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THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE  
ROMAN EMPIRE

VOL. XII



THE WORKS OF  
EDWARD GIBBON

HISTORY OF ROME

VOLUME XII



NEW YORK  
FRED DeFAU & COMPANY  
PUBLISHERS

THE HISTORY  
OF THE  
DECLINE AND FALL OF  
THE ROMAN EMPIRE

BY  
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EDITED BY  
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WITH AN INTRODUCTION  
BY  
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VOL. XII

NEW YORK  
FRED DE FAU & COMPANY  
PUBLISHERS

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Northwood Press

## CONTENTS OF THE TWELFTH VOLUME

	PAGE
LISTS OF ILLUSTRATIONS . . . . .	ix
NOTE . . . . .	x

### CHAPTER LXVIII

*Reign and Character of Mahomet the Second — Siege, Assault, and final Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks — Death of Constantine Palæologus — Servitude of the Greeks — Extinction of the Roman Empire in the East — Consternation of Europe — Conquests and Death of Mahomet the Second*

A.D.		
1450-1452	Character of Mahomet II. . . . .	1
1451-1481	His Reign . . . . .	4
1451	Hostile Intentions of Mahomet . . . . .	5
1452	He builds a Fortress on the Bosphorus . . . . .	9
	The Turkish War . . . . .	10
1452, 1453	Preparations for the Siege of Constantinople . . . . .	12
	The great cannon of Mahomet . . . . .	14
1453	Mahomet II. forms the Siege of Constantinople . . . . .	16
	Forces of the Turks . . . . .	17
	— Greeks . . . . .	19
1452	False Union of the Two Churches . . . . .	21
	Obstinacy and Fanaticism of the Greeks . . . . .	21
1453	Siege of Constantinople by Mahomet II. . . . .	24
	Attack and Defence . . . . .	26
	Succour and Victory of four Ships . . . . .	28
	Mahomet transports his Navy Overland . . . . .	32
	Distress of the City . . . . .	35
	Preparations of the Turks for the General Assault . . . . .	36
	Last Farewell of the Emperor and the Greeks . . . . .	38
	The General Assault . . . . .	39
	Death of the Emperor Constantine Palæologus . . . . .	44
	Loss of the City and Empire . . . . .	45
	The Turks enter and pillage Constantinople . . . . .	45
	Captivity of the Greeks . . . . .	46
	Amount of the Spoil . . . . .	49
	Mahomet II. visits the City, St. Sophia, the Palace, etc. . . . .	51
	His Behaviour to the Greeks . . . . .	52
	He re-peoples and adorns Constantinople . . . . .	54
1453	Extinction of the Imperial Families of Comnenus and Palæologus . . . . .	58
1460	Loss of the Morea . . . . .	58

A.D.	PAGE
1461	Loss of Trebizond . . . . . 59
1453	Grief and Terror of Europe . . . . . 61
1481	Death of Mahomet II. . . . . 63

## CHAPTER LXIX

*State of Rome from the Twelfth Century — Temporal Dominion of the Popes — Seditions of the City — Political Heresy of Arnold of Brescia — Restoration of the Republic — The Senators — Pride of the Romans — Their Wars — They are deprived of the Election and Presence of the Popes, who retire to Avignon — The Jubilee — Noble Families of Rome — Feud of the Colonna and Ursini*

1100-1500	State and Revolutions of Rome . . . . . 65
1000-1100	The French and German Emperors of Rome . . . . . 66
	Authority of the Popes in Rome . . . . . 69
	From Affection . . . . . 69
	— Right . . . . . 70
	— Virtue . . . . . 70
	— Benefits . . . . . 71
	Inconstancy of Superstition . . . . . 72
	Seditions of Rome against the Popes . . . . . 73
1086-1305	Successors of Gregory VII. . . . . 74
1090-1118	Paschal II. . . . . 75
1118, 1119	Gelasius II. . . . . 75
1144, 1145	Lucius II. . . . . 76
1181-1185	Lucius III. . . . . 76
1119-1124	Calixtus II. . . . . 77
1130-1143	Innocent II. . . . . 77
	Character of the Romans by St. Bernard . . . . . 77
1140	Political Heresy of Arnold of Brescia . . . . . 78
1144-1154	He exhorts the Romans to restore the Republic [Innocent II., Anastasius IV., Adrian IV.] . . . . 81
1155	His Execution . . . . . 83
	Restoration of the Senate . . . . . 84
	The Capitol . . . . . 87
	The Coin . . . . . 88
	The Prefect of the City . . . . . 88
	Number and Choice of the Senate . . . . . 90
	The Office of Senator . . . . . 91
1252-1258	Brancaleone . . . . . 92
1265-1278	Charles of Anjou . . . . . 94
1281	Pope Martin IV. . . . . 94
1328	The Emperor Lewis of Bavaria . . . . . 95
	Addresses of Rome to the Emperors . . . . . 95
1144	Conrad III. . . . . 95
1155	Frederic I. . . . . 96
	Wars of the Romans against the neighbouring Cities . . . . . 100
1167	Battle of Tusculum . . . . . 102
1234	— of Viterbo . . . . . 102
	The Election of the Popes . . . . . 103
1179	Right of the Cardinals established by Alexander III. . . . . 104



# CONTENTS

vii

A. D.	PAGE
1274 Institution of the Conclave by Gregory X. . . . .	104
Absence of the Popes from Rome . . . . .	106
1294-1303 Boniface VIII. . . . .	108
1309 Translation of the Holy See to Avignon . . . . .	109
1300 Institution of the Jubilee, or Holy Year . . . . .	111
1350 The Second Jubilee . . . . .	113
The Nobles or Barons of Rome . . . . .	114
Family of Leo the Jew . . . . .	116
The Colonna . . . . .	117
And Ursini . . . . .	117
Their hereditary Feuds . . . . .	121

## CHAPTER LXX

*Character and Coronation of Petrarch — Restoration of the Freedom and Government of Rome by the Tribune Rienzi — His Virtues and Vices, his Expulsion and Death — Return of the Popes from Avignon — Great Schism of the West — Re-Union of the Latin Church — Last Struggles of Roman Liberty — Statutes of Rome — Final Settlement of the Ecclesiastical State*

1304-1374 Petrarch . . . . .	123
1341 His Poetic Coronation at Rome . . . . .	126
Birth, Character, and Patriotic Designs of Rienzi . . . . .	129
1344 Becomes Notary of the Civic Camera . . . . .	130
1347 He assumes the Government of Rome . . . . .	132
With the Title and Office of Tribune . . . . .	133
Laws of the Good Estate . . . . .	133
Freedom and Prosperity of the Roman Republic . . . . .	136
The Tribune is respected in Italy, etc. . . . .	137
And celebrated by Petrarch . . . . .	139
His Vices and Follies . . . . .	139
The Pomp of his Knighthood . . . . .	141
And Coronation . . . . .	143
Fear and Hatred of the Nobles of Rome . . . . .	144
They oppose Rienzi in Arms . . . . .	146
Defeat and Death of the Colonna . . . . .	146
Fall and Flight of the Tribune Rienzi . . . . .	148
1347-1354 Revolutions of Rome . . . . .	149
Adventures of Rienzi . . . . .	150
1351 A Prisoner at Avignon . . . . .	151
1354 Rienzi, Senator of Rome . . . . .	152
His Death . . . . .	154
1355 Petrarch invites and upbraids the Emperor Charles IV. . . . .	154
He solicits the Popes of Avignon to fix their Residence at Rome . . . . .	155
1367-1370 Return of Urban V. . . . .	157
1377 Final Return of Gregory XI. . . . .	157
1378 His Death . . . . .	159
Election of Urban VI. . . . .	159
Election of Clement VII. . . . .	160
1378-1418 Great Schism of the West . . . . .	162
Calamities of Rome . . . . .	162

A.D.	PAGE
1392-1407. Negotiations for Peace and Union . . . . .	163
1409 Council of Pisa . . . . .	165
1414-1418 Council of Constance . . . . .	165
Election of Martin V. . . . .	167
1417 Martin V. . . . .	167
1431 Eugenius IV. . . . .	167
1447 Nicholas V. . . . .	168
1434 Last Revolt of Rome . . . . .	168
1452 Last Coronation of a German Emperor, Frederic III. . . . .	169
The Statutes and Government of Rome . . . . .	169
1453 Conspiracy of Porcaro . . . . .	172
Last Disorders of the Nobles of Rome . . . . .	174
1500 The Popes acquire the absolute Dominion of Rome . . . . .	175
The Ecclesiastical Government . . . . .	178
1585-1590 Sixtus V. . . . .	178

## CHAPTER LXXI

*Prospect of the Ruins of Rome in the Fifteenth Century — Four Causes of Decay and Destruction — Example of the Coliseum — Renovation of the City — Conclusion of the whole Work*

1430 View and Discourse of Poggius from the Capitoline Hill . . . . .	182
His Description of the Ruins . . . . .	183
Gradual Decay of Rome . . . . .	186
Four Causes of Destruction . . . . .	187
I. The Injuries of Nature . . . . .	187
Hurricanes and Earthquakes . . . . .	188
Fires . . . . .	188
Inundations . . . . .	189
II. The Hostile Attacks of the Barbarians and Christians . . . . .	191
III. The Use and Abuse of the Materials . . . . .	194
IV. The Domestic Quarrels of the Romans . . . . .	198
The Coliseum or Amphitheatre of Titus . . . . .	202
Games of Rome . . . . .	204
1332 A Bull-feast in the Coliseum . . . . .	204
Injuries . . . . .	206
And Consecration of the Coliseum . . . . .	207
Ignorance and Barbarism of the Romans . . . . .	208
1420 Restoration and Ornaments of the City . . . . .	210
Final Conclusion . . . . .	213
APPENDIX . . . . .	215
INDEX I., to Text . . . . .	219
INDEX II., to Appendices . . . . .	387

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

THE BURNING OF ROME . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
From a drawing by Jan Styka.	
AVIGNON . . . . .	PAGE 60
From a painting by T. Allom.	
PETRARCH . . . . .	124
From a portrait by Tofanelli.	
POPE CLEMENT VII. . . . .	160
From a portrait by Fra Sebastiano del Piombo.	
PLAN OF ANCIENT ROME . . . . .	180
THE COLISEUM . . . . .	202
From a photograph.	

## NOTE

I HAVE again the pleasure of thanking Professor Stanley Lane-Poole for his assistance. He has helped me to revise chapters of the last two volumes dealing with oriental history.

J. B. B.

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

## CHAPTER LXVIII

*Reign and Character of Mahomet the Second—Siege, Assault, and final Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks—Death of Constantine Palæologus—Servitude of the Greeks—Extinction of the Roman Empire in the East—Consternation of Europe—Conquests and Death of Mahomet the Second*

THE siege of Constantinople by the Turks attracts our first attention to the person and character of the great destroyer. Mahomet the Second <sup>1</sup> was the son of the second Amurath; and, though his mother has been decorated with the titles of Christian and princess, she is more probably confounded with the numerous concubines who peopled from every climate the harem of the sultan. His first education and sentiments were those of a devout Musulman; and, as often as he conversed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Age and empire appear to have relaxed this narrow bigotry; his aspiring genius disdained to acknowledge a power above his own; and in his looser hours

<sup>1</sup> For the character of Mahomet II. it is dangerous to trust either the Turks or the Christians. The most moderate picture appears to be drawn by Phranza (l. i. c. 33), whose resentment had cooled in age and solitude; see likewise Spondanus (A.D. 1451, No. 11), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 552), the *Elogia* of Paulus Jovius (l. iii. p. 164-166), and the Dictionnaire de Bayle (tom. iii. p. 272-279). [Cp. Critobulus, i. 5, in Müller, Frag. Hist. Gr., v. part 2; Zinkeisen, Gesch. des osmanischen Reiches, ii. 468 sqq.]

he presumed (it is said) to brand the prophet of Mecca as a robber and impostor. Yet the sultan persevered in a decent reverence for the doctrine and discipline of the Koran;<sup>2</sup> his private indiscretion must have been sacred from the vulgar ear; and we should suspect the credulity of strangers and sectaries, so prone to believe that a mind which is hardened against truth must be armed with superior contempt for absurdity and error. Under the tuition of the most skilful masters, Mahomet advanced with an early and rapid progress in the paths of knowledge; and, besides his native tongue, it is affirmed that he spoke or understood five languages,<sup>3</sup> the Arabic, the Persian, the Chaldæan or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. The Persian might, indeed, contribute to his amusement, and the Arabic to his edification; and such studies are familiar to the Oriental youth. In the intercourse of the Greeks and Turks, a conqueror might wish to converse with the people over whom he was ambitious to reign; his own praises in Latin poetry<sup>4</sup> or prose<sup>5</sup> might find a passage

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

<sup>3</sup> *Quinque linguas præter suam noverat; Græcam, Latinam, Chaldaicam, Persicam.* The Latin translator of Phranza has dropt the Arabic, which the Koran must recommend to every Musulman. [The Greek text of Phranzes, i. 32 (p. 95 ed. Bonn) has *Ἀραβικὴν*. The historian Critobulus (for whom see vol. ix. Appendix 1) gives us the means of criticising this statement of Phrantzes. He says (i. 5, 2) that Mohammad was thoroughly conversant with Arabic and Persian and had studied Greek philosophical works (Aristotelian and Stoic) that were translated into those languages. He repeats this statement, v. 10, 4, and describes the sultan studying the cosmographical diagrams of Ptolemy. Villoison (*Notices et extraits des Manuscrits*, vol. viii. part ii. p. 22) quotes from a description of Mohammad given by Nicolaus Sagundinus to King Alfonso of Aragon, in Jan. 1453, the statement that the sultan kept by him two physicians, one versed in Latin, the other in Greek; and they instructed him in ancient history.]

<sup>4</sup> Philelphus, by a Latin ode, requested and obtained the liberty of his wife's mother and sisters from the conqueror of Constantinople. It was delivered into the sultan's hands by the envoys of the duke of Milan. Philelphus himself was suspected of a design of retiring to Constantinople; yet the orator often sounded the trumpet of holy war (see his *Life* by M. Lancelot,

to the royal ear; but what use or merit could recommend to the statesman or the scholar the uncouth dialect of his Hebrew slaves? The history and geography of the world were familiar to his memory; the lives of the heroes of the East, perhaps of the West,<sup>6</sup> excited his emulation; his skill in astrology is excused by the folly of the times, and supposes some rudiments of mathematical science; and a profane taste for the arts is betrayed in his liberal invitation and reward of the painters of Italy.<sup>7</sup> But the influence of religion and learning were employed without effect on his savage and licentious nature. I will not transcribe, nor do I firmly believe, the stories of his fourteen pages, whose bellies were ripped open in search of a stolen melon; or of the beautiful slave, whose head he severed from her body, to convince the Janizaries that their master was not the votary of love.<sup>8</sup> His sobriety is attested by the silence of the Turkish annals,

in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. x. p. 718, 724, &c.). [The Letter of Philephus to Mohammad, 11th March, 1454, is published in his biography by Rosmini (1805), vol. ii. p. 305.]

<sup>6</sup> Robert Valturio published at Verona, in 1483, his twelve books, *de Re Militari*, in which he first mentions the use of bombs. By his patron Sigismond Malatesta, prince of Rimini, it had been addressed with a Latin epistle to Mahomet II.

<sup>7</sup> According to Phranza, he assiduously studied the lives and actions of Alexander, Augustus, Constantine, and Theodosius. I have read somewhere that Plutarch's Lives were translated by his orders into the Turkish language. If the sultan himself understood Greek, it must have been for the benefit of his subjects. Yet these Lives are a school of freedom as well as of valour. [Critobulus (i. 5, 1) says that Mohammed's examples were Alexander, Pompey, and Cæsar — *πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἑώρα καὶ Πομπηϊοῦ καὶ Καίσαρος καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἐκείνου βασιλεῖς τε καὶ στρατηγοὺς.*]

<sup>8</sup> The famous Gentile Bellino, whom he had invited from Venice, was dismissed with a chain and collar of gold, and a purse of 3000 ducats. With Voltaire I laugh at the foolish story of a slave purposely beheaded, to instruct the painter in the action of the muscles. [Bellini painted a portrait of Mohammad, which is extant. It passed into the possession of Sir Henry Layard. For Bellini at the Sultan's court (1479-80) see L. Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mohammed II.*]

<sup>9</sup> [The story is an invention, and is likewise rejected by Thuasne (*op. cit.* p. 53 *sqq.*), who points out that a similar story was told about Parrhasius (see the elder Seneca's *Controversiæ*, x. 5).]

which accuse three, and three only, of the Ottoman line of the vice of drunkenness.<sup>9</sup> But it cannot be denied that his passions were at once furious and inexorable; that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was spilt on the slightest provocation; and that the noblest of the captive youth were often dishonoured by his unnatural lust. In the Albanian war, he studied the lessons, and soon surpassed the example, of his father; and the conquest of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, a vain and flattering account, is ascribed to his invincible sword. He was doubtless a soldier, and possibly a general; Constantinople has sealed his glory; but, if we compare the means, the obstacles, and the achievements, Mahomet the Second must blush to sustain a parallel with Alexander or Timour. Under his command, the Ottoman forces were always more numerous than their enemies; yet their progress was bounded by the Euphrates and the Adriatic; and his arms were checked by Huniades and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights, and by the Persian king.

In the reign of Amurath, he twice tasted of royalty, and twice descended from the throne; his tender age was incapable of opposing his father's restoration, but never could he forgive the vizirs who had recommended that salutary measure. His nuptials were celebrated with the daughter of a Turkman emir; and, after a festival of two months, he departed from Hadrianople with his bride to reside in the government of Magnesia. Before the end of six weeks, he was recalled by a sudden message from the divan, which announced the decease of Amurath and the mutinous spirit of the Janizaries. His speed and vigour commanded their obedience; he passed the Hellespont with a chosen guard;

<sup>9</sup> These Imperial drunkards were Soliman I., Selim II., and Amurath IV. (Cantemir, p. 61). The sophis of Persia can produce a more regular succession; and in the last age our European travellers were the witnesses and the companions of their revels.



and, at the distance of a mile from Hadrianople, the vizirs and emirs, the imams and cadhis, the soldiers and the people, fell prostrate before the new sultan. They affected to weep, they affected to rejoice; he ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one years, and removed the cause of sedition by the death, the inevitable death, of his infant brothers.<sup>10</sup> The ambassadors of Europe and Asia soon appeared to congratulate his accession, and solicit his friendship; and to all he spoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the solemn oaths and fair assurances with which he sealed the ratification of the treaty; and a rich domain on the banks of the Strymon was assigned for the annual payment of three hundred thousand aspers, the pension of an Ottoman prince who was detained at his request in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbours of Mahomet might tremble at the severity with which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp of his father's household; the expenses of luxury were applied to those of ambition, and an useless train of seven thousand falconers was either dismissed from his service or enlisted in his troops. In the first summer of his reign, he visited with an army the Asiatic provinces; but, after humbling the pride, Mahomet accepted the submission, of the Caramanian, that he might not be diverted by the smallest obstacle from the execution of his great design.<sup>11</sup>

The Mahometan, and more especially the Turkish, casuists have pronounced that no promise can bind the faithful against the interest and duty of their religion; and that the sultan

<sup>10</sup> Calapin, one of these royal infants, was saved from his cruel brother, and baptised at Rome under the name of Callistus Othomannus. The emperor Frederic III. presented him with an estate in Austria, where he ended his life; and Cuspinian, who in his youth conversed with the aged prince at Vienna, applauds his piety and wisdom (de Cæsaribus, p. 672, 673).

<sup>11</sup> See the accession of Mahomet II. in Ducas (c. 33), Phranza (l. i. c. 33, l. ii. c. 2), Chalcondyles (l. vii. p. 199 [p. 376, ed. Bonn]), and Cantemir (p. 96).

may abrogate his own treaties and those of his predecessors. The justice and magnanimity of Amurath had scorned this immoral privilege; but his son, though the proudest of men, could stoop from ambition to the basest arts of dissimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart: he incessantly sighed for the possession of Constantinople; and the Greeks, by their own indiscretion, afforded the first pretence of the fatal rupture.<sup>12</sup> Instead of labouring to be forgotten, their ambassadors pursued his camp, to demand the payment and even the increase of their annual stipend: the divan was importuned by their complaints, and the vizir, a secret friend of the Christians, was constrained to deliver the sense of his brethren. "Ye foolish and miserable Romans," said Calil, "we know your devices, and ye are ignorant of your own danger! the scrupulous Amurath is no more; his throne is occupied by a young conqueror, whom no laws can bind and no obstacles can resist; and, if you escape from his hands, give praise to the divine clemency,

<sup>12</sup> Before I enter on the siege of Constantinople, I shall observe that, except the short hints of Cantemir and Leunclavius, I have not been able to obtain any Turkish account of this conquest; such an account as we possess of the siege of Rhodes by Soliman II. (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxvi. p. 723-769). I must therefore depend on the Greeks, whose prejudices, in some degree, are subdued by their distress. Our standard texts are those of Ducas (c. 34-42), Phranza (l. iii. c. 7-20), Chalcondyles (l. viii. p. 201-214 [p. 380 *sqq.*, ed. Bonn]), and Leonardus Chiensis (*Historia C. P. a Turco expugnata*, Norimberghæ, 1544, in 4to, 20 leaves [more accessible in Reusner's *Epistolæ Turcicæ*, i. p. 113 *sqq.*, or in the *Chronica Turcica* of Lonicerus, i. p. 315 *sqq.*]). The last of these narratives is the earliest in date, since it was composed in the isle of Chios, the 16th of August 1453, only seventy-nine days after the loss of the city, and in the first confusion of ideas and passions. Some hints may be added from an epistle of Cardinal Isidore (in *Farragine Rerum Turcicarum*, ad calcem Chalcondyl. Cluseri, Basil, 1556 [and in Reusner's *Epistolæ Turcicæ*, i. 104]) to Pope Nicholas V., and a tract of Theodosius Zygomala, which he addressed, in the year 1581, to Martin Crusius (*Turco-Græcia*, l. i. p. 74-98, Basil, 1584). The various facts and materials are briefly though critically reviewed by Spondanus (A.D. 1453, No. 1-27). The hearsay-relations of Monstrelet and the distant Latins, I shall take leave to disregard. [See for other authorities Appendix.]

which yet delays the chastisement of your sins. Why do ye seek to affright us by vain and indirect menaces? Release the fugitive Orchan, crown him sultan of Romania; call the Hungarians from beyond the Danube; arm against us the nations of the West; and be assured that you will only provoke and precipitate your ruin." But, if the fears of the ambassadors were alarmed by the stern language of the vizir, they were soothed by the courteous audience and friendly speeches of the Ottoman prince; and Mahomet assured them that on his return to Hadrianople he would redress the grievances, and consult the true interests, of the Greeks. No sooner had he repassed the Hellespont than he issued a mandate to suppress their pension and to expel their officers from the banks of the Strymon: in this measure he betrayed an hostile mind; and the second order announced, and in some degree commenced, the siege of Constantinople. In the narrow pass of the Bosphorus, an Asiatic fortress had formerly been raised by his grandfather: in the opposite situation, on the European side, he resolved to erect a more formidable castle; and a thousand masons were commanded to assemble in the spring, on a spot named Asomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis.<sup>13</sup> Persuasion is the resource of the feeble; and the feeble can seldom persuade: the ambassadors of the emperor attempted, without success, to divert Mahomet from the execution of his design. They represented, that his grandfather had solicited the permission

<sup>13</sup> The situation of the fortress, and the topography of the Bosphorus, are best learned from Peter Gyllius (*de Bosphoro Thracio*, l. ii. c. 13 [cp. p. 13-14]), Leunclavius (*Pandect.* p. 445), and Tournefort (*Voyage dans le Levant*, tom. ii. lettre xv. p. 443, 444); but I must regret the map or plan which Tournefort sent to the French minister of the marine. The reader may turn back to chap. xvii. [vol. iii.] of this history. [The building of the fortress is well described by Critobulus, i. 10 and 11 (p. 59-62). The place is now called Rumili Hissari, Castle of Rumelia. The village of Asomaton is the modern Arnaut kioi, a little to the north of Bebek. Compare Mordtmann, *Belagerung und Eroberung Constantinopels*, p. 17, 18; Paspates, *Πολιορκία και Άλωσις τῆς Κωνστ.*, p. 78 sqq.]

of Manuel to build a castle on his own territories; but that this double fortification, which would command the strait, could only tend to violate the alliance of the nations, to intercept the Latins who traded in the Black Sea, and perhaps to annihilate the subsistence of the city. "I form no enterprise," replied the perfidious sultan, "against the city; but the empire of Constantinople is measured by her walls. Have you forgot the distress to which my father was reduced, when you formed a league with the Hungarians; when they invaded our country by land, and the Hellespont was occupied by the French galleys? Amurath was compelled to force the passage of the Bosphorus; and your strength was not equal to your malevolence. I was then a child at Hadrianople; the Moslems trembled; and for a while the *Gabours*<sup>14</sup> insulted our disgrace. But, when my father had triumphed in the field of Warna, he vowed to erect a fort on the western shore, and that vow it is my duty to accomplish. Have ye the right, have ye the power, to control my actions on my own ground? For that ground *is* my own: as far as the shores of the Bosphorus, Asia is inhabited by the Turks, and Europe is deserted by the Romans. Return, and inform your king that the present Ottoman is far different from his predecessors; that *his* resolutions surpass *their* wishes; and that *he* performs more than *they* could resolve. Return in safety; but the next who delivers a similar message may expect to be flayed alive." After this declaration, Constantine, the first of the Greeks in spirit as in rank,<sup>15</sup> had deter-

<sup>14</sup> The opprobrious name which the Turks bestow on the Infidels is expressed *Καβουρ* by Ducas, and *Giaour* by Leunclavius and the moderns. The former term is derived by Ducange (Gloss. Græc. tom. i. p. 530) from *καβουρον*, in vulgar Greek a tortoise, as denoting a retrograde motion from the faith. But, alas! *Gabour* is no more than *Gheber*, which was transferred from the Persian to the Turkish language, from the worshippers of fire to those of the crucifix (d'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orient.* p. 375).

<sup>15</sup> Phranza does justice to his master's sense and courage: *Calliditatem hominis non ignorans Imperator prior arma movere constituit, and stigmatizes the folly of the cum sacri tum profani proceres, which he had heard, amentes spe vanâ pasci.* Ducas was not a privy counsellor.

mined to unsheathe the sword, and to resist the approach and establishment of the Turks on the Bosphorus. He was disarmed by the advice of his civil and ecclesiastical ministers, who recommended a system less generous, and even less prudent, than his own, to approve their patience and long-suffering, to brand the Ottoman with the name and guilt of an aggressor, and to depend on chance and time for their own safety and the destruction of a fort which could not be long maintained in the neighbourhood of a great and populous city. Amidst hope and fear, the fears of the wise and the hopes of the credulous, the winter rolled away; the proper business of each man, and each hour, was postponed; and the Greeks shut their eyes against the impending danger, till the arrival of the spring and the sultan decided the assurance of their ruin.

Of a master who never forgives, the orders are seldom disobeyed. On the twenty-sixth of March, the appointed spot of Asomaton was covered with an active swarm of Turkish artificers; and the materials by sea and land were diligently transported from Europe and Asia.<sup>16</sup> The lime had been burnt in Cataphrygia; the timber was cut down in the woods of Heraclea and Nicomedia; and the stones were dug from the Anatolian quarries. Each of the thousand masons was assisted by two workmen; and a measure of two cubits was marked for their daily task. The fortress<sup>17</sup> was built in a triangular form; each angle was flanked by a strong and

<sup>16</sup> Instead of this clear and consistent account, the Turkish Annals (Cantemir, p. 97) revived the foolish tale of the ox's hide, and Dido's stratagem in the foundation of Carthage. These annals (unless we are swayed by an antichristian prejudice) are far less valuable than the Greek historians.

<sup>17</sup> In the dimensions of this fortress, the old castle of Europe, Phranza does not exactly agree with Chalcondyles, whose description has been verified on the spot by his editor Leunclavius. [Phrantzes (p. 234) gives the breadth of the towers as 25 feet, and this nearly agrees with Critobulus (i. 11, 4) who says "12 cubits," *i.e.*, 24 feet. Chalcondyles says 22 feet, and Ducas "30 spans," *i.e.*, 22½ feet. Critobulus alone gives the height of the wall, 100 feet, and adds that in size the fortress resembled not a fortress but a little town (πολίχνη).

massy tower; one on the declivity of the hill, two along the sea-shore; a thickness of twenty-two feet was assigned for the walls, thirty for the towers; and the whole building was covered with a solid platform of lead. Mahomet himself pressed and directed the work with indefatigable ardour; his three vizirs claimed the honour of finishing their respective towers; the zeal of the cadhis emulated that of the Janizaries; the meanest labour was ennobled by the service of God and the sultan; and the diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a despot, whose smile was the hope of fortune, and whose frown was the messenger of death. The Greek emperor beheld with terror the irresistible progress of the work; and vainly strove, by flattery and gifts, to assuage an implacable foe, who sought, and secretly fomented, the slightest occasion of a quarrel. Such occasions must soon and inevitably be found. The ruins of stately churches, and even the marble columns which had been consecrated to St. Michael the archangel, were employed without scruple by the profane and rapacious Moslems; and some Christians, who presumed to oppose the removal, received from their hands the crown of martyrdom. Constantine had solicited a Turkish guard to protect the fields and harvests of his subjects: the guard was fixed; but their first order was to allow free pasture to the mules and horses of the camp, and to defend their brethren if they should be molested by the natives. The retinue of an Ottoman chief had left their horses to pass the night among the ripe corn: the damage was felt; the insult was resented; and several of both nations were slain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet listened with joy to the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village: the guilty had fled; but forty innocent and unsuspecting reapers were massacred by the soldiers. Till this provocation, Constantinople had been open to the visits of commerce and curiosity: on the first alarm, the gates were shut; but the emperor, still anxious

for peace, released on the third day his Turkish captives,<sup>18</sup> and expressed, in a last message, the firm resignation of a Christian and a soldier. "Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission, can secure peace, pursue," said he to Mahomet, "your impious warfare. My trust is in God alone: if it should please him to mollify your heart, I shall rejoice in the happy change; if he delivers the city into your hands, I submit without a murmur to his holy will. But, until the Judge of the earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my people." The sultan's answer was hostile and decisive; his fortifications were completed; and before his departure for Hadrianople he stationed a vigilant Aga and four hundred Janizaries to levy a tribute of the ships of every nation that should pass within the reach of their cannon. A Venetian vessel, refusing obedience to the new lords of the Bosphorus, was sunk with a single bullet. The master and thirty sailors escaped in the boat; but they were dragged in chains to the *Porte*; the chief was impaled; his companions were beheaded; and the historian Ducas<sup>19</sup> beheld, at Demotica, their bodies exposed to the wild beasts. The siege of Constantinople was deferred till the ensuing spring; but an Ottoman army marched into the Morea to divert the force of the brothers of Constantine. At this era of calamity, one of these princes, the despot Thomas, was blessed or afflicted with the birth of a son, "the last heir," says the plaintive Phranza, "of the last spark of the Roman empire."<sup>20</sup>

The Greeks and the Turks passed an anxious and sleep-

<sup>18</sup> Among these were some pages of Mahomet, so conscious of his inexorable rigour that they begged to lose their heads in the city unless they could return before sunset.

<sup>19</sup> Ducas, c. 35. Phranza (l. iii. c. 3), who had sailed in his vessel, commemorates the Venetian pilot as a martyr. [Cp. Niccolò Barbaro, p. 2 (ed. Cornet). Other Venetian vessels were more successful.]

<sup>20</sup> Auctum est Palæologorum genus, et Imperii successor, parvæque Romanorum scintillæ heres natus, Andreas, &c. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 7). The strong expression was inspired by his feelings.

less winter: the former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes; both by the preparations of defence and attack; and the two emperors, who had the most to lose or to gain, were the most deeply affected by the national sentiment. In Mahomet, that sentiment was inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper: he amused his leisure with building at Hadrianople<sup>21</sup> the lofty palace of Jehan Numa (the watch-tower of the world); but his serious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conquest of the city of Cæsar. At the dead of night, about the second watch, he started from his bed, and commanded the instant attendance of his prime vizir. The message, the hour, the prince, and his own situation alarmed the guilty conscience of Calil Basha, who had possessed the confidence, and advised the restoration, of Amurath. On the accession of the son, the vizir was confirmed in his office and the appearances of favour; but the veteran statesman was not insensible that he trode on a thin and slippery ice, which might break under his footsteps and plunge him in the abyss. His friendship for the Christians, which might be innocent under the late reign, had stigmatised him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or foster brother of the infidels;<sup>22</sup> and his avarice entertained a venal and treasonable correspondence, which was detected and punished after the conclusion of the war. On receiving the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the last time, his wife and children; filled up a cup with pieces of gold, hastened to the palace, adored the sultan, and offered, according to the Oriental custom, the slight tribute of his duty and gratitude.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Cantemir, p. 97, 98. The sultan was either doubtful of his conquest or ignorant of the superior merits of Constantinople. A city or a kingdom may sometimes be ruined by the Imperial fortune of their sovereign.

<sup>22</sup> *Σύντροφος*, by the president Cousin, is translated *père nourricier*, most correctly indeed from the Latin version; but in his haste he has overlooked the note by which Ismael Boillaud (ad Ducam, c. 35) acknowledges and rectifies his own error.

<sup>23</sup> The Oriental custom of never appearing without gifts before a sovereign or a superior is of high antiquity, and seems analogous with the idea of



"It is not my wish," said Mahomet, "to resume my gifts, but rather to heap and multiply them on thy head. In my turn, I ask a present far more valuable and important, — Constantinople." As soon as the vizir had recovered from his surprise, "The same God," said he, "who has already given thee so large a portion of the Roman empire, will not deny the remnant, and the capital. His providence and thy power assure thy success; and myself, with the rest of thy faithful slaves, will sacrifice our lives and fortunes." "Lala"<sup>24</sup> (or preceptor), continued the sultan, "do you see this pillow? all the night, in my agitation, I have pulled it on one side and the other; I have risen from my bed, again have I lain down; yet sleep has not visited these weary eyes. Beware of the gold and silver of the Romans; in arms we are superior; and with the aid of God, and the prayers of the prophet, we shall speedily become masters of Constantinople." To sound the disposition of his soldiers, he often wandered through the streets alone and in disguise; and it was fatal to discover the sultan, when he wished to escape from the vulgar eye. His hours were spent in delineating the plan of the hostile city; in debating with his generals and engineers, on what spot he should erect his batteries; on which side he should assault the walls; where he should spring his mines; to what place he should apply his scaling-ladders; and the exercises of the day repeated and proved the lucubrations of the night.

Among the implements of destruction, he studied with peculiar care the recent and tremendous discovery of the

sacrifice, still more ancient and universal. See the examples of such Persian gifts, Ælian, *Hist. Var.* l. i. c. 31-33.

<sup>24</sup> The *Lala* of the Turks (Cantemir, p. 34) and the *Tata* of the Greeks (Ducas, c. 35) are derived from the natural language of children; and it may be observed that all such primitive words which denote their parents are the simple repetition of one syllable, composed of a labial or dental consonant and an open vowel (des Brosses, *Mécanisme des Langues*, tom. i. p. 231-247).

Latins; and his artillery surpassed whatever had yet appeared in the world. A founder of cannon, a Dane or Hungarian,<sup>25</sup> who had been almost starved in the Greek service, deserted to the Moslems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkish sultan. Mahomet was satisfied with the answer to his first question, which he eagerly pressed on the artist. "Am I able to cast a cannon capable of throwing a ball or stone of sufficient size to batter the walls of Constantinople? I am not ignorant of their strength, but, were they more solid than those of Babylon, I could oppose an engine of superior power; the position and management of that engine must be left to your engineers." On this assurance, a foundry was established at Hadrianople: the metal was prepared; and, at the end of three months, Urban produced a piece of brass ordnance of stupendous and almost incredible magnitude; a measure of twelve palms is assigned to the bore; and the stone bullet weighed above six hundred pounds.<sup>26</sup> A vacant place before the new palace was chosen for the first experiment; but, to prevent the sudden and mischievous effects of astonishment and fear, a proclamation was issued that the cannon would be discharged the ensuing day. The explosion was felt or heard in the circuit of an hundred furlongs: the ball, by the force of gunpowder, was driven above a mile; and on the spot where it fell, it buried itself a fathom deep in the ground. For the conveyance of this destructive engine,<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> [Orban (Ὀρβανός) was a Hungarian; no authority says that he was a Dane. Gibbon has mistaken the phrase of Chalcondyles, who pedantically describes him as a "Dacian" (Δάξ), p. 385, ed. Bonn. τηλεβολιστής is the word Chalcondyles uses for a "gunner." Strictly Orban was a τηλεβολοποιός.]

<sup>26</sup> The Attic talent weighed about sixty minæ, or avoirdupois pounds (see Hooper on Ancient Weights, Measures, &c.); but among the modern Greeks that classic appellation was extended to a weight of one hundred or one hundred and twenty-five pounds (Ducange, τάλαντον). Leonardus Chiensis measured the ball or stone of the *second* cannon: Lapidem, qui palmis undecim ex meis ambibat in gyro. [The *palma*, or span, being reckoned at 8 inches, it is calculated that the ball would have weighed 1456 lbs. avoirdupois. Mordtmann, *op. cit.* p. 36.]

