib. Pont. l. c.).

BOOK VII. have conspicuously favoured one candidate more than  
 CH. 9. another. The Lateran palace itself was divided into two hostile fortresses, the outer portion being garrisoned by the adherents of Paschal<sup>1</sup>, the inner by those of Theodore. Neither party would yield to the other: clergy, soldiers, and a great multitude of the people flocked to the Lateran palace, and debated with loud and anxious voices what should be done. At length the expedient of a third candidate was again proposed, and obtained the concurrence of the vast majority. The person proposed was Sergius, a man of Syrian descent, whose father Tiberius had apparently emigrated from his native Antioch in consequence of the Saracen conquest, and had settled at Palermo in Sicily. The young Sergius, who came to Rome about the year 672, was a clever and industrious musician, and sang his way up through the lower orders of the Church, till in 683 he was ordained presbyter of the *titulus* (parish church) of St. Susanna, where he distinguished himself by the diligence with which he celebrated mass at the graves of the various martyrs. He was now presented to the multitude, and greeted with hearty acclamations. His followers being much the stronger party, battered down the gates of the Lateran palace, and the two candidates stood in the presence of their successful rival. The Arch-presbyter Theodore at once submitted, and gave the kiss of peace to the new Pope: but Paschal stood

Election  
of Sergius.

<sup>1</sup> 'Paschalis vero exteriorem partem ab oratorio sancti Silvestri et basilicam domus Juliae quae super campum respicit occupavit' (Lib. Pont., Vitâ Sergii). All these interesting vestiges of the early Popedom seem to have been swept away in the ruthless reconstruction of the Lateran by Sixtus V.

aloof, in sullen hardness, till at length constrained and confused, he entered the hall of audience, and with his will, or against his will, saluted his new lord <sup>BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.</sup>

Paschal, however, though outwardly submissive, in his heart rebelled against the Syrian Pope, and continuing his intrigues with Ravenna, sent to the Exarch, promising him 100 lbs. of gold (£4000) if he would seat him in the Papal chair. On this John Platyn came to Rome, accompanied by the officers of his court, but not apparently at the head of an army. He came so suddenly and so quietly, that the Roman soldiery could not go forth to meet him with flags and eagles according to the usual custom when the Emperor's representative visited Rome<sup>2</sup>. Finding on his arrival that all orders of men concurred in the election of Sergius, he abandoned the cause of his client Paschal, but insisted that the promised 100 lbs. of gold should be paid him by the successful candidate. Sergius naturally answered that he had never promised any such sum, nor could he at the moment pay it: but he brought forth the sacred chalices and crowns which had hung for centuries before the tomb of St. Peter, and offered to deposit them as security for the ultimate payment of the required sum<sup>3</sup>. The

*Intrigues  
of the  
defeated  
candidate  
Paschal  
with the  
Exarch.*

<sup>1</sup> 'Unus e duobus electis, id est Theodorus archipresbyter, ilico quievit ac se humiliavit: et ingressus denominatum sanctissimum electum salutavit ac osculatus est. Paschalis vero ullo modo preae cordis duritiâ sinebat, donec coactus et confusus, volens nolens, suum dominum et electum ingressus salutavit' (Lib. Pont., l. c.).

<sup>2</sup> 'Qui sic abditè venit ut nec signa nec banda cum militiâ Romani exercitus occurrissent ei juxta consuetudinem in competenti loco nisi a propinquo Romanae civitatis' (Lib. Pont., l. c.). The meaning of the last clause is not quite clear to me.

<sup>3</sup> 'Et ut ad compunctionem animos videntium commoveret,

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CH. 9.

beholders were shocked at the duress thus laid upon the Church, but the stern Byzantine persisted in his demand: the 100 lbs. of gold were somehow gathered together, the Imperial sanction to the election was given by the Exarch, and Sergius became Pope.

As for his rival Paschal, he after some time was accused of practising strange rites of divination, was found guilty<sup>1</sup>, deposed from his office of archdeacon, and thrust into a monastery, where, after five years of enforced seclusion, he died, still impenitent.

Pontificate of  
Sergius,  
687-701.

The new Pope, who held his office for fourteen years (687-701), was a younger man, and probably of stronger fibre, than some of his recent predecessors; and well it was for the Roman See that a strong man filled the chair of St. Peter, for another conflict with the self-willed Caesars of Byzantium was now to take place.

Quin-  
sextan  
Council,  
691.

In the year 691 Justinian II convened another Council, not this time for the definition of doctrine, but for the reformation of discipline. The reason for so much zeal on the Emperor's part for the purification of the Church morals is not very apparent: but it has been suggested<sup>2</sup> that it was part of the younger Justinian's audacious attempt to rival the fame of his great namesake. On the part of the Eastern bishops

cantaros et coronas qui (*sic*) ante sacrum altare et confessionem B. Petri Apostoli ex antiquo pendebant deponi fecit et pignori tradi' (Lib. Pont. in Vita Sergii).

<sup>1</sup> 'Praedictus Paschalis . . . ab officio archidiaconatus pro aliquas (*sic*) incantationes et luculos quos colebat, vel sortes quas cum aliis respectoribus tractabat . . . privatus est.' *Luculus* = a bier, and *respector* apparently = *aruspex*, but they are both puzzling words, and Duchesne, the editor of the Lib. Pont., gives them up as hopeless.

<sup>2</sup> By Prof. Bury, ii. 330.

who formed the overwhelming majority of the Council, there was perhaps a desire to retrieve in some measure the undoubted victory which the West had gained in the condemnation of Monotheletism, by showing that the East, unaided, could do something to reform the discipline of the Church<sup>1</sup>. The assembly, which was meant as a sort of supplement to the two preceding Councils, received the grotesque name of the Quinisextan (fifth-sixth) Council, but is more often known as the Council of the Domed Hall (*in Trullo*), a name which was derived from its place of meeting, but which applied to its immediate predecessor as much as to itself.

The canons of this Council, 102 in number, touched, as has been said, on no point of doctrine, but were entirely concerned with matters of Church discipline, such as the punishment of ecclesiastics who played at dice, took part in the dances of the theatre, kept houses of ill-fame, lent money on usury, or without sufficient cause were absent from church on three consecutive Sundays. They showed, however (as might perhaps have been expected from the almost exclusively Oriental character of the Council), a disregard of Western usage, and of the claims of the See of Rome, which almost amounted to intentional discourtesy. By inference, if not directly, they pronounced against the Papal decision with reference to the second baptism of those who had been baptized by heretics in the Triune Name. They expressly condemned the strict Roman usage as to married presbyters, and they

<sup>1</sup> This idea is suggested by Malfatti (*Imperatori e Papi*, p. 238), but I do not know that any contemporary authority can be produced in proof of it.

BOOK VII. denounced the custom of fasting on Saturday in Lent,  
 CH. 9. — which had long prevailed in the Roman Church<sup>1</sup>.  
 And in a very emphatic manner the thirty-sixth canon renewed the decrees of the Second and Fourth Councils, declaring 'that the patriarchal throne of Constantinople should enjoy the same privileges as that of Old Rome, should in all ecclesiastical matters be entitled to the same pre-eminence, and should count as second after it.' The third place was assigned to Alexandria, the fourth to Antioch, and the fifth to Jerusalem. The decrees of this Council received the signature of the Emperor, and of the great Patriarchs of the East, but the blank which was left after the Emperor's name for the signature of the Roman pontiff was never filled up<sup>2</sup>, nor has the Council *in Trullo* ever been unreservedly accepted by the Latin Church. In fact, the leaning shown by it towards toleration of a married clergy is at this day one of the points in which the 'Orthodox' (Greek) differs from the 'Catholic' (Latin) Church.

The Pope refuses to sign the decrees of the Council.

When the six volumes containing the decrees of the Quinisextan Council reached Rome<sup>3</sup>, the Pope not only refused to sign them, but forbade their publication in the churches. Thereupon Justinian in high

<sup>1</sup> Assemanni (*Bibliotheca Juris Orientalis*, i. 121) says that the Synod *in Trullo* made many other objectionable additions to Church law. These seem to have been chiefly the prohibition of eating things strangled and blood, and of the representation of Christ under the figure of a lamb.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to be some doubt of the correctness of the assertion in the *Liber Pontificalis* that the Pope's Legates were present at the Council, and signed owing to a misunderstanding of the purport of the decrees.

<sup>3</sup> 'Missis in lucello quod scevrocarnali vocitatur' (*Lib. Pont. in Vitâ Sergii*): strange and dark words.



wrath sent a messenger<sup>1</sup> with orders to punish the Pope's councillors for disobedience to the Imperial edict. The holy man John, bishop of Portus<sup>2</sup>, and Boniface, a *Consiliarius* of the Apostolic See, both of whom had probably made themselves conspicuous by their opposition to the Council, were carried off to Constantinople, where we lose sight of them.

It remained only to punish the chief offender, and to drag Sergius, as Martin had been dragged away, to buffetings and hardships in prisons by the Bosphorus. With this intent Justinian sent a huge life-guard<sup>3</sup> named Zacharias to Rome. But as he passed through Ravenna, and there, no doubt, disclosed the purport of his mission, the inhabitants of that city (already perhaps inflamed with wrath against their tyrannical and high-handed sovereign) angrily discussed the meditated outrage on the head of the Roman Church. The 'army of Ravenna'—evidently now a local force, and not a band of Byzantine mercenaries—caught the flame, and determined to march to Rome. The soldiers of the Pentapolis<sup>4</sup> and the surrounding districts took part eagerly in the holy war: there was but one purpose in all hearts—'We will not suffer the Pontiff of the Apostolic See to be carried to Constantinople.' Thus, when the life-guard<sup>3</sup> Zacharias, accompanied probably by a slender retinue, reached Rome, it was not to inspire

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.

Attempted  
arrest of  
Sergius.

<sup>1</sup> 'Magisterianum.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Joannem Deo amabilem Portuensem episcopum.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Immanem protospatharium.' Possibly 'immanem' means fierce rather than big, but the rest of the story does not represent Zacharias as a very truculent person.

<sup>4</sup> Ancona and four neighbouring cities.

BOOK VII. fear, but to feel it. The throng of soldiers surged  
 CH. 9. round the City walls. He ordered the gates to be closed, and trembling, sought the Pontiff's bedchamber, beseeching him with tears to shield him from harm. The closing of the City gates only increased the fury of the soldiery. They battered down the gate of St. Peter, and rushed tumultuously to the Lateran, demanding to see Pope Sergius, who, it was rumoured, had been carried off like Martin by night, and hurried on board the Byzantine vessel. The upper and lower gates of the Pope's palace were closed<sup>1</sup>, and the mob shouted that they should be levelled with the ground unless they were promptly opened. Nearly mad with terror, the unhappy life-guardswoman hid his huge bulk under the Pope's bed, but Sergius soothed his fears, declaring that no harm should happen to him. Then the Pope went forth, and taking his seat in a balcony outside the Lateran, he presented himself to the people. They received him with shouts of applause: he addressed them with wise and fitting words, and calmed their tumultuous rage. But though calm, they were still resolute; and they persisted in keeping guard at the Lateran till the hated Zacharias, with every mark of ignominy and insult, had been expelled from the City. So the affair ended. Justinian II, as we shall soon see, was in no position to avenge his outraged authority. The Imperial majesty had received its heaviest blow, and the successor of St. Peter had made his longest stride towards independent sovereignty.

The only other notable event in the long pontificate

<sup>1</sup> 'Dumque fores Patriarchii tam inferiores quam superiores essent clausae' (Lib. Pont. in Vita Sergii).

of Sergius was a Council which towards its close, and doubtless by his authority, was held at Aquileia to terminate the controversy of the Three Chapters. This Council (of which we have very little further information) was thus the counterpart, in Eastern Italy, of that which has been already described as held at Pavia by order of King Cunincpert <sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.  
Council of  
Aquileia.  
Three  
Chapters  
contro-  
versy  
closed.

Meanwhile, the Emperor was wearying out the patience of his subjects by his exactions and his cruelties. Possibly (as has been already hinted) in the first part of his reign, the blame of his unpopularity should be assigned, not so much to himself as to his ministers. Of these there were two named Stephen and Theodotus, especially odious to the people. Stephen was a Persian eunuch, who was appointed Imperial Treasurer, and distinguished himself by his zeal in raising money for that extravagant palace building, which was the passion of the two Justinians, as it has been the passion of so many later lords of Constantinople. Either because she thwarted his financial schemes, or for some other reason, the Emperor's own mother, Anastasia, incurred the eunuch's displeasure, and he had the audacity to order her to be publicly chastised like a refractory schoolboy <sup>2</sup>. Theodotus was a monk, who had previously led the life of a recluse in Thrace, but was now made a logothete,

Unpopu-  
larity  
of Justin-  
ian II.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. v. p. 483.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀχρὶ καὶ εἰς τὴν μητέρα Ἰουστινιανοῦ τὴν τόλμαν ἐξήνεγκε, μάστιγας αὐτῇ ἐν σχήματι ὡσπερ τοὺς παῖδας οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἐπιθέμενος (Nicephorus, De Reb. post Maur. Gestis, 42). Theophanes (A.M. 6186) also mentions this punishment of the Empress Dowager, and shows that it was not only apparent, as the words ἐν σχήματι might lead us to suppose, but a genuine whipping with leather thongs—δι' ἀβρῶν.

BOOK VII. apparently chief of the logothetes<sup>1</sup>, and gave full  
 CH. 9. scope to his imagination, no longer in devising the self-tortures of a rigid anchorite, but in planning the torture of others. Men were hung up by their wrists to high-stretched ropes, and then straw was kindled under their feet; and other punishments, which are not particularly specified, but which we are told were intolerable, were inflicted on some of the most illustrious subjects of the Emperor.

Proclama-  
 tion of  
 Leontius,  
 695.

At length, after ten years of this misgovernment, the day of vengeance dawned. A certain nobleman from the highlands of Isauria, named Leontius, who had long and successfully commanded the armies of the East, had been for some cause or other detained in prison for three years by the Emperor. Then, changing his mind, the capricious tyrant decided to make him governor of Greece<sup>2</sup>, but ordered him to depart for his new province on the morrow of his liberation from prison. That same night he was visited by two monks, Paul and Gregory, who had, it would seem, formerly prophesied to him that he should one day wear the diadem. ‘Vain were all your prognostications to me of future greatness,’ said the melancholy man, ‘for now I go forth from the city, and soon my life will have a bitter end.’ ‘Not so,’ replied the monks; ‘even now, if you have courage for the enterprise, you shall win the supreme power.’ He listened to their counsels, hastily armed some of his servants, and went to the palace. The plea being put forward of urgent business with the Emperor, the prefect of

<sup>1</sup> τῶν δημοσίων λογιστῆν ὃν τὸ δημῶδες λογοθέτην καλοῦσι καθίστησιν (Niceph. p. 42).

<sup>2</sup> στρατηγὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Niceph. p. 43).

the palace opened the door, and at once found himself bound hand and foot. Leontius and his men swarmed through the palace, opening the prison doors to all the numerous victims of Imperial tyranny who were there confined, and some of whom had been in these dark dungeons for six, or even eight years. Having furnished these willing allies with arms, they then scattered themselves through the various quarters of the city, calling on all Christians to repair to the church of St. Sophia. Soon a tumultuous crowd was gathered in the baptistery of the church, and there Callinicus the Patriarch, constrained by the two monks and the other partisans of Leontius, preached a sermon to the people on the words, 'This is the day that the Lord hath made : let us rejoice and be glad in it.' The long-repressed hatred of the people to Justinian now burst forth in all its fury : every tongue had a curse for the fallen Emperor, and when day dawned an excited crowd assembled in the Hippodrome, calling with hoarse voices for his death. Leontius, however, mindful of past passages of friendship between himself and the Emperor's father, now spared the son, and after mutilating him in the cruel fashion of Byzantium, by slitting his nose and cutting out his tongue <sup>1</sup>, sent him away to banishment at Cherson <sup>2</sup>, the scene of Pope Martin's exile. The two chief instruments of his tyranny, Stephen and Theodotus, were seized by the

<sup>1</sup> The subsequent stories of conversations in which Justinian took part perhaps show that this operation was not very thoroughly performed. In consequence of the other mutilation, he is known in history by the name of Rhinotmetus, 'the Nose-slitted.'

<sup>2</sup> As before remarked, this Cherson, which is a city on the southwest coast of the Crimea, must not be confounded with the modern city of Cherson on the mainland, at the mouth of the Dnieper.

BOOK VII. mob without the new Emperor's orders, dragged by the  
 CH. 9. feet to the Forum of the Bull, and there burned alive.

Reign of  
 Leontius,  
 695-698.

Expedi-  
 tion for  
 recovery of  
 Carthage.

The reign of Leontius was a short one (695-698), and he does not seem to have displayed as Emperor any of that ability or courage which he had shown as general of the Eastern army. The eyes of all loyal citizens of 'the Roman Republic' were at this time turned towards the province of Africa, where the city of Carthage, recovered by the valour of Belisarius from the Vandal, had just been captured by the sons of Islam. A great naval armament was fitted out under the command of the patrician John. It sailed westward, it accomplished the deliverance of the city from the Saracen yoke, and for one winter John ruled in the city of Cyprian as Roman governor. The Saracen commander, however, was not disposed to acquiesce in his defeat. He returned with a larger army, expelled the Imperial garrison, and recovered Carthage for Islam and for desolation. The great armament returned, as that of Basiliscus had done more than two centuries before<sup>1</sup>, shamefaced and sore at heart to Constantinople. At Crete, the troops broke out into open mutiny against both their general and the Emperor. John was apparently deposed from the command; a naval officer named Apsimar was proclaimed Emperor: the fleet sailed to Constantinople, which was at that time being wasted by a grievous pestilence: after a short siege, the sentinels on the walls of Blachernae, the northern quarter of the city, were bribed to open the gates to the besiegers: Leontius was dethroned, and Apsimar, who took the name of Tiberius, reigned in his stead.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 458 (p. 449, 2nd Ed.).

During the seven years' reign (698-705) of this ineffective and colourless usurper<sup>1</sup> the Papal chair—  
 with whose occupants we are now primarily concerned—again became vacant. The comparatively long and successful pontificate of Sergius came to an end, and a Greek, who took the title of John VI, was raised to the papacy.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.

Reign of  
Tiberius  
III,  
698-705.  
Pontifi-  
cate of  
John VI,  
701-705.

In his short pontificate the Exarch Theophylact came by way of Sicily to Rome<sup>2</sup>. By this time the mere appearance of the Exarch in the City by the Tiber seems to have been felt almost as a declaration of war. The soldiers (again evidently a kind of local militia) from all parts of Italy mustered in Rome with tumultuous clamour, determined, we are told, 'to tribulate the Exarch<sup>3</sup>.' The Pope, however, interposed in the interests of peace and good order. He

Visit of  
Exarch  
Theophy-  
lact to  
Rome.

<sup>1</sup> This is the aspect which Tiberius III wears to me, but Prof. Bury, who can 'read between the lines' of the Byzantine chroniclers far better than I can, says, 'The reign of Tiberius III was by no means discreditable as far as foreign politics were concerned, and the silence of historians leads us to conclude that his subjects were not oppressed by heavy burdens' (ii. 357). He also remarks—and it is an important caution—that 'amid the details which historians record of the elevations and falls of the Emperors of this period, who appear and vanish so rapidly in scenes of treason and violence, we are apt to lose sight of the steadfast and successful resistance which the Empire never failed to offer to the Saracens. . . . Had it not been for the able sovereigns and generals of New Rome, the Saracens might have almost, if I may use the word, Islamised Europe' (Ibid. pp. 355-6).

<sup>2</sup> 'Hujus temporibus venit Theophylactus cubicularius patricius et exarchus Italiae de partes (sic) Siciliae in urbe Roma' (Lib. Pont. in Vitâ Joannis VI).

<sup>3</sup> 'Cujus adventum cognoscentes militia totius Italiae tumultuosé convenit apud hanc Romanam civitatem vellens praefatum Exarchum tribulare' (Ibid.).

BOOK VII. closed the gates of the City, and sending a deputation  
CH. 9. of priests to the improvised camp<sup>1</sup> in which the muti-  
 neers were assembled, with wise and soothing words  
 quelled the sedition. There were, however, certain  
 informers whose denunciations of the citizens of Rome  
 had furnished the Exarch with a pretext for unjust  
 confiscations, and these men apparently had to suffer  
 the vengeance of the people before order could be  
 restored.

Expedi-  
 tion of  
 Gisulf II  
 of Bene-  
 vento.

It was during the pontificate of this Pope that the  
 previously described<sup>2</sup> expedition of Gisulf I of Bene-  
 vento into Campania took place, and it was John VI  
 who, out of the treasures of the Papal See, redeemed  
 the captives of the Samnite duke.

Pontifi-  
 cate of  
 John VII,  
 705-707.

Another short pontificate of another John followed.  
 The new Pope, John VII, was, like his predecessor, of  
 Greek extraction. His father, bearing the illustrious  
 name of Plato, had held the high office of Cura Palatii,  
 an office which in Constantinople itself was often held  
 by the son-in-law of the Emperor. Plato had in that  
 capacity presided over the restoration of the old Im-  
 perial palace at Rome, which was now the ordinary  
 residence of the Exarch's lieutenant<sup>3</sup>. The future  
 Pope was, so late as 687, administrator (*rector*) of the  
 Papal patrimony along the Appian Way. His portrait  
 in mosaic, which was formerly in the Oratory of the  
 Virgin at St. Peter's, is still visible in the crypts of  
 the Vatican.

<sup>1</sup> 'Apud fossatum in quo in unum convenerant' (Lib. Pont. in  
 Vita Joannis VI).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 336.

<sup>3</sup> See the epitaph of Plato, quoted from De Rossi by Duchesne  
 (Lib. Pontificalis, vol. i. p. 386). This epitaph, in the church of  
 St. Anastasius, was still visible in the fifteenth century.



The election of Pope John VII nearly coincided in time with the return of the fierce tyrant Justinian II to his capital and his throne after ten years of exile. Of his wanderings during these ten years we have a short and graphic account in the pages of Nicephorus and Theophanes. Cherson rejected him, fearing to be embroiled for his sake with the reigning Emperor. He roamed from thence into that region in the south of Russia which—it is interesting to observe—was still called the country of the Goths<sup>1</sup>. Here he threw himself on the hospitality of the Chagan of the Khazars, a fierce tribe with Hunnish affinities, who had come from beyond the Caucasus, and were settled round the shores of the Sea of Azof. The Chagan gave him his sister in marriage, and she was probably baptized on that occasion, and received the name of Theodora<sup>2</sup>. With this barbarian bride the banished Emperor seems to have lived in some degree of happiness at Phanagoria by the straits of Yenikale, just opposite Kertch in the Crimea. But Tiberius, who could not ‘let well alone,’ sent messengers to the Khazar chief offering him great gifts if he would send him the head of Justinian; still greater if he would surrender him alive. The barbarian listened to the temptation, and under pretence of providing for his brother-in-law’s safety, surrounded him with a guard, who, when they received a signal from their master—that is probably when the promised gifts were safely deposited in the Chagan’s palace—were to fall upon

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.

Restoration of  
Justinian  
II, 705.

<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὸ φρούριον τὸ λεγόμενον Δόρος πρὸς τῇ Γοθικῇ κείμενον χώρα ἀπέδρασεν (Niceph. p. 46).

<sup>2</sup> Another instance of Justinian the Second’s imitation of his great namesake (Bury, ii. 358).

BOOK VII. the exile and kill him. A woman's love, however, foiled  
CH. 9. the treacherous scheme. Theodora learned from one of her brother's servants what was being plotted, and warned her husband, who, summoning the Chagan's lieutenant into his presence, overpowered his resistance, fastened a cord round his neck, and strangled him with his own hands. In the same way he disposed of 'the Prefect of the Cimmerian Bosphorus,' apparently an officer of the Empire through whom the negotiations with the Chagan had been carried on: and then, after sending his faithful wife back to her brother's court, he escaped to the Straits of Yenikale, where he found a fishing smack, in which he sailed round the Crimea. At Cherson he had many enemies, but he had also powerful friends, and in order to summon these he lay to at a safe distance from the city. As soon as they were on board, he again set sail, passed the lighthouse of Cherson, and reached a place called the Gates of the Dead, between the mouths of the rivers Dnieper and Dniester. Here, or soon after they had passed it, a terrible storm arose, and all on board the little craft despaired of their deliverance. Said one of the ex-Emperor's servants to his master, 'See, my lord, we are all at the point of death: make a bargain with God for your safety. Promise that if he will give you back your Empire you will not take the life of any of your foes.' Thereupon Justinian answered in fury, 'If I consent to spare any one of those men, may God this moment cause the deep to swallow me.' Contrary to all expectation they escaped from the storm unhurt, and before long made the mouth of the Danube. They sailed up the stream, and Justinian despatched one of his followers to the rude court of

Terbel, king of Bulgaria. Rich gifts and the hand of the Emperor's daughter in marriage<sup>1</sup> were the promised rewards if Terbel should succeed in replacing him on his throne. The Bulgarian eagerly accepted the offer: oaths were solemnly sworn between the high contracting parties, and after spending a winter in Bulgaria, Justinian with his barbarian ally marched next spring against Constantinople.

Again the attack was directed against Blachernae, the northern end of the land wall of Constantinople, and evidently the weakest part of the fortifications. For three days the Bulgarian army lay outside the walls, Justinian vainly offering to the citizens conditions of peace, and receiving only words of insult in return. Then, accompanied by only a few of his followers, he entered the city, as Belisarius had entered Naples, by an aqueduct, and almost without fighting made himself master of that part of it in which was situated the palace of Blachernae, where he took up his abode. The complete conquest of the city probably occupied some weeks<sup>2</sup>: but it was at last effected. Tiberius III, now once again known by his old name of Apsimar, left the city, and sought to flee along the coast of the Euxine to Apollonia, but was brought back in chains to Constantinople. His brother and generalissimo Heraclius, who had fought bravely in the wars against the Saracens, and all his chief officers and

<sup>1</sup> This promise, in connection with the very recent marriage of Justinian to Theodora, is somewhat perplexing. I would suggest that Justinian, who was by this time thirty-five years of age, had probably married before his expulsion from Constantinople, and that his first wife had died before 703. On this theory he may easily have had a daughter of marriageable age at this time.

<sup>2</sup> See Bury, ii. 360, n. 2, commenting on Theophanes.

BOOK VII. body-guards, were hung from high gallows erected on  
 CH. 9. the walls. For Apsimar himself yet deeper degrada-

705.

tion was in store. His old rival Leontius, whom he had dethroned seven years before, was brought forth from the monastery to which he had consigned him, and the two fallen Emperors, bound in chains, were paraded through the fourteen regions of the city, a mark for all the scoffs and taunts of a populace ever ready to triumph over the fallen. Then it was announced that great chariot races would be exhibited in the Hippodrome. The people flocked thither, and saw the restored Emperor sitting on his lofty throne. His two rivals, still loaded with chains, had been thrown down before his chair, and each one of his purple sandals rested on the neck of a man who had dared to call himself Augustus while he yet lived. The slavish mob, who deserved to be ruled over by even such a tyrant as Justinian II, saw an opening for pious flattery of the successful cause, and shouted out, in the words of the 91st Psalm, 'Thou hast trodden on the Asp and the Basilisk : the Lion and the Dragon hast thou trodden under foot <sup>1</sup>.' The Asp was meant to drive home the sense of his humiliation to the heart of Apsimar : the Lion was an insult for the fallen Leontius. After some hours of this humiliation they were taken to the place of public execution, and there beheaded.

Justinian's vengeance on his enemies.

The vengeance which filled the soul of Justinian while he was tossing in his skiff off the coast of Scythia had now full play. The patriarch Callinicus, who had

<sup>1</sup> Psalm xci. 13. In our version the words are, 'Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under thy feet.'

preached the sermon on his downfall, was blinded and sent in banishment to Rome—a wholesome warning to Pope and citizens of the fate which might befall those who resisted the might of the World-Emperor—and in his place a monk named Cyrus, who had predicted the restoration of Justinian, was made Patriarch of Constantinople. Citizens and soldiers past counting perished in the reign of terror<sup>1</sup> which followed. Some were sewn up in sacks and thrown into the sea. Others were, with treacherous hospitality, invited to some great repast, and as they rose up to depart were sentenced either to the gallows, or to execution by the sword<sup>2</sup>. The Emperor's fury raged most wildly of all against the citizens of Cherson, who had dared to cast him forth from their midst, and had, as he considered, treacherously intrigued against him with Tiberius III. But the story of this revenge belongs to the latest years of the Imperial fiend. Our immediate business is to describe his dealings with the Pope of Rome and the citizens of Ravenna.

After the returned exile had been for a little more than a year in the possession of his recovered dignity, mindful still of his coveted glory as an ecclesiastical legislator, he sent two bishops of metropolitan rank, bearing the same Tome which had been before addressed to Pope Sergius, but bearing also a 'sacred' letter (the letters of Emperors were always thus styled), in which Justinian exhorted the Pope to convene a synod,

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.  
795.

Justinian's message to Pope John VII.

<sup>1</sup> I borrow this apt expression from Bury, ii. 361.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀναρίθμητον δὲ πλῆθος ἔκ τε τοῦ πολιτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ καταλόγου ἀπώλεσεν. Πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν σάκκοις ἐμβάλων ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ πικροθανάτους ἐποίει. Ἄλλους δὲ πρὸς ἀριστόδειπνον κλητορεύων, ἅμα τῷ ἀναστήναι οὓς μὲν ἐφοῦρκιζεν, οὓς δὲ ἀπέτεμμεν (Theoph. A. M. 6198).

BOOK VII. to which he should communicate the Acts of the  
 CH. 9. Quinisextan Council, confirming all the canons that  
 707. seemed to him worthy of approbation, and deleting  
 those which he deemed inexpedient<sup>1</sup>.

Compli-  
 ance of  
 the Pope.

The timid Pope, John VII, probably an elderly man, who had learned habits of obedience as a civil servant before he was an ecclesiastic, and who had no doubt looked upon the sightless eyeballs of the Patriarch of Constantinople, blinded by this terrible autocrat, shrank from the responsibility of convening a synod, shrank from suggesting what canons in the Imperial Tome were deserving of censure, and in fact, through 'weakness of the flesh,' returned the Tome by the hands of the metropolitans to the Emperor, saying that he had no fault to find with any part of it<sup>2</sup>. Soon after this unworthy concession, Pope John VII died, and was succeeded by a Syrian named Sisinnius, who was, we are told, so afflicted by gout—an especially Papal malady—that he was obliged to employ the hands of others to convey food to his mouth. His short pontificate—of only twenty days—is noteworthy only for the fact that he set the lime-kilns at work to make mortar for the repair of the walls of Rome. An evil precedent truly. How many of that silent population of statues which once made beautiful the terraces of Rome have perished in these same papal lime-kilns!

Pontifi-  
 cate of  
 Sisinnius,  
 708.

<sup>1</sup> 'Et quaeque ei visa essent, stabiliret, quaeque adversa, renuendo cassaret.' This is the account of the matter given by the Papal biographer. It is possible that the self-willed Emperor was not really so complaisant.

<sup>2</sup> With words of unaccustomed censure the Papal biographer says, 'Sed hic, *humanâ fragilitate timidus*, hos nequaquam emendans per suprafatos metropolitans direxit ad principem. Post quae non diu in hac vitâ duravit.'

The short pontificate of Sisinnius was followed by the long one of Constantine (708-715), the last Roman pontiff, apparently, who visited Constantinople. In his pontificate the ecclesiastical feud with the Archbishop of Ravenna, which had slumbered for thirty years, broke out afresh. Archbishop Theodore (677-691), whose quarrels with his clergy about money matters are quaintly described by Agnellus, had apparently reconciled himself with Rome in order to protect himself against the hatred of Ravenna; and his successor Archbishop Damian (692-708) had accepted the peace thus made, and had consented to journey to Rome for his consecration. So, too, did his successor, Archbishop Felix (708-724), but when the consecration was accomplished, the old rupture between the sees was recommenced on the question of the bonds (*cautiones*) for future obedience which the Pope exacted from the Archbishop. The profession of faith according to the decrees of the six councils, and the promise to abide by the canon law, were perhaps given in the accustomed form by the new Archbishop, but the third document required of him, which was a promise to do nothing contrary to the unity of the Church and the safety of the Empire, he claimed to express in his own language, and not in that prescribed by the Pope, and he was apparently supported in this resistance by the civil rulers of Ravenna. Such as it was, the bond was deposited in St. Peter's tomb, and not many days afterwards, says the Papal biographer, it was found all blackened and scorched as if by fire <sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.

Pontificate of  
Constantine, 708-  
715.

Quarrel  
with Arch-  
bishop of  
Ravenna.

<sup>1</sup> 'Hic ordinavit Felicem archiepiscopum Ravennatem: qui secundum [morem] priorum suorum solitas in scrinio noluit facere cautiones, sed per potentiam iudicium exposuit ut maluit. Cujus

BOOK VII. For this resistance to the authority of the Roman See,  
CIL. 9. the Papal biographer considered that the Archbishop  
 709. and his flock were worthily punished by the calamities which now came upon them through the furious vengeance of Justinian.

Justinian's  
 fury  
 against  
 Ravenna. What was the reason for the frenzied Emperor's wrath against Ravenna does not seem to be anywhere directly stated. We might conjecture that he remembered with anger the opposition which the citizens had offered some ten years before to his arrest of Pope Sergius, but in that case Pope Constantine would surely have shared in the punishment. It seems more likely that there is some truth in the obscure hints given us by Agnellus that certain citizens of Ravenna had taken part in that mutilation of the sacred person of the Emperor which accompanied his deposition<sup>1</sup>. Probably also the city had too openly manifested its joy at Justinian's downfall, and had too cordially accepted the new order of things established by Leontius, and afterwards by Apsimar. Whatever the cause, the rage of the restored Emperor turned hotly against the devoted city. 'At night,' says Agnellus (who perhaps exaggerates the importance of his own native place), 'amid the many meditations of his heart his thoughts turned constantly to Ravenna, and he

*cautio a pontifice in sacratissimâ confessione beati Petri apostoli posita, post non multos dies tetra et quasi igni combusta reperta est* (Lib. Pont., Vitâ Constantini). See Duchesne's note on this obscure and difficult passage. I have ventured slightly to deviate from his explanation.

<sup>1</sup> 'Igitur in istius temporibus Constantini [*lege Justiniani*] imperatoris à suis militibus *cum aliquibus civibus Ravennae* nares et aures abscissae fuerunt' (Agnelli, Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav., in Vitâ S. Felicis).



said to himself perpetually, "Alas! what shall I do, and how shall I begin with my vengeance on Ravenna?"

BOOK VII.

CH. 9.

709.

The actual execution of his scheme of revenge, however, seems not to have been difficult. He summoned the general-in-chief<sup>1</sup>, a Patrician named Theodore, and ordered him to collect a fleet and sail first to Sicily (possibly in order to repel some assault of the Saracens), and afterwards to Ravenna, there to execute certain orders, as to which he was to preserve impenetrable silence. When his duty in Sicily was done, the general sailed up the Adriatic, and when he beheld Ravenna afar off, burst forth, if we may believe our monkish chronicler, into a pathetic oration, in which, with Virgilian phrase, he lamented the future fate of that proud city: 'the alone unhappy and alone cruel Ravenna, which then lifted her head to the clouds, but should soon be levelled with the ground.' Having arrived at the city, and been greeted with the pomp due to the Emperor's representative, he pitched his tents, adorned with bright curtains, in a line of a furlong's length by the banks of the Po<sup>2</sup>. Thither came all the chief men of the city, invited, as they supposed, to a banquet in the open air, for which the seats and couches were spread on the green grass. But as they were introduced, two and two, with solemn courtesy into the general's tent, at the moment of entrance they were gagged, and their hands bound behind their backs, and they were hurried off to the

<sup>1</sup> 'Monstraticum,' in Agnellus' barbarous phraseology, is supposed to represent *μονοστρατηγός*. We get the name and the patrician rank of Theodore from the *Liber Pontificalis*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Eridani ripam sulcavit.' Probably Agnellus means the Ronco, unless the Po has greatly changed its course.

BOOK VII. general's ship. When the nobles of the city and the  
 CH. 9. Archbishop Felix had all been thus disposed of, the  
 709. soldiers entered Ravenna, and amid the loud lamentations, but apparently not the armed resistance, of the citizens, set some of the houses on fire<sup>1</sup>.

When the captives from Ravenna were landed at Constantinople they were brought into the presence of Justinian, who was seated on a golden throne studded with emeralds, and wore on his head a turban interwoven with gold and pearls by the cunning hands of his Khazar Empress. All the senators of Ravenna were slain, and Justinian had decided to put the archbishop also to death. But in the visions of the night he saw a youth of glorious appearance standing by Felix, and heard him say, 'Let thy sword spare this one man.' He gave the required promise in his dream, and kept it waking by remitting the penalty of death on the archbishop; but according to the cruel Byzantine custom he ordered him to be blinded. A silver dish was brought and heated to incandescence in the furnace. Vinegar was then poured upon it: the archbishop was compelled to gaze at it long and closely, and the sight of both eyes was destroyed.

The reflection of the Papal biographer on these events is as follows:—'By the judgment of God, and the sentence of Peter, prince of the Apostles, those men who had been disobedient to the apostolic see perished by a bitter death, and the archbishop, deprived of sight, receiving punishment worthy of his deeds, was transmitted to the region of Pontus.'

Of the events which followed at Ravenna it is

<sup>1</sup> I think this must be the meaning of Agnellus, when he says, in his rhetorical way, 'supposuerunt civibus ignem.'

impossible to extract any rational account from the turgid nonsense of Agnellus. We can just discern that Joannes Rizocopus, apparently the newly-appointed Exarch, after visiting Naples and Rome, reached Ravenna, and there for his wicked deeds, by the just judgment of God, perished by a most shameful death. This is generally supposed, but perhaps on insufficient evidence, to have happened in a popular insurrection. On his death apparently the citizens of Ravenna elected a certain George (son of a learned notary named Johanices, who had been carried captive to Constantinople and slain there) to be captain over them. He harangued them in stirring speeches (full of Virgil), and all the cities round Ravenna, Sarsina, Cervia, Forlimpopoli, Forli, placed themselves under his orders, garrisoned the capital, and defied the troops of the Emperor. Doubtless the insurrection was quelled, but how and when, and whether after a long interval of civil war or no, the chronicler, who gives us a multitude of useless details about the equestrian performances and spirited harangues of the rebel captain, quite fails to inform us. We learn, however (and here the better authority of the Papal biographer coincides with that of Agnellus), that after the death of Justinian the poor blinded Archbishop Felix returned from exile, resumed possession of his see, gave all the required assurances to the Pope, and died (725) at peace with the See of Rome.

Meanwhile Pope Constantine was visiting Constantinople, by the Emperor's command, in very different guise from that in which his predecessor Martin had visited it half a century before. He set sail from the harbour of Rome on the 5th of October, 710, accom-

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.

710.  
Tumults at  
Ravenna.

The Pope  
visits Con-  
stanti-  
nople.

BOOK VII. CH. 9. 710. panied by two bishops and a long train of ecclesiastics, among whom the future Pope Gregory II is the most interesting figure<sup>1</sup>. When he arrived at Naples, he found the Exarch Joannes Rizocopus, come, if our former conjecture be correct, to take possession of his new government. Their paths crossed: Joannes went northwards to Rome, where he put to death four ministers of the Papal court<sup>2</sup>,—a mysterious act of severity which, unexplained, seems to contrast strangely with the diplomatic courtesies then being interchanged between Rome and Constantinople,—and then he proceeded on his way to Ravenna, where, as has been already said, a shameful death awaited him.

As for the Pope, he proceeded on his way to Sicily, where Theodore, patrician and general, the executor of Justinian's vengeance on Ravenna, met him with deep reverence, and was healed by him of a sickness which had detained him in the island. The Papal galleys then coasted round the southern cape of Italy, touching at Reggio, Cotrone, Gallipoli (where Bishop Nicetas died), and at last arrived at Otranto, where they wintered. Here they were met by the *regionarius* Theophanius, who, we are told, brought a document

<sup>1</sup> It may be worth while to give names and offices of these men, as illustrating the composition of the Papal Court at this time:—'Secuti sunt eum Nicetas episcopus de Silvâ Candidâ, Georgius episcopus Portuensis, Michaelius, Paulus, Georgius presbyteri, *Gregorius diaconus*, Georgius secundicerius, Johannes defensorum primus, Cosmas sacellarius, Sisinnius nomenclator, Sergius scriniarius, Dorotheus subdiaconus et Julianus subdiaconus, et de reliquis gradibus ecclesiae clerici pauci' (Lib. Pont. in Vitâ Constantini).

<sup>2</sup> 'Qui veniens Romam jugulavit Saiulum diaconum et vicedominum, Petrum archarium, Sergium abbatem presbyterum, et Sergium ordinatorem' (Lib. Pont. in Vitâ Constantini).

under the Imperial seal, ordering all Imperial governors of cities to receive the Pope with as much reverence as they would show to the Emperor's own person. Crossing over at length into Greek waters, and arriving at the island of Ceos, the Pope was there met with the prescribed reverence by Theophilus, patrician and admiral. From thence he proceeded to Constantinople. The Emperor himself was not there, having perhaps purposely withdrawn to Nicaea, but his little son and child-colleague Tiberius, offspring of the Khazar bride<sup>1</sup>, came out to the seventh milestone, escorted by Cyrus the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Senate, and a long train of nobles and clergy, to meet the pontiff of Old Rome. All the city made holiday, and shouts of gratulation rent the air when the Pope, clad in full pontificals such as he wore in the great processions at Rome, entered the city mounted on one of the Imperial palfreys, with gilded saddle and gilded reins, which the servants of Justinian had brought to meet him.

<sup>1</sup> As to this little prince, who could not be more than six years old at the time of the Papal entry, we are told by Theophanes (A. M. 6198) that Justinian, on his restoration to the throne, sent a whole fleet of ships to fetch his wife from the shores of the Sea of Azof. A storm arose; most of the ships foundered, and their crews perished. Thereupon the Chagan of the Khazars wrote to him, 'Fool! to send so many ships and waste so many lives over the recovery of your wife. Did you mean to go to war with me? If not, two or three ships would have sufficed for your purpose. Behold, a son is born to you here. Send trusty messengers who may lead him to you.' With that the Emperor sent Theophylact the chamberlain (apparently the former Exarch), who brought to Constantinople Theodora and her infant son Tiberius. Both were crowned, and both were associated with Justinian in the Imperial dignity.

BOOK VII. The Emperor, on hearing of the Pope's arrival, was,  
 CH. 9. we are told, filled with joy, and sent a 'sacred' letter  
 711. to express his thanks, and to ask Constantine to meet  
 Meeting of Pope and Emperor. him at Nicomedia in Bithynia, to which city he him-  
 self journeyed from Nicaea. When they met, the  
 Papal biographer assures us that 'the most Christian  
 Augustus, with his crown on his head, prostrated  
 himself and kissed the feet of the pontiff. Then the  
 two rushed into one another's arms, and there was  
 great joy among the people, when all of them beheld  
 the good prince setting such an example of humility.'  
 From all the other information which we possess as  
 to the character of Justinian II, grave doubts arise  
 whether that 'good prince' really humbled himself  
 so far as to kiss the feet of his guest: but we can  
 well believe that he received the Communion at  
 the pontiff's hands, and besought his prayers that he  
 might obtain much needed pardon for his sins. Some  
 sort of discussion took place, for the deacon Gregory,  
 the future Pope, 'when interrogated by the Emperor  
 Justinian concerning certain chapters, gave an excel-  
 lent answer, and solved every question<sup>1</sup>.' We are  
 told also that Justinian 'renewed all the privileges  
 of the Church,' which suggests that something had  
 taken place which might seem to infringe them. On  
 the whole we are compelled to believe that there is  
 here a dishonest suppression of facts on the part of  
 the biographer, that the canons of the Quinisextan  
 Synod were again laid by the Emperor before the  
 Pope, and were (possibly with some modifications, for

<sup>1</sup> 'A Justiniano principe inquisitus de quibusdam capitulis  
 optimam respensionem [dedit et] unamquamque solvit quaes-  
 tionem' (Lib. Pont., in Vitâ Gregorii II).

which deacon Gregory successfully contended) accepted by him.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.

On his departure from Nicomedia, the Pope was enfeebled by frequent attacks of sickness, but he was at length enabled to accomplish his return journey, and landing at Gaeta, arrived on the 24th of October, 711, at Rome, where, after his year's absence, he was received with loud shouts of joy by the people.

711.  
The Pope's return.

Probably even if the Pope did yield in the matter of the Quinisextan Council, that concession was worth making for the sake of the increase of dignity which such a journey and such a reception in the Eastern capital brought to his office. After all deductions have been made for the exaggerations of the Papal biographer, there can be no doubt that the reception was a splendid one, and that the remembrance of the contumely heaped on Pope Martin might well be effaced by the sight of the reverence paid to Pope Constantine.

Scarcely had the Pope completed his return voyage, when the Emperor who had received him with such signal honour was slain. The chroniclers give us a very detailed, but also a singularly obscure history of the events which led to his downfall, but one thing is clear through all the confusion, that in his really insane fury of revenge against the inhabitants of Cherson, Justinian overreached himself, and almost compelled his most loyal servants to conspire against his throne<sup>1</sup>.

Final fall  
of Jus-  
tinian II.

<sup>1</sup> This is not the place for examining minutely the perplexed narrative of Justinian's expeditions against Cherson, but it seems to me that by carefully collating the two narratives (evidently drawn from one common source) of Theophanes and Nicephorus, a somewhat clearer view of the whole transaction might be

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.

710.  
Revenge  
on Cher-  
son.

Three expeditions were successively sent against Cherson, with orders to accomplish the utter destruction of the city. The first was fairly successful: the leading citizens were sent to Justinian for him to wreak his vengeance upon them; some of the nobles were tied to stakes and roasted before a slow fire; others were tied into a barge filled with heavy stones, and so sunk in the sea. But Justinian was not satisfied; he accused his generals of slackness in executing his orders, superseded them, and sent out others, who in their turn—partly owing to the energy with which despair had filled the Chersonites, partly owing to the interference of the Chagan of the Khazars, who came to defend the threatened city against a Roman Emperor more barbarous than himself—gave up their

obtained. For instance, the present text of Theophanes informs us that ‘Tudun the governor of Cherson, and representative of the Chagan of the Khazars, and Zoilus, who by birth was first citizen of the place, and forty other illustrious inhabitants, were fastened to wooden stakes and roasted before the fire.’ After this we learn with some surprise that Justinian having changed his plans, sent Tudun and Zoilus back to the Chagan with his excuses. But the mystery is explained when we turn to Nicephorus, who says, ‘Dunus [Tudun] the governor of Cherson, and Zoilus, who was called the first citizen, and forty others of the most illustrious inhabitants, with their wives and children, were sent to Justinian, and seven others of the leading men in Cherson were fastened to wooden stakes and roasted before the fire.’ Evidently either Theophanes or his transcribers have left out the middle of the sentence, and so made nonsense of the passage. Both Nicephorus and Theophanes have probably got hold of very exaggerated accounts of these expeditions. It is quite clear that the destruction of the citizens in the first expedition cannot have been so complete as is represented; nor do I, for my part, believe that 75,000 of Justinian’s sailors perished in the great storm, and that the Emperor, mad as he probably was, rejoiced in their destruction.



bloody commission in despair, and then for mere self-protection joined the party of revolt.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.

711.  
Revolt of  
Bardanes.

This party of revolt clustered round a certain Bardanes, an Armenian, to whom a Monothelite monk had long before prophesied that he would one day be Emperor of Rome. At each successive revolution, when Leontius and when Apsimar were raised to the throne, Bardanes had sought his monkish friend, who said each time, 'Be patient; the day is not come yet; but when it does come, be sure that you restore Monothetism, and undo the work of the Sixth Council.' Bardanes talked imprudently of these prophesyings to his comrades, and rumours of them reached the ears of Apsimar, who banished him to the island of Cephalonia. Justinian, to whom Apsimar's enemy probably seemed a friend, permitted Bardanes to return from banishment; and now, for some reason which is not clear to us, permitted him to accompany the first expedition to Cherson. Helias, whom Justinian appointed governor of Cherson, when he found that he had incurred his master's displeasure, proclaimed Bardanes Emperor under the less barbarous name of Philippicus, and the cause of this rival claimant to the throne was eagerly embraced by the despairing citizens of Cherson, and by one after another of the generals whom Justinian sent against them, and who feared to return to their master with his vengeance unsated. When Justinian heard of the elevation of Philippicus, his fury became more terrible than ever. Every one of the children of Helias was massacred in its mother's arms, and she herself was handed over to the dishonouring embraces of an Indian cook of the Emperor, a man of hideous ugliness.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.

711.

The upshot of the whole matter was that the remnants of all three expeditions returned to Constantinople bent on dethroning Justinian, and placing the diadem on the head of Bardanes-Philippicus. Justinian again sought the help of Terbel, king of the Bulgarians (with whom he had had many quarrels since he was restored to the throne by his aid), but obtained from him only three thousand men. He fixed his camp at Damatrys<sup>1</sup>, and himself proceeded to Sinope, the nearest point to the Crimea on the coast of Asia Minor. Here he perhaps expected the hostile fleet to land, but he saw instead the sails of the mighty armament which he had himself fitted out, bearing off westward to Constantinople to accomplish his doom. He returned, 'roaring like a lion,' on the road to the capital, but his enemy had arrived there before him. Philippicus reigned in Constantinople: every avenue to the city was carefully guarded by his troops. Back fled Justinian to his camp at Damatrys, but there too his enemies were beforehand with him. The man whom he had so cruelly wronged, Helias, the life-guardsman and governor of Cherson, had marched with a strong body of troops to Damatrys, and opened negotiations with the soldiers of Justinian. On receiving solemn assurances of their personal safety, they abandoned their cruel master's cause and consented to shout for Philippicus Augustus. Helias, filled with rage at the remembrance of his wrongs, hunted down the fallen Emperor, made bare his throat, and with one blow from the short sword which hung by his side severed his head from his body. The ghastly trophy was

Death of  
Justinian  
II, 711.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find any other mention of this place. Is it meant for Demetrium in Bithynia?

carried by a guardsman named Romanus to Philippicus, who forwarded it by the same messenger to Rome.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 9.

712.

And how was the messenger there received? The Papal biographer says, 'After three months<sup>1</sup> the melancholy tidings resounded through the City that Justinian, the most Christian and orthodox Emperor, was murdered, and the heretic Philippicus had reached the summit of Imperial power.' Into what strange world of Manichean confusion have we strayed, a world in which good and evil have no meaning in themselves, but stand merely as the watchwords of two parties of equally balanced power; a world in which it is possible for a monster like Justinian Rhinotmetus to be mourned as 'a most Christian Emperor'?

To finish the story of Justinian's downfall, the pathetic end of his little son Tiberius must also be recorded. The little child, still only six years old, had been taken for refuge to the church of the Virgin in the quarter of Blachernæ. There he sat, with one hand holding a pillar of the holy table, and with the other clasping some fragments of the true cross, which his great ancestor had recovered from the Persians. Other sacred relics were hung round the child's neck, and Anastasia his grandmother sat near him. Maurus, the leader of the third expedition against Cherson, and now a partisan of Philippicus, strode up to the altar. The aged Empress threw herself at his feet, and implored him not to lay hands on the child, who at any rate was unsoiled by his father's crimes. But while Maurus was thus detained by Anastasia, his comrade and

Murder of  
his infant  
son.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. three months after the 24th of October, 711, the date of the Pope's return.

BOOK VII. fellow-patrician, Joannes Struthus<sup>1</sup>, forcibly wrenched  
 CH. 9. away the little Tiberius from the altar steps, took the  
 711. fragments of the cross from his hand and laid them  
 upon the altar, hung the other relics round his own  
 neck, and then, carrying the child out to the porch of  
 another church, stripped him of his clothes, laid him  
 on the threshold, and 'cut his throat,' says the chroni-  
 cler, 'as if he had been a sheep.' With the death of  
 that innocent child at the church-porch ended the  
 dynasty of the great Heraclius. They had borne rule  
 610-711. in the Roman world, with two slight interruptions, for  
 one year more than a century.

Six years  
 of an-  
 archy.

The fall of the Heraclian dynasty was followed by  
 a period of unsettlement and revolution which lasted  
 for six years. Philippicus (or Bardanes), who reigned  
 from the autumn of 711 to the spring of 713; Anasta-  
 sius, the chief secretary, who reigned from that date  
 till the autumn of 715; Theodosius, whose reign ended  
 in March, 717, are little more than shadow-Emperors,  
 with whose troubled careers the historian of Italy  
 need not concern himself. Only it is to be noted that  
 under Philippicus there was a temporary recrudescence  
 of that which had seemed safely dead and buried, the  
 Monothelete theory of the nature of Christ. True to  
 the promise which he is represented as having given  
 to the monk who had prophesied his accession to the  
 throne, Philippicus convened a council of Monothelete  
 bishops and abbots, who declared the decision of the  
 Sixth Council to be null and void. The 'sacred' letter  
 which he at the same time addressed to the Pope  
 showed too plainly his heretical opinions. The Roman  
 mob, who seem by this time to have acquired consider-

Recrudes-  
 cence of  
 Monothe-  
 letism  
 under Phi-  
 lippicus.

<sup>1</sup> John the Sparrow.

able skill in theological controversy, at once took the alarm, and under the Pope's guidance assumed an attitude of something more than passive opposition. An 'image' (perhaps something like a mediaeval reredos), containing a representation of the six Ecumenical Councils, was set up in St. Peter's by way of reply to the defiance hurled at the Sixth of those Councils by Philippicus<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, no picture of the heretical Emperor was allowed to be erected in any of the churches; his name was omitted from the Mass; his decrees were treated as waste paper, and golden *solidi* bearing his effigy obtained no currency. At length there was actual civil war in the streets of Rome. A certain nobleman named Peter came from Ravenna, armed with a commission to assume the office of Duke of Rome, deposing Christopher, who then held it. As Peter's commission ran in the name of the hated Philippicus, the people rallied to the side of his rival. Blows were struck, and more than thirty men were killed in the Via Sacra, within sight of the official residence on the Palatine; but the Pope sent some priests bearing the gospels and the cross down into the fray, and these succeeded in allaying the tumult, by persuading 'the Christian party' to retire. Things, however, looked gloomy for orthodoxy and the defenders of the Sixth Council, when, about the middle of 713, tidings came by way of Sicily that Philippicus had been deposed. He was seized by conspirators

BOOK VII.

CH. 9.

712.

Civil war  
in Rome.

<sup>1</sup> 'Hujusque rei causâ zelo fidei accensus omnis coetus Romanae urbis imaginem quod (*sic*) Graeci Botarea vocant, sex continentem sanctos et universales synodos, in ecclesiâ beati Petri erecta est' (Lib. Pont., in Vitâ Constantini). 'Botarea' baffles the interpreters.

BOOK VII. while taking his siesta in the palace, and like most  
CH. 9. 

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deposed sovereigns of Constantinople, deprived of  
713. sight, and the orthodox Anastasius reigned in his  
stead.

This was the last flicker of the Monotheletic controversy, which had disquieted the Empire for just  
638 713. three-quarters of a century.

NOTE C. LIST OF POPES FROM THE DEATH OF GREGORY I (604) BOOK VII.  
TO THE ORDINATION OF GREGORY II (715). CH. 9.

The dates are taken from Duchesne's Table Chronologique, p. cclxii. of the Liber Pontificalis.

Name of Pope.	Nationality.	Date of Ordination.	Length of Pontificate.			Date of Death.	Interval. Days.
			Yrs.	Mths.	Days.		
SABINIANUS . . .	Tuscan . . .	Sept. 13, 604	1	5	9	Feb. 22, 606	358
BONIFACIUS III .	Roman . . .	Feb. 19, 607		8	22	Nov. 12, 607	256
BONIFACIUS IV .	Marsian . . .	Aug. 25, 608	6	8	13	May 8, 615	164
DEUDEDIT . . .	Roman . . .	Oct. 19, 615	3	0	20	Nov. 8, 618	410
BONIFACIUS V . .	Neapolitan .	Dec. 23, 619	5	10	0	Oct. 25, 625	2
HONORIUS . . .	Campanian .	Oct. 27, 625	12	11	17	Oct. 12, 638	959
SEVERINUS . . .	Roman . . .	May 28, 640		2	4	Aug. 2, 640	144
JOHANNES IV . .	Dalmatian .	Dec. 24, 640	1	9	18	Oct. 12, 642	43
THEODORUS . . .	Greek, son of bishop of Je- rusalem	Nov. 24, 642	6	5	18	May 14, 649	(?)
MARTINUS . . .	Tuscan . . .	July (?), 649		(?)		Degraded, June 17, 653	(?)
EUGENIUS . . .	Roman . . .	Aug. 10, 654	2	9	24	June 2, 657	58
VITALIANUS . . .	Campanian .	July 30, 657	14	6	0	Jan. 27, 672	75
ADEODATUS . . .	Roman . . .	April 11, 672	4	2	5	June 17, 676	138
DONUS . . . . .	Roman . . .	Nov. 2, 676	1	5	10	April 11, 678	67
AGATHO . . . . .	Sicilian . . .	June 27, 678	2	6	14	Jan. 10, 681	584
LEO II . . . . .	Sicilian . . .	Aug. 17, 682		10	17	July 3, 683	358
BENEDICTUS II .	Roman . . .	June 26, 684		10	12	May 8, 685	76
JOHANNES V . . .	Syrian . . .	July 23, 685	1	0	9	Aug. 2, 686	80
CONON . . . . .	Thracian . .	Oct. 21, 686		11	0	Sept. 21, 687	85
SERGIUS . . . . .	Syrian . . .	Dec. 15, 687	13	8	23	Sept. 8, 701	52
JOHANNES VI . .	Greek . . . .	Oct. 30, 701	3	2	12	Jan. 11, 705	49
JOHANNES VII . .	Greek . . . .	March 1, 705	2	7	17	Oct. 18, 707	89
SISINNIUS . . . .	Syrian . . . .	Jan. 15, 708			20	Feb. 4, 708	50
CONSTANTINUS . .	Syrian . . . .	Mar. 25, 708		7	0	April 9 715	40
GREGORIUS II . .	Roman . . . .	May 19, 715	15	8	24	Feb. 11, 731	35

The manner of calculating the 'Length of Pontificate' is occasionally somewhat obscure, and the dates do not always fit exactly; but the general results are evident enough. Many of

BOOK VII. the pontificates are extremely short, and thus it comes to pass  
CH. 9. that in an interval of 104 years from the death of Gregory I to the death of Sisinnius we have 23 popes, or about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years to each pope. And this is without counting the intervals between the death of one pope and the election of another, which were sometimes longer than the pontificate itself. In fact the duration of the intervals shown in the above table amounts to 4172 days, or more than 11 years and 8 months in the century. When the interval was under 50 days we must probably conclude that the Imperial confirmation for which the election was usually delayed was given by the Exarch at Ravenna.



## CHAPTER X.

### THE LAWS OF LIUTPRAND.

*Sources* :—

**Authorities.**

*Leges Liutprandi* as given in the third volume of Troya's BOOK VII.  
'Codice Diplomatico Longobardo.' Unfortunately the number- CH. 10.  
ing of the laws varies slightly in the different editions. I have  
generally followed Troya's numbering.

*Guides* :—

Davoud Oghlou's excellent 'Histoire de la Législation des Anciens Germains' (vol. ii.), and Carl Meyer's 'Sprache und Sprachdenkmäler der Langobarden' (1877).

FROM the story of the subordinate duchies, and the disputes of Popes and Emperors, we return to the main stream of Lombard history.

The wise and loyal Ansprand survived his return from exile and his elevation to the throne only three months. When he was upon his deathbed, the people of the Lombards raised his son LIUTPRAND to the throne as his partner while life still remained to him, his successor when death supervened; and the tidings of this event, which apparently was the result rather of popular enthusiasm than of any deep-laid political scheme, brought great joy to the heart of the dying king<sup>1</sup>. For we must always remember that Liutprand,

Death of  
Ansprand,  
June 13,  
712.

Elevation  
of Liut-  
prand.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ansprand Langobardorum regnum potitus, tres solummodo menses regnavit, vir per omnia egregius et cujus sapientiae rari

BOOK VII. though the greatest and most powerful of Lombard  
CH. 10.  
 sovereigns, and though no other king so nearly succeeded in welding the state into one homogeneous monarchy, had only the slenderest of hereditary claims to occupy the palace of Pavia. To talk of usurpation would be altogether out of place, since the element of popular election common to most of the Teutonic royalties was still strong in the Lombard kingship; but for more than a century all the wearers of the Iron Crown, with one exception<sup>1</sup>, had been connected by blood or by marriage with the family of the revered, almost sainted Queen Theudelinda, and to the glory of this descent the son of the Milanese noble Ansprand could lay no claim.

Appear-  
 ance and  
 character  
 of Liut-  
 prand.

Of the year of Liutprand's birth we have no precise information, but as in 701 he was still a very young man, contemptuously allowed to live by the jealous tyrant Aripert II, when he mutilated or put to death all the rest of Ansprand's family, we can hardly suppose him to have been more than twenty-eight years old when, eleven years afterwards, he mounted the throne. He was a man of great personal strength and courage, and in his reign of thirty-one years he had the opportunity of displaying on a wide, one might almost say on a European theatre, the large gifts of statesmanship with which nature had endowed him. In these early centuries, after the disruption of

*aequandi sunt. Cernentes Langobardi hujus interitum, Liutprandum ejus filium in regali constituunt solio: quod Ansprandum adhuc viveret audiens, valde laetatus est'* (Paulus, H. L. vi. 35).

<sup>1</sup> Rodwald, whose connection with Theudelinda's family is at least doubtful.

the Roman Empire, no other ruler save Theodoric the Ostrogoth came so near to founding a real kingdom of Italy: but like Theodoric, his work perished because he had no son to succeed him.

At the very outset of his reign he narrowly escaped death by domestic treason. For some reason or other, his cousin Rothari<sup>1</sup> conspired against his life, and invited him to a feast, at which he was to have been slain by armed men concealed in the banqueting-hall. Being warned of the plot, Liutprand summoned his cousin to the palace. He came, wearing a coat of mail under his mantle, which the king's hand discovered in the act of exchanging salutations. The tragedy of Grimwald and Godipert was again performed, with slightly different circumstances. When Rothari saw that he was discovered, he drew his sword and rushed at the king. Liutprand drew his too, but before either could strike, one of the king's lifeguards, named Subo, attacked Rothari from behind. He turned round and wounded his assailant in the forehead, but the interruption probably saved the king's life. The other bystanders fell at once upon Rothari, and slew him. His four sons, whose disappearance from the capital caused them to be suspected of complicity in their father's designs, when discovered were put to death.

As an illustration of the personal courage of the new king, Paulus tells us another story, which probably belongs to a later period of his reign. Being told that two squires had plotted his death, he ordered their attendance upon him, and rode with them and with no other escort into the densest part of the

<sup>1</sup> This name suggests the possibility that Liutprand himself may have been sprung from the race of King Rothari.

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CH. 10.

forest<sup>1</sup>. Then drawing his sword and pointing it towards them, he upbraided them with their murderous designs, and called upon them, if they were men, to come on and slay him then and there. Stricken by 'the divinity which doth hedge a king,' the caitiffs fell at his feet and implored his pardon, which was granted to them as to many others who at different times conspired against him, for great was this king's clemency.

The year  
726 a  
turning-  
point in  
the reign  
of Liut-  
prand.

The reign of Liutprand naturally divides itself into two parts. The first fourteen years of that reign (712-726) are almost bare of events. Doubtless he was, during all that time, consolidating the forces of his kingdom; and the numerous laws which, during this period, were passed at the yearly assemblies of his armed fellow-countrymen, show his anxious care for the good government of his people. In 726, with the outbreak of the great Iconoclastic controversy, the scene changes, and an almost bewildering succession of wars, alliances, conquests, restorations of territory, interviews with Popes, and negotiations with Exarchs, fills up the remaining seventeen years of his reign.

Reserving for the next chapter the intricate, but momentous history of those eventful years, I propose now to summarise those additions to the Statute Book which attest Liutprand's activity as a legislator, and which were made in great measure, though not entirely, before the Iconoclastic controversy set Italy in a flame.

Yearly as-  
semblies  
of the  
Lombards.

On the 1st of March<sup>2</sup>, for fifteen out of the thirty-one years of his reign, Liutprand, 'the Christian and

<sup>1</sup> Probably the 'City' forest in the neighbourhood of Pavia, of which we have already heard. See pp. 306 and 308.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes on the preceding day.

Catholic' King, by the advice and with the consent of the 'Judges' of his realm and of the rest of his faithful Lombards, put forth his little volume of laws 'for the settlement of any points of controversy which had arisen between his subjects, and which seemed to be insufficiently provided for by his most robust and most eminent predecessor Rothari,' or by the 'most glorious' Grimwald<sup>1</sup>.

At the very outset of his reign the young king claims high authority for his utterances as a legislator. Divine  
right of  
kings. 'He has conceived the idea of framing these laws, not by his own foresight, but by the will and inspiration of God: because the king's heart is in the hand of God, as is witnessed by the wisdom of Solomon, who said, "As the rush of water, so is the heart of the king in God's hand: if He shall keep it back, everything will be dried up, but if He in His mercy gives it free course, everything is watered, and filled with healthfulness." So too the Apostle James in his Epistle says, "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights."'

<sup>1</sup> The following sentence, prefixed to the laws of 713, may be taken as pretty nearly the common form for the introduction to the Statutes of all the succeeding years:—'Ob hoc ego in Dei nomine Liutprand excellentissimus Christianus et Catholicus Langobardorum rex, anno deo protegente regni mei primo, pridie' [more often 'die'] 'Kalendarum Martiarum indictione undecimâ una cum omnibus iudicibus tam de Austriæ et Neustriæ partibus, necnon et de Tusciæ finibus, vel cum reliquis fidelibus meis Langobardis et cuncto populo adsistente, hæc nobis commune consilio, juxta [justa] ob Dei timore atque amore ac sancta conparuerunt et placuerunt.' The years in which Liutprand's laws were published were 713, 717, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 731, 733, 734, and 735. As the total number of 'capitula' was 155, this gives an average of about ten laws to each year of publication.

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This highly theological statement of the king's functions is no doubt due to the ecclesiastic employed by him to express his thoughts in that which was supposed to be the Latin language, and it is probably to the same official that we owe the following strong statement of the supremacy of the Roman Church, which is contained in the law against marriage with a first cousin's widow.

Glorifica-  
tion of the  
Papal  
power.

After enacting that any man offending against this law shall forfeit all his property, and his children shall be treated as illegitimate, the royal legislator adds, 'This ordinance have we made because, as God is our witness, the Pope of the City of Rome, *who is the head of the Churches of God and of the priests in the whole world*, has exhorted us by his epistles in no wise to allow such marriage to take place<sup>1</sup>.' But notwithstanding these expressions, and though the prologues to the laws lay a strong emphasis on the now Catholic character of the Lombard nation, it cannot be said that they exhibit any trace of that obsequious servility towards the Church which is characteristic of the laws of the Visigothic kings a little before this date, nor is there any vestige in them of that furious persecution of the Jews which was the especial disgrace of Spanish Christianity, and which paved the way for the Moorish conquest of Spain.

It must be noticed in passing that the Latin in which King Liutprand's statutes are clothed is barbarous, often to the verge of incomprehensibility,

<sup>1</sup> l. xxxiii. The first sentence of this law is, 'Hoc autem deum juvantem praevidimus ut amodo nullus homo presumat relicta de consobрино aut bisobрино suo ducere.' Does this forbid marriage even with a second cousin's widow?

more barbarous than that of Gregory of Tours, more barbarous even (and this is worth noticing) than the laws of Rothari. Evidently during the seventy or eighty years that had elapsed since that king's accession, the light shed by the torch of learning had been growing dimmer and dimmer, and the Church had been losing even the feeble hold which she once had upon the wisdom and the culture of buried Paganism.

Taking a general survey of the laws of Liutprand and comparing them with those of Rothari, we see at once that the Lombards have entered upon a new phase of social life. The laws of the later legislator breathe far less than those of his predecessor the atmosphere of the forest and the moorland. The laws about falcons, and stags, and swarms of bees, have disappeared from the statute book, or at least require no fresh additions to be made to them, but instead thereof we have elaborate provisions for the enforcement of contracts and the foreclosure of mortgages.

One great and striking change made by King Liutprand shows the increasing value set upon human life, as the Lombards were putting off their barbarous customs and settling down into a well-ordered commonwealth. This was the virtual abolition of the *guidrigild*, and the substitution of absolute confiscation of the offender's property, in cases of murder. It will be remembered that, under the earlier legislation, the shedder of blood, according to a common custom among the Teutonic nations, had to pay to the representatives of the murdered man a compensation, which varied according to his rank of life, and which (though our information on the subject is not so precise as we could desire) was probably

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small, when the victim was a man of low social position. Now, however, the king ordained that in all cases where one free man killed another, not in self-defence, but of malice aforethought, he should lose his whole property. The heirs of the murdered man took only his old *guidrigild*, and the balance left over went to 'the King's Court,' the residuary legatee of all fines and compositions. If, on the other hand, the murderer's property was insufficient to pay even the old *guidrigild*, he was handed over to the heirs of the murdered man, apparently not to be put to death by them, but worked as a slave<sup>1</sup>.

Of course, even this punishment falls far short of those which our modern civilisation assigns to the crime of murder. Still we can see that, especially in the case of the rich and powerful, the effect of the new punishment would be far more deterrent than the old. Probably under the code of Rothari a Lombard noble might have killed a dozen free men of inferior position without seriously impairing his fortune, whereas now, after the first such deed of violence, he found himself stripped of everything. And thus the change introduced by Liutprand tended towards the equality of all men before the law, and was in the best sense of the word democratic. At the same time, while the *guidrigild* lost some of its significance on one hand, it gained it on the other. If it was less important as a protection against violence, it became more important as a penalty for crime. In the case of a nun's guardian who consented to her marriage<sup>2</sup>; of men who aided and abetted in an insurrection<sup>3</sup>; of forgery of a document<sup>4</sup>; of the preparation of a legal instrument by

*guidrigild*  
now used  
as a tariff  
of punish-  
ments.

<sup>1</sup> l. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> l. xxx.

<sup>3</sup> l. xxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> l. lxiii.



a scribe ignorant of the law<sup>1</sup>; of breaking troth-pledge, and giving to one man the affianced bride of another<sup>2</sup>, the offender was bound to 'pay his own *guidrigild*,' which went in some cases to the King's Court, in others to the person injured by his offence. So, too, the officer of the crown who molested men in the enjoyment of their just right<sup>3</sup>, the master of a fugitive slave who presumed to drag him away from the altar of a church<sup>4</sup>, the man who committed an indecent assault upon a woman or who stole her clothes while she was bathing<sup>5</sup>, the man who dared to marry the wife of another still living husband<sup>6</sup>, each had to pay the full *guidrigild* which, under the old law, would have been payable by his murderer. There seems to be a certain sense of justice, rough perhaps, but still justice, in this provision of the Lombard legislator, who says in effect to the wealthy and noble members of the community, 'We will protect your persons by inflicting a heavier fine on him who assaults or molests you than on the assailant of a person of lesser rank: but on the other hand, if you transgress our laws, the penalty which you must pay shall be in the same proportion heavier.'

In the laws of Rothari we had to regret the absence of any clear indication of the amount of *guidrigild* payable for the violent death of a member of each of the various classes of the community. King Liutprand gives us this missing detail, and as he does not profess to abrogate the law of his predecessor, he perhaps only re-states the previously existing custom. The law<sup>7</sup> is so important that it will be well to quote it entire:—

Liutprand gives us the missing table of *guidrigilds*.

<sup>1</sup> l. xci.

<sup>2</sup> l. cxix.

<sup>3</sup> l. cxxxix. a.

<sup>4</sup> l. cxliii.

<sup>5</sup> ll. cxxi, cxxxv.

<sup>6</sup> l. cxxii.

<sup>7</sup> l. lxii.

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‘We remember that we have already ordained that he who [of malice prepense] kills a free man shall lose the whole of his property; and that he who kills in self-defence shall pay according to the rank of the person slain<sup>1</sup>. We now wish to ordain how that rank is to be estimated.

‘The custom is, that if the slain man is a person of the lowest rank, who is proved to be a member of the [Lombard] army<sup>2</sup>, the manslayer shall pay 150 solidi: for an officer<sup>3</sup>, 300 solidi. As concerning our followers<sup>4</sup>, let him who is lowest in that rank be paid for, when slain, at the rate of 200 solidi, simply because he is our servant; and those of higher position, according to the dignity of their office, in an ascending scale up to 300 solidi<sup>5</sup>.’

From this law we can at last form some idea of the estimation in which the lives of the different members of the Lombard community were held. We can hardly be wrong, however, in supposing that the ‘army man’ of King Liutprand’s edict is necessarily a member of the conquering nation: and thus we get

<sup>1</sup> ‘Secundum qualitatem personae.’

<sup>2</sup> ‘Minima persona qui exercitalis homo esse inveniatur.’

<sup>3</sup> ‘Qui prior est.’

<sup>4</sup> ‘De gasindiis nostris.’ The word ‘gasindius’ has probably a mingled meaning, derived from the original idea of *kinship* with the king, blended with the usage of the *comitatus* (see vol. iii. p. 256), and afterwards associated with the thought of *service in the king’s palace*.

<sup>5</sup> As it was a common principle in the Teutonic codes that murder with premeditation should be charged for at double the rate of manslaughter in self-defence, Davoud Oghlou suggests that we may probably obtain the full *guidrigild* for murder ‘asto animo,’ as executed in the days of Rothari, by doubling the sums mentioned in this law of Liutprand.

no nearer to the solution of the old question, 'What *guidrigild*, if any, was paid by the murderer or the unintentional slayer of a free Roman?' BOOK VII.  
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But though on this point the laws of Liutprand fail to give us the desired information, they do not so entirely ignore the existence of a non-Lombard population as was the case with those of Rothari. In the first place, it is noteworthy that nearly all the laws which relate to inheritance begin with the words '*Si quis Langobardus*,' evidently implying that there were other persons than Lombards in the country to whom these laws did not apply, and we naturally conjecture that these persons are the old Roman population, still working, as far as their own internal affairs are concerned, by the laws of Theodosius and Justinian. Non-Lombard population alluded to in these laws.

This conjecture becomes almost certainty when we read in Liutprand's law *De Scribis*<sup>1</sup>, 'We have ordained that they who write deeds<sup>2</sup>, whether according to the law of the Lombards (since that is most open, and known by nearly all men), or according to the law of the Romans, shall not prepare them otherwise than according to the contents of those laws themselves. For let them not write contrary to the law of the Lombards or that of the Romans. If they do not know the provisions of those laws, let them ask others who do, and if they cannot fully learn the laws, let them not write the deeds. Let any one who presumes to act otherwise pay his own *guidrigild*, unless there is some express understanding [of an opposite kind] arrived at by the parties<sup>3</sup>.' Law of the Lombards; law of the Romans.

<sup>1</sup> l. xci.

<sup>2</sup> 'Chartulas.'

<sup>3</sup> This is the text of the first sentence of this important law :—  
'De Scribis hoc prospeximus, ut qui chartulas scribunt, sive ad

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Marriage  
of a Ro-  
man man  
and a  
Lombard  
woman.

It is quite in accordance with the indications thus furnished us, that we find it provided<sup>1</sup> that if any Roman married a Lombard woman, and acquired the *mundium* over her, she thereby lost the status of a Lombard woman. The sons born of such a union were Romans like their father, and had to 'live by his law'; and in case of her marrying a second husband without the consent of the heirs of the first husband, they had no right to claim damages (*anagrìph*), nor to start a feud (*faida*) with the presuming consort<sup>2</sup>.

We thus see that, under the Lombard kings, a beginning at any rate was made of the system of 'personal law,' a system which attained its full development under the Carolingian kings, under whom the various members of the same community, Franks, Lombards, Romans, each had the right of living under their own ancestral code of laws.

Signs of  
increased  
civilisa-  
tion in the  
laws.

Lombard jurisprudence, though still crude, and in some respects barbarous, had evidently some germs of progress and improvement. We can perceive on the part of Liutprand an anxious desire to govern his subjects justly, and to carry their reason along with him in his various decisions. We see with satisfaction

legem Langobardorum, quoniam apertissima et pene omnibus nota est, sive ad Romanorum, non aliter faciant nisi quomodo in ipsis legibus continetur.'

<sup>1</sup> By l. cxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> 'Si quis Romanus homo mulierem Langobardam tulerit, et mundium ex eâ fecerit, et post ejus decessum ad alium maritum ambulaverit sine voluntatem heredes prioris mariti, *faida* et *anagrìph* non requiratur, quia postquam Romano marito copulaverit et ex eâ mundium fecit, Romana effecta est. Filii qui de tale matrimonio nascuntur secundum legem patris Romani fiunt, et legem patris vivunt: ideo *faida* et *anagrìph* minime componere debent qui postea eam tulit, sicut nec de aliâ Romanâ.'

that he is prepared to accept for himself the same measure which he metes out to others. Thus, having ordained that a lad under the age of eighteen cannot, except under certain special circumstances<sup>1</sup>, make a valid alienation of his property to another man, he passes a special law<sup>2</sup> enacting that not even to the king shall such a donation be valid.

As the power of the king had increased, that of his representatives had increased also, and with their power, the temptations to corruption, the vices of civilization beginning to take the place of the vices of barbarism. There are many laws against oppression and exaction by the king's stewards (*actores*); and the penalties on the judge who merely delays the administration of justice are exceedingly severe<sup>3</sup>. Two classes of judges are here enumerated, the *sculdahis*, and above him the *judex*. If a *sculdahis* delayed for four days to administer justice when called upon to do so, he had to pay 6 solidi to the plaintiff, and 6 to the *judex* above him. If the cause was too high for the *sculdahis*, and was brought before the *judex*, he had six days' grace given him, and at the end of that time, if he had not pronounced judgment, he had to pay 15 solidi to the plaintiff. Or, if it was a case which

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Exaction  
by royal  
officers.

The law's  
delays.

<sup>1</sup> One of these excepted cases was where the lad's father had left debts, the interest of which was eating up the estate ('ut ei major damnietas *propter honorem solidorum* non accrescat'; l. xv al. xix). Another was where the lad was in danger of actually dying from hunger in a time of general famine ('de infantibus qui intra aetatem sunt . . . et a fame moriuntur . . . dum tempus famis fuerit licenciam habeant coram misso principis aut iudice suo de terrâ aut de rebus suis vendere qualiter vivere possit,' &c. ; l. cxlix).

<sup>2</sup> l. xcix.

<sup>3</sup> ll. xxi-xxv.

BOOK VII. ought to be transferred to the King's Court, and the  
 CH. 10. *judex* delayed doing so for twelve days, he had to pay  
 12 solidi to the plaintiff, and 20 to the king. Even  
 the vast fortune of Lord Chancellor Eldon would  
 scarcely have been sufficient to meet the continual  
 levy of fines like these.

Wager of  
 battle.

The old barbarous wager of battle (*'pugna per cam-  
 fiones'*) still existed, but was viewed with suspicion  
 and dislike by Liutprand. He does not scruple to  
 imagine and provide for a case in which a man accused  
 of theft has been vanquished in single combat, but  
 stricter enquiry afterwards made by the king's repre-  
 sentative (*publicus*) has established his innocence<sup>1</sup>.  
 He declares that wicked persons would sometimes  
 challenge a man to the combat in order to annoy and  
 worry him, and therefore prescribes the form of oath  
 which the challenger might be forced to take, and  
 which was to the effect that he had reasonable  
 grounds of suspicion, and did not give the challenge  
 in malice, in order to weary him by the battle<sup>2</sup>. And  
 in a very curious law<sup>3</sup> about accusations of poisoning  
 he expresses himself even more strongly, saying in  
 substance, 'We have now ordained that the punish-  
 ment for the murder of a free man shall be the loss of  
 the whole of the murderer's property: but certain men,  
 perhaps through hardness of heart, have accused the  
 relations of a man who has died in his bed of having  
 poisoned him, and have therefore, according to the old

<sup>1</sup> l. lvi. In this case the composition for theft paid by the first  
 accused had to be repaid to him, and claimed from the man who  
 was eventually proved to be the offender.

<sup>2</sup> 'Et dicat juratus, quia non asto animo eum per pugnam  
 fatigare quaerat' (l. lxxi).

<sup>3</sup> l. cxviii.

custom, challenged them to single combat. It seems to us a serious matter that the loss of a man's whole property should be caused by the weakness of a single shield: and we therefore ordain that in case any accusation of this kind should be brought in future, the accuser shall swear on the gospels that he does not bring it in malice, but has good grounds for his suspicion. Then he may proceed to battle according to the old custom, but if the accused person or his hired champion is defeated, let him pay, not his whole fortune, but a composition, as under the whole law, according to the rank of the murdered man:—For we are uncertain about the judgment of God, and we have heard of many persons unjustly losing their cause by wager of battle. But on account of the custom of our nation of the Lombards we cannot change the law itself<sup>1</sup>.

In connexion with these allusions by Liutprand to the decaying jurisprudence of his ancestors, it will be well to notice one passage in which he quotes the ancient customs of his nation. Law lxxvii enacts, 'If two brothers, or a father and son, have divided their estate by solemn *thinx*<sup>2</sup>, and one of them shall die without sons or daughters, let the King's Court

The old  
unwritten  
law (*cadar-  
fida*).

<sup>1</sup> 'Quia incerti sumus de iudicio Dei, et multos audivimus per pugnam sine iusticiam causam suam perdere, sed propter consuetudinem gentis nostrae Langobardorum, legem ipsam mutare non possumus.' Sir W. Scott might have read this sentence when he wrote the well-known lines:—

'Say, ye who preach Heaven shall decide  
When in the list the champions ride,  
Where was Heaven's justice then?'

<sup>2</sup> Apparently this must be the meaning of 'si duo fratres aut si pater et filius *thingati* fuerint.'

succeed to him. We have ordained this because, though it be not precisely so set down in the edict [of Rothari], nevertheless all our judges and faithful subjects have declared that so the ancient *cadarfida* has ever been, down to our own time<sup>1</sup>. The passage is interesting, because we have here a glimpse of that unwritten common law of the Lombards, known by this strange and somewhat mysterious name *cadarfida*, by which, according to the *Chronicon Gothanum*<sup>2</sup>, legal disputes were generally decided until Rothari arose, the first codifier of Lombard law.

Space fails me to enumerate all the interesting particulars as to the social and domestic life of the Lombards, which may be gleaned from the laws of Liutprand. In particular, the numerous edicts relating to *women* would be well worthy of special study, showing as they do a decided upward tendency in the estimation in which they were held<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ideo autem sic scripsimus quia et si adfictum in edictum propriae non fuit, tamen omnes iudices et fidelis nostri sic dixerunt quod *cadarfida* antiqua usque nunc sic fuisset.' The MSS. waver between 'cadarfida,' 'cawarfida,' 'quaderfia,' and other forms of the word.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. v. p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> Thus the very first of Liutprand's laws gives to the daughters of a man dying without legitimate male issue, the whole of their father's inheritance; modifying so far the law of Rothari, which, in such a case, gave a third of the property to bastard sons (if any), and a sixth to the nearest male collaterals.

In law *exx*, which enumerates the injuries which constituted 'mala tractatio' from the *mundwald* (or keeper of the *mundium*) towards the woman under his protection, and which were punished by the loss of the *mundium*, it is interesting to note that she is called his *frea*, the same word of course as the German *frau*; but also the same as the name of the wife of Odin, who gave the Lombards the victory by her devices



Another proof of increasing softness of manners is afforded by the laws about *slaves*. Of course, the unfree condition of the slave and the *Aldius* still continues, but a new and effectual form of manumission is introduced, according to which the owner gives the slave into the hands of the king. The slave by the intervention of the priest is then 'led round the sacred altar,' and after that dismissed free. This solemn act of manumission, in which king and priest were associated on behalf of freedom, was to have as great efficacy as if the slave had been declared 'folk-free' by a regular *thingation*<sup>1</sup>. The slave who, after he had in this or any other way received his 'full freedom,' continued to serve his old master (out of gratitude or for wages), was warned that he would do well to make frequent opportunities for showing forth his freedom to the judge and to his neighbours, lest in time to come the fact of his emancipation should be called in question<sup>2</sup>. And if the owner of married slaves wronged the husband by committing adultery with the wife, he thereby emancipated both, as fully as if he had by solemn *thinx* given them their freedom. But in order that there might be no doubt of their emancipation, they were desired to come to the palace, prove their case, and receive their freedom at the hand of the king<sup>3</sup>.

Though, as I have said, we have far fewer laws relating to the forest and the farm-stead than in the code of Rothari, it is evident that *horses* were a valued possession, and their ownership, as in all civilised (see vol. v. p. 92). The wife of the Teutonic Jupiter was thus *The Woman*.

<sup>1</sup> l. ix.<sup>2</sup> l. lv.<sup>3</sup> l. cxl.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 10.  
Slaves.  
Manumission by king and priest.

BOOK VII. communities, was a frequent cause of litigation. 'If  
 CH. 10. a man wishes to buy a horse, he ought to do it in the  
 presence of two or three men, and not secretly. Then, if afterwards any one should claim that horse, he will have these witnesses to appeal to, and shall not be liable to a charge of horse-stealing. But if the claimant of the horse does not believe such witnesses, let the defendant confirm his case by putting them on their oath, unless they be that kind of men whom the king or the *judex* would believe even without an oath. But if he cannot produce any witnesses in whose presence the transaction took place, and can but repeat simply "I bought it," or if he says that he bought it from some Frank, or nobody knows whom, he will have to pay the fine for horse-stealing<sup>1</sup>.'

Religion.

Sooth-sayers.

We find in the code of Liutprand one or two interesting indications of the *religious* condition of the Lombards. Especially we have some almost savage legislation against soothsayers (*arioli*), whether male or female. Any one who himself consults such persons, or sends his slave to receive their answers, is to pay half of his own *guidrigild* to the king. The same heavy fine shall be paid by any *judex* or *sculdahis* or inferior functionary in whose district these soothsayers shall be lurking, if for three months he fail to discover and punish them. And if, when they have been detected and denounced, such functionary, either for a bribe, or out of pity, or for any other reason, lets them go, he shall pay not the half, but the whole of his *guidrigild* to the king. As a further incentive to

<sup>1</sup> 'Nisi simpliciter comparavit, et dixerit quod Franco aut nesciò de qualem hominem comparasset, componat ipsum caballum pro furtum' (l. lxxix).

diligence, the *judex* is ordered to sell the convicted soothsayer out of the province as a slave, and allowed to put the proceeds of the sale into his own pocket.

In the course of this legislation we are informed that (as at Benevento in the time of St. Barbatus) there were still some country folk who worshipped a tree or a fountain, calling it their *sacramentum*; and the punishment for these superstitious rites was the same as that for consulting soothsayers, the payment of half a man's *guidrigild* 'to the sacred palace<sup>1</sup>.'

It is time to draw this slight and imperfect sketch of Liutprand's legislation to a close, but the reader may be interested by three or four of the most characteristic laws, which seem to show us the great king sitting in council with his judges, and hearing and resolving the harder cases which were brought before him.

Law cxxxviii. *Incitement to murder by a slave.*—Inciting a slave to murder his master.  
 'We have been truly informed that a certain man, by the instigation of the devil, said to another man's slave, 'Come and kill thy lord, and I have it in my power to grant thee whatsoever favour thou shalt desire.' Persuaded by him, the lad entered into the evil design, and the tempter was wicked enough to say in the very presence of the victim, 'Strike thy lord.' For his sins the slave struck the blow, and the other said, 'Strike him again. If thou dost not, I will strike thee.' Then the lad turned round and

<sup>1</sup> 'Simili modo et qui arborem quam rustici sacramentum suum vocant atque ad fontanam adoraverit . . . medietatem pretii sui componat in sacro palatio' (l. lxxxiv).

BOOK VII. struck another blow, whereupon the master died.  
 CH. 10.

In the requisition for blood, it was argued [on behalf of the tempter] that he ought to pay only the composition for conspiring against life [*consilium mortis*, the fine for which was 20 solidi], but we and our judges were not at all satisfied with this argument, reflecting that conspiracy is a hidden thing, which sometimes attains its end, and sometimes misses it. But *this* murder was instigated in the actual presence of the victim, and we do not call it 'consilium' when a man points to another, present before him, and says in so many words, 'Strike that man.' Therefore the instigator of the crime shall be punished, not for *consilium mortis*, but for murder itself; and, according to our recent edict, shall forfeit the whole of his property, of which half shall go to the heirs of the murdered man, and half to the King's Court.'

Stealing a  
 woman's  
 clothes.

Law cxxxv. *Insult to a woman*.—'It has been reported to us that a certain perverse man, while a woman was bathing in a river, took away all the clothes which she had for the covering of her body; wherefore, as she could not remain in the river for ever, she was obliged to walk home naked. Therefore we decide that the hateful man who has been guilty of this presumptuous deed, shall pay his whole *guidrigild* to her whom he has offended. We do so for this reason, that if her father, or brother, or husband or other near male relative had found that man, there would undoubtedly have been a breach of the peace (*scandalum*), and the stronger of the two would probably have killed the other. Now it is better for the wrongdoer to live and pay his own *guidrigild*, than to die, and cause a *faida* to those who come

after him, or to kill and lose the whole of his property<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 10.

Law cxiii. *Testamentary power*.—‘ If any Lombard<sup>2</sup> should wish to make any special provision for a son who has served him well, he may have power to do so to the following extent. If he has two sons, he may favour the one who has shown him godly obedience by an extra third of the property; if he has three sons, by a fourth; if four, by a fifth, and so on. And if they have all served him equally well, let them partake equally of their father’s substance. But if perchance the father have married a second or a third wife, and have issue both by the earlier and later marriages, he shall not have the power of thus preferring any one of the children of the later marriage during their mother’s lifetime, lest any should say that it is done at her instigation. But after her death he shall have power to prefer as aforesaid. For we think it is according to God’s will (and to right reason), that if, even between slaves, he who serves his master well is more rewarded than he who serves him badly, the father should have a similar power of distinguishing between his sons, and rewarding them according to their deserts.’

<sup>2</sup> Power to a father to prefer a faithful son.

Law cxli. *Women incited to brawling by their husbands*.—‘ We have been informed that some faithless and crafty men, who do not dare themselves to enter a neighbouring house or village and raise a disturbance there, for fear of the heavy composition to

Brawling women.

<sup>1</sup> I have slightly expanded the last sentences, but the legislator’s meaning is sufficiently clear.

<sup>2</sup> The Roman would probably be governed in his testamentary dispositions by the law ‘*de inofficioso Testamento*.’

BOOK VII. which they are liable for such an offence, have called  
 CH. 10. together all the women over whom they had power, both free and bond, and have sent them against a weaker body of men. Then these women, attacking the men of such town or village, have inflicted blows upon them, and made greater disturbance, and done more mischief than even men would have done in their place. But when enquiry was made into the tumult, the men who were on the defensive, and could not help themselves, were called to account for their unwilling violence.

‘Therefore we decree that should the women dare to act in this manner in future: (1) Those who have defended themselves against them shall not be answerable for blows or wounds, or death itself, either to the husbands or the *mundwalds* of the women<sup>1</sup>.

‘(2) Let the magistrate (*publicus*) in whose district the tumult has happened, catch those women, and shave their heads, and distribute them among the villages round about, that henceforward women may learn not to do such presumptuous deeds.

‘(3) Should the women in such a brawl inflict blows or injuries on any one, their husbands must pay for them according to the tenour of [King Rothari’s] edict.

‘Our reason for making this ordinance both as to the chastisement of the women and as to the payment of their compositions is, that we cannot liken such a [craftily planned] assemblage of women to a faction fight, or sedition of peasants, since in those outbursts men act, not women<sup>2</sup>.’

<sup>1</sup> Repealing so far law 379 of King Rothari as to composition payable for a woman killed in a brawl.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Hoc autem ideo prospeximus tam de disciplinam quam et

I will end this chapter with two little incidents of village life drawn from the laws of Liutprand.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 10.

Law cxxxvi. *Death by misadventure at a well.*— ‘It has been told us that a certain man had a well in his courtyard; and above it (according to custom) a fork and a balance-weight<sup>1</sup> for drawing water. Now while one man was standing under the balance-weight, another, who came to draw water, incautiously let the balance-weight go, and it came upon him who was standing there, and caused his death. When enquiry into the death took place, and a demand for the composition was made, it was held by us and our judges that the man who was killed, as he was not a mere animal, but had sense and reason, ought to have considered beforehand where he would take up his station, and what was the weight which he saw over his head<sup>2</sup>. Therefore two-thirds must be deducted from his composition, and the third part of the sum at which he is valued, according to the tenour of the edict, shall be paid by him who drew the water carelessly, to the sons or nearest relations of the dead man: and so let the cause be finished without guile and without *faida*, since the deed was done unwittingly. Let there be no charge brought against the owner of the well, for if such a charge be admitted, no one hereafter will

Accidental  
death at a  
well.

de compositionem quia nos non potuimus mulierum collectionem ad *hariscild* adsimilare neque ad seditonem rusticanorum quia istâ causâ viri faciunt nam non mulieres.’ *Hariscild* is said by Meyer to be ‘Heerschild als Zeichen kriegerischen Aufgebots.’

<sup>1</sup> ‘Furcam et tolinum ad hauriendam aquam.’

<sup>2</sup> ‘Ita nobis et nostris iudicibus rectum paruit esse, ut ipse homo qui ibi demortuus est, quia non fuit animal, sed sensum rationabilem habuit, prospicere debuit in quale locum se ponere ad standum, aut quale pondum super se videbat esse.’

BOOK VII. allow others to draw water from his well ; in which  
 CH. 10. case, since all cannot be the owners of a well, many  
 poor persons will die, and wayfarers also will suffer  
 great hardship.'

Death of a  
 child from  
 a horse's  
 kick.

Law cxxxvii. *Death of a child from a horse's kick.*—'It has also been reported to us that a certain man lent his mare to another man to draw his waggon, but the mare had an unbroken colt which followed its mother along the road. While they were thus journeying, it chanced that some infants were standing in a certain village, and the colt struck one of them with his hoof, and killed it. Now when the parents brought the matter before us, and claimed compensation for the infant's death, we decided, after deliberation with our judges, that two-thirds of the child's *guidrigild*<sup>1</sup> should be paid by the owner of the colt, and the remaining third by the borrower of the mare. True it is that, in a previous edict<sup>2</sup>, it was ordained that if a horse injures any one with his hoof, the owner shall pay the damage. But inasmuch as the horse was out on loan, and the borrower was a reasonable being, and might, if he had not been negligent, have called out to the infants to take care of themselves,—therefore, as we have said, for his negligence he shall pay the third part of the child's price.'

With this sensible decision we take leave of Liutprand the legislator and the judge, and turn to consider the events of the age in which he had to play his part as a warrior and a statesman.

<sup>1</sup> 'Precii qualiter ipse valuerit.'

<sup>2</sup> Rothari, 325 and 326.



NOTE D. PRICES UNDER THE LOMBARD RULE.

OF course in order to estimate aright the deterrent effect of NOTE D. the money penalties which crowd the Lombard statute-book, we ought to know what was the purchasing power of the *solidus aureus* (twelve shillings) at this time. Our information on this point is necessarily vague. The fact that the average value of a slave (as denoted by his *guidrigild*) varied from 50 solidi down to 16, gives us some light on the question. In the year 725, we find the honourable woman Ermendruda selling for 12 golden solidi 'the boy Saoretanus, or whatever other name he may be known by in his own country Gaul' (Troya, iv. 3. 406). The documents copied in Troya's 'Codice Diplomatico Langobardo,' vol. iv, give us several transactions relating to the sale of land, but information as to the extent of the land thus sold is generally wanting, and where it is given I do not venture to estimate the quantity of the Lombard land measures.