<sup>27</sup> [According to Zorzo Dolfin, Assedio e presa di Cplì § 16 (Paspates, *op. cit.* p. 120 n.) the cannon was conveyed *in pieces*.]

a frame or carriage of thirty waggons was linked together and drawn along by a team of sixty oxen; two hundred men on both sides were stationed to poise and support the rolling weight; two hundred and fifty workmen marched before to smooth the way and repair the bridges; and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred and fifty miles. A lively <sup>28</sup> philosopher derides, on this occasion, the credulity of the Greeks, and observes, with much reason, that we should always distrust the exaggerations of a vanquished people. He calculates that a ball, even of two hundred pounds, would require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder; and that the stroke would be feeble and impotent, since not a fifteenth part of the mass could be inflamed at the same moment. A stranger as I am to the art of destruction, I can discern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal; the quickness of the fire to the sound, or even the consequence, of a single explosion. Yet I dare not reject the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers; nor can it seem improbable that the first artists, in their rude and ambitious efforts, should have transgressed the standard of moderation. A Turkish cannon, more enormous than that of Mahomet, still guards the entrance of the Dardanelles; and, if the use be inconvenient, it has been found on a late trial that the effect was far from contemptible. A stone bullet of *eleven* hundred pounds' weight was once discharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powder; at the distance of six hundred yards, it shivered into three rocky fragments, traversed the strait, and, leaving the waters in a foam, again rose and bounded against the opposite hill.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> See Voltaire (*Hist. Générale*, c. xci. p. 294, 295). He was ambitious of universal monarchy; and the poet frequently aspires to the name and style of an astronomer, a chemist, &c. [Mordtmann (*loc. cit.*) says that stone balls, measuring from 72 to 88 inches round, have been found in the Arsenal, in the walls of Galata, and elsewhere.]

<sup>29</sup> The Baron de Tott (tom. iii. p. 85-89), who fortified the Dardanelles

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the East, the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the assistance of earth and heaven. But the invisible powers were deaf to his supplications; and Christendom beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople, while she derived at least some promise of supply from the jealous and temporal policy of the sultan of Egypt. Some states were too weak, and others too remote; by some the danger was considered as imaginary, by others as inevitable: the Western princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas the Fifth had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was softened by the last extremity of their distress; but his compassion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Constantinople had fallen, before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbours.<sup>30</sup> Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek islands affected a cold neutrality: the Genoese colony of Galata negotiated a private treaty; and the sultan indulged them in the delusive hope that by his clemency they might survive the ruin of the empire. A plebeian crowd, and some Byzantine nobles, basely withdrew from the danger of their country; and the avarice of the rich denied the emperor, and reserved for the Turks, the secret treasures which might have raised in their defence whole armies of mercenaries.<sup>31</sup> The indigent and solitary

against the Russians, describes in a lively, and even comic, strain his own prowess and the consternation of the Turks. But that adventurous traveller does not possess the art of gaining our confidence.

<sup>30</sup> Non audivit, indignum ducens, says the honest Antoninus; but, as the Roman court was afterwards grieved and ashamed, we find the more courtly expression of Platina, in animo fuisse pontifici juvare Græcos, and the positive assertion of Æneas Sylvius, structam classem, &c. (Spond. A.D. 1453, No. 3).

<sup>31</sup> Antonin. in Procem. — Epist. Cardinal. Isidor. apud Spondanum; and

prince prepared, however, to sustain his formidable adversary; but, if his courage were equal to the peril, his strength was inadequate to the contest. In the beginning of the spring, the Turkish vanguard swept the towns and villages as far as the gates of Constantinople: submission was spared and protected; whatever presumed to resist was exterminated with fire and sword. The Greek places on the Black Sea, Mesembria, Acheloum, and Bizon, surrendered on the first summons; Selybria alone<sup>32</sup> deserved the honours of a siege or blockade; and the bold inhabitants, while they were invested by land, launched their boats, pillaged the opposite coast of Cyzicus, and sold their captives in the public market. But on the approach of Mahomet himself all was silent and prostrate; he first halted at the distance of five miles; and from thence advancing in battle-array planted before the gate of St. Romanus the Imperial standard; and, on the sixth day of April, formed the memorable siege of Constantinople.

The troops of Asia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbour; the Janizaries in the front were stationed before the sultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep entrenchment; and a subordinate army enclosed the suburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoese. The inquisitive Philelphus, who resided in Greece about thirty years before the siege, is confident that all the Turkish forces, of any name or value,

Dr. Johnson, in the tragedy of Irene, has happily seized this characteristic circumstance:—

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

<sup>32</sup> [The Tower of St. Stephen, on the sea of Marmora, two hours from the city, was also stormed and the garrison beheaded. Critobulus (i. 32) mentions that Mohammad himself, after his arrival, stormed the forts of Studion and Therapeion; it is unknown where they were. He also sent his admiral Paltogles to capture the fort of the Prince's island (*ib.* 33). These facts are recorded by Critobulus alone.]

could not exceed the number of sixty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; and he upbraids the pusillanimity of the nations who had tamely yielded to a handful of Barbarians. Such, indeed, might be the regular establishment of the *Capiculi*,<sup>33</sup> the troops of the Porte who marched with the prince and were paid from his royal treasury. But the bashaws, in their respective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of spoil; and the sound of the holy trumpet invited a swarm of hungry and fearless fanatics, who might contribute at least to multiply the terrors, and in a first attack to blunt the swords, of the Christians. The whole mass of the Turkish powers is magnified by Ducas, Chalcondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thousand men; but Phranza was a less remote and more accurate judge; and

<sup>33</sup> The palatine troops are styled *Capiculi*, the provincials, *Seraculi*: and most of the names and institutions of the Turkish militia existed before the *Canon Nameh* of Soliman II., from which, and his own experience, Count Marsigli has composed his Military State of the Ottoman empire. [Mohammad pitched his headquarters on the hill of Maltepe, a short distance from the middle part of the land wall, opposite to the gate of St. Romanus (Top Kapussi) and the part of the wall known as Myriandriion (cp. Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople*, p. 24). The Anatolic army (under Isaac) was on his right, stretching to the sea of Marmora, the Rumeliot (under Karatzas) on his left, towards the Golden Horn. A special force was committed to Zagan Pasha, and posted behind Galata, on the ground which is now Pera, to watch the Genoese; and Zagan was also to survey the building of a bridge across the Golden Horn to the north point of Constantinople (Porta Cynegii, Aiwan Kapussi). See Critobulus, i. 27 (p. 75); N. Barbaro, p. 30. — The numbers of the besieging army are given as follows: Phrantzes, 258,000; Critobulus, over 300,000 (not counting camp followers, &c.); Chalcondyles, 400,000; Ducas, over 400,000 (p. 267), but his particular items (p. 283) amount to 260,000; Leonardus, over 300,000; N. Barbaro, 160,000; the Thrénos of Constantinople, 217,000. Tedardi, a Florentine witness (for whose work see Appendix), nearly agrees with Barbaro; counting 140,000 fighting men and 60,000 traders, tailors, &c., who followed the army in hope of gain (*Informacion*, p. 21). Mordtmann is inclined to accept the number of Barbaro; Hammer, that of Phrantzes. It is to be observed that there were a large number of Christians in the Turkish army according to Tedardi (the Thrénos gives the number at 30,000; l. 752).]

his precise definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand does not exceed the measure of experience and probability.<sup>34</sup> The navy of the besiegers was less formidable: the Propontis was overspread with three hundred and twenty sail; but of these no more than eighteen could be rated as galleys of war; and the far greater part must be degraded to the condition of storeships and transports, which poured into the camp fresh supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions. In her last decay, Constantinople was still peopled with more than an hundred thousand inhabitants; but these numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity; and they mostly consisted of mechanics, of priests, of women, and of men devoid of that spirit which even women have sometimes exerted for the common safety. I can suppose, I could almost excuse, the reluctance of subjects to serve on a distant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man who dares not expose his life in the defence of his children and his property has lost in society the first and most active energies of nature. By the emperor's command, a particular inquiry had been made through the streets and houses, how many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The lists were entrusted to Phranza;<sup>35</sup> and, after a diligent addition, he informed his master, with grief and surprise, that the national defence was reduced to four thousand nine hundred and seventy *Romans*. Between Constantine and his faithful minister, this comfortless secret

<sup>34</sup> The observation of Philephus is approved by Cuspinian in the year 1508 (de Cæsaribus, in Epilog. de Militiâ Turcicâ, p. 697). Marsigli proves that the effective armies of the Turks are much less numerous than they appear. In the army that besieged Constantinople, Leonardus Chiensis reckons no more than 15,000 Janizaries. [The usual strength of the Ottoman army on an important expedition was about 100,000.]

<sup>35</sup> Ego eidem (Imp.) tabellas extribui non absque dolore et mœstitiâ, mansitque apud nos duos aliis occultus numerus (Phranza, l. iii. c. 3). With some indulgence for national prejudices, we cannot desire a more authentic witness, not only of public facts, but of private counsels. [The statement of Phrantzes as to the numbers is confirmed by Tedardi.]

was preserved; and a sufficient proportion of shields, cross-bows, and muskets was distributed from the arsenal to the city-bands. They derived some accession from a body of two thousand strangers, under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese;<sup>86</sup> a liberal donative was advanced to these auxiliaries; and a princely recompense, the isle of Lemnos, was promised to the valour and victory of their chief. A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour;<sup>87</sup> it was supported by some Greek and Italian vessels of war and merchandise; and the ships of every Christian nation, that successively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public service. Against the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of sixteen, miles was defended by a scanty garrison of seven or eight thousand soldiers. Europe and Asia were open to the besiegers; but the strength and provisions of the Greeks must sustain a daily decrease; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign succour or supply.<sup>88</sup>

The primitive Romans would have drawn their swords in

<sup>86</sup> [All these strangers had not come with Giustiniani; he brought 700 (Barbaro, p. 13) or perhaps only 400 (Critobulus, i. 25; Leonardus, p. 319).]

<sup>87</sup> [For the chain see above, vol. iii. p. 94. A part of the chain is preserved in the court of the church of St. Irene, and may be seen figured in Mordtmann's *Esquisse Topographique*, p. 49. Cp. above, vol. x. p. 363-4.]

<sup>88</sup> [Since the fourth century, various emperors had improved the fortifications of the city. Heraclius had strengthened the Palace of Blachern on the west (at the time of the Avar siege) by a new wall, between the Tower of Anemas and the Xyloporta; and Leo V. had built another wall outside the wall of Heraclius. In the twelfth century Manuel Comnenus built a wall enclosing the quarter called Caligaria, from the Tower of Anemas to the gate of Xylokerkos (or Kerkopoporta). The Gate of Caligaria (Egri Kapu) was in this new wall of Manuel. The ineffective siege of Constantinople by Murad in 1432 moved John Palæologus to repair and strengthen the whole outer line of wall, and inscriptions recording this are found on the towers. The fortifications on the seaside, the walls along the Golden Horn and the Propontis, were mainly the work of Theophilus in the 9th century. It is interesting to find an inscription on a tower (near the Porta Contoscali) stating that it was repaired by George Brankovič, Despot of Servia, in 1448. In 1453 George contributed troops to the army of Mohammad.]



the resolution of death or conquest. The primitive Christians might have embraced each other, and awaited in patience and charity the stroke of martyrdom. But the Greeks of Constantinople were animated only by the spirit of religion, and that spirit was productive only of animosity and discord. Before his death, the emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular measure of an union with the Latins; nor was the idea revived, till the distress of his brother Constantine imposed a last trial of flattery and dissimulation.<sup>39</sup> With the demand of temporal aid, his ambassadors were instructed to mingle the assurance of spiritual obedience: his neglect of the church was excused by the urgent cares of the state; and his orthodox wishes solicited the presence of a Roman legate. The Vatican had been too often deluded; yet the signs of repentance could not decently be overlooked; a legate was more easily granted than an army; and, about six months before the final destruction, the cardinal Isidore of Russia appeared in that character with a retinue of priests and soldiers. The emperor saluted him as a friend and father; respectfully listened to his public and private sermons; and with the most obsequious of the clergy and laymen subscribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the twelfth of December, the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of sacrifice and prayer; and the names of the two pontiffs were solemnly commemorated: the names of Nicholas the Fifth, the vicar of Christ, and of the patriarch Gregory, who had been driven into exile by a rebellious people.

But the dress and language of the Latin priest who officiated at the altar were an object of scandal; and it was observed with horror that he consecrated a cake or wafer of *unleavened* bread and poured cold water into the cup of the sacrament.

<sup>39</sup> In Spondanus, the narrative of the union is not only partial but imperfect. The bishop of Pamiers died in 1642, and the history of Ducas, which represents these scenes (c. 36, 37) with such truth and spirit, was not printed till the year 1649.

A national historian acknowledges with a blush that none of his countrymen, not the emperor himself, were sincere in this occasional conformity.<sup>40</sup> Their hasty and unconditional submission was palliated by a promise of future revisal; but the best or the worst of their excuses was the confession of their own perjury. When they were pressed by the reproaches of their honest brethren, "Have patience," they whispered, "have patience till God shall have delivered the city from the great dragon who seeks to devour us. You shall then perceive whether we are truly reconciled with the Azymites." But patience is not the attribute of zeal; nor can the arts of a court be adapted to the freedom and violence of popular enthusiasm. From the dome of St. Sophia, the inhabitants of either sex and of every degree rushed in crowds to the cell of the monk Gennadius,<sup>41</sup> to consult the oracle of the church. The holy man was invisible; entranced, as it should seem, in deep meditation or divine rapture; but he had exposed on the door of his cell a speaking tablet; and they successively withdrew, after reading these tremendous words: "O miserable Romans! why will ye abandon the truth? and why, instead of confiding in God, will ye put your trust in the Italians? In losing your faith, you will lose your city. Have mercy on me, O Lord! I protest, in thy presence, that I am innocent of the crime. O miserable Romans! consider,

<sup>40</sup> Phranza, one of the conforming Greeks, acknowledges that the measure was adopted only propter spem auxilii; he affirms with pleasure that those who refused to perform their devotions in St. Sophia, extra culpam et in pace essent (l. iii. c. 20).

<sup>41</sup> His primitive and secular name was George Scholarius, which he changed for that of Gennadius, either when he became a monk [in the monastery of the Pantokrator] or a patriarch. His defence, at Florence, of the same union which he so furiously attacked at Constantinople, has tempted Leo Allatius (*Diatrib. de Georgiis*, in *Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 760-786*) to divide him into two men; but Renaudot (p. 343-383) has restored the identity of his person, and the duplicity of his character. [Monograph by C. Sathas, *Γεώργιος Σχολάριος*, 1865. On "the identity of this person" cp. Dräseke, *Byzant. Zeitsch. iv. p. 3* (1895). The writings of Gennadius are collected in *Migne, P.G. 160.*]

pause, and repent. At the same moment that you renounce the religion of your fathers, by embracing impiety, you submit to a foreign servitude." According to the advice of Gennadius, the religious virgins, as pure as angels and as proud as demons, rejected the act of union and abjured all communion with the present and future associates of the Latins; and their example was applauded and imitated by the greatest part of the clergy and people. From the monastery, the devout Greeks dispersed themselves in the taverns; drank confusion to the slaves of the pope; <sup>42</sup> emptied their glasses in honour of the image of the holy Virgin; and besought her to defend against Mahomet the city which she had formerly saved from Chosroes and the Chagan. In the double intoxication of zeal and wine, they valiantly exclaimed, "What occasion have we for succour, or union, or Latins? far from us be the worship of the Azymites!" During the winter that preceded the Turkish conquest, the nation was distracted by this epidemical frenzy; and the season of Lent, the approach of Easter, instead of breathing charity and love, served only to fortify the obstinacy and influence of the zealots. The confessors scrutinised and alarmed the conscience of their votaries, and a rigorous penance was imposed on those who had received the communion from a priest who had given an express or tacit consent to the union. His service at the altar propagated the infection to the mute and simple spectators of the ceremony; they forfeited, by the impure spectacle, the virtue of their sacerdotal character; nor was it lawful, even in danger of sudden death, to invoke the assistance of their prayers or absolution. No sooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin sacrifice than it was deserted as a Jewish synagogue, or an heathen temple, by the clergy and people; and a vast and gloomy silence

<sup>42</sup> [Ubertinus Pusculus (ii. l. 498 *sqq.*, ed. Ellissen, p. 36-7) narrates that Gennadius suborned a Bohemian heretic, who happened to be in the city, to stir up the people against the Union and inveigh against the Pope.]

prevailed in that venerable dome, which had so often smoked with a cloud of incense, blazed with innumerable lights, and resounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. The Latins were the most odious of heretics and infidels; and the first minister of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare that he had rather behold, in Constantinople, the turban of Mahomet than the pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat.<sup>43</sup> A sentiment so unworthy of Christians and patriots was familiar and fatal to the Greeks: the emperor was deprived of the affection and support of his subjects; and their native cowardice was sanctified by resignation to the divine decree or the visionary hope of a miraculous deliverance.

Of the triangle which composes the figure of Constantinople, the two sides along the sea were made inaccessible to an enemy: the Propontis by nature, and the harbour by art. Between the two waters, the basis of the triangle, the land-side was protected by a double wall and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet.<sup>44</sup> Against this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye-witness, prolongs to the measure of six miles,<sup>45</sup> the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after distributing the service and command of the most perilous stations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the first days of the siege, the Greek soldiers descended into the ditch, or sallied into the field; but they soon discovered that, in the proportion of their numbers, one

<sup>43</sup> Φακίδιον, καλύπτρα, may be fairly translated a cardinal's hat. The difference of the Greek and Latin habits embittered the schism.

<sup>44</sup> [Niccolò Barbaro, p. 14, 15, mentions that during the last two weeks of March, a Venetian sea-captain named Diedo, with the crews of his vessels, was employed by the emperor to dig a ditch in front of a portion of the wall near the Porta Caligaria (Egri Kapu). This was a weak spot.]

<sup>45</sup> We are obliged to reduce the Greek miles to the smallest measure which is preserved in the wersts of Russia, of 547 French *toises*, and of 104½ to a degree. The six miles of Phranza do not exceed four English miles (D'Anville, *Mesures Itinéraires*, p. 61, 123, &c.). [Cp. Critobulus, i. 28; he gives 126 stadia (15½ miles) as the circuit of the city, allowing 48 for the land wall, 35 for the side of the Golden Horn. For the walls cp. above, vol. iii. p. 100, n. 33.]

Christian was of more value than twenty Turks; and, after these bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their missile weapons. Nor should this prudence be accused of pusillanimity. The nation was indeed pusillanimous and base; but the last Constantine deserves the name of an hero; his noble band of volunteers was inspired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries supported the honour of the Western chivalry. The incessant volleys of lances and arrows were accompanied with the smoke, the sound, and the fire of their musketry and cannon. Their small arms discharged at the same time either five or even ten balls of lead of the size of a walnut; and, according to the closeness of the ranks and the force of the powder, several breastplates and bodies were transpierced by the same shot. But the Turkish approaches were soon sunk in trenches or covered with ruins. Each day added to the science of the Christians; but their inadequate stock of gunpowder was wasted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful either in size or number; and, if they possessed some heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, lest the aged structure should be shaken and overthrown by the explosion.<sup>46</sup> The same destructive secret had been revealed to the Moslems; by whom it was em-

<sup>46</sup> At indies doctiores nostri facti paravere contra hostes machinamenta, quæ tamen avare dabantur. Pulvis erat nitri modica, exigua; tela modica; bombardæ, si aderant incommoditate loci primum hostes offendere maceribus alveisque tectos non poterant. Nam siquæ magnæ erant, ne murus concuteretur noster, quiescebant. This passage of Leonardus Chiensis is curious and important. [The Turks had directed twelve large cannons (apart from the fourteen batteries) against the land wall: three against the Tekfour Serai Palace, four against the Gate of Romanus, three against the Gate of Selymbria, and two against the Golden Gate. The Gate of Romanus, against which the great cannon (which was named the *Basilica*) was set, is hence called Top Kapussi, "Cannon Gate." The reader should observe that between the Golden Gate and Blachernæ there were four chief gates in this order: Porta Selymbriæ (or Pegana), Porta Rusii (or Rhegii), Porta S. Romani, and Porta Charisii (or Charseæ: the same as the Gate of Hadrianople). The most dangerous and important post at the S. Romanus

ployed with the superior energy of zeal, riches, and despotism. The great cannon of Mahomet has been separately noticed: an important and visible object in the history of the times; but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almost of equal magnitude;<sup>47</sup> the long order of the Turkish artillery was pointed against the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the most accessible places; and of one of these it is ambiguously expressed that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it discharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the sultan, we may discern the infancy of the new science. Under a master who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than seven times in one day.<sup>48</sup> The heated metal unfortunately burst; several workmen were destroyed; and the skill of an artist was admired, who bethought himself of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each explosion, into the mouth of the cannon.

The first random shots were productive of more sound than effect; and it was by the advice of a Christian that the engineers were taught to level their aim against the two opposite sides of the salient angles of a bastion.<sup>49</sup> However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made some impression on the walls; and the Turks, pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enor-

Gate was defended by 3000 men (including 500 Genoese), under the command of the Emperor and Giustiniani, who were supported by Don Francisco of Toledo, a relative of the Emperor.]

<sup>47</sup> According to Chalcondyles and Phranza, the great cannon burst: an accident which, according to Ducas, was prevented by the artist's skill. It is evident that they do not speak of the same gun.

<sup>48</sup> Near an hundred years after the siege of Constantinople, the French and English fleets in the Channel were proud of firing 300 shot in an engagement of two hours (*Mémoires de Martin du Bellay*, l. x. in the *Collection Générale*, tom. xxi. p. 239).

<sup>49</sup> [The Christian who gave the advice was an envoy of John Hunyady. He could not resist criticising the shooting of the inexperienced Turkish gunners.]

mous chasm and to build a road to the assault.<sup>50</sup> Innumerable fascines and hogsheds and trunks of trees were heaped on each other; and such was the impetuosity of the throng that the foremost and the weakest were pushed headlong down the precipice and instantly buried under the accumulated mass. To fill the ditch was the toil of the besiegers; to clear away the rubbish was the safety of the besieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was still unravelled in the night. The next resource of Mahomet was the practice of mines; but the soil was rocky; in every attempt he was stopped and undermined by the Christian engineers; nor had the art been yet invented of replenishing those subterraneous passages with gunpowder and blowing whole towers and cities into the air.<sup>51</sup> A circumstance that distinguishes the siege of Constantinople is the reunion of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts;<sup>52</sup> the bullet and the battering-ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret of the largest size was advanced on rollers; this portable magazine of ammunition and fascines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls' hides; incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally

<sup>50</sup> I have selected some curious facts, without striving to emulate the bloody and obstinate eloquence of the Abbé de Vertot, in his prolix descriptions of the sieges of Rhodes, Malta, &c. But that agreeable historian had a turn for romance, and, as he wrote to please the Order, he has adopted the same spirit of enthusiasm and chivalry.

<sup>51</sup> The first theory of mines with gunpowder appears in 1480, in a MS. of George of Sienna (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. p. i. p. 324). They were first practised at Sarzanella, in 1487; but the honour and improvement in 1503 is ascribed to Peter of Navarre, who used them with success in the wars of Italy (Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, tom. ii. p. 93-97).

<sup>52</sup> [Cp. Blanchin and Tedardi, *Informacion*, p. 22 (for this work see Appendix).]

and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a staircase to the upper platform, and, as high as the level of that platform, a scaling-ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge and grapple with the adverse rampart. By these various arts of annoyance, some as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned; after a severe struggle, the Turks were repulsed from the breach and interrupted by darkness; but they trusted that with the return of light they should renew the attack with fresh vigour and decisive success. Of this pause of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Justiniani, who passed the night on the spot, and urged the labours which involved the safety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient sultan perceived, with astonishment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to ashes: the ditch was cleared and restored; and the tower of St. Romanus was again strong and entire. He deplored the failure of his design; and uttered a profane exclamation that the word of the thirty-seven thousand prophets should not have compelled him to believe that such a work, in so short a time, should have been accomplished by the infidels.

The generosity of the Christian princes was cold and tardy; but, in the first apprehension of a siege, Constantine had negotiated, in the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five <sup>63</sup> great ships, equipped for merchan-

<sup>63</sup> It is singular that the Greeks should not agree in the number of these illustrious vessels; the *five* of Ducas, the *four* of Phranza and Leonardus [and Barbaro and Pusculus], and the *two* of Chalcondyles [and Sad ad-Din, ii. p. 137], must be extended to the smaller, or confined to the larger, size. Voltaire, in giving one of these ships to Frederic III., confounds the emperors of the East and West. [Critobulus does not mention the Imperial ship but only the three Italian ships, which, he says, were sent by the Pope with provisional help till he should prepare a large armament, i. 39. Ducas describes them as Genoese merchant vessels. The date of the engagement is known from Barbaro (p. 23, 24), who supplies the chronology of the siege.]



dise and war, would have sailed from the harbour of Chios, had not the wind blown obstinately from the north.<sup>54</sup> One of these ships bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoese; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with soldiers and mariners, for the service of the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the second day, a strong gale from the south, carried them through the Hellespont and the Propontis; but the city was already invested by sea and land; and the Turkish fleet, at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore, in the form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least to repel, these bold auxiliaries.<sup>55</sup> The reader who has present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople, will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts, and a full press both of sails and oars, against an hostile fleet of three hundred vessels;<sup>56</sup> and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succour. At the first view, that event could not appear doubtful: the superiority of the Moslems was beyond all measure or account; and, in a calm, their numbers and valour must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but

<sup>54</sup> In bold defiance, or rather in gross ignorance, of language and geography, the president Cousin detains them at Chios with a south, and wafts them to Constantinople with a north, wind.

<sup>55</sup> [The fleet had arrived on April 12 (a small part of it had arrived earlier, on the same day as Mohammad, April 2, according to Phrantzes, p. 237). It weighed anchor, and made its headquarters, at Diplokionion, now Beshik Tash, on the Thracian side of the Bosphorus at a short distance north of the mouth of the Golden Horn.]

<sup>56</sup> [Our authorities give very various statements as to the strength of the Turkish fleet. Critobulus (i. 22) says 350 (not counting ships of freight); Phrantzes, 480 (comparing p. 237 with p. 239 ed. Bonn); Marino Sanuto (Muratori, S.R.I. xxii. 1148), 375; Leonardus, 250; Chalcondyles, 230; Pusculus (4, 332), 170; Barbaro, 145.]

by the will of the sultan. In the height of their prosperity, the Turks have acknowledged that, if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to the infidels;<sup>57</sup> and a series of defeats, a rapid progress of decay, has established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen galleys of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats, rudely constructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops and destitute of cannon; and, since courage arises in a great measure from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage; their artillery swept the waters; their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adversaries who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial vessel, which had been almost overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and closer attack, were twice repulsed with considerable loss. Mahomet himself sat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and presence, by the promise of reward, and by fear more potent than the fear of the enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body,<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> The perpetual decay and weakness of the Turkish navy may be observed in Rycaut (*State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 372-378), Thévenot (*Voyages*, p. i. p. 229-242), and Tott (*Mémoires*, tom. iii.); the last of whom is always solicitous to amuse and amaze his reader.

<sup>58</sup> I must confess that I have before my eyes the living picture which Thucydides (l. vii. c. 71) has drawn of the passions and gestures of the Athenians in a naval engagement in the great harbour of Syracuse. [Mordtmann, *Belagerung*, p. 138, n. 17, thinks that the spot where Mohammad looked on at the conflict was Zeitin Burnou, at a quarter of an hour's distance from the Seven Towers (at the Golden Gate); at this point the sea near the shore is very shallow.]

seemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into the sea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I must repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms, from their own mouth, that they lost above twelve thousand men in the slaughter of the day.<sup>59</sup> They fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia, while the Christian squadron, triumphant and unhurt, steered along the Bosphorus and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain-bashaw, found some consolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes; his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and, under the despotism of the prince or people, misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and services were annihilated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence, the captain-bashaw was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received one hundred strokes with a golden rod;<sup>60</sup> his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their Western allies. Amidst the deserts of

<sup>59</sup> [Leonardus says 10,000. Critobulus gives more reasonable numbers, but he, writing from the Turkish point of view, may have been inclined to understate the Turkish losses. He says that a little more than 100 were killed, and more than 300 wounded.]

<sup>60</sup> According to the exaggeration or corrupt text of Ducas (c. 38), this golden bar was of the enormous and incredible weight of 500 livres, or pounds. Bouillaud's reading of 500 drachms, or five pounds, is sufficient to exercise the arm of Mahomet and bruise the back of his admiral.

Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crusades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the Imperial city was strong against her enemies, and accessible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved the relics of the Roman name and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople; the more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Huniades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the sultan.<sup>61</sup>

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

<sup>61</sup> Ducas, who confesses himself ill informed of the affairs of Hungary, assigns a motive of superstition, a fatal belief that Constantinople would be the term of the Turkish conquests. See Phranza (l. iii. c. 20) and Spondanus. [The Hungarian envoy had come to announce that Hunyady had resigned the government to Ladislaus, the young king, and to return the document, in which a truce between Turkey and Hungary had been signed in 1451, and ask for the counterpart which had been signed by Hunyady. The embassy was thus a move intended to suggest to Mohammad that Hungary *might* come to the rescue of the Emperor.]

and marvellous cast,<sup>62</sup> of transporting by land his lighter vessels and military stores from the Bosphorus into the higher part of the harbour. The distance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overspread with thickets; and, as the road must be opened behind the suburb of Galata, their free passage or total destruction must depend on the option of the Genoese.<sup>63</sup> But these selfish merchants were ambitious of the favour of being the last devoured; and the deficiency of art was supplied by the strength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of strong and solid planks; and to render them more slippery and smooth, they were anointed with the fat of sheep and oxen. Fourscore<sup>64</sup> light galleys and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars were disembarked on the Bosphorus shore; arranged successively on rollers; and drawn forwards by the power of men and pulleys. Two guides or pilots were stationed at the helm and the prow of each vessel; the sails were unfurled to the winds; and the labour was cheered by song and acclamation. In the course of a single night, this Turkish fleet painfully climbed the hill, steered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the shallow waters of the harbour, far above the molestation of the deeper vessels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the consternation and confidence which it inspired; but the notorious, unquestionable fact was dis-

<sup>62</sup> [N. Barbaro says that the idea was suggested to the Sultan by a Christian (p. 27).]

<sup>63</sup> [Starting from Diplokionion (Beshiktash) the ship sailed up the hill of Staurodromion, and descended to the little bay of Kasimpasha in the Golden Horn. See Paspates, *op. cit.* 136. We do not know how long before its execution the plan had been prepared. The distance was between two and three miles. The best description of the transport of the vessels is given by Critobulus, i. 42. According to Michael the Janissary (for his Memoirs see Appendix) "the batteries kept up an incessant cannonade that night," to distract attention (Mijatovich, Constantine, Last Emperor of the Greeks, p. 163).]

<sup>64</sup> [The number of ships is given by Barbaro as 72, by Tedardi as between 70 and 80, by Critobulus as 67 (Chalcondyles 70, Ducas 80).]

played before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens, of the two nations.<sup>65</sup> A similar stratagem had been repeatedly practised by the ancients; <sup>66</sup> the Ottoman galleys (I must again repeat) should be considered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the distance, the obstacles and the means, the boasted miracle <sup>67</sup> has perhaps been equalled by the industry of our own times.<sup>68</sup> As soon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army, he constructed, in the narrowest part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth and one hundred in length; it was formed of casks and hogsheads, joined with rafters linked with iron, and covered with a solid floor. On this floating battery he planted one of his largest cannon, while the fourscore galleys, with troops and scaling-ladders, approached the most accessible side, which had formerly been stormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Christians has been accused for not destroying these unfinished works; but their fire, by a superior fire, was controlled and silenced; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the vessels as well as the bridge <sup>69</sup> of the

<sup>65</sup> The unanimous testimony of the four Greeks is confirmed by Cantemir (p. 96) from the Turkish annals; but I could wish to contract the distance of *ten* miles, and to prolong the term of *one* night.

<sup>66</sup> Phranza relates two examples of a similar transportation over the six miles of the isthmus of Corinth: the one fabulous, of Augustus after the battle of Actium; the other true, of Nicetas, a Greek general, in the xth century. To these he might have added a bold enterprise of Hannibal, to introduce his vessels into the harbour of Tarentum (Polybius, l. viii. p. 749, edit. Gronov [c. 36]). [Cp. also Thucydides, iii. 15; 81; iv. 8; and the dragging of the Syracusan fleet of Dionysius I., over the isthmus of Motya, a distance of 2½ miles, on a wooden road (Diodorus, xiv. 50; Polyænus, v. 2).]

<sup>67</sup> A Greek of Candia, who had served the Venetians in a similar undertaking (Spond. A.D. 1438, No. 37), might possibly be the adviser and agent of Mahomet.

<sup>68</sup> I particularly allude to our own embarkations on the lakes of Canada, in the years 1776 and 1777, so great in the labour, so fruitless in the event.

<sup>69</sup> [Barbaro states that the bridge was not completed till May 19; and he places this attempt to burn the vessels on April 28. Gibbon follows Phrant-

sultan. His vigilance prevented their approach; their foremost galliots were sunk or taken; forty youths, the bravest of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly massacred at his command; nor could the emperor's grief be assuaged by the just though cruel retaliation of exposing from the walls the heads of two hundred and sixty Musulman captives. After a siege of forty days, the fate of Constantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by a double attack; the fortifications, which had stood for ages against hostile violence, were dismantled on all sides by the Ottoman cannon; many breaches were opened; and near the gate of St. Romanus four towers had been levelled with the ground.<sup>70</sup> For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Constantine was compelled to despoil the churches, with the promise of a fourfold restitution; and his sacrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A spirit of discord impaired the remnant of the Christian strength; the Genoese and Venetian auxiliaries asserted the pre-eminence of their respective service; and Justiniani and the Great Duke, whose ambition was not extinguished by the common danger, accused each other of treachery and cowardice.

During the siege of Constantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been sometimes pronounced; and several

zes. Ducas also mentions (p. 277 ed. Bonn) an attempt to burn the Turkish ships, and attributes its failure to the treachery of the Genoese of Galata, who revealed it to Mohammad. Ducas mentions the construction of the bridge *after* this unlucky enterprise. Critobulus relates how Mohammad foiled a plan of the Greeks to confine his ships to the little harbour (Kasim Pasha); and he places this episode after the building of the bridge (i. 44). It seems from this that Ducas has mixed together the incident recorded by Phrantzes with that recorded by Critobulus.]

<sup>70</sup> [The Turks also essayed mining operations against the Caligaria region (south of Blachernae), where the ground was most favourable. But all their mines (the first was discovered on May 16, see Barbaro, p. 41) were foiled by the skill of a German engineer, Johannes Grant, who was entrusted with the defence of this part of the wall. Cp. Phrantzes, p. 254, and Tedardi, *Informacion*, p. 25.]

embassies had passed between the camp and the city.<sup>71</sup> The Greek emperor was humbled by adversity; and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty.<sup>72</sup> The Turkish sultan was desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers; still more desirous of securing for his own use the Byzantine treasures; and he accomplished a sacred duty in presenting to the *Gabours* the choice of circumcision, of tribute, or of death.<sup>73</sup> The avarice of Mahomet might have been satisfied with an annual sum of one hundred thousand ducats; but his ambition grasped the capital of the East; to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration or a safe departure; but, after some fruitless treaty, he declared his resolution of finding either a throne or a grave under the walls of Constantinople. A sense of honour and the fear of universal reproach forbade Palæologus to resign the city into the hands of the Ottomans; and he determined to abide the last extremities of war. Several days were employed by the sultan in the preparations of the assault; and a respite was

<sup>71</sup> Chalcondyles and Ducas differ in the time and circumstances of the negotiation; and, as it was neither glorious nor salutary, the faithful Phranza spares his prince even the thought of a surrender.

<sup>72</sup> [The author of the Slavonic relation of the siege (see Appendix) states that a council was held on May 3, and that all the military officers, the senators, and the patriarch advised the emperor to leave the city, and attempt to create a diversion. "The emperor" (the passage is thus translated by M. Ch. Mijatovich, *op. cit.* p. 173) "listened to all this quietly and patiently. At last, after having been for some time in deep thought, he began to speak: 'I thank all for the advice which you have given me. I know that my going out of the city might be of some benefit to me, inasmuch as all that you foresee might really happen. But it is impossible for me to go away! How could I leave the churches of our Lord and his servants the clergy, and the throne, and my people in such a plight? What would the world say about me? I pray you, my friends, in future do not say to me anything else but: "Nay, sire, do not leave us!" Never, never will I leave you! I am resolved to die here with you!' And saying this, the emperor turned his head aside, because tears filled his eyes; and with him wept the patriarch and all who were there."]

<sup>73</sup> [On this mission Mohammad sent his brother-in-law Ismail Hamza, lord of Sinope and Castamboly, who was on friendly terms with Constantine. The incident is entirely omitted by Barbaro, Phrantzes, and Critobulus.]



granted by his favourite science of astrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the twenty-seventh, he issued his final orders; assembled in his presence the military chiefs; and dispersed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty and the motives of the perilous enterprise. Fear is the first principle of a despotic government; and his menaces were expressed in the Oriental style, that the fugitives and deserters, had they the wings of a bird,<sup>74</sup> should not escape from his inexorable justice. The greatest part of his bashaws and Janizaries were the offspring of Christian parents; but the glories of the Turkish name were perpetuated by successive adoption; and, in the gradual change of individuals, the spirit of a legion, a regiment, or an *oda* is kept alive by imitation and discipline. In this holy warfare, the Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with seven absolutions; and to abstain from food till the close of the ensuing day. A crowd of dervishes visited the tents, to instil the desire of martyrdom, and the assurance of spending an immortal youth amidst the rivers and gardens of paradise and in the embraces

<sup>74</sup> These wings (Chalcondyles, l. viii. p. 208) are no more than an Oriental figure; but, in the tragedy of Irene, Mahomet's passion soars above sense and reason:—

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

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

"Ἄρκτον θ' ἦν καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐπὶ κλησὶν καλέουσι.

of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally trusted to the efficacy of temporal and visible rewards. A double pay was promised to the victorious troops: "The city and the buildings," said Mahomet, "are mine; but I resign to your valour the captives and the spoil, the treasures of gold and beauty; be rich and be happy. Many are the provinces of my empire: the intrepid soldier who first ascends the walls of Constantinople shall be rewarded with the government of the fairest and most wealthy; and my gratitude shall accumulate his honours and fortunes above the measure of his own hopes." Such various and potent motives diffused among the Turks a general ardour, regardless of life and impatient for action; the camp re-echoed with the Moslem shouts of "God is God, there is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God";<sup>75</sup> and the sea and land, from Galata to the seven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.