(p. 54.)	A new oliveyard near Farfa is sold for	8 solidi.
	Twelve <i>Olivae Talliae</i> (?) are sold for . .	12 solidi.
(p. 253.)	A <i>sala</i> and half of a meadow, and a mill at Pistoia, are sold for . . .	100 solidi.
(p. 286.)	Half of a house in Pisa . . . . .	9 solidi.
(p. 295.)	A garden at Lucca . . . . .	50 solidi.
(p. 425.)	A portion of an ' <i>areale</i> ' at Trevigi . .	5 solidi.
(p. 520.)	Land in Pisan territory . . . . .	15 solidi.
(p. 523.)	„ „ (Sextariorum quindecim)	15½ solidi.
(p. 534.)	„ „ . . . . .	6½ solidi.
(p. 613.)	Eleven <i>Olivae Talliae</i> near Farfa . .	6 solidi.
(p. 618.)	A dwelling in the ' <i>castellum</i> ' of Uffrum near Luna . . . . .	20 solidi.
(p. 642.)	Land in the valley of the Serchio . .	25 solidi.
(p. 649.)	Land in Val d'Arno ( <i>tres scaffilli</i> ) . .	8 solidi.
(p. 656.)	Vineyard in the valley of the Serchio (sold by Justus, a goldsmith, to Abbess Ursa) . . . . .	6 solidi.
(p. 672.)	House and vineyard in Toscanella (sold by Rodbert, <i>magister comacinus</i> or master mason) . . . . .	30 solidi.
(p. 685.)	Share of vineyard in Tuscany . . .	2 solidi.

NOTE D. (p. 695.) Little piece of land ('aliquantula ter-  
 rula mea'), a little less than one  
 'modilocus,' also in Tuscany, sold  
 by Ermelinda, a nun . . . . . 13 solidi.

It will be observed that all these sales (which extend in time  
 from the year 704 to 740) relate to property in Tuscany, and  
 therefore they may probably be taken as representing the top-  
 prices of Italian land.

For movable property, which evidently commanded what is,  
 according to our ideas, an enormous price relatively to the price  
 of land, we have an exceedingly interesting document quoted by  
 Troya (p. 658). In it the Abbess Ursa informs her nephew what  
 is the property which he is entitled to under his mother's  
 marriage settlement:—

'I, Ursa, make a memorandum (memoraturium) to you my  
 nephew, as to your mother's *morganicap*. In the first place,

A bed . . . . .	10 solidi.
Three female slaves, Magnifredula, and Magni- trudu, and Musiula . . . . .	300 solidi.
A tunic . . . . .	10 solidi.
A mantle (mantu) . . . . .	10 solidi.
A nuari (?) . . . . .	300 solidi.
A horse with trappings (caballus stratus) . .	100 solidi.
A house at Valentio in Veturiana (and perhaps another house and the moiety of one, but this part of the memorandum is obscure) .	100 solidi.'

('Solidus tricenta,' twice repeated in the document, must  
 apparently be taken as = trecenti, not triginta). Evidently  
 personal property at this time was far more valuable, relatively,  
 than real property. But even so, our study of the document in  
 Troya leaves us with the impression that fines ranging, as did  
 these of the Lombard code, from 300 to 900 solidi, would fall  
 with crushing weight on all but the very wealthiest classes of  
 the community.

As further illustrating the same subject, it may be mentioned  
 that in the law passed to prevent the giving of extravagant  
 marriage portions, the *judex* is forbidden to give his wife a *meta*  
 of more than 400 solidi, and the ordinary noble is not allowed to  
 give more than 300, while (apparently) all other classes of the  
 community are limited to 200.

## CHAPTER XI.

### ICONOCLASM.

#### Authorities,

#### *Sources :—*

Our chief authorities here are THEOPHANES and NICEPHORUS, BOOK VII.  
CH. 11. who were both born in the year 758. The former died about 817, and the latter in 828. They are thus all but contemporary authorities for the period now under review, and as far as the outline of persons and events at Constantinople is concerned, they may be safely trusted. The colour which they give to them must be regarded with much more suspicion, for both were ecclesiastics passionately committed to one side of the iconoclastic controversy, the opposite side to that taken by Leo III and Constantine V. Theophanes especially can scarcely speak of either Emperor without prefixing an 'impious' to his name. The lives of these two men give us a vivid picture of the religious history of the times.

Theophanes, a nobleman of Constantinople, a relation of the Emperor and an officer in the Imperial guard, lived a monastic life notwithstanding a nominal marriage, and like Gregory the Great turned his ancestral estates into convents, of one of which he became abbot. At the Second Council of Nicaea (Seventh General Council, 787), whither he proceeded on an ass and clothed in a garment of hair, he vehemently defended the worship of images. Under Leo the Armenian (813-820), as he refused to conform to the dominant iconoclasm, he suffered imprisonment and exile, and eventually died in the island of Samothrace, whither he had been banished. His sufferings in the cause of image-worship procured him the title of Confessor.

Nicephorus, who is also sometimes called Confessor, but more commonly, from his office, Patriarch, was also of noble birth,

BOOK VII. and held the high position of *Notarius* under Constantine VI  
 CH. 11. and his mother Irene. He too was present and defended the cause of the image-worshippers at the Second Council at Nicaea. After spending some years in a convent he became in 806 Patriarch of Constantinople, but on account of his opposition to iconoclasm was deposed by Leo the Armenian in 815. The discussions between Patriarch and Emperor which preceded this deposition are narrated at some length by the biographer of the former, Ignatius. Nicephorus was allowed to re-enter the monastery of St. Theodore, on an island in the Sea of Marmora, where he had dwelt previous to his elevation to the Patriarchate, and died there after more than thirteen years of seclusion, on the 2nd of June, 828.

His 'Apologeticus pro Sacris Imaginibus' and other controversial works on the question of iconoclasm are very voluminous<sup>1</sup>, but are considered to present the best-argued case of any of the writers on that side of the controversy. For historical purposes the short but careful work called 'A Concise History from the Reign of the Emperor Maurice'<sup>2</sup> is his most important production. It extends from the death of Maurice (602) to the marriage of Leo IV and Irene (768).

For a discussion of the sources (evidently to a large extent identical) from which Theophanes and Nicephorus drew the materials for their histories, and of the relation of these two writers to one another, see Bury, ii. 281 and 352. It should be noticed that Theophanes, though valuable and to a certain extent trustworthy for the events happening in the Eastern Empire, is extremely ill-informed as to transactions in Western Europe. He places the flight of Pope Stephen into France in the year 725, twenty-five years before that Pope's elevation. He knows nothing of Pope Gregory III, and makes Zacharias the immediate successor of Gregory II, whose elevation to the Papacy he dates in 725 instead of 715. Strangest of all his errors, he makes Constantine, the one Pope about whom he might have been expected to be well-informed by reason of his triumphal entry into Constantinople, succeed to the pontificate in 762,

<sup>1</sup> With the Latin translation appended they occupy 340 closely printed pages of Migne's *Patrologia*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἱστορία σύντομος ἀπὸ τῆς Μαυρικίου βασιλείας.*

fifty-four years after the true date. After these blunders we are hardly surprised to find that Theophanes attributes Charles Martel's great victory over the Saracens to his son Pippin the Short. Evidently for Western affairs Theophanes is no safe guide, and this is the more unfortunate because he has been extensively copied by later Greek historians, especially Cedrenus<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 11.

Another source of some importance is the *VITA S. STEPHANI JUNIORIS*, composed by his namesake the deacon Stephen in the year 808, forty-two years after the martyrdom of Stephen the Monk under the reign of Constantine Copronymus. Like most of the ecclesiastical biographies of the time it is intolerably diffuse, passionate and one-sided, but it is possible to extract from it a few grains of valuable historical information.

*Guides :—*

*Gibbon* (chapter xlix); *Milman*, 'History of Latin Christianity' (Book iv. chap. vii: an admirable review of an important controversy); *Bury*, 'History of the Later Roman Empire' (Book vi: it should be observed that I generally accept his reconstruction of the chronology of the period); *Schlosser*, 'Geschichte der Bilderstürmenden Kaiser,' and *Finlay*, 'History of the Byzantine Empire' (Book I). The two last-named authors were the first to call attention to the great political merits of the much maligned Isaurian Emperors.

On the purely ecclesiastical aspects of Iconoclasm useful light is thrown by *Hefele's* 'Conciliengeschichte,' vol. iii: but his acceptance of the so-called letters of Gregory II to the Emperor Leo III detracts, according to my view of the case, from the soundness of his conclusions.

IN tracing the history of the Lombard kings and that of the contemporary Popes and Emperors we have now overstepped the threshold of the eighth

<sup>1</sup> It should be mentioned that Theophanes gives us for the events related by him both 'the year of the world' (placing the Creation at 5500 B.C.) and the year from the Birth of Christ. As however his A. D. differs from that now in general use by a period of seven or eight years, it is more convenient in references to him to quote the *Annus Mundi*.

BOOK VII. century. I do not propose to give an outline of the  
 CH. 11. European history of this century as I did of its  
 predecessor: in fact, only half of it will be traversed  
 before the end of this volume is reached: but some-  
 thing may be said here as to the four greatest events  
 by which it was distinguished. These are the Moham-  
 medan conquest of Spain, the assumption of the title  
 of King of the Franks by an Austrasian Mayor of the  
 Palace, the conversion of the Germans beyond the  
 Rhine, and the Iconoclastic Controversy. On exam-  
 ination we discover that almost all of these events had  
 a close connection with one another, and that they  
 unconsciously conspired towards one great result, the  
 exaltation of the power of the Roman pontiff. St. Boni-  
 face, Charles Martel, Muza, and Leo the Isaurian, each  
 in his different sphere co-operated towards the crea-  
 tion of that new, mediaeval Europe at the head of  
 which was the Pope of Rome, a very different person  
 politically from his predecessors, all of whom, whether  
 great or small, had been the submissive subjects of  
 the Eastern Caesar.

Saracen  
 conquest  
 of Spain,  
 711.

(1) In 711, a year before Ansprand returned from  
 his long exile in Bavaria and wrested the kingdom  
 from Aripert, Tarik with his host of Arabs and Moors  
 crossed the Straits which have ever since borne his  
 name<sup>1</sup>, defeated Roderic king of the Visigoths in the  
 battle of Xeres de la Frontera, and began that conquest  
 of Spain which was completed by his superior the  
 Arabian Emir of Cairwan, Muza. We cannot help  
 feeling some surprise at the small apparent effect

<sup>1</sup> Gibraltar = Jebel Tarik, the mountain of Tarik. See p. 5 of  
 this volume, where this event has already been slightly alluded to.

produced on the rest of Europe by the loss of so im- BOOK VII.  
 portant a member of the great Christian commonwealth. CH. II.

Paulus Diaconus devotes but one short dry sentence <sup>1</sup> to the conquest of Spain, and the *Liber Pontificalis* mentions it not at all. One would say that the heresy of the Emperor Philippicus and his disfigurement of the picture of the Sixth Council at Constantinople affected the minds of the people of Rome more profoundly than the conquest by Asiatics of one of the finest regions of Western Europe. And yet that slow and difficult re-conquest of Spain by the refugees in the mountains of the Asturias, which, as we know, did eventually take place, can hardly have been foreseen by these writers, since it was more than three centuries before half of the peninsula was recovered, and nearly eight centuries before ' the last sigh of the Moors ' bewailed their expulsion from their lovely Granada. 1492.

In the first fervour of their conquering zeal the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees and made the Gothic provinces of Septimania their own. Many students of history hardly realise the fact that for something like half a century parts of Languedoc and Provence were actually subject to the Moorish yoke, that Narbonne, Arles, and Avignon all heard the Muezzin's cry, and called at the hour of prayer on Allah the Merciful and the Mighty. Saracen invasion of Gaul.

It did not however need fifty years to reassure affrighted Europe by the conviction that Gaul would at any rate not fall as easy a prey as Spain to the turbaned hordes of the believers in the Prophet. Already in 721 the valiant Eudo of Aquitaine defeated 716 (?) - 759. Resistance to the Saracens,

<sup>1</sup> H. L. vi. 46.

BOOK VII. them in a bloody battle under the walls of Toulouse,  
 CH. 11. and eleven years later, after he himself had been  
 by Eudo vanquished, the remnant of his troops shared in the  
 of Aquit- glorious victory which the stout Austrasians from  
 taine, beyond the Rhine achieved under the leadership of  
 by Charles Charles Martel on the plains of Poitiers, not far from  
 Martel, the spot where, two hundred and twenty-five years  
 732. before, the battle of the Campus Vogladensis gave to  
 the Frank instead of the Visigoth the dominion over  
 Southern Gaul.

Charles  
 Martel  
 and the  
 uprising  
 of the Ar-  
 nulphings.

714.

(2) This battle of Poitiers was, as every one knows, one of 'the decisive battles of the world,' as important as Marathon or Salamis for the decision of the question whether Asia or Europe was to be the chosen home of empire in the centuries that were to follow. And for the victory thus won by Christendom over Islam, Europe was mainly indebted (and well did she know her obligation) to the bright and vigorous personality of Charles, surnamed the Hammer. When his father Pippin 'of Heristal'<sup>1</sup> died, the Frankish kingdom seemed to be falling asunder in ruin, a ruin even more hopeless, as springing from internal dissensions, than the collapse of Visigothic Spain. Aquitaine, Thuringia, Bavaria, all the great subordinate duchies were falling off from the central monarchy; Neustria and Austrasia were becoming two hostile kingdoms; and, to complete the confusion, the aged Pippin, passing by his son Charles who was in the vigour of youthful manhood, had bequeathed the Mayoralty of the Palace, as if it had been an estate, to his little grandson Theudwald, a child of six years old, under the regency of his mother

<sup>1</sup> See p. 4.



Plectrude, by whose evil counsel this unwise disposition had been made. A Merovingian king<sup>1</sup>, incapable as all these later Merovingians were of doing a single stroke of business on his own account, a baby Prime Minister, with a greedy and unscrupulous woman as regent over him,—these were certainly poor materials out of which to form a strong and well-compacted state. But the young Charles, whom his step-mother had only dared to imprison, not to slay, first escaped from his confinement, then defeated the rival, Neustrian, Mayor of the Palace<sup>2</sup>, got hold of a Merovingian child<sup>3</sup>, and in his name ruled, like his father, as Mayor of the Palace over the three kingdoms, Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy. He subdued the savage Frisians, set up in Bavaria a duke who was willing to be his humble dependent, chastised Eudo of Aquitaine (who was aiming at independence and had well-nigh acquired it), and then having chastised; assisted him as we have seen, and protected his territory against the overflowing flood of Moorish invasion. Consolidator of France and saviour of Europe, Charles Martel was the real founder of the Arnulfing or Carolingian dynasty. But warned by the fate of his great-uncle Grimwald<sup>4</sup>, he did not himself stretch forth a hand to grasp the regal sceptre. As long as his puppet lived, he left him the name and the trappings of royalty. When that puppet died, he did not indeed think it worth while to replace him by a successor, yet he did not change his own title. For the last four years of his life (737–741) there was literally ‘no king in the land’; a Mayor of the royal Palace, but no king inside it.

<sup>1</sup> Dagobert III.

<sup>2</sup> At Vincy, 717.

<sup>3</sup> Theodoric IV (720–737).

<sup>4</sup> See p. 3.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 11.

Charles  
Martel,  
715-741.  
Liutprand,  
712-744.  
751.

The reign, for such we may truly call it, of Charles Martel was nearly contemporaneous with that of Liutprand, with whom he had much intercourse, all of a friendly kind. The chain of events which enabled his son Pippin to assume the name as well as the reality of kingly power, and which brought him over the Alps to interfere in the affairs of Italy, will have to be related in a future volume. We only note them here as truly central events in that eighth century upon which we have now entered.

Conver-  
sion of  
Germany  
by Eng-  
lish mis-  
sionaries.

(3) Politically the eighth century is one of the least interesting in English history. The great days of the Northumbrian kingdom are over, and the day of Wessex has not yet dawned. But from a literary or religious point of view the century is more attractive. During the first third of its course Baeda, decidedly the most learned man of his time, perhaps we might say the most learned man of all the early mediaeval period, was compiling his text-books, his commentaries, and his Ecclesiastical History of the English nation. And at the same time the English, who so lately had been receiving missionaries from Rome and from Iona, were sending out missionaries of their own, able, energetic and courageous men, to convert the still remaining idolaters of Germany. Chief among these missionaries were the Northumbrian Willibrord, who for forty years laboured for the conversion of the Frisians, and the Devonshireman Winfrith, who received from the Pope the name of Boniface, and who from 718 to 753 wrought at the organisation of the half-formed Churches of Bavaria and Thuringia, preached to the heathen Hessians, hewing down an aged oak to which they paid idolatrous

Willi-  
brord  
and Boni-  
face.

reverence, directed from his Archiepiscopal see at Maintz the religious life of all central Germany, and finally in his old age received the martyr's crown from the hands of the still unconverted Frisians. This great work of the Christianisation of Germany is alien to our present subject, and must not here be further enlarged upon, but it may be noticed how closely it was connected with the other leading events of the eighth century. It is not improbable that the zeal of these English missionaries was partly quickened by the tidings of the rapid advances of Mohammedanism<sup>1</sup>. It is certain that the work of proselytism was aided by the arms of Pippin and Charles Martel. As their frontier advanced across the Rhine, Christianity went forward: where it fell back for a time, heathenism triumphed, and the missionaries became the martyrs. The close connection of the German mission with the exaltation of the Arnulfing house is symbolised by the fact that Boniface either actually took part in the coronation of Pippin, or at least used his powerful influence with the Pope to bring about that result. And lastly, it is obvious how greatly the addition of the wide regions between the Rhine and the Elbe to the area of Western Christendom must have

<sup>1</sup> This is the opinion of Ranke, whose gaze over the wide field of world-history is so true and piercing. 'We ought not to consider the Christianisation of Germany only from the point of view of religious belief and teaching. However important these may be, it was of world-historical importance that some counter-acting influence should be prepared against Islamism, which was pressing ever deeper and deeper into the continent of Europe. Boniface knew right well what had happened in Spain: the work of conversion which he was carrying on was the chief cause why the same events did not repeat themselves in Gaul and Germany' (Ranke, 'Weltgeschichte,' v. i. 286-7).

BOOK VII. strengthened the authority of the Pope. The Byzantine  
 CH. 11. Emperor in his dwindling realm, hemmed in by Saracens and Bulgarians, might issue what decrees he would to his servile Greek diocesans. Here in Western Europe, in England and in Germany, were mighty nations, young and full of conscious strength and promise of the future, who had received their Christianity from the hands of devoted adherents of the Pope, and would recognise no authority but his.

The Iconoclastic Controversy.

(4) This thought brings us to the last great event of the eighth century, the outbreak of the Iconoclastic Controversy. This will need a somewhat more detailed notice than the others.

Accession of Leo III (the Isaurian), 717.

To the shadow-Emperors whose reigns filled six anarchic years after the death of Justinian II succeeded, in March, 717, Leo III, commonly called Leo the Isaurian. Here was at last a man at the helm of the State, and one who, though his name is scarcely ever mentioned without a curse by the monkish chroniclers of the time, came at the fortunate—I would rather say at the Providential—moment to save Eastern Europe from the Saracen yoke, and to preserve for Christianity in any shape, whether enlightened or superstitious, some influence on the future destinies of Europe<sup>1</sup>. Leo (whose original name is said to have

<sup>1</sup> There is a certain correspondence between the careers of Leo III and Charles Martel. Both came to supreme power after a time of anarchy and bewilderment in their respective countries; both dealt crushing blows at the Saracens and saved Europe from their onward advance; and both were censured by ecclesiastical writers, Leo for his iconoclasm, Charles for the high-handed way in which he appropriated Church property in order to reward his veterans. (See the passages in Waitz's *Verfassungsgeschichte*, iii. 16, 2nd ed.)

been Conon) was born in Asia Minor, either at Germanicia in Commagene<sup>1</sup>, or, as is more probable, in those Isaurian highlands which in the fifth century sent adventurers to Constantinople to disturb and trouble the Empire<sup>2</sup>, but now sent a race of heroes to deliver it. The year of his birth is not apparently mentioned, but we may conjecture it to have been somewhere about 670. In his youth he and his parents were removed from their Asiatic home to Mesembria in Thrace, and here, when Justinian was marching with his Bulgarian allies to recover his throne, Leo met him with a present of 500 sheep. The grateful Emperor rewarded him by a place in his life-guards, and announced that he regarded him as 'one of his true friends<sup>3</sup>.' Before long, however, jealousy and suspicion entered his soul, and he sent his 'true friend' on a desperate mission to the Alans in the Caucasus, a mission which occupied several years, and from which only by the exercise of extraordinary ingenuity as well as courage did he at last return alive<sup>4</sup>. When he returned to the abodes of civilised men he found Justinian deposed and Anastasius reigning, who appointed him general of the Anatolian theme. In this district, which comprehended the central portion of Asia Minor, Leo for some years, by guile rather than force, kept at bay the Saracen general Moslemah, brother of the

705.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 11.

<sup>1</sup> About 100 miles north-east of Antioch.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. iii. pp. 39-40.

<sup>3</sup> Καὶ εἶχεν αὐτὸν ὡς γνήσιον φίλον (Theophanes, A. M. 6209).

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Bury (ii. 375-378) extracts from Theophanes the curious description of Leo's adventures in Alania. The work of the chronicler would have been more interesting if he had explained with what motive anything was done by any of the actors in the story.

BOOK VII. Caliph, who was threatening the city of Amorium.  
 CH. 11.

716.

It was known that the Saracens were preparing for a grand assault on Constantinople, and it was generally felt that the so-called Theodosius III, a government clerk who had been forced against his will to assume the purple, was quite unable to cope with the emergency. In the autumn of 716 Leo proclaimed himself a candidate for the diadem and the avenger of his patron Anastasius, who had been deposed by the mutinous authors of the elevation of Theodosius. After defeating the Emperor's son at Nicomedia, and apparently spending the winter in Bithynia, he moved on to Constantinople, where the Patriarch and the Senate welcomed him as Emperor. There was no further conflict: Theodosius recognised his unfitness for the diadem, and having with his son assumed the clerical garment, retired into safe obscurity.

The Saracens besiege Constantinople.

The change of rulers had come only just in time to save the state. By the 1st of September, 717, the fleets and armies of the Saracen Caliph, constituting an armament apparently more formidable than that which Moawiyah had sent against the city forty years before, appeared in the Sea of Marmora. It is not necessary to give here the details of this memorable siege, in which, as in Napoleon's Russian campaign, fire and frost combined to defeat the forces of the invader. The besieged sent their ships laden with 'Greek fire' into the fleet of the affrighted Saracens, burning many of their vessels and striking panic into the crews which escaped. The wind blew cold from Thrace; frost and snow covered the ground for a hundred days, and the camels and cattle of the besieging army perished by thousands. Famine followed as the natural conse-

quence; the Saracens fed on disgusting preparations of human flesh, and pestilence of course followed famine. Upon the top of all their other calamities came an onslaught of the Bulgarians, who in this extremity of danger were willing to help their old foe, the Caesar of Constantinople. At length on the 15th of August, 718, the remnants of the once mighty armament melted away; the cavalry from the Bithynian plain, and the ships from the waters of the Bosphorus. Constantinople was saved, and the Paradise promised to the first army of the faithful that should take the city of Caesar was not yet won.

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718.

It was no marvel that such a great deliverance should be attributed to supernatural causes, and especially, by the monkish historians, to the prayers of the Mother of God. But it is certain that the statesmanlike foresight, the mingled astuteness and courage of the great Isaurian Emperor, had also much to do with the triumph of Christendom. As soon as the Saracen invader was repelled, he began that re-organisation of the Empire to which adequate justice was not rendered till our own day, and one of the chief monuments of which is the *Ecloga*, a kind of handbook of Imperial law for the use of the people, which has lately attracted the careful and admiring study of European jurists<sup>1</sup>.

Great qualities of  
Leo III.

<sup>1</sup> I take the word 'handbook' from Prof. Bury. 'Leo met the imperative need of his subjects by preparing a handbook in Greek for popular use, containing a short compendium of the most important laws on the chief relations of life. It was entitled an *Ecloga*, and was not published until the last year of Leo's reign (740), but doubtless several years were spent in its preparation, which involved long preliminary studies' ('Later Roman Empire,' ii. 412).

BOOK VII.  
 CH. 11.  
 Rebellion  
 of Sicily.

Thus early in his reign Leo was called upon to face the rebellion of a Western province, the result doubtless of the miserable anarchy into which the State had been plunged by his predecessors. The Duke of Sicily, who was an officer of high rank in the Imperial guard named Sergius, hearing of the siege of Constantinople by the Saracens, decided to create an Emperor of his own, and invested with the purple a certain Sicilian, sprung from Constantinople, named Basil, to whom he gave the Imperial name of Tiberius. For a short time the new Emperor played at promoting officers and appointing judges under the advice of his patron Sergius; and then Paulus, the *cartularius* of the Emperor Leo, arrived, apparently with a single ship and with a letter from his master, in the harbour of Syracuse. The mere news of his arrival was sufficient. The conscience-stricken Sergius escaped to the Lombards of Benevento. The Sicilian army was collected to hear the 'sacred' letter read, and when they received the tidings of the destruction of the mighty armaments of the Saracens they burst into loud applause and gladly surrendered Basil and his new-made courtiers into the hands of Paulus. The usurper and his general-in-chief were at once beheaded. Of his adherents, some were flogged, others were shaved as priests, others had their noses slit, others were fined and sent into banishment, and thus order reigned once more in Sicily<sup>1</sup>.

The first eight years of the reign of Leo seem to have passed, with the exception of this trifling rebellion in Sicily, in internal peace and tranquillity, though not undisturbed by wars with the Saracens, notwithstanding the repulse of their great Armada.

<sup>1</sup> Theophanes, A. M. 6210.



Thus far he had done nothing to tarnish his fair fame to which he was entitled from ecclesiastical historians as a zealous defender of the Christian world against the warriors of Islam ; nay, he had even given proof of his orthodoxy after the fashion of the age by vain attempts to compel Jews and heretics to enter the fold of the Church. The Jews outwardly conformed, but in secret washed off the water of baptism as an unholy thing. The Montanist heretics, in whom still lived the uncompromising spirit of their great predecessor Tertullian, solemnly assembled on an appointed day in their churches, and gave themselves over to the flames, rather than abandon the faith of their fathers.

BOOK VII.  
Ch. 11.  
Religious  
zeal of  
Leo.

At last in the ninth year of his reign Leo began that warfare against images by which, even more than by his gallant defence of Constantinople, his name is made memorable in history. Strangely enough this attempted revolution in ecclesiastical polity seems to have been connected with, perhaps derived from, a similar attempt on the part of a Saracen ruler. Yezid II, the Ommiade Caliph of Damascus (720-724), had received, according to Theophanes, an assurance from a Jewish magician of Tiberias that his reign should be prolonged for thirty years if he would only compel his Christian subjects to obliterate the pictures in their churches. His brother and predecessor, Caliph Omar II, had already enforced on the Christians one precept of the Koran by forbidding them the use of wine<sup>1</sup>, and now Yezid would enforce another of the Prophet's commands by taking away from them temptations to idolatry. His attempt failed, and as his promised thirty years ended in an early death after a reign of

Begin-  
nings of  
Icono-  
clasm.

Story of  
Yezid II..

<sup>1</sup> Theophanes, A. M. 6210.

BOOK VII. only four years, his son Welid II put the lying sooth-  
 CH. 11. sayer to death<sup>1</sup>. The story is probably more or less  
 fabulous, but contains this kernel of truth—that it was  
 the contact with Mohammedanism which opened the  
 eyes of Leo and the men who stood round his throne,  
 ecclesiastics as well as laymen, to the degrading and  
 idolatrous superstitions that had crept into the Church  
 and were overlaying the life of a religion which, at its  
 proclamation the purest and most spiritual, was fast  
 becoming one of the most superstitious and material-  
 istic that the world had ever seen. Shrinking at first  
 from any representation whatever of visible objects,  
 then allowing herself the use of beautiful and pathetic  
 emblems (such as the Good Shepherd), in the fourth  
 century the Christian Church sought to instruct the  
 converts whom her victory under Constantine was  
 bringing to her in myriads, by representations on the  
 walls of the churches of the chief event of Scripture  
 history. From this the transition to specially rever-  
 enced pictures of Christ, the Virgin and the Saints,  
 was natural and easy. The crowning absurdity and  
 blasphemy, the representation of the Almighty Maker  
 of the Universe as a bearded old man, floating in the  
 sky, was not yet perpetrated, nor was to be dared till  
 the human race had taken several steps downward  
 into the darkness of the Middle Ages; but enough  
 had been already done to show whither the Church  
 was tending, and to give point to the sarcasm of the

<sup>1</sup> This story was told by the monk John at the Council of Nicaea, 787. (See Hefele, iii. 374.) If there is any truth in it at all, we should probably for 'son' substitute 'successor.' Yezid II was succeeded in the caliphate by his brother Hisham, who ruled from 724 to 743. (Ranke's 'Weltgeschichte,' v. 2. 61-62.) After him came Welid II.

followers of the Prophet when they hurled the epithet 'idolaters' at the craven and servile populations of Egypt and Syria<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 11.

<sup>1</sup> This is not the place for describing in detail the growth of Image-worship in the Christian Church. The chief stages of the process, as enumerated by Schaff, Scudamore (in the Dictionary of Christian Antiquities), Farrar, and others, are as follows:—

(1) The Ante-Nicene Church had a decided aversion to Sculpture and Painting, and was disposed to construe literally the command, 'Thou shalt not make unto thee the likeness of anything in heaven above, or in the earth beneath' (Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, &c.).

(2) But in the tombs and in the Catacombs there was a tendency to represent Christian emblems, such as the Cross, the Shepherd, the Lamb, the Ram, the Fisherman, the Fish (all emblems of Christ), the Dove, the Ship, the Palm-branch, the Lyre, the Cock, the Hart, the Phoenix (emblems of the life of the Christian believer).

(3) Thus it may be said that Christian art was born in the tombs and passed thence into the churches. Some typical *Old Testament* scenes, like the Sacrifice of Isaac, were painted in the Catacombs, perhaps as early as the third century. It is noteworthy that even as late as the sixth century the scenes depicted in the church of S. Vitale at Ravenna are almost all taken from the *Old Testament*.

(4) There is no trace of a likeness of Christ before the time of Constantine, except among the Gnostic Carpocratians and the alleged statue of Christ in the chapel of Severus Alexander.

(5) Early in the fourth century there was an attempt to transfer the pictures of Scripture scenes from private houses and tombs into the churches. The canon of the Council of Eliberis about 306, 'Placuit picturas in ecclesiis esse non debere. Ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur,' is surely directed against this practice (notwithstanding Hefele's counter-argument, i. 170).

(6) In 326 Eusebius replies with some heat to the request of Constantia, sister of Constantine, that he will send her a likeness of Christ: 'What, and what kind of likeness of Christ is there? Such images are forbidden by the second commandment.'

(7) By the middle of the fourth century not merely the painting of pictures but the reverence for them seems pretty well established,

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CH. 11.

The ques-  
tion  
mooted by  
Leo, 725.Eruption  
in the  
Archipela-  
go, 726.Decree  
against  
Image-  
worship.

It was in the year 725, according to Theophanes, that 'the irreligious Emperor first began to stir the question of the destruction of the holy and venerable images.' In the following year, about harvest-time, a volcano burst forth in the Archipelago close to the island of Thera. A heavy cloud of vapour hung over the Aegean, and pumice-stones were hurled over all the neighbouring coasts of Asia Minor and Macedon. In this portent Leo saw the rebuke of Heaven for his slackness in dealing with the sin of idolatry, and the decree which had been before talked of was now formally issued. There can be little doubt that this decree was for the actual destruction of the idolatrous emblems. The statement which is generally made, that the Emperor's first decree only ordered that the pictures should be raised higher on the walls of the

at any rate among the later, Athanasian, Christians. Basil (who died 379) says, 'I receive besides the Son of God and holy Mary, also the holy Apostles, and Prophets, and Martyrs. Their likenesses I revere and kiss with homage, for they are handed down from the holy Apostles, and are not forbidden, but are on the contrary painted in all our churches.'

(8) A century later a great impulse to the worship of pictures was given by the legends which began to be circulated about miraculous pictures of Christ (*εἰκόνας ἀχειροποίητοι*), especially those said to have belonged to Abgarus king of Edessa and St. Veronica.

(9) The further downward steps of the process need not be traced. In a letter addressed by the Emperor Michael II (about 820) to Louis the Pious (or Debonair), it is said that some persons dressed the images of the saints in linen, and made them stand sponsors for their children. Monks receiving the tonsure caused their hair to fall into the lap of the image. Priests scratched off a little of the paint from the image and mixed it with the Eucharist, which they then handed forth to the kneeling worshippers, or else placed the Eucharist itself in the image's hands, out of which the communicants received it. (I borrow this quotation from Dahmen's *Pontifikat Gregors II*, p. 59.)

churches to remove the temptation to kiss and idolatrously adore them, is in itself improbable (for most of the pictures at this time were mosaics, which could not be so easily removed), and rests apparently on very doubtful authority<sup>1</sup>. On the contrary, Leo seems to have set about his self-imposed task with an almost brutal disregard of the feelings of his subjects. Undoubtedly there are times in the history of the world when the holiest and most necessary work that can be performed is that of the Iconoclast. The slow deposit of ages of superstition encrusts so thickly the souls of men that the letters originally traced thereon by the Divine Finger are not at all or but dimly legible. In such a case he who with wise and gentle hand applies the mordant acid and clears away the gathered fallacies of ages may do as useful a work, even as religious a work, as he who brings a fresh revelation from the Most High. But even in doing it he must remember and allow for the love and reverence which for generations have clustered round certain forms or words against which it may be his duty to wage war; and he will, if he is wise, gently loosen the grasp of faith, rather than with ruthless hand break both the worshipped image and the heart of the worshipper.

Such, unfortunately, was not the policy of the Isaurian Emperor, inheriting as he did the evil traditions of four centuries of Imperial legislators, whose

Harshness  
of the Ico-  
noclastic  
Emperors.

<sup>1</sup> That of the Latin version of the Life of Stephen, martyr under Constantine Copronymus. The Greek version of the Life contains no such statement. Hefele, whose conclusion here seems to me sound, though I cannot agree with all the arguments by which he supports it, says, 'diese lateinische Uebersetzung hat gar wenig Autorität' (Conciliengeschichte, iii. 378).

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CH. 11.

fixed principle it had been that whithersoever the Emperor went in the regions of religious speculation or practice, thither all his subjects were bound to follow him. The destruction or obliteration of the sacred images and pictures was promptly begun, and all opposition was stamped out with relentless severity. One tragic event which occurred at Constantinople was probably the counterpart of many others of which no record has been preserved. Over the great gateway of the Imperial palace (which from the brazen tiles that formed its roof had received the name of Chalcé<sup>1</sup>) had been placed a great effigy of Our Saviour, which, perhaps from the refulgent mosaics of which it was composed, had received the same name of Chalcé<sup>2</sup>. The command went forth that this picture, probably one of the best known and most revered in all Constantinople, was to be destroyed; and hatchet in hand an Imperial life-guardsmen mounted a ladder and

Destruction of the great picture of Christ over the gate of the palace.

<sup>1</sup> See Paspate, *Tà Byzantinà 'Anáktaia*, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> Our two chief authorities are here slightly at variance. Theophanes calls it *εἰκόνα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης Χαλκῆς πυλῆς*: the author of the Life of Stephanus, who was of somewhat later date, and probably less acquainted with the locality, calls it *εἰκόνα . . . ἰδρυμένην ὑπερθεὶν τῶν βασιλικῶν πυλῶν ἐν αἴσπερ διὰ τὸν χαρακτήρα ἣ ἁγία Χαλκῆ λέγεται*: the meaning of which seems to be that the picture itself was called *Χαλκῆ*. The description of Theophanes seems to suggest the idea, in itself probable, of a mosaic picture; while the martyrologist talks of burning, as if it were a wooden image. Theophanes puts the event in 726, the martyrologist at least three years later, for he makes Anastasius Patriarch instead of Germanus at the time when it occurred. The alleged letter of Pope Gregory II (in the genuineness of which I do not believe) says that the image was called *Antiphonetes*; and this has been translated by some, 'Guarantor,' and connected with a legend like that told at Ravenna of the picture called *Brachium Fortis*. (See vol. i. pp. 489-493, ed. 1; p. 902, ed. 2.)

began the work of destruction. Some women who had clustered below called out to him to cease his unholy work. In vain: the hatchet fell again and again on the loved and worshipped countenance. Thereat the women (likened by later ecclesiastical writers to the devout women who carried spices to the tomb of the Saviour) shook the ladder and brought the life-guardsmen to the ground. He still breathed notwithstanding his fall, but 'those holy women' (as the martyrologist calls them), with such rude weapons as they may have had at their disposal, stabbed him to death. Something like a popular insurrection followed, which was suppressed with a strong hand, and was followed by the deaths, banishments, and mutilations of the women and their sympathisers.

The news of this attempted religious revolution deeply stirred the minds of the subjects of the Empire. In Greece and the islands of the Archipelago there was an immediate outburst of insurrectionary fury<sup>1</sup>. A great fleet was prepared, a certain Cosmas was named Emperor, and on the 18th of April, 727, the rebels arrived before Constantinople. But the 'liquid fire' which had destroyed the Saracen Armada proved equally fatal to the Image-worshippers. Cosmas and one of his generals-in-chief were beheaded; the other escaped execution by leaping, clad in full armour, into the sea: the cause of Iconoclasm was for the time triumphant. In the year 729 Leo called what Western nations would have described as a Parliament, but what the loquacious Greeks quaintly named a *Silentium*, in

BOOK VII.  
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Attempted revolution in Greece.

The *Silentium* of 729.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Bury (ii. 437) thinks that oppressive taxation was partly the cause of this revolt, and that it was not solely due to resentment against the Iconoclastic decrees.

BOOK VII. order to confirm and regulate the suppression of image-  
 CH. 11. worship. At this assembly, Germanus the Patriarch of Constantinople, with whom Leo had been for five years vainly pleading for assistance in his religious war, formally laid down his office. 'I am Jonah,' said the aged Patriarch; 'cast me into the sea. But know, oh Emperor! that without a General Council thou canst not make any innovations in the faith.' Germanus was deposed and allowed to spend the remainder of his life (he was already ninety years of age) in peace. His private chaplain<sup>1</sup> Anastasius, whom the old man had long felt to be treading on his heels, but who seems to have been sincere in his professions of Iconoclasm, was made Patriarch in the room of Germanus, and for fifteen years governed the Church of Constantinople.

Deposition of the Patriarch Germanus.

Lull in the controversy in the East.

During the remaining ten years of the reign of Leo III we do not hear much as to the details of the Iconoclastic Controversy. The Emperor's attention was probably occupied by the repeated Saracen invasions of Asia Minor, but there is no reason to suppose that he abandoned the Iconoclastic position, though martyrdoms and mutilations of the Image-worshippers are little spoken of. Apparently the latter party had for the time accepted their defeat, and those who were most zealous on behalf of the forbidden worship emigrated in vast numbers to Southern Italy and Sicily. It is for us now to consider what effect the religious war thus kindled by the Isaurian Emperor had on the fortunes of Italy.

<sup>1</sup> So we may perhaps translate *syncellus*.



## CHAPTER XII.

### KING LIUTPRAND.

#### Authorities.

#### *Sources:—*

PAULUS DIACONUS (not at his best in this part of his work, BOOK VII. which, perhaps, lacked his finishing touches). CH. 12.

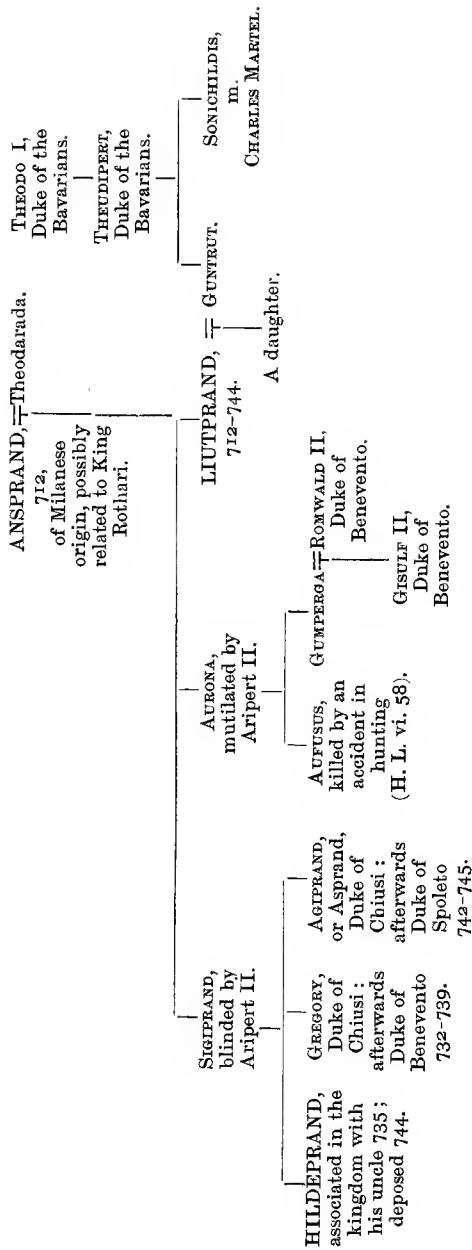
The LIBER PONTIFICALIS, Lives of Gregory II, Gregory III, and Zacharias.

(a) Of the life of Gregory II there are (as Duchesne has pointed out) two recensions, one slightly later than the other, but both strictly contemporary. It is interesting to observe that one of them was used by our countryman Baeda in his Chronicle, which was finished in the year 724, seven years before the death of Pope Gregory II. Evidently therefore this biography, at least (and probably many others besides), was begun during the lifetime of its subject: it is full of valuable materials for history.

(b) The life of Gregory III, on the other hand, is almost worthless. It has long lists of church furniture presented by the Pope to the basilicas of Rome; but of the important political events which occurred between 731 and 741, and in some of which the Pope was chief actor, there is hardly a trace.

(c) The life of Zacharias again rises to the level of important history, and throws some informing light backwards on the pontificate of his predecessor. It was evidently written by an ecclesiastic in the Papal Court, who was an eye-witness of some of the scenes which he describes.

## FAMILY OF LIUTPRAND.



N. B. We are told that Hildeprand, Gregory, and Agiprand were all nephews of King Liutprand, but we cannot certainly say that they were brothers, nor that Sigiprand was their father. Similarly as to Aufusus, who was 'sister's son' to Liutprand, but not necessarily son of Aurona.

THEOPHANES is the chief source from which the Greek his- BOOK VII.  
torians have drawn their imperfect notices of the history of Italy CH. 12.  
during this period.

The Chronicles of JOANNES DIACONUS and ANDREA DANDOLO are described in Note F. I need hardly remark that this Joannes Diaconus is quite different from the biographer of Gregory the Great.

*Guides :—*

*Martens*, Politische Geschichte des Langobardenreichs unter König Liutprand (Heidelberg, 1880).

*Dahmen*, Das Pontifikat Gregors (Düsseldorf, 1888).

Articles by *Monticolo* and *Pinton* mentioned in Note F.

THE Iconoclastic decrees of the Emperor Leo probably reached Italy in the course of the year 726. Let us glance at the life and character of the man upon whom, as head of the Latin Church, the responsibility rested of accepting or rejecting them.

Gregory II, who succeeded to the chair of St. Peter May 19,  
on the death of Pope Constantine, was, like his great 715.  
namesake, of Roman origin, and was the son of a man Early life  
who bore the true Roman name of Marcellus. He had of Gregory  
been brought up from a child in the Papal palace, was II.  
made subdeacon, treasurer and librarian, under the  
pontificate of Sergius, and had attained the position of 687 701.  
deacon when, as we have already seen <sup>1</sup>, he accompanied  
Pope Constantine to Constantinople, and bore the 710.  
brunt of the discussion with Justinian the Noseless, as  
to the canons of the Quinisextan Council. His pure  
life, great knowledge of Scripture, ready eloquence, Character  
and firmness in defending the rights of the Church, all of his Pon-  
marked him out as a suitable successor to the Pope in tificate.  
whose train he had visited the New Rome. He  
continued the work of restoration of the walls of Rome,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 378.

BOOK VII. and set the destructive lime-kilns at work in order to  
 CH. 12. aid in the process.

Visit of  
 the Bava-  
 rian Duke  
 Theodo to  
 Rome.

It was probably in the year after the consecration of Gregory that a Bavarian duke, 'the first of his race' said the people of Rome, came to kneel at the shrine of St. Peter. This was the venerable Duke Theodo (probably a collateral descendant of Theudelinda), who had already divided his wide-spreading dominions among his four sons, and two of whose grand-daughters about this time married the two chief rulers of the West, Liutprand and Charles Martel. Duke Theodo's visit was probably connected with a dark domestic tragedy which had ended in the mutilation and death of a Frankish bishop<sup>1</sup> who had visited Bavaria, and it undoubtedly led to a closer dependence of the young and rough Church of the Bavarians on the See of Rome. This was yet more firmly knit when in the year 718 our countryman Boniface, as has been already said, offered himself to the Pope as the willing instrument of the spiritual conquest of Germany<sup>2</sup>.

Relations  
 of Gregory  
 II with  
 the Lom-  
 bards.

With Liutprand and the Lombards the relations of Gregory II seem in the early years of his pontificate to have been upon the whole friendly. We have seen how the Lombard king in the prologues to his yearly edicts delighted to dwell on the fact that his nation was 'Catholic' and 'beloved of God': and we have heard the remarkable words in which he announced to his subjects that he drew tighter the restrictions on the marriage of distant relations, being moved

<sup>1</sup> St. Emmeran, who was accused of having seduced Ota, the daughter of Theodo, and was punished by her brother Lantpert.

<sup>2</sup> For all these transactions, see Quitzmänn, *Aelteste Geschichte der Baiern*, 219-266.

thereto by the letters of the Pope of the City of Rome, 'who is the head of all the churches and priests of God throughout the world.' It is entirely in accordance with the relation thus signified between the two powers that we find Liutprand at an early period of his reign renewing and confirming the mysterious donation of King Aripert II, of 'the patrimony in the Cottian Alps.'

It was a sign of the increased gentleness of the times and of the more friendly feeling between the Church and the Lombards that, after 130 years of desolation, the hill of St. Benedict was once more trodden by his spiritual children. About the year 719, Petronax, a citizen of Brescia, came on pilgrimage to Rome, and by the advice of Pope Gregory journeyed onward to Monte Cassino. He found a few simple-hearted men already gathered there, he formed them into a regular community, and was elected by them as their abbot<sup>1</sup>. The fame of the new community spread far and wide: many, both nobles and men of meaner birth, flocked to the remembered spot, and by their help the monastery rose once more from its ruins, perhaps ampler and statelier than before. Years afterwards, under the pontificate of Zacharias, Petronax again visited Rome, and received from the Pope several MSS. of the Scriptures and other appliances of the monastic life, among them the precious copy of the great 'Rule' which Father Benedict had written with his own hand two centuries before. These treasures, as we have seen, had been carried by the panic-stricken

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.

Rebuilding of  
Benedictine mon-  
astery  
at Monte  
Cassino.

741-752.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ibi cum aliquibus simplicibus viris jam ante residentibus habitare coepit. Qui eundem venerabilem virum Petronacem sibi seniores statuerunt' (Paulus, H. L. vi. 40).

BOOK VII. monks to Rome when Duke Zotto's ravages were im-  
 CH. 12. pending over them<sup>1</sup>.

Lombard  
 conquest  
 of Cumae.

But the Lombards, though now dutiful sons of the Church, had by no means ceased from their quarrel with the Empire. About the year 717 Romwald II, duke of Benevento, took by stratagem, as we are told, and in a time of professed peace, that stronghold of Cumae of which we last heard as taken by Narses from the Goths in 553<sup>2</sup>. 'All in Rome,' says the Papal biographer, 'were saddened by the news,' and the Pope sent letters of strong protest to the Lombard duke, advising him, if he would escape Divine vengeance, to restore the fortress which he had taken by guile. He offered the Lombards large rewards if they would comply with his advice, but they 'with turgid minds' refused to listen to either promises or threats. Thereupon the Pope turned to the Imperial Duke of Naples, stimulated his flagging zeal by the promise of the same large rewards, and by daily letters gave him the guidance which he seems to have needed<sup>3</sup>. This duke, whose name was John, with Theodimus, a steward of the Papal patrimony and sub-deacon, for his second in command, entered the fortress by night. The Lombards were evidently taken by surprise, and there was little or no fighting. Three hundred Lombards with

<sup>1</sup> p. 72. It is noticeable that the story of the second foundation of Monte Cassino is not given us by the *Liber Pontificalis*, but only by Paulus, who no doubt received it from his brother monks.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. v. p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> This is apparently the meaning of the biographer: 'In monitione ducis Neapolitani et populi vacans ducatum eis qualiter agerent quotidie scribendo praestabat.' 'Vacans ducatum' must mean rather 'the needed generalship' than 'the vacant duchy.'

their *gastald* were slain : more than five hundred were taken as prisoners to Naples. The reward which the Pope had promised, and which was no less than 70 lbs. of gold (£2800), was paid to the victorious duke. Such events as this make us feel that we are on the threshold of the age in which Central Italy will own not the Emperor but the Pope for its lord, but we have not yet crossed it<sup>1</sup>.

It was probably not long after this that Farwald II, duke of Spoleto, repeated the achievement of his great namesake and predecessor<sup>2</sup> by moving an army northward and capturing Classis, the sea-port of Ravenna. But again, as before, the conquest which we might have expected almost to end Byzantine rule in Italy, produces results of no importance. Liutprand, whose aim at this time seems to be to keep his own house in order and to live at peace with the Empire, commands Farwald to restore his conquest to the Romans, and the command is obeyed. Whether these transactions have anything to do with the next event in the internal history of Spoleto we cannot tell, but we are informed that 'Transamund, son of Farwald, rose up against his father, and making him into a clergyman usurped his place.' This revolution, which happened probably in 724<sup>3</sup>, gave Liutprand, instead of an

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.

Capture of  
Classis by  
Farwald  
of Spoleto.

Farwald  
II deposed  
by his son  
Transa-  
mund.

<sup>1</sup> Some authors consider that the real meaning of this story as given in the *Liber Pontificalis* is that the duke of Benevento surrendered Cumae to the Pope in return for the ransom mentioned above. I do not so read the author's meaning. It seems to me that Cumae was won back by force of arms, and that the Pope paid the money as a reward to the captors.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. v. p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> For this date see Bethmann and Holder-Egger's 'Lombardische Regesten' (*Neues Archiv*, iii. 251), Pabst's 'Geschichte

BOOK VII. obedient vassal, a restless and turbulent neighbour,  
 CH. 12. who was to be a very thorn in his side for nearly the  
 whole remainder of his days.

Narni oc-  
 cupied by  
 the Lom-  
 bards.

It was perhaps the new duke of Spoleto who about this time obtained possession of the town of Narni, which place, important for its lofty bridge over the Nar, we have already learned to recognise as an important post on the Flaminian Way, and a frontier city between Romans and Lombards<sup>1</sup>. The conjecture that it was Transamund of Spoleto who made this conquest is confirmed by the fact that we are expressly told in the next sentence of the Life of Gregory II that it was King Liutprand<sup>2</sup> who put the host of the Lombards in motion and besieged Ravenna for many days. He does not appear however to have taken the city itself, but he repeated the operation of the capture of Classis, from whence he carried off many captives and countless wealth<sup>3</sup>.

Siege of  
 Ravenna  
 and con-  
 quest of  
 Classis.

We are now approaching the time when the Isaurian Emperor's edicts against Image-worship may be

des Langobardischen Herzogthums' (Forschungen, p. 469), and Sansi's 'I Duchi di Spoleto' (p. 45 .

<sup>1</sup> See vol. iv. p. 292 ; vol. v. pp. 353, 358.

<sup>2</sup> Seeming to imply that it was not he who had conquered Narni.

<sup>3</sup> 'Eo tempore castrum est Narniae a Langobardis pervasum. Rex vero Langobardorum Liutprandus generali motione Ravenna progressus est atque illam obsedit per dies et castrum pervadens Classis, captos abstulit plures et opes tulit innumeras' (Lib. Pont. i. 403, ed. Duchesne). It seems to me quite impossible to fix accurately the date of this event, but it was probably not later than 725. Nor can we say from the biographer's account whether Liutprand retained possession of Classis or not. Paulus says, 'Liutprandus Ravennam obsedit Classem invasit atque destruxit' (H. L. vi. 49).



supposed to have reached Italy<sup>1</sup>. To those edicts alone has been generally attributed the storm of revolution which undoubtedly burst over Italy in the years between 727 and 730. But though a cause doubtless of that revolution, the Iconoclastic decrees were not the sole cause. Already, ere those decrees arrived, the relations between Byzantium, Rome, and Ravenna were becoming strained. The reader will have observed that for the last half century the popular party both in Ravenna and Rome had manifested an increasing contempt for the weakness of the Exarchs, hatred of their tyranny, and disposition to rally round the Roman pontiff as the standard-bearer not only of the Catholic Church against heresy, but also of Italy against

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.

Troubles  
between  
the Em-  
peror and  
his Italian  
subjects.

<sup>1</sup> In order that the reader may fully understand the course of the argument in the following pages, it will be well to quote a few sentences from Gibbon which concisely express the view of Pope Gregory's conduct which was generally accepted in the eighteenth century, and which I, in common with many modern students, think requires to be greatly modified, if not entirely abandoned. 'Without depending on prayers or miracles, Gregory II boldly armed against the public enemy, and his pastoral letters admonished the Italians of their danger and their duty. At this signal, Ravenna, Venice, and the cities of the Exarchate and Pentapolis adhered to the cause of religion; their military force by sea and land consisted, for the most part, of the natives; and the spirit of patriotism and zeal was transfused into the mercenary strangers. The Italians swore to live and die in the defence of the Pope and the holy images; the Roman people was devoted to their Father, and even the Lombards were ambitious to share the merit and advantage of this holy war. The most treasonable act, but the most obvious revenge, was the destruction of the statues of Leo himself; the most effectual and pleasing measure of rebellion was the withholding the tribute of Italy, and depriving him of a power which he had recently abused by the imposition of a new capitation' (Vol. vi. pp. 148-149, ed. Smith).

BOOK VII. 'the Greeks.' Now, at some time in the third decade  
 CH. 12. of the eighth century, there is reason to believe that  
 financial exactions came to add bitterness to the strife.

Financial exactions of Leo III. The Emperor had been doubtless put to great expense by the military operations necessary to repel the great Saracen invasion, and he might think, not unreasonably, that Italy, and pre-eminently the Roman Church, the largest landowner in Italy, ought to bear its share of the cost. At any rate he seems to have ordered his Exarch<sup>1</sup> to lay some fresh tax upon the provinces of Italy, and in some way or other to lay hold of the wealth of her churches<sup>2</sup>. It would seem that some similar demand had been made in the East, and had been quietly complied with by the subservient Patriarch of Constantinople. The Pope however was determined to submit to no such infraction of the privileges of the Church. He probably ordered the *rectores patrimonii* throughout Italy and Sicily to oppose a passive resistance to the demands of the Imperial collectors, and this opposition stimulated the other inhabitants of Imperial Italy to a similar refusal<sup>3</sup>.

The Exarch's attempt

This defiance of the Emperor's edict naturally provoked resentment at Constantinople and Ravenna. The

<sup>1</sup> Probably Scholasticus.

<sup>2</sup> 'Paulus vero Exarchus imperatorum jussione pontificem conabatur interficere, eo quod censum in provinciâ ponere praepediebat, ex suis opibus ecclesias denudari, sicut in ceteris actum est locis, atque alium in ejus ordinare loco' (Lib. Pont., loc. cit.). It is important to observe that all this comes before the account of the Iconoclastic controversy.

<sup>3</sup> I am here following very closely the reasoning of Dahmen (Pontifikat Gregors II, pp. 70-73), who seems to me to have caught the true meaning of our best authority, the *Liber Pontificalis*, very accurately.

Exarch probably received orders to depose Gregory, as Martin had been deposed, and carry him captive to Constantinople. It is not necessary to charge the Emperor (as the Papal biographer has done) with ordering the death of the resisting pontiff. Such a command would have been inconsistent with the character of Leo, who showed himself patient under the long resistance of the Patriarch Germanus to the Iconoclastic decrees, and it is generally disbelieved by those modern writers who are least favourable to the Isaurian Emperors. It is very likely however that the satellites of the Byzantine government, perceiving the opposition between Emperor and Pope, concluded, as did the murderers of Becket, that the surest way to win their sovereign's favour was 'to rid him of one turbulent priest'; and thus it is that the pages of the biography at this point teem with attacks on the life of Gregory, all of which proved unsuccessful.

A certain Duke Basil, the *cartularius* Jordanes, and a subdeacon John surnamed Lurion (that is to say, two Imperial officers and one ecclesiastic, who was probably in the service of the Lateran) laid a plot for the murder of the Pope. Marinus, an officer of the life-guards, who had been sent from Constantinople to administer the *Ducatus Romae*, gave a tacit sanction to their design, for the execution of which however they failed to find a fitting opportunity. Marinus, stricken by paralysis<sup>1</sup>, had to relinquish the government of Rome and retire from the scene; but when Paulus the Patrician came out as full-blown Exarch to Italy the conspirators obtained, or thought they obtained, his consent also to

<sup>1</sup> So Duchesne understands 'qui Dei iudicio dissolutus contractus est.'

BOOK VII. their wicked schemes. The people of Rome however  
 CH. 12. got wind of the design, and in a tumultuary outbreak<sup>1</sup>  
 slew the two inferior conspirators, Jordanes and Lurion.  
 Basil was taken prisoner, compelled to change the gay  
 attire of a duke for the coarse robes of a monk, and  
 ended his days in a convent.

The Lom-  
 bards of  
 Spoleto  
 defend the  
 Pope from  
 the Ex-  
 arch.

Again a guardsman was sent by the Exarch, this  
 time only with orders to depose the pontiff: and as he  
 apparently failed to execute his commission, Paulus  
 raised such an army as he could in Ravenna and the  
 neighbouring towns, and sent it under the command of  
 the count of Ravenna<sup>2</sup> to enforce the previous order.  
 But the Romans and—ominous conjunction—the Lom-  
 bards also, flocked from all quarters to the defence  
 of the pontiff. The soldiers of the duke of Spoleto  
 blocked the bridge over the Anio by which the  
 Exarch's troops, marching on the left bank of the  
 Tiber along the Salarian Way, hoped to enter Rome.  
 All round the confines of the *Ducatus Romae* the  
 Lombard troops were clustering, and the count was  
 forced to return to Ravenna with his mission unful-  
 filled<sup>3</sup>.

Thus then the political atmosphere of central Italy  
 was full of electricity before the decrees against Image-

<sup>1</sup> ' *Qui moti cuncti Jordanem interfecerunt et Johannem Lurionem.*'

<sup>2</sup> ' *Denuo Paulus patricius ad perficiendum tale scelus quos seducere potuit ex Ravennâ cum suo comite atque ex castris aliquos misit.*' I think we must translate *cum suo comite* as above.

<sup>3</sup> The words of the Papal biographer are not absolutely clear, but they are important: ' *Sed motis Romanis atque undique Langobardis pro defensione pontificis, in Salario ponte Spolitini, atque hinc inde duces Langobardorum circumdantes Romanorum fines, hoc praepedierunt.*'

worship came to evoke the lightning flash of revolution. It will be well here to quote the exact words of the Liber Pontificalis, which is our only trustworthy authority for the actual reception of the decrees in Italy:—

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.  
727.

‘By orders subsequently transmitted<sup>1</sup> the Emperor had decreed that no image of any saint, martyr or angel should be retained in the churches; for he asserted that all these things were accursed. If the Pope would acquiesce in this change he should be taken into the Emperor’s good graces, but if he prevented this also from being done he should be deposed from his see<sup>2</sup>. Therefore that pious man, despising the sovereign’s profane command, now armed himself against the Emperor as against a foe, renouncing his heresy and writing to Christians everywhere to be on their guard, because a new impiety had arisen. Therefore all the inhabitants of the Pentapolis and the armies of Venetia<sup>3</sup> resisted the Emperors, declaring that they would never be art or part in the murder of the Pope, but would rather strive manfully for his defence, so that they visited with their anathema the Exarch Paulus as well as him who had given him his orders, and all who were like-minded with him. Scorning to yield obedience to his orders, they elected dukes<sup>4</sup> for themselves in every part of Italy, and thus they all

Reception  
of the  
Iconoclas-  
tic de-  
crees, 727.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Jussionibus *postmodum* missis.’ The sentence immediately preceding describes the frustration of the Count’s enterprise by the joint efforts of Romans and Lombards.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Et si adquiesceret pontifex, gratiam imperatoris haberet; si *et hoc* fieri praepediret, a suo gradu decideret.’ Notice the *et hoc*, which evidently refers to the Pope’s previous resistance to the financial measures of the Emperor.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Omnes Pentapolenses atque Venetiarum exercita’ (*sic*).

<sup>4</sup> Or generals: ‘Sibi omnes ubique in Italiâ duces elegerunt.’

BOOK VII. provided for their own safety and that of the pontiff.  
 CH. 12. And when [the full extent of] the Emperor's wickedness was known, all Italy joined in the design to elect for themselves an Emperor and lead him to Constantinople. But the Pope restrained them from this scheme, hoping for the conversion of the sovereign.'

727.

Attitude  
of Gregory  
towards  
the insur-  
gents.

From this narrative, which has all the internal marks of truthfulness, it will be seen that Gregory II, while utterly repudiating the Iconoclastic decrees and 'arming himself' (perhaps rather with spiritual than carnal weapons) 'against the Emperor as against a foe,' threw all his influence into the scale against violent revolution and disruption of the Empire. In fact, we may almost say that the Pope after the publication of the decrees was more loyal to the Emperor, and less disposed to push matters to extremity, than he had been before that change in his ecclesiastical policy. The reason for this, as we may infer from the events which immediately followed, was that he saw but too plainly that revolt from the Empire at this crisis would mean the universal dominion of the Lombards in Italy.

Account  
of the  
matter  
given by  
Theo-  
phanes.

Having given this, which appears to be the true history of Gregory's attitude during the eventful years from 725 to 731, we must now examine the account given by Theophanes, which, copied almost verbatim by subsequent Greek historians, has unfortunately succeeded in passing current as history. *Anno Mundi* 6217 [= A. D. 725]. 'First year of Gregory, bishop of Rome.' [Gregory's accession really took place ten years earlier.] 'In this year the impious Emperor Leo began to stir the question of the destruction of the holy and venerable images; and learning this, Gregory

the Pope of Rome stopped the payment of taxes in Italy and Rome, writing to Leo a doctrinal letter<sup>1</sup> to the effect that the Emperor ought not to meddle in questions of faith, nor seek to innovate on the ancient doctrines of the Church which had been settled by the holy fathers.'

(A. M. 6221 ; = A. D. 729.) After describing the steadfast opposition of Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, to 'the wild beast Leo (fitly so named) and his underlings,' Theophanes continues, 'In the elder Rome also Gregory, that all-holy and apostolic man and worthy successor of Peter, chief of the Apostles, was refulgent in word and deed ; who caused both Rome and Italy and all the Western regions to revolt from their civil and ecclesiastical obedience to Leo and the Empire under his rule<sup>2</sup>.'

He then relates the deposition of Germanus and the elevation to the Patriarchate of Anastasius falsely so called<sup>3</sup> : 'But Gregory the holy president of Rome, as I before said, disowned Anastasius by his circular letters<sup>4</sup>, refuting Leo by his epistles as a worker of impiety, and withdrew Rome with the whole of Italy from his Empire.'

The reader has now before him the passages in the history of Theophanes on the strength of which Gregory II is generally censured or praised (according to the point of view taken by the narrator) for having stimulated the revolt of Italy and stopped the pay-

Conflict of testimony between the Biographer and Theophanes.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιστολὴν δογματικὴν.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς ἀπέστησε Ῥώμην τε καὶ Ἱταλίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ Ἑσπερία τῆς τε πολιτικῆς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὑπακοῆς Δέοντος καὶ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν βασιλείας.

<sup>3</sup> Because his name Anastasius spoke of the resurrection.

<sup>4</sup> ταῖς λιβέλλαις ἀπεκήρυξεν.

BOOK VII. ment of the Imperial taxes. They are quite irrecon-  
 CH. 12. cilable with the story of the *Liber Pontificalis*, and every historian must choose between them. For my part, I have no hesitation in accepting the authority of the Papal biographer, and throwing overboard the Byzantine monk. The former was strictly contemporary, the latter was born seventeen years after Gregory was in his grave. Theophanes wrote his history at the beginning of the ninth century, when the separation of the Eastern and Western Empires through the agency of the Popes was an accomplished fact, and he not unnaturally attributed to Gregory the same line of policy which he knew to have been pursued by his successors Hadrian and Leo. He was moreover, as we have seen, outrageously ill-informed as to other Western affairs of the eighth century. It is easy to understand how the refusal of taxes, which was really an earlier and independent act in the drama, became mixed in his mind with the dispute about images, and how he was thus led to describe that as a counter-blow to the Iconoclastic decrees, which was really decided upon ere the question of Image-worship was mooted.

Letters of  
 Gregory II  
 to Leo III  
 not now  
 extant.

Theophanes is probably right in saying that the Pope sent letters to the Emperor warning him against interference in sacred things. Unfortunately these letters have perished, for the coarse and insolent productions which have for the last three centuries passed current under that name are now believed by many scholars to be forgeries of a later date. Much confusion is cleared away from the history, and the memory of a brave but loyal Pope is relieved from an unnecessary stain, by the rejection of these apocryphal letters <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Note E at the end of this chapter.



Anarchy and the disruption of all civil and religious ties seemed to impend over Italy when the Emperor and the Pope stood thus in open opposition to one another. There was a certain Exhilaratus, duke of Campania, whose son Hadrian had some years before incurred the anathema of a Roman synod for having presumed to marry the deaconess Epiphania. Father and son now sought to revenge this old grudge on the Pontiff. They raised the banner of 'obedience to the Emperor and death to the Pope of Rome,' and apparently drew away a considerable number of the Campanians after them. But 'the Romans' (probably the civic guard which had been so conspicuous in some recent events) went forth and dispersed the Campanians, killing both Exhilaratus and his son. Another Imperial duke named Peter was arrested, accused of writing letters to the Emperor against the Pope, and, according to the cruel fashion which Italy borrowed from Byzantium, was deprived of sight.

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CH. 12.  
727.  
Anti-Papal movement  
in Campania.

At Ravenna itself something like civil war seems to have raged. There was both an Imperial and a Papal party in that city, but apparently the latter prevailed. The Exarch Paulus was killed (probably in 727<sup>2</sup>), and it seems probable that for some time Ravenna preserved a kind of tumultuary independence, disavowing the rule of the Emperor, and proclaiming its fidelity to the Pope and the party of the Image-worshippers<sup>3</sup>.

Civil war  
at Ra-  
venna.

<sup>1</sup> In 721: see Hefele's *Conciliengeschichte*, iii. 362.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Vita Gregorii* the death of Paulus comes before the eleventh Indiction.

<sup>3</sup> I do not think we can say more about this supposed interval of independence than that it is probable. We have no clear statement to that effect in any of our contemporary authorities, but Agnellus gives us after his fashion a long, obscure and undated

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.

727.  
Conquests  
of Liut-  
prand.

Meanwhile out of all this confusion and anarchy the statesmanlike Liutprand was drawing no small advantage. In the north-east he pushed his conquests into the valley of the Panaro, took Bologna and several small towns in its neighbourhood, invaded, and perhaps conquered the whole of the Pentapolis and the territory of Osimo<sup>1</sup>. It would seem from the expression used by the Papal biographer that with none of these towns was any great display of force needed, but that all, more or less willingly, gave themselves up to the Lombard king, whose rule probably offered a better chance of peace and something like prosperity than that either of the Exarch or the Exarch's foes.

story about battles between the citizens of Ravenna and the Greeks in the 'field of Coriander' outside the town. Terrible blows were struck on both sides: the Archbishop and his priests in sackcloth and ashes prostrated themselves on the ground, imploring the mercy of the Almighty. Suddenly a great bull appeared between the two armies, and pawing the ground, threw clouds of dust against the Greeks, and a great voice, coming no one knew from whence, resounded, 'Well done, men of Ravenna! Fight bravely; the victory will be yours this day.' The men of Ravenna pressed on: the Greeks tried to flee to their cutters, but were all slain, and fell by thousands into the river Badareno. For six years from that time no one would eat fish caught in the river. All this, as Holder-Egger truly remarks, if it have any truth in it at all, must relate to the Iconoclastic disturbances.

<sup>1</sup> 'Langobardis vero Emiliae castra, Ferronianus, Montebelli, Verabulum cum suis oppidibus (*sic*) Buxo et Persiceta, Pentapolim (*sic*) quoque Auximana civitas se tradiderunt.' Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, iv. 254) makes Ferronianus = the district Fregnano west of the Panaro; Montebellum = Monteveglio a little west of Bologna; Persiceta = S. Giovanni in Persicoto a little to the north-west of the same city. Verabulum and Buxo he gives up as hopeless. The passage shows that Osimo was at this time considered distinct from the Pentapolis. The capture of Bologna is given on the authority of Paulus (*H. L.* vi. 49).

At the same time Liutprand also took (by guile, as we are told) the town of Sutrium, only thirty miles north of Rome, but this, after holding it for forty days, on the earnest request of the Pope he 'gave back to the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul,' without however restoring the booty which had rewarded the capture <sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.

727.

Capture  
and resti-  
tution of  
Sutrium.

On the death of Paulus, the Eunuch Eutyechius was appointed Exarch. He was apparently the last man who held that office, and though there is a provoking silence on the part of all our authorities as to his character, we may perhaps infer that he was a somewhat stronger and more capable man than many of his predecessors. But that is very faint praise <sup>2</sup>.

Eutyechius  
Exarch.

The new Exarch landed at Naples—perhaps on account of the disturbed state of Ravenna—and from that city began to spread his net for the feet of the Pontiff. If the biographer may be trusted (which is doubtful), he sent a private messenger to Rome instructing his partisans to murder both the Pope and the chief nobles of the City <sup>3</sup>. The citizens got hold of the messenger and his letters, and 'when they perceived the cruel madness' of the Exarch they would fain have put the messenger to death, but the Pontiff hindered them. However, all the citizens, great and small, assembled in some sort of rude and unconscious

His de-  
signs  
against  
the Pope.

<sup>1</sup> We have at last a date for this event, 'the eleventh Indiction,' = 726-727.

<sup>2</sup> The *Liber Pontificalis* describes him as 'Eutyechium patricium eunuchum, qui dudum exarchus fuerat.' I suppose this ought to mean that Eutyechius had been Exarch previously, and that this was his second tenure of office. But is it not possible that the biographer simply means 'who for a long time held the office of Exarch'?

<sup>3</sup> 'Ut pontifex occideretur cum optimatibus Romae.'

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CH. 12.

Popular  
enthusi-  
asm on be-  
half of the  
Pope.

imitation of the old *comitia* (held probably in one of the great Roman basilicas), wherein they solemnly anathematised Eutychius and bound themselves by a great oath to live or die with the Pontiff, 'the zealot of the Christian faith and defender of the Churches.' The Exarch sent messengers to both king and dukes of the Lombards, promising them great gifts if they would desist from helping Gregory II, but for a time all his blandishments were unavailing; Lombards and Romans vying with one another in declaring their earnest desire to suffer, if need were, a glorious death for the defence of the Pope and the true faith. Meanwhile the Pope, while giving himself up to fastings and daily litanies, bestowed alms on the poor with lavish hand, and in all his discourses to the people, delivered in gentle tones, thanked them for their fidelity to his person, and exhorted them to continue in the faith, but also warned them 'not to cease from their love and loyalty towards the Roman Empire'. Thus did he soften the hearts of all and mitigate their continued sorrow.'

Eutychius  
and Liut-  
prand  
combine.

But though the Exarch was at first unsuccessful both with the king and the dukes of the Lombards, there came a time (probably in the year 730) when Liutprand began to listen to his words and when a strange sympathy of opposites drew the Lombard King and the Greek Exarch into actual alliance with one another. If we attentively study Liutprand's career we shall, I think, see that the one dominant feature in his policy was his determination to make himself really as well as theoretically supreme over all

<sup>1</sup> 'Sed ne desisterent ab amore vel fide Romani imperii amonebat.'

Lombard men. In his view, to extend his territories at the expense of the dying Empire was good, and he neglected no suitable opportunity of doing so. To pose as the friend and champion of the Pope was perhaps even better, and he would sometimes abandon hardly-won conquests in order to earn this character. But to gather together in one hand all the resources of the Lombard nationality, to teach the half-independent dukes of Benevento and Spoleto their places, to make Trient and Friuli obey the word of a king going forth from Pavia, this was best of all: this was the object which was dearest to his heart. Thus what Ecgberht did eighty years later for England, Liutprand strove to do, not altogether unsuccessfully, for Italy.

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CH. 12.

730.

From this point of view the rally of Lombard enthusiasm round the threatened Pope was not altogether acceptable to Liutprand. It was a movement in which the central government at Pavia had had little share. Tuscia and Spoleto, pre-eminently Spoleto, had distinguished themselves by their enthusiasm at the Salarian Bridge in repelling the invading Greeks. We are not informed of the attitude of Benevento, but we can see that the whole tendency of the movement was to substitute an independent Central Italy, with Rome as its spiritual capital, for the confessedly subordinate duchies of Clusium, Lucca, Spoleto, and the like.

As for Spoleto, there can be little doubt that Transamund, the undutiful son who had turned his father into a priest, was already showing his sovereign that he would have a hard fight to keep him in the old theoretical state of subservience and subjection. At Benevento also the forces of disorder were at work,

Attitude  
of the  
dukes of  
Spoleto

and Bene-  
vento.

BOOK VII. and, as we shall see a little later, a usurper was pro-  
 CH. 12. bably ruling the duchy of the Samnites <sup>1</sup>.

730.

In order then to accomplish his main purpose, the consolidation of Lombard Italy, Liutprand formed a league with the Exarch Eutychius, and the two rulers agreed to join their forces, with the common object of subjecting the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento to the king, and of enabling the Exarch to work his will on the Pope and the City of Rome. In accordance with this plan, Liutprand, who was of course far the stronger member of the confederacy, marched to Spoleto, received from both the dukes hostages and oaths of fidelity, and then moving northward to Rome encamped with all his army in the Plain of Nero, between the Vatican and Monte Mario. The combination of the Imperial deputy and the Lombard king, the might of Right, and the right of Might, seemed to bode instant destruction to the Roman Pontiff; but he repeated, not in vain, the experiment which his great predecessor Leo, three centuries before, had tried on Attila. He went forth from the City, attended doubtless by a long train of ecclesiastics; he addressed one of his soothing and sweet-toned addresses to the Lombard, and soon had the joy of seeing him fall prostrate at his feet and vow that no harm should befall him through his means. In token of his penitence and submission Liutprand took off his mantle, his doublet <sup>2</sup>, his belt, his gilded sword and spear, his golden crown and silver cross, and laid them all down in the crypt before the altar of St. Peter. Solemn prayers were

The Pope's  
 interview  
 with Liut-  
 prand.

<sup>1</sup> If, that is to say, the death of Romwald II had already occurred, of which we cannot be certain (see p. 470).

<sup>2</sup> 'Armilausiam.'

said; Liutprand besought the Pope to receive his ally the Exarch into favour, and thus a reconciliation, at least an apparent reconciliation, was effected, and the ominous alliance between King and Exarch was practically dissolved, never to be again renewed<sup>1</sup>.

While the Exarch, now as it would seem an honoured guest of the Pope, was tarrying at Rome, a wild and hopeless attempt to bring the opposition to Leo III to a head, by setting up a rival Emperor, was made and easily defeated. The pretender, whose real name was Petasius, assumed the name of Tiberius. This was, as we have seen, the appellation by which not only the Emperor Apsimar, but also Basil the pretender to the Empire who arose in Sicily, had elected to be called<sup>2</sup>. We must suppose that some remembrance of the popular virtues of Tiberius II had obliterated the odium attaching to the name of Tiberius I<sup>3</sup>. However, only

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.  
730.  
Petasius  
anti-Em-  
peror.

<sup>1</sup> Pabst (p. 477) considers that this campaign of Liutprand, in alliance with the Exarch, against Rome was the fortunate moment in which the Lombards might have taken the Eternal City and established the unity of Italy. But Liutprand was filled with feelings of the deepest reverence towards the Catholic Church, whose Head condescended to plead with him on the Plains of Nero, and 'so through mistaken piety the decisive moment was lost.'

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 362, 428. The revolt of Basil-Tiberius is described to us by Theophanes, A. M. 6210. The question suggests itself, 'Is it possible that these two revolts of a so-called Tiberius against Leo are really one?' If it were so we should give the preference to the account of the matter given by the Liber Pontificalis, as the contemporary authority and the one best informed on Western affairs. But on the whole Theophanes seems to know too many details for us altogether to reject his information. It seems safer to continue to treat the revolts as distinct events, one occurring in 718, and the other in 730 or 731.

<sup>3</sup> Was there also something in the idea of a lucky name?

BOOK VII. a few towns in Tuscany<sup>1</sup> swore allegiance to the  
 CH. 12. usurper, and the Exarch, though troubled at the  
 730. tidings of the insurrection, yet being comforted by the  
 assurances of the Pope's fidelity, and receiving from  
 him not only a deputation of bishops, but also the  
 more effectual help of a troop of soldiers, went forth to  
 meet the pretender, defeated him, and cut off his head,  
 which he sent as a token of victory to Constantinople.  
 'But not even so,' says the Papal biographer, 'did the  
 Emperor receive the Romans back into full favour.'

Death of  
 Gregory  
 II, 731.

On February 11, 731, the aged Pope Gregory II died. He was a man with much of the true Roman feeling which had animated his great namesake and predecessor, but with more sweetness of temper, and he had played his part in a difficult and dangerous time with dignity and prudence, upholding the rights of the Church and the claims of the Holy See as he understood them, but raising his powerful voice against the disruption of the Empire. By a hard fate his name has been in the minds of posterity connected with some of the coarsest and most violent letters that were ever believed to have issued from the Papal Chancery, letters more worthy of Boniface VIII than of the 'sweet reasonableness' of Gregory II.

The new Pope, whose election was completed on

Tiberius-Apsimar had supplanted Leontius; and so Tiberius-Basil and Tiberius-Petasio might hope to supplant Leo.

<sup>1</sup> 'Castrum Manturianense,' which was the pretender's headquarters and the scene of his defeat, is identified by Muratori (*Annali*, iv. 261) with Barberano, about fifteen miles east of Civita Vecchia. Blera, now Bieda, is also mentioned as having sworn allegiance to the pretender. Luna, which is the last mentioned of the insurgent towns, can hardly be the well-known Luna at the northern end of Etruria.



March 18, 731, and who took the title of Gregory III, was of Syrian origin, descended doubtless from one of the multitude of emigrants who had been driven westwards and Romewards by the tide of Mohammedan invasion. He has not been so fortunate in his biographer as his predecessor, for the imbecile ecclesiastic who has composed the notice of his life which appears in the *Liber Pontificalis* is more concerned with counting the crowns and the basins, the crosses and the candlesticks, which Gregory III presented to the several churches in Rome, than with chronicling the momentous events which occurred during the ten years of his Pontificate. It is clear however that the third Gregory pursued in the main the same policy as his predecessor, sternly refusing to yield a point to the Emperor on the question of Image-worship, but also refusing to be drawn into any movement for the dismemberment of the Empire. In his relations with Liutprand he was less fortunate. He intrigued, as it seems to me unfairly, with the turbulent dukes of Spoleto and Benevento: and he was the first Pope in this century to utter that cry for help from the other side of the Alps which was to prove so fatal to Italy.

Gregory III was evidently determined to try what ecclesiastical warnings and threats would effect in changing the purpose of Leo. He wrote a letter 'charged with all the vigour of the Apostolic See,' and sent it to the Emperor by the hands of a presbyter named George. But George, 'moved by the fear natural to man,' did not dare to present the letter, and returned to Rome with his mission unaccomplished. The Pope determined to degrade his craven messenger

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.

Gregory  
III, Pope,  
731-741.

Papal  
remon-  
strances  
with the  
Emperor.

BOOK VII. from the priestly office, but on the intercession of the  
 CH. 12. bishops of the surrounding district assembled in  
 731. council, he decided to give him one more chance to  
 prove his obedience. This time George attempted in  
 good faith to accomplish his mission, but was forcibly  
 detained in Sicily by the officers of the Emperor, and  
 sentenced to banishment for a year.

Council  
 of Italian  
 bishops,  
 731.

On November 1, 731, the Pope convened a Council, at which the Archbishops of Grado and Ravenna and ninety-three other Italian bishops were present, besides presbyters, deacons, 'consuls,' and members of the commonalty<sup>1</sup>. By this Council it was decreed, 'that if hereafter any one despising those who hold fast the ancient usage of the Apostolic Church should stand forth as a destroyer, profaner, and blasphemer against the veneration of the sacred images, to wit of Christ and his Immaculate Mother, of the blessed Apostles and the Saints, he should be excluded from the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and from all the unity and fabric of the Church.'

With this decree of the Council was sent to the Emperor a *defensor* named Constantine, who, like his predecessor, was forcibly detained and sentenced to a year's exile. The messengers from various parts of Italy who were sent to pray for the restoration of the sacred images were all similarly detained for a space of eight months by Sergius, Prefect<sup>2</sup> of Sicily. At last the *defensor* Peter reached 'the royal city' of Constantinople and presented his letters of warning and rebuke to Leo, to his son Constantine (now the

<sup>1</sup> 'Nobilibus etiam consulibus et reliquis Christianis plebi-  
 bus.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Patricio et Stratigo.'

partner of his throne), and to the Iconoclastic Patriarch Anastasius. BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.

Here the Papal biographer breaks off, and we have to turn to another source to learn what answer the Emperor made to the remonstrances which had been addressed to him with so much persistence.

Theophanes (who knows nothing of the accession of the third Gregory) gives us the following information under date of 732<sup>1</sup> :—

‘But the Emperor raged against the Pope and the revolt of Rome and Italy, and having equipped a great fleet, he sent it against them under the command of Manes, general of the Cibyrrhaeots<sup>2</sup>. But the vain man was put to shame, his fleet being shipwrecked in the Adriatic sea. Then the fighter against God being yet more enraged, and persisting in his Arabian [Mohammedan] design, laid a poll-tax on the third part of the people of Calabria and Sicily<sup>3</sup>. He also ordered that the so-called *patrimonia* of the holy and eminent Apostles [Peter and Paul] revered in the elder Rome, which had from of old brought in a revenue to the churches of three and a half talents of gold<sup>4</sup>, should be confiscated to the State. He ordered moreover that all the male children who were born

Leo's attempted punishment of the Pope, 732.  
  
Sequestration of Papal patrimonies.

<sup>1</sup> Anno Mundi 6224: according to Theophanes' reckoning, A. D. 724.

<sup>2</sup> ‘It is evident,’ says Bury (ii. 343), ‘that the little maritime town of Cibyra between Side and Ptolemais [on the coast of Pamphylia] had already given her name to the naval troops of those regions . . . and perhaps this distinction was due to some energetic enterprise against a Saracen fleet.’

<sup>3</sup> φάρους κεφαλικοὺς τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει Καλαβρίας καὶ Σικελίας τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπέθηκεν.

<sup>4</sup> About £15,800, taking the ratio of gold to silver at 18 : 1.

BOOK VII. should be inspected and registered, as Pharaoh afore-  
 CH. 12. time did with the children of the Hebrews, a measure  
 732. which not even his teachers the Arabians had taken  
 Poll-tax. with the Eastern Christians who were their subjects.'

A few facts stand out clearly from this somewhat confused narrative. The maritime expedition which was frustrated by the storm in the Adriatic was no doubt intended to enforce the Iconoclastic decrees throughout Imperial Italy, perhaps to arrest the Pope. Apparently after the failure of this attempt it was never renewed. Financial grievances (probably the financial exigencies of the Imperial treasury) are again, as in our previous extracts from the same author, confusedly mixed up with religious innovations. But we may fairly infer that the sequestration of the Papal patrimonies, which would take effect chiefly in Sicily and Calabria, was meant as a punishment for the Pope's contumacy in respect of the decrees against image-worship: and if maintained, as it seems to have been, it must have seriously diminished the Papal splendour. The poll-tax<sup>1</sup>, and its necessary consequence the census of births, which is so absurdly compared to the infanticidal decree of Pharaoh, was doubtless a mere attempt—whether wise or unwise we cannot judge—to balance the Imperial budget. The fact that it was confined to Sicily and Calabria seems to show that all the territory in Northern and Central Italy which had lately belonged to the Empire was

<sup>1</sup> The poll-tax (*φόροι κεφαλικοί*) levied on the third part of the population is rather difficult to understand. According to Zachariae (quoted by Hartmann, p. 91) there was a certain quota (*simplum*), which had to be paid by the inhabitants in groups of three; a very strange and clumsy arrangement.

still seething with disaffection. Possibly even Ravenna itself was yet unsubdued, and in the possession of the insurgents.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.  
732.

At the same time, by an important ecclesiastical revolution, all the wide territories east of the Adriatic, which as part of the old Prefecture of Illyricum<sup>1</sup> had hitherto obeyed the spiritual jurisdiction of Rome, were now rent away from the Latin Patriarchate: truly a tremendous loss, and one for which at the time it needed all the new conquests in England and Germany to make compensation<sup>2</sup>.

Separation of Illyricum from the Latin Patriarchate.

With the facts thus gleaned from the pages of Theophanes our information as to the transactions between Emperor and Pope for the ten years of Gregory's pontificate comes to an end. Let us now turn to consider Liutprand's dealings with his subject dukes during the same period.

First we find our attention drawn to the region of the Julian Alps, where for some six and twenty years Pemmo, the skilful and ingenious, the tolerant husband of the ungainly Ratperga, the founder of one of the earliest schools of chivalry<sup>3</sup>, had been ruling the duchy of Friuli. It was somewhere about the point which we have now reached in the reign of Liutprand<sup>4</sup> that this wary old ruler came into collision with that king's

Affairs of Friuli.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 226 (p. 619 in 2nd edition).

<sup>2</sup> See Bury, ii. 446, and Baxmann, i. 211. The proof of the above assertion is furnished by letters in Mansi's *Concilia*, xiii. 808, and xv. 167. I owe these references to Professor Bury.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 333.

<sup>4</sup> Muratori relates the fall of Pemmo under the year 737, but admits that 'forse appartiene ad alcuno degli anni precedenti.' We can only conjecture the date, and from its position in the pages of Paulus I should conjecture about 731.

power, and lost both duchy and liberty. The cause of the trouble was ecclesiastical, and came, as almost all ecclesiastical troubles in that reign did come, directly or indirectly, from the controversy about the Three Chapters.

The synods which were held under Cunincpert at Pavia and Aquileia had reunited the Church of North Italy in the matter of doctrine, but the vested rights of the two Patriarchates which had been created in the course of the schism, remained, and were fixed in the established order of the Church, when, at the request of King Liutprand, Gregory II sent the *pallium* of a metropolitan to Serenus, Patriarch of Aquileia<sup>1</sup>. Grado, which was within range of the fleets of Byzantium, had hitherto been the sole patriarchate in Venetia and Istria recognised by Rome. Now Aquileia, not ten miles distant from Grado (from whose desolate shore the campanile of the cathedral is plainly visible), Aquileia, which in all things was swayed by the nod of the Lombard king, was a recognised and orthodox Patriarchate also. A singular arrangement truly, and one which was made barely tolerable by the provision that, while maritime Venetia, including the islands in the lagunes, now fast rising into prosperity and importance, was to obey the Patriarch of Grado, continental Venetia, including Friuli and the bishoprics and convents endowed by its Lombard dukes, was to be subject to the rule of the Patriarch of Aquileia.

Dissensions of course arose, or rather never ceased, between the two so nearly neighbouring spiritual

<sup>1</sup> This fact, mentioned by Dandolo (vii. 2. 13), seems to be vouched for by the letter of Gregory II to Serenus, December 1, 723, quoted in the Chronicle of Joannes Diaconus (p. 96, ed. Monticolo).

rulers. They are attested by two letters of Pope Gregory II, one to Serenus of Aquileia, whom he calls bishop of Forum Julii, warning him not to presume on his new *pallium* and on the favour of his king in order to pass beyond the bounds of the Lombard nation and trespass on the territory of his brother of Grado; the other to Donatus of Grado, telling him of the warning which has been sent to Serenus.

It will be noticed that in the superscription of the letter to Serenus he is spoken of as bishop of Forum Julii. This can hardly have been his contemporary title, but it describes that which was to be his position in later times. As the Lombard duke was his patron, power naturally gravitated towards him, and Aquileia, always sombre in its wide-reaching ruins, and now exposed to attack from the navies of hostile Byzantium<sup>1</sup>, ceased to be a pleasant residence for the Patriarch who took his title from its cathedral. At first he came only as far as Cormones, a little *castrum*<sup>2</sup> half way on the road to Friuli. To the capital itself he could not yet penetrate, for, strangely enough, there was already one somewhat intrusive bishop there. From Julium Carnicum (Zuglio), high up in the defiles of the Predil pass, Bishop Fidentius had descended to Cividale in search

BOOK VII.  
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The Patriarch of Aquileia takes up his abode at Cividale.

<sup>1</sup> 'Superiores patriarchae, quia in Aquileiâ propter Romanorum incursionem habitare minimè poterant sedem non in Foro Julii sed in Cormones habebant' (Paulus, H. L. vi. 51). It seems to me probable that the hostile movements connected with the Iconoclastic controversy are here referred to. Is it possible that the Patriarchs of Aquileia quitted it for more comfortable quarters because they felt their ecclesiastical position assured by the receipt of the *pallium* from the Pope?

<sup>2</sup> Village, probably guarded by a fortress.

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of sunshine and princely favour, and receiving a welcome from some earlier duke had established himself there as its bishop. To him had succeeded Amator : but now Callistus, the new Patriarch of Aquileia, who was of noble birth and yearned after congenial society, taking it ill that these Alpine bishops should live in the capital and converse with Duke Pemmo and the young scions of the Lombard nobility, while he had to spend his life in the companionship of the boors of Cormones, took a bold step, forcibly expelled Bishop Amator, and went to live in his episcopal palace at Cividale. But Pemmo and the Lombard nobles had not invited Amator to their banquets to see their guest-friend thus flouted with impunity. Having arrested Callistus, they led him away to the castle of Potium<sup>1</sup> overhanging the sea, into which they at first proposed to cast him headlong. 'God, however,' says Paulus, 'prevented them from carrying out this design, but Pemmo thrust him into the dungeon and made him feed on the bread of tribulation.'

Patriarch  
Callistus  
imprisoned.

Pemmo  
deposed  
by Liutprand.

Ratchis,  
duke of  
Friuli.

The tidings of this high-handed proceeding greatly exasperated Liutprand, in whose political schemes the new orthodox Patriarch of Forum Julii was probably an important factor. He at once issued orders for the deposition of Pemmo and the elevation of his son Ratchis in his stead. No great display of force seems to have been needed for this change ; probably there was already a large party in the duchy who disapproved of the arrest of Callistus. Pemmo and his friends meditated an escape into the land of the Sclovenes on the other side of the mountains, but

<sup>1</sup> Or Pontium, or Nocium. No one suggests any identification of the place.



Ratchis persuaded them to come in and throw themselves on the mercy of the king. At Pavia<sup>1</sup> King Liutprand sat upon the judgment-seat, and ordered all who had been concerned in the arrest of Callistus to be brought before him. The fallen Duke Pemmo and two of his sons, Ratchait and Aistulf, came first. Their life was yielded as a favour to the loyal Ratchis, but they were bidden—perhaps in contemptuous tones—to stand behind the royal chair. Then with a loud voice the king read out the list of all the adherents of Pemmo, and ordered that they should be taken into custody. The ignominy of the whole proceeding heated the mind of Aistulf to such rage that he half drew his sword out of the sheath, and was about to strike the king, but Ratchis stayed his arm, and the treasonable design perhaps escaped the notice of Liutprand. All Pemmo's followers were then arrested and condemned to long captivity in chains, except one brave man named Herfemar, who drew his sword, defended himself bravely against the king's officers, and escaped to the basilica of St. Michael, which he did not leave till he had received the king's (faithfully kept) promise of pardon<sup>2</sup>.

Ratchis justified the choice made of him for his father's successor by an irruption into Carniola, in which he wrought much havoc among the Sclovenic enemies of his people, delivering himself from great personal peril by a well-aimed blow with his club at the chief of his assailants.

Of the after-fate of Pemmo and whether he lingered long in imprisonment we hear unfortunately nothing.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently: it is not quite clearly stated by Paulus.

<sup>2</sup> Paulus, H. L. vi. 51.

BOOK VII. He was certainly not restored to his duchy. From the  
 CH. 12. ————— whole course of the narrative we can at once perceive that a much stronger hand than that of the Perctarits and the Cunincperts is at the helm of the state, and that Liutprand is fast converting the nominal subjection of the great dukes into a very real and practical one.

Affairs of Benevento.

Of the yet more important affairs of the great southern duchy of Benevento we have unfortunately but slender information. We have seen that before the death of Gregory II (731) Liutprand formed an alliance with the Exarch, in order that he might repress the rebellious tendencies of the dukes of Benevento and Spoleto. The duke of Benevento against whom this alliance was pointed is generally supposed to have been Romwald II, who had married Gumperga, niece of Liutprand. That theory cannot be disproved, but as Romwald seems to have reigned in peace with his great kinsman for many years, and as his death possibly occurred in 730<sup>1</sup>, I am disposed to conjecture that it was the troubles arising out of that event which necessitated the interference of Liutprand. Paulus tells us that 'on the death of Romwald there remained his son Gisulf, who was still but a little boy. Against him certain persons rising up sought to destroy him, but the people of the Beneventans, who were always remarkable for their fidelity to their leaders, slew them and preserved the life of their [young]

Death of Romwald II.

<sup>1</sup> According to the suggestion of Holder-Egger (*Neues Archiv*, iii. 255). If Romwald's death occurred a year later it is still possible that the hostile party whose designs against young Gisulf are mentioned below may have troubled the last years of his father's life.

duke.' This is all that the Lombard historian tells us, but from an early catalogue of Beneventan dukes preserved at Monte Cassino<sup>1</sup> we learn that there was actually another duke, presumably an usurper, named *Audelais*, who ruled in Benevento for two years after the death of Romwald II. It is clear therefore that Liutprand's work at Benevento was a difficult one, probably not accomplished without bloodshed. Having doubtless fought and conquered *Audelais*, he installed in the Samnite duchy his own nephew Gregory (who had been before duke of Clusium<sup>2</sup>), and carried off his little kinsman Gisulf to be educated at Pavia. Here in course of time he gave him a noble maiden named Scauniperga to wife, and trained him for the great office which he was one day to hold.

*Gregory* is a man of whom one would gladly hear something more, for it would seem that he must have been a strong and capable ruler, who in such a difficult position kept the Beneventan duchy so long quiet and apparently loyal: but all that we know is that after ruling for seven years he died, apparently a natural death, and that *Gottschalk* was raised to the dukedom, evidently as an act of rebellion against the over-lordship of Pavia. Of *Gottschalk* also we hear very little except that his wife was named Anna, and from the emphatic way in which this lady is mentioned one conjectures that it was feminine ambition which urged

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Usurpation of  
*Audelais*.

732.

Gregory,  
duke of Benevento,  
732-739.

Gottschalk,  
a rebel duke.

<sup>1</sup> The *Catalogus Regum Langobardorum et Ducum Beneventanorum* (*Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum* in M. G. H. p. 494). *Hirsch* (p. 36) called attention to this important entry.

<sup>2</sup> See copy of an inscription at Chiusi by Duke Gregory in Troya, No. ccclxxxv. Troya disputes the identity of this Gregory with the duke of Benevento, but I think without justification.

BOOK VII. Gottschalk to grasp the dangerous coronet. Three  
CH. 12.  
739-742. years he reigned, and then at last Liutprand, having put in order the affairs of Spoleto and other matters which needed mending, drew near to Benevento. At the mere rumour of his approach Gottschalk began to prepare for flight to Greece<sup>1</sup>. A ship was engaged, probably at Brindisi or Taranto, and laden with his treasures and his wife, but ere the trembling duke himself could start upon his hasty journey along the great Via Trajana, the Beneventans who were loyal to young Gisulf and the house of Romwald rushed into his palace and slew him. The lady Anna with her treasures arrived safely at Constantinople.

Gisulf II,  
 duke, 742-  
 751.

King Liutprand arriving at Benevento seems to have found all opposition vanished, and to have settled all things according to his will. He installed his great-nephew Gisulf as duke in his rightful place<sup>2</sup>, and returned victorious to Pavia. The reign of *Gisulf II* lasted for ten years, and overpassed the life of Liutprand and the limits of this volume.

Associa-  
 tion of  
 Hilde-  
 prand as  
 colleague  
 with Liut-  
 prand.