Far different was the state of the Christians; who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the punishment, of their sins. The celestial image of the Virgin had been exposed in solemn procession; but their divine patroness was deaf to their entreaties: they accused the obstinacy of the emperor for refusing a timely surrender; anticipated the horrors of their fate; and sighed for the repose and security of Turkish servitude. The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman empire: <sup>76</sup> he promised,

<sup>75</sup> Phranza quarrels with these Moslem acclamations, not for the name of God, but for that of the Prophet: the pious zeal of Voltaire is excessive, and even ridiculous. [There was a great illumination in the Turkish camp on the night of the 24th May, when the Sultan first proclaimed his plan for a general assault (Barbaro, p. 46; it is mentioned also by the Slavonic chronicle). Gibbon refers to the illumination on May 27.]

<sup>76</sup> I am afraid that this discourse was composed by Phranza himself; and it smells so grossly of the sermon and the convent that I almost doubt whether

he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the gospel nor the church have proposed any conspicuous recompense to the heroes who fall in the service of their country. But the example of their prince and the confinement of a siege had armed these warriors with the courage of despair; and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor, and some faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosch; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured;<sup>77</sup> and mounted on horseback to visit the guards and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.

In the confusion of darkness an assailant may sometimes succeed; but, in this great and general attack, the military judgment and astrological knowledge of Mahomet advised him to expect the morning,<sup>78</sup> the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Christian era. The preceding night had been strenuously

it was pronounced by Constantine. Leonardus assigns him another speech, in which he addresses himself more respectfully to the Latin auxiliaries.

<sup>77</sup> This abasement, which devotion has sometimes extorted from dying princes, is an improvement of the gospel doctrine of the forgiveness of injuries; it is more easy to forgive 499 times than once to ask pardon of an inferior.

<sup>78</sup> [So the eye-witnesses, Phrantzes and Barbaro. But Critobulus and Ducas set the beginning of the final assault on the 28th, and make the fighting go on all night.]

employed: the troops, the cannon, and the fascines were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which, in many parts, presented a smooth and level passage to the breach; and his fourscore galleys almost touched, with the prows and their scaling-ladders, the less defensible walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, silence was enjoined; but the physical laws of motion and sound are not obedient to discipline or fear; each individual might suppress his voice and measure his footsteps; but the march and labour of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At daybreak, without the customary signal of the morning-gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack.<sup>79</sup> The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd, who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall; the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated; and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Christians was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in this laborious defence; the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain; they supported the footsteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge: their progress was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained and improved their advantage; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of

<sup>79</sup> Besides the 10,000 guards, and the sailors and the marines, Ducas numbers in this general assault 250,000 Turks, both horse and foot.

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

The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani.<sup>80</sup> The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain,

<sup>80</sup> [At 3 o'clock in the morning a breach in the outer wall near the Gate of St. Romanus had been made by a cannon, and the Turks pressed into the space between the outer and inner walls. They were repelled at last, mainly through the efforts of the Venetians (according to Barbaro); but it was soon necessary to bring up the reserves which (under Theodore Palaeologus and

appalled the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsel were the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his station in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived and stopped by the indefatigable emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is slight; the danger is pressing; your presence is necessary; and whither will you retire?" "I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by the same road which God has opened to the Turks;" and at these words he hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pusillanimous act, he stained the honours of a military life; and the few days which he survived in Galata, or the isle of Chios, were embittered by his own and the public reproach.<sup>81</sup> His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to slacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps an hundred, times superior to that of the Christians; the double walls were reduced by the cannon to an heap of ruins; in a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access or more feebly guarded; and, if the besiegers could penetrate in a

Demetrius Cantacuzenus) were posted at the Church of the Holy Apostles. It was at this moment, when these reserve troops were driving back the Turks, that Giustiniani was wounded (in the leg, Phrantzes; in the hand, Chalcondyles and Ducas; under the armpit, Zorzo Dolfin and Leonardus; in the arm, Pusculus; in the chest, Critobulus).]

<sup>81</sup> In the severe censure of the flight of Justiniani, Phranza expresses his own feelings and those of the public. For some private reasons, he is treated with more lenity and respect by Ducas; but the words of Leonardus Chiensis express his strong and recent indignation, *gloriæ salutis sui que oblitus*. In the whole series of their Eastern policy, his countrymen, the Genoese, were always suspected, and often guilty. ["The dialogue between Constantine and Giustiniani given in the pages of Gibbon is evidently a rhetorical invention. None of the historians were present, and who of those present could report any conversation with accuracy at such a moment?" Finlay, *History of Greece*, iii. p. 520 note. Barbaro, who is throughout severe on the Genoese, is markedly hostile to Giustiniani. The facts that the wound actually proved mortal, and that Giustiniani's valour and distinguished services are extolled by all the Greek writers, are a sufficient answer to the accusations of cowardice and failure in duty.]

single point, the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The first who deserved the sultan's reward was Hassan, the Janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his scymetar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification; of the thirty Janizaries, who were emulous of his valour, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit: the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible: the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage-ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes.<sup>82</sup> Amidst these multitudes, the emperor,<sup>83</sup> who accomplished all the duties

<sup>82</sup> [In this account of the last conflict Gibbon has omitted a highly important fact which hastened the capture of the city. This fact is not mentioned by Phrantzes; it rests on the authority of Ducas (p. 280-5) and is confirmed by a short statement of Critobulus (i. 60 *ad fin.*). North of the Porta Charseae, south of the Porta Caligaria, in a transverse wall which connects the inner and outer Theodosian walls, there is a small postern (found by M. Paspates) which is called the Kerkoporta by Ducas (wrongly?), and was always kept shut, but had been opened by Giustiniani's orders for the purpose of a possible sortie. Some of the Greeks who were fighting in the space between the inner and the outer wall, pressed by the enemy, retreated through the Kerkoporta, and fifty Turks followed them, as they neglected to shut the gate. More Turks soon pressed in, and others mounted the walls, captured the tower close to the gate, and set up the Ottoman standards on the walls. The retreat of the Greeks, who were outside the inner wall, by the Kerkoporta was now cut off, and seeing the flags of the foe on the battlements they thronged back through the Porta Charseae, which was then left undefended, so that the Turks could enter by this gate too. The Turks who thus penetrated seem to have betaken themselves at first to the harbour side of the city, and some time elapsed before the combatants at the Gate of St. Romanus, where the fight was raging most hotly, learned what had happened. Phrantzes (without explaining) describes the arrival of the tidings (p. 285). A cry was heard on the harbour side: "The fort is taken, the standards of the foe are on the towers!" Then Constantine spurred his horse into the thick of the fray.]

<sup>83</sup> Ducas kills him with two blows of Turkish soldiers; Chalcondyles wounds him in the shoulder, and then tramples him in the gate. The grief of Phranza carrying him among the enemy escapes from the precise image

of a general and a soldier, was long seen, and finally lost. The nobles who fought round his person sustained, till their last breath, the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?"<sup>84</sup> and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels.<sup>85</sup> The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple; amidst the tumult, he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. After his death, resistance and order were no more; the Greeks fled towards the city; and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and, as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the side of the harbour.<sup>86</sup> In the first heat of the pursuit, about two thousand Christians were put to the sword; but avarice soon pre-

of his death; but we may, without flattery, apply these noble lines of Dryden:—

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

<sup>84</sup> Spondanus (A.D. 1453, No. 10), who has hopes of his salvation, wishes to absolve this demand from the guilt of suicide.

<sup>85</sup> Leonardus Chiensis very properly observes that the Turks, had they known the emperor, would have laboured to save and secure a captive so acceptable to the sultan. [It appears that Constantine fell in the space between the inner and outer walls (Ducas, p. 283), near the Gate of St. Romanus (Phrantzes, p. 287). Critobulus is mistaken in saying that it was near the Kerkoporta (i. 60). Theodore Spandugino Cantacusino in his work "Della origine de principi Turchi" (ed. 1564, p. 195) describes Constantine as rejecting the proposals which were made to him to flee to the harbour, and crying, "God forbid that I should live an Emperor without enjoying the Empire! I will die with my city!"]

<sup>86</sup> Cantemir, p. 96. The Christian ships in the mouth of the harbour had flanked and retarded this naval attack. [Cp. Barbaro, p. 56; Critobulus, i. 65.]



veiled over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged that they should immediately have given quarter, if the valour of the emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins; her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors.<sup>87</sup>

The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing; yet such was the extent of Constantinople that the more distant quarters might prolong, some moments, the happy ignorance of their ruin.<sup>88</sup> But in the general consternation, in the feelings of selfish or social anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the assault, a *sleepless* night and morning must have elapsed; nor can I believe that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the Janizaries from a sound and tranquil slumber. On the assurance of the public calamity, the houses and convents were instantly deserted; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the streets, like an herd of timid animals, as if accumulated weakness could be productive of strength, or in the vain hope that amid the crowd each individual might be safe and invisible. From every part of the capital, they flowed into the church of St. Sophia: in the space of an hour, the sanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with the multitudes of fathers and husbands, of women and children, of priests, monks, and religious

<sup>87</sup> Chalcondyles most absurdly supposes that Constantinople was sacked by the Asiatics in revenge for the ancient calamities of Troy; and the grammarians of the xvth century are happy to melt down the uncouth appellation of Turks into the more classical name of *Teucris*.

<sup>88</sup> When Cyrus surprised Babylon during the celebration of a festival, so vast was the city, and so careless were the inhabitants, that much time elapsed before the distant quarters knew that they were captives. Herodotus (l. i. c. 191), and Usher (Annal. p. 78), who has quoted from the prophet Jeremiah a passage of similar import.

virgins; the doors were barred on the inside, and they sought protection from the sacred dome which they had so lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthusiast or impostor, that one day the Turks would enter Constantinople, and pursue the Romans as far as the column of Constantine in the square before St. Sophia; but that this would be the term of their calamities; that an angel would descend from heaven, with a sword in his hand, and would deliver the empire, with that celestial weapon, to a poor man seated at the foot of the column. "Take this sword," would he say, "and avenge the people of the Lord." At these animating words, the Turks would instantly fly, and the victorious Romans would drive them from the West, and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Persia. It is on this occasion that Ducas, with some fancy and much truth, upbraids the discord and obstinacy of the Greeks. "Had that angel appeared," exclaims the historian, "had he offered to exterminate your foes if you would consent to the union of the church, even then, in that fatal moment, you would have rejected your safety or have deceived your God."<sup>89</sup>

While they expected the descent of the tardy angel, the doors were broken with axes; and, as the Turks encountered no resistance, their bloodless hands were employed in selecting and securing the multitude of their prisoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth attracted their choice; and the right of property was decided among themselves by a

<sup>89</sup> This lively description is extracted from Ducas (c. 39), who two years afterwards was sent ambassador from the prince of Lesbos to the sultan (c. 44). Till Lesbos was subdued in 1463 (Phranza, l. iii. c. 27), that island must have been full of the fugitives of Constantinople, who delighted to repeat, perhaps to adorn, the tale of their misery. [The terrible description of the wasting of Constantinople given by Critobulus (i. 61-63), who wrote as a friend of the Turks, proves that the other historians have not exaggerated the frightful scenes. He has an interesting notice of the destruction of books sacred and profane (c. 62, 3); some were destroyed, but "the greater number of them" were sold for small sums, cp. Ducas, p. 312.]

prior seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of command. In the space of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves; the prelates with the porters of the church; and young men of a plebeian class with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the sun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of society were confounded; the ties of nature were cut asunder; and the inexorable soldier was careless of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked bosoms, outstretched hands, and dishevelled hair; and we should piously believe that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the harem to those of the monastery. Of these unfortunate Greeks, of these domestic animals, whole strings were rudely driven through the streets; and, as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the same hour, a similar rapine was exercised in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces and habitations of the capital; nor could any palace, however sacred or sequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks. Above sixty thousand<sup>90</sup> of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or sold according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. Among these we may notice some remarkable characters. The historian Phranza, first chamberlain and principal secretary, was involved with his family in the common lot. After suffering four months the hardships of slavery, he recovered his freedom; in the ensuing winter he ventured to Hadrianople, and ransomed his

<sup>90</sup> [So Leonardus, p. 334; according to Critobulus, 50,000, and the same authority gives the number of slain among the defenders, throughout the siege and in the final capture, as 4000.]

wife from the *mir bashi*, or master of horse; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been seized for the use of Mahomet himself. The daughter of Phranza died in the seraglio, perhaps a virgin; his son, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was stabbed by the hand of the royal lover.<sup>91</sup> A deed thus inhuman cannot surely be expiated by the taste and liberality with which he released a Grecian matron and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philelphus, who had chosen a wife in that noble family.<sup>92</sup> The pride or cruelty of Mahomet would have been most sensibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate; but the dexterity of Cardinal Isidore eluded the search, and he escaped from Galata in a plebeian habit.<sup>93</sup>

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

<sup>91</sup> See Phranza, l. iii. c. 20, 21. His expressions are positive: *Ameras suâ manu jugulavit . . . volebat enim eo turpiter et nefarie abuti. Me miserum et infelicem.* Yet he could only learn from report the bloody or impure scenes that were acted in the dark recesses of the seraglio.

<sup>92</sup> See Tiraboschi (tom. vi. p. i. p. 290), and Lancelot (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. x. p. 718). I should be curious to learn how he could praise the public enemy, whom he so often reviles as the most corrupt and inhuman of tyrants.

<sup>93</sup> The Commentaries of Pius II. suppose that he craftily placed his cardinal's hat on the head of a corpse, which was cut off and exposed in triumph, while the legate himself was bought and delivered, as a captive of no value. The great Belgic Chronicle adorns his escape with new adventures, which he suppressed (says Spondanus, A.D. 1453, No. 15) in his own letters, lest he should lose the merit and reward of suffering for Christ.

In the fall and the sack of great cities, an historian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity; the same effects must be produced by the same passions; and, when those passions may be indulged without control, small, alas! is the difference between civilised and savage man. Amidst the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accused of a wanton or immoderate effusion of Christian blood; but, according to their maxims (the maxims of antiquity), the lives of the vanquished were forfeited; and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the service, the sale, or the ransom of his captives of both sexes.<sup>94</sup> The wealth of Constantinople had been granted by the sultan to his victorious troops; and the rapine of an hour is more productive than the industry of years. But, as no regular division was attempted of the spoil, the respective shares were not determined by merit; and the rewards of valour were stolen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amusement or instruction; the total amount, in the last poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats;<sup>95</sup> and of this sum a small part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of these foreigners, the stock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation; but the riches of the Greeks were displayed in the idle ostentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treasures of ingots and old coin, lest it should be demanded at their hands for the defence of their country. The profanation and

<sup>94</sup> Busbequius expatiates with pleasure and applause on the rights of war and the use of slavery among the ancients and the Turks (*de Legat. Turcicâ*, *epist. iii. p. 161*).

<sup>95</sup> This sum is specified in a marginal note of Leunclavius (*Chalcondyles*, l. viii. p. 211), but in the distribution to Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Ancona, of 50, 20, 20, and 15,000 ducats, I suspect that a figure has been dropt. Even with the restitution, the foreign property would scarcely exceed one fourth.

plunder of the monasteries and churches excited the most tragic complaints. The dome of St. Sophia itself, the earthly heaven, the second firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God,<sup>96</sup> was despoiled of the oblations of ages; and the gold and silver, the pearls and jewels, the vases and sacerdotal ornaments, were most wickedly converted to the service of mankind. After the divine images had been stripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvas, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the stables or the kitchen, to the vilest uses. The example of sacrilege was imitated, however, from the Latin conquerors of Constantinople; and the treatment which Christ, the Virgin, and the saints had sustained from the guilty Catholic might be inflicted by the zealous Musulman on the monuments of idolatry. Perhaps, instead of joining the public clamour, a philosopher will observe that in the decline of the arts the workmanship could not be more valuable than the work, and that a fresh supply of visions and miracles would speedily be renewed by the craft of the priest and the credulity of the people. He will more seriously deplore the loss of the Byzantine libraries, which were destroyed or scattered in the general confusion: one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared;<sup>97</sup> ten volumes might be purchased for a single ducat; and the same ignominious price, too high perhaps for a shelf of theology, included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of the science and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleasure that an inestimable portion of our classic treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havoc of time and barbarism.

<sup>96</sup> See the enthusiastic praises and lamentations of Phranza (l. iii. c. 17).

<sup>97</sup> See Ducas (c. 43), and an epistle, 15th July, 1453, from Laurus Quirinus to Pope Nicholas V. (*Hody de Græcis*, p. 192, from a MS. in the Cotton Library). [Cp. above, p. 86, note 89.]

From the first hour <sup>98</sup> of the memorable twenty-ninth of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople till the eighth hour of the same day; when the sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his vizirs, bashaws, and guards, each of whom (says a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules, dexterous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror <sup>99</sup> gazed with satisfaction and wonder on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from the style of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, or *atmeidan*, his eye was attracted by the twisted column of the three serpents; and, as a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron mace or battle-axe the under-jaw of one of these monsters, <sup>100</sup> which in the eye of the Turks were the idols or talismans of the city. At the principal door of St. Sophia, he alighted from his horse and entered the dome; <sup>101</sup> and such was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory that, on observing a zealous Musulman in the act of breaking the marble pavement, he admonished him with his scymetar that, if the spoil and captives were granted to the soldiers, the public and private buildings had been reserved for the prince. By his command the metropolis of the Eastern church was transformed into a mosch: the rich and portable instruments of superstition had been removed; the crosses were thrown

<sup>98</sup> The Julian calendar, which reckons the days and hours from midnight, was used at Constantinople. But Ducas seems to understand the natural hours from sunrise.

<sup>99</sup> See the Turkish Annals, p. 329, and the Pandects of Leunclavius, p. 448.

<sup>100</sup> I have had occasion (vol. iii. p. 104-5) to mention this curious relic of Grecian antiquity.

<sup>101</sup> [According to the Slavonic Relation, he stooped down at the threshold of the church, took some earth, and scattered it on his head, in token of humiliation to God. In the same source it is stated that, at the prayers of the priests who met him in St. Sophia, he issued a proclamation to stay the pillage, c. 21-22.]

down; and the walls, which were covered with images and mosaics, were washed and purified and restored to a state of naked simplicity.<sup>102</sup> On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the *muezin* or crier ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the *ezan*, or public invitation, in the name of God and his prophet; the imam preached; and Mahomet the Second performed the *namaz* of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæsars.<sup>103</sup> From St. Sophia he proceeded to the august but desolate mansion of an hundred successors of the great Constantine; but which, in a few hours, had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness forced itself on his mind; and he repeated an elegant distich of Persian poetry, "The spider has wove his web in the imperial palace; and the owl hath sung her watch-song on the towers of Afrasiab."<sup>104</sup>

Yet his mind was not satisfied, nor did the victory seem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Constantine; whether he had escaped, or been made prisoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death: the body, under a heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes; the Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after exposing the bloody trophy,<sup>105</sup> Mahomet bestowed on

<sup>102</sup> [Covered with whitewash.]

<sup>103</sup> We are obliged to Cantemir (p. 102) for the Turkish account of the conversion of St. Sophia, so bitterly deplored by Phranza and Ducas. It is amusing enough to observe in what opposite lights the same object appears to a Musulman and a Christian eye.

<sup>104</sup> This distich, which Cantemir gives in the original, derives new beauties from the application. It was thus that Scipio repeated, in the sack of Carthage, the famous prophecy of Homer. The same generous feeling carried the mind of the conqueror to the past or the future.

<sup>105</sup> I cannot believe, with Ducas (see Spondanus, A.D. 1453, No. 13), that Mahomet sent round Persia, Arabia, &c. the head of the Greek emperor; he would surely content himself with a trophy less inhuman.



his rival the honours of a decent funeral. After his decease, Lucas Notaras, great duke,<sup>106</sup> and first minister of the empire, was the most important prisoner. When he offered his person and his treasures at the foot of the throne, "And why," said the indignant sultan, "did you not employ these treasures in the defence of your prince and country?" "They were yours," answered the slave; "God had reserved them for your hands." "If he reserved them for me," replied the despot, "how have you presumed to withhold them so long by a fruitless and fatal resistance?" The great duke alleged the obstinacy of the strangers, and some secret encouragement from the Turkish vizir; and from this perilous interview he was at length dismissed with the assurance of pardon and protection. Mahomet condescended to visit his wife, a venerable princess, oppressed with sickness and grief; and his consolation for her misfortunes was in the most tender strain of humanity and filial reverence. A similar clemency was extended to the principal officers of state, of whom several were ransomed at his expense; and during some days he declared himself the friend and father of the vanquished people. But the scene was soon changed; and before his departure the hippodrome streamed with the blood of his noblest captives. His perfidious cruelty is execrated by the Christians. They adorn with the colours of heroic martyrdom the execution of the great duke and his two sons; and his death is ascribed to the generous refusal of delivering his children to the tyrant's lust.<sup>107</sup> Yet a Byzantine historian has dropt an unguarded word of conspiracy, deliverance,

<sup>106</sup> Phranza was the personal enemy of the great duke; nor could time, or death, or his own retreat to a monastery extort a feeling of sympathy or forgiveness [iii. 9]. Ducas is inclined to praise and pity the martyr; Chalcondyles is neuter; but we are indebted to him for the hint of the Greek conspiracy.

<sup>107</sup> [So Ducas, p. 303 *sqq.* Chalcondyles, p. 402. Pusculus, iv. 1071. Critobulus says generally that Notaras and his sons were put to death by the advice of the Sultan's councillors (i. 73, 9).]

and Italian succour: such treason may be glorious; but the rebel who bravely ventures has justly forfeited his life; nor should we blame a conqueror for destroying the enemies whom he can no longer trust. On the eighteenth of June, the victorious sultan returned to Hadrianople; and smiled at the base and hollow embassies of the Christian princes, who viewed their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eastern empire.

Constantinople had been left naked and desolate, without a prince or a people. But she could not be despoiled of the incomparable situation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Bursa and Hadrianople, the ancient seats of the Ottomans, sunk into provincial towns; and Mahomet the Second established his own residence, and that of his successors, on the same commanding spot which had been chosen by Constantine.<sup>108</sup> The fortifications of Galata, which might afford a shelter to the Latins, were prudently destroyed; but the damage of the Turkish cannon was soon repaired; and before the month of August great quantities of lime had been burnt for the restoration of the walls of the capital. As the entire property of the soil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or sacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the establishment of his seraglio, or palace. It is here, in the bosom of luxury, that the *grand Signor* (as he has been emphatically named by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Asia; but his person on the shores

<sup>108</sup> For the restitution of Constantinople and the Turkish foundations, see Cantemir (p. 102-109), Ducas (c. 42), with Thévenot, Tournefort, and the rest of our modern travellers. [Cp. Zinkeisen, *op. cit.* ii. p. 5-8.] From a gigantic picture of the greatness, population, &c. of Constantinople and the Ottoman empire (Abrégé de l'Histoire Ottomane, tom. i. p. 16-21), we may learn that in the year 1586 the Moslems were less numerous in the capital than the Christians or even the Jews.

of the Bosphorus may not always be secure from the insults of an hostile navy. In the new character of a mosch, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and surrounded with groves and fountains, for the devotion and refreshment of the Moslems. The same model was imitated in the *jami*, or royal moschs; and the first of these was built by Mahomet himself, on the ruins of the church of the Holy Apostles and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conquest, the grave of Abu Ayub, or Job, who had fallen in the first siege of the Arabs, was revealed in a vision; and it is before the sepulchre of the martyr that the new sultans are girded with the sword of empire.<sup>109</sup> Constantinople no longer appertains to the Roman historian; nor shall I enumerate the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkish masters: the population was speedily renewed; and before the end of September five thousand families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital.<sup>110</sup> The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moslem subjects; but his rational policy aspired to collect the remnant of the Greeks; and they returned in crowds, as soon as they were assured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion.<sup>111</sup> In the election and investiture of a patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine

<sup>109</sup> The *Turbé*, or sepulchral monument of Abu Ayub, is described and engraved in the *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1787, in large folio), a work of less use, perhaps, than magnificence (tom. i. p. 305, 306).

<sup>110</sup> [Subsequently 4000 Servians were settled in Constantinople; 2000 Peloponnesian families after the reduction of the Peloponnesus; two thirds of the population of Amastris, the Genoese colony on the Black Sea; also Trapezus, Sinope, Caffa, Euboea, Samothrace, &c. were forced, when they were conquered, to augment the population of the capital. See Zinkeisen, *loc. cit.*]

<sup>111</sup> [The first volume of a history of the Greek Church under Turkish rule by Prof. Lebedev appeared in 1896. It is entitled: *Istoriia greko-vostochnoi tserkvi pod vlastiiu Turok, ot padeniia Konstantinopolia do nastoiaschago vremeni.*]

court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of satisfaction and horror, they beheld the sultan on his throne, who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the crosier, or pastoral staff, the symbol of his ecclesiastical office; who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the seraglio, presented him with an horse richly caparisoned, and directed the vizirs and bashaws to lead him to the palace which had been allotted for his residence.<sup>112</sup> The churches of Constantinople were shared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and, till it was infringed by Selim, the grandson of Mahomet, the Greeks<sup>113</sup> enjoyed above sixty years the benefit of this equal partition. Encouraged by the ministers of the divan, who wished to elude the fanaticism of the sultan, the Christian advocates presumed to allege that this division had been an act, not of generosity but of justice; not a concession, but a compact; and that, if one half of the city had been taken by storm, the other moiety had surrendered on the faith of a sacred capitulation. The original grant had indeed been consumed by fire; but the loss was supplied by the testimony of three aged Janizaries who remembered the transaction; and their venal oaths are of more weight in the opinion of Cantemir than the positive and unanimous consent of the history of the times.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Phranza (l. iii. c. 19) relates the ceremony, which has possibly been adorned in the Greek reports to each other, and to the Latins. The fact is confirmed by Emanuel Malaxus, who wrote, in vulgar Greek, the history of the Patriarchs after the taking of Constantinople, inserted in the *Turco-Græcia* of Crusius (l. v. p. 106-184). [C. Sathas has shown that the *Historia Patriarchica* was not the work of Malaxus but of Damascenus Studites, to whom he also ascribes the *Historia Politica*, which is likewise printed in *Turco-Græcia*.] But the most patient reader will not believe that Mahomet adopted the Catholic form, "Sancta Trinitas quæ mihi donavit imperium te in patriarcham novæ Romæ deligit."

<sup>113</sup> From the *Turco-Græcia* of Crusius, &c., Spondanus (A.D. 1453, No. 21; 1458, No. 16) describes the slavery and domestic quarrels of the Greek Church. The patriarch who succeeded Gennadius threw himself in despair into a well.

<sup>114</sup> Cantemir (p. 101-105) insists on the unanimous consent of the Turkish historians, ancient as well as modern, and argues that they would not have

The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Asia I shall abandon to the Turkish arms; but the final extinction of the two last dynasties<sup>116</sup> which have reigned in Constantinople should terminate the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the East. The despots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas,<sup>116</sup> the two surviving brothers of the name of PALÆOLOGUS, were astonished by the death of the emperor Constantine and the ruin of the monarchy. Hopeless of defence, they prepared, with the noble Greeks who adhered to their fortune, to seek a refuge in Italy, beyond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their first apprehensions were dispelled by the victorious sultan, who contented himself with a tribute of twelve thousand ducats; and, while his ambition explored the continent and the islands in search of prey, he indulged the Morea in a respite of seven years. But this respite was a period of grief, discord, and misery. The *hexamilion*, the rampart of the Isthmus, so often raised and so often subverted, could not long be defended by three hundred Italian archers: the keys of Corinth were seized

violated the truth to diminish their national glory, since it is esteemed more honourable to take a city by force than by composition. But 1. I doubt this consent, since he quotes no particular historian, and the Turkish Annals of Leunclavius affirm, without exception, that Mahomet took Constantinople *per vim* (p. 329). 2. The same argument may be turned in favour of the Greeks of the times, who would not have forgotten this honourable and salutary treaty. Voltaire, as usual, prefers the Turks to the Christians. [This fable, recorded in the Hist. Patriarch. p. 156, is connected with the reign of Sulayman, not with that of his father Selim. Finlay has pointed out that it involves a chronological mistake. The date given is 1537 and the vizir named, as interesting himself in the cause of the Greeks, is Tulphi. But the Lufti — who is meant — was vizir in 1539-1541. See History of Greece, v. p. 142.]

<sup>116</sup> For the genealogy and fall of the Comneni of Trebizond, see Ducange (Fam. Byzant. p. 195); for the last Palæologi, the same accurate antiquarian (p. 244, 247, 248). The Palæologi of Montferrat were not extinct till the next century; but they had forgotten their Greek origin and kindred.

<sup>116</sup> In the worthless story of the disputes and misfortunes of the two brothers, Phranza (l. iii. c. 21-30) is too partial on the side of Thomas, Ducas (c. 44, 45) is too brief, and Chalcondyles (l. viii. ix. x.) too diffuse and digressive.

by the Turks; they returned from their summer excursions with a train of captives and spoil; and the complaints of the injured Greeks were heard with indifference and disdain.<sup>117</sup> The Albanians, a vagrant tribe of shepherds and robbers, filled the peninsula with rapine and murder; the two despots implored the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring bashaw; and, when he had quelled the revolt, his lessons inculcated the rule of their future conduct. Neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged in the communion and before the altar, nor the stronger pressure of necessity, could reconcile or suspend their domestic quarrels. They ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and sword; the alms and succours of the West were consumed in civil hostility; and their power was only exerted in savage and arbitrary executions. The distress and revenge of the weaker rival invoked their supreme lord; and, in the season of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himself the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irresistible force. When he had taken possession of Sparta, "You are too weak," said the sultan, "to control this turbulent province. I will take your daughter to my bed; and you shall pass the remainder of your life in security and honour." Demetrius sighed, and obeyed; surrendered his daughter and his castles; followed to Hadrianople his sovereign and son; and received, for his own maintenance, and that of his followers, a city in Thrace, and the adjacent isles of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion of misfortune, the last of the COMNENIAN race, who, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coast of the

<sup>117</sup> [The misgovernment of the Peloponnesus in the 15th century is illustrated by the discourses of Gemistus Plethon addressed to the Emperor Manuel and his son the despot Theodore, proposing political reforms. They were published by Canter in his edition of the *Eclogae* of Stobaeus (1575), and have been edited (with German translation) by Ellissen. See above, vol. xi. p. 286, note III.]

Black Sea.<sup>118</sup> In the progress of his Anatolian conquests, Mahomet invested, with a fleet and army, the capital of David, who presumed to style himself Emperor of Trebizond;<sup>119</sup> and the negotiation was comprised in a short and peremptory question, "Will you secure your life and treasures by resigning your kingdom? or had you rather forfeit your kingdom, your treasures, and your life?" The feeble Comnenus was subdued by his own fears, and the example of a Musulman neighbour, the prince of Sinope,<sup>120</sup> who, on a similar summons, had yielded a fortified city with four hundred cannon and ten or twelve thousand soldiers. The capitulation of Trebizond was faithfully performed; and the emperor, with his family, was transported to a castle in Romania; but on a slight suspicion of corresponding with the Persian king, David and the whole Comnenian race were sacrificed to the jealousy or avarice of the conqueror. Nor could the name of father long protect the unfortunate Demetrius from exile and confiscation: his abject submission moved the pity and contempt of the sultan; his followers were transplanted to Constantinople; and his poverty was alleviated by a pension of fifty thousand aspers, till a monastic habit and a tardy death released Palæologus from an

<sup>118</sup> See the loss or conquest of Trebizond in Chalcondyles (l. ix. p. 263-266 [p. 494 *sqq.* ed. Bonn]), Ducas (c. 45), Phranza (l. iii. c. 27), and Cantemir (p. 107). [The last days of the Empire of Trebizond are described by Finlay in *History of Greece*, iv. p. 400 *sqq.*]

<sup>119</sup> Though Tournefort (tom. iii. lettre xvii. p. 179) speaks of Trebizond as *mal peuplée*, Peyssonel, the latest and most accurate observer, can find 100,000 inhabitants (*Commerce de la Mer Noire*, tom. ii. p. 72, and for the province, p. 53-90). Its prosperity and trade are perpetually disturbed by the factious quarrels of two *odas* of Janizaries, in one of which 30,000 Lazi are commonly enrolled (*Mémoires de Tott*, tom. iii. p. 16, 17).

<sup>120</sup> Ismael Beg, prince of Sinope or Sinople, was possessed (chiefly from his copper mines) of a revenue of 200,000 ducats (*Chalcond.* l. ix. p. 258, 259). Peyssonel (*Commerce de la Mer Noire*, tom. ii. p. 100) ascribes to the modern city 60,000 inhabitants. This account seems enormous; yet it is by trading with a people that we become acquainted with their wealth and numbers.

earthly master. It is not easy to pronounce whether the servitude of Demetrius or the exile of his brother Thomas<sup>121</sup> be the most inglorious. On the conquest of the Morea, the despot escaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with some naked adherents; his name, his sufferings, and the head of the apostle St. Andrew entitled him to the hospitality of the Vatican; and his misery was prolonged by a pension of six thousand ducats from the pope and cardinals. His two sons, Andrew and Manuel, were educated in Italy; but the eldest, contemptible to his enemies and burdensome to his friends, was degraded by the baseness of his life and marriage. A title was his sole inheritance; and that inheritance he successively sold to the kings of France and Arragon.<sup>122</sup> During this transient prosperity, Charles the Eighth was ambitious of joining the empire of the East with the kingdom of Naples: in a public festival, he assumed the appellation and the purple of *Augustus*: the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled, at the approach of the French chivalry.<sup>123</sup> Manuel Palæologus, the second son, was tempted to revisit his native country: his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the Porte; he was maintained at Constantinople in safety and ease; and an honourable train of Christians and Moslems attended him to the grave. If there be some animals of so generous a nature that they refuse to propagate in a domestic state, the last of the Imperial race must be

<sup>121</sup> Spondanus (from Gobelin, Comment. Pii II. l. v.) relates the arrival and reception of the despot Thomas at Rome (A.D. 1461, No. 3).

<sup>122</sup> By an act dated A.D. 1494, 6th Sept., and lately transmitted from the archives of the Capitol to the royal library of Paris, the despot Andrew Palæologus, reserving the Morea, and stipulating some private advantages, conveys to Charles VIII. King of France, the empires of Constantinople and Trebizond (Spondanus, A.D. 1495, No. 2). M. de Foncemagne (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xvii. p. 539-578) has bestowed a dissertation on this national title, of which he had obtained a copy from Rome.

<sup>123</sup> See Philippe de Comines (l. vii. c. 14), who reckons with pleasure the number of Greeks who were prepared to rise, sixty miles of an easy navigation, eighteen days' journey from Valona to Constantinople, &c. On this occasion the Turkish empire was saved by the policy of Venice.





ascribed to an inferior kind: he accepted from the sultan's liberality two beautiful females; and his surviving son was lost in the habit and religion of a Turkish slave.

The importance of Constantinople was felt and magnified in its loss: the pontificate of Nicholas the Fifth, however peaceful and prosperous, was dishonoured by the fall of the Eastern empire; and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or seemed to revive, the old enthusiasm of the crusades. In one of the most distant countries of the West, Philip, duke of Burgundy, entertained, at Lisle in Flanders, an assembly of his nobles; and the pompous pageants of the feast were skilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings.<sup>124</sup> In the midst of the banquet, a gigantic Saracen entered the hall, leading a fictitious elephant with a castle on his back; a matron in a mourning robe, the symbol of religion, was seen to issue from the castle; she deplored her oppression and accused the slowness of her champions; the principal herald of the golden fleece advanced, bearing on his fist a live pheasant, which, according to the rites of chivalry, he presented to the duke. At this extraordinary summons, Philip, a wise and aged prince, engaged his person and powers in the holy war against the Turks; his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the assembly; they swore to God, the Virgin, the ladies, and the *pheasant*; and their particular vows were not less extravagant than the general sanction of their oath. But the performance was made to depend on some future and foreign contingency; and, during twelve years, till the last hour of his life, the duke of Burgundy might be scrupulously, and perhaps sincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had every breast glowed with the same ardour; had the union of the Christians corresponded with their bravery;

<sup>124</sup> See the original feast in Olivier de la Marche (*Mémoires*, p. i. c. 29, 30), with the abstract and observations of M. de St. Palaye (*Mémoires sur la Chevalerie*, tom. i. p. iii. p. 182-185). The peacock and the pheasant were distinguished as royal birds.

had every country, from Sweden<sup>125</sup> to Naples, supplied a just proportion of cavalry and infantry, of men and money, it is indeed probable that Constantinople would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chased beyond the Hellespont or the Euphrates. But the secretary of the emperor, who composed every epistle and attended every meeting, Æneas Sylvius,<sup>126</sup> a statesman and orator, describes from his own experience the repugnant state and spirit of Christendom. "It is a body," says he, "without an head; a republic without laws or magistrates. The pope and the emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid images; but *they* are unable to command, and none are willing to obey; every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers under the same standard? Could they be assembled in arms, who would dare to assume the office of general? What order could be maintained? — what military discipline? Who would undertake to feed such an enormous multitude? Who would understand their various languages, or direct their stranger and incompatible manners? What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, Genoa with Arragon, the Germans with the natives of Hungary and Bohemia? If a small number enlisted in the holy war, they must be overthrown by the infidels; if many, by their own weight and confusion." Yet the same Æneas, when he was raised to the papal throne,

<sup>125</sup> It was found by an actual enumeration that Sweden, Gothland, and Finland contained 1,800,000 fighting men, and consequently were far more populous than at present.