In order to give a connected view of the changes which occurred at Benevento, it has been necessary to travel almost to the end of the reign of Liutprand. We must now return to the year 735, three years after he had suppressed the usurpation of Audelais of Benevento. It was apparently in May of this year<sup>3</sup> that a strange event happened, and one which as it would seem somewhat overcast by its consequences

<sup>1</sup> 'Atque in Greciam fugere molitus est' (Paulus, H. L. vi. 57). Observe that Constantinople is now in 'Grecia.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Gisulfum suum nepotem iterum in loco proprio ducem constituunt.'

<sup>3</sup> So Holder-Egger in Neues Archiv, iii. 256.

the last nine years of the great king's reign. He was seized with a dangerous sickness, and seemed to be drawing near to death. Without waiting for that event, however, the precipitate Lombards, perhaps dreading the perils of a disputed succession, raised his nephew Hildeprand to the throne. The ceremony took place in that Church of the Virgin which the grateful Perc-tarit erected outside the walls in the place called *Ad Perticas*<sup>1</sup>. When the sceptre was placed in the hand of the new king men saw with a shudder that a cuckoo came and perched upon it. To our minds the incident would suggest some harsh thoughts of the nephew who was thus coming cuckoo-like to make use of his uncle's nest; but the wise men of the Lombards seem to have drawn from it an augury that 'his reign would be a useless one.' When Liutprand heard what was done he was much displeased, and indeed the incident was only too like that of the Visigothic king<sup>2</sup> who in similar circumstances was made an involuntary monk, and so lost his throne. However, after what was perhaps a tedious convalescence Liutprand bowed to the inevitable and accepted Hildeprand as the partner of his throne. He must have been a man with some reputation for courage and capacity, or he would not have been chosen by the Lombards at such a crisis; but nothing that is recorded of him seems to justify that reputation. Both as partner of his uncle and as sole king of the Lombards, the word which best describes him seems to be that chosen by the historian, *inutilis*.

Of the years between 735 and 739 we can give no

<sup>1</sup> See p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Wamba (680).

accurate account. They may have been occupied by operations against Ravenna. There are some slight indications that Transamund of Spoleto was making one of his usual rebellions<sup>1</sup>. It was perhaps during this time that the strong position of Gallese on the Flaminian Way, which had somehow fallen into the hands of the Lombards and had been a perpetual bone of contention between Rome and Spoleto, was redeemed by the Pope for a large sum of money paid to Transamund<sup>2</sup>, a transaction which may have laid the foundation of the alliance between that prince and Gregory, and at the same time may easily have roused the displeasure of Liutprand. But the most important event in these years was probably Liutprand's expedition for the deliverance of Provence from the Saracens. His brother-in-law Charles Martel, with whom he seems to have been throughout his life on terms of cordial friendship, had sent him his young son Pippin that he might, according to Teutonic custom, cut off some of his youthful locks and adopt him as *filius per arma*<sup>3</sup>. The ceremony was duly accomplished, and the young Arnulfinus having received many gifts from his adoptive father returned to his own land. He was one day to recross the Alps, not as son of the Mayor of the Palace, but as king of the Franks, and to overthrow the kingdom of the Lombards. But now came a cry for help from the real to the adoptive father of the

Liut-  
prand's  
adoption  
of Pippin.

<sup>1</sup> The allusions of Paulus to the rebellion of Transamund and the rule of Hilderic at Spoleto (H. L. vi. 55) seem to require more time than is usually allowed for these events.

<sup>2</sup> Liber Pontificalis, Vita Gregorii III.

<sup>3</sup> As Pippin was born in 714, we may put this ceremony almost anywhere between 730 and 740. Perhaps on account of Liutprand's sickness in 735, 736 is as probable a date as any.

young warrior. The Saracens from their stronghold in Narbonne had pressed up the valley of the Rhone. Avignon had been surrendered to them; Arles had fallen; it seemed as if they would make Provence their own and would ravage all Aquitaine. At the earnest entreaty of Charles Martel, who sent ambassadors with costly presents to his brother-in-law, Liutprand led the whole army of the Lombards over the mountains, and at the tidings of his approach the Saracens left their work of devastation and fled terrified to their stronghold.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.

737.

Liutprand helps Charles Martel against the Saracens.

In 739 the storm which had long been brewing in Central Italy burst forth. Transamund of Spoleto went into open rebellion against his sovereign. Gottschalk, as we have seen, in this year usurped the ducal throne of Benevento, and Pope Gregory III having formed a league with the two rebel dukes defied the power of Liutprand. The king at this time dealt only with Spoleto. He marched thither with his army; Transamund fled at his approach, taking refuge in Rome. In June, 739, Liutprand was signing charters in the palace of Spoleto<sup>1</sup>, and appointed one of his adherents named *Hilderic* duke in the room of Transamund. He then marched on Rome, and as Gregory refused to give up his mutinous ally he took four frontier towns (Ameria, Horta, Polimartium, and Blera<sup>2</sup>) away from the *Ducatus Romae* and joined them to the territory of the Lombards, whose border was now indeed brought perilously near to Rome.

Rebellion of Transamund of Spoleto.

Hilderic made duke in his stead.

Capture of four cities in the Duchy of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> A charter so signed, dated June 16, confirming to the monastery of Farfa all grants from the dukes of Spoleto, is still extant in the Registrum Farfense (see Neues Archiv, iii. 258).

<sup>2</sup> Amelia, Orte, Bomarzo, and Bieda.

BOOK VII. Having accomplished these changes Liutprand re-  
CH. 12. turned to Pavia.

Pope  
 Gregory  
 appeals to  
 Charles  
 Martel  
 for help.

The policy, perhaps we ought to say the intrigues, of Gregory III had so far been a failure. By his alliance with the rebellious dukes he had only made the most powerful man in Italy his enemy, and had lost four frontier cities to the Lombards. Help from distant and unfriendly Byzantium, help from the Exarch who was himself trembling for the safety of Ravenna, if not actually an exile from its walls, were equally unattainable. In these circumstances Gregory III entered again upon the policy which Pelagius II had pursued a century and a half before, and called on the Frank for aid. Writing to 'his most excellent son, the *sub-regulus* lord Charles,' he confided to him his intolerable woes from the persecution and oppression of the Lombards. The revenues appropriated to the maintenance of the lights on St. Peter's tomb had been intercepted, and the offerings of Charles himself and his ancestors had been carried off<sup>1</sup>. The Church of St. Peter was naked and desolate; if the Frankish 'under-king' cared for the favour of the Prince of the Apostles and the hope of eternal life, he would hasten to her aid.

As this letter was ineffectual, another was despatched in more urgent terms<sup>2</sup>. 'Tears,' said Gregory, 'were his portion night and day when he saw the Church of God deserted by the sons who ought to have avenged

<sup>1</sup> As it is not suggested that the Lombards had entered Rome, this must allude to some property in the neighbourhood of Rome which had been ravaged by them.

<sup>2</sup> The editor of the Codex Carolinus in M. G. H. dates this second letter 740.



her. The little that was left of the papal patrimony in the regions of Ravenna, and whose revenues ought to have gone to the support of the poor and the kindling of the lights at the Apostolic tomb, was being wasted with fire and sword by Liutprand and Hildeprand the Lombard kings, who had already sent several armies to do similar damage to the district round Rome, destroying St. Peter's farm-houses and carrying off the remnant of his cattle. Doubtless the Prince of the Apostles could if he pleased defend his own, but he would try the hearts of those who called themselves his friends and ought to be his champions. Do not believe,' urges the Pope, 'the false suggestions of those two kings against the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, as if they had committed any fault. All these stories are lies. Their only crime is that last year they refused to make an inroad upon us from their duchies and carry off the goods of the Holy Apostles, saying that they had made a covenant with us which they would keep. It is for this cause that the sword rages against them, and that those most noble dukes are degraded, and the two kings are making their own wicked followers dukes in their room. Send we pray you some faithful messenger, inaccessible to bribes, who shall see with his own eyes our persecution, the humiliation of the Church of God, the desolation of His property, and the tears of the foreigners [who are dwelling in Rome<sup>1</sup>]. Before God and by the coming judgment we exhort you, most Christian son, to come to St. Peter's help, and with all speed to beat back those kings and order them to

<sup>1</sup> So apparently we must understand 'et peregrinorum lacrimas.'

BOOK VII. return to their own homes. I send you the keys of  
CH. 12.  
 740. the chapel<sup>1</sup> of the blessed Peter, and exhort you by them and by the living and true God not to prefer the friendship of the kings of the Lombards to that of the Prince of the Apostles, but to come speedily to our aid, that your faith and good report may be spread abroad throughout all the nations, and that we may be able to say with the prophet, "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble, the name of the God of Jacob defend thee." "

Charles  
 refuses to  
 interfere.

The passionate appeals of the Pope failed of their effect. Charles Martel, as we have seen, was not himself morbidly scrupulous in the respect which he paid to the property of the Church. He probably did not believe, as posterity has not believed, that the sole fault of the two dukes was their refusal to invade the Roman territory. He rather saw in them two rebellious servants who were trying to sanctify their own turbulent courses by a pretence of defending the property of St. Peter. He himself was Liutprand's kinsman, his son had lately received a hospitable welcome at his court, his own cry for help against the Saracens had been generously responded to by the Lombard king. Decidedly he would not interfere against him, nor leave the plains of Provence a prey to the Saracens of Narbonne in order to win back for the angry Pope the towns which he had lost by his own rash meddling in the game of politics.

Trans-  
 mund ex-  
 pels Hil-  
 deric and  
 recovers  
 Spoleto.

This being so, Transmund determined to try what he could effect by his own power, aided by the militia of the *Ducatus Romae*<sup>2</sup>. He and his allies divided

<sup>1</sup> 'Confessionis.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Transimundus vero dux, habito consilio cum Romanis collecto-

themselves into two bands, one of which invaded the southern part of the duchy, marching by the old Via Valeria, through the country of the Marsi and Peligni, passing the northern border of the Fucine lake, and receiving the submission, but not the willing submission, of the chief towns in this part of the duchy<sup>1</sup>. The other troop, which was probably led by Transamund himself, marched along the Salarian Way, received the submission of Reate, and made all the old territory of the Sabines subject to the rebel duke. By December<sup>2</sup> Transamund was again in his old palace of Spoleto, had slain his rival Hilderic, and resumed all his former audacity of rebellion against his king.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.  
740 (?).

The open alliance of the Pope and the rebel dukes, the easy reconquest of Spoleto, the always disloyal attitude of Gottschalk at Benevento caused Liutprand and his Lombard counsellors great anxiety. As the Papal biographer says, 'There was great disturbance of spirits between the Romans and the Lombards, because the Beneventans and Spoletans held with the Romans.' The unnatural alliance however was of short duration. Solemnly as Transamund had promised that if he recovered his duchy he would restore the four lost cities to the *Ducatus Romae*, when he was once

Transamund breaks his promise to the Pope.

que generaliter exercitu ducatus Romani, ingressi sunt per duas partes in fines ducatus Spolitini' (Lib. Pont., Vita Zachariae), p. 426.

<sup>1</sup> 'Qui continuo, timore ductus prae multitudine exercitus Romani, eodem Transimundo se subdiderunt Marsicani [= Marsi] et Furconini [Furcona near Aquila] atque Valvenses [Valva near Corfinium] seu Pinnenses [Pinna, now Penne, about 15 miles west of Pescara]' (Ibid.).

<sup>2</sup> December of 739 or of 740? The text of the Liber Pontificalis is defective, but Duchesne shows good reason for thinking it was the latter.

BOOK VII. securely seated in the palace of Spoleto he broke all  
CH. 12. his promises, and the towns which had been lost for  
741. his sake by the Romans continued Lombard still. On  
 this the Pope withdrew the aid, whatever it was worth,  
 which he had afforded to Transamund, and left Liut-  
 prand to deal with the two rebel dukes alone.

March of  
 Liutprand  
 to the  
 south.

742.

Death of  
 Gregory  
 III.

Zacharias  
 Pope, 741-  
 752.

Battle of  
 the Me-  
 taurus.

For some reason, however, possibly on account of the  
 events hereafter to be related in connection with the  
 capture and reconquest of Ravenna, something like  
 two years elapsed after Transamund's expedition before  
 Liutprand set forth to recover Spoleto. During this  
 interval Gregory III died (December 10, 741), and  
 was succeeded after an unusually short interval by  
 Zacharias, a Pope of Greek origin, whose memorable  
 pontificate lasted ten years. Liutprand marched  
 through the Pentapolis, and on the road between Fano  
 and Fossombrone<sup>1</sup> in the valley of the Metaurus sore  
 peril overtook him. The two brave brothers of Friuli,  
 Ratchis and Aistulf, both now loyally serving the  
 Lombard king, commanded the van of the army, and  
 when they reached a certain forest between those  
 two towns they found the Flaminian Way blocked, and  
 a strong force of Spoletans and Romans posted to  
 dispute the passage<sup>2</sup>. Great loss was inflicted on the  
 advancing army, but the prowess of Ratchis, his brother,  
 and a few of their bravest henchmen, on whom all  
 the weight of battle fell, redeemed the desperate day.  
 A certain Spoletan champion named Berto called on  
 Ratchis by name, and rushed upon him with lance in

<sup>1</sup> Fanum and Forum Sempronii.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Romans from the Pentapolis, but possibly also  
 detached members of the army which had replaced Transamund  
 in Spoleto.

rest, but Ratchis unhorsed him with his spear. The followers of Ratchis would have slain him outright, but he, pitiful by nature, said 'Let him live,' and so the humbled champion crawled away on hands and knees to the shelter of the forest. On Aistulf, as he stood upon the bridge over the Metaurus, two strong Spoletans came rushing from behind, but he suddenly with the butt end of his spear swept one of them from the bridge, then turned swiftly to the other, slew him, and sent him after his comrade<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.  
742.

Meanwhile the new Pope Zacharias had contrived to have an interview with the Lombard king, and had received his promise to surrender the four towns. Upon this the Roman army followed Liutprand's standards, and Transamund (according to the Papal biographer), seeing this conjunction of forces against him, recognised the hopelessness of the game, and surrendered himself and his city to Liutprand, who set up his nephew Agiprand as duke in his place. Like Gregory of Benevento, Agiprand<sup>2</sup> had been duke of Clusium before he was thus promoted to the rule of a great semi-independent duchy. As for Transamund, his turbulent career ended in the cloister. He was made a cleric, that is probably monk as well as priest, and exchanging the adventurous and luxurious life of a Lombard duke for the seclusion of a convent had abundant leisure to meditate on his conduct towards his father, upon whom eighteen years before he had forced the same life of undesired religiousness<sup>3</sup>. From Spoleto

Liutprand's bargain with the Pope.

Agiprand made duke of Spoleto instead of Transamund.

<sup>1</sup> Paulus, H. L. vi. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise called Asprand, and so entered in the list on p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Quoting an Italian proverb, Achille Sansi (p. 51) says that Transamund thus received 'dates for figs.'

BOOK VII. Liutprand proceeded to Benevento, and, as we have seen,  
 CH. 12. expelled the rebellious occupant from that duchy also.

742.  
 Alleged  
 conquest  
 of Raven-  
 na, and  
 re-capture  
 by the  
 Venetians.

And here we must interrupt our survey of the changes which occurred in Central and Southern Italy, in order to notice an event of the greatest importance, to which unfortunately we are unable to assign a precise date. I allude to the conquest of Ravenna by the Lombards and its recovery by the Venetian subjects of the Empire. Thrice during the two centuries of Lombard domination had the neighbouring port of Classis been captured by the armies of Spoleto or of Pavia; but Ravenna herself, the city of the swamps and the pine-forest, had retained that proud attribute of impregnability which had made her ever since the days of Honorius the key-city of Northern Italy. Now she lost that great pre-eminence, but how we know not. When one thinks how even Procopius or Zosimus, to say nothing of Thucydides or Xenophon, would have painted for us that fateful siege, it is difficult not to murmur at the utter silence of the Grecian Muse of History at this crisis. Even a legend of the capture from the pen of the foolish Agnellus might have shed forth a few rays upon the darkness, but Agnellus seems never to have heard of this disaster to his native city. All that we have certainly to rely on is contained in the following sentences from Paulus<sup>1</sup>, which come immediately after his account of Liutprand's expedition against the Saracens of Provence:—

‘Many wars, in truth, did the same King Liutprand wage against the Romans, in which he ever stood forth victorious, except that once in his absence his army was cut to pieces at Ariminum, and at another time

<sup>1</sup> H. L. vi. 54.

when the king was abiding at Pilleus<sup>1</sup> in the Penta-BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.polis, a great multitude of those who were bringing him gifts and offerings and presents<sup>2</sup> from various Churches were either slain or made captive by the onrush of the Romans. *Again, when Hildeprand the king's nephew and Peredeo duke of Vicenza were holding Ravenna, by a sudden onset of the Venetians Hildeprand was made prisoner, and Peredeo fell fighting bravely*<sup>3</sup>. In the following time also, the Romans, as usual swollen with pride, came together from all quarters under the command of Agatho duke of Perugia, hoping to take Bologna, where Walcari, Peredeo and Rotcari were abiding in camp. But these men rushing upon them, made a terrible slaughter of their troops, and compelled the others to take flight.' Paulus then goes on to describe the revolt of Transamund, which happened 'in these days.'

This paragraph of Paulus is dateless, unchronological, and confused beyond even his usual manner. It will be seen that he makes Peredeo come to life again, and work havoc among the Romans after he has fallen fighting bravely with them. But with all its blemishes the paragraph is a most important addition to our knowledge. It shows us that Ravenna was actually captured by the Lombards in the reign of Liutprand, for if it had not been captured it could not have been 'held by his nephew and Peredeo<sup>4</sup>.' And

<sup>1</sup> Pennabilli on the Marecchia.

<sup>2</sup> Exenia vel benedictiones.

<sup>3</sup> 'Rursus cum Ravennam Hildeprandus regis nepos et Peredeo, Vicentinus dux optinerent, inruentibus subito Veneticis, Hildeprandus ab eis captus est, Peredeo viriliter pugnans occubuit.'

<sup>4</sup> The arguments of Martens (usually a most helpful guide) against this capture in his Excurs, 'Wurde Ravenna schon von

BOOK VII. further we learn that the city thus lost to the Empire  
 CH. 12. was really and truly recovered for it *by the Venetians*.

As Paulus wrote in the latter part of the eighth century, when the Venetians were still but a feeble folk, clustering together at the mouths of the Adige and the Piave, we may receive his testimony as to this brilliant exploit on their part without any of that suspicion which must attach to the vaunts of the chroniclers of a later day, the patriotic sons of the glorious Queen of the Adriatic.

Venetia  
 in the  
 eighth  
 century.

In speaking of the Venetians as performing this feat, we must remember that though the race might last on unchanged into the Middle Ages, their home did not so continue. The network of islands bordering the Grand Canal, on which now rise the Doge's Palace, the Church of S. Maria della Salute, and all the other buildings which make up the Venice of to-day, may have been but a cluster of desolate mud-banks when Liutprand reigned in Pavia. The chief seats of the Venetian people at the time with which we are dealing were to be found at Heraclea, Equilium, and Methamaucus. The first of these cities, which according to some authors was named after the Emperor Heraclius, was probably situated five miles from the sea, between the mouths of the Livenza and the Piave, but even its site is doubtful, for the waters of the marsh now flow over it<sup>1</sup>.

Heraclea.

Equilium.

Equilium, which was for centuries the rival of Heraclea, and was partly peopled by fugitives from Opitergium when Grimwald executed vengeance on

König Liutprand eingenommen?' seem to me quite to overpass the limits of permissible historical scepticism.

<sup>1</sup> So says Filiasi, *Memorie de' Veneti*, vi. 2. 72-80.



that city, was about seven miles south of Heraclea and not far from Torcello. It too is now covered by the waters, partly the fresh water of the river Sile, partly the salt water of the Adriatic. All the long-lasting hatreds of these two neighbour towns sleep at last beneath the silent lagune.

As for Methamaucus, which was in the eighth century a considerable city, it is now represented only by the few houses erected on the long island of Malamocco. The Venice of the Middle Ages built on the various islets which bore the name of Rivus Altus (Rialto) was not founded till nearly seventy years after the death of Liutprand.

Somewhere about the year 700<sup>1</sup> the inhabitants of the various islands which formed Venetia Maritima seem to have tightened the bonds of the loose confederacy which had hitherto bound them, and for the 'tribunes' who had hitherto ruled, each one his own town or island, substituted a 'duke,' whose sway extended over the whole region of the lagunes, and who was the first of the long line of the Doges of Venice. We say that the Venetians did this, and reading the events of 700 by the light of eleven centuries of later history we involuntarily think of the Venetian people as the prime movers in this peaceful revolution, and we invest the first duke, *Paulitio Anafestus*<sup>2</sup>, with

<sup>1</sup> Various dates from 697 to 713 are assigned for the institution of the dogeship. The former date, being that given by Dandolo, is generally accepted; but in the utter uncertainty of all these early Venetian dates, I think the historical student may be very well satisfied with an approximation, thus, 'First Doge 700; foundation of the city of the Rialto 810.'

<sup>2</sup> Double names have begun to be used at this time; witness the Exarchs, Theodore Calliopas and Joannes Rizocopus. Other

BOOK VII. the bonnet and mantle of his well-known successors,  
 CH. 12. the Dandolos and Foscaris of the Middle Ages. Yet we may be sure that the ruler of the *Ducatus Venetiae* was at this time a much more insignificant person than his successors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and we might perhaps admit into our minds a doubt whether he was anything else than an official selected for his post by the Emperor or the Exarch, and whether popular election had anything whatever to do with his appointment in those early days.

However this may be, the new office seems at first to have successfully accomplished the purpose for which it was created. Paulitio of Heraclea, the first duke, reigned for twenty years in peace. His fellow-townsmen and successor, Marcellus (who seems to have held under him the important office of Master of the Soldiery), had also a peaceful reign of about nine years<sup>1</sup>. But Ursus, also a citizen of Heraclea, who according to the accepted chronology ruled the Venetian state from 726 to 737, met with a violent death, the cause of which we can only conjecture, but which may possibly have been connected with the bitter disputes that seem to have been constantly occurring between the two neighbour cities of Heraclea and Equilium<sup>2</sup>. It is clear, however, that there was something like a revolution in Venetia Maritima.

Paulitio,  
first duke.

Marcellus,  
second  
duke.

Ursus,  
third  
duke.

‘The Venetians,’ says the chronicler, ‘who, moved by bitter envy, had slain Ursus, for the space of five wise we might perhaps conjecture that the early records mentioned two dukes, Paulitio and Anafestus, whose names in their perplexity the chroniclers have amalgamated into one.

<sup>1</sup> According to Joannes Diaconus, eighteen years.

<sup>2</sup> This is the conjecture of Filiasi, vii. 126.

years determined to remain subject only to Masters of the Soldiery<sup>1</sup>.’ The revolt evidently was against the authority of one man raised for life above the level of his fellow-citizens; and the revolution had for its object the substitution of yearly magistrates, whom, now at any rate, after the partial disruption of the bonds which united Italy to the Empire, we may speak of as elected by the people. For five years (737-741 according to Dandolo) the Masters of the Soldiery performed their brief functions: their names being Leo, Felix surnamed Cornicula, Deusdedit (son of the murdered Ursus), Jubianus (or Jovianus) surnamed Hypatus (the Consul), and Joannes Fabriacus. At the end of the year’s Mastership of the last named, his eyes were torn out, and ‘the Venetians, abominating the office of Master of the Soldiery, again as before created for themselves a duke in the island of Malamocco, namely Deusdedit, the son of the aforesaid Ursus Hypatus, and his reign lasted for thirteen years.’

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.

*Magistri  
Militum  
for five  
years.*

742(?).

It has been necessary to give this glance at the obscure and intricate subject of primitive Venetian history in order to introduce the only other early authority besides Paulus who mentions the capture and recovery of Ravenna. This is Joannes Diaconus (formerly called Sagorninus), who wrote near the end of the tenth century, that is to say 250 years after the events of which we are now speaking, but whose testimony is for many reasons worthy of consideration. After describing the election of the fourth Master of the Soldiery, Jovianus Hypatus, he says:—

Joannes  
Diaconus  
on the  
conquest  
of Ra-  
venna.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Unde postmodum Venetici illum acri livore interimentes, quinque annorum spatio magistris militum tantummodo subditi manere voluerunt’ (Joannes Diaconus, ed. Monticolo, p. 95).

BOOK VII. 'In his days the Exarch, the foremost man of  
 CH 12. Ravenna<sup>1</sup>, came to Venetia and earnestly entreated the Venetians to give him their help to enable him to guard and defend his own city, which Hildeprand, nephew of King Liutprand, and Peredeo, duke of Vicenza, had captured<sup>2</sup>. The Venetians, favouring his petition, hastened with a naval armament to the aforesaid city of Ravenna; whereupon one of them [the Lombard invaders], namely Hildeprand, was taken alive by them, but the other, named Peredeo, fell fighting bravely, and the city was thus handed over in good order<sup>3</sup> to the aforesaid Exarch, its chief governor; on account of which thing Gregory also, the Apostolicus<sup>4</sup> of the City of Rome, desiring with all his heart the succour of the said city, had written with his own hand a letter to Antoninus, Patriarch of Grado, telling him that he ought with loving entreaty to induce the Venetians to go to the defence of the same city:—

Letter of  
 Pope  
 Gregory to

"Gregory to his most beloved brother Antoninus:—  
 "Since, as a punishment for our sins, the city of

<sup>1</sup> 'Ravennae primas.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Nimiumque Veneticos postulans quatenus propriam urbem, quam Ildebrandus, nepos Liubrandi regis, et Paradeus Vicentinus dux, captam habuerant, tueri atque defendere eorum auxiliis potuisset' (Cron. Veneziane Antichissime, p. 95). We should have expected 'recuperare' rather than 'tueri atque defendere,' as Ravenna was already lost. I give in the text the forms of the names as we have them in Paulus Diaconus, but the reader will observe that already by the time of Joannes Diaconus the Lombard p's have been softened again into b's.

<sup>3</sup> 'Decenter est restituta.'

<sup>4</sup> The Pope. In William of Tudela's Song of the Albigensian Crusade, written in the early part of the thirteenth century, the Pope is always called 'l'Apostolis.'

Ravenna, which was the head of all things <sup>1</sup>, has been taken by the unspeakable nation of the Lombards, and our son the excellent Lord Exarch tarries, as we have heard, in Venetia <sup>2</sup>, your brotherly Holiness ought to cleave unto him, and in our stead strive alongside of him, in order that the said city of Ravenna may be restored to its former *status* in the holy Republic <sup>3</sup>, and to the Imperial service of our lords and sons the great Emperors Leo and Constantine, that with zealous love to our holy faith we may by the Lord's help be enabled firmly to persevere in the *status* of the Republic and in the Imperial service.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.  
Antoni-  
nus, Patri-  
arch of  
Grado.

“May God keep you in safety, most beloved brother.”’

So far Joannes Diaconus, whose narrative, as I have already said, is really the only information that we have, except the few meagre sentences in Paulus, as to an immensely important event, the capture of Ravenna by the Lombards and its recovery by the Venetians. It is true that we have in the history of Andrea Dandolo a repetition of the same story, with slightly different circumstances. In that version the event takes place some ten years earlier, and the chief actors are not Gregory III and the Master of the Soldiery, Jovianus, but Gregory II and the Duke, Ursus. But Dandolo published his Chronicon in 1346, and though it is a noble work, invaluable for the history of Venice in her most glorious days, it must remain a matter of doubt whether for this earliest period he

Dandolo's  
version of  
the same  
events.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Ravenantium civitas, qui (*sic*) caput erat omnium.’

<sup>2</sup> ‘Apud Venetias.’

<sup>3</sup> ‘Ut ad pristinum statum sancte reipublicae . . . . . revocetur.’

BOOK VII. had any other trustworthy materials before him than  
 CH. 12. those which three centuries and a half earlier were at the disposal of Joannes Diaconus. Referring the reader to a Note at the end of this chapter<sup>1</sup> for a fuller discussion of this question, I will briefly summarise the results at which we have arrived with reference to the sieges of Ravenna by the Lombards in the eighth century.

Summary  
 of results  
 as to  
 sieges of  
 Ravenna.

Somewhere about the year 725, or perhaps earlier, Farwald II, duke of Spoleto, took the port of Classis, but at the command of Liutprand restored it to the Empire.

A little later Liutprand again took Classis and besieged Ravenna, but apparently failed to take it.

Towards the end of the fourth decade of the century, probably after 737, Liutprand's nephew and colleague, Hildeprand, with the assistance of Peredeo the brave duke of Vicenza, besieged Ravenna, and this time succeeded in taking it. The Exarch (who was probably Euty chius, but this is not expressly mentioned) took refuge in the Venetian islands, and sought the help of the dwellers by the lagunes to recover the lost city. Pope Gregory III added his exhortations, which he addressed to the Patriarch of Grado, the spiritual head of the Venetian state. A naval expedition was fitted out: Hildeprand was taken prisoner, his comrade Peredeo slain, and the city restored to the Holy Roman Republic. This recapture took place, if we may depend on the somewhat doubtful Venetian chronology, in the year 740.

We now return to the main stream of Lombard

<sup>1</sup> Note F. Correspondence of Pope Gregory III with the Venetians.

history as disclosed to us by the Life of Pope Zacharias in the *Liber Pontificalis*. BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.

In the year 742 Liutprand was at the zenith of his power, unquestioned lord of Spoleto and Benevento and on friendly terms with the Pope. He lingered however, or seemed to linger, over the fulfilment of his promise to restore the four frontier towns which he had taken, three years before, from the *Ducatus Romae*. Zacharias therefore determined to try the expedient of a personal interview, and set forth, attended by a large train of ecclesiastics, for the city of Interamna (Terni), where the king was then residing<sup>1</sup>. It was necessary for the party to pass through Orte, one of the four cities for whose restoration he was clamouring, and there they were met by a Lombard courtier named Grimwald, whom Liutprand had courteously sent to act as the Pope's escort. Under Grimwald's guidance they reached the city of Narni, with its high Augustan bridge<sup>2</sup>; and here they were met by a brilliant train of nobles and soldiers, who accompanied them along the eight miles of road up the valley of the Nar to where Terni stands in the fertile plain and listens to the roar of her water-falls. It was on a Friday that they thus in solemn procession entered the city where Liutprand held his court, and were met by the king himself and the rest of his courtiers at the church of the martyred bishop Valentinus. Mutual salutations passed, prayers were offered, the two potentates came forth from the church together,

<sup>1</sup> The diary of the journey, which seemed to the excited imaginations of the ecclesiastics an act of heroic self-sacrifice and courage, is preserved to us by the Papal Biographer, who was himself evidently one of the Pope's train of followers.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. iv. p. 292 for a little further description of the road.

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and then the King walked in lowly reverence<sup>1</sup> beside the Pope for half a mile, till they reached the place outside the city where the tents were pitched for both host and guest. And there they abode for the rest of the day.

Treaty of  
Terni.

On Saturday there was again a solemn interview. Zacharias delivered a long address to the Lombard king, exhorting him to abstain from the shedding of blood and to follow those things which make for peace. Touched, as the ecclesiastics believed, by the eloquence of their chief, Liutprand granted all and even more than all that was asked for. The four cities and their inhabitants were given back, but not, if we may believe the biographer, to Leo and Constantine the Emperors, but to the holy man, Zacharias, himself. Large slices of the Papal patrimony which had been lost in the earlier and troublous times were now restored. One such slice, in the Sabine territory, had been withheld from the Papacy for near thirty years. The others were at Narni and Osimo, at Ancona and the neighbouring Humana, and the valley which was called Magna, in the territory of Sutrium. All these possessions were solemnly made over by Liutprand to 'Peter prince of the Apostles,' and a peace for twenty years was concluded with the *Ducatus Romae*. There were many captives whom Liutprand had taken from divers provinces of the Romans and who were now detained in the fortresses of Tuscany or the region beyond the Po. Letters were sent by the king ordering that all these should be set free. Among these

<sup>1</sup> 'Ab eadem ecclesiâ egressus in ejus obsequium dimidium fere miliarium perrexit.' What the outward marks of 'obsequium' were we are not informed.



liberated captives were certain magnates of Ravenna, Leo, Sergius, Victor, and Agnellus. All apparently bore the title of Consul, and Sergius was possibly the same who was afterwards Archbishop of Ravenna.

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This last statement certainly seems to confirm the theory that the capture of Ravenna by the Lombards had taken place not many years before the treaty of Terni. Is it not probable that the illustrious prisoner on the other side who had been captured at the reconquest of the city, Hildebrand the king's nephew and colleague, was restored at the same time, and that the possession by the enemy of so important a hostage had something to do with the wonderfully yielding temper of Liutprand? Such is the very reasonable suggestion made by an eminent Italian scholar<sup>1</sup>, but it should not be regarded as anything more than a conjecture.

On Sunday there was a great ecclesiastical function in the church of St. Valentinus. At the request of the King, the Pope ordained a bishop for a town in the Lombard territory<sup>2</sup>. The King with all his dukes and *gastalds*<sup>3</sup> witnessed the rite of consecration, and were so much moved by the sweetness of the Pope's sermon and the earnestness of his prayers that most of them were melted into tears. Then when mass was ended the Pope invited the King to dinner. The meats were

<sup>1</sup> Pinton, in his article 'Veneziani e Langobardi a Ravenna,' *Archivio Veneto*, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> 'In locum Cosinensis antestitis qui transierat alium ordinavit episcopum.' As Cosenza seems too far off, Duchesne suspects a corruption of the text, and suggests as a possible reading Senensis.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of this title will be explained in the last chapter of this volume.

BOOK VII. so good, the mirth of the company so genuine and  
 CH. 12. unforced, that, as the King said, he did not remember  
 that he had ever eaten so much and so pleasantly.

The four  
 cities re-  
 stored.

On Monday the two great personages took leave of one another, and the King chose out four of his nobles to accompany the Pope on his return journey and hand over to him the keys of the surrendered towns. They were his nephew Agiprand duke of Clusium<sup>1</sup>, a *gastald* in immediate attendance on his person, named Tacipert, Ranning, *gastald* of Toscanella, a frontier town of the Lombards, and Grimwald, who had been the first to meet the Pope by the bridge of Narni. All was done as had been arranged. Amelia, Orte, Bomarzo, with their citizens, were handed over to the Pope's jurisdiction. In order to avoid the long and circuitous route by Sutri, the combined party struck across the Lombard territory by way of Viterbo (here the presence of the *gastald* of Toscanella was important for their protection), and so they reached the little town of Bieda thirty miles from Rome, which Grimwald and Ranning formally transferred to the keeping of Zacharias.

The Pope's  
 triumphal  
 entry into  
 Rome.

The Pope returned to Rome as a conqueror, and the people at his suggestion marched from the Pantheon<sup>2</sup> to St. Peter's singing the Litany. This expression of gratitude to Almighty God took the place of the old triumphal march of Consul or Emperor along the Sacred Way and up the Clivus Capitolinus.

What was  
 the char-  
 acter of

In what capacity were these cities given to the Pope? Was he recognised as their sovereign, or as

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps not yet installed as duke of Spoleto.

<sup>2</sup> Called at this time the Church of Sancta Maria ad Martyres, having been given by the Emperor Phocas to Boniface IV.

their proprietor? Were they still as absolutely part of the Empire as they were before Alboin entered Italy, although belonging to the Patrimony of St. Peter? or were they the germ of that new Papal kingdom which certainly was on the point of coming into existence? It is easy to suggest these questions, hard to answer them, especially for such a troublous time as that of the Iconoclastic controversy, when *de jure* and *de facto* were everywhere coming into collision. One can only say that the words of the Papal biographer, if he may be depended upon, seem to imply sovereignty as well as ownership.

The events just related seem to have filled the page of Lombard history for 742. In the following year Liutprand resumed his preparations for the conquest of Ravenna and the region round it. Terribly indeed had this little fragment of the Roman Empire in the north of Italy now shrunk and dwindled. Cesena, only twenty-five miles south of Ravenna, had become by the loss of the Pentapolis a frontier city, and even Cesena now fell into the hands of the Lombards. Euty chius the Exarch, John the Archbishop, and all the people of Ravenna, with the refugees from the Pentapolis and from the province of Aemilia, sent letters to the Pope imploring his assistance. Thereupon Zacharias by the hands of Benedict bishop of Nomentum and Ambrose chief of the notaries, sent gifts and letters to Liutprand, entreating him to abandon his preparations for the siege and to restore Cesena to the men of Ravenna. The embassy however returned, having accomplished nothing, and thereupon Zacharias determined once more to try the effect of a personal interview.

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742.

this dona-  
tion by  
Liut-  
prand?

Liutprand  
renews his  
operations  
against  
Ravenna.

743.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 12.

743.  
Zacharias  
journeys  
to Ra-  
venna.

Handing over the government of Rome to Stephen, duke and patrician<sup>1</sup>, he set forth along the great Flaminian Way to visit the theatre of war. At the church of St. Christopher, in a place called Aquila, the Exarch met him<sup>2</sup>. All the inhabitants of Ravenna, men and women, old and young, poured forth to greet the revered pontiff, crying out with tears, 'Welcome to our Shepherd who has left his own sheep and has come to rescue us who were ready to perish.'

Journey  
to Pavia.

Zacharias sent his messengers (again the chief notary Ambrose, who was accompanied by the presbyter Stephen) to announce his approach to the king. When they crossed the Lombard frontier at Imola they learned that some forcible resistance would be attempted to the Pontiff's journey. He received a letter from them to this effect, conveyed by a trusty messenger under cover of the night, but undismayed he determined to press on after his messengers, whom, as he rightly conjectured, Liutprand would refuse to receive. On the 28th of June he came to the place near Piacenza where the Via Aemilia crosses the Po. Here the nobles as before met him and conducted him to Pavia. Outside

<sup>1</sup> 'Relictâ Romanâ urbe jam dicto Stephano patricio et duci ad gubernandum.' Duchesne rightly remarks that this sentence seems to show that the *Dux Romae* was now in a position of confessed subordination to the Pope.

<sup>2</sup> 'Usque ad basilicam beati Christofori, positam in loco qui vocatur ad Aquila, quinquagesimo fere milliario a Ravennatium urbe.' Duchesne says that the site of this meeting has not yet been identified, but that it should be looked for near Rimini. Rimini however, according to the Antonine Itinerary, was only thirty-four miles from Ravenna; but even it was in the conquered Pentapolis. And can the frontier of the Exarchate have reached so far as fifty miles from Ravenna? I am inclined to suggest that we should read 'quindecimo' for 'quinquagesimo.'

the walls was a church of St. Peter named the Golden-BOOK VII.  
ceilinged (*ad coelum aureum*), and here Zacharias CH. 12.  
celebrated Mass at 3 P.M. before he entered the city.

The following day, the 29th of June, was that on Interview  
with Liut-  
prand.  
which the Church had long celebrated the martyrdom  
of St. Peter and St. Paul, and Zacharias had no doubt  
had this in view when he so timed his journey that  
his interview with the King should take place on that  
day. Again a Mass was celebrated with great magni-  
ficence in St. Peter's basilica in the presence of the  
King. Then mutual salutations were exchanged ; and  
they entered the city together. Next day there  
was a formal invitation to the Pope brought by the  
chief nobles of the kingdom, and then a solemn meeting  
in the royal palace. The Pope earnestly entreated the  
King to desist from his further enterprises against the  
city of Ravenna and to restore the conquests already  
made. For some time Liutprand showed himself ob- King Liut-  
durate, but at length he consented to restore the prand  
restores  
most of  
his con-  
quests  
near Ra-  
venna.  
country districts round Ravenna of which he had  
made himself master, and along with them two-thirds  
of the territory of Cesena. The remaining third, and  
perhaps the city of Cesena itself, were to remain in  
Liutprand's hands as a pledge till the 1st of June in  
the following year, by which time it was hoped that an  
embassy which he had despatched to Constantinople  
would have returned with a favourable answer.

What the object of this embassy may have been we  
can only conjecture, as neither Paulus nor any other  
authority gives us any information concerning it. Leo Death of  
Leo III.  
June 18,  
740.  
the Isaurian had died three years before, and there  
had been a struggle for the diadem between his son  
Constantine V and his son-in-law Artavasdus. This

BOOK VII. however had terminated in the preceding year in the  
 CH. 12. utter overthrow of Artavasdus, and Constantine was now securely seated on the throne. To him therefore the embassy must have been addressed, and the mere fact of sending such an embassy seems to show that the policy of Liutprand was not so persistently hostile to the Iconoclastic Emperors as has been sometimes represented.

On the Pope's departure, Liutprand accompanied him as far as the Po, and sent with him certain dukes and other nobles, some of whom were charged to superintend the surrender of the territories of Cesena and Ravenna. 'Thus,' says the biographer, 'by the help of God the people of Ravenna and the Pentapolis were delivered from the calamities and oppressions which had befallen them, and they were satisfied with corn and wine.'

Death of  
 Liut-  
 prand,  
 January,  
 744.

The interview with the Pope at Pavia was one of the last public acts of the great Lombard king. In January, 744, after a reign of thirty-one years and seven months, Liutprand died, and was buried by the side of his father in the church of St. Adrian. He was elderly<sup>1</sup>, probably more than sixty years old, but not stricken in years. Had his wise and statesman-like reign been prolonged for ten years more, Italy had perhaps been spared some disasters.

Liut-  
 prand's  
 great  
 deference  
 to the au-  
 thority of  
 the Pope.

We read with regret the song of triumph which the Papal biographer raises over the death of 'the intriguer and persecutor Liutprand.' His own recital shows how utterly inapplicable are these words to the son of Ansprand. He had in fact carried compliance with

<sup>1</sup> 'Jam aetate maturus hujus vitae cursum explevit' (H. L. vi. 58).

the Papal admonitions to the very verge of weakness and disloyalty to his people. There was evidently in him a vein of genuine piety and sympathy with men of holy life, illustrated by the fact that when the Saracens invaded Sardinia and profaned the resting-place of St. Augustine, Liutprand sent messengers who at a great price redeemed the body of the saint and transported it to Pavia, where it still reposes <sup>1</sup>.

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CH. 12.

Transportation  
of the  
body of  
St. August-  
tine.  
Character  
of Liut-  
prand.

In some respects the statesmanship of Liutprand seems to me to have been too highly praised. I do not find in the meagre and disjointed annals of his reign which I have with great difficulty tried to weave into a continuous narrative, the evidence of any such carefully thought-out plan with reference to the Iconoclastic controversy as is often attributed to him. To say that he presented himself as the champion of the Image-worshippers, and in some sort, of the independence of Italy, as against the tyranny of the Iconoclastic Emperors, seems to me to be making an assertion which we cannot prove. The one aim, as I have before said, which he seems to have consistently and successfully pursued was the consolidation of the Lombard monarchy and the reduction of the great dukes into a condition of real subjection to his crown. He availed himself (and what Lombard king would not have done so?) of any opportunity which offered itself for cutting yet shorter the reduced and fragmentary territories which still called themselves parts of 'the Roman Republic.' But both from policy and from his own devout temperament he was disinclined to do anything which might cause a rupture with the See of Rome, and the Popes perceiving this, often induced

<sup>1</sup> Paulus, H. L. vi. 48.

BOOK VII. him to abandon hardly-earned conquests by appealing  
 CH. 12. to 'his devotion to St. Peter.'

I cannot better close this chapter than by quoting the character of Liutprand given us by the loving yet faithful hand of Paulus Diaconus in the concluding words of that history which has been our chief guide through two dark and troubled centuries:—

Character  
 of Liut-  
 prand as  
 given by  
 Paulus  
 Diaconus.

'He was a man of great wisdom, prudent in counsel and a lover of peace, mighty in war, clement towards offenders, chaste, modest, one who prayed through the night-watches<sup>1</sup>, generous in his almsgiving, ignorant it is true of literature, but a man who might be compared to the philosophers, a fosterer of his people, an augments of their laws.

'In the beginning of his reign he took many places from the Bavarians, ever trusting to his prayers rather than to his arms, and with the most jealous care maintaining peaceful relations with the Franks and the Avars.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Orator pervigil.'



NOTE E. ON THE ALLEGED LETTERS OF POPE GREGORY II NOTE E.  
TO LEO III.

THERE is no doubt that, as Theophanes tells us, Gregory II wrote to Leo III a letter on the question of image-worship, in which he remonstrated against the Emperor's pretension to change by his sole authority the ancient usages received from the fathers of the Church<sup>1</sup>. It is probable enough that, as is also hinted by Theophanes<sup>2</sup>, more than one of such letters was written by the pontiff. But there is very grave reason to doubt whether these letters, or any of them, are now in existence.

In the first place, it is admitted by all that the Latin originals of these letters are not forthcoming.

Secondly, it is admitted that in the Acts of the Council of Nicaea (for the restoration of image-worship), the letters now alleged to have been written by Gregory to the Emperor do not appear, though they were certainly read at that Council<sup>3</sup>, and though the Pope's letter to the Patriarch Germanus, which was also read at that assembly, does form part of the Acts of the Council.

Thirdly, the letters now produced were first published by Cardinal Baronius at the end of the sixteenth century, from the notes of a Jesuit named Fronton le Duc. They were then appended to the Acts of the Council of Nicaea<sup>4</sup>, in which they now always appear: but it is quite admitted that they have no documentary claim to that position<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Γρηγόριος ὁ πάππας Ῥώμης ἔγραψε πρὸς Λέοντα ἐπιστολὴν δογματικὴν, μὴ δεῖν βασιλεῖα περὶ πίστεως λόγον ποιῆσθαι καὶ καινοτομεῖν τὰ ἀρχαῖα δόγματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων δογματισθέντα (Theophanes, A. M. 6217).

<sup>2</sup> ἔλεγγας τὸν Λέοντα δι' ἐπιστολῶν (Ibid. A. M. 6221).

<sup>3</sup> This is fully admitted by Hefele (Conciliengeschichte, iii. 393). As he defends the genuineness of the letters he accounts for the omission by supposing that Leo had destroyed the letters which were sent to him, and so the Council had no copy ready at hand. (But if so, how could they have been read, as he states, p. 467, at the fourth session?)

<sup>4</sup> Seventh General Council.

<sup>5</sup> The statement of Gibbon (chap. xlix. n. 33), 'The two Epistles of Gregory II have been preserved in the Acts of the Nicene Council,' is therefore incorrect, or at any rate requires explanation.

NOTE E. Fourthly, Fronton le Duc (as to whose good faith there is no question) copied, in 1590, the Greek text of the letters from a MS. which had belonged to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and which was in the library of St. Remi at Rheims. He made a Latin translation, and sent both texts, Greek and Latin, to Cardinal Baronius, who inserted them in his *Annales Ecclesiastici*.

Fifthly, since then, five other MSS. of the same letters have been discovered, all in Greek. The oldest, which is in the Vatican Library, is considered to date from the tenth or eleventh century. All the others, including that copied by Fronton le Duc, are of a comparatively late date, ranging from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. For details as to their character and present domiciles I refer the reader to a very elaborate article by M. Louis Guérard in '*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*,' 1890, pp. 44-60.

The external evidence then on behalf of the letters is fair, but not first-rate. It is evident that they were in existence some two or three centuries after the date of their alleged composition, but it is singular that there should be no Latin originals, and perhaps not altogether satisfactory that there should be no trace of them in the Papal Chancery.

We may therefore, without any constraint either way from documentary testimony, turn to consider the internal evidence afforded by the contents of the Epistles.

I. The greater part of the letters is of course taken up with an argument as to the theological aspect of the question, the distinction between reverence and worship, the difference between the idolatry of the Gentiles and proper reverence to the representations of the saints, the carving of the cherubim, the skill of Bezaleel and Aholiab, and so forth. With all this we have here no concern, but we must notice in passing the extraordinary blunder by which the writer makes Uzziah instead of his descendant Hezekiah the destroyer of the Brazen Serpent. That this is not a mere slip of the pen is shown by the fact that he rightly refers to the same Uzziah as a king who usurped the prerogatives of the priesthood. He also represents David as having brought the Brazen Serpent into the *Temple*, which was not built in his time.

II. The most striking characteristic of the letters and that which has always seemed to require explanation on the part of adherents of the Papacy is the extraordinary insolence of their tone. A few sentences may be cited as illustrations of this, but it would require some pages to quote all the rude and coarse invective of the writer :—

NOTE E.