<sup>126</sup> In the year 1454, Spondanus has given, from Æneas Sylvius, a view of the state of Europe, enriched with his own observations. That valuable annalist, and the Italian Muratori, will continue the series of events from the year 1453 to 1481, the end of Mahomet's life, and of this chapter. [The chief work on Æneas Sylvius is that of G. Voigt: *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius II. und sein Zeitalter* (in 3 vols.), 1857-63. There is a special monograph by O. von Heinemann on his agitation against the Turks: *Æneas Sylvius als Prediger eines allgemeinen Kreuzzuges gegen die Türken*, 1855.]

under the name of Pius the Second, devoted his life to the prosecution of the Turkish war. In the council of Mantua, he excited some sparks of a false or feeble enthusiasm; but, when the pontiff appeared at Ancona, to embark in person with the troops, engagements vanished in excuses; a precise day was adjourned to an indefinite term; and his effective army consisted of some German pilgrims, whom he was obliged to disband with indulgences and alms. Regardless of futurity, his successors and the powers of Italy were involved in the schemes of present and domestic ambition; and the distance or proximity of each object determined, in their eyes, its apparent magnitude. A more enlarged view of their interest would have taught them to maintain a defensive and naval war against the common enemy; and the support of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians might have prevented the subsequent invasion of the kingdom of Naples. The siege and sack of Otranto by the Turks diffused a general consternation; and Pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the storm was instantly dispelled by the death of Mahomet the Second, in the fifty-first year of his age.<sup>127</sup> His lofty genius aspired to the con-

<sup>127</sup> Besides the two annalists, the reader may consult Giannone (*Istoria Civile*, tom. iii. p. 449-455) for the Turkish invasion of the kingdom of Naples. [See the *Diarium Parmense* (p. 350 *sqq.*) in the xxiii volume of Muratori; the *Relazione della presa di Otranto* (by a commissario of the Duke of Bari) in the *Archivio storico per le province Napolitane*, vi. i. 74-162, 169-176 (1880); *Joannis Albini Lucani de gestis regum Neap. ab Aragonia qui extant libri iv.*, 1689; Antonio de Ferrariis, *Successi dell' armata turchesca nella città d'Otranto nell' anno MCCCCLXXX, 1612.*] For the reign and conquests of Mahomet II., I have occasionally used the *Memorie Istoriche de' Monarchi Ottomanni di Giovanni Sagredo* (Venezia, 1677, in 4to). In peace and war, the Turks have ever engaged the attention of the republic of Venice. All her despatches and archives were open to a procurator of St. Mark, and Sagredo is not contemptible either in sense or style. Yet he too bitterly hates the infidels; he is ignorant of their language and manners; and his narrative, which allows only seventy pages to Mahomet II. (p. 69-140), becomes more copious and authentic as he approaches the years 1640 and 1644, the term of the historic labours of John Sagredo. [Mohammad died on 3rd May, cp. Zinkeisen, ii. p. 468.]

quest of Italy: he was possessed of a strong city and a capacious harbour; and the same reign might have been decorated with the trophies of the NEW and the ANCIENT ROME.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>128</sup> As I am now taking an everlasting farewell of the Greek empire, I shall briefly mention the great collection of Byzantine writers, whose names and testimonies have been successively repeated in this work. The Greek presses of Aldus and the Italians were confined to the classics of a better age; and the first rude editions of Procopius, Agathias, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. were published by the learned diligence of the Germans. The whole Byzantine series (36 volumes in folio) has gradually issued (A.D. 1648, &c.) from the royal press of the Louvre, with some collateral aid from Rome and Leipsic; but the Venetian edition (A.D. 1729), though cheaper and more copious, is not less inferior in correctness than in magnificence to that of Paris. The merits of the French editors are various; but the value of Anna Comnena, Cinnamus, Villehardouin, &c. is enhanced by the historical notes of Charles du Fresne du Cange. His supplemental works, the Greek Glossary, the Constantinopolis Christiana, the *Familiæ Byzantinæ*, diffuse a steady light over the darkness of the Lower Empire.

## CHAPTER LXIX

*State of Rome from the Twelfth Century — Temporal Dominion of the Popes — Seditions of the City — Political Heresy of Arnold of Brescia — Restoration of the Republic — The Senators — Pride of the Romans — Their Wars — They are deprived of the Election and Presence of the Popes, who retire to Avignon — The Jubilee — Noble Families of Rome — Feud of the Colonna and Ursini.*

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

independence; their bishop became the temporal as well as the spiritual father of a free people; and of the Western empire, which was restored by Charlemagne, the title and image still decorate the singular constitution of modern Germany.<sup>1</sup> The name of Rome must yet command our involuntary respect; the climate (whatsoever may be its influence) was no longer the same;<sup>2</sup> the purity of blood had been contaminated through a thousand channels; but the venerable aspect of her ruins, and the memory of past greatness, rekindled a spark of the national character. The darkness of the middle ages exhibits some scenes not unworthy of our notice. Nor shall I dismiss the present work till I have reviewed the state and revolutions of the ROMAN CITY, which acquiesced under the absolute dominion of the popes about the same time that Constantinople was enslaved by the Turkish arms.

In the beginning of the twelfth century,<sup>3</sup> the era of the first crusade, Rome was revered by the Latins, as the metropolis of the world, as the throne of the pope and the emperor, who, from the eternal city, derived their title, their honours, and the right or exercise of temporal dominion. After so long an interruption, it may not be useless to repeat that the successors of Charlemagne and the Othos were chosen beyond

<sup>1</sup> [But no longer, as the Roman empire ceased to exist in 1806 (August) when Francis II. resigned the Imperial Crown. He had taken the new title of Emperor of Austria in 1804.]

<sup>2</sup> The Abbé Dubos, who, with less genius than his successor Montesquieu, has asserted and magnified the influence of climate, objects to himself the degeneracy of the Romans and Batavians. To the first of these examples he replies, 1. That the change is less real than apparent, and that the modern Romans prudently conceal in themselves the virtues of their ancestors. 2. That the air, the soil, and the climate of Rome have suffered a great and visible alteration (*Réflexions sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture*, part ii. sect. 16). [The chief work now on the subject of this and the two following chapters is Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom in Mittelalter*, which has been excellently translated into English by Mrs. Hamilton.]

<sup>3</sup> The reader has been so long absent from Rome, that I would advise him to recollect or review the 49th chapter, in the viiiith volume of this history.

the Rhine in a national diet; but that these princes were content with the humble names of kings of Germany and Italy, till they had passed the Alps and the Apennine, to seek their Imperial crown on the banks of the Tiber.<sup>4</sup> At some distance from the city, their approach was saluted by a long procession of the clergy and people with palms and crosses; and the terrific emblems of wolves and lions, of dragons and eagles, that floated in the military banners, represented the departed legions and cohorts of the republic. The royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was thrice reiterated, at the bridge,<sup>5</sup> the gate, and on the stairs of the Vatican; and the distribution of a customary donative feebly imitated the magnificence of the first Cæsars. In the church of St. Peter,<sup>6</sup> the coronation was performed by his successor;<sup>7</sup> the voice

<sup>4</sup> The coronation of the German Emperors at Rome, more especially in the xith century, is best represented from the original monuments by Muratori (*Antiquitat. Italiæ mediæ Ævi*, tom. i. dissertat. ii. p. 99, &c.) and Cenni (*Monument. Domin. Pontif.*, tom. ii. diss. vi. p. 261), the latter of whom I only know from the copious extract of Schmidt (*Hist. des Allemands*, tom. iii. p. 255-266). [Cenni quotes the *Ordo coronationis* given by Cencius Cameraarius, which critics variously refer to Henry III. and Henry VI. See Waitz, *Die Formeln der deutschen Königs- und der römischen Kaiserkrönung vom 10ten bis 12ten Jahrhundert* (in the *Abhandlungen of the Göttingen Gesellschaft der Wiss.*, 1873, No. 18); and Schwarzer, *Die Ordines der Kaiserkrönung* (in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, xxii. 161 *sqq.*, 1882). The coronations of the 9th century have been treated by W. Sickel in his article on *Die Kaiserkrönungen von Karl bis Berengar*, in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, N.F. xlv. 1 *sqq.*]

<sup>5</sup> [The emperor "first took an oath to the Romans at the little bridge on the Neronian field faithfully to observe the rights and usages of the city. On the day of the coronation he made his entrance through the *Porta Castella* close to St. Angelo and here repeated the oath. The clergy and the corporations of Rome greeted him at the church of St. Maria Traspontina on a legendary site called the *Terebinthus of Nero*" (Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, Eng. Tr., iv. 59).]

<sup>6</sup> [It may be noted that Henry V., crowned at St. Peter's A.D. 1111, 13th April, was the first emperor crowned at Rome who was not crowned in the city.]

<sup>7</sup> [The interesting ceremony at St. Peter's — as it was performed in the 12th century at all events — deserves more particular notice. Gregorovius thus describes it (*ib.* p. 59, 60): Having arrived at the steps, the king dis-



of God was confounded with that of the people; and the public consent was declared in the acclamations of "Long life and victory to our lord the pope! Long life and victory to our lord the emperor! Long life and victory to the Roman and Teutonic armies!"<sup>8</sup> The names of Cæsar and Augustus, the laws of Constantine and Justinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otho, established the supreme dominion of the emperors; their title and image was engraved on the papal coins;<sup>9</sup> and their jurisdiction was marked by the sword of

mounted and "stooped to kiss the pope's foot, tendered the oath to be an upright protector of the Church, and was adopted by him as the son of the Church. With solemn song both king and pope entered the Church of St. Maria in Turri beside the steps of St. Peter's, and here the king was formally made Canon of the Cathedral. He then advanced, conducted by the Lateran Count of the Palace and by the Primicerius of the Judges to the silver door of the cathedral, where he prayed and the Bishop of Albano delivered the first oration. Innumerable mystic ceremonies awaited the king in St. Peter's itself. Here a short way from the entrance was the Rota Porphyretica, a round porphyry stone inserted in the pavement, on which the king and pope knelt. The Imperial candidate here made his Confession of Faith, the Cardinal-bishop of Portus placed himself in the middle of the Rota and pronounced the second oration. The king was then draped in new vestments, was made a cleric in the sacristy by the pope, was clad with a tunic, dalmatica, pluviale, mitre and sandals, and was then led to the altar of St. Maurice, whither his wife, after similar but less fatiguing ceremonies, accompanied him. The Bishop of Ostia here anointed the king on the right arm and the neck and delivered the third oration." After this followed the chief ceremony. The pope placed a ring on the king's finger, girt him with a sword, and placed the crown on his head. Then the emperor, having taken off these symbols, "ministered to the pope as subdeacon at mass. The Count Palatine afterwards removed the sandals and put the red Imperial boots with the spurs of St. Maurice upon him."

<sup>8</sup> *Exercitui Romano et Teutonico!* The latter was both seen and felt; but the former was no more than magni nominis umbra.

<sup>9</sup> Muratori has given the series of the papal coins (*Antiquitat. tom. ii. diss. xxvii. p. 548-554*). He finds only two more early than the year 800; fifty are still extant from Leo III. to Leo IX. with the addition of the reigning emperor; none remain of Gregory VII. or Urban II.; but in those of Paschal II. he seems to have renounced this badge of dependence. [There are no Papal denarii between Benedict VII. (ob. A.D. 984) and Leo IX. But, as Gregorovius observes (*op. cit. iv. p. 78* note), this is an accident, for coins must have been struck. In the 11th century we have one coin of Leo IX. and one of Paschal II. The interval between Paschal and Benedict

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

Of her two sovereigns, the emperor had precariously reigned by the right of conquest; but the authority of the pope was founded on the soft, though more solid, basis of opinion and habit. The removal of a foreign influence restored and endeared the shepherd to his flock. Instead of the arbitrary or venal nomination of a German court, the vicar of Christ was freely chosen by the college of cardinals, most of whom were either natives or inhabitants of the city. The applause of the magistrates and people confirmed his election; and the ecclesiastical power that was obeyed in Sweden and Britain had been ultimately derived from the suffrage of the Romans. The same suffrage gave a prince, as well as a pontiff, to the capital. It was universally believed that Constantine had invested the popes with the temporal dominion of Rome; and the boldest civilians, the most profane

XI. (ob. A.D. 1304) is filled by the coinage of the Senate; but, after the installation of the Senate, "solidi Papae" (sous of the Pope) are still spoken of. See Gregorovius, *ib.* p. 498.]

sceptics, were satisfied with disputing the right of the emperor and the validity of his gift. The truth of the fact, the authenticity of his donation, was deeply rooted in the ignorance and tradition of four centuries; and the fabulous origin was lost in the real and permanent effects. The name of *Dominus*, or Lord, was inscribed on the coin of the bishops; their title was acknowledged by acclamations and oaths of allegiance; and, with the free or reluctant consent of the German Cæsars, they had long exercised a supreme or subordinate jurisdiction over the city and patrimony of St. Peter. The reign of the popes, which gratified the prejudices, was not incompatible with the liberties of Rome; and a more critical inquiry would have revealed a still nobler source of their power: the gratitude of a nation, whom they had rescued from the heresy and oppression of the Greek tyrant. In an age of superstition, it should seem that the union of the royal and sacerdotal characters would mutually fortify each other, and that the keys of paradise would be the surest pledge of earthly obedience. The sanctity of the office might indeed be degraded by the personal vices of the man; but the scandals of the tenth century were obliterated by the austere and more dangerous virtues of Gregory the Seventh and his successors; and, in the ambitious contests which they maintained for the rights of the church, their sufferings or their success must equally tend to increase the popular veneration. They sometimes wandered in poverty and exile, the victims of persecution; and the apostolic zeal with which they offered themselves to martyrdom must engage the favour and sympathy of every Catholic breast. And sometimes, thundering from the Vatican, they created, judged, and deposed the kings of the world; nor could the proudest Roman be disgraced by submitting to a priest whose feet were kissed, and whose stirrup was held, by the successors of Charlemagne.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See Ducange, *Gloss. mediæ et infimæ Latinitat.* tom. vi. p. 364, 365. **STAFFA.** This homage was paid by kings to archbishops, and by vassals to their lords (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 262); and it was the nicest policy of Rome to confound the marks of filial and of feudal subjection.

Even the temporal interest of the city should have protected in peace and honour the residence of the popes; from whence a vain and lazy people derived the greatest part of their subsistence and riches. The fixed revenue of the popes was probably impaired: many of the old patrimonial estates, both in Italy and the provinces, had been invaded by sacrilegious hands; nor could the loss be compensated by the claim rather than the possession of the more ample gifts of Pepin and his descendants. But the Vatican and Capitol were nourished by the incessant and increasing swarms of pilgrims and suppliants; the pale of Christianity was enlarged, and the pope and cardinals were overwhelmed by the judgment of ecclesiastical and secular causes. A new jurisprudence had established in the Latin church the right and practice of appeals;<sup>11</sup> and, from the North and West, the bishops and abbots were invited or summoned to solicit, to complain, to accuse, or to justify before the threshold of the apostles. A rare prodigy is once recorded, that two horses, belonging to the Archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, repassed the Alps, yet laden with gold and silver;<sup>12</sup> but it was soon understood that the success, both of the pilgrims and clients, depended much less on the justice of their cause than on the value of their offering. The wealth and piety of these strangers were ostentatiously displayed; and their expenses, sacred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans.

<sup>11</sup> The appeals from all the churches to the Roman Pontiff are deplored by the zeal of St. Bernard (*de Consideratione*, l. iii. tom. ii. p. 431-442, edit. Mabillon, Venet. 1750), and the judgment of Fleury (*Discours sur l'Hist. Ecclésiastique*, iv. and vii.). But the saint, who believed in the false decretals, condemns only the abuse of these appeals; the more enlightened historian investigates the origin, and rejects the principles, of this new jurisprudence.

<sup>12</sup> *Germanici . . . summarii non levatis sarcinis onusti nihilominus repatriant inviti. Nova res! quando hæctenus aurum Roma refudit? Et nunc Romanorum consilio id usurpatum non credimus* (Bernard, *de Consideratione*, l. iii. c. 3, p. 437). The first words of the passage are obscure, and probably corrupt.

Such powerful motives should have firmly attached the voluntary and pious obedience of the Roman people to their spiritual and temporal father. But the operation of prejudice and interest is often disturbed by the sallies of ungovernable passion. The Indian who fells the tree that he may gather the fruit,<sup>18</sup> and the Arab who plunders the caravans of commerce, are actuated by the same impulse of savage nature, which overlooks the future in the present, and relinquishes for momentary rapine the long and secure possession of the most important blessings. And it was thus that the shrine of St. Peter was profaned by the thoughtless Romans, who pillaged the offerings, and wounded the pilgrims, without computing the number and value of similar visits, which they prevented by their inhospitable sacrilege. Even the influence of superstition is fluctuating and precarious; and the slave, whose reason is subdued, will often be delivered by his avarice or pride. A credulous devotion for the fables and oracles of the priesthood most powerfully acts on the mind of a Barbarian; yet such a mind is the least capable of preferring imagination to sense, of sacrificing to a distant motive, to an invisible, perhaps an ideal, object, the appetites and interests of the present world. In the vigour of health and youth, his practice will perpetually contradict his belief; till the pressure of age, or sickness, or calamity awakens his terrors and compels him to satisfy the double debt of piety and remorse. I have already observed that the modern times of religious indifference are the most favourable to the peace and security of the clergy. Under the reign of superstition they had much to hope from the ignorance, and much to fear from the violence, of mankind. The wealth, whose constant increase must have rendered them the sole proprietors of the earth, was alternately bestowed by

<sup>18</sup> Quand les sauvages de la Louisiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pied et cueillent le fruit. Voilà le gouvernement despotique (Esprit des Loix, l. v. c. 13); and passion and ignorance are always despotick.

the repentant father and plundered by the rapacious son; their persons were adored or violated; and the same idol, by the hands of the same votaries, was placed on the altar or trampled in the dust. In the feudal system of Europe, arms were the title of distinction and the measure of allegiance; and amidst their tumult the still voice of law and reason was seldom heard or obeyed. The turbulent Romans disdained the yoke, and insulted the impotence, of their bishop;<sup>14</sup> nor would his education or character allow him to exercise, with decency or effect, the power of the sword. The motives of his election and the frailties of his life were exposed to their familiar observation; and proximity must diminish the reverence which his name and his decrees impressed on a Barbarous world. This difference has not escaped the notice of our philosophic historian: "Though the name and authority of the court of Rome were so terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were sunk in profound ignorance, and were entirely unacquainted with its character and conduct, the pope was so little revered at home that his inveterate enemies surrounded the gates of Rome itself and even controlled his government in that city; and the ambassadors, who, from a distant extremity of Europe, carried to him the humble, or rather abject, submissions of the greatest potentate of the age, found the utmost difficulty to make their way to him and to throw themselves at his feet."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> In a free conversation with his countryman Adrian IV., John of Salisbury accuses the avarice of the pope and clergy: *Provinciarum deripiunt spolia, ac si thesauros Cræsi studeant reparare. Sed recte cum eis agit Altissimus, quoniam et ipsi altis et sæpe vilissimis hominibus dati sunt in direptionem* (de Nugis Curialium, l. vi. c. 24, p. 387). In the next page, he blames the rashness and infidelity of the Romans, whom their bishops vainly strove to conciliate by gifts instead of virtues. It is pity that this miscellaneous writer has not given us less morality and erudition, and more pictures of himself and the times.

<sup>15</sup> Hume's History of England, vol. i. p. 419. The same writer has given us, from Fitz Stephen, a singular act of cruelty perpetrated on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry II. "When he was master of Normandy, the chapter of Sees presumed, without his consent, to proceed to the election of

Since the primitive times, the wealth of the popes was exposed to envy, their power to opposition, and their persons to violence. But the long hostility of the mitre and the crown increased the numbers, and inflamed the passions, of their enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, so fatal to Italy, could never be embraced with truth or constancy by the Romans, the subjects and adversaries both of the bishop and emperor; but their support was solicited by both parties; and they alternately displayed in their banners the keys of St. Peter and the German eagle. Gregory the Seventh, who may be adored or detested as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six-and-thirty of his successors,<sup>16</sup> till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans; their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the solemn rites of religion, were polluted with sedition and murder. A repetition<sup>17</sup> of such capricious

a bishop; upon which, he ordered all of them, with the bishop elect, to be castrated, and made all their testicles be brought him in a platter." Of the pain and danger they might justly complain; yet, since they had vowed chastity, he deprived them of a superfluous treasure.

<sup>16</sup> From Leo IX. and Gregory VII. an authentic and contemporary series of the lives of the Popes, by the Cardinal of Arragon [Nicolò Roselli (ob. A.D. 1362)], Pandulphus Pisanus, Bernard Guido, &c. is inserted in the Italian historians of Muratori (tom. iii. p. i. p. 277-685), and has been always before my eyes. [This collection of Lives, printed by Muratori under the false title of the Cardinal of Aragon, is contained in the *Liber Censuum sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae* (which is noticed above, vol. x. p. 100, note 54). The Lives were also published, as *Acta Vaticana*, by Baronius in his *Annales ecclesiastici* (scattered about under the various years); and his text is said to be better than that of Muratori. There is a new edition of the *Liber Censuum* (put together A.D. 1192 by Cencius Camerarius) by P. Fabre. On the whole subject cp. Fabre's *Etude sur le Liber censuum de l'église romaine*, 1892.]

<sup>17</sup> The dates of years . . . may, throughout this chapter, be understood as tacit references to the *Annals of Muratori*, my ordinary and excellent guide. He uses, and indeed quotes, with the freedom of a master, his great *Collection of the Italian Historians*, in xxviii. volumes; and, as that treasure is in my library, I have thought it an amusement, if not a duty, to consult the originals.

brutality, without connection or design, would be tedious and disgusting; and I shall content myself with some events of the twelfth century, which represent the state of the popes and the city. On Holy Thursday, while Paschal officiated before the altar, he was interrupted by the clamours of the multitude, who imperiously demanded the confirmation of a favourite magistrate.<sup>18</sup> His silence exasperated their fury; his pious refusal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menaces and oaths, that he should be the cause and the witness of the public ruin. During the festival of Easter, while the bishop and the clergy, barefoot and in procession, visited the tombs of the martyrs, they were twice assaulted, at the bridge of St. Angelo and before the Capitol, with volleys of stones and darts. The houses of his adherents were levelled with the ground; Paschal escaped with difficulty and danger; he levied an army in the patrimony of St. Peter; and his last days were embittered by suffering and inflicting the calamities of civil war. The scenes that followed the election of his successor Gelasius the Second were still more scandalous to the church and city. Cencio Frangipani,<sup>19</sup> a potent and factious baron, burst into the assembly furious, and in arms: the cardinals were stripped, beaten, and trampled under foot; and he seized, without pity or respect, the vicar of Christ by the throat. Gelasius was dragged by his hair along the ground, buffeted

<sup>18</sup> [The magistrate meant is the Prefect of the City (cp. below, p. 89), the criminal judge of Rome. His election often caused party conflicts. Paschal wished a son of Pierleone to be chosen, and the riot was marked by an attack on the fortress of the Pierleoni near the theatre of Marcellus.]

<sup>19</sup> I cannot refrain from transcribing the high-coloured words of Pandolphus Pisanus (p. 384): *Hoc audiens inimicus pacis atque turbator jam fatus Centius Frajapane, more draconis immanissimi sibilans, et ab imis pectoribus trahens longa suspiria, accinctus retro gladio sine more cucurrit, valvas ac fores confregit. Ecclesiam furibundus introiit, inde custode remoto papam per gulam accepit, distraxit, pugnis calcibusque percussit, et tanquam brutum animal intra limen ecclesiæ acriter calcaribus cruentavit; et latro tantum dominum per capillos et brachia, Jesu bono interim dormiente, detraxit, ad domum usque deduxit, inibi catenavit et inclusit.*



with blows, wounded with spurs, and bound with an iron chain in the house of his brutal tyrant. An insurrection of the people delivered their bishop; the rival families opposed the violence of the Frangipani; and Cencio, who sued for pardon, repented of the failure rather than of the guilt of his enterprise. Not many days had elapsed when the pope was again assaulted at the altar. While his friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody contest, he escaped in his sacerdotal garments. In this unworthy flight, which excited the compassion of the Roman matrons, his attendants were scattered or unhorsed; and, in the fields behind the church of St. Peter, his successor was found alone and half dead with fear and fatigue. Shaking the dust from his feet, the *apostle* withdrew from a city in which his dignity was insulted and his person was endangered; and the vanity of sacerdotal ambition is revealed in the involuntary confession that one emperor was more tolerable than twenty.<sup>20</sup> These examples might suffice; but I cannot forget the sufferings of two pontiffs of the same age, the second and third of the name of Lucius. The former, as he ascended in battle-array to assault the Capitol, was struck on the temple by a stone, and expired in a few days;<sup>21</sup> the latter was severely wounded in the persons of his servants.<sup>22</sup> In a civil commotion several of his priests had been made prisoners; and the inhuman Romans, reserving one as a guide for his brethren, put out their eyes, crowned them with ludicrous mitres,

<sup>20</sup> Ego coram Deo et Ecclesiâ dico, si unquam possibile esset, mallet unum imperatorem quam tot dominos (Vit. Gelas. II. p. 398). [Henry V., called in by the Frangipani, appeared in Rome on 11th March, 1119. Gelasius escaped to Gaeta. Gregorovius appropriately observes that "the flight to Gaeta was repeated 729 years later in the history of Pius IX" (iv. 383).]

<sup>21</sup> [Godfrey of Viterbo, in Muratori vii. p. 461.]

<sup>22</sup> [The sources for this outrage on Lucius III. (who finally sought the emperor's protection at Verona, where he died) are: Sigebertus Gemblacensis, Auctarium Aquicinense, ad ann. 1184 (Bethmann's ed. of Sigibert in the Monum. Germ. Hist. vi. p. 300 *sqq.* has superseded all others); Albertus Stadensis (= Annales Stadenses, in Mon. Germ. Hist. xvi.) ad 1183.]

mounted them on asses, with their faces to the tail, and extorted an oath that in this wretched condition they should offer themselves as a lesson to the head of the church. Hope or fear, lassitude or remorse, the characters of the men and the circumstances of the times, might sometimes obtain an interval of peace and obedience; and the pope was restored with joyful acclamations to the Lateran or Vatican, from whence he had been driven with threats and violence. But the root of mischief was deep and perennial;<sup>23</sup> and a momentary calm was preceded and followed by such tempests as had almost sunk the bark of St. Peter. Rome continually presented the aspect of war and discord; the churches and palaces were fortified and assaulted by the factions and families; and, after giving peace to Europe, Calixtus the Second alone had resolution and power to prohibit the use of private arms in the metropolis.<sup>24</sup> Among the nations who revered the apostolic throne, the tumults of Rome provoked a general indignation; and, in a letter to his disciple Eugenius the Third, St. Bernard, with the sharpness of his wit and zeal, has stigmatised the vices of the rebellious people.<sup>25</sup> "Who is ignorant," says the monk of Clairvaux, "of the vanity and arrogance of the Romans? a nation nursed in sedition, cruel, untractable, and scorning to obey, unless they are too feeble to resist. When they promise to serve, they aspire to reign; if they swear allegiance, they watch the opportunity of revolt; yet they vent their discontent in loud clamours, if your doors or your councils are shut against

<sup>23</sup> [As Gregorovius puts it (iv. 609): "The spirit of Arnold still survived in Rome, and each Pope was obliged to win toleration for himself or else to live in exile."]

<sup>24</sup> [Calixtus also forbade the fortification of churches. See Mansi, Concilia xxi. 285. He restored the Lateran.]

<sup>25</sup> *Quid tam notum seculis quam protervia et cervicositas Romanorum? Gens insueta paci, tumultui assueta, gens immitis et intractabilis usque adhuc, subdi nescia, nisi cum non valet resistere* (de Considerat. l. iv. c. 2, p. 441). The saint takes breath, and then begins again: *Hi, invisi terræ et cælo, utrique injecere manus, &c.* (p. 443).

them. Dexterous in mischief, they have never learned the science of doing good. Odious to earth and heaven, impious to God, seditious among themselves, jealous of their neighbours, inhuman to strangers, they love no one, by no one are they beloved; and, while they wish to inspire fear, they live in base and continual apprehension. They will not submit; they know how to govern; faithless to their superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrateful to their benefactors, and alike imprudent in their demands and their refusals. Lofty in promise, poor in execution: adulation and calumny, perfidy and treason, are the familiar arts of their policy.” Surely this dark portrait is not coloured by the pencil of Christian charity;<sup>26</sup> yet the features, however harsh and ugly, express a lively resemblance of the Romans of the twelfth century.<sup>27</sup>

The Jews had rejected the Christ when he appeared among them in a plebeian character; and the Romans might plead their ignorance of his vicar when he assumed the pomp and pride of a temporal sovereign. In the busy age of the crusades, some sparks of curiosity and reason were rekindled in the Western world; the heresy of Bulgaria, the Paulician sect, was successfully transplanted into the soil of Italy and France; the Gnostic visions were mingled with the simplicity of the Gospel; and the enemies of the clergy reconciled their passions with their conscience, the desire of freedom with the profession of piety.<sup>28</sup> The trumpet of Roman liberty

<sup>26</sup> As a Roman citizen, Petrarch takes leave to observe that Bernard, though a saint, was a man; that he might be provoked by resentment, and possibly repent of his hasty passion, &c. (*Mémoires sur la Vie de Pétrarque*, tom. i. p. 330).

<sup>27</sup> Baronius, in his index to the xiith volume of his *Annals*, has found a fair and easy excuse. He makes two heads, of *Romani Catholici* and *Schismatici*; to the former, he applies all the good, to the latter all the evil, that is told of the city.

<sup>28</sup> The heresies of the xiith century may be found in Mosheim (*Institut. Hist. Eccles.* p. 419-427), who entertains a favourable opinion of Arnold of Brescia. In the 6th volume, I have described the sect of the Paulicians, and followed their migration from Armenia to Thrace and Bulgaria, Italy and France.

was first sounded by Arnold of Brescia,<sup>29</sup> whose promotion in the church was confined to the lowest rank, and who wore the monastic habit rather as a garb of poverty than as an uniform of obedience. His adversaries could not deny the wit and eloquence which they severely felt; they confess with reluctance the specious purity of his morals; and his errors were recommended to the public by a mixture of important and beneficial truths. In his theological studies, he had been the disciple of the famous and unfortunate Abelard,<sup>30</sup> who was likewise involved in the suspicion of heresy; but the lover of Eloisa was of a soft and flexible nature; and his ecclesiastic judges were edified and disarmed by the humility of his repentance. From this master Arnold most probably imbibed some metaphysical definitions of the Trinity, repugnant to the taste of the times; his ideas of baptism and the eucharist are loosely censured; but a *political* heresy was the source of his fame and misfortunes. He presumed to quote the declaration of Christ that his kingdom is not of this world: he boldly maintained that the sword and the sceptre were entrusted to the civil magis-

<sup>29</sup> The original pictures of Arnold of Brescia are drawn by Otho bishop of Frisingen (Chron. l. vii. c. 31, de Gestis Frederici I. l. i. c. 27, l. ii. c. 21), and in l. iii. of the *Ligurinus* [composed in A.D. 1186-7], a poem of Gunther, who flourished A.D. 1200, in the monastery of Paris [not Paris, but Pâris, in Elsass], near Basil (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimæ Ætatis, tom. iii. p. 174, 175). The long passage that relates to Arnold, is produced by Guilliman (de Rebus Helveticis, l. iii. c. 5, p. 108). [Gibbon does not seem to know of the attack made on the genuineness of the poem "Ligurinus" by Senckenberg in his *Parerga Gottingensia*, i. (1737). Up to the year 1871, the orthodox view of critics was that the work was a forgery. But the authorship of Gunther was proved by Pannenberg in the *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, xi. p. 163 sqq. (1871). Cp. his *Programm "Der Verfasser des Ligurinus,"* 1883. There is a German translation of the poem by T. Vulpinus, 1889. On Arnold of Brescia, see Giesebrecht's monograph, Arnold von Brescia.]

<sup>30</sup> The wicked wit of Bayle was amused in composing, with much levity and learning, the articles of ABÉLARD, FOULQUES, HELOISE, in his *Dictionnaire Critique*. The dispute of Abelard and St. Bernard, of scholastic and positive divinity, is well understood by Mosheim (*Institut. Hist. Eccles.* p. 412-415).

trate; that temporal honours and possessions were lawfully vested in secular persons; that the abbots, the bishops, and the pope himself must renounce either their state or their salvation; and that, after the loss of their revenues, the voluntary tithes and oblations of the faithful would suffice, not indeed for luxury and avarice, but for a frugal life in the exercise of spiritual labours. During a short time the preacher was revered as a patriot; and the discontent, or revolt, of Brescia against her bishop was the first-fruits of his dangerous lessons. But the favour of the people is less permanent than the resentment of the priest; and, after the heresy of Arnold had been condemned by Innocent the Second<sup>31</sup> in the general council of the Lateran the magistrates themselves were urged by prejudice and fear to execute the sentence of the church. Italy could no longer afford a refuge; and the disciple of Abelard escaped beyond the Alps, till he found a safe and hospitable shelter in Zurich, now the first of the Swiss cantons. From a Roman station,<sup>32</sup> a royal villa, a chapter of noble virgins, Zurich had gradually increased to a free and flourishing city, where the appeals of the Milanese were sometimes tried by the Imperial commissaries.<sup>33</sup> In an

<sup>31</sup> ——— Damnatu ab illo

Præsule, qui numeros vetitum contingere nostros  
Nomen ab *innocent* ducit laudabile vitâ.

We may applaud the dexterity and correctness of Ligurinus, who turns the unpoetical name of Innocent II. into a compliment. [For the acts of the Lateran Council see Mansi, Concil. xxi. p. 523 *sqq.*]

<sup>32</sup> A Roman inscription of *Statio Turicensis* has been found at Zurich (d'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 642-644); but it is without sufficient warrant that the city and canton have usurped and even monopolised the names of *Tigurum* and *Pagus Tigurinus*. [See Otto of Freisingen, *Gesta Frederici*, ii. 29.]

<sup>33</sup> Guilliman (de Rebus Helveticis, l. iii. c. 5, p. 106) recapitulates the donation (A.D. 833) of the emperor Lewis the Pious to his daughter the abbess Hildegardis. *Curtim nostram Turegum in ducatu Alamanniæ in pago Durgaugensi, with villages, woods, meadows, waters, slaves, churches, &c., a noble gift. Charles the Bold gave the jus monetæ, the city was walled under Otho I., and the line of the bishop of Frisingen,*

*Nobile Turegum multarum copia rerum,*  
is repeated with pleasure by the antiquaries of Zurich.

age less ripe for reformation, the precursor of Zuinglius was heard with applause; a brave and simple people imbibed, and long retained, the colour of his opinions; and his art, or merit, seduced the bishop of Constance, and even the pope's legate, who forgot, for his sake, the interest of their master and their order. Their tardy zeal was quickened by the fierce exhortations of St. Bernard;<sup>34</sup> and the enemy of the church was driven by persecution to the desperate measure of erecting his standard in Rome itself, in the face of the successor of St. Peter.

Yet the courage of Arnold was not devoid of discretion: he was protected, and had perhaps been invited, by the nobles and people; and in the service of freedom his eloquence thundered over the seven hills. Blending in the same discourse the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of gospel and of classic enthusiasm, he admonished the Romans how strangely their patience and the vices of the clergy had degenerated from the primitive times of the church and the city. He exhorted them to assert the inalienable rights of men and Christians; to restore the laws and magistrates of the republic; to respect the *name* of the emperor; but to confine their shepherd to the spiritual government of his flock.<sup>35</sup> Nor could his spiritual government escape the censure and control of the reformer; and the inferior clergy were

<sup>34</sup> Bernard, epistol. cxcv. cxcvi. tom. i. p. 187-190. Amidst his invectives, he drops a precious acknowledgment, *qui utinam quam sanæ esset doctrinæ quam districtæ est vitæ*. He owns that Arnold would be a valuable acquisition for the church. [Bernard himself — though he opposed Arnold as a heretic — strongly condemned the temporal dominion of the Pope, in his *De Consideratione*. He observes, for instance: *nemo militans Deo implicet se negotiis secularibus*. Cp. Gregorovius, *op. cit.* iv. p. 483-4.]

<sup>35</sup> He advised the Romans,

Consiliis armisque sua moderamina summa  
Arbitrio tractare suo: nil juris in hæc re  
Pontifici summo, modicum concedere regi  
Suadebat populo. Sic læsâ stultus utrâque  
Majestate, reum geminæ se facerat aulæ.

Nor is the poetry of Gunther different from the prose of Otho.

taught by his lessons to resist the cardinals, who had usurped a despotic command over the twenty-eight regions or parishes of Rome.<sup>86</sup> The revolution was not accomplished without rapine and violence, the effusion of blood, and the demolition of houses; the victorious faction was enriched with the spoils of the clergy and the adverse nobles. Arnold of Brescia enjoyed or deplored the effects of his mission; his reign continued above ten years, while two popes, Innocent the Second and Anastasius the Fourth, either trembled in the Vatican or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were succeeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff, Adrian the Fourth,<sup>87</sup> the only Englishman who has ascended the throne of St. Peter; and whose merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almost a beggar, in the monastery of St. Albans. On the first provocation, of a cardinal killed or wounded in the streets, he cast an interdict on the guilty people; and, from Christmas to Easter, Rome was deprived of the real or imaginary comforts of religious worship. The Romans had despised their temporal prince: they submitted with grief and terror to the censures of their spiritual father; their guilt was expiated by penance, and the banishment of the seditious preacher was the price of their absolution. But the revenge of Adrian was yet unsatisfied, and the approaching coronation of Frederic Barbarossa was fatal to the bold reformer, who had offended, though not in an equal degree, the heads of the church and state. In their interview at Viterbo,<sup>88</sup> the pope represented to the emperor the furious ungovernable spirit of the Romans; the insults, the injuries, the fears, to which his person and his clergy

<sup>86</sup> See Baronius (A.D. 1148, No. 38, 39) from the Vatican MSS. He loudly condemns Arnold (A.D. 1141, No. 3) as the father of the political heretics whose influence then hurt him in France.

<sup>87</sup> The English reader may consult the *Biographia Britannica*, ADRIAN IV., but our own writers have added nothing to the fame or merits of their countryman.

<sup>88</sup> [The meeting was close to Nepi. See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* i. 117.]

were continually exposed; and the pernicious tendency of the heresy of Arnold, which must subvert the principles of civil as well as ecclesiastical subordination. Frederic was convinced by these arguments, or tempted by the desire of the Imperial crown; in the balance of ambition, the innocence or life of an individual is of small account; and their common enemy was sacrificed to a moment of political concord. After his retreat from Rome, Arnold had been protected by the viscounts of Campania, from whom he was extorted by the power of Cæsar: the prefect of the city pronounced his sentence; the martyr of freedom was burnt alive in the presence of a careless and ungrateful people; and his ashes were cast into the Tiber, lest the heretics should collect and worship the relics of their master.<sup>30</sup> The clergy triumphed in his death; with his ashes, his sect was dispersed; his memory still lived in the minds of the Romans. From his school they had probably derived a new article of faith, that the metropolis of the Catholic church is exempt from the penalties of excommunication and interdict. Their bishops might argue that the supreme jurisdiction, which they exercised over kings and nations, more specially embraced the city and diocese of the prince of the apostles. But they preached to the winds, and the same principle that weakened the effect, must temper the abuse, of the thunders of the Vatican.

The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a belief that

<sup>30</sup> Besides the historian and poet already quoted, the last adventures of Arnold are related by the biographer of Adrian IV. (Muratori, *Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. iii. p. i. p. 441, 442). [The circumstances of the death of Arnold of Brescia are dark; it happened near Soracte, not in the city. Cp. Gregorovius, *op. cit.* p. 544. A new and important source was discovered not many years ago — an anonymous Latin poem entitled *Gesta Friderici imperatoris in Italia*, describing the Lombard wars of Frederick Barbarossa up to the battle of Carcano in A.D. 1160. (It has been proposed to ascribe the authorship to Thadeus de Roma.) It was published in 1887 (*Gesta di Federico I. in Italia*) by E. Monaci, as vol. i. of the *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*. But the passage relating to Arnold of Brescia was printed in 1878 in vol. i. of the *Archivio della Società Romana di storia patria*.]



as early as the tenth century, in their first struggles against the Saxon Othos, the commonwealth was vindicated and restored by the senate and people of Rome; that two consuls were annually elected among the nobles; and that ten or twelve plebeian magistrates revived the name and office of the tribunes of the commons.<sup>40</sup> But this venerable structure disappears before the light of criticism. In the darkness of the middle ages, the appellations of senators, of consuls, of the sons of consuls, may sometimes be discovered.<sup>41</sup> They were bestowed by the emperors, or assumed by the most powerful citizens, to denote their rank, their honours,<sup>42</sup> and

<sup>40</sup> Ducange (Gloss. Latinitatis mediæ et infimæ Ætatis, DECARCHONES, tom. ii. p. 726) gives me a quotation from Blondus (decad. ii. l. ii.): Duo consules ex nobilitate quotannis fiebant, qui ad vetustum consulum exemplar summæ rerum præessent. And in Sigonius (de Regno Italiæ, l. vi. Opp. tom. ii. p. 400) I read of the consuls and tribunes of the xth century. Both Blondus, and even Sigonius, too freely copied the classic method of supplying from reason or fancy the deficiency of records.

<sup>41</sup> In the panegyric of Berengarius (Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. p. i. p. 408), a Roman is mentioned as consulis natus in the beginning of the xth century. Muratori (dissert. v.) discovers, in the years 952 and 956, Gratianus in Dei nomine consul et dux, Georgius consul et dux; and in 1015, Romanus, brother of Gregory VIII., proudly, but vaguely, styles himself consul et dux et omnium Romanorum senator. [No such body as a Senate existed at Rome from the 8th to the 12th century; and the word *Senatus* frequently occurring not only in chronicles but even in Acts of Councils signifies merely the Roman nobility. For example Benzo describes a meeting of the adherents of the Imperial party in A.D. 1062 as an "assembly of the Senate." Thus *senator* meant a noble. But it was sometimes assumed as a title in a more pregnant sense, implying municipal authority, as when Alberic styled himself *omnium Romanorum Senator*; and his father-in-law Theophylactus had already borne the title Consul or Senator of the Romans, and the son of Theophylactus was called Son of the Consul, and his wife Theodora the Senatrix. Compare Gregorovius *op. cit.* iii. p. 293-5. Though there is no reason to suppose that the Romans elected consuls annually in this age (10th century), it seems that "a Consul of the Romans was elected as Princeps of the nobility from its midst; confirmed by the Pope; and placed as a Patricius at the head of the jurisdiction and administration of the city." Gregorovius, *ib.* p. 253. The Counts of Tusculum used to style themselves Consuls and Senators of the Romans. Gregorovius, iv. p. 138.]

<sup>42</sup> As late as the xth century, the Greek emperors conferred on the dukes of Venice, Naples, Amalfi, &c. the title of *ἄριστος*, or consuls

perhaps the claim of a pure and patrician descent; but they float on the surface, without a series or a substance, the titles of men, not the orders of government;<sup>43</sup> and it is only from the year of Christ one thousand one hundred and forty-four, that the establishment of the senate is dated as a glorious era, in the acts of the city.<sup>44</sup> A new constitution was hastily framed by private ambition or popular enthusiasm; nor could Rome, in the twelfth century, produce an antiquary to explain, or a legislator to restore, the harmony and proportions of the ancient model. The assembly of a free, of an armed people will ever speak in loud and weighty acclamations. But the regular distribution of the thirty-five tribes, the nice balance of the wealth and numbers of the centuries, the debates of the adverse orators, and the slow operation of votes and ballots could not easily be adapted by a blind

(see Chron. Sagorini, *passim*); and the successors of Charlemagne would not abdicate any of their prerogatives. But, in general, the names of *consul* and *senator*, which may be found among the French and Germans, signify no more than count or lord (*Signeur*, Ducange, Glossar.). The monkish writers are often ambitious of fine classic words. [The title consul was borne in the 12th century, denoting the judiciary and ruling magistracy. Cp. Gregorovius, *op. cit.* iv. 459.]

<sup>43</sup> The most constitutional form is a diploma of Otho III. (A.D. 998), *Consulibus senatus populique Romani*; but the act is probably spurious. At the coronation of Henry I. A.D. 1014, the historian Dithmar (apud Muratori, *Dissert.* xxiii.) describes him, a *senatoribus duodecim vallatum, quorum sex rasi barbâ alii prolixâ mystice incedebant cum baculis*. The senate is mentioned in the panegyric of Berengarius (p. 406).

<sup>44</sup> [Just before this revolution the Romans had been involved in a war for the possession of Tivoli. The place had surrendered to the Pope, and they had demanded it from him. The revolution followed. "In 1143," says Gregorovius, "Rome made an attempt to form such an association of the different classes as had been formed in Milan, Pisa, Genoa, and other cities" (iv. p. 449). The lesser nobility joined the burghers, seized the Capitoline, declared themselves the Senate. Thus a free burgher class was established, and the despotism of the nobility who were the supporters of the Pope was overthrown: this is the significance of the revolution of 1143. The first civic constitution (1144) was framed under the influence of Jordan Pierleone. — Pope Lucius II. turned to Conrad III., but got no help. Then the Senate invited Conrad to come and rule in Rome (1149 or 1150). See Otto of Freisingen, i. 28.]

multitude, ignorant of the arts, and insensible of the benefits, of legal government. It was proposed by Arnold to revive and discriminate the equestrian order; but what could be the motive or measure of such distinction?<sup>45</sup> The pecuniary qualification of the knights must have been reduced to the poverty of the times: those times no longer required their civil functions of judges and farmers of the revenue; and their primitive duty, their military service on horseback, was more nobly supplied by feudal tenures and the spirit of chivalry. The jurisprudence of the republic was useless and unknown; the nations and families of Italy, who lived under the Roman and Barbaric laws, were insensibly mingled in a common mass; and some faint tradition, some imperfect fragments, preserved the memory of the Code and Pandects of Justinian. With their liberty, the Romans might doubtless have restored the appellation and office of consuls, had they not disdained a title so promiscuously adopted in the Italian cities that it has finally settled on the humble station of the agents of commerce in a foreign land. But the rights of the tribunes, the formidable word that arrested the public counsels, suppose, or must produce, a legitimate democracy. The old patricians were the subjects, the modern barons the tyrants, of the state; nor would the enemies of peace and order, who insulted the vicar of Christ, have long respected the unarmed sanctity of a plebeian magistrate.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> In ancient Rome, the equestrian order was not ranked with the senate and people as a third branch of the republic till the consulship of Cicero, who assumes the merit of the establishment (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 3; Beaufort, République Romaine, tom. i. p. 144-155).

<sup>46</sup> The republican plan of Arnold of Brescia is thus stated by Gunther :—

Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vetustos;  
 Nomine plebeio secernere nomen equestre,  
 Jura tribunorum, sanctum reparare senatum,  
 Et senio fessas mutasque reponere leges.  
 Lapsa ruinosis, et adhuc pendentia muris  
 Reddere primævo Capitolia prisca nitenti.

But of these reformations, some were no more than ideas, others no more than words.

In the revolution of the twelfth century, which gave a new existence and era to Rome, we may observe the real and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence. I. The Capitoline hill, one of her seven eminences,<sup>47</sup> is about four hundred yards in length and two hundred in breadth. A flight of an hundred steps led to the summit of the Tarpeian rock; and far steeper was the ascent before the declivities had been smoothed and the precipices filled by the ruins of fallen edifices. From the earliest ages, the Capitol had been used as a temple in peace, a fortress in war: after the loss of the city, it maintained a siege against the victorious Gauls; and the sanctuary of empire was occupied, assaulted, and burnt in the civil wars of Vitellius and Vespasian.<sup>48</sup> The temples of Jupiter and his kindred deities had crumbled into dust; their place was supplied by monasteries and houses; and the solid walls, the long and shelving porticoes, were decayed or ruined by the lapse of time. It was the first act of the Romans, an act of freedom, to restore the strength, though not the beauty, of the Capitol;<sup>49</sup> to fortify the seat of their arms and counsels; and, as often as

<sup>47</sup> After many disputes among the antiquaries of Rome, it seems determined that the summit of the Capitoline hill next the river is strictly the Mons Tarpeius, the *Arx*; and that, on the other summit, the church and convent of Araceli, the barefoot friars of St. Francis occupy the temple of Jupiter (Nardini, *Roma Antica*, l. v. c. 11-16). [This conclusion is incorrect. Both the Tarpeian Rock and the Temple of Jupiter were on the western height; the *Arx* was on the eastern, which is now crowned by the Church of St. Maria in Araceli. For the determination of the site of the temple, a passage in the *Graphia* (a collection of ceremonial formularies which was perhaps drawn up for Otto III., in imitation of the Byzantine ceremonials) was of great importance: "On the summit of the fortress over the Porticus Crinorum was the Temple of Jupiter and Moneta." This portico belonged to the Forum olitorium; as was shown by excavations in the Caffarelli gardens.

Pope Anaclete II. ratified to the Abbot of St. Maria the possession of the Capitoline hill.]

<sup>48</sup> Tacit. Hist. iii. 69, 70.

<sup>49</sup> [The old Tabularium, in the saddle between the two summits, became the Senate-house. Cp. Gregorovius, *op. cit.* iv. 477.]

they ascended the hill, the coldest minds must have glowed with the remembrance of their ancestors. II. The first Cæsars had been invested with the exclusive coinage of the gold and silver; to the senate they abandoned the baser metal of bronze or copper;<sup>50</sup> the emblems and legends were inscribed on a more ample field by the genius of flattery; and the prince was relieved from the care of celebrating his own virtues. The successors of Diocletian despised even the flattery of the senate: their royal officers at Rome, and in the provinces, assumed the sole direction of the mint; and the same prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy, and the long series of the Greek, the French, and the German dynasties. After an abdication of eight hundred years, the Roman senate asserted this honourable and lucrative privilege; which was tacitly renounced by the popes, from Paschal the Second to the establishment of their residence beyond the Alps. Some of these republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are shewn in the cabinets of the curious. On one of these, a gold medal, Christ is depicted, holding in his left hand a book with this inscription, "THE VOW OF THE ROMAN SENATE AND PEOPLE: ROME, THE CAPITAL OF THE WORLD"; on the reverse, St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling senator in his cap and gown, with the name and arms of his family impressed on a shield.<sup>51</sup> III. With the empire, the prefect of the city had

<sup>50</sup> This partition of the nobler and the baser metals between the emperor and senate must, however, be adopted, not as a positive fact, but as the probable opinion of the best antiquaries (see the *Science des Médailles* of the Père Joubert, tom. ii. p. 208-211, in the improved and scarce edition of the Baron de la Bastie).

<sup>51</sup> In his xxvii<sup>th</sup> dissertation on the Antiquities of Italy (tom. ii. p. 559-569), Muratori exhibits a series of the senatorian coins, which bore the obscure names of *Affortiat* [= of strong gold], *Infortiat*, *Provisini* [from Provins, in Champagne], *Paparini*. [Those which are perhaps earliest have ROMAN. PRICIPE round the image of St. Peter, and SENAT. POPVL. Q.R. round St. Paul.] During this period, all the popes, without excepting Boniface VIII., abstained from the right of coining, which was resumed by his successor Benedict XI. and regularly exercised in the court of Avignon.

declined to a municipal officer; yet he still exercised in the last appeal the civil and criminal jurisdiction; and a drawn sword, which he received from the successors of Otho, was the mode of his investiture and the emblem of his functions.<sup>62</sup> The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome; the choice of the people was ratified by the pope; but a triple oath of fidelity must have often embarrassed the prefect in the conflict of adverse duties.<sup>63</sup> A servant, in whom they possessed but a third share, was dismissed by the independent Romans; in his place they elected a patrician; but this title, which Charlemagne had not disdained, was too lofty for a citizen or a subject; and, after the first fervour of rebellion, they consented without reluctance to the restoration of the prefect. About fifty years after this event, Innocent the Third, the most ambitious, or at least the most fortunate, of the pontiffs, delivered the Romans and himself from this badge of foreign dominion; he invested the prefect with a banner instead of a sword, and absolved him from all dependence of oaths or service to the German emperors.<sup>64</sup> In his place an ecclesiastic, a present or future cardinal, was named by the pope to the civil government of Rome; but his jurisdiction has been reduced to a narrow compass;

<sup>62</sup> A German historian, Gerard of Reicherspeg (in Baluz. Miscell. tom. v. p. 64, apud Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 265), thus describes the constitution of Rome in the xith century: *Grandiora urbis et orbis negotia spectant ad Romanum pontificem itemque ad Romanum Imperatorem; sive illius vicarium urbis præfectum, qui de suâ dignitate respicit utrumque, videlicet dominum papam cui facit dominum, et dominum imperatorem a quo accipit suæ potestatis insigne, scilicet gladium exertum.* [Contelorius, De præfecto Urbis.]

<sup>63</sup> The words of a contemporary writer (Pandulph. Pisan. in Vit. Paschal. II. p. 357, 358) describe the election and oath of the prefect in 1118, *inconsultis patribus . . . loca præfectoria . . . laudes præfectoriæ . . . comitiorum applausum . . . juraturum populo in ambonem sublevant . . . confirmari eum in urbe præfectum petunt.*

<sup>64</sup> *Urbis præfectum ad ligiam fidelitatem recepit, et per mantum quod illi donavit de præfecturâ eum publice investivit, qui usque ad id tempus juramento fidelitatis imperatori fuit obligatus, et ab eo præfecturæ tenuit honorem* (Gesta Innocent. III. in Muratori, tom. iii. p. i. p. 487).

and in the days of freedom the right or exercise was derived from the senate and people. IV. After the revival of the senate,<sup>65</sup> the conscript fathers (if I may use the expression) were invested with the legislative and executive power; but their views seldom reached beyond the present day; and that day was most frequently disturbed by violence and tumult. In its utmost plenitude, the order or assembly consisted of fifty-six senators,<sup>66</sup> the most eminent of whom were distinguished by the title of counsellors; they were nominated, perhaps annually, by the people; and a previous choice of their electors, ten persons in each region or parish, might afford a basis for a free and permanent constitution. The popes, who in this tempest submitted rather to bend than to break, confirmed by treaty the establishment and privileges of the senate, and expected from time, peace, and religion the restoration of their government. The motives of public and private interest might sometimes draw from the Romans an occasional and temporary sacrifice of their claims; and they renewed their oath of allegiance to the successor of St. Peter and Constantine, the lawful head of the church and the republic.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> See Otho Frising. Chron. vii. 31, de Gest. Frederic. I. l. i. c. 27.

<sup>66</sup> Our countryman, Roger Hoveden, speaks of the single senators, of the *Capuzi* family, &c. quorum temporibus melius regebatur Roma quam nunc (A.D. 1194) est temporibus lvi. senatorum (Ducange, Gloss. tom. vi. p. 191. SENATORES).

<sup>67</sup> Muratori (dissert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 785-788) has published an original treaty: Concordia inter D. nostrum papam Clementem III. et senatores populi Romani super regalibus et aliis dignitatibus urbis, &c. 44<sup>o</sup> senatus. The senate speaks, and speaks with authority: Reddimus ad præsens . . . habebimus . . . dabitur presbyteria . . . jurabimus pacem et fidelitatem, &c. A chartula De tenimentis Tusculani, dated in the 47th year of the same era, and confirmed decreto amplissimi ordinis senatus, acclamatione P. R. publice Capitolio consistentis. It is there we find the difference of senatores consiliarii and simple senators (Muratori, dissert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 787-789). [The transactions here touched on belong to the revolution of A.D. 1188, which deserved a more particular notice. Pope Clement III. (1187-91) was forced to make a formal treaty, which implied a new constitution. The Pope was recognised as overlord; he had the right of investing the Senate;

The union and vigour of a public council was dissolved in a lawless city; and the Romans soon adopted a more strong and simple mode of administration. They condensed the name and authority of the senate in a single magistrate or two colleagues; and, as they were changed at the end of a year or of six months, the greatness of the trust was compensated by the shortness of the term. But in this transient reign, the senators of Rome indulged their avarice and ambition; their justice was perverted by the interest of their family and faction; and, as they punished only their enemies, they were obeyed only by their adherents. Anarchy, no longer tempered by the pastoral care of their bishop, admonished the Romans that they were incapable of governing themselves; and they sought abroad those blessings which they were hopeless of finding at home. In the same age, and from the same motives, most of the Italian republics were prompted to embrace a measure, which, however strange it may seem, was adapted to their situation, and productive of the most salutary effects.<sup>68</sup> They chose, in some foreign but friendly city, an impartial magistrate, of noble birth and unblemished character, a soldier and a statesman, recommended by the voice of fame and his country, to whom they delegated for a time the supreme administration of peace and war. The compact between the governor and the governed was sealed with oaths and subscriptions; and the duration of his power, the measure of his stipend, the nature of their mutual obliga-

the Senators took an oath of loyalty to him; he had the right of coining, and enjoyed the old revenues of the see; he was bound to supply £100 a year for the walls of the city and to pay the militia; he abandoned Tusculum to the Romans to destroy, though it was under his protection. The Pope, by this agreement, gave up all legislative authority and rights of government; his power depended on his lands and estates. It is to be noted that this constitution completely ignored the Imperial authority. See Gregorovius, iv. p. 620.]

<sup>68</sup> Muratori (dissert. xlv. tom. iv. p. 64-92) has fully explained this mode of government; and the *Oculus Pastoralis*, which he has given at the end, is a treatise or sermon on the duties of these foreign magistrates.



tions, were defined with scrupulous precision. They swore to obey him as their lawful superior; he pledged his faith to unite the indifference of a stranger with the zeal of a patriot. At his choice, four or six knights and civilians, his assessors in arms and justice, attended the *Podestà*,<sup>59</sup> who maintained at his own expense a decent retinue of servants and horses; his wife, his son, his brother, who might bias the affections of the judge, were left behind; during the exercise of his office, he was not permitted to purchase land, to contract an alliance, or even to accept an invitation in the house of a citizen; nor could he honourably depart till he had satisfied the complaints that might be urged against his government.

It was thus, about the middle of the thirteenth century, that the Romans called from Bologna the senator Branca Leone,<sup>60</sup> whose name and merit have been rescued from oblivion by the pen of an English historian. A just anxiety for his reputation, a clear foresight of the difficulties of the task, had engaged him to refuse the honour of their choice; the statutes of Rome were suspended, and his office prolonged to the term of three years. By the guilty and licentious

<sup>59</sup> In the Latin writers, at least of the silver age, the title of *Potestas* was transferred from the office to the magistrate:—

Hujus qui trahitur prætextam sumere mavis;  
An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse *Potestas*.

(Juvenal. Satir. x. 99.)

<sup>60</sup> See the life and death of Branca Leone, in the *Historia Major* of Matthew Paris, p. 741, 757, 792, 797, 799, 810, 823, 833, 836, 840. The multitude of pilgrims and suitors connected Rome and St. Albans; and the resentment of the English clergy prompted them to rejoice whenever the popes were humbled and oppressed. [There had been another revolution in A.D. 1191. Since 1143 the majority of the Senate had been plebeian; the nobles gained admission by degrees, and after the time of Clement III. and Celestine III. it numbered more patricians of ancient lineage than burghers or knights. Hence discontent and revolution. In 1191 the populace overthrew the Constitution and made Benedict Carushomo the *summus senator*. Under him the first municipal statute seems to have been issued. Epp. Innocentii iii. lib. ii. n. 239. See Gregorovius, *op. cit.* iv. 632.]

he was accused as cruel; by the clergy he was suspected as partial; but the friends of peace and order applauded the firm and upright magistrate by whom those blessings were restored. No criminals were so powerful as to brave, so obscure as to elude, the justice of the senator. By his sentence, two nobles of the Annibaldi family were executed on a gibbet; and he inexorably demolished, in the city and neighbourhood, one hundred and forty towers, the strong shelters of rapine and mischief. The bishop, as a simple bishop, was compelled to reside in his diocese; and the standard of Brancaloneo was displayed in the field with terror and effect. His services were repaid by the ingratitude of a people unworthy of the happiness which they enjoyed. By the public robbers, whom he had provoked for their sake, the Romans were excited to depose and imprison their benefactor; nor would his life have been spared, if Bologna had not possessed a pledge for his safety. Before his departure, the prudent senator had required the exchange of thirty hostages of the noblest families of Rome: on the news of his danger, and at the prayer of his wife, they were more strictly guarded; and Bologna, in the cause of honour, sustained the thunders of a papal interdict. This generous resistance allowed the Romans to compare the present with the past; and Brancaloneo was conducted from the prison to the Capitol amidst the acclamations of a repentant people. The remainder of his government was firm and fortunate; and, as soon as envy was appeased by death, his head, enclosed in a precious vase, was deposited on a lofty column of marble.<sup>61</sup>

The impotence of reason and virtue recommended in Italy

<sup>61</sup> Matthew Paris, thus ends his account: *Caput vero ipsius Brancaleonis in vase pretioso super marmoream columneam collocatum, in signum sui valoris et probitatis, quasi reliquias superstitiose nimis et pompose sustulerunt. Fuerat enim superborum potentum et malefactorum urbis malleus et extirpator, et populi protector et defensor, veritatis et justitiæ imitator et amator* (p. 840). A biographer of Innocent IV. (Muratori, *Script.* tom. iii. p. i. p. 591, 592) draws a less favourable portrait of this Ghibelline senator.

a more effectual choice: instead of a private citizen, to whom they yielded a voluntary and precarious obedience, the Romans elected for their senator some prince of independent power, who could defend them from their enemies and themselves. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the most ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the same time the kingdom of Naples from the pope and the office of senator from the Roman people.<sup>62</sup> As he passed through the city, in his road to victory, he received their oath of allegiance, lodged in the Lateran palace, and smoothed, in a short visit, the harsh features of his despotic character. Yet even Charles was exposed to the inconstancy of the people, who saluted with the same acclamations the passage of his rival, the unfortunate Conradin; and a powerful avenger, who reigned in the Capitol, alarmed the fears and jealousy of the popes. The absolute term of his life was superseded by a renewal every third year; and the enmity of Nicholas the Third obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the government of Rome. In his bull, a perpetual law, the imperious pontiff asserts the truth, validity, and use of the donation of Constantine, not less essential to the peace of the city than to the independence of the church; establishes the annual election of the senator; and formally disqualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and persons of an eminent and conspicuous rank.<sup>63</sup> This prohibitory clause was repealed in his own behalf by Martin the Fourth, who humbly solicited the suffrage of the Romans. In the presence, and by the authority, of the people, two electors conferred, not on the pope, but on the noble and

<sup>62</sup>The election of Charles of Anjou to the office of perpetual senator of Rome is mentioned by the historians in the viiith volume of the Collection of Muratori, by Nicholas de Jamsilla (p. 592), the monk of Padua (p. 724), Sabas Malaspina (l. ii. c. 9, p. 808), and Ricordano Malespini (c. 177, p. 999).

<sup>63</sup>The high-sounding bull of Nicholas III. which founds his temporal sovereignty on the donation of Constantine, is still extant; and, as it has been inserted by Boniface VIII. in the *Sexte* of the Decretals, it must be received by the Catholics, or at least by the Papists, as a sacred and perpetual law.

faithful Martin, the dignity of senator and the supreme administration of the republic,<sup>64</sup> to hold during his natural life, and to exercise at pleasure by himself or his deputies. About fifty years afterwards, the same title was granted to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and the liberty of Rome was acknowledged by her two sovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis.

In the first moments of rebellion, when Arnold of Brescia had inflamed their minds against the church, the Romans artfully laboured to conciliate the favour of the empire, and to recommend their merit and services in the cause of Cæsar. The style of their ambassadors to Conrad the Third and Frederic the First is a mixture of flattery and pride, the tradition and ignorance of their own history.<sup>65</sup> After some complaint of his silence and neglect, they exhort the former of these princes to pass the Alps and assume from their hands the Imperial crown. "We beseech your Majesty not to disdain the humility of your sons and vassals, not to listen to the accusations of our common enemies; who calumniate the

<sup>64</sup> I am indebted to Fleury (*Hist. Ecclés. tom. xviii. p. 306*) for an extract of this Roman act which he has taken from the Ecclesiastical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus, A.D. 1281, No. 14, 15.

<sup>65</sup> These letters and speeches are preserved by Otho [Otto], Bishop of Frisingen (*Fabric. Bibliot. Lat. med. et infim. tom. v. p. 186, 187*), perhaps the noblest of historians; he was son of Leopold, marquis of Austria; his mother, Agnes, was daughter of the emperor Henry IV. ; and he was half-brother and uncle to Conrad III. and Frederic I. He has left, in seven [eight] books, a Chronicle of the Times; in two, the *Gesta Frederici I.*, the last of which is inserted in the vith volume of Muratori's historians. [The chronicle is edited by Wilmans in *Mon. Germ. Hist. xx. p. 116 sqq.*, and separately in the *Script. rer. Germ. 1867*. (German translation by Kohl, 1881.) The *Gesta* is also edited by Wilmans in the same volume of the *Monumenta*; and by Waitz (1884) in the series of the *Script. rer. Germ.* (German translation by Kohl, 1883). The name of the Chronicle was originally *De duabus civitatibus*. It is a History of the World, and its object is to prove that, while the secular civitas or kingdom is ephemeral and transitory, the Church, or the kingdom of God, is eternal. Cp. the brief characteristic of Otto in Giesebrecht's *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, p. 394 *sqq.*]

senate as hostile to your throne, who sow the seeds of discord, that they may reap the harvest of destruction. The pope and the *Sicilian* are united in an impious league to oppose *our* liberty and *your* coronation. With the blessing of God, our zeal and courage has hitherto defeated their attempts. Of their powerful and factious adherents, more especially the Frangipani, we have taken by assault the houses and turrets; some of these are occupied by our troops, and some are levelled with the ground. The Milvian bridge, which they had broken, is restored and fortified for your safe passage; and your army may enter the city without being annoyed from the castle of St. Angelo. All that we have done, and all that we design, is for your honour and service, in the loyal hope that you will speedily appear in person to vindicate those rights which have been invaded by the clergy, to revive the dignity of the empire, and to surpass the fame and glory of your predecessors. May you fix your residence in Rome, the capital of the world; give laws to Italy and the Teutonic kingdom; and imitate the example of Constantine and Justinian,<sup>66</sup> who, by the vigour of the senate and people, obtained the sceptre of the earth."<sup>67</sup> But these splendid and fallacious wishes were not cherished by Conrad the Franconian, whose eyes were fixed on the Holy Land, and who died without visiting Rome soon after his return from the Holy Land.

His nephew and successor, Frederic Barbarossa, was more ambitious of the Imperial crown; nor had any of the successors of Otho acquired such absolute sway over the kingdom of Italy. Surrounded by his ecclesiastical and secular princes, he gave audience in his camp at Sutri<sup>68</sup> to the ambassadors of Rome, who thus addressed him in a free and florid oration:

<sup>66</sup> We desire (said the ignorant Romans) to restore the empire in eum statum, quo fuit tempore Constantini et Justiniani, qui totum orbem vigore senatus et populi Romani suis tenere manibus.

<sup>67</sup> Otho Frising. de Gestis Frederici I. l. i. c. 28, p. 662-664.

<sup>68</sup> [For the meeting with Pope Hadrian at Sutri, and the following events, see Giesebrecht's *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, v. p. 60 *sqq.*]

“Incline your ear to the queen of cities; approach with a peaceful and friendly mind the precincts of Rome, which has cast away the yoke of the clergy and is impatient to crown her legitimate emperor. Under your auspicious influence, may the primitive times be restored. Assert the prerogatives of the eternal city, and reduce under her monarchy the insolence of the world. You are not ignorant that, in former ages, by the wisdom of the senate, by the valour and discipline of the equestrian order, she extended her victorious arms to the East and West, beyond the Alps, and over the islands of the ocean. By our sins, in the absence of our princes, the noble institution of the senate has sunk in oblivion; and, with our prudence, our strength has likewise decreased. We have revived the senate and the equestrian order; the counsels of the one, the arms of the other, will be devoted to your person and the service of the empire. Do you not hear the language of the Roman matron? You were a guest, I have adopted you as a citizen; a Transalpine stranger, I have elected you for my sovereign;<sup>69</sup> and given you myself, and all that is mine. Your first and most sacred duty is, to swear and subscribe that you will shed your blood for the republic; that you will maintain in peace and justice the laws of the city and the charters of your predecessors; and that you will reward with five thousand pounds of silver the faithful senators who shall proclaim your titles in the Capitol. With the name, assume the character, of Augustus.” The flowers of Latin rhetoric were not yet exhausted; but Frederic, impatient of their vanity, interrupted the orators in the high tone of royalty and conquest. “Famous, indeed, have been the fortitude and wisdom of the ancient Romans; but your speech is not seasoned with wisdom, and I could wish that fortitude were conspicuous in your actions. Like all sub-lunary things, Rome has felt the vicissitudes of time and

<sup>69</sup> *Hospes eras, civem feci. Advena fuisti ex Transalpinis partibus; principem constitui.*

fortune. Your noblest families were translated to the East, to the royal city of Constantine; and the remains of your strength and freedom have long since been exhausted by the Greeks and Franks. Are you desirous of beholding the ancient glory of Rome, the gravity of the senate, the spirit of the knights, the discipline of the camp, the valour of the legions? you will find them in the German republic. It is not empire, naked and alone, the ornaments and virtues of empire have likewise migrated beyond the Alps to a more deserving people;<sup>70</sup> they will be employed in your defence, but they claim your obedience. You pretend that myself or my predecessors have been invited by the Romans: you mistake the word; they were not invited, they were implored. From its foreign and domestic tyrants, the city was rescued by Charlemagne and Otho, whose ashes repose in our country; and their dominion was the price of your deliverance. Under that dominion your ancestors lived and died. I claim by the right of inheritance and possession, and who shall dare to extort you from my hands? Is the hand of the Franks<sup>71</sup> and Germans enfeebled by age? Am I vanquished? Am I a captive? Am I not encompassed with the banners of a potent and invincible army? You impose conditions on your master; you require oaths: if the conditions are just, an oath is superfluous; if unjust, it is criminal. Can you doubt my equity? It is extended to the meanest of my subjects. Will not my sword be unsheathed in the defence of the Capitol? By that sword the Northern kingdom of Denmark has been restored to the Roman empire. You prescribe the measure and the objects of my bounty, which flows in a copious but a

<sup>70</sup> Non cessit nobis nudum imperium, virtute sua amictum venit, ornamenta sua secum traxit. Penes nos sunt consules tui, &c. Cicero or Livy would not have rejected these images, the eloquence of a Barbarian born and educated in the Hercynian forest.

<sup>71</sup> Otho of Frisingen, who surely understood the language of the court and diet of Germany, speaks of the Franks in the xiith century as the reigning nation (Proceres Franci, equites Franci, manus Francorum); he adds, however, the epithet of *Teutonici*.

voluntary stream. All will be given to patient merit; all will be denied to rude importunity."<sup>72</sup> Neither the emperor nor the senate could maintain these lofty pretensions of dominion and liberty. United with the pope, and suspicious of the Romans, Frederic continued his march to the Vatican: his coronation was disturbed by a sally<sup>73</sup> from the Capitol; and, if the numbers and valour of the Germans prevailed in the bloody conflict, he could not safely encamp in the presence of a city of which he styled himself the sovereign. About twelve years afterwards he besieged Rome, to seat an anti-pope in the chair of St. Peter; and twelve Pisan galleys were introduced into the Tiber; but the senate and people were saved by the arts of negotiation and the progress of disease; nor did Frederic or his successors reiterate the hostile attempt. Their laborious reigns were exercised by the popes, the crusades, and the independence of Lombardy and Germany; they courted the alliance of the Romans; and Frederic the Second offered in the Capitol the great standard, the *Caroccio* of Milan.<sup>74</sup> After the extinction of the house of Swabia, they were banished beyond the Alps; and their last coronations betrayed the impotence and poverty of the Teutonic Cæsars.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Otho Frising. de Gestis Frederici I. l. ii. c. 22, p. 720-723. These original and authentic acts I have translated with freedom, yet with fidelity.

<sup>73</sup> [The coronation ceremony was over, when the sally was made.]

<sup>74</sup> From the Chronicles of Ricobaldo and Francis Pipin, Muratori (dissert. xxvi. tom. ii. p. 492) has transcribed this curious fact, with the doggrel verses that accompanied the gift.

Ave decus orbis ave! victus tibi destinor, ave!  
 Currus ab Augusto Frederico Cæsare justo.  
 Væ Mediolanum! jam sentis spernere vanum  
 Imperii vires, proprias tibi tollere vires.  
 Ergo triumphorum urbs potes memor esse priorum  
 Quos tibi mittebant reges qui bella gerebant.

Ne si dee tacere (I now use the Italian Dissertations, tom. i. p. 444) che nell' anno 1727, una copia desso Caroccio in marmo dianzi ignoto si scopri, nel Campidoglio, presso alle carcere di quel luogo, dove Sisto V. l'avea falto rinchiudere. Stava esso posto sopra quatro colonne di marmo fina colla seguente iscrizione, &c. to the same purpose as the old inscription.

<sup>75</sup> The decline of the Imperial arms and authority in Italy is related with



Under the reign of Hadrian, when the empire extended from the Euphrates to the ocean, from Mount Atlas to the Gram-pian Hills, a fanciful historian<sup>76</sup> amused the Romans with the picture of their infant wars. "There was a time," says Florus, "when Tibur and Præneste, our summer-retreats, were the objects of hostile vows in the Capitol, when we dreaded the shades of the Arician groves, when we could triumph without a blush over the nameless villages of the Sabines and Latins, and even Corioli could afford a title not unworthy of a victorious general." The pride of his contemporaries was gratified by the contrast of the past and the present: they would have been humbled by the prospect of futurity; by the prediction that after a thousand years Rome, despoiled of empire and contracted to her primeval limits, would renew the same hostilities on the same ground which was then decorated with her villas and gardens. The adjacent territory on either side of the Tiber was always claimed, and sometimes possessed, as the patrimony of St. Peter; but the barons assumed a lawless independence, and the cities too faithfully copied the revolt and discord of the metropolis. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Romans incessantly laboured to reduce or destroy the contumacious vassals of the church and senate; and, if their headstrong and selfish ambition was moderated by the pope, he often encouraged their zeal by the alliance of his spiritual arms. Their warfare was that of the first consuls and dictators, who were taken from the plough. They assembled in arms at the foot of the Capitol; sallied from the gates, plundered or burnt the harvests of their neighbours,

impartial learning in the *Annals of Muratori* (tom. x.-xii.); and the reader may compare his narrative with the *Histoire des Allemands* (tom. iii. iv.) by Schmidt, who has deserved the esteem of his countrymen.