‘It is necessary to write to you in a clownish and unlearned way, because you are yourself unlearned and clownish. We beseech you by God to lay aside the arrogance and pride with which you are overflowing, and with great humility listen to what I say.’

‘Write to all whom you have caused to stumble and remove the offence, although you in your exceeding stupidity think that this is a matter of no consequence.’

‘Turn away from these evil thoughts, I pray you, and free your soul from the scandal and execration with which you are loaded by the whole world, so that you are a laughing-stock even to little boys. Go to the elementary schools and say, “I am an overturner and persecutor of images,” and at once they will throw their slates at your head, so that you will learn from the foolish the lesson which the wise could not teach you.’

‘You talk about calling a general Council, which we do not think necessary. But imagine that we have listened to your advice, and that the bishops from all parts of the world are gathered together; where is the wise and pious and Christian Emperor who should sit in the middle to reward those who speak aright and to silence those who talk nonsense? Where is he, when you yourself oh Emperor are staggering about and imitating the barbarians? . . . Shut up and hold your tongue, and then there will be no need of a Council.’

‘We entreat you by the Lord turn away from such juvenile and childish deeds.’

Let any one compare this coarse and scurrilous tirade with the sentences full of repressed indignation, but also full of courageous respectfulness, in which the first Gregory made his remonstrance to the Emperor Maurice. No: assuredly it was not in this strain that in the early part of the eighth century the Bishop of Rome (still a subject though a powerful one) addressed his sovereign, ‘the most pious and serene Emperor.’

III. We come to difficulties raised by statements of fact

NOTE E. contained in the letters. At the outset Gregory is supposed to say to the Emperor that he received and treasured the letters written by him in the first ten years of his reign, namely, those of the fourteenth Indiction, of the fifteenth, of the first and so on to the ninth Indiction. The fourteenth Indiction extended from September 1, 715, to August 31, 716. Leo's formal accession and entry into Constantinople did not take place till March 25, 717, and though it is true that for some months before that time he had been in arms as a candidate for the Empire, it is most improbable that from his camp in the heart of Asia Minor he could find leisure to write letters on theological matters to the Roman pontiff, who moreover was then recognising his rival.

IV. After the supposed Gregory has told the story of the destruction of the great picture of the Saviour at Constantinople (which he calls *Antiphonetes*), he says, 'Then you, eager in your pursuit of evil, sent your guards and killed I know not how many women, in the presence of honourable men from Rome, from France, from the Vandals, from Mauritania, from Gothland, and, to speak in general terms, from all the Western interior. When these went to their own lands and described your juvenile and childish deeds, then men trampled down your laurelled effigies and hacked at your face, and the Lombards and the Sarmatians and the rest of the people who dwell in the North having levied their forces, infested the wretched Decapolis with their incursions, and occupied the metropolis Ravenna itself, and ejecting your magistrates appointed magistrates of their own.'

'Vandals,' 'men of Mauritania' (after the Saracen conquest), 'Gothland,' 'Sarmatians,'—is it conceivable that a Roman Pope would talk of these vanished nationalities in this way in the year 727? Some Eastern ecclesiastic or Greek rhetorician writing from the longitude of Constantinople, knowing little of 'the Western interior,' and thinking only of the victories of Belisarius and Narses, might easily use these mouth-filling names, but surely not Pope Gregory II. As for the occupation of Ravenna by the Lombards before 727, though that event is not impossible, the attempt to find a place for it without disturbing the natural order of events has hitherto made the reign of Liutprand the despair of chronologers.

V. 'But if you insolently threaten us,' says the supposed

Gregory, 'it is not necessary for us to descend into the contest with you: at twenty-four stadia (three miles) distance the Roman pontiff will withdraw into the region of Campania. Then come on, chase the wind.' NOTE E.

Contracted as the *Ducatus Romae* undoubtedly was, its frontier on the Campanian side must have been nearly one hundred miles distant from Rome. It would have been more to the purpose if the Pope had said that he would seek the country of the Sabines, as the Lombard frontier in the direction of Tivoli was only about twenty miles distant. But nothing can justify the wild assertion about the twenty-four stadia.

I have by no means exhausted all the improbabilities and incongruities which these letters contain: but what has been said will perhaps suffice to show that there is a very strong case against their genuineness. Since the question was mooted and attention was called to the weakness of the documentary evidence in their favour, almost all scholars who have carefully examined into the question (with the one important exception of Hefele) have pronounced against them. This is the verdict of Monticolo and Guérard, and above all of Abbé Duchesne, whose judgment, after his close and conscientious study of the *Liber Pontificalis*, is in itself almost decisive. He says, 'Je considère donc les prétendues lettres de Gregoire II comme ayant été fabriquées à Constantinople par quelque défenseur des images, pour suppléer à la perte des véritables.'

At least we may say that no historian of this period need henceforth trouble himself to find a place in his scheme for any event which only rests on the authority of the so-called letters of Gregory to Leo.

NOTE F. CORRESPONDENCE OF POPE GREGORY III WITH THE  
VENETIANS AS TO THE RECOVERY OF RAVENNA.

WE must now consider the somewhat different questions raised by the correspondence of the third Gregory with the Venetians.

The letters in question are:—

1. A letter from a Pope named Gregory to Antoninus, Patri-

NOTE F. arch of Grado, exhorting him to stir up the Venetians to the recovery of Ravenna from the Lombards. This letter has been translated in full at p. 489. It is vouched for by the ancient chronicle of Venice, which is by general consent referred to Joannes Diaconus, chaplain of the Doge Orseolo II (991-1008).

2. A letter written in almost precisely the same terms, addressed also by a Pope named Gregory to Ursus, duke of Venice. This letter is vouched for by Andrea Dandolo, who was himself Doge of Venice from 1343 to 1354. It is quoted in the third chapter of the seventh book of his *Chronicon*, and is by him attributed to Gregory II.

We will first take the letter to the Patriarch Antoninus. Is it genuine? Apparently there is no trace of its existence in the Papal Chancery, but this is not such a strong argument as might be supposed against its authenticity, as the collection of Papal letters for the eighth century is obviously very defective<sup>1</sup>.

The writer who vouches for the letter would be an excellent authority were he not separated by 250 years from the time of its alleged composition. Joannes Diaconus, who flourished at the end of the tenth century, was, as has been said, chaplain and perhaps kinsman of the great Doge Orseolo II (the first Doge of Venice and Dalmatia), who employed him in several negotiations of importance with the Emperor Otho III, and these negotiations, it is important to observe, made it necessary for him to pay at least three visits to Ravenna, while the subject-matter of one of them (the encroachments of the Bishop of Belluno on the territory of Venice) probably necessitated much and diligent search among the archives, such as they were, of the Venetian state. Altogether, if any such letter of the Pope to the Patriarch of Grado were in existence in the year 1000, Joannes Diaconus was a very likely person to get hold of it.

The style and contents of the letter are all in its favour. It is short and business-like. It has the preamble and conclusion which, as we know from the *Liber Diurnus*, were befitting in such a case (differing herein from the bald opening and ending of the alleged letters of Gregory II to Leo III): and the very fact that it is addressed to the Patriarch, not to the civil ruler of Venice, whether Duke or Master of the Soldiery, is in its favour,

<sup>1</sup> Of course this remark applies equally to the letters discussed in the preceding Note.

as corresponding so much more with the political ideas of the eighth century than with those of the tenth, in the cities of the lagunes. The fact that the Pope still calls the Lombards 'gens nec dicenda,' and seeks to win back Ravenna 'imperiali servicio dominorum filiorumque nostrorum Leonis et Constantini,' will not perplex any one who has watched the course of the Papal policy as set forth in the preceding chapters, and is a strong argument in favour of the genuineness of the letter. After the Iconoclastic Controversy had been embittered by the ferocity of Constantine Copronymus, and after the Popes had definitely severed their connexion with Constantinople, such a document would hardly have been invented.

NOTE F.

Now, as to the letter addressed to Duke Ursus which we find in the pages of Dandolo.

Here too the personal character of the producer of the document is eminently good, and his opportunities for obtaining information are first-rate. The only objection, and it is a serious one, arises from his distance in time from the events related. Andrea Dandolo, a descendant of the glorious Enrico Dandolo, of the Fourth Crusade, was one of the 'wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best' of the Doges of Venice. Of course all the archives of the state were at his disposal, and he evidently used them conscientiously and industriously in the composition of his great *Chronicon*. Only, while even Joannes Diaconus lived 250 years after the death of Pope Gregory II, Dandolo's dogeship was more than 600 years after that event.

Further, it is now pretty generally admitted, even by the upholders of Dandolo's letter, that he is wrong in attributing it to Gregory II, and that Gregory III must have been the author. (This on account of the difficulty of introducing a capture of Ravenna before 731, the date of Gregory the Second's death.)

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there is a real conflict between Joannes Diaconus and Dandolo as to the date of the events in question. If Joannes is right, they took place under the fourth *Magister Militum*, or (according to the received chronology) in 740. If Dandolo is right, the Pope's letter (or one of the Pope's letters) was addressed to Duke Ursus, and the recapture of Ravenna took place during his tenure of office (726-737). Both cannot be right, and we must choose between them.

NOTE F. Professor Monticolo, the advocate of Dandolo, urges with much force the necessity of placing the siege and recovery of Ravenna before 735, because that was the year in which Hildeprand was associated with his uncle as king, whereas Paulus (H. L. vi. 54) in his account of the capture calls Hildeprand only 'the king's nephew,' not his colleague. The objection is certainly of some weight, but considering the loose way in which Paulus has written this paragraph of his history, making for instance Peredeo to 'fall fighting bravely' in one sentence, and in the next to resist an attack of the Romans on Bologna, I do not think we need consider it fatal.

On the other hand, Pinton, the advocate of Joannes Diaconus, points out that his version of the matter explains the otherwise mysterious title of Hypatus (Consul) borne by the Master of the Soldiery, Jovianus, a title which we may suppose to have been bestowed upon him either by the Exarch or the Emperor, grateful for his assistance in the recovery of Ravenna. This also is deserving of consideration.

On the whole, though the scales are very evenly poised, I am disposed to prefer the earlier authority, Joannes Diaconus, to the later one, Dandolo, and therefore to place the Venetian reconquest of Ravenna about the year 740. But I feel that a very small matter, the discovery of a single date in a deed or an unnoticed allusion in a historian, might make it necessary to reconsider this decision, and to assign an earlier date to the re-capture.

A full and exhaustive discussion of the question will be found in the two following articles:—

By Professor *Pinton*, 'Veneziani e Langobardi a Ravenna,' in the *Archivio Veneto* for 1889 (368-384), and by Professor *Monticolo*, 'Le Spedizioni di Liutprando nell' Esarcato e la Lettera di Gregorio III al Doge Orso,' in the *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* for 1892 (321-365).



## CHAPTER XIII.

### POLITICAL STATE OF IMPERIAL ITALY.

#### Authorities.

#### Sources :—

Our sources of information as to the subject of this chapter are, as will be seen in the course of it, very meagre and unsatisfactory. No history of Italy during the centuries with which we have to deal, from the point of view of a loyal subject of the Empire, nor anything pretending to that title, was ever written. Paulus Diaconus is of course engrossed with Lombard affairs, and hardly notices 'the Greeks' except to mention their wars with his countrymen. The compilation of Papal biographies which goes by the name of ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS, and which is now generally called the LIBER PONTIFICALIS, is on the whole our best source for the greater portion of the period ; and this source, scanty for the sixth and seventh, becomes fairly full for the eighth century, and almost copious towards its close.

The *Pragmatic Sanction* quoted in the early part of this chapter is No. clxiv of the Novels of JUSTINIAN. I quote from Teubner's edition (Leipsic, 1881).

The abundant material of all kinds furnished us by the EPISTLES OF GREGORY THE GREAT makes us only regret that that valuable source is closed so early, and that nothing like it takes its place afterwards. But for the special purpose of this chapter one of the most important sources is furnished by the folio volume entitled 'I PAPIRI DIPLOMATICI,' edited by Abbate G. MARINI (Rome, 1805). This monument of patient industry has been already referred to in the third volume of this work (p. 165), where I commented on the deed of gift from Odovacar to Pierius, which is one of the earliest papers contained in it. It consists of about 146 documents written on Egyptian papyrus (those on parchment are expressly excluded), of various dates

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from the fifth to the eleventh centuries. The collection suffers somewhat, as it seems to me, from the want of chronological arrangement, the first hundred pages being occupied by comparatively late and uninteresting Papal bulls (ninth to eleventh centuries), but the documents which follow (Nos. 74-146) are generally of an earlier date (fifth to seventh centuries), and almost all of them are full of interest for our present purpose. Here we see the names and offices of some of the chief citizens of Ravenna. Here we read the attestations of legal documents written in Latin words but in Greek characters by Byzantine merchants or officials, who were either too proud or too imperfectly educated to frame their fingers to write aught but the letters of Hellas.

Here is a specimen of one of these Graeco-Latin attestations<sup>1</sup>. Others which are written in the usual character enable us with confidence to decipher this one:—

Ιωαννης Κυρος παγουζατρο ουεικι καρετουλε δωναζιο[νις]  
πορεζουε ειη ιντεγρω φωνδι σσ Βαλονιανι κοη ωμενιβωσ ad σε  
γεπεραλιτερ περτινεπιβουσ σικοδ σουπεριος λεγετωρ φακτε[ιη]  
σαπκτα εκκ Ραβεννατε α σστα Cισιβερα ηφ δωνατρικι κουαε με  
πρεσεντε σιγνουμ σαπκτε κρουκεσ φικετ ed κοραμ νοβις ει ρελικτα  
εστ τησθησ σουσκριψη ed δε κοπερβαηδλδ ωμνιβουσ σστισ ad  
εβανγελια κορποραλιτερ πρεβουητ σακραμεντα et απκ δωναζιονεμ  
α σστα Cισιβερα παλαμ Βο ββ διακονον et Βικεδωμενον τραδε-  
[ταμ] βιδι



This attestation, transliterated into Latin letters, reads as follows:—

Joannes Syrus negociator huic cartule donationis portionis  
in integro fundi s(upra) s(cripti) Baloniani cum omnibus ad se  
generaliter pertinentibus sicut superius legitur factae in sancta  
ecc(lesia) Ravennate a s(upra) s(cripta) Sisivera h(onesta) f(emina)  
donatrice quae me presente signum Sanctae Crucis fecit et  
coram nobis ei relecta est, testis subscripsi et de conservandis  
omnibus s(upra) s(crip)tis ad Evangelia corporaliter prebuit sacra-  
menta et hanc donationem a s(upra) s(crip)ta Sisivera palam Bo  
v(irum) v(enerabilem) diaconon et Vicedomenon traditam, vidi



<sup>1</sup> p. 144.

The instrument records the donation by a woman (probably of Gothic descent) named Sisivera of the whole of her share of the farm Balonianus to the Church of Ravenna. A deacon (probably a Goth), bearing the extraordinary name of Bo (this name is confirmed by the other attestations), is bailiff (Vicedominus) of the Church, and in his presence, and in the presence of the giver, John, a Syrian merchant, gives his attestation to the document.

The reader will observe how the cursive *nun* (n instead of v) necessitates for distinction's sake a different form of *eta* (h instead of η), and that the Latin t is sometimes represented by ç in the middle of a word and sometimes by d at the end.

In this collection also we have the record of transactions entered into in the closing days of the Gothic domination (541) by clergy 'of the Gothic law,' that is doubtless Arians, who first mortgage, and then sell to 'Isaac the soap-merchant,' part of their property at Classis. This and similar documents of the time of the great Gothic war help us to understand how the ordinary transactions of life, buying and selling, mortgaging of property and making of wills, were still going on amid the tremendous shock of armies and the struggle for life of a great and proud nation. A reflection of a similar kind is suggested by the date of Marini's own book, 1805. The actual publication took place, it is true, during a slight lull in the Napoleonic tempest, when Pope Pius VII (to whom the book is dedicated) had earned a short breathing-time for his Church and City by his coronation of the Emperor at Paris. But the composition of the book was in more troublous times. It must have been in the terrible years of Lodi and Marengo, during the stormy life of the Tiberine Republic, and always amid fear of fresh popular outbreaks and new and more disastrous changes, that the indefatigable Prefect of the Archives of the Holy See, in the seclusion of the Vatican Library, quietly held on his way, deciphering the faint characters on tattered papyri, and storing up the forgotten facts of the sixth and seventh centuries for the benefit of the scholars of a more peaceful age.

The very interesting collection of *MONUMENTI RAVENNATI* by FANTUZZI deals chiefly with the ninth and following centuries, and has, I think, only one document belonging to our period—the Register of donations to the Church of Ravenna from the seventh to the tenth centuries, which stands at the head of the

BOOK VII. collection. The very full Index to this so-called 'Codice Bavaro' at the end of the first volume is an important assistance to the student.

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Of the *Guides* on whose skill I shall have chiefly to rely in this obscure and difficult period I will here mention but three, though earlier scholars (especially *Muratori* and *Lupi*) have given me valuable help.

The great *F. C. von Savigny* in his 'History of Roman Law in the Middle Ages' (1815-1831) urges his well-known proposition that there was no break in the traditions of Roman Law and Roman Municipal Institutions, but that they lived on with an uninterrupted existence from the last days of the old Empire to the glorious revival of free popular life in the great Italian Republics.

Against this view not only *Troya*, whom I have already often quoted, lifted up his voice, but *Carl Hegel*, the son of the great philosopher, entered a respectful but earnest protest in his 'History of the Municipal Constitution (*Städteverfassung*) of Italy' (1847). The argument is conducted on both sides with great learning and great fairness, and it is impossible to follow it closely without heightened feelings of admiration for both the disputants. As they treat of the subject with far greater detail than I can hope to do, and are copious and exact in their citations of the original documents, I shall generally refer to them, rather than to the documents themselves, for the proof of my statements. Lastly, *Charles Diehl* (Maître de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de Nancy) published at Paris in 1888 his 'Études sur l'Administration Byzantine dans l'Exarchat de Ravenne,' a work which I have found extremely helpful in my researches into the political history of this obscure period. I have only one complaint to make of the author. Having given us so useful a book, he should surely have judged it worthy of an Index.

Question as to the condition of the Roman population in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Now that we have reached the end of the dominion of the Eastern Caesars over all but a few detached fragments of Italy, and that we are also close upon the end of the dominion of the Lombard kings in the same country, it will be well for us to gather up such

fragments of information as the scanty records of the time supply to us concerning the political institutions and social condition of the peninsula during the two centuries of their blended and conflicting rule.

The records, as I have said, are scanty, and the indications which they furnish are faint and difficult to decipher; but they have been scanned with eager scrutiny by great jurists and eminent historians, because in them lies, in part at least, the answer to one of the most interesting questions which were ever presented for solution to a political philosopher. That question is as to the origin and parentage of the great Italian Republics of the Middle Ages.

When we think of the rich and varied life displayed by the commonwealths of Italy from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, of the foreign conquests of one, the world-wide commerce of another, the noble architecture of a third, the wealth of artistic and poetic genius which seemed to be the common heritage of them all, and when we remember that in the earlier period of their history these great gifts of the intellect were allied to not less noble qualities of the soul, fortitude, self-devotion, faith, we are ready to say, perhaps with truth, that never has the human race worked out the problem of self-government in nobler forms than in these glorious republics, greater than the Athens of Pericles by reason of their spiritual capacities, greater than the Rome of the Scipios by reason of their artistic culture. We know, indeed, how soon that splendid dawn was overcast, how rapidly and how fatally the Italy of the *Communi* degenerated into the Italy of the Tyrants. Still the enquiry must ever be one of deepest interest to every student not

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Bearing of  
this ques-  
tion on  
the origin  
of the  
Italian  
Republics.

BOOK VII. merely of Italian, but of European history—‘ Whence  
 CH. 13. did the cities of Italy derive those thoughts of freedom  
 which made them for a time the torch-bearers of human  
 progress in the midst of the anarchy and darkness of  
 feudalism ? ’

Two  
 schools ;  
 the Ro-  
 man  
 (Savigny),  
 and the  
 anti-Ro-  
 man  
 (Troya and  
 Hegel).

One school of learned and able enquirers says that this torch was kindled from Rome, not the Rome of the Emperors, but the far-away, yet unforgotten, Rome of the Republic. Another school, equally learned and equally able, denies that there was any possibility of continuous historic development from Rome to Florence and Siena, and maintains that the republican institutions of Italy in the twelfth century were either absolutely self-originated or were the result of contact with Teutonic freedom. I cannot promise the reader that we shall be able to come to any definite solution of this great controversy, much of which of course lies centuries beyond our horizon ; but he will at least understand how great the controversy is, and how it lends importance to questions at first sight paltry and pedantic, as to the names and functions of the governing authorities of Italy during these centuries of transition.

Division  
 of Italy  
 into the  
 Empire  
 and the  
 non-Em-  
 pire.

Scientific  
 value of  
 this divi-  
 sion.

Though profoundly unfortunate for the country itself both then and in many after-ages, the division of Italy into two sections, one of which still formed part of the Roman Empire, while the other, under the sway of Lombard kings or dukes, was generally hostile to the Empire, and always independent of it, aids the scientific discussion of the problem before us. The actual course of events enables us to eliminate in great measure the barbarian factor from the former section, and to trace the history of Roman institutions by them-

selves, where no Teutonic element enters into the equation. In this chapter, therefore, we will deal with the questions of government, law, and social relations as affecting Imperial Italy alone.

Let us briefly recapitulate the facts as to the geographical boundaries of the Imperial territory, which it will be remembered was almost exclusively a sea-coast dominion. Starting from the north-east, we find the Istrian peninsula undoubtedly Imperial. But when we reach the head of the Adriatic Gulf, the ancient capital of Aquileia with its Patriarch is under Lombard rule, while the little island city of Grado, in which the rival Patriarch has set up his throne, still clings to the Empire. From the mouth of the Tagliamento to that of the Adige a long strip of the coast is for some time retained by the Emperors, and probably bears the name of *Ducatus Venetiae*. But in the earliest years of the seventh century Patavium and Mons Silicis (Padua and Monselice) were won for the Lombards by King Agilulf: soon afterwards Concordia fell into their power, and when in 640 Opitergium and Altinum were taken by King Rothari, the Eastern Caesar can have had few subjects left in this part of the country, except the indomitable islanders, who between sea and sky were founding upon the lagunes that cluster of settlements which was known by the name of *Venetia Maritima*.

The mouths of the Po, the city of Ravenna, and a great stretch of the Via Aemilia, with 'hinterland' reaching up to the skirts of the Apennines, formed the large and important district known as the *Ex-archatus Ravennae*. Further inland, Mantua, Cremona, Piacenza, and a few cities on the southern bank of the

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Geographical limits  
of Imperial  
Italy,

BOOK VII. Po remained for a generation subject to the Empire,  
CH. 13.  
 but were detached from it in the earliest years of the seventh century by King Agilulf, rightly incensed by the Exarch's kidnapping of his daughter. We travel down the shore of the Adriatic and come to the Duchy of the *Pentapolis*, consisting of the five flourishing maritime cities of Ariminum, Pisaurum, Fanum, Senegallia, and Ancona. Another inland *Pentapolis*, called *Annonaria* or *Provincia Castellorum*, included the cities of Aesis, Forum Sempronii, Urbinum, Callis, and Eugubium (Jesi, Fossombrone, Urbino, Cagli, and Gubbio)<sup>1</sup>. These two provinces together sometimes went by the conjoint name of *Decapolis*. A long stretch of coast, ill-supplied with harbours and therefore not belonging to the Empire, marked the spacious territory abandoned to the Lombards, and ruled by the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento. Then rounding the promontory of Mount Garganus, we come to the town of Sipontum, which was Imperial till near the middle of the seventh century<sup>2</sup>, and then to the 'heel' of Italy, from the river Aufidus to the Bradanus, comprising the seaport towns of Barium, Brundisium, Hydruntum, and Tarentum (Bari, Brindisi, Otranto, and Taranto). All of this region was Imperial land till Romwald of Benevento (between 665 and 675) rent the greater part of it from the Empire, leaving to the Caesar little besides the city of Otranto, which, though

<sup>1</sup> This is Diehl's statement of the case (p. 61), correctly deduced, I think, from the words of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna.

<sup>2</sup> I think the words of Paulus (H. L. iv. 44), who says that the Slavonians when attacking Aio duke of Benevento in 642 pitched their camp 'non longe a civitate Seponto,' make it probable that the city was then Lombard.



once for a moment<sup>1</sup> captured by the Lombards, remained permanently Imperial, and was at a later period the base of important operations by the Greeks for the reconquest of Southern Italy. As the 'heel,' so also the 'toe' of Italy, from the river Crathis to the Straits of Messina, remained during the whole of our period in the possession of the Empire. So, too, did the important island of Sicily, full of Papal 'patrimones,' and forming a stronghold of Imperial power. Though harassed more than once by the invasions of the Saracens, it was not till the ninth century that they seriously set about the subjugation of the island: and in fact for half a century after the fall of Ravenna, the 'Patrician of Sicily' was the highest representative of the Emperor in the western lands, the duke of Naples himself being subject to his orders<sup>2</sup>.

Proceeding northwards along the shore of the Tyrrhene Sea, we find in the ancient province of Lucania only Acropolis, and perhaps its near neighbour Paestum, left to the Empire. Entering Campania, we discover that the *duke of Naples* ruled over a small though wealthy territory, reaching from Salernum at one end to a point due west of Capua (itself a Lombard city) on the other. But the duchy reached very little way inland, and we might probably say with safety that from every part of the region which he ruled the duke of Naples could behold the crater of Vesuvius.

Of much wider extent was the *Ducatus Romae*, which reached from Gaeta on the south-east to Civita

<sup>1</sup> In 758.

<sup>2</sup> Hegel, *Städteverfassung*, i. 225, quoting Hadrian's letter to Charles the Great (Codex Carolinus, No. 73) and Constantine Porphyrogenitus *de Adm. Imp.* c. 27.

Vecchia on the north-west, including practically the whole of the ancient province of Latium, a corner of the Sabine territory, and the southern end of Etruria. The changes of fortune that befell the Tuscan and Umbrian cities, by which Rome and Ravenna sought to keep up their communications with one another along the Flaminian Way, the cities of Todi, Perugia and Tadino, have been sufficiently described in earlier chapters.

Lastly, the beautiful Riviera ('di Ponente' as well as 'di Levante'), from the river Magra to Mentone, remained a province of the Empire until about 640, when King Rothari the legislator took Genoa and all her sister cities<sup>1</sup>, rased their walls (like Gaiseric the Vandal), and turned the region into the Lombard duchy of Liguria.

Of the islands of Sardinia and Corsica little is known during this period save that their fortunes were not closely interwoven with those of Italy. As they had once been subject to the Vandal kings of Carthage, so now, though restored to the Empire, they were still ruled by the Exarch of Africa. The invasions of these islands by the Lombards, of which we heard in the letters of Pope Gregory the Great, do not seem to have resulted in any abiding settlement. When the Emperor Constans was ruling or misruling Sicily, Sardinia was one of the districts which felt the heavy hand of his tax-gatherers<sup>2</sup>, and soldiers coming from Sardinia as well as from Africa and Imperial Italy deprived his successor, the usurper Mizizius, of his throne and life<sup>3</sup>. In the eighth century Sardinia as well as Corsica suffered grievously from the incursions

<sup>1</sup> Paulus, H. L. iv. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. v. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. v. 12.

of the Saracens, though it does not appear that these invaders succeeded in formally detaching those islands from the Empire.

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From these outlying dependencies we return to the contemplation of Imperial Italy, that we may enquire into the nature of the political organisation by which the Emperors dwelling in distant Constantinople maintained their hold upon the maritime regions of the peninsula. To begin at the very beginning of our present period, let us listen to the words in which the Emperor Justinian reasserts his dominion over the recovered land. In August, 554, the year after the death of Teias, the year of the final defeat of the Alamanic brethren, Justinian issued a solemn *Pragmatic Sanction*<sup>1</sup> for the government of Italy. This decree, singularly enough, purports to be issued in reply to the petition of Pope Vigilius 'the venerable bishop of the elder Rome,' though that much-harassed pontiff had certainly left Constantinople, and most probably had died before its promulgation. The Emperor first solemnly confirms all dispositions which have been made by Athalaric, or his royal mother Amalasantha, or even Theodahad, as well as all his own acts, and those of his spouse Theodora of pious memory<sup>2</sup>. Every-

Pragmatic  
Sanction of  
Justinian.  
554.

Confirma-  
tions and  
abroga-  
tions.

<sup>1</sup> This is the name given to the instrument by which the Emperor Charles VI, in 1724, sought to establish the succession to his dominions in the line of his daughter Maria Theresa. The 'Gallican liberties' also rested on the Pragmatic Sanction issued at Bourges in 1428 by Charles VII, king of France.

<sup>2</sup> The acts of Theodoric, who had been dead for twenty-eight years, are not included in the confirmation, probably because the lapse of time rendered such confirmation unnecessary. A special exception is made as to the gift by Theodahad to 'the magnificent

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thing, on the other hand, done by 'the most wicked tyrant Totila' is to be considered absolutely null and void, 'for we will not allow these law-abiding days of ours to take any account of what was done by him in the time of his tyranny.'

Fiscal  
 regula-  
 tions.

Many laws follow (which seem to be well and wisely framed) as to the length of prescription requisite to establish a claim after 'the years of warlike confusion which followed the accession of the tyrants.' There is also an evident attempt made to lighten the burden of taxation, and so to guard against any future oppressions by men like Alexander the Scissors, which might goad the provincials to madness. Especially it is ordained that the tribute due from each province shall be exacted by the governors of that province only, and that the great Imperial ministers at headquarters shall not assist in the process. Some precautions are taken for lightening the burden of *coemptio*. Each province is only to be called upon to furnish tribute in kind out of that sort of produce which naturally grows there, and such tribute when rendered is to be taken at the current market price of the day. Moreover, the landowners of Calabria and Apulia, who have already commuted their *coemptio* into a money payment (*superindictitius titulus*), are not to be called on to pay that *titulus* and provide *coemptio* as well. And any senator or large tax-payer<sup>1</sup> is to have free leave and licence to visit the court at Con-

Maximus' of the property of a certain Marcian. Half of this donation Justinian remembers that he has bestowed on 'the most glorious Liberius,' to whom it is confirmed. The magnificent Maximus may enjoy the remainder in peace.

<sup>1</sup> 'Collator.' Does this word mean any one who paid 'lustralis collatio'?

stantinople in order to lay his grievances before the Emperor, as well as to return to Italy and tarry there as long as he will for the improvement of his estate, since it is difficult for absent owners to keep their property in good condition, or to bestow upon it the cultivation which it requires <sup>1</sup>.

The two most important sections of the decree, however, in reference to our present subject are the xxiii<sup>rd</sup> and the xii<sup>th</sup>.

(1) The xxiii<sup>rd</sup> runs as follows: 'We order that all law-suits between two Romans, or in which one Roman person is concerned, shall be tried by *civil* judges, since good order does not permit that military judges shall mix themselves up in such matters or causes.'

Civil causes not to be tried by military judges.

A 'Roman person' is evidently a native of Italy in contradistinction to the horde of foreigners who served in the armies of the Empire. The intention of the legislator is that wheresoever the rights of such a Roman person are concerned, whether as plaintiff or defendant, his cause shall be heard before a civil judge, probably the *praeses* of the province, and not before the harsh and unsympathetic officer of the army, who, however, is recognised as the right person to try matters in dispute between one 'military person' and another.

(2) Sect. xii relates to the mode of appointing these civil governors or *judices provinciarum*: 'Moreover we order that fit and proper persons, able to administer the local government, be chosen as governors (*judices*) of the provinces by the *bishops and chief persons of each province from the inhabitants of the province itself*.' This appointment is

Bishops associated in the election of *Judices*.

<sup>1</sup> § xxvii.

to be made without any payment for votes<sup>1</sup>; and the letters patent of the office (*codicilli*) are to be handed to the new governor by the minister whose business it is (*per competentem judicem*) [free of charge]. On these conditions, however, that if they (the *judices provinciarum*) shall be found to have inflicted any injury on the tax-payers, or to have exacted anything in excess of the stipulated tribute, or in the coemption to have used too large measures, or unjust weights for the *solidi*, or in any other way to have unrighteously damnified the cultivators, they shall make good the injury out of their own property.'

We see here an earnest endeavour to remedy the abuses of provincial administration. The governor of the province is to be a resident therein. This makes it less likely that he will incur the odium of oppressive acts, committed in a district of which he is a native, and where he will spend the remainder of his days. He is to be appointed without *suffragium*, the technical term for the payments, often of enormous amount, which had been hitherto made to the members of the Imperial household and the great functionaries of Constantinople, in order to secure their influence on behalf of the aspirant to office. Of course, where this *suffragium* had been paid, the new governor's first care was to recoup himself by wringing it out of the miserable provincials<sup>2</sup>. But further, the governor is

<sup>1</sup> 'Sine suffragio litis.' The Editor suggests 'militis' for 'litis,' but this also would be a difficult reading. Hegel pronounces 'litis' an undoubted corruption, possibly for 'ejus.'

<sup>2</sup> No doubt these payments for *suffragium* were the prosaic basis for that story of the sale of the provinces by auction, which Claudian tells with so much vigour in his poem, *In Eutropium* (i. 196-206). See vol. i. p. 683 (2nd edition).

to be elected by the principal inhabitants of the province, instead of being merely nominated by the autocratic Emperor. We have here an important recognition of the principle of popular election, a great stride towards what we should call constitutional government. And a part, apparently a leading part in this election, is given to the *bishop* of the province. Here we have both a proof of the increased power of the higher ecclesiastics (since even the devout Theodosius would never have dreamed of admitting his bishops to a direct share in the government of the Empire), and we have also a pathetic confession of the Emperor's own inability to cope with the corruption and venality of his civil servants. He seems to have perceived that in the great quaking bog of servility and dishonesty by which he felt himself to be surrounded, his only sure standing-ground was to be found in the spiritual Estate, the order of men who wielded a power not of this world, and who, if true to their sacred mission, had nothing to fear and little to hope from the corrupt minions of the court<sup>1</sup>.

The experiment of popular election of the provincial governors answered so well in Italy, that it was extended by Justinian's successor in 569 to the Eastern portion of the Empire<sup>2</sup>. But as we shall soon see, it was but short-lived in either the East or the West.

Before we part from Justinian's Pragmatic Sanction we must notice one more section, the xix<sup>th</sup>, which deals with the subject of Weights and Measures: 'In

<sup>1</sup> This point is well brought out by Hegel, i. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Nov. 149, c. 1 (quoted by Hegel, i. 145).

Weights  
and mea-  
sures.

BOOK VII.  
CH. 13.

order,' says the legislator, 'that no occasion for fraud or injury to the provinces [of Italy] may arise, we decree that produce be furnished and money received according to those weights and measures which our Piety hath by these presents entrusted to the keeping of the most blessed Pope and the most ample Senate<sup>1</sup>.' Another indication this, of the purely secular business which, by reason of the general respect for his character and confidence in his uprightness, was being pushed off upon the Head of the Church by the Head of the State; and at the same time an interesting evidence that after all its sufferings at the hands of Totila and Teias, the Senate of Rome still lived on, if it were only to act as custodian of the standard yard and the standard pound.

The edict, which is addressed to the Illustrious Grand Chamberlain Narses, and to the Magnificent Antiochus, Prefect of Italy, ends thus: 'All things therefore which our Eternity hath ordained by this divine Pragmatic Sanction, let your Greatness by all means carry into effect and cause to be observed, a penalty of 10 lbs. of gold [£400] impending over all violators of these our commands.' On the whole, the Pragmatic Sanction, notwithstanding its tone of ill-tempered railing at the defeated heroes of the Gothic nation, was a wise and statesmanlike measure; and I, who have in an earlier volume been compelled to say many hard things concerning the character and

<sup>1</sup> § xix, De Mensuris et Ponderibus: 'Ut autem nulla fraudis vel laesionis provinciarum nascatur occasio, jubemus in illis mensuris vel ponderibus species vel pecunias dari vel suscipi, quae beatissimo Papae vel amplissimo Senatui nostra Pietas in praesenti contradidit.'



administration of Justinian, gladly recognise that here, in the evening of his days, he makes a generous effort to lighten the burdens of his Italian subjects, and to admit them to a share in his power. But 'in the clash of arms laws are silent.' Even as Pitt's well-meant scheme for Parliamentary Reform foundered in the stormy waters of the great French Revolutionary War, so the perils with which the Empire was soon surrounded, from Lombards in the West, from Avars, Persians, Saracens in the East, destroyed the faint hopes of freedom in the Roman Empire of the sixth and seventh centuries. It is at all times difficult for even the most enlightened despot to unclothe himself of the power with which in the course of generations the holders of his office have come to be invested, and in the face of menacing foreign foes that which was before difficult becomes impossible. We who have lived through the middle of the nineteenth century know what those ominous words 'The city is proclaimed in a state of siege' betoken, how when they are uttered popular liberties are suppressed and all classes lie prostrate under the heel of a military despotism. We remember how even in the greatest democratic republic that the world has ever seen, 'the War-Power' enabled President Lincoln practically to assume the position of an autocrat, wise and patriotic doubtless, but still an autocrat. And so, in the Empire, the tremendous dangers to which it was exposed, from the time of Justin II to the time of the Iconoclastic Emperors, led to the concentration of all power, civil and military, in the hands of one class of men who were virtually the military lieutenants of the Emperor. In the East, this tendency found its fullest expression

BOOK VII. in the change of the provinces into *themes*, which was  
 CH. 13. begun by Heraclius<sup>1</sup> and completed by Leo III. The  
 Division of the word *theme* meant a regiment of soldiers, and thence-  
 Eastern Empire forward the military district or theme became the chief  
 into administrative unit of the Empire.  
*themes.*

In Italy there was perhaps no such sudden and definite change, but all writers are agreed that there was a change, the result of which was to annul the division between civil and military functions which had been created by Diocletian and Constantine<sup>2</sup>, and to make the commandant of the garrison in each city which remained faithful to the Empire the one great centre of power, judicial and administrative, as well as military, for that city and for the district of which it was the capital.

Power, civil as well as military, concentrated in the hands of the military officer.

This change however, as I have said, was probably a gradual one, and with the poverty of the materials before us we cannot precisely say when it began or when it ended<sup>3</sup>. To make the further discussion of the subject clearer, it will be well to subjoin a table of the military and civil officers, as far as they can be ascertained, before this change had taken place which

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps even before his time; led up to in fact by the changes in administration introduced by Justinian himself. This is the opinion of Prof. Bury, ii. 339-351.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 213 (607 in 2nd edition).

<sup>3</sup> Diehl (pp. 7-9) successfully combats the theory advanced by Flavio Biundo (1393-1462), and silently accepted without any adequate proof by many later writers, that Longinus, first Exarch, removed at one blow all the civil side of the administration of Italy, and made the military officers supreme. Though Hegel does not formally combat this theory, the whole tenour of his remarks (i. 176-7) shows that he did not accept it. The letters of Gregory the Great disprove it, showing as they do that there were still Praefecti and Praesides in his day.

led to the practical absorption of the latter by the former. BOOK VII.  
CH. 13.

MILITARY.	CIVIL.
EXARCH (Patricius Italiae).	Praefectus Italiae . . . Praefectus Urbi (or Praepositus Italiae).
Magister Militum or Dux.	Vicarius Italiae . . . Vicarius Urbis.
Tribunus or Comes.	Praeses Provinciae.

The hierarchy of civil offices, it will be seen, was still cast in the mould which was made at the beginning of the fourth century<sup>1</sup>. So long as they retained any official vitality at all we must suppose the holders of them to have been concerned with the trying of causes in which private citizens of Italian birth (as opposed to military men and foreign followers of the camp) were concerned; with the collection of revenue; with commissariat business; and perhaps with the maintenance of roads and aqueducts<sup>2</sup>. But already, in the time of Gregory the Great, the position of these civil rulers was declining in power and lustre, so that we find the benevolent Pope compassionately relieving the necessities of an ex-governor<sup>3</sup> of Samnium by a yearly pension of four solidi (£2 8s.), and a gift of twenty *decimati* of wine. The slenderness of our information does not enable us to say definitely when this civil

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 227 (1st edition); p. 620 (2nd edition).

<sup>2</sup> See Hegel, i. 176.

<sup>3</sup> 'Sisinnium qui judex Samnii fuit' (Greg. Ep. ii. 32). It is, of course, to be noted that Samnium had fallen entirely into the hands of the Lombard duke of Benevento, and this would account in some measure for the change in the fortunes of Sisinnius.

BOOK VII. hierarchy finally vanished from the scene, but, to use  
 CH. 13. the simile of a 'dissolving view,' we may conjecture that all through the seventh century their names were growing fainter and fainter, and those of the military rulers were growing stronger and stronger on the screen of Italian politics <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For a more minute discussion of the functions of the *Praefectus* and *Vicarii* I may refer the reader to Diehl, book ii. chap. vii. pp. 157-167. His chief conclusions are these:—

I. The *Praefectus per Italiam* probably lost all his legislative and most of his administrative functions. He had still considerable judicial authority, but was pre-eminently a financial officer.

II. The survival of this part of his functions is analogous to what happened in the East, where, when the new thematic government was organised, a financial officer called the *protonotarius* was placed beside the *strategos*. The former, though much lower in rank, was yet in a certain sense independent of the latter.

III. The title of the *Praefectus per Italiam* was *Eminentissimus*, and he resided at Ravenna, or, more properly speaking, at Classis.

IV. In the East the *Praefectus Praetorio* is mentioned for the last time in a constitution of Heraclius, 629; and he was undoubtedly suppressed when the themes were organised.

V. In the papyri of Marini the title of *Praefectus* lingers on till 681. But whatever may have been the date of his final disappearance, from the middle of the seventh century his essential attributes had passed into the hands of the Exarch of Ravenna.

VI. Under the Prefect, there were two *Vicarii* (bearing the title of *Magnificus*): one at Rome (the *Vicarius Urbis*), who governed the ten provinces of the South; the other at Genoa (after his expulsion from Milan), who professed to govern the seven provinces of the North. They, too, seem to have been chiefly concerned with finance.

VII. From the end of the sixth century the *Vicarius Romae* was nothing more than an urban functionary who was subordinate to the *Praefectus Urbis*, and who doubtless ended by being confounded with him.

The *Vicarius Italiae*, if he lingered in obscurity at Genoa during the first years of the seventh century, assuredly disappeared at

I turn then from these shadowy survivals of a great organisation to direct the reader's attention to the other half of the table of dignities, the military rulers who were more and more assuming all the functions of government to themselves, as the delegated servants of the Emperor.

High over all, and practically supreme over Imperial Italy<sup>1</sup>, was 'the Most Excellent EXARCH.' We shall probably get a good idea of his position by comparing him to the Governor-General of India, only that we must add to the civil functions of that high officer the military functions involved in the absolute personal command of the army. He seems to have uniformly borne the title of *Patricius* added to that of *Exarchus*, and he not unfrequently held high rank in the Imperial household, as *Cubicularius* (Grand Chamberlain) or *Cartularius* (Keeper of the Records). He was supreme judge in Italy; he made peace and war on his own responsibility, apparently without the necessity of consulting the Emperor; he nominated all the military officers below him, the dukes and tribunes and the like; perhaps also the civil governors, the prefects and the vicars, though of this there does not appear to be any direct proof. After the middle of the seventh century he was, what the Prefect had

the moment when the Lombard conquest destroyed the province of Liguria (640).

There is an article by Mommsen on the subject of the *Vicarius Romae* and *Vicarius Italiae* in the *Neues Archiv*, vol. xiv; but it relates chiefly to Ostrogothic times, and I do not understand him as combating Diehl's conclusions with regard to Lombard times.

<sup>1</sup> But not Sicily, which from the time of Justinian onwards seems to have been under its own *Practor* or *Praefectus*, independent of the Exarch of Italy. See Diehl, pp. 169-170.

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been till then, the supreme head of the financial department of the state. This ruler, 'whose exalted power gave effect to the will of the Pious Emperor <sup>1</sup>,' was approached with servile prostrations <sup>2</sup> by the subjects of his delegated reign. At Ravenna he dwelt doubtless in the palace of the great Theodoric. When he visited Rome, clergy, magistrates, soldiers, all the civic militia of Rome poured forth to meet him with their crosses and their standards, and led him with jubilations up to the Palatine Hill, where still in faded magnificence rose the cluster of buildings which has given its name to every other palace in the world.

His prerogatives in connection with Papal elections.

Not the least important, assuredly, of the prerogatives of the Exarch, was the right transferred to him by his Imperial master of confirming the election of the Pope by the clergy and people of Rome <sup>3</sup>. But notwithstanding this prerogative, and although in

<sup>1</sup> 'Præcelsa potestas per cujus dispositiones voluntas pietatis imperatorum impletur' (Marini, 87; quoted by Diehl).

<sup>2</sup> '[Johannicius scriba] prostratus ante pedes Exarchi surrexit,' &c. (Agnellus, 120).

<sup>3</sup> This right was transferred by the Emperor to the Exarch in 685, or possibly even as early as 642 (Diehl, p. 180). Two of the most interesting letters in the *Liber Diurnus* (the book of common forms for use in the Papal Chancery) are those addressed to an Exarch on the occasion of a vacancy in the Papal See. In the first the most Excellent and Transcendent Exarch is informed of the deep sorrow into which the people of Rome are plunged by the death of their Pope. In the second he is told that their mourning is turned into joy by the election of a most holy man as his successor; and the Exarch is intreated speedily to confirm this election, because there are many things both in the city and the rural districts which need his immediate attention, and especially because the ferocity of the enemies who surround Rome will yield to nothing but the rebukes and entreaties of the Pope and himself (*Liber Diurnus*, lix-lx).

a certain sense the Bishop of Rome, as the Emperor's subject, might be held to be under the rule of the Imperial vicegerent, there can be little doubt that, at least from the time of Gregory the Great, the Pope, if he were a man of at all commanding personality, was, and was felt to be, a greater man in Italy than the Exarch. The Exarch was a foreigner, the minion of a court, sometimes holding office for no very long period, re-called and re-appointed at the Emperor's pleasure. The Pope was an Italian, often a Roman citizen, speaking the noble old language of statesmanship and war: he alone could awe turbulent Lombard kings and dukes into reverent submission; round him gathered with increasing fervour, as the seventh and eighth centuries rolled on their course, not only the religious reverence, but the national spirit, the patriotic pride of the Roman people.

I shall briefly discuss the difficult subject of the origin of the Exarch's title, and then review the history of the men who bore it.

The Greek word Exarchus<sup>1</sup> seems to have come into use in the days of Justinian, if not before, to denote a military officer of a very high rank<sup>2</sup>, and it may perhaps be looked upon as corresponding to our word 'marshal.' It is apparently in this sense only that the term is applied by Theophanes to Narses, whom

Origin  
of the  
Exarch's  
title.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐξάρχος.

<sup>2</sup> In Justiniani Novella, 130 (Const. CL. in Lingenthal's edition), we have the often-recurring expression, τῶν ἐξάρχων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. This would incline us to say that ἔξαρχος = (simply) 'officer'; but we have also in the same Novel, τῶν ἐξάρχων καὶ τριβούνων καὶ κομήτων καὶ διασωστῶν καὶ δελεγατόρων καὶ τῶν ἐκάστου τάγματος πρωτεύόντων: where ἔξαρχος is evidently a very high officer, perhaps = the dux or magister militum. (I owe this quotation to Diehl, p. 15.)

BOOK VII. he calls 'Exarch of the Romans'.<sup>1</sup> For the persistent  
 CH. 13. non-user of the term Exarch in connection with Narses  
 Narses not by all contemporary writers seems clearly to show  
 Exarch, that he was not in his lifetime called the Exarch of  
 Italy.<sup>2</sup>

nor Lon-  
 ginus.

Neither, as far as we can discover, did *Longinus*, who ruled Imperial Italy from 567 to 585 (?), and whose feebleness seems to have had much to do with facilitating the conquest of the Lombards, ever bear the title of Exarch. In fact, he is expressly called *Prefect of Ravenna*<sup>3</sup> by Paulus, for which we may doubtless substitute *Prefect of Italy* as his true title. He was therefore, strictly speaking, only a great civil functionary, with no military command, and this may have been one reason for his failure to cope with the dire necessities of his position.

His successor *Smaragdus* twice held supreme power at Ravenna, his first tenure of office being probably from 585 to 589. And here we do at last get a contemporary use of the title Exarch. In a letter of Pope Pelagius II to his *apocrisiarius* Gregory at Constantinople, bearing date October 4, 584<sup>4</sup>, we have a sentence saying that '*the Exarch* writes he can give us no help, for he is hardly able even to guard his own

<sup>1</sup> *Ναρσῆ τοῦ κουβικουλαρίου καὶ ἐξάρχου Ῥωμαίων* (A. M. 6044).

<sup>2</sup> As Theophanes is only a ninth-century writer, his testimony on such a point as this is not very valuable, even if he did mean to call Narses '*the Exarch*.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Statimque Rosemunda Longino praefecto Ravennae mandavit' (Paulus, H. L. ii. 29).

<sup>4</sup> Troya proposes to refer this letter to Indiction IIII instead of III, and thus to make it 585 rather than 584. One is reluctant to accept a correction of the text too easily, but there seems much to be said for his view.



district<sup>1</sup>. Here then we have the great military governors, who bore the title of Exarch for 170 years, fairly installed in the palace of Ravenna. It may be a question indeed whether Smaragdus was the first who bore that title. M. Diehl suggests that *Baduarius*, the son-in-law of the Emperor Justin II, who came in 575 with a great army to Italy, and was defeated by the Lombards, may have been the first of the Exarchs, but we have no contemporary evidence of the fact, and the theory is at best but a plausible hypothesis<sup>2</sup>.

Smaragdus, as the reader may remember, after his high-handed proceedings towards the Istrian schismatics<sup>3</sup>, became insane, and was recalled by his Imperial master, who appointed Romanus Exarch in his stead<sup>4</sup>.

*Romanus*, who ruled probably from 589 to 597, was a perpetual thorn in the side of Pope Gregory; unable, according to that Pope's representations, to defend him from the Lombards, and unwilling to make with

<sup>1</sup> 'Et Exarchus scribit nullum nobis posse remedium facere; quippe qui nec ad illas partes custodiendas se testatur posse sufficere' (ap. Troya, iv. 1. 63). In the letter from Pelagius II to Elias (see vol. v. p. 462) we have an allusion to the peace attained by the labour and pains 'filii nostri excellentissimi Smaragdi Exarchi et Cartularii sacri palatii.' Troya assigns this letter to the end of 584, or the beginning of 585.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to observe that at about the same time, and probably as a result of the same tendencies, the chief ruler of *Africa* received the title of Exarch. In the year 591, Gregory addresses a letter to Gennadius, 'Patrician and Exarch of Africa' (Ep. i. 61 (59)). See vol. v. p. 414.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. v. p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> On the strength of an inscription recorded by de Rossi (Inscr. Christ. ii. 454-455), Diehl would interpolate an Exarch named Julianus (otherwise unheard of) between Smaragdus and Romanus (p. 208, n. 7).

the invaders a fair and honourable peace. Probably the fact was that now for the first time, with such a Pontiff as Gregory sitting in St. Peter's chair, the Exarch began to feel how completely he was overshadowed by the Bishop of Rome, and showed too manifestly to all men his ill-temper and his discontent at the anomalous situation in which he found himself placed.

On the death of Romanus (596 or 597) *Callinicus* (or, as Paulus calls him, *Gallicinus*) was appointed to the vacant post, which he held till about the year 602. Though he was more acceptable to the Pope than his predecessor, his dastardly abduction of the daughter of Agilulf, the signal punishment which the injured father inflicted on him, and the damage thereby done to the Imperial cause in Italy, marked his tenure of the high office of the Exarchate with dishonour.

*Smaragdus* (602-611), a second time Exarch of Italy, seems to have risen with the rise of the usurper Phocas, and fallen with his fall. It was evidently an especial delight to him to grovel before that base and truculent usurper; since besides the well-known statue and column in the Roman forum, he erected another statue to Phocas at Carthage<sup>1</sup>.

*Joannes* (611-616), after an uneventful rule of five or six years, perished, apparently in a popular tumult.

*Eleutherius*, an eunuch (616-620), punished the murderers of his predecessor, suppressed the rebellion

<sup>1</sup> C. I. L. viii. 10529, quoted by Diehl (p. 171), who rightly argues against the theory of the African's subjection to the Italian Exarch, derived from this piece of fussy servility on the part of *Smaragdus*.

of Joannes Compsinus at Naples, visited Rome, himself tried to grasp the Imperial diadem, and was slain by his own mutinous soldiers at Luceoli.

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Into one of these periods we possibly ought to interpolate the Exarchate of *Gregory*, 'patricius Romanorum,' who, as we learn from Paulus<sup>1</sup>, foully murdered the two sons of Gisulf, duke of Friuli, after luring them into the city of Opitergium by a promise to adopt the elder of them, Taso, as his 'son in arms.'

We have also to speak with great uncertainty of the tenure of office of *Eusebius*, who may not have been an Exarch at all, but an ambassador of the Emperor, but who in some strange way fascinated the young Lombard king Adalwald to his ruin. After this interval of uncertainty we come to *Isaac*, 'the great ornament of Armenia,' and the husband of 'that chaste turtle-dove Susanna.' His rule, which lasted probably from 625 to 644, was chiefly marked by the loss of the Riviera to the Lombards under Rothari.

Of the Exarchs who immediately followed Isaac, as before remarked<sup>2</sup>, we know extremely little. *Theodore Calliopas* may have ruled for the first time from 644 to 646.

*Plato* (646-649), a Monothelete, induced the Patriarch Pyrrhus to break with the Pope and return to Monotheletism.

*Olympius* (649-652), Grand Chamberlain, was employed by the Emperor Constans II in his first abortive attempt to arrest Pope Martin, desisted therefrom, was reconciled to the Pope, led his army to fight against the Saracens in Sicily, and died there, probably of camp fever.

<sup>1</sup> H. L. iv. 38.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 257, n. 1.

*Theodore Calliopas*, sent a second time as Exarch to Ravenna (653–664), signalised his rule by the forcible arrest of Pope Martin.

*Gregory*, whose tenure of office perhaps extended from 664 to 677<sup>1</sup>, is apparently only known by the occurrence of his name in the ‘Privilegium’ of Constans II, given in 666 to Maurus, archbishop of Ravenna, confirming his independence of the See of Rome. In this Privilegium ‘*Gregorius Exarchus noster*’ is mentioned as suggesting the issue of such a document, and is ordered to assist in giving effect to its provisions.

Another *Theodore* (probably different from Theodore Calliopas) dwelt in the palace at Ravenna from about 677 to 687. The monastery which he built near his palace, his receipt of the news of the election of Pope Conon, the three golden cups which he presented to the church of Ravenna, and the part which he took in the quarrel between his namesake Archbishop Theodore and his clergy, are all recorded in the pages of Agnellus.

*Joannes*, surnamed *Platyn* (687–702), contemporary with Pope Sergius (687–701), being appealed to in connection with the disputed Papal election of 687, appeared suddenly in Rome with his soldiers. He acquiesced in the election of Sergius, but insisted on taking toll of the Church to the amount of 100 lbs. of gold (£4000).

*Theophylact* (702–709), contemporary with Pope John VI (701–705), returning from Sicily to Rome, was

<sup>1</sup> The dates of the Exarchs from this point onwards are even more doubtful than those which have gone before. As a rule we only know them by a single entry for each one in the *Liber Pontificalis*; and all that we are really entitled to say is that each one was contemporary with the Pope in whose biography his name occurs.

assailed by the mutinous 'soldiers of Italy,' and hardly escaped through the Pope's intervention. I am not sure that we ought not to recognise in *Theodore*, 'the patrician' and 'primicerius' of the army of Sicily, an Exarch of Ravenna. To him was entrusted the command of the expedition of vengeance directed by Justinian II against the city of Ravenna in 709.

*Joannes*, surnamed *Rizocopus*, about 710 met Pope Constantine at Naples, on his way to Constantinople; himself proceeded to Rome, put four eminent ecclesiastics to death, and, returning to Ravenna, died there shortly after 'by a most disgraceful death, the just judgment of God on his wicked deeds.'

*Scholasticus* (713-726), Grand Chamberlain and Exarch, transmitted to Pope Constantine, probably in 713, the letters of the shadow-Emperor Anastasius, in which he assured the Pope of his perfect orthodoxy.

*Paulus* (726-727) was sent by Leo III to enforce the iconoclastic edicts in Italy, and to arrest Pope Gregory II. He was prevented by the joint efforts of Romans and Lombards from executing the second part of this order, and was killed in an insurrection by the citizens of Ravenna.

*Eutychius* (727-752), the last Exarch of whom we have any mention<sup>1</sup>, has figured both as a confederate with Liutprand, and as his antagonist, in the preceding history. He may have been still ruling when Ravenna fell before the assault of Aistulf, but of this we have no certain knowledge.

This brief summary of the deeds of the Exarchs is derived, we must remember, chiefly from hostile sources. An Exarch who lived on good terms with his eccle-

General  
character  
of the  
Exarchs.

<sup>1</sup> He may possibly have been Exarch once before. See p. 455, n. 1.

BOOK VII. CH. 13. siastical neighbours left no mark in history, while one who quarrelled with Pope or Archbishop was sure to have his name mentioned unfavourably by the Papal biographer or by Agnellus of Ravenna. Still, even on the one-sided evidence before us we may fairly pronounce the Exarchs to have been a poor and contemptible race of men. They evidently felt themselves to be strangers and foreigners in the land : and taking no interest in the welfare of Italy, their chief thought probably was how to accumulate sufficient treasure against the day of their return to Constantinople. Feebly oppressive, they were neither loved nor greatly feared by their subjects or their soldiers. Three of them were killed in insurrections or mutinies, and a fourth only just escaped the same fate through the intervention of the Pope. One tried to grasp the Imperial sceptre, but failed, and perished in the attempt. There is no trace of any great work undertaken by them, or of any wise and statesmanlike scheme for lessening the unhappiness of Italy. Even for their own proper business as soldiers they showed no special aptitude. City after city was lost by them to the Lombards, and not regained ; and the story of their incompetent rule is at last ended by the capture of the hitherto impregnable city of Ravenna.

*Consiliarius.*

The most important person on the staff of the Exarch was his *Consiliarius*, who was addressed by the title of 'Most Eloquent,' or 'Magnificent.' This minister was still probably in theory what he was in the days when this office was held by the historian Procopius, whom I have ventured to call 'Judge-Advocate' to Belisarius<sup>1</sup>. A general like Belisarius,

<sup>1</sup> See vol. iii. p. 638.

who as general had according to Roman usage the power of trying causes (even though not of a purely military kind) in which soldiers were concerned, required a trained lawyer as his assessor, and such an assessor Belisarius found in the young legist, educated at Berytus, who, fortunately for posterity, was not a mere lawyer, but had also a true historical genius, and wrote for us the story of the wars of his chief.

But as the Exarch, though still in theory a military officer, gradually drew to himself more and more of the functions of a civil governor, of course the power and the responsibility of his legal assessor were proportionately increased, and it does not surprise us to find the *Consiliarius* (perhaps in the absence of his lord) himself sitting on the judgment-seat, and giving decisions on his own account <sup>1</sup>.

Next however to the Exarch in the great official hierarchy stood the *Magistri Militum*, or *Duces*. These titles had, by a complete deviation from the usage of the times of Constantine, become practically interchangeable. At that time <sup>2</sup> the *Magister Militum* was a very important minister of State—notwithstanding the division between Masters of the Horse and Masters of the Foot, there were only eight ‘Masters’ altogether throughout the whole width of the Empire—and the

<sup>1</sup> So in Marini (Pap. Dip. No. cxxiii): ‘Ex decreto quondam Johannis qui fuit [consiliarius] gloriosae memoriae Johannis Patricii et Exarchi Italiae: *nec non ex per judicio* [? praejudicio]. *Procopii viri eloquentissimi Consiliarii Domni viri eloquentissimi Eleutherii Chartularii Exarchi Italiae.*’ The date of this document is probably about 617. It is of course a mere coincidence, though an interesting one, that this *Consiliarius* is also named Procopius. See Diehl, pp. 181–182.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. pp. 209–218 (604–613, 2nd edition).

BOOK VII. *Dux* was a comparatively obscure military officer, merely *Spectabilis*, and standing below the *Comes* on the official ladder.

Now, in accordance with the general tendency of affairs under the Eastern Empire, the title of *Magister Militum* has become cheapened<sup>1</sup>, so that there are very likely a dozen of them in Italy alone, but the title of *Dux* has been raised in dignity, so that he is now distinctly above the *Comes*. Referring to that which has been said in a previous chapter<sup>2</sup> as to the reasons which may have induced the barbarian nations to place the *Heretoga* above the *Graf*, we may now perhaps not too rashly venture the suggestion that the usage of the barbarians caused a change in the usage of the Empire, and that the dukes of Campania and Sardinia shone in the reflected glories of the dukes of Benevento and Spoleto<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Thus, as Diehl remarks (p. 141), 'In 592 we find four *Magistri Militum* at once in the Roman district'—Aldio at Rome, Velox, Mauritius, and Vitalian in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome (Greg. Ep. ii. 29. 3 and 30).

<sup>2</sup> See vol. v. p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> As to the practical convertibility of the titles *Magister Militum* and *Dux*, see Hegel, i. 180, and Diehl, 141-142. Hegel says, 'We look on the *M. M.* as the special commanders of the army, whose generalissimo was the Exarch, whereas the *Duces* appear as military lieutenant-governors, who are sometimes named after the province over which they preside, sometimes after the city in which they dwell'; and Diehl says, 'At the head of the provincial administration was placed a military governor who generally bore the title of *Dux*, sometimes also that of *Mag. Militum*. Certainly, in strictness there is a considerable difference between these two titles. The *M. M.* is essentially a military chief: he has army-rank, but not an administrative function. . . . The *Dux*, on the other hand, is at the same time military chief and civil administrator. In the second place, while there is only



In the same way as the Exarch was supreme throughout Imperial Italy, so the *Dux* was, or became, during the period which we are now considering, supreme in the province which was under his rule, commanding the troops, nominating all the civil functionaries, fixing the taxation of the province, and constituting in himself the highest court of judicial appeal both in civil and criminal causes, subject always doubtless to an appeal from his decision to that of the Exarch.

In close proximity to the *Dux* we find an officer of high rank called the *Cartularius*. In a letter of Pope Stephen III<sup>1</sup>, written in 756, the *Cartularius* is mentioned between the *Dux* and the *Comes*. Gregory the Great desires a correspondent to bring the necessities of Rome before the ‘Magnificent Man, lord Maurentius the *Cartularius*<sup>2</sup>.’ And in the year 638 we find a single *Dux* to each province, it is not rare to find many *Magistri Militum* in the same district, commanding different detachments stationed therein, and doubtless placed under the orders of the provincial *Dux*.

‘Still, in the same way as the *Dux*, leaving his duchy, sometimes ceases to be a governor in order to discharge simply the office of a general (e. g. the *Dux* of Perugia commands the Byzantine troops at the attack on Bologna, H. L. vi. 54), so inversely, the *M. M.*, though essentially a military officer, may add to his command administrative functions.

‘In this case he generally adds to his rank of *M. M.* the administrative title of *Dux*, but in practice it is not uncommon to see the two terms used indifferently one for the other. Thus Gregory the Great (Ep. i. 49) calls Theodore, governor of Sardinia in 591, by turns *Dux* and *Mag. Militum*: the same thing at Naples, where the *M. M.* Maurentius possesses all the attributes of a *Dux* (Greg. Ep. ix. 38–69); the same thing also at Ravenna, where the same person is mentioned once with the title of *Dux*, and a little later with that of *Magister Militum*.’

<sup>1</sup> Codex Carolinus, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. i. 3.

Maurice the *Cartularius*, apparently the chief Imperial officer in Rome. He incites the Roman soldiers to rebellion by pointing to the stored-up treasures of the Lateran, out of which their wages might well be paid: he enters the Lateran palace along with the civil rulers <sup>1</sup>, seals up all the treasures of the sacristy, and sends word to the Exarch Isaac, inviting him to come and divide the spoil. Later on (circa 642) he foments a rebellion against Isaac himself, which is suppressed by Donus, *Magister Militum*; he flies to S. Maria ad Praesepe for shelter, is dragged thence, and sent to Ravenna for execution <sup>2</sup>.

In all these transactions the *Dux Romae* is never mentioned. I am disposed to conjecture that what the *Consiliarius* was to the Exarch, the *Cartularius* was to the *Dux*; his assessor, and chief legal adviser, who in his absence acted as his representative, and who may perhaps during some casual vacancy of the office have pushed himself into a position of supremacy, and maintained it by the arts of the military demagogue, till it became necessary for the Exarch to remove him by force <sup>3</sup>.

Before we part from the *Dux* and his staff, we must take particular notice of two dukes, who from the scene of their administrative labours possess an especial

<sup>1</sup> 'Judicibus.'

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 170-173.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Diehl, pp. 151, 155, for a somewhat different view of the functions of the *Cartularius*, who, after all, remains somewhat of a puzzle to him. He thinks that the *Dux*, like the Exarch, had a *Consiliarius*, who was therefore a different person from the *Cartularius* (on his staff), but says candidly, 'Dans l'Italie Byzantine aucun texte ne mentionne formellement un *consiliarius* ou *assessor* à côté du *dux*.' This silence seems to me an argument of some weight in favour of the view in the text.

interest for us. The *Dux Romae* is not mentioned by that name in the letters of Gregory, but it is probable that in the course of the seventh century the *Magister Militum* at Rome was addressed by that title. For an express mention of a Duke of Rome we must wait till the beginning of the eighth century (711-713), when a large part of the Roman populace refused to receive Peter as duke because he was the nominee of the heretical emperor Philippicus, and with arms in their hands vindicated the claim of his predecessor Christopher. Evidently by that time the *Ducatus Romae* had become a well-known office in the state. After the events of 726, and the uprising of the Roman population against the decrees of the Iconoclastic Emperor, the Duke of Rome, though still keeping his high office, seems to have more or less broken off his connection with Ravenna, and become for the remainder of the century the humble servant of the Pope <sup>1</sup>.

So too the *Duke of Naples*, though ruling over a very limited territory, became at an early period, owing to the remote and detached position of his duchy, comparatively independent of the Exarch at Ravenna. This tendency is perhaps indicated by the insurrection of Joannes Compsinus (about 618), though we have no distinct authority for calling him duke, and though his rebellion was soon suppressed. But in the eighth century, though the dukes of Naples did not break off from the Eastern Empire, and in fact fought against the Roman insurgents on behalf of the Iconoclasts, there was an evident tendency on their

<sup>1</sup> See Hegel, i. 226-229, both for the *Dux Romae* and the *Dux Neapoleos*.

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*Dux*  
*Romae.*

*Dux*  
*Neapoleos.*

BOOK VII. part to become hereditary nobles instead of mere  
 CH. 13. nominees of the Emperor, holding office at his pleasure. The Duke of Naples at this time seems to be generally called *Consul*, as well as *Magister Militum*. About 768 he joins the office of bishop to that of duke, and in the following century (but this is beyond our horizon), the descendants of this duke-bishop almost succeed in making both dignities, the spiritual and the temporal, hereditary in their family.

Tendency  
 of the  
 Duchies  
 to split up.

It should be noticed that from the early part of the eighth century onwards, probably because of the weakened hold of the central government upon them, there was a tendency in the duchies to split up into smaller districts, each of whose rulers assumed the coveted title of *Dux*. The Papal biographer<sup>1</sup>, as we have seen, describes the result of the iconoclastic decree to have been that 'all men throughout Italy, spurning the Emperor's orders, chose dukes for themselves, and thus provided for the Pope's safety and their own.' As a result, we find the number of dukes greatly increased. Perugia, Ferrara, Fermo, Osimo, Ancona, has each its duke, and probably fuller histories of the time would give us many more. How strongly this splitting-up of the duchies, coinciding with their liberation from Imperial control, would tend towards making the dignity of duke hereditary in certain families, and preparing the way for a feudal nobility in the Italy of the Romans, as well as in the Italy of the Lombards, will be at once perceived by a student of history.

*Tribuni*.

Of the *Tribuni*, the military officers with civil powers, who came next below the *Duces* in the Imperial

<sup>1</sup> In Vita Gregorii II.

hierarchy, we are not able to say much. The reader will not need to be reminded how completely in the Imperial age the word 'Tribune' had lost that signification of a defender of popular rights which once belonged to it, and how it was ordinarily applied to a military officer<sup>1</sup> ranking above the centurion, and corresponding pretty closely with our 'Colonel.' No doubt, then, the Tribunes who commanded the detachments of troops in the various towns of the province of which the *Dux* was governor, were essentially and in theory military officers; but we have abundant proof in the letters of Gregory I<sup>2</sup> that already, by the end of the sixth century, they joined to their military functions all the ordinary civil duties of the governor of a town. The Tribunes, to whom Gregory writes (and who, though styled *magnifici* and *clarissimi*, are nevertheless addressed by him in a tone of patronising condescension which he does not employ to *Duces* and *Magistri Militum*), are desired to redress financial grievances, to restore runaway slaves, to assist a niece to recover her uncle's inheritance, and so forth; all of them affairs entirely foreign to a military officer's duties. Thus we see here in a very striking manner how 'the toga' was giving way to 'arms,' the officer stepping into the place of the civil servant in all the

<sup>1</sup> The fact that we have under the Empire *Tribuni rerum nitentium*, whose business it was to take charge of the statues and other works of art in public places in Rome, *Tribuni voluptatum*, who had the superintendence of the public games, and so on, prevents our speaking of the Tribune as an exclusively military officer at this period. Still, even these Tribunes were probably in theory part of the military household of the Emperor by whom they were appointed.

<sup>2</sup> See Greg. Ep. ix. 46, 99; xi. 24.

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cities of Italy. Perhaps we may even say that the substitution took place earlier in the lower ranks of the services than in the higher; that by the time of Gregory the *Tribunus* had generally ousted the *Judex*, though the *Dux* had not yet entirely replaced the *Praeses*.

Was *Tribunus* equivalent to *Comes*?

The same officer who bore the title of *Tribunus* was also sometimes addressed as *Comes*, and we are tempted to say that these two titles were interchangeable, like those of *Magister Militum* and *Dux*; but it is difficult to speak with any certainty on this subject. 'It is certain' (I borrow here some sentences from the latest French expositor) 'that from the beginning of the eighth century the exact hierarchy of titles begins to get into strange confusion; the ambition to wear a more sonorous name, the desire to amass a larger fortune by the *prestige* of an important post in the administration lead the chiefs of the Italian aristocracy to beg for dignities and titles from Byzantium, or to assume them on their own authority. Governors of towns call themselves Dukes, great proprietors intrigue for the functions of the Tribune, which become a hereditary title of nobility in their families; and administrative dignities go on multiplying, without any longer necessarily corresponding to real offices in the State<sup>1</sup>.'

Early history of Venice.

The result of this examination into the political organisation of Imperial Italy from the sixth to the eighth century throws an important light on the dark and difficult subject of the early history of *Venice*. As has been already hinted, we have exceedingly slight authentic and contemporary materials and a too copious supply of imaginative fourteenth-century

<sup>1</sup> Diehl, p. 117.

romance for the reconstruction of that history. But, to repeat what was said in the preceding chapter, the uniform tradition of all the native historians, coinciding as it does with the contemporary letters of Cassiodorus, seems to prove that for two hundred years, from the close of the fifth century to the close of the seventh, the inhabitants of the islands in the Venetian lagunes were under the sway of rulers called *Tribuni* (Cassiodorus calls them *Tribuni Maritimi*), one for each of the twelve islands. About the year 697 they came together and chose one supreme ruler for the whole territory, who was called *Dux*: these *Duces* ruled the islands for about forty years, each one holding his office for life. Then annual magistrates, called *Magistri Militiæ*, were appointed in their stead. This experiment, however, was found not to answer, and in 742 a *Dux* was again appointed, thus reinstating a line of elective life-magistrates, who for 1054 years ruled the cities of the lagunes, and for nearly 1000 years the central queenly city of the Rialto, and whom history knows as the *Doges of Venice*. So much our inquiries into the contemporary history of Imperial Italy enable us easily to understand. The *Tribuni*, each one ruling in his own little island-town, are the Imperial officers whom we should expect to find there. If the islanders were from any cause detached from the rule of the *Dux Histriae et Venetiae* towards the close of the seventh century, during the troublous reign of Justinian II, it was natural that the inhabitants should elect a *Dux* of their own, hereby illustrating both the tendency towards a splitting-up of the great duchies into little ones, and the tendency towards popular election which became manifest when events weakened the hold of

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the Empire on the loyalty of the Italians. And what we have learned as to the almost equivalent value of the titles *Dux* and *Magister Militum* enables us readily to understand why, during the temporary obscurity of the life-ruling *Dux*, an annual *Magister Militiae* should be substituted in his place. The point on which we are not entitled to speak is as to the extent to which popular election may have entered into all these official appointments, especially into the appointment of the *Tribuni* who ruled in the several islands for two centuries. By analogy with the rest of Imperial Italy, we should expect these Tribunes to be nominated by a Duke or an Exarch, and so ultimately to receive their authority from Constantinople. It is possible that the peculiar circumstances which led to the foundation of the cities of the lagunes and their strangely strong geographical position may have rendered them more independent of the officers of the Empire than the other cities which still owned its sway. But, on the other hand, all our information about them comes to us coloured by the fancies of men who lived long after Venice had thrown off the yoke of the Empire; nay, some generations after she herself had borne a share in the sack of Constantinople. Historians like Dandolo and Sabellico, with these thoughts in their minds, were sure to minimise the degree of their ancestors' dependence on the Empire, and to exaggerate the amount of independence possessed by their forefathers. Perhaps, too, even their knowledge of Roman history, imperfect as it may have been, led them to think of a Tribune as a sturdy champion of popular rights, like Tiberius or Caius Gracchus, rather than as the sleek, obsequious servant of an absolute master, who was really denoted

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by the term *Tribunus* in the sixth century after Christ. BOOK VII.  
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We have now gone through all the higher members of the political organisation of Imperial Italy during the Lombard dominion, and have certainly so far seen no germs of freedom which could account for the phenomena afterwards presented by the great Italian Republics. This is fully admitted by Savigny himself, who holds that all the higher ranks of the civil magistracy of the Empire disappeared under the waves of change, but thinks the minor municipal magistracies survived, partly by reason of their very obscurity<sup>1</sup>. The question which thus presents itself for solution is whether the local senates or *Curiae* of the cities of Italy did or did not survive through those centuries of darkness, to the dawn of republican freedom in the twelfth century.

To prevent needless repetition I refer my readers to an earlier section of this history<sup>2</sup> for a sketch of the rise and fall of the municipal system of the Empire. The reader, if he turns back to that section, will see how the once flourishing and prosperous town-councils of Italy and the provinces became transformed into life-long prisons, in which the unhappy members of a once powerful middle-class were penned like sheep, awaiting the 'loud-clashing shears' of the Imperial tax-gatherer. At the time of Justinian the condition of these 'Senators' (as they were called with cruel courtesy) was still unaltered. In a law passed in the year 536<sup>3</sup>, the Emperor laments in his stately language

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 596-619 (576-596, 2nd edition).

<sup>3</sup> Nov. 38 (Const. xli, ed. Lingenthal).

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that the Senates which were established in every city of the Empire, in imitation of the Senate in the capital, are falling into decay, that there is no longer the same eagerness which there was in old time to perform public services<sup>1</sup> to one's native city, but that men are wilfully denuding themselves of their property, and making fictitious presents of it during their lifetime, in order to evade the statutory obligation to leave at least one-fourth of that property to members of the 'Senate.' The Imperial legislator accordingly raises the proportion which must be thus left, to three-fourths. If a man leave legitimate children, they become perforce 'senators,' and take the whole property with the burden. If he leave only illegitimate offspring, they are to be enrolled in the 'Senate' if they receive a bequest of this three-fourth fraction, otherwise it all goes straight to the *Curia*. If he leave only daughters, they must either marry husbands who are 'senators,' or relinquish all claim to anything but one-fourth of their father's estate<sup>2</sup>. All these provisions show that we are still face to face with that condition of affairs in connection with the *Curia*—nominal dignity, but real slavery—which we met with a century and a half before in the legislation of Theodosius and his sons. We see from the letters of Pope Gregory that the same state of things continued half a century after the legislation of Justinian, for he forbids the ordination not only of bigamists, of men who have married widows, of men ignorant of letters, but also of those 'under liability to the *Curia*,' lest, after having received the sacred

<sup>1</sup> λειτουργήματα.

<sup>2</sup> The word βουλευτής, which I have translated 'senator,' is of course equivalent to 'curialis.'

anointing, they should be compelled to return to public business<sup>1</sup>.

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In the East, however, it is clear that, for some reason or other, not even as convenient taxing-machines could the *Curiae* be kept permanently in existence. It was perhaps the institution of a new order of tax-gatherers called *Vindices*, and the assignment to them of the functions formerly discharged, much against their will, by the Decurions, which brought about this change. Certain it is that about the year 890, the Emperor Leo VI, in an edict which I have already quoted<sup>2</sup>, abolished the last vestiges of the *Curiae*, which he described as imposing intolerable burdens, conferring imaginary rights, and 'wandering in a vain and objectless manner round the soil of legality.'

Disappearance of the *Curiae* in the East.

This having been the course of affairs in the Eastern Empire, we should certainly expect to find that the *Curiae* had not a longer life in the West. With war and barbaric invasion raging round them, with the tendency which we have observed in Imperial institutions to imitate those of the Germanic peoples, especially the tendency of offices to become hereditary and thus to prepare the way for a feudal nobility, we certainly should not expect these *Curiae*, the pale spectres of long-dead republics, to maintain themselves in being for six centuries. The negative conclusion on this subject to which *a priori* probability leads us is that at which the majority of scholars have arrived as the result of *a posteriori* reasoning. But one great name, that of Carl Friedrich von Savigny, is inscribed on the

Did they also disappear in the West?

<sup>1</sup> 'Videndum etiam ne sine litteris aut ne *obnoxius curiae* compellatur post sacrum ordinem ad actionem publicam redire' (Ep. iv. 26).

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 618 (1st ed.), 596 (2nd ed.).

BOOK VII. other side of the question, and in deference to that  
 CH. 13. opinion (from which no historical student differs without reluctance) we must look a little more closely at the constitution of the *Curiae*, such as they undoubtedly still subsisted on the soil of Italy at the end of the sixth century.

The Decurionate originally an honour.

The *Album Curiae*.

In the old and flourishing days of the Italian municipalities, as we have seen, the *Decurions* had been an aristocracy, ruling their native city, and proudly holding themselves aloof from the *Plebeii* around them. It had been an honour eagerly sought after to have one's name inscribed in the *Album Curiae*<sup>1</sup>. Here were to be found first of all the names of the *Patroni*, or, as we should call them, honorary members; either home-born sons of the *Curia*, who had passed through all the grades of office up to the highest; or eminent Italians outside the *Curia*, on whom it had bestowed, as we should say, 'the freedom of the city.' Here, too, were those who were serving, or had served, the office of *Duumviri*<sup>2</sup>, the office which imitated in each provincial town the position of the Roman Consulate, and which shared some of its reflected splendour. Here were other lower functionaries, who, as at Rome, bore the titles of *Aedile* and *Quaestor*; and here also was an officer called the *Quinquennalis*, appointed only once in five years, and whose dignity, corresponding to that of the Roman Censor, seems at one time to have overshadowed even that of the *Duumviri* themselves.

<sup>1</sup> The best example of such an *Album Curiae* is that of Canusium, published by Orelli, No. 3721, and commented upon by Savigny, i. 93.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes *Quatuorviri*. The full title was *II<sup>vir</sup>* or *IV<sup>vir</sup> juri dicundo*.

In the sixth century, the names, and hardly more than the names, of these municipal magnates still survived. The *Duumviri* appear to be alluded to under the more general term *Magistratus*. The continued existence of the *Quinquennales* depends on the rendering of a doubtful contraction in the papyrus documents of Marini<sup>1</sup>. By a series of changes which even the patient labour of German scholars has hardly succeeded in fully developing, the power, such as it was, of the Italian *Curia* seems to have been concentrated in two officers, unknown in the third century, the *Curator* and the *Defensor*.

1. The *Curator*<sup>2</sup> seems to have exercised those administrative and financial powers which we in England associate with the title of Mayor—perhaps adding thereto that of Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Corporation. The *Curator* of a large city like Ravenna was still an important person in the year 600. Gregory the Great addresses him as *gloria vestra*, consults him about important affairs of state such as peace with the Lombard king, asks him to obtain for certain soldiers their arrears of pay, recommends to his good offices the wife of the Prefect of Rome, who is visiting Ravenna<sup>3</sup>. If we may identify

<sup>1</sup> QI (in Marini, 74, 84, 115-116), which Marini interprets *Quinquennalis*. But Diehl suggests that perhaps the characters should be read VI= vir laudabilis (p. 98, n. 8).

<sup>2</sup> I follow Marquardt (*Römische Staatsverfassung*, i. 487) in dissenting from Savigny's and Hegel's identification of the *Quinquennalis* and the *Curator*. The very name of the former seems to me to be against that identification. How could ordinary administrative functions, the control of the finances, &c., cease for the four years during which there was no *Quinquennalis*?

<sup>3</sup> Greg. Ep. ix. 98; x. 6; ix. 6.

BOOK VII. him, as seems probable, with the *Major Populi* whom  
 CH. 13 we meet with at Naples, he had charge of the gates of that city, and vehemently resented the pretensions of a meddling and arrogant bishop to interfere with him in his work of guarding the city, and to raise up a party antagonistic to his government <sup>1</sup>.

These last letters of Pope Gregory probably indicate to us one reason for the disappearance of the *Curator* from all our later historical documents. The bishop was rapidly becoming the most important person in all that related to the peaceful administration of the city. Between him and the military governor, the *Tribunus*, there was left but little room for the popularly-elected *Curator* or *Major Populi*, and so in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries he vanishes from the scene <sup>2</sup>.

*Defensor.*

2. Similar, probably, was the fate of the *Defensor*, who at the beginning of our period stood at the head of all the local functionaries, taking precedence both of *Curator* and *Duumviri*. His office, however, was chiefly a judicial one, and we may therefore, recurring to our English analogy, call him the Recorder, as the *Curator* is the Mayor of the town. The *Defensor Civitatis*, that officer whom the Empire had called into existence in order to protect the humbler classes against the rapacity of its own instruments, had gradually grown into an important magistrate, with a court and official retinue of his own <sup>3</sup>. He himself had become too often arrogant

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Ep. ix. 69, 104.

<sup>2</sup> This is Diehl's view (pp. 110-111).

<sup>3</sup> For the earlier history of the *Defensor*, see vol. i. pp. 625-628 (2nd edition). Some of the later developments also are there alluded to.

and oppressive, a wolf instead of a sheep-dog to the flock. Then, again, he too, though not one of the down-trodden *Curiales*, had declined in power and reputation, so that, as Justinian himself says<sup>1</sup> in his 15th Novel, 'The office of *Defensor* is so trampled upon in parts of our dominions, that it is considered a disgrace rather than an honour to possess it. For it is now sought after by obscure persons in need of food and clothing, and given to them as a matter of charity rather than of proved fitness. Then the governors remove them at their pleasure for the most trifling fault, or for no fault at all, and put other persons in their room whom they call "place-keepers<sup>2</sup>," and this they do many times a year; so that the men of their staff and the rulers and inhabitants of the city hold the *Defensor* in utter contempt. Moreover, their judicial acts might as well never take place at all. For if the governors of the provinces order them to do anything in their official capacity, they generally do not presume to keep any record of their acts, looking upon themselves as the humble servants of the governor, whose nod they obey. Or, if they do make a record, in the first place they sell it [to one of the litigants], or secondly, as they have no place for storing their archives, the record is practically lost, and those who may desire to refer to it at a later day have to hunt it up from their heirs, or other successors, and generally find it worthless when they have obtained it.'

In order to remedy all these abuses, Justinian ordained that the office of *Defensor* should be a biennial one, that he should be chosen by the bishop, clergy, and

Justinian's reforms in the *Defensor's* office.

<sup>1</sup> Const. xxxv, Lingenthal.

<sup>2</sup> τοποτηρητής; loci servatores.

respectable citizens from among the more influential inhabitants of the city; that each one in his turn should be obliged to accept this public charge<sup>1</sup>, and that none, even of 'Illustrious' rank, should be allowed to decline it. If any one after this enactment presumed to refuse to undertake the office, he was to be fined five pounds of gold (£200), and was still to be compelled to act as *Defensor*. The *Defensores* were not to be removed from office, nor to have 'place-keepers' appointed in their stead, by the ordinary provincial governors. If there were any complaint against their administration, the Praetorian Prefect alone was empowered to remove them. There were assigned to each *Defensor* from the staff of provincial servants, one reporter (*Exceptor*) to take minutes of his decisions, and two *Officiales* to carry them into effect.

To remedy the inconvenience which had arisen from the loss of documents in the *Defensor's* office, Justinian further ordered that a public building should be set apart in each city, in which he should store his records, under the care of an officer appointed for that purpose. It was hoped that thus the archives might be kept uninjured, and might be accessible to all men.

The *Defensor* becomes a judge.

Under this law, the *Defensor* received, perhaps for the first time, the power of deciding civil cases up to the above-mentioned limit of 300 solidi<sup>2</sup>. He had also summary criminal jurisdiction in all cases of slight importance, and the power of detaining graver offenders in prison, and sending them to the Praetor for trial.

<sup>1</sup> Justinian uses here the word *λειτουργία*, and says, 'We have learned that the men of old times held this to be part of the duty of a citizen.'

<sup>2</sup> £180, probably quite equivalent to £300 in our day.



In short, his functions greatly resembled those of an English magistrate, with some of those which belong to a County Court Judge added thereto. Wills also, and voluntary donations, were registered in his court, and the provincial governor was not to seek to deprive him of this 'voluntary jurisdiction.'

The Novel in question was evidently a serious and well-considered attempt to make this popularly chosen judge, who was to be elected from among the local magnates, a great and important part of the machinery of government. As far as it went, it was an attempt to decentralise administration, and to invite the wealthier provincials to take their share in the life of the state.

This attempt however, like those previously noticed in the same direction, probably failed under the pressure of the times. We cannot speak with any certainty on the subject, owing to the paucity of our materials, but the letters of Pope Gregory lead us to infer that in his day the office of *Defensor Civitatis* was not one of any political importance<sup>1</sup>. He too, there is reason to think, found himself squeezed out between the Bishop and the *Tribunus*. The Church and the Army so occupied the ground that there was no room for the delicate plant of local self-government to flourish between them.

If this is the general conclusion to which our historical materials, slender as they are, seem to lead

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Continued  
decline  
of the  
*Defensor's*  
office.

Evidence  
derived  
from the

<sup>1</sup> We have abundant references to the *Defensores Ecclesiae*, a numerous and powerful body, but quite distinct from the *Defensores Civitatis*. The only clear reference to the latter appears to be in Greg. Ep. x. 28: 'Sabinianus vir clarissimus . . . praedictae civitatis defensoris officium tenuit.'

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CH. 13.

Ravenna  
docu-  
ments.

us, what, it may well be asked, is the evidence by which Savigny could possibly be led to imagine a continuous life of municipal institutions, lasting on till the twelfth century? The answer is contained in the very interesting documents edited by Marini, which do certainly show that there was more tenacity of life in the old Curial organisation than we should have supposed from the evidence mentioned above. We have here a nearly continuous chain of documents, reaching from the days of Odovacar (*circa* 480) down to 625, all showing the *Curia* as still existing as a *Court of registry for legal instruments*. We have here the records of sales, donations, the appointment of a guardian, wills, the discharge of claims under a will<sup>1</sup>, and so on. The documents have almost all come from the archives of the Church at Ravenna, and relate chiefly to that city and its neighbourhood, but there is no reason to doubt that every other city in Italy could show many others like them, had they been preserved with equal care. In these documents in Marini's collection, we meet with nearly all the names of magistrates that have been described above. The *Defensor*, the *Quinquennalis*, the *Magistratus* (who is no doubt equivalent to *Duumvir*), all figure in these papyri as witnesses to the various transactions recorded: and it is often expressly said that the

<sup>1</sup> This 'Instrumentum Plenariae Securitatis' (lxxx. in Marini's collection) was for a long time supposed to be the will of Julius Caesar! It is the discharge given by Gratian, the sub-deacon, guardian of the young Stephanus, to the widow Germana, for the portion of goods left to Stephanus by his father Collectus. Ducange's Glossary of Mediaeval Latin has been enriched by about thirty words, the names of articles in domestic use, drawn from this document alone.

persons concerned in them have asked that they may be inscribed on the proceedings of the *Curia*<sup>1</sup>. The *Curator*, however, does not appear, an absence which is by some attributed to his being veiled under the title *Quinquennalis*, while another suggestion is that as an administrative officer he had no concern in these quasi-judicial proceedings of the *Curia*<sup>2</sup>.

It is then on the strength of these most interesting documents that Savigny grounds his theory of the survival of the *Curiae* through the darkest part of the Middle Ages. It is true that the documents do not bring us down below 625, but it is perhaps fair to argue that this is an accident due to some special circumstances in the history of the Church of Ravenna, and that a more careful storage of the archives would have shown us some of a later date.

But even so, and without insisting too much on the great gap which intervenes between the seventh century and the twelfth, may we not fairly ask, what do these documents prove as to the political state of Italy? We have in them traces of certain courts still lingering on as mere courts of registration. These subscribing and attesting witnesses do not, for anything that the documents show us, possess any power in the city. Their functions are only what we call

<sup>1</sup> 'Gestis municipalibus allegandi tribuerunt licentiam' (cxxii, cxxiii). 'Quod lectum est actis indetur' (lxxiv).

<sup>2</sup> This is Diehl's view. 'Le curateur qui depuis le commencement du quatrième siècle est devenu un magistrat municipal élu, a hérité dans la cité des attributions administratives et financières des duumvirs et des édiles : il ne saurait donc participer aux actes de juridiction volontaire réservés au magistrat et à la curie, et, en effet, il ne figure point dans les papyrus de Marini' (p. 98). I cannot say that the explanation is altogether satisfactory, since *Magistratus* (= *Duumvir*) does appear in these documents.

BOOK VII. notarial functions, and it is but in accordance with  
 CH. 13. what we might have expected that we find the word *Curialis* used in the ninth century (as Savigny himself admits) as a title equivalent to that of *Exceptor*, or registrar of the Court<sup>1</sup>.

To me the nearest analogy to these *Curiae* of the seventh century, which Savigny regards with such romantic interest, and in which he sees the germs of the glorious Italian *Communi* of the thirteenth century, is the 'courts baron' and 'courts leet,' which still preserve a lingering existence in our own country. In the absence of a complete system of registration, these little Courts of ours have their value. The steward of the manor (generally a local attorney) and a few copyholders on the estate are aware of their existence, and can tell an intelligent enquirer when they will be held. But they are absolutely without influence on the political condition of the districts in which they meet, and the majority of the inhabitants would never notice their disappearance if they dropped absolutely out of existence. If we can imagine these faint survivals becoming once more great and powerful realities, or rather becoming greater and more powerful than they ever were in the noonday of the feudal system, if we can imagine them making and unmaking ministries, and determining the destiny of England, then, as it seems to me, we may also imagine the *Commune* of Florence or of Siena descending from the *Curiae* of the Imperial age.

<sup>1</sup> Savigny, i. 365; Diehl, 107; Hegel, i. 303.

NOTE G. ON THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF THE SENATE OF ROME DURING THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES. NOTE G.

THE question discussed in the previous chapter as to the duration of the local *Curiae* suggests one of equal difficulty with reference to the venerable mother of all *Curiae*, the Senate of Rome.

The harsh treatment which this body suffered at the hands of Totila has been recorded in the fourth volume<sup>1</sup>. Where Totila only upbraided and imprisoned, his more ruthless successor Teias put to death<sup>2</sup>; but this was not a universal massacre, and many Senators were at this time safely harboured in Sicily. Doubtless therefore a considerable number returned to Rome after the fall of the Gothic domination; and that they once more assembled *as a Senate* is proved by the before-mentioned clause in the Pragmatic Sanction, which entrusts to the Senate, in conjunction with the Pope, the superintendence of the weights and measures for the Italian provinces<sup>3</sup>. It does not seem, however, to have been part of the policy of the Byzantine Emperors to treat the Senate with the same deference which Theodoric generally showed towards that body. The letters of Pope Gregory do not allude to any important political action taken by them, not even when we might naturally have looked for it, as for instance in connection with the peace concluded with Agilulf. From an expression used by Gregory in his homily on Ezekiel about the 'falling of the Senate'<sup>4</sup>, some have inferred that the Senate actually came to an end at this time, a conclusion which seems confirmed by the words of Agnellus of Ravenna, assigning the decay of the Senate to the period of the Lombard conquest<sup>5</sup>. Both these statements, however, may be accounted for by the tone of

<sup>1</sup> pp. 564, 570.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. iv. p. 734.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 523.

<sup>4</sup> 'Quia enim Senatus deest populus interiit' (ii. 6).

<sup>5</sup> 'Deinde paulatim Romanus defecit Senatus, et post Romanorum libertas cum triumpho sublata est' (§ 95, p. 338, ed. M. G. H.).

NOTE G. oratorical exaggeration natural to the pulpit. A more serious symptom is the entire silence of the Papal biographer as to any senatorial action during the seventh and the first half of the eighth centuries. As the Senate had, at an earlier time, taken a leading part in the election of the Popes, this absolute silence on the part of the Papal biographer is the more remarkable, and makes one almost ready to accept Hegel's conclusion<sup>1</sup>, that the Senate did really cease to exist in the lifetime of Gregory the Great, or soon after his death.

But after all this is only that most dangerous mode of reasoning, the *argumentum e silentio*. And the silence is broken in an extraordinary manner in the eighth century by certain letters from the Popes to the Frankish kings. In 757, Pope Paul I writes to Pippin in order to assure him of the devotion of the Roman people to his cause. The letter<sup>2</sup> is entitled 'Pippino Regi Francorum et Patricio Romanorum *omnis Senatus atque universa Populi generalitas*.' Another letter of the same Pope uses the expression, 'cunctus procerum *Senatus* atque diversi populi congregatio<sup>3</sup>.' In 776 Pope Hadrian I, in writing to the Emperor Charles, says that he 'cum Episcopis, Sacerdotibus, clero atque Senatu et universo populo,' prays God to give the victory to the Frankish king<sup>4</sup>. The Papal biographer also mentions that this same Pope, in his dedication of a chapel to St. Peter, was accompanied in triumphal procession 'cum cuncto Clero suo *Senatuque Romano*<sup>5</sup>.' The next Pope, Leo III (795-816), on his return to Rome, is met by 'tam Proceres clericorum cum omnibus clericis, quamque Optimates *et Senatus* cunctaque Militia et universus populus Romanus<sup>6</sup>.'

These quotations certainly give us the impression that the Senate was still a visibly existing body down to the end of the ninth century. The view, however, taken by some commentators<sup>7</sup>, from whom I am loth to dissent, is, that *Senatus* is here a mere form of speech, due to the revival of memories of Old Rome at the time of the erection of the Franco-

<sup>1</sup> I. 275. Diehl, who here follows Hegel, says—too positively as it seems to me,—'un fait demeure certain, depuis la fin du sixième siècle, et durant toute l'époque byzantine, le sénat romain avait complètement cessé d'exister' (p. 127).

<sup>2</sup> Codex Carolinus, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 59.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. Pont. i. 506 (ed. Duchesne).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. ii. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Especially Hegel, i. 276-281, and Diehl, 127.

Roman Empire, memories which were doubtless fostered by the great letters S. P. Q. R. on so many Roman monuments. According to this view *Senatus* is merely another way of saying 'the Roman nobility.' NOTE G.

It may be so, but I confess that I do not like, after having relied so strongly on the argument from silence drawn from the scanty records of the century and a half from 600 to 750, when at length we come to a period of much more copious information, and then meet pretty frequently with the word *Senatus*, to turn round and say, 'True, the word is there, but it has changed its meaning.' I should rather be inclined to suggest, that though the Roman Senate had undoubtedly fallen from its high estate, and was no longer even such as it had been in the days of Theodoric, it may have lingered on as the Roman *Curia*, a sort of glorified vestry, attending to so much local and urban business as the *Dux Romae* and the ever-widening activity of the Pope were willing to leave it.

Even so, however, it cannot have continued long. When we come to the tenth century, to the rule of Theodora and Marozia, their lovers and their sons, and find these miserable women wearing the title of *Senatrix*, and their male adherents disgracing the once mighty name of *Senator*, we see that the Senate as a body must have ceased to exist, and only dim recollections of vanished senatorial dignity can have lingered in the minds of the degenerate citizens of Rome.