<sup>76</sup> Tibur nunc suburbanum et æstivæ Præneste deliciae nuncupatis in Capitolio votis petebantur. The whole passage of Florus (l. i. c. 11) may be read with pleasure, and has deserved the praise of a man of genius (*Oeuvres de Montesquieu*, tom. iii. p. 634, 635, quarto edition).

engaged in tumultuary conflict, and returned home after an expedition of fifteen or twenty days. Their sieges were tedious and unskilful: in the use of victory, they indulged the meaner passions of jealousy and revenge; and, instead of adopting the valour, they trampled on the misfortunes, of their adversaries. The captives, in their shirts, with a rope round their necks, solicited their pardon. The fortifications and even the buildings of the rival cities were demolished, and the inhabitants were scattered in the adjacent villages. It was thus that the seats of the cardinal bishops, Porto, Ostia, Albanum, Tusculum, Præneste, and Tibur, or Tivoli, were successively overthrown by the ferocious hostility of the Romans.<sup>77</sup> Of these,<sup>78</sup> Porto and Ostia, the two keys of the Tiber, are still vacant and desolate: the marshy and unwholesome banks are peopled with herds of buffaloes, and the river is lost to every purpose of navigation and trade. The hills, which afford a shady retirement from the autumnal heats, have again smiled with the blessings of peace; Frascati has arisen near the ruins of Tusculum; Tibur, or Tivoli, has resumed the honours of a city;<sup>79</sup> and the meaner towns of Albano and Palestrina are decorated with the villas of the cardinals and princes of Rome. In the work of destruction, the ambition of the Romans was often checked and repulsed by the neighbouring cities and their allies; in the first siege of Tibur, they were driven from their camp; and the battles

<sup>77</sup> Ne a feritate Romanorum, sicut fuerant Hostienses, Portuenses, Tusculanenses, Albanenses, Labicenses, et nuper Tiburtini destruerentur (Matthew Paris, p. 757). These events are marked in the Annals and Index (the xviiiith volume) of Muratori.

<sup>78</sup> For the state or ruin of these suburban cities, the banks of the Tiber, &c. see the lively picture of the P. Labat (*Voyage en Espagne et en Italie*), who had long resided in the neighbourhood of Rome; and the more accurate description of which P. Eschinard (*Roma*, 1750, in octavo) has added to the topographical map of Cingolani.

<sup>79</sup> Labat (tom. iii. p. 233) mentions a recent decree of the Roman government, which has severely mortified the pride and poverty of Tivoli: in civitate Tiburtina non vivitur civiliter.

of Tusculum<sup>80</sup> and Viterbo<sup>81</sup> might be compared, in their relative state, to the memorable fields of Thrasymene and Cannæ. In the first of these petty wars, thirty thousand Romans were overthrown by a thousand German horse, whom Frederic Barbarossa had detached to the relief of Tusculum; and, if we number the slain at three, the prisoners at two, thousand, we shall embrace the most authentic and moderate account. Sixty-eight years afterward, they marched against Viterbo, in the ecclesiastical state, with the whole force of the city; by a rare coalition, the Teutonic eagle was blended, in the adverse banners, with the keys of St. Peter; and the pope's auxiliaries were commanded by a count of Toulouse and a bishop of Winchester.<sup>82</sup> The Romans were discomfited with shame and slaughter; but the English prelate must have indulged the vanity of a pilgrim, if he multiplied their numbers to one hundred, and their loss in the field to thirty, thousand men. Had the policy of the senate and the discipline of the legions been restored with the Capitol, the divided condition of Italy would have offered the fairest opportunity of a second conquest. But in arms the modern Romans were not *above*, and in arts they were far *below*, the common level of the neighbouring republics. Nor was their warlike spirit of any long continuance; after some irregular sallies, they subsided in the national apathy, in the

<sup>80</sup> I depart from my usual method of quoting only by the date the Annals of Muratori, in consideration of the critical balance in which he has weighed nine contemporary writers who mention the battle of Tusculum (tom. x. p. 42-44).

<sup>81</sup> Matthew Paris, p. 345. This bishop of Winchester was Peter de Rupibus, who occupied the see thirty-two years (A.D. 1206-1238), and is described, by the English historian, as a soldier and a statesman (p. 178, 399).

<sup>82</sup> [Lucas Savelli, who became Senator in 1234, passed an edict claiming Tuscany and the Campagna as the property of the Roman people. Pope Gregory IX. fled from Rome, and Viterbo was his chief support. "What," asks Gregorovius, "would have been the fate of the Papacy, had the city succeeded in becoming a civic power such as Milan or Pisa?" (v. p. 172). Frederic II. saw himself unwillingly forced to assist the Pope.]

neglect of military institutions, and in the disgraceful and dangerous use of foreign mercenaries.

Ambition is a weed of quick and early vegetation in the vineyard of Christ. Under the first Christian princes, the chair of St. Peter was disputed by the votes, the venality, the violence, of a popular election; the sanctuaries of Rome were polluted with blood; and, from the third to the twelfth century, the church was distracted by the mischief of frequent schisms. As long as the final appeal was determined by the civil magistrate, these mischiefs were transient and local; the merits were tried by equity or favour; nor could the unsuccessful competitor long disturb the triumph of his rival. But, after the emperors had been divested of their prerogatives, after a maxim had been established that the vicar of Christ is amenable to no earthly tribunal, each vacancy of the holy see might involve Christendom in controversy and war. The claims of the cardinals and inferior clergy, of the nobles and people, were vague and litigious; the freedom of choice was over-ruled by the tumults of a city that no longer owned or obeyed a superior. On the decease of a pope, two factions proceeded, in different churches, to a double election: the number and weight of votes, the priority of time, the merit of the candidates, might balance each other; the most respectable of the clergy were divided; and the distant princes who bowed before the spiritual throne could not distinguish the spurious from the legitimate idol. The emperors were often the authors of the schism, from the political motive of opposing a friendly to an hostile pontiff; and each of the competitors was reduced to suffer the insults of his enemies, who were not awed by conscience, and to purchase the support of his adherents, who were instigated by avarice or ambition. A peaceful and perpetual succession was ascertained by Alexander the Third,<sup>83</sup> who finally abolished

<sup>83</sup> See Mosheim, *Institut. Histor. Ecclesiast.* p. 401, 403. Alexander himself had nearly been the victim of a contested election; and the doubtful

the tumultuary votes of the clergy and people, and defined the right of election in the sole college of cardinals.<sup>84</sup> The three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons were assimilated to each other by this important privilege; the parochial clergy of Rome obtained the first rank in the hierarchy: they were indifferently chosen among the nations of Christendom; and the possession of the richest benefices, of the most important bishoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The senators of the Catholic church, the coadjutors and legates of the supreme pontiff, were robed in purple, the symbol of martyrdom or royalty; they claimed a proud equality with kings; and their dignity was enhanced by the smallness of their number, which, till the reign of Leo the Tenth, seldom exceeded twenty or twenty-five persons. By this wise regulation all doubt and scandal were removed, and the root of schism was so effectually destroyed that in a period of six hundred years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the sacred college. But, as the concurrence of two thirds of the votes had been made necessary, the election was often delayed by the private interest and passions of the cardinals; and, while they prolonged their independent reign, the Christian world was left destitute of an head. A vacancy of almost three years had preceded the elevation of Gregory the Tenth, who resolved to prevent the future abuse; and his bull, after some opposition, has been consecrated in the code of the canon law.<sup>85</sup> Nine days are

merits of Innocent had only preponderated by the weight of genius and learning which St. Bernard cast into the scale (see his life and writings).

<sup>84</sup> The origin, titles, importance, dress, precedency, &c. of the Roman cardinals, are very ably discussed by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 1262-1287); but their purple is now much faded. The sacred college was raised to the definite number of seventy-two, to represent, under his vicar, the disciples of Christ.

<sup>85</sup> See the bull of Gregory X. [issued at Lyons, at the Great Council] *aprobante sacro concilio*, in the *Sexte* of the Canon Law (l. i. tit. 6, c. 3), a supplement to the Decretals, which Boniface VIII. promulgated at Rome in 1298, and addressed to all the universities of Europe.

allowed for the obsequies of the deceased pope and the arrival of the absent cardinals. On the tenth, they are imprisoned, each with one domestic, in a common apartment, or *conclave*, without any separation of walls or curtains; a small window is reserved for the introduction of necessaries; but the door is locked on both sides, and guarded by the magistrates of the city, to seclude them from all correspondence with the world. If the election be not consummated in three days, the luxury of their tables is contracted to a single dish at dinner and supper; and after the eighth day they were reduced to a scanty allowance of bread, water, and wine. During the vacancy of the holy see, the cardinals are prohibited from touching the revenues, or assuming, unless in some rare emergency, the government of the church; all agreements and promises among the electors are formally annulled; and their integrity is fortified by their solemn oaths and the prayers of the Catholics. Some articles of inconvenient or superfluous rigour have been gradually relaxed, but the principle of confinement is vigorous and entire: they are still urged by the personal motives of health and freedom to accelerate the moment of their deliverance; and the improvement of ballot, or secret votes, has wrapt the struggles of the conclave<sup>86</sup> in the silky veil of charity and politeness.<sup>87</sup> By these institutions the

<sup>86</sup> The genius of Cardinal de Retz had a right to paint a conclave (of 1665), in which he was a spectator and an actor (*Mémoires*, tom. iv. p. 15-57); but I am at a loss to appreciate the knowledge or authority of an anonymous Italian, whose history (*Conclavi de' Pontifici Romani*, in 4to, 1667) has been continued since the reign of Alexander VII. The accidental form of the work furnishes a lesson, though not an antidote, to ambition. From a labyrinth of intrigues, we emerge to the adoration of the successful candidate; but the next page opens with his funeral.

<sup>87</sup> The expressions of Cardinal de Retz are positive and picturesque: On y vécut toujours ensemble avec le même respect et la même civilité que l'on observe dans le cabinet des rois, avec la même politesse qu'on avoit dans la cour de Henri III., avec la même familiarité que l'on voit dans les collèges; avec la même modestie qui se remarque dans les noviciats; et avec la même charité, du moins en apparence, qui pourroit être entre des frères parfaitement unis.

Romans were excluded from the election of their prince and bishop; and in the fever of wild and precarious liberty they seemed insensible of the loss of this inestimable privilege. The emperor Lewis of Bavaria revived the example of the great Otho. After some negotiation with the magistrates, the Roman people was assembled <sup>88</sup> in the square before St. Peter's; the pope of Avignon, John the Twenty-second, was deposed; the choice of his successor was ratified by their consent and applause. They freely voted for a new law, that their bishop should never be absent more than three months in the year and two days' journey from the city; and that, if he neglected to return on the third summons, the public servant should be degraded and dismissed.<sup>89</sup> But Lewis forgot his own debility and the prejudices of the times: beyond the precincts of a German camp, his useless phantom was rejected; the Romans despised their own workmanship; the anti-pope implored the mercy of his lawful sovereign;<sup>90</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Richiesti per bando (says John Villani) senatori di Roma, e 52 del popolo, et capitani de' 25, e consoli (*consoli?*), et 13 buone huomini, uno per rione. Our knowledge is too imperfect to pronounce how much of this constitution was temporary, and how much ordinary and permanent. Yet it is faintly illustrated by the ancient statutes of Rome.

<sup>89</sup> Villani (l. x. c. 68-71, in Muratori, Script. tom. xiii. p. 641-645) relates this law, and the whole transaction, with much less abhorrence than the prudent Muratori. Any one conversant with the darker ages must have observed how much the sense (I mean the nonsense) of superstition is fluctuating and inconsistent. [Gregorovius observes (vi. 160): "This important revolution was the consequence of the sojourn of the Popes at Avignon, the effect of the quarrel which John XXII. so foolishly invoked with the empire, and of the reforming principles of the monarchy, with which was associated the Franciscan schism. The high-handed doings of John and Lewis, their tedious actions at law, the extensive researches into the imperial and papal authority, formed the close of this mediæval struggle, which now passed into more intellectual regions. The age of the reformation began; the ecclesiastical severance of Germany and Italy was perceptible in the distance and became inevitable as soon as the political severance was accomplished."]

<sup>90</sup> In the first volume of the Popes of Avignon, see the second original Life of John XXII. p. 142-145, the confession of the anti-pope, p. 145-152; and the laborious notes of Baluze, p. 714, 715.

and the exclusive right of the cardinals was more firmly established by this unseasonable attack.

Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the senate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But the Romans forgot, and were forgotten, in the absence of the successors of Gregory the Seventh, who did not keep, as a divine precept, their ordinary residence in the city and diocese. The care of that diocese was less important than the government of the universal church; nor could the popes delight in a city in which their authority was always opposed and their person was often endangered. From the persecution of the emperors and the wars of Italy, they escaped beyond the Alps into the hospitable bosom of France; from the tumults of Rome they prudently withdrew to live and die in the more tranquil stations of Anagni, Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities. When the flock was offended or impoverished by the absence of the shepherd, they were recalled by a stern admonition that St. Peter had fixed his chair, not in an obscure village, but in the capital of the world; by a ferocious menace that the Romans would march in arms to destroy the place and people that should dare to afford them a retreat. They returned with timorous obedience; and were saluted with the account of an heavy debt, of all the losses which their desertion had occasioned, the hire of lodgings, the sale of provisions, and the various expenses of servants and strangers who attended the court.<sup>91</sup> After a short interval of peace, and perhaps of authority, they were again banished by new tumults, and again summoned by the imperious or respectful

<sup>91</sup> Romani autem non valentes nec volentes ultra suam celare cupiditatem gravissimam contra papam movere cœperunt questionem, exigentes ab eo urgentissime omnia quæ subierant per ejus absentiam damna et jacturas, videlicet in hospitiiis locandis, in mercimoniis, in usuris, in redditibus, in provisionibus, et in aliis modis innumerabilibus. Quod cum audisset papa, præcordialiter ingemuit et se comperiens *muscipulatum*, &c., Matt. Paris, p. 757. For the ordinary history of the popes, their life and death, their residence and absence, it is enough to refer to the ecclesiastical annalists, Spondanus and Fleury.



invitation of the senate. In these occasional retreats, the exiles and fugitives of the Vatican were seldom long or far distant from the metropolis; but in the beginning of the fourteenth century, the apostolic throne was transported, as it might seem, for ever, from the Tiber to the Rhône; and the cause of the transmigration may be deduced from the furious contest between Boniface the Eighth and the king of France.<sup>92</sup> The spiritual arms of excommunication and interdict were repulsed by the union of the three estates and the privileges of the Gallican church; but the pope was not prepared against the carnal weapons which Philip the Fair had courage to employ. As the pope resided at Anagni, without the suspicion of danger, his palace and person were assaulted by three hundred horse, who had been secretly levied by William of Nogaret, a French minister, and Sciarra Colonna, of a noble but hostile family of Rome. The cardinals fled; the inhabitants of Anagni were seduced from their allegiance and gratitude; but the dauntless Boniface, unarmed and alone, seated himself in his chair, and awaited, like the conscript fathers of old, the swords of the Gauls. Nogaret, a foreign adversary, was content to execute the orders of his master: by the domestic enmity of Colonna, he was insulted with words and blows; and during a confinement of three days his life was threatened by the hardships which they inflicted on the obstinacy which they provoked. Their strange delay gave time and courage to the adherents of the church, who rescued him from sacrilegious violence; but his imperious soul was wounded in a vital part; and Boniface expired at Rome in a frenzy of rage and revenge. His memory is stained with

<sup>92</sup> Besides the general historians of the church of Italy and of France, we possess a valuable treatise, composed by a learned friend of Thuanus, which his last and best editors have published in the appendix (*Histoire particulière du grand Différend entre Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel*, par Pierre du Puis, tom. vii. p. xi. p. 61-82). [Tosti, *Storia di Bonifacio VIII.* The bulls of Boniface have been edited from the Vatican archives by Degon, Faucon and Thomas, 1884-90.]

the glaring vices of avarice and pride; nor has the courage of a martyr promoted this ecclesiastical champion to the honours of a saint: a magnanimous sinner (say the chronicles of the times), who entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog. He was succeeded by Benedict the Eleventh, the mildest of mankind. Yet he excommunicated the impious emissaries of Philip, and devoted the city and people of Anagni by a tremendous curse, whose effects are still visible to the eyes of superstition.<sup>93</sup>

After his decease, the tedious and equal suspense of the conclave was fixed by the dexterity of the French faction. A specious offer was made and accepted, that, in the term of forty days, they would elect one of the three candidates who should be named by their opponents. The archbishop of Bordeaux, a furious enemy of his king and country, was the first on the list; but his ambition was known; and his conscience obeyed the calls of fortune and the commands of a benefactor, who had been informed by a swift messenger that the choice of a pope was now in his hands. The terms were regulated in a private interview; and with such speed and secrecy was the business transacted that the unanimous conclave applauded the elevation of Clement the Fifth.<sup>94</sup> The cardinals of both parties were soon astonished by a summons to attend him beyond the Alps; from whence, as they soon discovered, they must never hope to return. He was engaged, by promise and affection, to prefer the residence of France; and, after dragging his court through Poitou and Gascony, and devouring, by his expense, the cities and convents on the road, he finally reposed at Avignon,<sup>95</sup>

<sup>93</sup> It is difficult to know whether Labat (tom. iv. p. 53-57) be in jest or in earnest when he supposes that Anagni still feels the weight of this curse, and that the corn-fields, or vineyards, or olive trees are annually blasted by Nature, the obsequious handmaid of the popes.

<sup>94</sup> See in the Chronicle of Giovanni Villani (l. viii. c. 63, 64, 80, in Muratori, tom. xiii.) the imprisonment of Boniface VIII. and the election of Clement V., the last of which, like most anecdotes, is embarrassed with some difficulties.

<sup>95</sup> The original lives of the eight popes of Avignon, Clement V. John XXII.

which flourished above seventy years<sup>86</sup> the seat of the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Christendom. By land, by sea, by the Rhône, the position of Avignon was on all sides accessible; the southern provinces of France do not yield to Italy itself; new palaces arose for the accommodation of the pope and cardinals; and the arts of luxury were soon attracted by the treasures of the church. They were already possessed of the adjacent territory, the Venaissin county,<sup>87</sup> a populous and fertile spot; and the sovereignty of Avignon was afterwards purchased from the youth and distress of Jane, the first queen of Naples, and countess of Provence, for the inadequate price of fourscore thousand florins.<sup>88</sup> Under the shadow of the French monarchy, amidst an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honourable and tranquil state,

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

<sup>86</sup> The exile of Avignon is compared by the Italians with Babylon and the Babylonish captivity. Such furious metaphors, more suitable to the ardour of Petrarch than to the judgment of Muratori, are gravely refuted in Baluze's preface. The Abbé de Sade is distracted between the love of Petrarch and of his country. Yet he modestly pleads that many of the local inconveniences of Avignon are now removed; and many of the vices against which the poet declaims had been imported with the Roman court by the strangers of Italy (tom. i. p. 23-28).

<sup>87</sup> The comtat Venaissin was ceded to the popes, in 1273, by Philip III., king of France, after he had inherited the dominions of the count of Toulouse. Forty years before the heresy of Count Raymond had given them a pretence of seizure, and they derived some obscure claim from the xith century to some lands *citra Rhodanum* (*Valesii Notitia Galliarum*, p. 459, 610; Longue-rue, *Description de la France*, tom. i. p. 376-381).

<sup>88</sup> If a possession of four centuries were not itself a title, such objections might annul the bargain; but the purchase-money must be refunded, for indeed it was paid. *Civitatem Avenionem emit . . . per ejusmodi venditionem pecuniâ redundantes, &c.* (2da Vita Clement. VI. in Baluz. tom. i. p. 272; Muratori, *Script.* tom. iii. p. ii. p. 565). [*Recherches historiques concernant les droits du Pape sur la ville et l'état d'Avignon, 1768.*] The only temptation for Jane and her second husband was ready money, and without it they could not have returned to the throne of Naples.

to which they long had been strangers; but Italy deplored their absence; and Rome, in solitude and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the successor of St. Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitless; after the death of the old members, the sacred college was filled with French cardinals,<sup>99</sup> who beheld Rome and Italy with abhorrence and contempt, and perpetuated a series of national and even provincial popes, attached by the most indissoluble ties to their native country.

The progress of industry had produced and enriched the Italian republics: the era of their liberty is the most flourishing period of population and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce; and their mechanic labours were gradually refined into the arts of elegance and genius. But the position of Rome was less favourable, the territory less fruitful; the character of the inhabitants was debased by indolence, and elated by pride; and they fondly conceived that the tribute of subjects must for ever nourish the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in some degree by the resort of pilgrims to the shrines of the apostles; and the last legacy of the popes, the institution of the HOLY YEAR,<sup>100</sup> was not less beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Since the loss of Palestine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied to the crusades, remained without an object; and the most valuable

<sup>99</sup> Clement V. immediately promoted ten cardinals, nine French and one English (*Vita 4ta*, p. 63, et Baluz. p. 625, &c.). In 1331, the pope refused two candidates recommended by the king of France, quod xx. Cardinales, de quibus xvii. de regno Franciæ originem traxisse noscuntur, in memorato collegio existant (*Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 1281). [In the year A.D. 1378 the college consisted of 23 cardinals, 16 of them were at Rome and included 7 Limousins, 4 French, 1 Spaniard, and 4 Italians. See Gregorovius, vi. 491.]

<sup>100</sup> Our primitive account is from Cardinal James Caietan [= Jacopo Stefaneschi, cardinalis S. Georgii ad Velum aureum] (*Maxima Bibliot. Patrum*, tom. xxv.); and I am at a loss to determine whether the nephew of Boniface VIII. be a fool or a knave; the uncle is a much clearer character.

treasure of the church was sequestered above eight years from public circulation. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface the Eighth, who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice; and the pope had sufficient learning to recollect and revive the secular games, which were celebrated in Rome at the conclusion of every century. To sound, without danger, the depth of popular credulity, a sermon was seasonably pronounced, a report was artfully scattered, some aged witnesses were produced; and on the first of January of the year thirteen hundred the church of St. Peter was crowded with the faithful, who demanded the *customary* indulgence of the holy time. The pontiff, who watched and irritated their devout impatience, was soon persuaded, by ancient testimony, of the justice of their claim; and he proclaimed a plenary absolution to all Catholics who, in the course of that year, and at every similar period, should respectfully visit the apostolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The welcome sound was propagated through Christendom; and at first from the nearest provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the highways were thronged with a swarm of pilgrims who sought to expiate their sins in a journey, however costly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military service. All exceptions of rank or sex, of age or infirmity, were forgotten in the common transport; and in the streets and churches many persons were trampled to death by the eagerness of devotion.<sup>101</sup> The calculation of

<sup>101</sup> ["The way that led from the city across the Bridge of St. Angelo to St. Peter's was too narrow; a new street was therefore opened in the walls along the river, not far from the ancient tomb known as the Meta Romuli. [Gregorovius reads *pontem* for *portum* in the passage in Stefaneschi which describes this.] The bridge was covered with booths which divided it in two, and in order to prevent accidents it was enacted that those going to St. Peter's should keep to one side of the bridge, those returning to the other." This arrangement is referred to by Dante, *Inferno*, xviii. v. 28 *sqq.*:—

Come i Roman, per l'esercito molto,  
L'anno del Giubbileo, su per lo ponte

their numbers could not be easy nor accurate; and they have probably been magnified by a dexterous clergy, well apprised of the contagion of example; yet we are assured by a judicious historian, who assisted at the ceremony, that Rome was never replenished with less than two hundred thousand strangers; and another spectator has fixed at two millions the total concourse of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treasure; and two priests stood night and day, with rakes in their hands, to collect, without counting, the heaps of gold and silver that were poured on the altar of St. Paul.<sup>102</sup> It was fortunately a season of peace and plenty; and, if forage was scarce, if inns and lodgings were extravagantly dear, an inexhaustible supply of bread and wine, of meat and fish, was provided by the policy of Boniface and the venal hospitality of the Romans. From a city without trade or industry, all casual riches will speedily evaporate; but the avarice and envy of the next generation solicited Clement the Sixth<sup>103</sup> to anticipate the distant period of the century. The gracious pontiff complied with their wishes; afforded Rome this poor consolation for his loss; and justified the change by the name and practice of the Mosaic Jubilee.<sup>104</sup> His summons was obeyed;

Hanno a passar la gente modo tolto:  
 Che dall' un lato tutti hanno la fronte  
 Verso 'l castello, e vanno a Santo Pietro;  
 Dall' altra sponda vanno verso 'l Monte.

See Gregorovius, v. p. 560-1.]

<sup>102</sup> See John Villani (l. viii. c. 36) in the xiith, and the Chronicon Astense in the xith, volume (p. 191, 192) of Muratori's Collection. Papa innumerabilem pecuniam ab eisdem accepit, nam duo clerici, cum rastris, &c.

<sup>103</sup> The two bulls of Boniface VIII. and Clement VI. are inserted in the Corpus Juris Canonici (Extravagant. Commun. l. v. tit. ix. c. 1, 2).

<sup>104</sup> The sabbatic years and jubilees of the Mosaic law (Car. Sigon. de Republicâ Hebræorum, Opp. tom. iv. l. iii. c. 14, 15, p. 151, 152), the suspension of all care and labour, the periodical release of lands, debts, servitude, &c., may seem a noble idea, but the execution would be impracticable in a *profane* republic; and I should be glad to learn that this ruinous festival was observed by the Jewish people.

and the number, zeal, and liberality of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive festival. But they encountered the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine;<sup>105</sup> many wives and virgins were violated in the castles of Italy; and many strangers were pillaged or murdered by the savage Romans, no longer moderated by the presence of their bishop.<sup>106</sup> To the impatience of the popes we may ascribe the successive reduction to fifty, thirty-three, and twenty-five years; although the second of these terms is commensurate with the life of Christ. The profusion of indulgences, the revolt of the Protestants, and the decline of superstition have much diminished the value of the jubilee; yet even the nineteenth and last festival was a year of pleasure and profit to the Romans; and a philosophic smile will not disturb the triumph of the priest or the happiness of the people.<sup>107</sup>

In the beginning of the eleventh century, Italy was exposed to the feudal tyranny, alike oppressive to the sovereign and the people. The rights of human nature were vindicated by her numerous republics, who soon extended their liberty and dominion from the city to the adjacent country. The sword of the nobles was broken; their slaves were enfranchised; their castles were demolished; they assumed the habits of society and obedience; their ambition was confined to municipal honours, and in the proudest aristocracy of Venice or Genoa each patrician was subject to the laws.<sup>108</sup> But the feeble and disorderly government of Rome was unequal to

<sup>105</sup> [It was shortly after the abdication of Rienzi (1347) and the devastations of the Black Death.]

<sup>106</sup> See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani (l. i. c. 56), in the xivth volume of Muratori, and the Mémoires sur la Vie de Pétrarque, tom. iii. p. 75-89.

<sup>107</sup> The subject is exhausted by M. Chais, a French minister at the Hague, in his *Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques sur les Jubilés et les Indulgences*; la Haye, 1751, 3 vols. in 12mo: an elaborate and pleasing work, had not the author preferred the character of a polemic to that of a philosopher.

<sup>108</sup> Muratori (*Dissert. xlvii.*) alleges the Annals of Florence, Padua, Genoa, &c., the analogy of the rest, the evidence of Otho of Frisingen (*de Gest. Fred. I. l. ii. c. 13*), and the submission of the marquiss of Este.

the task of curbing her rebellious sons, who scorned the authority of the magistrate within and without the walls. It was no longer a civil contention between the nobles and the plebeians for the government of the state; the barons asserted in arms their personal independence; their palaces and castles were fortified against a siege; and their private quarrels were maintained by the numbers of their vassals and retainers. In origin and affection, they were aliens to their country;<sup>109</sup> and a genuine Roman, could such have been produced, might have renounced these haughty strangers, who disdained the appellation of citizens and proudly styled themselves the princes of Rome.<sup>110</sup> After a dark series of revolutions, all records of pedigree were lost; the distinction of surnames was abolished; the blood of the nations was mingled in a thousand channels; and the Goths and Lombards, the Greeks and Franks, the Germans and Normans, had obtained the fairest possessions by royal bounty or the prerogative of valour. These examples might be readily presumed; but the elevation of an Hebrew race to the rank of senators and consuls is an event without a parallel in the long captivity of these miserable exiles.<sup>111</sup> In the time of Leo the Ninth, a wealthy and learned Jew was converted to Christianity, and honoured at his baptism with the name of his godfather, the reigning pope. The zeal and courage of

<sup>109</sup> As early as the year 824, the emperor Lothaire I. found it expedient to interrogate the Roman people, to learn from each individual by what national law he chose to be governed (Muratori, *Dissert.* xxii.).

<sup>110</sup> Petrarch attacks these foreigners, the tyrants of Rome, in a declamation or epistle, full of bold truths and absurd pedantry, in which he applies the maxims, and even prejudices, of the old republic, to the state of the xvth century (*Mémoires*, tom. iii. p. 157-169).

<sup>111</sup> The origin and adventures of this Jewish family are noticed by Pagi (*Critica*, tom. iv. p. 435, A.D. 1124, No. 3, 4), who draws his information from the *Chronographus Maurigniacensis* [in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 180, p. 131 sqq.], and Arnulphus Sagiensis de Schismate (in Muratori *Script. Ital.* tom. iii. p. i. p. 423-432). The fact must in some degree be true; yet I could wish that it had been coolly related, before it was turned into a reproach against the antipope.



Peter, the son of Leo, were signalised in the cause of Gregory the Seventh, who entrusted his faithful adherent with the government of Hadrian's mole, the tower of Crescentius, or, as it is now called, the castle of St. Angelo. Both the father and the son were the parents of a numerous progeny; their riches, the fruits of usury, were shared with the noblest families of the city; and so extensive was their alliance that the grandson of the proselyte was exalted, by the weight of his kindred, to the throne of St. Peter. A majority of the clergy and people supported his cause; he reigned several years in the Vatican; and it is only the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the final triumph of Innocent the Second, that has branded Anacletus with the epithet of antipope. After his defeat and death, the posterity of Leo is no longer conspicuous; and none will be found of the modern nobles ambitious of descending from a Jewish stock. It is not my design to enumerate the Roman families which have failed at different periods, or those which are continued in different degrees of splendour to the present time.<sup>112</sup> The old consular line of the *Frangipani* discover their name in the generous act of *breaking* or dividing bread in a time of famine; and such benevolence is more truly glorious than to have enclosed, with their allies the *Corsi*, a spacious quarter of the city in the chains of their fortifications; the *Savelli*, as it should seem a Sabine race, have maintained their original dignity;<sup>113</sup> the obsolete surname of the *Capizucchi* is inscribed on the coins of the first senators; the *Conti* preserve the honour, without the estate, of the counts of Signia;<sup>114</sup> and the *Annibaldi* must

<sup>112</sup> Muratori has given two dissertations (xli. and xlii.) to the names, surnames, and families of Italy. Some nobles, who glory in their domestic fables, may be offended with his firm and temperate criticism; yet surely some ounces of pure gold are of more value than many pounds of base metal.

<sup>113</sup> ["The foundation of the house of the Savelli, which was probably German, was due to the nepotism of their member Pope Honorius [III.], and they only rose to power after his time." Gregorovius, v. p. 118.]

<sup>114</sup> [See the references in Gregorovius, v. p. 6.]

have been very ignorant, or very modest, if they had not descended from the Carthaginian hero.<sup>115</sup>

But among, perhaps above, the peers and princes of the city, I distinguish the rival houses of COLONNA and URSINI, whose private story is an essential part of the annals of modern Rome. I. The name and arms of Colonna<sup>116</sup> have been the theme of much doubtful etymology; nor have the orators and antiquarians overlooked either Trajan's pillar, or the columns of Hercules, or the pillar of Christ's flagellation, or the luminous column that guided the Israelites in the desert. Their first historical appearance in the year eleven hundred and four attests the power and antiquity, while it explains the simple meaning, of the name. By the usurpation of Cavæ, the Colonna provoked the arms of Paschal the Second; but they lawfully held in the Campagna of Rome the hereditary fiefs of Zagarola and *Colonna*; and the latter of these towns was probably adorned with some lofty pillar,

<sup>115</sup> The cardinal of St. George, in his poetical, or rather metrical, history of the election and coronation of Boniface VIII. (Muratori, *Script. Ital.* tom. iii. p. i. p. 641, &c.), describes the state and families of Rome at the coronation of Boniface VIII. (A.D. 1295):—

Interea titulis redimiti sanguini et armis  
 Illustresque viri Romanâ a stirpe trahentes  
 Nomen in emeritos tantæ virtutis honores  
 Intulerant sese medios festumque colebant  
 Auratâ fulgentes togâ sociante catervâ.  
 Ex ipsis devota domus præstantis ab *Ursâ*  
 Ecclesiæ, vultumque gerens demissius altum  
 Festa *Columnna* jocis, necnon *Sabellia* mitis;  
 Stephanides senior, *Comites*, *Annibalica* proles,  
 Præfectusque urbis magnum sine viribus nomen.

(l. ii. c. 5, 100, p. 647, 648.)

The ancient statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 59, p. 174, 175) distinguish eleven families of barons, who are obliged to swear to concilio communi, before the senator, that they would not harbour or protect any malefactors, outlaws, &c. — a feeble security! [The Anibaldi family rose to prominence c. A.D. 1230. See Gregorovius, v. 158.]

<sup>116</sup> It is pity that the Colonna themselves have not favoured the world with a complete and critical history of their illustrious house. I adhere to Muratori (*Dissert. xlii.* tom. iii. p. 647, 648).

the relic of a villa or temple.<sup>117</sup> They likewise possessed one moiety of the neighbouring city of Tusculum: a strong presumption of their descent from the counts of Tusculum, who in the tenth century were the tyrants of the apostolic see. According to their own and the public opinion, the primitive and remote source was derived from the banks of the Rhine;<sup>118</sup> and the sovereigns of Germany were not ashamed of a real or fabulous affinity with a noble race, which in the revolutions of seven hundred years has been often illustrated by merit and always by fortune.<sup>119</sup> About the end of the thirteenth century, the most powerful branch was composed of an uncle and six brothers, all conspicuous in arms or in the honours of the church. Of these, Peter was elected senator of Rome, introduced to the Capitol in a triumphant car, and hailed in some vain acclamations with the title of Cæsar, while John and Stephen were declared Marquis of Ancona and Count of Romagna, by Nicholas the Fourth, a patron so partial to their family that he has been delineated in satirical portraits imprisoned as it were in a hollow pillar.<sup>120</sup> After his decease, their haughty behaviour provoked the displeasure of the most implacable of mankind. The two cardinals, the uncle

<sup>117</sup> Pandulph. Pisan. in Vit. Paschal. II. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. i. p. 335. The family has still great possessions in the Campagna of Rome; but they have alienated to the Rospigliosi this original fief of *Colonna* (Eschinard, p. 258, 259).

<sup>118</sup> *Te longinqua dedit tellus et pascua Rheni*, says Petrarch; and, in 1417, a duke of Guelders and Juliers acknowledges (Lenfant, Hist. du Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 539) his descent from the ancestors of Martin V. (Otho Colonna): but the royal author of the Memoirs of Brandenburg observes that the sceptre in his arms has been confounded with the column. To maintain the Roman origin of the Colonna, it was ingeniously supposed (Diario di Monaldeschi, in the Script. Ital. tom. xii. p. 533) that a cousin of the emperor Nero escaped from the city and founded Mentz in Germany.

<sup>119</sup> I cannot overlook the Roman triumph or ovation of Marco Antonio Colonna, who had commanded the pope's galleys at the naval victory of Lepanto (Thuan. Hist. l. vii. tom. iii. p. 55, 56; Muret. Oratio x. Opp. tom. i. p. 180-190).

<sup>120</sup> Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. x. p. 216, 220.

and the nephew, denied the election of Boniface the Eighth; and the Colonna were oppressed for a moment by his temporal and spiritual arms.<sup>121</sup> He proclaimed a crusade against his personal enemies: their estates were confiscated; their fortresses on either side of the Tiber were besieged by the troops of St. Peter and those of the rival nobles; and after the ruin of Palestrina or Præneste, their principal seat, the ground was marked with a ploughshare, the emblem of perpetual desolation. Degraded, banished, proscribed, the six brothers, in disguise and danger, wandered over Europe without renouncing the hope of deliverance and revenge. In this double hope, the French court was their surest asylum: they prompted and directed the enterprise of Philip; and I should praise their magnanimity, had they respected the fortune and courage of the captive tyrant. His civil acts were annulled by the Roman people, who restored the honours and possessions of the Colonna; and some estimate may be formed of their wealth by their losses, of their losses by the damages of one hundred thousand gold florins, which were granted them against the accomplices and heirs of the deceased pope. All the spiritual censures and disqualifications were abolished<sup>122</sup> by his prudent successors; and the fortune of the house was more firmly established by this transient hurricane. The boldness of Sciarra Colonna was signalised in the captivity of Boniface, and long afterwards in

<sup>121</sup> Petrarch's attachment to the Colonna has authorised the Abbé de Sade to expatiate on the state of the family in the fourteenth century, the persecution of Boniface VIII., the character of Stephen and his sons, their quarrels with the Ursini, &c. (*Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. i. p. 98-110, 146-148, 174-176, 222-230, 275-280). His criticism often rectifies the hearsay stories of Villani, and the errors of the less diligent moderns. I understand the branch of Stephen to be now extinct.