Partly in this connection I may notice a suggestion of Hegel (i. 294-299), which has, I think, a very important bearing on the question of the continued existence of the *Curiae*. He points out that in the documents and chronicles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries we find the word *Curia* used obviously with the meaning of *Court*. Thus we have *Curia Papae*, *Curia Regalis*, and so on: *curialis* is equivalent to courtly, and *curialitas* to courtliness or courtesy. This usage in France and Germany can be traced as far back as the ninth century. It curiously, and at first rather perplexingly, intertwines itself with the use of *Curtis* for the same thing. This latter word, probably connected with the Latin *cohors*, came to mean (as our word *court*, derived from it, means) either the park-like entrance surrounding a mansion, or the residence and retinue of a king or great nobleman.

NOTE G. Now, how did these two words, *Curia* and *Curtis*, come to be so singularly interchanged? Hegel suggests that *Curia*, the place of meeting of the old local senate, became literally the *court-house*, the place where the governing bodies of later centuries (not then composed of the poor, down-trodden, and now vanished *curiales*, but of really influential citizens, *optimates*, *seniores*, and so forth) held their sittings. In this very building, the ruler, as he became more of a feudal lord, 'held his court.' And thus, the scent still clinging to the casket, though its original contents had disappeared, *Curia* as a building regained the meaning which it had possessed long centuries before, of *the home of the rulers of the city*.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### POLITICAL STATE OF LOMBARD ITALY.

#### Authorities.

#### Sources :—

PAULUS DIACONUS and the LOMBARD LAWS.

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#### Guides :—

The authors who have treated of the subject of the following chapter—one of the most difficult in the history of the Middle Ages—are numerous and important. I will not attempt to enumerate even all whom I have myself consulted, but will mention the four from whom I have derived most assistance.

1. *Savigny*, in the first volume of his 'Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter,' argues with unsurpassed force and weight of learning on behalf of his favourite theory that not only Roman Law, but to some extent Roman institutions and Roman franchises, survived the storm of the barbarian conquest of Italy. The Lombard laws, in his view, concerned the Lombards alone, and he believes that the Romans in Italy lived their own life, molested doubtless, but not deprived of all rights of citizenship by their conquerors.

2. Against this view *Troya*, in almost every page of his 'Codice diplomatico-Longobardo,' argues with nearly equal learning, with great *copia verborum*, and, it must be confessed, with much wearisome repetition. He will have none of Savigny's theory of Personal Law in Lombard times; and at each successive

BOOK VII. enactment he stops to ask the question, 'How could this apply  
 CH. 14. to the Lombard only and not to the Roman also? Must not this law be *territorial*?'

3. *Hegel*, in his 'Geschichte der Städteverfassung von Italien,' adopts in the main the same views as *Troya*, but defends them in a calmer tone, and with a wider survey of the whole field of controversy. He is to my mind the most helpful writer we have had on the question of the origin of the Italian Republics.

4. But on the whole, for a concise, clear, and temperate statement of the question of the condition of the Romans under the Lombards, there is nothing better than what *Hegel* calls the two precious essays of Marquis *Gino Capponi*, 'Sulla dominazione dei Longobardi in Italia.' They are in the shape of letters addressed to his friend Prof. *Pietro Capei*, and were published in the *Archivio Storico Italiano* (App. 7), but have been reprinted separately. They occupy only fifty-four pages, but contain an admirable summary of the whole question now before us. *Capponi* is mainly on the side of *Troya* and opposed to *Savigny*, but he suggests several lines of thought which will not be found in either of those authors. I could wish that a translation of these valuable essays were in the hands of the English reader.

WE now turn to consider the political and social state of the much larger portion of Italy which was under the rule of the Lombard conquerors. Our enquiry into this part of the subject may be shorter than that which occupied us in the last chapter. Documentary evidence (except that furnished by the laws, which we have already examined) is scanty and obscure. The best evidence is that which is furnished by the actual history of the Lombard State as exhibited in the course of these two volumes, and from that evidence each individual reader can form his own conclusion.

Thus in the first place, as to him who stood at the

head of the State, the king of the Lombards in his palace-hall at Pavia, we can feel instinctively what perhaps cannot be expressed scientifically, how the two elements of election and hereditary descent concurred, when the throne was vacant, towards the determination of its next occupant. The element of popular election, present in all these Teutonic monarchies, was there, but there was also a strong preference for the representatives of certain special lines of descent, especially during all the seventh century for the representatives of the sainted Theudelinda. Thus the succession to the throne, though much less strictly hereditary than that which obtained amongst the Franks, was much more so than that of the Visigoths. In Spain before the Moorish conquest and after the fall of the monarchy of Toulouse there was hardly a single royal family that succeeded in maintaining itself for more than two generations, whereas Aripert II, who got possession of the throne in 700, was descended in the fourth degree from the brother of Theudelinda.

The king of the Lombards, if he were a man of any force of character, was able to make his will felt very effectively, at any rate through all the north of Italy. He moved the national army whither he would: his favour could make or mar the fortunes of a subject: and the fabric of his wealth, the foundation of which was laid in the day when at the close of the interregnum the thirty-six dukes surrendered each one-half of his domains to the newly-elected Authari, was doubtless raised higher and higher by the confiscation of the property of rebellious nobles, and especially by the multitude of fines which, as we have seen in commenting on the laws of Rothari and Liutprand,

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Monarchy  
elective  
and here-  
ditary.Kingly  
power.

BOOK VII. were payable to 'the King's Court' or 'the King's  
 CH. 14. Palace <sup>1</sup>.'

'The king's rights' (I borrow here the language of a great German jurist <sup>2</sup>) 'as limited by popular freedom were the following. The laws were devised by him in consultation with the great men and nobles of the land, then accepted by the collected army which formed the assembly of the people, and given forth in his name. He was the supreme judge, but, like other national judges, he was assisted by jurors <sup>3</sup> in finding the verdict. From him went forth the summons to the host, but without doubt war, before being declared, was first talked over with the great men and approved in the assembly of the people, which was generally held on the 1st of March. The public domain, that is all the land that was not divided among private persons, was his, and was administered by officers specially named by him, the *gastalds*. It was he who safe-guarded the peace of the community: therefore the highest criminal jurisdiction was in his hands, and was partly exercised by him directly, partly handed over to his own officers or to the heads of the people. The former mode was generally adopted when the disturbers of the peace were great and powerful persons. All crimes against the commonwealth, such as treason, disturbance of the national assembly, and the like, were punished by the king, either with death or with the maximum fine (900 solidi), and an equally

<sup>1</sup> Fines for breach of the peace and maladministration of justice are said to be payable to the king's palace; for certain acts of immorality, to the king's court. Pabst (p. 444) thinks there is an important distinction here, but I do not clearly understand what it is.

<sup>2</sup> Hegel, i. 448-450.

<sup>3</sup> Schöffen.

heavy penalty avenged any breach of the peace which occurred in the king's palace. Even of the fines which were inflicted for injuries on private persons, one half [as a general rule] went to the king to atone for the breach of the public peace, while the other half went as solace and compensation to the injured party. Moreover the king exercised the highest police-jurisdiction, and took the necessary precautions for the safety of persons and property throughout the land. Without his permission, no free man accompanied by his clan (*fara*) might change his residence even within the kingdom [still less leave the country]: no one might exercise the craft of a goldsmith or coin money. Under his especial protection were all churches and convents with their appurtenances, as well as foreigners settling in the realm (*wargangi*). He also represented the woman as against her guardian (*mundwald*), the retainer as against his lord, and afforded a last refuge to men otherwise unarmed and unprotected. Out of these rights as universal patron or supreme guardian there arose for him various claims of inheritance which he exercised on behalf of the community when private heirs failed.'

So far Hegel. But great as were the powers of the Lombard king when wielded by a strong and vigorous arm, it must not be forgotten that, as Hegel and other enquirers have pointed out, one influence which in other States did much to consolidate and strengthen royal power was wanting here. The Church, which undoubtedly did so much to establish the Frankish and the Saxon monarchies, seems to have been always cold towards that of the Lombards, nor could all the lavish gifts of kings and dukes to basilica and

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CH. 14.

Royal power not helped by the Church.

BOOK VII. monastery do more than win a kind of grudging assent  
 CH. 14. to the proposition that the *nefandus Langobardus* was somewhat less intolerable than aforesaid.

The Iron  
 Crown  
 of the  
 Lombards.

Before we leave the subject of the Lombard kings, something must be said as to the chief emblem of their dignity, the far-famed Iron Crown<sup>1</sup>. In the Church of St. John the Baptist at Monza is still to be seen that little golden circlet ('15 centimetres in diameter, 5·3 centimetres high') which was guarded there among the most precious treasures of the Church for more than twelve centuries. It is made in six separate pieces, and it has in it twenty-two jewels of various kinds (chiefly pearls and emeralds), twenty-six golden roses, and twenty-four finely wrought enamels. But that which has given the crown its name and its special historic interest is not its precious gems, but the thin circlet of iron (only 3 oz. in weight and a centimetre high) which runs round the inside of the diadem. This iron rim is now said to be composed of a nail which was used in the crucifixion of Christ, and was brought from Jerusalem by Helena, mother of Constantine. With this precious ring of iron the crown of Constantine may have been adorned: it may have travelled from Constantinople to Rome: it may have been sent by Pope Gregory the Great to Theudelinda, though it is not probable that he would dare to give to a Lombard queen the emblems of Imperial sovereignty. But for all these conjectures, whether probable or improbable,

<sup>1</sup> There is a helpful article on the Lombard crowns in Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities. The plates representing them at p. 460 of the first volume of Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* are especially valuable now that one of the crowns has perished. See also Prof. Freeman's *Historical and Architectural Sketches*, pp. 266-270.

there does not exist any shadow of proof : and, in fact, the theory of the connection of the Iron Crown with the sacred nail cannot be certainly traced back for more than three or four centuries, and is generally considered to have received its death-blow at the hands of Muratori. To one who, like the present writer, views with the utmost suspicion all the supposed discoveries at Jerusalem of the enthusiastic and credulous Helena, the question of one fiction less or more in connection with the sacred nails is not extremely interesting, and does not seem worth the tons of printed paper which have already been devoted to it. But the story of the Crown for its own sake, and as a great historic emblem, is undoubtedly interesting.

Till the twelfth century it appears to have been always called the *Corona Aurea* ; after that, the name of *Corona Ferrea* gradually became more usual ; and in the fourteenth century the Emperors Henry VII and Lewis the Bavarian being for some reason unable to obtain the precious so-called Iron Crown itself, are said to have been crowned with one made entirely of iron <sup>1</sup>. This baser rival however soon vanishes from the scene, and the true Iron-Golden Crown re-appears, and is used for the coronation of Charles IV, the author of the Golden Bull, and Charles V, the world-wide Emperor. Strangest of all the scenes in the history of the venerable ornament was that when, in the hands of a French Master of the Ceremonies, accompanied by the Arch-priest and twelve citizens of Monza (dressed by their own especial desire in uniform), and escorted by fifty-six cavalry soldiers, it was transferred on the 18th of May, 1805, to the Cathedral of Milan, where eight

<sup>1</sup> Marimonti, Storia di Monza, 110 and 114.

BOOK VII. days after, the son of a Corsican attorney placed it on  
 CH. 14. his imperial brow, uttering the well-known words,  
 ‘Dio me l’ha data, guai a chi la toccherà!’

But though the Iron Crown still survives at Monza, a scarcely less interesting relic of Lombard domination has disappeared almost in our own days. Side by side with the Iron Crown were to be seen at Monza in the time of Muratori two other crowns, one of Agilulf and one of Theudelinda. The former, in some respects the most interesting of the three, was adorned with figures of Our Saviour, two Angels, and the Twelve Apostles, each standing in an alcove of laurel boughs. It had 65 carbuncles and emeralds and 158 pearls, and round the bottom of it ran an inscription recording that ‘Agilulf the glorious man, by Divine grace king of the whole of Italy, offered this crown to St. John the Baptist in the church of Monza<sup>2</sup>.’ Unfortunately this most interesting historical relic must now be spoken of in the past tense. Having been carried off by Napoleon to Paris, it was kept there among the treasures of the Bibliothèque Nationale, but in January, 1804, it was stolen by one of the custodians named Charlier, and carried off by him to Amsterdam, the gold melted, and the jewels sold. The thief was captured and died in prison, but the crown of the noble Agilulf was irrecoverably lost<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> ‘God has given it to me. Woe betide him who shall touch it.’ The ceremony of transportation is minutely described by Marimonti, pp. 119-121.

<sup>2</sup> ‘AGILVLV . GRAT . DĪ . VIR . GLOR . REX . TOTIVS . ITAL . OFFERET . SĪCŌ . IOHANNI . BAPTISTE . IN . ECCLĪA . MODICIA.’

<sup>3</sup> I take some of these particulars from Theodore de Murr’s *Dissertatio de Coronâ Regni Italiae, vulgo Ferreâ dictâ* (Munich, 1810). He says that Charlier (whom he rightly calls ‘furfifer’—



As for the Iron Crown itself, after figuring in the coronation of two Austrian Emperors at Milan, it was after the battle of Solferino carried eastward to Venice, the last stronghold of Austrian power in Italy, and only after the war of 1866 was it brought back to its old home in Monza, where it may be hoped that it will now rest, to be used hereafter only for the coronation of the sovereigns of an united Italy.

Passing now from the Royal to the Ducal office, we observe first a curious fact. The history of the interregnum and the high position attained by the rulers of Spoleto and Benevento, together with many other indications of the same kind, clearly show that the Duke was a most important person in the Lombard State, no foreign importation, but a home-growth of the Teutonic genius, and yet we are entirely unacquainted with his true national name. *Dux* is of course Latin, taken over as we have seen from the Imperial hierarchy of office. Neither Paulus nor the laws of Rothari nor those of Liutprand give us the slightest indication how the office of Gisulf or Farwald was spoken of by himself and by his countrymen when no ecclesiastic was at hand to translate their language into the barbarous Latin of a legal document. We may conjecture that the Lombard name was some compound of *Ari*, the equivalent of army<sup>1</sup>, and thus that it may have resembled the Anglo-Saxon *Heretoga* (Army-leader), but this can be only a conjecture, and

gallows-bird) died in prison of indigestion caused by eating too much meat-pie and drinking too much brandy.

<sup>1</sup> Found in Aripert, Arichis, Ariwald, &c.

BOOK VII. raises the further question, 'Had the Lombards any  
 CH. 14. word like *Ealdorman* to express the civil as distinct from the military duties of this great functionary, to describe the duke when sitting on the judgment-seat rather than when leading his warriors to battle<sup>1</sup>?'

The power and the possibilities of power residing in the office of the Lombard duke have been perhaps sufficiently indicated in the course of the preceding history. We have seen how an office which was at first delegated only for life, became in some cases virtually hereditary; how the perpetual rebellions of the Lombard dukes against their sovereign divided and enfeebled the State; how these rebellions were suppressed, and the dukes of Northern Italy were brought into comparative subjection and subordination before the end of the seventh century; but how far harder even the great Liutprand found it to deal with the semi-independent dukes of Spoleto and Benevento. As to these latter princes and their relation to the central authority, our information is extremely vague. We can see that there was no close cohesion, but we are perhaps hardly entitled to assert that there was during the greater part of Lombard history absolute alienation and hostility between them. Matrimonial alliances between the families of king and duke are not uncommon: the sons of the duke are friendly visitors at Pavia: when occasion arises they can work together against Emperor or Exarch. Thus, though it is undeniable that the tie which bound the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento to the Northern kingdom was a somewhat loose one, and though commentators are right in calling attention to the pointed omission of

<sup>1</sup> See Kemble, *The Saxons in England*, ii. 126.

the names of these dukes in the prologues to the laws even of the great Liutprand<sup>1</sup>, it is not quite certain that we are right in deducing from this latter circumstance that they were really disaffected to the Lombard king. With the Flaminian Way still more or less blocked by Imperial troops, it might be unsafe for a great personage like the duke of Spoleto or Benevento to travel to Pavia without an escort, which would have been in fact an army. And it is noteworthy in this connection, that at none of the later diets held by Liutprand (not even when Benevento at any rate was loyal, being under the rule of the king's nephew, Gregory) have we any express mention of the presence at these assemblies of nobles from either of the southern duchies.

In connection with the ducal office generally, (passing on from the question of the larger semi-independent duchies), it will be well to notice an institution, peculiar, or nearly so<sup>2</sup>, to the Lombard State, that of the *gastaldat*. The *gastald*, whose name was

<sup>1</sup> For instance, the prologues to the laws of March 1, 717, 'Similiter modo cum omnibus iudiciis nostris de partibus Austriae, Neustrie necnon et de Tuscie finibus seu et ceteris nostris Langobardis'; March 1, 720, 'Una cum inlustribus viris optimatibus meis Neustrie, Austrie et de Tuscie partibus, vel universis nobilibus Langobardis.' On this Pabst remarks, 'We know that the dukes of Benevento and Spoleto did not appear at the first diets. Liutprand ignores their absence, and acts just as if those regions belonged not at all to his kingdom.' But surely the words about 'the other noble Lombards' are meant to apply to them?

<sup>2</sup> Ducange quotes a passage from Theophanes (A.M. 6169) referring to the *κασταλδοι* of the Chagan of the Avars: also from Ordericus Vitalis speaking rhetorically of the 'Satellites et Gastaldi' of the Norman kings of England. But is it not probably in the latter case a 'loan-word' from the Lombards?

BOOK VII. probably derived from the Gothic word *gastaldan*, to  
 CH. 14. acquire or possess, seems to have been a royal officer whose special business it was to collect the fines due to the king, and to administer the royal domain, distributed as it was through the various districts of Italy. It is a not improbable conjecture of Hegel, that when, at the restoration of the kingship, the dukes surrendered half of their territories in order to constitute such royal domain, this was a division of land, not of the revenues accruing from land, and that this may have been the occasion on which *gastalds* were appointed in order to safe-guard the king's rights in the surrendered districts; to collect his rents and taxes; to judge the causes which arose within their *gastaldat*; and to lead forth to war the free Lombards who dwelt therein. Whether he lived in the same city as the duke we cannot say: probably in most cases he would fix his abode in a town of secondary importance. But it is essential to observe that the *gastalds* thus holding the king's commission were, and were meant to be, a check upon the power of the dukes, who though in theory themselves also the nominated servants of the Crown, were fast becoming hereditary rulers. Thus the two principles, what may be called by an anachronism the feudal principle and that of the centralised monarchy, being represented respectively by the duke and the *gastald*, were set over against one another, and exercised upon one another a reciprocal control. As was said in the laws of Rothari, 'If a duke shall unjustly harass one of his men-at-arms, let the *gastald* relieve him until he find out the truth, and bring him to justice, either in the presence of the king, or at least before his duke.' 'If any *gastald*

shall unreasonably harass his man-at-arms, let the duke relieve him until he shall find out the truth of his case <sup>BOOK VII.</sup> <sup>CH. 14.</sup> 1.'

It is to be noted, as a sign of the semi-independent position of the two great Southern dukes, that no royal *gastalds* appear to have existed in their dominions, but they appointed *gastalds* of their own, who seem to have been of somewhat inferior position to their namesakes in the rest of Italy, holding a delegated authority from the duke, each one in the little *actus* or township which formed the administrative unit in the duchy of Benevento, perhaps also in that of Spoleto. Meanwhile the duke himself lived almost in royal splendour at Benevento or Spoleto. His court was the centre of all power and all brilliancy. He had his chancellor (*referendarius*), his high constable (*marpahis*), his grand chamberlain and master of the robes (*cubicularius* and *vestararius*), and his grand treasurer (*stolesaz*). And, significant fact, in his charters and donations he always mentioned the year of his own reign, and forgot to mention that of his sovereign who was reigning at Pavia.

For Lombard Italy as a whole we find the number of *gastalds* apparently increasing, and that of the *duces* diminishing, as the seventh century wears on. In *civitates* such as those of Parma and Piacenza, which had been betrayed by their dukes to the Empire, it was natural that Agilulf, when he recovered them,

<sup>1</sup> l. 23: 'Si dux exercitalem suum molestaverit injustè gastaldius eum solatiet, quousque veritatem suam inveniat, et in praesentiam regis aut certè apud ducem suum ad justitiam perducat.'

l. 24: 'Si quis gastaldius exercitalem suum molestaverit contra rationem, dux eum solaciet, quousque veritatem suam inveniat.'

BOOK VII. should appoint not an aspiring duke but a subservient  
 CH. 14. *gastald* to administer the affairs of the city, and that he should speak of these places as 'cities of our royal house<sup>1</sup>'. Rothari too when he won from the Greeks the fair cities on the coast of the Riviera, probably put them under the rule of his *gastalds*. And in some of those cases in which the rebellion of a turbulent duke was with difficulty suppressed (as for instance in the case of Treviso), it seems probable that the king, while confiscating the private property of the duke, added his territory to the royal domain, and divided it up into *gastaldats*.

Besides the *gastald*, there were other officers of the royal domain called by the general name of *actores regis*, the gradation of whose rank and various duties it is not easy to discover<sup>2</sup>. It is interesting however to observe the important, even judicial functions of the *saltarius* or forester<sup>3</sup>. The *sculdahis*, or *sculdhaizo*<sup>4</sup>, of whom frequent mention is made in the laws, seems to have been not unlike one of our justices of the peace. His title ('the enforcer of obligations<sup>5</sup>') seems to show that it rested with him to enforce obedience to the decisions of the court above; and the words by

The *sculdahis*.

<sup>1</sup> 'Domus nostrae civitates' (Troja, Cœd. Dip. Long. ii. 534).

<sup>2</sup> Such are the *scario*, *oviscario* and *scaffardus* who are mentioned in the laws and charters. See Pabst, p. 496.

<sup>3</sup> Laws of Liutprand, 44, 85. The *saltarius* is one of the magistrates charged (under heavy penalties for remissness) with the pursuit of fugitive slaves and the discovery and punishment of witches.

<sup>4</sup> The name of the *sculdahis* still survives in the German *Schultheiss*.

<sup>5</sup> So Meyer: 'Wörtlich derjenige, dem es oblag Verpflichtungen (*sculd*) zu befehlen (*haizan*).'

which Paulus Diaconus translates it (*rector loci*<sup>1</sup>) show us that practically the *sculdahis* was the chief man in the little town or village in which he dwelt.

The particular *sculdahis* of whom Paulus speaks in this passage was that Argait whose unfortunate name, coupled with his want of success in capturing the Sclovene robbers from over the mountains, exposed him to the clumsy banter of Duke Ferdulf of Friuli, and led to the loss of hundreds of Lombard lives through Argait's fool-hardy attempt to wipe off the stain upon his honour<sup>2</sup>. But notwithstanding this error, Paulus tells us that he was 'a noble man, powerful in courage and strength'; in fact, just like a stalwart, hot-tempered English squire, more terrible with that strong sword-arm of his, than successful in matching his wits against the shifty, nimble, petty thieves<sup>3</sup> from over the border.

The organisation of the Lombard State was undoubtedly crude and somewhat barbarous, though in the very quaintness of its barbarism there is a certain charm when we compare it with the pompous and effete hierarchy of Byzantine officialism. But the question which, as I have already often hinted, attracts while it continually eludes us is, 'What was the condition of the earlier population of Italy, of the men who though of various stocks all called themselves Roman, under these their Lombard conquerors?' This question, as I have said, must attract us. After we have followed the history of the Imperial race from

Condition  
of the van-  
quished  
Romans  
under the  
Lombards.

<sup>1</sup> 'Subsecutus est hos rector loci illius, quem *sculdahis* linguâ propriâ dicunt, vir nobilis animoque et viribus potens; sed tamen eosdem latrunculos adsequi non potuit' (H. L. vi. 24).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 329.

<sup>3</sup> 'latrunculi.'

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the hut of Faustus to the glories of the Palatine and the Capitol, after gazing in many widely sundered lands on the handiwork of the Roman legionary and thus learning afresh in manhood the marvel of the schoolboy's commonplaces concerning 'the lords of the world, the nation of the toga,' how can we turn away from them in the day of their calamity, or fail to enquire how the sons of Italy, when their turn came to be enslaved, bore themselves in their bondage?

But the question, though it must be asked, cannot be satisfactorily answered. The pit of ruin into which Rome fell was so deep that scarcely a voice reaches us from its dark recesses. The Greek in similar circumstances would surely have told us something of his reverses. He would have written histories or sung elegies, or in some way or other coined his sorrows into gold. The Roman, always naturally unexpressive, endured, was silent, and died. The actual evidence as to the condition of the Latin population under their Lombard lords is scanty, and can soon be summarised for the reader. The conjectures with which we cannot help filling up the blank interstices of that evidence are endless, and a volume would be needed to discuss them thoroughly.

Paulus  
Diaconus  
on the  
land-set-  
tlement  
of the  
Lombards.

To begin with, there is the important statement by Paulus of the results of the Lombard conquest to which reference has already been made<sup>1</sup>. 'In these days [under the rule of the thirty dukes, just after the death of Alboin] many of the noble Romans were slain through avarice. But the rest being divided among their "guests" on condition of paying the third

<sup>1</sup> See vol. v. p. 188.



part of their produce to the Lombards, are made tributaries<sup>1</sup>.

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The general purport of this passage is clear enough. The largest land-owners among the Romans, the nobles who owned any *latifundia* which might still exist in Italy, were, as a rule, killed by the greedy Lombards, who probably portioned out their lands among them. The rest of the Roman inhabitants (for so surely we must understand the passage, not 'the rest of the nobles') found themselves assigned as 'hosts' to the new-comers who were their 'guests,' and bound to pay over to them one-third of the produce of their lands. The result of this revolution was of course in a certain sense to take away their freedom and make them tributaries (that is, not 'tenants' but more nearly 'serfs') to the invading Lombards. We have here therefore again nearly the same process which we have already watched in the Italy of Odovacar and Theodoric. The word *hospes* (host or guest) is a technical one in this connexion, and expresses with unintended irony the relation in which the poor dispossessed Roman stood to his most unwelcome guest<sup>2</sup>. Only we have to notice this difference, that whereas in Odovacar's and Theodoric's land-settlements and in that of the Burgundians and Visigoths a third or other fraction of the land itself was taken by the invader,

<sup>1</sup> 'His diebus multi nobilium Romanorum ob cupiditatem intercepti sunt. Reliqui vero per hospites divisi, ut tertiam partem suarum frugum Langobardis persolverent, tributarii efficiuntur' (Paulus, H. L. ii. 32).

<sup>2</sup> As Savigny says (i. 400), '*hospes* was the special word used to express the relation engendered by the land-settlement'; and (i. 298), 'Not only was the Roman called the Burgundian's *hospes*, but also *vice versâ*.'

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here it was a third of the *produce* of the land to which he helped himself. This is an important difference, and at once raises the question, 'Was it a third of the gross produce of the soil, or was the "host" allowed to take subsistence for himself and those who helped him in the cultivation first, and then to pay a third of the net produce to his "guest"?' If the latter, the tribute was, as such things went, fair and moderate: if the former, it is considered that it was equivalent to taking two-thirds of the net produce, and that it probably left but a narrow margin for the cultivator and his family. We have no means of deciding the question, but it seems on the whole most likely that the harsher view is the true one, and that the Lombard took his third of everything grown on the land before the Roman was allowed any wages for his labour<sup>1</sup>.

The Lombards took not a third of the land, but a third of the produce of the land.

However this may be, the following consequences seem necessarily to flow from the fact that the Lombards took from the previous inhabitants of Italy, not a quota of land, but a quota of produce. In the first place, they were themselves thus exempted from the necessity of agricultural labour. They could live like gentlemen on the tribute paid by their down-trodden 'hosts,' could perhaps drift into the cities, or go hunting in the forests: in short, they missed that sobering, steadying influence which is given to the cultivator of the soil by his long annual struggle with Nature.

<sup>1</sup> Savigny took originally the view most favourable to the Lombards, but abandoned it in his second edition. Leo, Hegel, and Troya all contend for the 'third of gross produce.' Hegel especially urges (i. 357) that to adopt Savigny's original view is to make the 'nefandissimi Langobardi' the mildest and most generous of all the Teutonic conquerors.

Secondly, the softening and harmonising influence which is sometimes exercised by neighbourhood and a common pursuit was necessarily here wanting. Cassiodorus<sup>1</sup> says that Liberius, to whom was assigned the duty of marking out the Thirds in the Ostrogothic land settlement, so fulfilled his mission as actually to draw the men of the two nations closer together. 'For whereas men are wont to come into collision on account of their being neighbours, with these men the common holding of their farms proved in practice a reason for concord<sup>2</sup>.' Doubtless this statement is coloured by the official optimism which is characteristic of its author, but in the Lombard land settlement such a result was impossible. The Lombard *hospes* was a landlord, often probably an absentee landlord, and was hated accordingly.

For, thirdly, the necessary result of taking not land but a portion of his yearly produce from the Roman cultivator, was to make of him, as Paulus says, a 'tributarius,' and thus to deprive him, more or less, of his freedom. When the Ostrogothic or Rugian 'guest' had with the high hand taken the allotted portion away from his Roman neighbour, it was nothing to him what that neighbour did with the rest. He might starve or grow fat on his diminished holding; he might drift away to Rome or Constantinople; he might enter the service of the Church, or join the army of diggers who by Theodoric's orders were draining the marshes of Terracina,—it was all one to the barbarian 'guest' who had been quartered upon him. But the Lombard who had received not land but the arms of the subject-race for his portion,

<sup>1</sup> Variarum, ii. 16.<sup>2</sup> See vol. iii. p. 303.

would undoubtedly insist that his 'host' should remain upon the land and make it bring forth as plenteous crops as he could, and the whole force of the new rough barbarian kingdom would back his claim. Thus the Roman, lately perhaps a free cultivator, became not a tenant but a *tributarius*, and practically a 'serf bound to the soil' <sup>1</sup>.

Obscure  
passage in  
Paulus  
about the  
division  
of the  
*hospites*.

We next come to a mysterious and difficult sentence of Paulus, which has been more discussed than anything else written by its author, and has given rise to almost as much controversy as the celebrated sentences of Tacitus as to the land-system of the Germans. After describing the period of the interregnum and how it was ended by the elevation of Authari to the throne, his assumption of the title Flavius, and the surrender by the dukes of half their property 'to royal uses in order that there might be a fund out of which the king himself, his adherents, and those who were bound to his service by their various offices might be supported,' Paulus says, '*Populi tamen adgravati per Langobardos hospites partiuntur* <sup>2</sup>.' He then goes on to describe the happy estate of the kingdom of the Lombards under Authari, the absence of robbery and crime, the cessation of unjust exactions (*angaria*), and the fearless security with which every one went about his lawful business.

In the earlier pages of this history <sup>3</sup> I have suggested as a translation of the above sentence, ' [In this division] the subject populations who had been

<sup>1</sup> Hegel (i. 402) strongly argues that we must not think of the Romans under the Lombards as mere *coloni*, but as a somewhat higher class, like the Frankish *lites*. Still I think 'serfs bound to the soil' fitly describes their condition.

<sup>2</sup> H. L. iii. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. v. p. 232.

assigned to their several Lombard guests were [also] included': that is to say, that along with the lands the tributary Roman populations settled upon them were handed over to the king. This seems to be the sense required by the general drift of the passage, but it must be confessed that it is difficult to get it out of the sentence as it stands<sup>1</sup>. What seems an easier translation is offered by Marquis Capponi<sup>2</sup>: 'The tributary populations (*populi adgravati*) however are divided' (that is remain divided) 'among their Lombard guests.' This translation gives a good meaning to the word *tamen* (however), but it is difficult to get 'remain divided' out of *partiuntur*, and it is also in itself improbable. For what would be the object of handing over to the king broad lands denuded of the tributary Romans who cultivated them, and what would the surrendering dukes do with the great populations thus thrown on their hands and deprived of the land from which they derived their sustenance?

On the whole, without going minutely here into the various and sometimes desperate devices which have been resorted to in order to obtain a satisfactory meaning from the passage, the safest course seems to be to acquiesce in the decision of Capponi, that, whatever may be its construction, it is too obscure to make it safe to resort to it for any fresh information as to the condition of the vanquished Romans. The subject with which Paulus is mainly dealing is the financial arrangements made between the dukes and their new

<sup>1</sup> For why should we have 'tamen' after 'populi,' and why should we not have 'etiam,' and why not 'inter regem et duces' instead of 'inter Langobardos hospites'?

<sup>2</sup> 'Sui Longobardi in Italia,' p. 18.

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sovereign. These it is probably hopeless now to understand, but it seems clear that the system by which the Roman landowner was made tributary to a Lombard *hospes* still remained in force, whoever that *hospes* may have been <sup>1</sup>.

Light  
thrown  
by the  
Lombard  
laws on  
the ques-  
tion of the  
condition  
of the van-  
quished  
Romans.

Having gathered such scanty information as we could from the pages of Paulus, let us now turn to consider what light is thrown by the Lombard laws on the condition of the vanquished Romans. The laws of Rothari, as we have seen, are eloquently silent as to the very name of Roman. Except for the one contemptuous allusion to the case of a Roman female slave (*ancilla Romana*) whose seduction was to be atoned for by a fine scarcely more than half that which was payable for the seduction of a Teutonic slave (*ancilla gentilis*), we might have supposed that Rothari and his counsellors lived on a planet to which the fame of Rome had never reached. We find however in these very laws a large number of enactments as to the rights and wrongs of the *Aldius*, a man who,

<sup>1</sup> Savigny's explanation (i. 401) is nearly the same as Capponi's: 'The king was endowed by the nobles. The Romans were in the meantime divided among the individual Lombards as their *hospites*, and the old relation between them remained unchanged.'

Hegel's (i. 353) is somewhat similar: 'The king repressed acts of lawless violence, but there was no change in the general condition of the conquered Romans. They remained divided among their *hospites*.'

Troya (*Storia d'Italia*, i. 5. ccccx) contends that the true reading is 'patiuntur,' and translates, 'The dukes gave half of their property to the king: nevertheless the populations oppressed by the Lombard guests suffered for it; the dukes made up for their patriotic surrender to the king by screwing a larger tribute out of the oppressed Romans.' This does not go very well with the sentence that follows about the Golden Age.

as we discovered, occupied a position midway between the 'folk-free' Lombard of the king's army and the mere slave. Everything seemed to show that we were here dealing with a man not greatly or essentially different from the Roman *colonus*, who cultivated the ground for a master and who could not change his condition or his home, but who on the other hand could not have his rent (if we call it so) raised arbitrarily upon him, nor be sold like the mere slave into distant bondage. In alluding, as I then did<sup>1</sup>, to the suggestion that among the *Aldii* of the Lombard law-book we had to look for the vast mass of the so-called 'Roman' inhabitants of Italy who occupied it before the Lombard conquest, I proposed that we should for the time neither accept this theory nor yet reject it, but keep it before our minds and see how far it explained the phenomena which came before us.

Now, at the close of this enquiry, I ask the reader if he does not consider that the probability of this theory amounts almost to certainty? It is true we have not—would that we had—any distinct statement by Paulus or any other contemporary authority, 'The Romans were made *Aldii*'; but we are told that they were made *tributarii*, and finding in the Lombard law-book continual allusions to a class of men—manifestly a large class—who are evidently *tributarii*, we say with some confidence: 'Surely the staple of this class is the vanquished Roman population.' I may say that this theory is not the special discovery of any one student, though perhaps Troya has done more to establish its correctness than any other writer. It has by this time almost passed into one of the

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The  
Romans  
as *Aldii*.

<sup>1</sup> p. 181.

BOOK VII. commonplaces of Lombard history ; but it has seemed  
 CH. 14. desirable to review the reasons by which it is supported  
 and to show that they are likely to stand the test of  
 further investigation.

If it be once admitted that the great mass of the Roman population are represented by the *Aldii* of the Lombard Codes, most of the desired information is ours. Almost all the events that could happen to them can be expressed (if we may speak mathematically) in terms of the *guidrigild*, which *guidrigild* however, we must always remember, was payable not to the *Aldius* himself but to his master. If a Roman cultivator was fatally injured by some truculent Lombard swashbuckler, it is not upon his injury or on his family's claims to compensation that Rothari meditates, but he argues that if his master is not indemnified for the loss of so profitable a drudge, there will be a *faida* between him and the homicide, and he therefore fixes the tariff of *guidrigild* to be paid by the homicide to the master.

Thus then, speaking generally, we may say if any one would know how the countrymen of Virgil and Cicero were faring during the latter part of the sixth and the seventh centuries and what sort of lives they lived, let him study the Lombard Codes and see what they say as to the position of the *Aldius* and *Aldia* in Lombard Italy. But there are two classes of persons to whom we cannot feel sure that this information applies.

Possible  
 excep-  
 tions:  
 1. Artisans.

The first are the handicraftsmen and dwellers in towns. Is there anything in the above-quoted words of Paulus about 'paying the third part of their crops' (*frugum*) to the *hospites* which entitles us to say



that a worker in metal living within the walls of a town was made subject to this tribute? It is generally conjectured by historical enquirers that this artisan class shared the degradation and the liability to tribute of their rural fellow-countrymen; but we cannot be said to have any proof of this proposition, nor is it so easy to understand how the quartering of the Lombard guest upon the Roman could be accomplished in the town as in the country.

And, secondly, the wealthy and leisured class apart from the mere land-owners, if there were any such class left in Italy,—how did they fare under the new system? I say, ‘if there were any such left,’ because the influences which had been at work in Italy to drain it of those whom we should call its gentlemen had been mighty and had been working for centuries. The impoverishment of the *Curiales*, the invasions of Alaric, of Attila, of Gaiseric, Odovacar and his Herulians, Theodoric and his Ostrogoths, pre-eminently the bloody revenges which marked the latter stages of the Ostrogothic war, the emigration to Constantinople, the tendency of all men of good birth and education to flock to the seat of officialism, whether at Ravenna or at Constantinople, in search of a career, the attractions of the Church for some, of the Convent for others,—all these causes had doubtless worked a terrible depletion of the rural aristocracy of Italy, even before the unspeakable Lombard came to hasten the process.

Still there may have been Roman gentlemen, as there may have been Roman artisans, who were no man’s *Aldii*, and therefore stood outside the pale of express Lombard law, and if there were such I think

2. Wealthy Romans.

How did the Lombard laws punish crime and outrage committed

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in the free  
Roman  
popula-  
tion?

we can only conjecture what amount of protection they received for life and property. My own conjecture would be that in the first generation after the conquest they received none at all. The sentence of Paulus, 'In these days many of the noble Romans were slain through avarice,' expresses, I suspect, the state of things not only under the lawless dukes, but even under Authari and Agilulf, at any rate in the earlier years of the reign of the latter monarch. Even under Rothari, if the son of a murdered Roman came to the King's Court and claimed compensation for his father's death, we can imagine the king's reply, 'When Lombard has killed Lombard, we have ordered that a certain *guidrigild* be paid, *ut cesset faida*, to prevent a blood-feud. But how can any blood-feud exist between the Lombard and the soft weaponless Roman? No more than between a Lombard man and a woman. I cannot decree the payment of any *guidrigild*, but you can if you like try your fortune as a *camfio* in the dread wager of battle.' And thereat, inextinguishable laughter would resound through the hall at the thought of the delicate Roman mounting horse and couching spear against the stalwart Lombard *exercitalis*.

Such would seem to have been the law, or rather the absence of law, in the earlier days of the Lombard state. But we saw in the laws of Liutprand that a stronger feeling against crimes of violence had then been growing up in the community. The conviction that murder was not merely a wrong to the relations of the murdered man, but a disgrace to the State, a breach, as our ancestors would say, of 'the King's peace,' had evidently entered into the mind of the

legislator. It was under the influence of this conviction that he ordained that the murderer of 'any free man' should atone for his crime by the loss of the whole of his property, part of which was to go to the murdered man's heirs and the rest to the King's Court<sup>1</sup>. Here at first we think we have got the desired answer to our question as to the protection afforded by the law to the unattached Roman, who is no man's *Aldius*. As a free man he surely shares in the advantages of this law, and any one who kills him *asto animo* (of malice prepense) will forfeit his whole property for his crime. But unfortunately, as has been already pointed out<sup>2</sup>, a law which was passed four years later for the express purpose of explaining this law seems to limit those hopeful words, 'any free man.' It is true that the legislator here deals only with manslaughter in self-defence and does not expressly repeal any part of the law against premeditated murder. But when we find that the lowest *guidrigild* known to the legislator is for 'the humblest person *who shall be found to be a member of our army*<sup>3</sup>,' we feel that these words are probably to be taken as limiting the application of the earlier law also, and we fear that we may not infer that the truculent Lombard who of malice aforethought killed a free man of Roman origin was punished for the crime by the forfeiture of all his estates. Thus then, in the silence of the Lombard legislator, we are left to mere conjecture as to the condition of the Roman population. Individually I am disposed to conjecture that the increasing civilisation of their

724.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 396.

<sup>2</sup> p. 398.

<sup>3</sup> 'Minima persona qui exercitalis homo esse inveniatur.'

BOOK VII. conquerors had, at any rate by the time of Liutprand,  
 CH. 14. perhaps long before, wrought great improvement in their condition, and that the murder or mutilation of a free Italian of non-Lombard descent was noticed and punished in some way by the Lombard magistrate, but how, to what extent, under the provision of what law, I do not think we have any evidence to show.

Survival  
 of Roman  
 law among  
 the van-  
 quished  
 for their  
 own inter-  
 nal affairs.

But while in criminal matters the man of Roman origin was thus at the mercy of the law, or rather the lawlessness, of his conquerors, in civil affairs we may reasonably suppose that he retained his own law, as far as he had knowledge and understanding enough to use it. Why, for instance, should the Lombard official trouble himself with the disposition of the Roman artisan's scanty savings among his descendants? Why should he care to impose upon him the Lombard principle of the exclusion of daughters in favour of sons, or the provision made by the laws of Rothari for illegitimate offspring? All these were surely matters far below the range of the Lombard duke or *sculdahis*; and so the men of Roman origin in their purchases and sales to one another, in making their wills, in dividing the property of an intestate, would go on, very likely clumsily and ignorantly enough, following, as far as they knew them, the provisions of the Digest and the Code. Thus we have at once a natural explanation of those passages already noticed in the laws of Liutprand where he uses emphatically the words 'Si quis Langobardus' in treating of the laws of inheritance; of his refusal of the Lombard rights of *faida* and *anagriph* to the Lombard woman who has come under a Roman's *mundium*; and above all, of the important law 'de scribis,' in which con-

veyancers are ordered, under very severe penalties for disobedience, to prepare their deeds either according to the law of the Lombards or according to the law of the Romans, and not to presume to alter either of these to suit their own convenience.

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Thus we find that in the Lombard State, as in most of the other States founded by the barbarians on the ruins of the Empire, we have the germs of what is known as the system of Personal Law, as opposed to that of Territorial Law which is now universal in Christian Europe<sup>1</sup>. Under this system, not only had the Barbarian one code of laws and the Roman another, but after the barbarian peoples had begun to get mixed with one another by wars and invasions, each separate barbarian nation kept its own laws, and thus, as Bishop Agobard said in the ninth century when writing to Louis the Pious, ‘you may see five men sitting or walking together, each of whom has his own law<sup>2</sup>.’ We shall find this system in full operation under Charles the Great, and though undoubtedly it was less completely developed in Italy than in some of the other countries of Western Europe, owing to the attempt made by the Lombards to assimilate all other laws and customs to their own, Personal Law is there in the Laws of Liutprand, and it would probably have asserted itself more strongly had the life of the State been a longer one.

Personal  
law in the  
Lombard  
state.

<sup>1</sup> I say Christian Europe, because the ‘Capitulations’ by which the citizens of the leading European States are protected from decisions uttered by Turkish judges in accordance with the Koran furnish an excellent modern illustration of the principle of Personal Law.

<sup>2</sup> Agobardi Ep. ad Lud. P. apud Bouquet, vi. 356 (quoted by Savigny, i. 116).

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Here then for the present we leave the story of the Lombard settlers in Italy. They have succeeded in making good their position in the peninsula, notwithstanding all the efforts of Pope and Exarch, of Caesar and of Meroving to expel them. They have been steadily extending their frontier, and it seems clear that their final expulsion of 'the Greeks' (as the Imperial forces are beginning to be called) is only a question of time, and not of any long time either. They have renounced their Arian Creed, have become great church-builders and convent-founders, and, as far as religious reasons go, there seems no cause why they should not live on terms of cordial friendship with the See of Rome. Lastly, they have been for more than thirty years under the sway of a hero-king—wise, courageous, merciful—who has done more than any of his predecessors towards welding their somewhat disorderly and discordant elements into one coherent and harmonious whole. 'United Italy' appears full in view, and it seems as if by the arms of the rude Lombard this great victory will be won for humanity.

Why and how this fair promise failed, and how Europe organised herself at the expense of a hopelessly divided Italy, it will be my business to set forth in the concluding volume.

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Zotto, Duke of Beneventum 571-591, vi. 71; besieges Naples in 581, vi. 71; death of, vi. 73.

## GLOSSARY OF LOMBARD WORDS



- ahtugild = eightfold restoration of object stolen (+ thing itself = ninefold = *nonum reddere*), vi. 219 n, 223 n.  
 aidos = *sacramentales*: jurors, vi. 224, 228 n.  
 Aldius = half free man; see *Index*, Aldius.  
 amund = liberated from *Mundium* of a master, vi. 207.  
 anagriph = damages for loss of the *Mundium*, vi. 400.  
 angargathungi = value of life of landed proprietor, vi. 179, 185.  
 argait = a good-for-nothing man, vi. 329 n.  
 barban = uncle, v. 117.  
 cadarfido = customary law, vi. 403-404.  
 camfio = wager of battle, or champion, vi. 179, 198, 230, 402.  
 eterzon = hedge.  
 faderfio = portion given by a father to his daughter, vi. 200, 202.  
 faida = feud, vi. 185, 191, 198, 203, 225, 400.  
 fara = clan, v. 161.  
 ferquida or ferquido = 'tit for tat,' vi. 192, 219 n.  
 fio = money (Gothic *faihu*), vi. 200 n.  
 fornaccar = cropped land, vi. 223.  
 fulc-free = sharer in freedom of the Lombards, vi. 207.  
 gahagium = hedge, vi. 218, 220.  
 gaida = spear, vi. 207 n.  
 gairethinx = solemn donation, vi. 195, 206, 232.  
 gasindius = kinsman (?), vi. 398.  
 Gastald = royal intendant, vi. 213, 230.  
 gisilis = witness, vi. 207 n.  
 guidrigild = compensation for murder, see *Index*.  
 haistan = hasty temper, vi. 214 n.  
 hariscild = faction fight, vi. 411 n.  
 hoveros = house-storming, vi. 214.  
 impans = form of manumission 'to the king's wish,' vi. 207.  
 lama = pond, v. 95.  
 lidinlaib = donation to take effect after death of donor, vi. 196.  
 Marpahis = Master of the Horse, v. 160; vi. 42, 43, 314.  
 masca = witch, vi. 233.  
 meta = money paid by suitor to relations of intended wife, vi. 200, 202, 203, 414.  
 morgincap or morganicap = present by husband to wife on the day after the wedding, vi. 201, 202, 203, 414.  
 mundium = right of guardianship of a woman, vi. 180, 197-205, 230; of a slave or freedman, vi. 207.  
 mundwald = owner of mundium (occurs in laws of Liutprand, not in those of Rothari), vi. 404 n.  
 ploderaub = robbery from the dead, vi. 180.  
 plovum = plough, vi. 217.  
 scamarae = brigands, vi. 178.  
 sculdhaizo or sculdahis = magistrate (connected with German *schultheiss*), vi. 232, 329, 401, 578, 579.  
 selpmundia = a woman who is under no man's guardianship, vi. 197-198.  
 snaida = tree-marking, vi. 209.  
 sonorpair = a champion boar, vi. 223.  
 Stolesaz = grand treasurer, vi. 192 n, 577.  
 striga = witch, vi. 233.  
 tbingare = to alienate by public ceremony, vi. 194-197, 228.  
 thinx = solemn donation, vi. 195-196.  
 tornare = to divert, vi. 221 n (? if a Lombard word).  
 wadia = bail for appearance to a suit, vi. 210-211, 227-228.  
 walapauz = burglary, vi. 181.  
 waregango = resident foreigner, vi. 231.  
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