<sup>122</sup> Alexander III. had declared the Colonna who adhered to the emperor Frederic I. incapable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice (*Villani*, l. v. c. 1); and the last stains of annual excommunication were purified by Sixtus V. (*Vita di Sisto V.* tom. iii. p. 416). Treason, sacrilege, and proscription are often the best titles of ancient nobility.

the coronation of Lewis of Bavaria; and by the gratitude of the emperor the pillar in their arms was encircled with a royal crown. But the first of the family in fame and merit was the elder Stephen, whom Petrarch loved and esteemed as an hero superior to his own times and not unworthy of ancient Rome. Persecution and exile displayed to the nations his abilities in peace and war; in his distress he was an object, not of pity, but of reverence; the aspect of danger provoked him to avow his name and country; and when he was asked, "Where is now your fortress?" he laid his hand on his heart, and answered, "Here." He supported with the same virtue the return of prosperity; and, till the ruin of his declining age, the ancestors, the character, and the children of Stephen Colonna, exalted his dignity in the Roman republic, and at the court of Avignon. II. The Ursini migrated from Spoleto:<sup>123</sup> the sons of Ursus, as they are styled in the twelfth century, from some eminent person who is only known as the father of their race. But they were soon distinguished among the nobles of Rome, by the number and bravery of their kinsmen, the strength of their towers, the honours of the senate and sacred college, and the elevation of two popes, Celestin the Third and Nicholas the Third, of their name and lineage.<sup>124</sup> Their riches may be accused as an

<sup>123</sup> ——— Vallis te proxima misit

Appenninigenæ quæ prata virentia sylvæ  
Spoletana metunt armenta gregesque protervi.

Monaldeschi (tom. xii. Script. Ital. p. 533) gives the Ursini a French origin, which may be remotely true. [Cp. Gregorovius, v. p. 39 *sqq.*]

<sup>124</sup> In the metrical life of Celestin V. by the Cardinal of St. George (Muratori, tom. iii. p. i. p. 613, &c.), we find a luminous and not inelegant passage (l. i. c. iii. p. 203, &c.):—

——— genuit quem nobilis Ursæ (*Ursi* ?)  
Progenies, Romana domus, veterataque magnis  
Fascibus in clero, pompasque experta senatus,  
Bellorumque manu grandi stipata parentum  
Cardineos apices necnon fastigia dudum  
Papatus iterata tenens.

Muratori (Dissert. xlii. tom. iii.) observes that the first Ursini pontificate of Celestin III. was unknown; he is inclined to read *Ursi* progenies.

early abuse of nepotism; the estates of St. Peter were alienated in their favour by the liberal Celestin;<sup>126</sup> and Nicholas was ambitious for their sake to solicit the alliance of monarchs; to found new kingdoms in Lombardy and Tuscany; and to invest them with the perpetual office of senators of Rome. All that has been observed of the greatness of the Colonna will likewise redound to the glory of the Ursini, their constant and equal antagonists in the long hereditary feud which distracted above two hundred and fifty years the ecclesiastical state. The jealousy of pre-eminence and power was the true ground of their quarrel; but, as a specious badge of distinction, the Colonna embraced the name of Ghibelines and the party of the empire; the Ursini espoused the title of Guelphs and the cause of the church. The eagle and the keys were displayed in their adverse banners; and the two factions of Italy most furiously raged when the origin and nature of the dispute were long since forgotten.<sup>126</sup> After the retreat of the popes to Avignon, they disputed in arms the vacant republic; and the mischiefs of discord were perpetuated by the wretched compromise of electing each year two rival senators. By their private hostilities, the city and country were desolated, and the fluctuating balance inclined with their alternate success. But none of either family had fallen by the sword, till the most renowned champion of the Ursini was surprised and slain by the younger Stephen Colonna.<sup>127</sup> His triumph

<sup>126</sup> Filii Ursi, quondam Cœlestini papæ nepotes, de bonis ecclesiæ Romanæ ditati (Vit. Innocent. III. in Muratori, Script. tom. iii. p. i.). The partial prodigality of Nicholas III. is more conspicuous in Villani and Muratori. Yet the Ursini would disdain the nephews of a *modern* Pope. [Fra Salimbene of Parma said of Nicholas III. that he built Sion in his kinsfolk (ædificavit Sion in sanguinibus). The expression is quoted by Gregorovius, v. 490. Compare Dante, Inferno, xix. v. 70-2, where he is alluded to as "figliuol dell' orsa."]

<sup>126</sup> In his fifty-first Dissertation on the Italian Antiquities, Muratori explains the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines.

<sup>127</sup> Petrarch (tom. i. p. 222-230) has celebrated this victory according to the Colonna; but two contemporaries, a Florentine (Giovanni Villani, l. x.

is stained with the reproach of violating the truce; their defeat was basely avenged by the assassination, before the church-door, of an innocent boy and his two servants. Yet the victorious Colonna, with an annual colleague, was declared senator of Rome during the term of five years. And the muse of Petrarch inspired a wish, a hope, a prediction, that the generous youth, the son of his venerable hero, would restore Rome and Italy to their pristine glory; that his justice would extirpate the wolves and lions, the serpents and *bears*, who laboured to subvert the eternal basis of the marble COLUMN.<sup>128</sup>

c. 220) and a Roman (Ludovico Monaldeschi [S. R. I. xii.], p. 533, 534), are less favourable to their arms.

<sup>128</sup> The Abbé de Sade (tom. i. notes, p. 61-66) has applied the vith Canzone of Petrarch, *Spirto Gentil*, &c., to Stephen Colonna the Younger.

*Orsi, lupi, leoni, aquile e serpi*  
*Ad una gran marmorea colonna*  
*Fanno noja sovente e à se damno.*

## CHAPTER LXX

*Character and Coronation of Petrarch — Restoration of the Freedom and Government of Rome by the Tribune Rienzi — His Virtues and Vices, his Expulsion and Death — Return of the Popes from Avignon — Great Schism of the West — Re-union of the Latin Church — Last Struggles of Roman Liberty — Statutes of Rome — Final Settlement of the Ecclesiastical State*

IN the apprehension of modern times, Petrarch<sup>1</sup> is the Italian songster of Laura and love. In the harmony of his Tuscan rhymes, Italy applauds, or rather adores, the father of her lyric poetry; and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the enthusiasm or affectation of amorous sensibility. Whatever may be the private taste of a stranger, his slight and superficial knowledge should humbly acquiesce in the taste of a learned nation; yet I may hope or presume that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of sonnets and elegies with the sublime compositions of their epic muse, the original wildness of Dante, the regular beauties of Tasso, and the boundless variety of the incomparable Ariosto. The merits of the lover I am still less qualified to appreciate; nor am I deeply interested in a metaphysical

<sup>1</sup> The *Mémoires sur la Vie de François Pétrarque* (Amsterdam, 1764, 1767, 3 vols. in 4to) form a copious, original, and entertaining work, a labour of love, composed from the accurate study of Petrarch and his contemporaries; but the hero is too often lost in the general history of the age, and the author too often languishes in the affectation of politeness and gallantry. In the preface to his first volume, he enumerates and weighs twenty Italian biographers, who have professedly treated of the same subject. [Körting, *Petrarca's Leben und Werke*, 1878; Geiger, *Petrarca*, 1874. Cp. above, vol. xi. p. 277, note 92.]



passion for a nymph so shadowy that her existence has been questioned; <sup>2</sup> for a matron so prolific <sup>3</sup> that she was delivered of eleven legitimate children <sup>4</sup> while her amorous swain sighed and sung at the fountain of Vaucluse.<sup>5</sup> But in the eyes of Petrarch, and those of his graver contemporaries, his love was a sin, and Italian verse a frivolous amusement. His Latin works of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence established his serious reputation, which was soon diffused from Avignon over France and Italy; his friends and disciples were multiplied in every city; and, if the ponderous volume of his writings <sup>6</sup> be now abandoned to a long repose, our gratitude must applaud the man who by precept and example revived the spirit and study of the Augustan age. From his earliest

<sup>2</sup> The allegorical interpretation prevailed in the xvth century; but the wise commentators were not agreed whether they should understand by Laura, religion, or virtue, or the blessed Virgin, or ———. See the prefaces to the first and second volumes.

<sup>3</sup> Laure de Noves, born about the year 1307, was married in January 1325 to Hugues de Sade, a noble citizen of Avignon, whose jealousy was not the effect of love, since he married a second wife within seven months of her death, which happened the 6th of April 1348, precisely one and twenty years after Petrarch had seen and loved her.

<sup>4</sup> *Corpus crebris partibus exhaustum*; from one of these is issued, in the tenth degree, the Abbé de Sade, the fond and grateful biographer of Petrarch; and this domestic motive most probably suggested the idea of his work, and urged him to inquire into every circumstance that could affect the history and character of his grandmother (see particularly tom. i. p. 122-133, notes, p. 7-58; tom. ii. p. 455-495, notes, p. 76-82).

<sup>5</sup> Vaucluse, so familiar to our English travellers, is described from the writings of Petrarch, and the local knowledge of his biographer (*Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 340-359). It was, in truth, the retreat of an hermit; and the moderns are much mistaken if they place Laura and an happy lover in the grotto.

<sup>6</sup> Of 1250 pages, in a close print, at Basil, in the xvth century, but without the date of the year. The Abbé de Sade calls aloud for a new edition of Petrarch's Latin works; but I much doubt whether it would redound to the profit of the bookseller, or the amusement of the public. [Petrarch's *Epistolae de rebus familiaribus et variae* have been edited in 3 vols. 1859-63 by G. Fracassetti and translated (with commentary) into Italian by the same scholar (in 5 vols. 1863-7), who has also translated and annotated the *Epistolae seniles* (*Lettere senili*, 2 vols. 1869). The *De viris illustribus vitae* has been edited by A. Razzolini, 1874, who has added in a 2nd vol. the Italian translation thereof by Donato degli Albanzani.]



youth, Petrarch aspired to the poetic crown. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of master or doctor in the art of poetry;<sup>7</sup> and the title of poet-laureat, which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the English court,<sup>8</sup> was first invented by the Cæsars of Germany. In the musical games of antiquity, a prize was bestowed on the victor;<sup>9</sup> the belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the Capitol inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard;<sup>10</sup> and the laurel<sup>11</sup> was endeared to the lover by a verbal resemblance with the name of his mistress. The value of either object was enhanced by the difficulties of the

<sup>7</sup> Consult Selden's *Titles of Honour*, in his works (vol. iii. p. 457-466). An hundred years before Petrarch, St. Francis received the visit of a poet, qui ab imperatore fuerat coronatus et exinde rex versuum dictus.

<sup>8</sup> From Augustus to Louis, the muse has too often been false and venal; but I much doubt whether any age or court can produce a similar establishment of a stipendiary poet, who in every reign, and at all events, is bound to furnish twice a year a measure of praise and verse, such as may be sung in the chapel, and, I believe, in the presence of the sovereign. I speak the more freely, as the best time for abolishing this ridiculous custom is while the prince is a man of virtue and the poet a man of genius.

<sup>9</sup> Isocrates (in *Panegyrico*, tom. i. p. 116, 117, edit. Battie, Cantab. 1729) claims for his native Athens the glory of first instituting and recommending the *ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ ἄθλα μέγιστα μὴ μόνον τάχους καὶ βίωμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων καὶ γνῶμης*. The example of the Panathenæa was imitated at Delphi; but the Olympic games were ignorant of a musical crown, till it was extorted by the vain tyranny of Nero (Sueton. in *Nerone*, c. 23; Philostrat. apud Casaubon ad locum; Dion Cassius or Xiphilin, l. lxxiii. p. 1032 [c. 9], 1041 [c. 20]. Potter's *Greek Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 445, 450).

<sup>10</sup> The Capitoline games (certamen quinquennale, *musicum*, equestre, gymnicum) were instituted by Domitian (Sueton. c. 4) in the year of Christ 86 (Censorin. de *Die Natali*, c. xviii. p. 100, edit. Havercamp), and were not abolished in the ivth century (Ausonius de *Professoribus Burdegal*. V.). If the crown were given to superior merit, the exclusion of Statius (*Capitolia nostræ inficiata lyræ*, Sylv. l. iii. v. 31) may do honour to the games of the Capitol; but the Latin poets who lived before Domitian were crowned only in the public opinion.

<sup>11</sup> Petrarch and the senators of Rome were ignorant that the laurel was not the Capitoline, but the Delphic crown (Plin. *Hist. Natur.* xv. 39; *Hist. Critique de la République des Lettres*, tom. i. p. 150-220). The victors in the Capitol were crowned with a garland of oak-leaves (Martial, l. iv. *epigram* 54).

pursuit; and, if the virtue or prudence of Laura was inexorable,<sup>12</sup> he enjoyed, and might boast of enjoying, the nymph of poetry. His vanity was not of the most delicate kind, since he applauds the success of his own *labours*; his name was popular; his friends were active; the open or secret opposition of envy and prejudice was surmounted by the dexterity of patient merit. In the thirty-sixth year of his age, he was solicited to accept the object of his wishes; and on the same day, in the solitude of Vacluse, he received a similar and solemn invitation from the senate of Rome and the university of Paris. The learning of a theological school, and the ignorance of a lawless city, were alike unqualified to bestow the ideal, though immortal, wreath which genius may obtain from the free applause of the public and of posterity; but the candidate dismissed this troublesome reflection, and, after some moments of complacency and suspense, preferred the summons of the metropolis of the world.

The ceremony of his coronation<sup>13</sup> was performed in the Capitol, by his friend and patron the supreme magistrate of the republic. Twelve patrician youths were arrayed in scarlet; six representatives of the most illustrious families, in green robes, with garlands of flowers, accompanied the procession; in the midst of the princes and nobles, the senator, count of Anguillara, a kinsman of the Colonna, assumed his throne; and, at the voice of an herald, Petrarch arose. After discoursing on a text of Virgil,<sup>14</sup> and thrice

<sup>12</sup> The pious grandson of Laura has laboured, and not without success, to vindicate her immaculate chastity against the censures of the grave and the sneers of the profane (tom. ii. notes, p. 76-82).

<sup>13</sup> The whole process of Petrarch's coronation is accurately described by the Abbé de Sade (tom. i. p. 425-435; tom. ii. p. 1-6, notes, p. 1-13), from his own writings [see Ep. Poet. ii. 1], and the Roman Diary of Ludovico Monaldeschi, without mixing in this authentic narrative the more recent fables of Sannuccio Delbene.

<sup>14</sup> [Sed me Parnassi deserta per ardua dulcis

Raptat amor.

— Georgics 3, 291.

This address has been published by Attilio Hortis in *Scritti inediti di Fr. Petrarca*, 1874, p. 311 sqq.]

repeating his vows for the prosperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne, and received from the senator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration, "This is the reward of merit." The people shouted, "Long life to the Capitol and the poet!" A sonnet in praise of Rome was accepted as the effusion of genius and gratitude; and, after the whole procession had visited the Vatican, the profane wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter. In the act or diploma<sup>16</sup> which was presented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives of poet-laureat are revived in the Capitol, after the lapse of thirteen hundred years; and he receives the perpetual privilege of wearing, at his choice, a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, of assuming the poetic habit, and of teaching, disputing, interpreting, and composing in all places whatsoever and on all subjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the senate and people; and the character of citizen was the recompense of his affection for the Roman name. They did him honour, but they did him justice. In the familiar society of Cicero and Livy, he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to a sentiment and every sentiment to a passion. The aspect of the seven hills and their majestic ruins confirmed these lively impressions; and he loved a country by whose liberal spirit he had been crowned and adopted. The poverty and debasement of Rome excited the indignation and pity of her grateful son: he dissembled the faults of his fellow-citizens; applauded with partial fondness the last of their heroes and matrons; and in the remembrance of the past, in the hope of the future, was pleased to forget the miseries of the present time. Rome was still the lawful mistress of the world; the pope and the emperor, her bishop and general, had abdicated their station by an inglorious retreat to the Rhône and the Danube; but, if she could resume her virtue, the republic

<sup>16</sup> The original act is printed among the *Pièces Justificatives* in the *Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. iii. p. 50-53.

might again vindicate her liberty and dominion. Amidst the indulgence of enthusiasm and eloquence,<sup>16</sup> Petrarch, Italy, and Europe were astonished by a revolution which realised, for a moment, his most splendid visions. The rise and fall of the tribune, Rienzi, will occupy the following pages.<sup>17</sup> The subject is interesting, the materials are rich, and the glance of a patriot-bard<sup>18</sup> will sometimes vivify the copious but simple narrative of the Florentine,<sup>19</sup> and more especially of the Roman,<sup>20</sup> historian.

<sup>16</sup> To find the proofs of his enthusiasm for Rome, I need only request that the reader would open, by chance, either Petrarch or his French biographer. The latter has described the poet's first visit to Rome [A.D. 1337] (tom. i. p. 323-335). But, in the place of much idle rhetoric and morality, Petrarch might have amused the present and future age with an original account of the city and his coronation.

<sup>17</sup> It has been treated by the pen of a Jesuit, the P. du Cerceau, whose posthumous work (*Conjuration de Nicholas Gabrini, dit de Rienzi, Tyran de Rome, en 1347*) was published at Paris, 1748, 12mo. I am indebted to him for some facts and documents in John Hocsemius, canon of Liège, a contemporary historian (*Fabricius, Bibliot. Lat. med. Ævi, tom. iii. p. 273; tom. iv. p. 85*).

<sup>18</sup> The Abbé de Sade, who so freely expatiates on the history of the xvth century, might treat, as his proper subject, a revolution in which the heart of Petrarch was so deeply engaged (*Mémoires, tom. ii. p. 50, 51, 320-417, notes, p. 70-76; tom. iii. p. 221-243, 366-375*). Not an idea or a fact in the writings of Petrarch has probably escaped him.

<sup>19</sup> Giovanni Villani, l. xii. c. 89, 104, in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. xiii. p. 969, 970, 981-983.

<sup>20</sup> In his third volume of *Italian Antiquities* (p. 249-548), Muratori has inserted the *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ ab Anno 1327 usque ad Annum 1354*, in the original dialect of Rome or Naples in the xvth century, and a Latin version for the benefit of strangers. It contains the most particular and authentic life of Cola (Nicholas) di Rienzi, which had been printed at Bracciano, 1627, in 4to, under the name of Tomaso Fortificocca, who is only mentioned in this work as having been punished by the tribune for forgery, [This Life has been edited by Zeferino Re, 2nd ed. 1854.] Human nature is scarcely capable of such sublime or stupid impartiality; but whosoever is the author of these Fragments, he wrote on the spot and at the time, and paints, without design or art, the manners of Rome and the character of the tribune. [Rienzi's letters have been published by A. Gabrielli, *Epistolario di Cola di Rienzo*, 1890. Monographs: Papencordt, *Cola di Rienzi und seine Zeit*, 1841 (and French transl. by Boré, 1845); Rodocanachi, *Cola di Rienzo: histoire de Rome de 1342 à 1354*, 1888.]

In a quarter of the city which was inhabited only by mechanics and Jews, the marriage of an innkeeper and a washerwoman produced the future deliverer of Rome.<sup>21</sup> From such parents Nicholas Rienzi Gabrini could inherit neither dignity nor fortune; and the gift of a liberal education, which they painfully bestowed, was the cause of his glory and untimely end. The study of history and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Cæsar, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals and contemporaries the genius of the young plebeian; he perused with indefatigable diligence the manuscripts and marbles of antiquity; loved to dispense his knowledge in familiar language; and was often provoked to exclaim, "Where are now these Romans? their virtue, their justice, their power? why was I not born in those happy times?"<sup>22</sup> When the republic addressed to the throne of Avignon an embassy of the three orders, the spirit and eloquence of Rienzi recommended him to a place among the thirteen deputies of the commons. The orator had the honour of haranguing Pope Clement the Sixth, and the satisfaction of conversing with Petrarch, a congenial mind; but his aspiring hopes were chilled by disgrace and poverty; and the patriot was reduced to a single garment and the charity of the hospital. From this misery he was relieved by the

<sup>21</sup> The first and splendid period of Rienzi, his tribunitian government, is contained in the xviii<sup>th</sup> chapter of the Fragments (p. 399-479), which, in the new division, forms the i<sup>id</sup> book of the history in xxxviii. smaller chapters or sections. [The more correct form of his name is Rienzo, from Lorenzo. In Latin documents he is called Nicolaus Laurentii.]

<sup>22</sup> The reader may be pleased with a specimen of the original idiom: *Fò da soa juventutine nutricato di latte de eloquentia, bono gramatico, migliore rettuorico, autorista bravo. Deh como et quanto era veloce lettore! moito usava Tito Livio, Seneca, et Tullio, et Balerio Massi o, moito li diletta le magnificentie di Julio Cesare raccontare. Tutta la cìe se speculava negl' intagli di marmo lequali iaccio intorno Roma. Non era altri che esso, che sapesse lejere li antichi pataffii. Tutte scritte antiche vulgarizzava; quesse fiure di marmo justamente interpretava. Oh come spesso diceva, "Dove suono quelli buoni Romani? dove ene loro somma justitia? poleramme trovare in tempo che quessi furiano!"*

sense of merit or the smile of favour; and the employment of apostolic notary afforded him a daily<sup>23</sup> stipend of five gold florins, a more honourable and extensive connection, and the right of contrasting, both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the state. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and persuasive; the multitude is always prone to envy and censure: he was stimulated by the loss of a brother and the impunity of the assassins; nor was it possible to excuse or exaggerate the public calamities. The blessings of peace and justice, for which civil society has been instituted, were banished from Rome: the jealous citizens, who might have endured every personal or pecuniary injury, were most deeply wounded in the dishonour of their wives and daughters;<sup>24</sup> they were equally oppressed by the arrogance of the nobles and the corruption of the magistrates; and the abuse of arms or of laws was the only circumstance that distinguished the lions from the dogs and serpents of the Capitol. These allegorical emblems were variously repeated in the pictures which Rienzi exhibited in the streets and churches; and, while the spectators gazed with curious wonder, the bold and ready orator unfolded the meaning, applied the satire, inflamed their passions, and announced a distant hope of comfort and deliverance. The privileges of Rome, her eternal sovereignty over her princes and provinces, was the theme of his public and private discourse; and a monument of servitude became in his hands a title and incentive of liberty. The decree of the senate, which granted the most ample prerogatives to the emperor Vespasian, had been inscribed on a copper-plate still extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran.<sup>25</sup> A numerous assembly of

<sup>23</sup> [Monthly, not daily. See Cola's petition for the office, which was granted to him by the Pope. See Gregorovius, vi. p. 231, note.]

<sup>24</sup> Petrarch compares the jealousy of the Romans with the easy temper of the husbands of Avignon (*Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 330).

<sup>25</sup> The fragments of the *Lex Regia* may be found in the inscriptions of Gruter, tom. i. p. 242, and at the end of the Tacitus of Ernesti, with some



nobles and plebeians was invited to this political lecture, and a convenient theatre was erected for their reception. The notary appeared in a magnificent and mysterious habit, explained the inscription by a version and commentary,<sup>26</sup> and descanted with eloquence and zeal on the ancient glories of the senate and people, from whom all legal authority was derived. The supine ignorance of the nobles was incapable of discerning the serious tendency of such representations: they might sometimes chastise with words and blows the plebeian reformer; but he was often suffered in the Colonna palace to amuse the company with his threats and predictions; and the modern Brutus<sup>27</sup> was concealed under the mask of folly and the character of a buffoon. While they indulged their contempt, the restoration of the *good estate*, his favourite expression, was entertained among the people as a desirable, a possible, and at length as an approaching, event; and, while all had the disposition to applaud, some had the courage to assist, their promised deliverer.

A prophecy, or rather a summons, affixed on the church-

learned notes of the editor, tom. ii. [See C.I.L. vi. 930. Cp. above vol. i. p. 84, n. 19. "Cola had discovered this bronze tablet in the Lateran, where it had been employed in the construction of an altar in the time of Boniface VIII. The inscription had then been turned inwards, but it was restored to light either by the fall of the church in consequence of the fire or in process of rebuilding. The use to which Cola turned this monument of imperial despotism was singular and ingenious. He caused the tablet to be built into the wall behind the choir of the Lateran, and round it had the Senate painted in the act of conferring the imperial authority on Vespasian."]

<sup>26</sup> I cannot overlook a stupendous and laughable blunder of Rienzi. The *Lex Regia* empowers Vespasian to enlarge the *Pomœrium*, a word familiar to every antiquary. It was not so to the tribune; he confounds it with *pomœrium*, an orchard, translates lo *Jardino de Roma cioene Italia*, and is copied by the less excusable ignorance of the Latin translator (p. 406) and the French historian (p. 33). Even the learning of Muratori has slumbered over the passage. [Gregorovius compares Dante's (*Purgatorio*, vi. 105) *chè il giardin dell' Imperio sia deserto*.]

<sup>27</sup> *Priori (Bruto) tamen similior, juvenis uterque, longe ingenio quam cujus simulationem induerat, ut sub hoc obtentu liberator ille P. R. aperiretur tempore suo . . . ille regibus, hic tyrannis contemptus* (Opp. p. 536).

door of St. George, was the first public evidence of his designs; a nocturnal assembly of an hundred citizens on Mount Aventine, the first step to their execution. After an oath of secrecy and aid, he represented to the conspirators the importance and facility of their enterprise; that the nobles, without union or resources, were strong only in the fear of their imaginary strength; that all power, as well as right, was in the hands of the people; that the revenues of the apostolical chamber might relieve the public distress; and that the pope himself would approve their victory over the common enemies of government and freedom. After securing a faithful band to protect his first declaration, he proclaimed through the city, by sound of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day all persons should assemble without arms before the church of St. Angelo, to provide for the re-establishment of the good estate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of thirty masses of the Holy Ghost; and in the morning, Rienzi, bare-headed, but in complete armour, issued from the church, encompassed by the hundred conspirators. The pope's vicar, the simple bishop of Orvieto, who had been persuaded to sustain a part in this singular ceremony, marched on his right hand; and three great standards were borne aloft as the emblems of their design. In the first, the banner of *liberty*, Rome was seated on two lions, with a palm in one hand and a globe in the other; St. Paul, with a drawn sword, was delineated in the banner of *justice*; and in the third, St. Peter held the keys of *concord* and *peace*. Rienzi was encouraged by the presence and applause of an innumerable crowd, who understood little and hoped much; and the procession slowly rolled forwards from the castle of St. Angelo to the Capitol. His triumph was disturbed by some secret emotion, which he laboured to suppress: he ascended without opposition, and with seeming confidence, the citadel of the republic; harangued the people from the balcony; and received the most flattering confirma-

tion of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if destitute of arms and counsels, beheld in silent consternation this strange revolution; and the moment had been prudently chosen, when the most formidable, Stephen Colonna, was absent from the city. On the first rumour he returned to his palace, affected to despise this plebeian tumult, and declared to the messenger of Rienzi that at his leisure he would cast the madman from the windows of the Capitol. The great bell instantly rang an alarm, and so rapid was the tide, so urgent was the danger, that Colonna escaped with precipitation to the suburb of St. Lawrence; from thence, after a moment's refreshment, he continued the same speedy career, till he reached in safety his castle of Palestrina, lamenting his own imprudence, which had not trampled the spark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was issued from the Capitol to all the nobles, that they should peaceably retire to their estates: they obeyed; and their departure secured the tranquillity of the free and obedient citizens of Rome.

But such voluntary obedience evaporates with the first transports of zeal; and Rienzi felt the importance of justifying his usurpation by a regular form and a legal title. At his own choice, the Roman people would have displayed their attachment and authority, by lavishing on his head the names of senator or consul, of king or emperor: he preferred the ancient and modest appellation of tribune;<sup>28</sup> the protection of the commons was the essence of that sacred office; and they were ignorant that it had never been invested with any share in the legislative or executive powers of the republic. In this character, and with the consent of the Romans, the tribune enacted the most salutary laws for the restoration and maintenance of the good estate. By the first he fulfils the

<sup>28</sup> [This was his style: *Nicholaus, Severus et Clemens, Libertatis Pacis Justitiaeque Tribunus, et sacre Romane Reipublice Liberator.* (Gregorius, vi. 249.)]

wish of honesty and inexperience, that no civil suit should be protracted beyond the term of fifteen days. The danger of frequent perjury might justify the pronouncing against a false accuser the same penalty which his evidence would have inflicted; the disorders of the times might compel the legislator to punish every homicide with death and every injury with equal retaliation. But the execution of justice was hopeless till he had previously abolished the tyranny of the nobles. It was formerly provided that none, except the supreme magistrate, should possess or command the gates, bridges, or towers of the state; that no private garrisons should be introduced into the towns or castles of the Roman territory; that none should bear arms or presume to fortify their houses in the city or country; that the barons should be responsible for the safety of the highways and the free passage of provisions; and that the protection of malefactors and robbers should be expiated by a fine of a thousand marks of silver. But these regulations would have been impotent and nugatory, had not the licentious nobles been awed by the sword of the civil power. A sudden alarm from the bell of the Capitol could still summon to the standard above twenty thousand volunteers; the support of the tribune and the laws required a more regular and permanent force. In each harbour of the coast, a vessel was stationed for the assurance of commerce; a standing militia of three hundred and sixty horse and thirteen hundred foot was levied, clothed, and paid in the thirteen quarters of the city; and the spirit of a commonwealth may be traced in the grateful allowance of one hundred florins, or pounds, to the heirs of every soldier who lost his life in the service of his country. For the maintenance of the public defence, for the establishment of granaries, for the relief of widows, orphans, and indigent convents, Rienzi applied, without fear of sacrilege, the revenues of the apostolic chamber; the three branches of hearth-money, the salt-duty, and the customs, were each of the

annual produce of one hundred thousand florins;<sup>29</sup> and scandalous were the abuses, if in four or five months the amount of the salt-duty could be trebled by his judicious economy. After thus restoring the forces and finances of the republic, the tribune recalled the nobles from their solitary independence; required their personal appearance in the Capitol; and imposed an oath of allegiance to the new government and of submission to the laws of the good estate. Apprehensive for their safety, but still more apprehensive of the danger of a refusal, the princes and barons returned to their houses at Rome, in the garb of simple and peaceful citizens; the Colonna and Ursini, the Savelli and Frangipani, were confounded before the tribunal of a plebeian, of the vile buffoon whom they had so often derided, and their disgrace was aggravated by the indignation which they vainly struggled to disguise. The same oath was successively pronounced by the several orders of society, the clergy and gentlemen, the judges and notaries, the merchants and artisans, and the gradual descent was marked by the increase of sincerity and zeal. They swore to live and die with the republic and the church, whose interest was artfully united by the nominal association of the bishop of Orvieto, the pope's vicar, to the office of tribune. It was the boast of Rienzi that he had delivered the throne and patrimony of St. Peter from a rebellious aristocracy; and Clement the Sixth, who rejoiced in its fall, affected to believe the professions, to applaud the merits, and to confirm the title of his trusty servant. The speech, perhaps the mind, of the tribune was inspired with a lively regard for the purity of the faith: he insinuated his

<sup>29</sup> In one MS. I read (l. ii. c. 4, p. 409) *perfumante quatro solli*, in another *quatro florini*: an important variety, since the florin was worth ten Roman *solidi* (Muratori, dissert. xxviii.). The former reading would give us a population of 25,000, the latter of 250,000, families; and I much fear that the former is more consistent with the decay of Rome and her territory. [The population was probably not more than 50,000 in all, at this period. Cp. Gregorovius, vi. 152 note. The hearth tax (*focaticum*) is said to have been 26 denari (*ib.* 256).]

claim to a supernatural mission from the Holy Ghost; enforced by an heavy forfeiture the annual duty of confession and communion; and strictly guarded the spiritual as well as temporal welfare of his faithful people.<sup>30</sup>

Never, perhaps, has the energy and effect of a single mind been more remarkably felt than in the sudden, though transient, reformation of Rome by the tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was converted to the discipline of a camp or convent: patient to hear, swift to redress, inexorable to punish, his tribunal was always accessible to the poor and stranger; nor could birth or dignity or the immunities of the church protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houses, the private sanctuaries in Rome, on which no officer of justice would presume to trespass, were abolished; and he applied the timber and iron of their barricades in the fortifications of the Capitol. The venerable father of the Colonna was exposed in his own palace to the double shame of being desirous, and of being unable, to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been stolen near Capranica; and the lord of the Ursini family was condemned to restore the damage, and to discharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways. Nor were the persons of the barons more inviolate than their lands or houses; and, either from accident or design, the same impartial rigour was exercised against the heads of the adverse factions. Peter Agapet Colonna, who had himself been senator of Rome, was arrested in the street for injury or debt; and justice was appeased by the tardy execution of Martin Ursini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a shipwrecked vessel at the mouth of the Tiber.<sup>31</sup> His name, the purple of two

<sup>30</sup> Hocsemius, p. 398, apud du Cerceau, *Hist. de Rienzi*, p. 194. The fifteen tribunician laws may be found in the Roman historian (whom for brevity I shall name) Fortifiocca, l. ii. c. 4.

<sup>31</sup> Fortifiocca, l. ii. c. 11. From the account of this shipwreck we learn some circumstances of the trade and navigation of the age. 1. The ship was built and freighted at Naples for the ports of Marseilles and Avignon. 2. The

cardinals his uncles, a recent marriage, and a mortal disease were disregarded by the inflexible tribune, who had chosen his victim. The public officers dragged him from his palace and nuptial bed: his trial was short and satisfactory; the bell of the Capitol convened the people; stript of his mantle, on his knees, with his hands bound behind his back, he heard the sentence of death; and, after a brief confession, Ursini was led away to the gallows. After such an example, none who were conscious of guilt could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle soon purified the city and territory of Rome. In this time (says the historian) the woods began to rejoice that they were no longer infested with robbers; the oxen began to plough; the pilgrims visited the sanctuaries; the roads and inns were replenished with travellers; trade, plenty, and good faith were restored in the markets; and a purse of gold might be exposed without danger in the midst of the highway. As soon as the life and property of the subject are secure, the labours and rewards of industry spontaneously revive: Rome was still the metropolis of the Christian world; and the fame and fortunes of the tribune were diffused in every country by the strangers who had enjoyed the blessings of his government.

The deliverance of his country inspired Rienzi with a vast, and perhaps visionary, idea of uniting Italy in a great federative republic, of which Rome should be the ancient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and associates. His pen was not less eloquent than his tongue; and his numerous epistles were delivered to swift and trusty messengers. On foot, with a white wand in their hand, they traversed the forests and mountains; enjoyed, in the most

sailors were of Naples and the Isle of Oenaria, less skilful than those of Sicily and Genoa. 3. The navigation from Marseilles was a coasting voyage to the mouth of the Tiber, where they took shelter in a storm, but, instead of finding the current, unfortunately ran on a shoal; the vessel was stranded, the mariners escaped. 4. The cargo, which was pillaged, consisted of the revenue of Provence for the royal treasury, many bags of pepper and cinnamon, and bales of French cloth, to the value of 20,000 florins: a rich prize.

hostile states, the sacred security of ambassadors; and reported, in the style of flattery or truth, that the highways along their passage were lined with kneeling multitudes, who implored Heaven for the success of their undertaking. Could passion have listened to reason, could private interest have yielded to the public welfare, the supreme tribunal and confederate union of the Italian republic might have healed their intestine discord and closed the Alps against the Barbarians of the North.<sup>32</sup> But the propitious season had elapsed; and, if Venice, Florence, Sienna, Perugia, and many inferior cities offered their lives and fortunes to the good estate, the tyrants of Lombardy and Tuscany must despise, or hate, the plebeian author of a free constitution. From them, however, and from every part of Italy, the tribune received the most friendly and respectful answers; they were followed by the ambassadors of the princes and republics; and in this foreign conflux, on all the occasions of pleasure or business, the low-born notary could assume the familiar or majestic courtesy of a sovereign.<sup>33</sup> The most glorious circumstance of his reign was an appeal to his justice from Lewis king of Hun-

<sup>32</sup> [It is strange that Gibbon should have made no mention of Dante's work *De Monarchia*, which, though it expressed the Ghibelline ideal and looked for salvation to Germany, was nevertheless animated with the same idea which inspired Rienzi, in so far as it recognised that the rule of the world belonged to Rome. The *De Monarchia* is an important indication of the mediæval ideals which moved Italians in the fourteenth century, and the reaction against the Popes. Mr. Bryce gives an account of its argument in his *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 265 *sqq.* (ed. 7). As the work appeared after the Italian expedition of Henry VII. — the last episode in the history of the Empire in Italy — Mr. Bryce describes the book as "an epitaph instead of a prophecy." See also the observations of Gregorovius, vi. p. 19–24. It is pathetic to see how men like Petrarch looked for the regeneration of Italy to the degenerate rabble of Rome.]

<sup>33</sup> It was thus that Oliver Cromwell's old acquaintance, who remembered his vulgar and ungracious entrance into the House of Commons, were astonished at the ease and majesty of the Protector on his throne (see Harris's *Life of Cromwell*, p. 27–34, from Clarendon, Warwick, Whitelocke, Waller, &c.). The consciousness of merit and power will sometimes elevate the manners to the station.



gary, who complained that his brother, and her husband, had been perfidiously strangled by Jane queen of Naples:<sup>34</sup> her guilt or innocence was pleaded in a solemn trial at Rome; but, after hearing the advocates,<sup>35</sup> the tribune adjourned this weighty and invidious cause, which was soon determined by the sword of the Hungarian. Beyond the Alps, more especially at Avignon, the revolution was the theme of curiosity, wonder, and applause. Petrarch had been the private friend, perhaps the secret counsellor, of Rienzi: his writings breathe the most ardent spirit of patriotism and joy; and all respect for the pope, all gratitude for the Colonna, was lost in the superior duties of a Roman citizen. The poet-laureat of the Capitol maintains the act, applauds the hero, and mingles with some apprehension and advice the most lofty hopes of the permanent and rising greatness of the republic.<sup>36</sup>

While Petrarch indulged these prophetic visions, the Roman hero was fast declining from the meridian of fame and power; and the people, who had gazed with astonishment on the ascending meteor, began to mark the irregularity of its course and the vicissitudes of light and obscurity. More eloquent than judicious, more enterprising than resolute, the faculties of Rienzi were not balanced by cool and commanding reason; he magnified in a tenfold proportion the objects of hope and fear; and prudence, which could not have erected, did not presume to fortify, his throne. In the blaze of pros-

<sup>34</sup> See the causes, circumstances, and effects of the death of Andrew, in Giannone (tom. iii. l. xxiii. p. 220-229), and the Life of Petrarch (*Mémoires*, tom. ii. p. 143-148, 245-250, 375-379, notes, p. 21-37). The Abbé de Sade wishes to extenuate her guilt.

<sup>35</sup> The advocate who pleaded against Jean could add nothing to the logical force and brevity of his master's epistle. *Johanna! inordinata vita præcedens, retentio potestatis in regno, neglecta vindicta, vir alter susceptus, et excusatio subsequens, necis viri tui te probant fuisse participem et consortem.* Jane of Naples and Mary of Scotland have a singular conformity.

<sup>36</sup> See the *Epistola Hortatoria de Capessendâ Republicâ*, from Petrarch to Nicholas Rienzi (Opp. p. 535-540), and the fifth eclogue or pastoral, a perpetual and obscure allegory.

perity, his virtues were insensibly tinged with the adjacent vices: justice with cruelty, liberality with profusion, and the desire of fame with puerile and ostentatious vanity. He might have learned that the ancient tribunes, so strong and sacred in the public opinion, were not distinguished in style, habit, or appearance from an ordinary plebeian;<sup>37</sup> and that, as often as they visited the city on foot, a single *viator*, or beadle, attended the exercise of their office. The Gracchi would have frowned or smiled, could they have read the sonorous titles and epithets of their successor, "NICHOLAS, SEVERE AND MERCIFUL; DELIVERER OF ROME; DEFENDER OF ITALY;<sup>38</sup> FRIEND OF MANKIND, AND OF LIBERTY, PEACE, AND JUSTICE; TRIBUNE AUGUST": his theatrical pageants had prepared the revolution; but Rienzi abused, in luxury and pride, the political maxim of speaking to the eyes as well as the understanding of the multitude. From nature he had received the gift of an handsome person,<sup>39</sup> till it was swelled and disfigured by intemperance; and his propensity to laughter was corrected in the magistracy by the affectation of gravity and sternness. He was clothed, at least on public occasions, in a parti-coloured robe of velvet or satin, lined with fur and embroidered with gold; the rod of justice which he carried

<sup>37</sup> In his Roman questions, Plutarch (Opuscul. tom. i. p. 505, 506, edit. Græc. Hen. Steph.) states, on the most constitutional principles, the simple greatness of the tribunes, who were not properly magistrates, but a check on magistracy. It was their duty and interest *ὁμοιοῦσθαι σχήματι, καὶ στολῇ καὶ διαίτῃ τοῖς ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν . . . καταπατεῖσθαι δεῖ* (a saying of C. Curio) *καὶ μὴ σεμνὸν εἶναι τῇ δημάρχου ὄψει . . . ὅσῳ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκταπεινοῦται τῷ σώματι, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἀβξεται τῇ δυνάμει, &c.* Rienzi, and Petrarch himself, were incapable perhaps of reading a Greek philosopher; but they might have imbibed the same modest doctrines from their favourite Latins, Livy and Valerius Maximus.

<sup>38</sup> I could not express in English the forcible though barbarous title of *Zelator Italiae*, which Rienzi assumed.

<sup>39</sup> *Era bell' homo* (l. ii. c. i, p. 399). It is remarkable, that the *riso* sarcastico of the Bracciano edition is wanting in the Roman MS. from which Muratori has given the text. In his second reign, when he is painted almost as a monster, Rienzi *travea una ventresca tonna trionfale, a modo de uno Abbate Asiano, or Asinino* (l. iii. c. 18, p. 523).

in his hand was a sceptre of polished steel, crowned with a globe and cross of gold, and enclosing a small fragment of the true and holy wood. In his civil and religious processions through the city, he rode on a white steed, the symbol of royalty; the great banner of the republic, a sun with a circle of stars, a dove with an olive-branch, was displayed over his head; a shower of gold and silver was scattered among the populace; fifty guards with halberds encompassed his person; a troop of horse preceded his march; and their tymbals and trumpets were of massy silver.

The ambition of the honours of chivalry<sup>40</sup> betrayed the meanness of his birth and degraded the importance of his office; and the equestrian tribune was not less odious to the nobles whom he adopted than to the plebeians whom he deserted. All that yet remained of treasure or luxury or art was exhausted on that solemn day. Rienzi led the procession from the Capitol to the Lateran; the tediousness of the way was relieved with decorations and games; the ecclesiastical, civil, and military orders marched under their various banners; the Roman ladies attended his wife; and the ambassadors of Italy might loudly applaud, or secretly deride, the novelty of the pomp. In the evening, when they had reached the church and palace of Constantine, he thanked and dismissed the numerous assembly, with an invitation to the festival of the ensuing day. From the hands of a venerable knight he received the order of the Holy Ghost; the

<sup>40</sup> Strange as it may seem, this festival was not without a precedent. In the year 1327, two barons, a Colonna and an Ursini, the usual balance, were created knights by the Roman people: their bath was of rose-water, their beds were decked with royal magnificence, and they were served at St. Maria of Araceli in the Capitol by the twenty-eight *buoni huomini*. They afterwards received from Robert, king of Naples, the sword of chivalry (Hist. Rom. l. i. c. 2, p. 259). [On 26th July of this year, 1347, Rienzi issued an edict, declaring the majesty and supremacy of the Roman people, and abolishing all the privileges assumed by the Popes. This edict was submitted to a council of jurists, and was issued in the name of the Italian nation. See Gregorovius, vi. p. 267.]

purification of the bath was a previous ceremony; but in no step of his life did Rienzi excite such scandal and censure as by the profane use of the porphyry vase in which Constantine (a foolish legend) had been healed of his leprosy by Pope Sylvester.<sup>41</sup> With equal presumption the tribune watched or reposed within the consecrated precincts of the baptistery; and the failure of his state-bed was interpreted as an omen of his approaching downfall. At the hour of worship he showed himself to the returning crowds in a majestic attitude, with a robe of purple, his sword, and gilt spurs; but the holy rites was soon interrupted by his levity and insolence. Rising from his throne, and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice, "We summon to our tribunal Pope Clement, and command him to reside in his diocese of Rome; we also summon the sacred college of Cardinals."<sup>42</sup> We again summon the two pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis of Bavaria, who style themselves emperors; we likewise summon all the electors of Germany, to inform us on what pretence they have usurped the unalienable right of the Roman people, the ancient and lawful sovereigns of the empire."<sup>43</sup> Unsheathing his maiden sword, he thrice

<sup>41</sup> All parties believed in the leprosy and bath of Constantine (Petrarch, *Epist. Famil.* vi. 2), and Rienzi justified his own conduct by observing to the court of Avignon that a vase which had been used by a pagan could not be profaned by a pious Christian. Yet this crime is specified in the bull of excommunication (Hocsemius, apud du Cerceau, p. 189, 190).

<sup>42</sup> This *verbal* summons of Pope Clement VI., which rests on the authority of the Roman historian and a Vatican MS., is disputed by the biographer of Petrarch (tom. ii. not. p. 70-76), with arguments rather of decency than of weight. The court of Avignon might not choose to agitate this delicate question.

<sup>43</sup> The summons of the two rival emperors, a monument of freedom and folly, is extant in Hocsemius (Cerceau, p. 163-166). [Gregorovius (vi. p. 276) well observes: "The Romans, accustomed to all the spectacles of history, blunted to the distinctions between the sublime and the ridiculous . . . neither laughed at this edict nor at the figure of the crazy tribune. . . . They loudly shouted their approval. The absurd proclamation appeared as the ultimate consequence of the claims of the city to the Imperial majesty, with which she had formally confronted Conrad the first of the Hohen-

brandished it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, "And this too is mine!" The pope's vicar, the bishop of Orvieto, attempted to check this career of folly; but his feeble protest was silenced by martial music; and, instead of withdrawing from the assembly, he consented to dine with his brother tribune, at a table which had hitherto been reserved for the supreme pontiff. A banquet, such as the Cæsars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porticoes, and courts of the Lateran were spread with innumerable tables for either sex and every condition; a stream of wine flowed from the nostrils of Constantine's brazen horse; no complaint, except of the scarcity of water, could be heard; and the licentiousness of the multitude was curbed by discipline and fear.<sup>44</sup> A subsequent day was appointed for the coronation of Rienzi;<sup>45</sup> seven crowns of different leaves or metals were successively placed on his head by the most eminent of the Roman clergy;<sup>46</sup> they represented the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; and he still professed to imitate the example of the ancient tribunes. These extraordinary spectacles might deceive or flatter the people; and their own vanity was gratified in the vanity of their leader. But in his private life he soon deviated from the strict rule of frugality and abstinence; and the plebeians, who were awed by the

staufens. . . . The errors and theories of Dante and Petrarch in their theological age explain or excuse the insane dreams of the Tribune."]

<sup>44</sup> [On the next day, 2nd August, a festival of the Unity of Italy was held. Cola assigned the banner of Italy to the Florentines, the banner of Constantine to Perugia, the banner of freedom to Siena.]

<sup>45</sup> It is singular that the Roman historian should have overlooked this sevenfold coronation, which is sufficiently proved by internal evidence, and the testimony of Hocsemius, and even of Rienzi (Cerceau, p. 167-170, 229).

<sup>46</sup> [Not exactly seven crowns, but six crowns (of oak, ivy, myrtle, laurel, olive, silver) and a globe, emblem of the world. Rienzi believed that the ancient tribunes were crowned with these six crowns, and thus he characteristically combined classical antiquity with Christianity. He was at once (Gregorovius, vi. p. 284) "Tribunus Augustus and Candidate of the Holy Ghost."]

splendour of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. His wife, his son, his uncle (a barber in name and profession), exposed the contrast of vulgar manners and princely expense; and, without acquiring the majesty, Rienzi degenerated into the vices, of a king.

A simple citizen describes with pity, or perhaps with pleasure, the humiliation of the barons of Rome. "Bare-headed, their hands crossed on their breast, they stood with down-cast looks in the presence of the tribune; and they trembled, good God, how they trembled!"<sup>47</sup> As long as the yoke of Rienzi was that of justice and their country, their conscience forced them to esteem the man whom pride and interest provoked them to hate: his extravagant conduct soon fortified their hatred by contempt; and they conceived the hope of subverting a power which was no longer so deeply rooted in the public confidence. The old animosity of the Colonna and Ursini was suspended for a moment by their common disgrace: they associated their wishes, and perhaps their designs; an assassin was seized and tortured; he accused the nobles; and, as soon as Rienzi deserved the fate, he adopted the suspicions and maxims, of a tyrant. On the same day, under various pretences, he invited to the Capitol his principal enemies, among whom were five members of the Ursini, and three of the Colonna, name. But, instead of a council or a banquet, they found themselves prisoners under the sword of despotism or justice; and the consciousness of innocence or guilt might inspire them with equal apprehensions of danger. At the sound of the great bell the people assembled: they were arraigned for a conspiracy against the tribune's life; and, though some might sympathise in their distress, not a hand nor a voice was raised to rescue the first of the nobility from their impending doom. Their apparent boldness was

<sup>47</sup> *Puoi se faceva stare denante a se, mentre sedeva, li baroni tutti in piedi ritti co le vraccia piecate, e co li capucci tratti. Deh como stavano paurosi!* (Hist. Rom. l. ii. c. 20, p. 439). He saw them, and we see them.

prompted by despair; they passed in separate chambers a sleepless and painful night; and the venerable hero, Stephen Colonna, striking against the door of his prison, repeatedly urged his guards to deliver him by a speedy death from such ignominious servitude. In the morning they understood their sentence from the visit of a confessor and the tolling of the bell. The great hall of the Capitol had been decorated for the bloody scene with red and white hangings; the countenance of the tribune was dark and severe; the swords of the executioners were unsheathed; and the barons were interrupted in their dying speeches by the sound of trumpets. But in this decisive moment Rienzi was not less anxious or apprehensive than his captives: he dreaded the splendour of their names, their surviving kinsmen, the inconstancy of the people, the reproaches of the world; and, after rashly offering a mortal injury, he vainly presumed that, if he could forgive, he might himself be forgiven. His elaborate oration was that of a Christian and a suppliant; and, as the humble minister of the commons, he entreated his masters to pardon these noble criminals, for whose repentance and future service he pledged his faith and authority. "If you are spared," said the tribune, "by the mercy of the Romans, will you not promise to support the good estate with your lives and fortunes?" Astonished by this marvellous clemency, the barons bowed their heads; and, while they devoutly repeated the oath of allegiance, might whisper a secret, and more sincere, assurance of revenge. A priest, in the name of the people, pronounced their absolution. They received the communion with the tribune, assisted at the banquet, followed the procession; and, after every spiritual and temporal sign of reconciliation, were dismissed in safety to their respective homes, with the new honours and titles of generals, consuls, and patricians.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> The original letter, in which Rienzi justifies his treatment of the Colonna (Hocsemius, apud du Cerceau, p. 222-229), displays, in genuine colours, the mixture of the knave and the madman.

During some weeks they were checked by the memory of their danger rather than of their deliverance, till the more powerful of the Ursini, escaping with the Colonna from the city, erected at Marino the standard of rebellion. The fortifications of the castle were instantly restored; the vassals attended their lord; the outlaws armed against the magistrate; the flocks and herds, the harvests and vineyards, from Marino to the gates of Rome, were swept away or destroyed; and the people arraigned Rienzi as the author of the calamities which his government had taught them to forget. In the camp Rienzi appeared to less advantage than in the rostrum; and he neglected the progress of the rebel barons till their numbers were strong and their castles impregnable. From the pages of Livy he had not imbibed the art, or even the courage, of a general. An army of twenty thousand Romans returned, without honour or effect, from the attack of Marino; and his vengeance was amused by painting his enemies, their heads downwards, and drowning two dogs (at least they should have been bears) as the representatives of the Ursini. The belief of his incapacity encouraged their operations: they were invited by their secret adherents; and the barons attempted, with four thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, to enter Rome by force or surprise. The city was prepared for their reception; the alarm bell rung all night; the gates were strictly guarded, or insolently open; and after some hesitation they sounded a retreat. The two first divisions had passed along the walls, but the prospect of a free entrance tempted the headstrong valour of the nobles in the rear; and, after a successful skirmish, they were overthrown and massacred without quarter by the crowds of the Roman people. Stephen Colonna the younger, the noble spirit to whom Petrarch ascribed the restoration of Italy, was preceded or accompanied in death by his son John, a gallant youth, by his brother Peter, who might regret the ease and honours of the church, by a nephew of legitimate birth, and by two bastards of the Colonna race; and the number of seven, the



seven crowns, as Rienzi styled them, of the Holy Ghost, was completed by the agony of the deplorable parent, of the veteran chief, who had survived the hope and fortune of his house. The vision and prophecies of St. Martin and Pope Boniface had been used by the tribune to animate his troops; <sup>49</sup> he displayed, at least in the pursuit, the spirit of an hero; but he forgot the maxims of the ancient Romans, who abhorred the triumphs of civil war. The conqueror ascended the Capitol; deposited his crown and sceptre on the altar; and boasted with some truth that he had cut off an ear which neither pope nor emperor had been able to amputate.<sup>50</sup> His base and implacable revenge denied the honours of burial; and the bodies of the Colonna, which he threatened to expose with those of the vilest malefactors, were secretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family.<sup>51</sup> The people sympathised in their grief, repented of their own fury, and detested the indecent joy of Rienzi, who visited the spot where these illustrious victims had fallen. It was on that fatal spot that he conferred on his son the honour of knighthood; and the ceremony was accomplished by a slight blow from each

<sup>49</sup> Rienzi, in the above-mentioned letter, ascribes to St. Martin the tribune, Boniface VIII. the enemy of Colonna, himself, and the Roman people, the glory of the day, which Villani likewise (l. xii. c. 104) describes as a regular battle. The disorderly skirmish, the flight of the Romans, and the cowardice of Rienzi are painted in the simple and minute narrative of Fortifiocca, or the anonymous citizen (l. ii. c. 34-37).

<sup>50</sup> In describing the fall of the Colonna, I speak only of the family of Stephen the Elder, who is often confounded by the P. du Cerceau with his son. That family was extinguished, but the house has been perpetuated in the collateral branches, of which I have not a very accurate knowledge. Circumspice (says Petrarch) *familiæ tuæ statum, Columnnensium domos: solito pauciores habeat columnas. Quid ad rem? modo fundamentum stabile solidumque permaneat.*

<sup>51</sup> The convent of St. Silvester was founded, endowed, and protected by the Colonna cardinals, for the daughters of the family who embraced a monastic life, and who, in the year 1318, were twelve in number. The others were allowed to marry with their kinsmen in the fourth degree, and the dispensation was justified by the small number and close alliances of the noble families of Rome (*Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. i. p. 110, tom. ii. p. 401).

of the horsemen of the guard, and by a ridiculous and inhuman ablution from a pool of water, which was yet polluted with patrician blood.<sup>52</sup>

A short delay would have saved the Colonna, the delay of a single month, which elapsed between the triumph and the exile of Rienzi. In the pride of victory, he forfeited what yet remained of his civil virtues, without acquiring the fame of military prowess. A free and vigorous opposition was formed in the city; and, when the tribune proposed in the public council<sup>53</sup> to impose a new tax and to regulate the government of Perugia, thirty-nine members voted against his measures; repelled the injurious charge of treachery and corruption; and urged him to prove, by their forcible exclusion, that, if the populace adhered to his cause, it was already disclaimed by the most respectable citizens. The pope and the sacred college had never been dazzled by his specious professions; they were justly offended by the insolence of his conduct; a cardinal legate was sent to Italy, and, after some fruitless treaty and two personal interviews, he fulminated a bull of excommunication, in which the tribune is degraded from his office and branded with the guilt of rebellion, sacrilege, and heresy.<sup>54</sup> The surviving barons of Rome were now humbled to a sense of allegiance; their interest and revenge engaged them in the service of the church; but, as the fate of the Colonna was before their eyes, they abandoned to a private

<sup>52</sup> Petrarch wrote a stiff and pedantic letter of consolation (*Fam.* l. vii. *epist.* 13, p. 682, 683). The friend was lost in the patriot. *Nulla toto orbe principum familia carior; carior tamen respublica, carior Roma, carior Italia.*

*Je rends grâces aux Dieux de n'être pas Romain.*

<sup>53</sup> This council and opposition is obscurely mentioned by Pollistore, a contemporary writer, who has preserved some curious and original facts (*Rer. Italicarum*, tom. xxv. c. 31, p. 798-804).

<sup>54</sup> The briefs and bulls of Clement VI. against Rienzi are translated by the P. du Cerceau (p. 196, 232), from the Ecclesiastical Annals of Rodericus Raynaldus (A.D. 1347, No. 15, 17, 21, &c.), who found them in the archives of the Vatican.

adventurer the peril and glory of the revolution. John Pepin, count of Minorbino,<sup>55</sup> in the kingdom of Naples, had been condemned for his crimes, or his riches, to perpetual imprisonment; and Petrarch, by soliciting his release, indirectly contributed to the ruin of his friend. At the head of one hundred and fifty soldiers, the count of Minorbino introduced himself into Rome; barricaded the quarter of the Colonna; and found the enterprise as easy as it had seemed impossible. From the first alarm, the bell of the Capitol incessantly tolled; but, instead of repairing to the well-known sound, the people was silent and inactive; and the pusillanimous Rienzi, deploring their ingratitude with sighs and tears, abdicated the government and palace of the republic.

Without drawing his sword, Count Pepin restored the aristocracy and the church; three senators were chosen, and the legate, assuming the first rank, accepted his two colleagues from the rival families of Colonna and Ursini. The acts of the tribune were abolished, his head was proscribed; yet such was the terror of his name that the barons hesitated three days before they would trust themselves in the city, and Rienzi was left above a month in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence he peaceably withdrew, after labouring, without effect, to revive the affection and courage of the Romans. The vision of freedom and empire had vanished; their fallen spirit would have acquiesced in servitude, had it been smoothed by tranquillity and order; and it was scarcely observed that the new senators derived their authority from the Apostolic See; that four cardinals were appointed to reform, with dictatorial power, the state of the republic.<sup>56</sup> Rome

<sup>55</sup> Matteo Villani describes the origin, character, and death of this count of Minorbino, a man *da natura inconstante e senza sede*, whose grandfather, a crafty notary, was enriched and ennobled by the spoils of the Saracens of Nocera (l. vii. c. 102, 103). See his imprisonment, and the efforts of Petrarch, tom. ii. p. 149-151.

<sup>56</sup> [One of these cardinals asked Petrarch his opinion on the question. Petrarch's advice was: "Snatch all this pestilential tyranny from the hands

was again agitated by the bloody feuds of the barons, who detested each other and despised the commons; their hostile fortresses, both in town and country, again rose and were again demolished; and the peaceful citizens, a flock of sheep, were devoured, says the Florentine historian, by these rapacious wolves. But, when their pride and avarice had exhausted the patience of the Romans, a confraternity of the Virgin Mary protected or avenged the republic; the bell of the Capitol was again tolled, the nobles in arms trembled in the presence of an unarmed multitude; and of the two senators, Colonna escaped from the window of the palace, and Ursini was stoned at the foot of the altar. The dangerous office of tribune was successively occupied by two plebeians, Cerroni and Baroncelli. The mildness of Cerroni was unequal to the times; and, after a faint struggle, he retired with a fair reputation and a decent fortune to the comforts of rural life. Devoid of eloquence or genius, Baroncelli was distinguished by a resolute spirit: he spoke the language of a patriot, and trod in the footsteps of tyrants; his suspicion was a sentence of death, and his own death was the reward of his cruelties. Amidst the public misfortunes, the faults of Rienzi were forgotten; and the Romans sighed for the peace and prosperity of the good estate.<sup>67</sup>

After an exile of seven years, the first deliverer was again restored to his country. In the disguise of a monk or a pilgrim, he escaped from the castle of St. Angelo, implored the friendship of the king of Hungary at Naples, tempted the ambition of every bold adventurer, mingled at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed among the hermits of the

of the nobles; not only give the *Plebs Romana* a share of the public dignities, but deprive the unworthy Senators of the office which they have so badly administered" (Gregorovius, vi. p. 330).]

<sup>67</sup> The troubles of Rome, from the departure to the return of Rienzi, are related by Matteo Villani (l. ii. c. 47; l. iii. c. 33, 57, 78) and Thomas Forti-fiocca (l. iii. c. 1-4). I have slightly passed over these secondary characters, who imitated the original tribune.

Apennine,<sup>58</sup> and wandered through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His person was invisible, his name was yet formidable; and the anxiety of the court of Avignon supposes, and even magnifies, his personal merit. The emperor Charles the Fourth gave audience to a stranger, who frankly revealed himself as the tribune of the republic and astonished an assembly of ambassadors and princes by the eloquence of a patriot and the visions of a prophet, the downfall of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghost.<sup>59</sup> Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi found himself a captive; but he supported a character of independence and dignity, and obeyed, as his own choice, the irresistible summons of the supreme pontiff. The zeal of Petrarch, which had been cooled by the unworthy conduct, was rekindled by the sufferings and the presence, of his friend; and he boldly complains of the times in which the saviour of Rome was delivered by her emperor into the hands of her bishop. Rienzi was transported slowly, but in safe custody, from Prague to Avignon; his entrance into the city was that of a malefactor; in his prison he was chained by the leg; and four cardinals were named to inquire into the crimes of heresy and rebellion. But his trial and condemnation would have involved some questions which it was more pru-

<sup>58</sup> [The Fraticelli of Monte Majella in the Abruzzi. Rienzi stayed there above two years, doing penance for his sins.]

<sup>59</sup> These visions, of which the friends and enemies of Rienzi seem alike ignorant, are surely magnified by the zeal of Pollistore, a Dominican inquisitor (*Rer. Ital.* tom. xxv. c. 36, p. 819). Had the tribune taught that Christ was succeeded by the Holy Ghost, that the tyranny of the pope would be abolished, he might have been convicted of heresy and treason without offending the Roman people. [The letters of Rienzi at this time (given in Papencordt's work cited above, p. 128, note 20) are very important. They portray the state of Rome; indict the Pope; and are thoroughly Ghibelline in spirit, expressing the need of keeping the secular and ecclesiastical powers apart. Gregorovius says (vi. 346): "The tribune in chains at Prague was more dangerous to the Papacy than he had been when at the height of his power in the Capitol. He now expressed, like the Monarchists, the necessity for mankind of a reformation; and this constitutes the serious importance of this extraordinary Roman, and secures him a place in history."]

dent to leave under the veil of mystery: the temporal supremacy of the popes; the duty of residence; the civil and ecclesiastical privileges of the clergy and people of Rome. The reigning pontiff well deserved the appellation of *Clement*; the strange vicissitudes and magnanimous spirit of the captive excited his pity and esteem; and Petrarch believes that he respected in the hero the name and sacred character of a poet.<sup>60</sup> Rienzi was indulged with an easy confinement and the use of books; and in the assiduous study of Livy and the Bible he sought the cause and the consolation of his misfortunes.

The succeeding pontificate of Innocent the Sixth opened a new prospect of his deliverance and restoration; and the court of Avignon was persuaded that the successful rebel could alone appease and reform the anarchy of the metropolis. After a solemn profession of fidelity, the Roman tribune was sent into Italy with the title of senator; but the death of Baroncelli appeared to supersede the use of his mission; and the legate, Cardinal Albornoz,<sup>61</sup> a consummate statesman, allowed him, with reluctance, and without aid, to undertake the perilous experiment. His first reception was equal to his wishes: the day of his entrance was a public festival, and his eloquence and authority revived the laws of the good estate. But this momentary sunshine was soon clouded by his own vices and those of the people: in the Capitol, he might often regret the prison of Avignon; and, after a second adminis-

<sup>60</sup> The astonishment, the envy almost, of Petrarch is a proof, if not of the truth of this incredible fact, at least of his own veracity. The Abbé de Sade (*Mémoires*, tom. iii. p. 242) quotes the vith epistle of the xiiiith book of Petrarch, but it is of the royal MS. which he consulted, and not of the ordinary Basil edition (p. 920).

<sup>61</sup> Ægidius or Giles Albornoz, a noble Spaniard, archbishop of Toledo, and cardinal legate in Italy (A.D. 1353-1367), restored, by his arms and counsels, the temporal dominion of the popes. His life has been separately written by Sepulveda; but Dryden could not reasonably suppose that his name, or that of Wolsey, had reached the ears of the Mufti in Don Sebastian.

tration of four months, Rienzi was massacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. In the society of the Germans and Bohemians, he is said to have contracted the habits of intemperance and cruelty; adversity had chilled his enthusiasm, without fortifying his reason or virtue; and that youthful hope, that lively assurance, which is the pledge of success, was now succeeded by the cold impotence of distrust and despair. The tribune had reigned with absolute dominion, by the choice and in the hearts of the Romans; the senator was the servile minister of a foreign court; and, while he was suspected by the people, he was abandoned by the prince. The legate Albornoz, who seemed desirous of his ruin, inflexibly refused all supplies of men and money; a faithful subject could no longer presume to touch the revenues of the apostolical chamber; and the first idea of a tax was the signal of clamour and sedition. Even his justice was tainted with the guilt or reproach of selfish cruelty; the most virtuous citizen of Rome was sacrificed to his jealousy; and in the execution of a public robber, from whose purse he had been assisted, the magistrate too much forgot, or too much remembered, the obligations of the debtor.<sup>62</sup> A civil war exhausted his treasures, and the patience of the city; the Colonna maintained their hostile station at Palestrina; and his mercenaries soon despised a leader whose ignorance and fear were envious of all subordinate merit. In the death as in the life of Rienzi, the hero and the coward were strangely mingled. When the Capitol was invested by a furious multitude, when he was basely deserted by his civil and military servant, the intrepid senator, waving the banner of liberty, presented himself on the balcony, addressed his eloquence to the various passions of the Romans, and laboured

<sup>62</sup> From Matteo Villani and Fortifocca, the P. du Cerceau (p. 344-394) has extracted the life and death of the Chevalier Montreal, the life of a robber, and the death of an hero. At the head of a free company, the first that desolated Italy, he became rich and formidable; he had money in all the banks, 60,000 ducats in Padua alone.

to persuade them that in the same cause himself and the republic must either stand or fall. His oration was interrupted by a volley of imprecations and stones; and, after an arrow had transpierced his hand, he sunk into abject despair, and fled weeping to the inner chambers, from whence he was let down by a sheet before the windows of the prison. Destitute of aid or hope, he was besieged till the evening: the doors of the Capitol were destroyed with axes and fire; and, while the senator attempted to escape in a plebeian habit, he was discovered and dragged to the platform of the palace, the fatal scene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he stood amidst the multitude, half naked and half dead; their rage was hushed into curiosity and wonder; the last feelings of reverence and compassion yet struggled in his favour; and they might have prevailed, if a bold assassin had not plunged a dagger in his breast. He fell senseless with the first stroke; the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thousand wounds; and the senator's body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames. Posterity will compare the virtues and the failings of this extraordinary man; but in a long period of anarchy and servitude the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country and the last of the Roman patriots.<sup>68</sup>

The first and most generous wish of Petrarch was the restoration of a free republic; but, after the exile and death of his plebeian hero, he turned his eyes from the tribune to the king of the Romans. The Capitol was yet stained with the blood of Rienzi, when Charles the Fourth descended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and Imperial crowns. In his passage through Milan he received the visit, and repaid the flattery, of the poet-laureat; accepted a medal of Augustus; and promised, without a smile, to imitate the founder of the Roman

<sup>68</sup> The exile, second government, and death of Rienzi are minutely related by the anonymous Roman who appears neither his friend nor his enemy (l. iii. c. 12-25). Petrarch, who loved the *tribune*, was indifferent to the fate of the *senator*.



monarchy. A false application of the names and maxims of antiquity was the source of the hopes and disappointments of Petrarch; yet he could not overlook the difference of times and characters: the immeasurable distance between the first Cæsars and a Bohemian prince, who by the favour of the clergy had been elected the titular head of the German aristocracy. Instead of restoring to Rome her glory and her provinces, he had bound himself, by a secret treaty with the pope, to evacuate the city on the day of his coronation; and his shameful retreat was pursued by the reproaches of the patriot bard.<sup>64</sup>

After the loss of liberty and empire, his third and more humble wish was to reconcile the shepherd with his flock; to recall the Roman bishop to his ancient and peculiar diocese. In the fervour of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch addressed his exhortations to five successive popes, and his eloquence was always inspired by the enthusiasm of sentiment and the freedom of language.<sup>65</sup> The son of a citizen of Florence invariably preferred the country of his birth to that of his education; and Italy, in his eyes, was the queen and garden of the world. Amidst her domestic factions, she was doubtless superior to France both in art and science, in wealth and politeness; but the difference could scarcely support the epithet of barbarous, which he promiscuously bestows on the countries beyond the Alps. Avignon, the mystic Babylon, the sink of vice and corruption, was the object of his hatred and contempt; but he forgets that her scandalous vices

<sup>64</sup> The hopes and the disappointment of Petrarch are agreeably described in his own words by the French biographer (*Mémoires*, tom. iii. p. 575-613); but the deep though secret wound was the coronation of Zanubi, the poet-laureat, by Charles IV.

<sup>65</sup> See, in his accurate and amusing biographer, the application of Petrarch and Rome to Benedict XII. in the year 1334 (*Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 261-265), to Clement VI. in 1342 (tom. ii. p. 45-47), and to Urban V. in 1366 (tom. iii. p. 677-691); his praise (p. 711-715) and excuse (p. 771) of the last of these pontiffs. His angry controversy on the respective merits of France and Italy may be found (*Opp.* p. 1068-1085).

were not the growth of the soil, and that in every residence they would adhere to the power and luxury of the papal court. He confesses that the successor of St. Peter is the bishop of the universal church; yet it was not on the banks of the Rhône, but of the Tiber, that the apostle had fixed his everlasting throne; and, while every city in the Christian world was blessed with a bishop, the metropolis alone was desolate and forlorn. Since the removal of the Holy See, the sacred buildings of the Lateran and the Vatican, their altars and their saints, were left in a state of poverty and decay; and Rome was often painted under the image of a disconsolate matron, as if the wandering husband could be reclaimed by the homely portrait of the age and infirmities of his weeping spouse.<sup>66</sup> But the cloud which hung over the seven hills would be dispelled by the presence of their lawful sovereign: eternal fame, the prosperity of Rome, and the peace of Italy would be the recompense of the pope who should dare to embrace this generous resolution. Of the five whom Petrarch exhorted, the three first, John the Twenty-second, Benedict the Twelfth, and Clement the Sixth, were importuned or amused by the boldness of the orator; but the memorable change which had been attempted by Urban the Fifth was finally accomplished by Gregory the Eleventh. The execution of their design was opposed by weighty and almost insuperable obstacles. A king of France, who has deserved the epithet of Wise, was unwilling to release them from a local dependence: the cardinals, for the most part his subjects, were attached to the language, manners, and climate of Avignon; to their stately palaces; above all, to the wines of Burgundy.<sup>67</sup> In their

<sup>66</sup> *Squalida sed quoniam facies, neglectaque cultu  
Cæsaries; multisque malis lassata senectus  
Eripuit solitam effigiem: vetus accipe nomen;  
Roma vocor.* (Carm. l. ii. p. 77.)

He spins this allegory beyond all measure or patience. The epistles to Urban V. in prose are more simple and persuasive (*Senilium*, l. vii. p. 811-827; l. ix. epist. i. p. 844-854).

<sup>67</sup> [*Vinum Bennense*, "Beaune."]

eyes, Italy was foreign or hostile; and they reluctantly embarked at Marseilles, as if they had been sold or banished into the land of the Saracens. Urban the Fifth resided three years in the Vatican with safety and honour; his sanctity was protected by a guard of two thousand horse; and the king of Cyprus, the queen of Naples, and the emperors of the East and West devoutly saluted their common father in the chair of St. Peter. But the joy of Petrarch and the Italians was soon turned into grief and indignation. Some reasons of public or private moment, his own impatience or the prayers of the cardinals, recalled Urban to France; and the approaching election was saved from the tyrannic patriotism of the Romans. The powers of Heaven were interested in their cause: Bridget of Sweden, a saint and pilgrim, disapproved the return, and foretold the death, of Urban the Fifth; the migration of Gregory the Eleventh was encouraged by St. Catherine of Sienna, the spouse of Christ and ambassadress of the Florentines; and the popes themselves, the great masters of human credulity, appear to have listened to these visionary females.<sup>68</sup> Yet those celestial admonitions were supported

<sup>68</sup> I have not leisure to expatiate on the legends of St. Bridget or St. Catherine, the last of which might furnish some amusing stories. Their effect on the mind of Gregory XI. is attested by the last solemn words of the dying pope, who admonished the assistants, ut caverent ab hominibus, sive viris, sive mulieribus, sub specie religionis loquentibus visiones sui capitis, quia per tales ipse seductus, &c. (Baluz. Not. ad Vit. Pap. Avenionensium, tom. i. p. 1223). [St. Bridget was the wife of a great Swedish noble, Ulf Gudmarson. Her Life by Bartholdus de Roma is published in the *Acta Sanctorum*, 8th October, iv. p. 495 *sqq.* Her Revelations have been frequently edited, most recently (*Revel. Selectæ*) by A. Heuser, 1851. There is also an English translation: "Certaine revelacyons of St. Brigitte," by Th. Godfrey (London, no date). The most important monograph is by a Swede, F. Hammerich, and has been done into German by A. Michelsen: *St. Birgitta die nördische Prophetin und Ordensstifterin*, 1872. There is also a Danish monograph by A. Brinkmann (1893); and a French by the Comtesse de Flavigny: *Sainte Brigitte de Suède*, 1892. — There is an immense literature on Catherine of Sienna. Chavin de Malan's *Histoire de Sainte Catherine de Sienna*, 2 vols., 1846, and Augusta T. Drane's *History of St. Catherine of Sienna with her companions* (with a translation of her treatise on Consum-

by some arguments of temporal policy. The residence of Avignon had been invaded by hostile violence: at the head of thirty thousand robbers, an hero had extorted ransom and absolution from the vicar of Christ and the sacred college; and the maxim of the French warriors, to spare the people and plunder the church, was a new heresy of the most dangerous import.<sup>69</sup> While the pope was driven from Avignon, he was strenuously invited to Rome. The senate and people acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign, and laid at his feet the keys of the gates, the bridges, and the fortresses; of the quarter at least beyond the Tiber.<sup>70</sup> But this loyal offer was accompanied by a declaration that they could no longer suffer the scandal and calamity of his absence; and that his obstinacy would finally provoke them to revive and assert the primitive right of election. The abbot of Mount Cassin had been consulted whether he would accept the triple crown<sup>71</sup> from the clergy and people: "I am a citizen

mate Perfection), 2 vols., 1887, may be mentioned. The letters of the saint have been edited by N. Tommaseo in 4 vols., 1860.]

<sup>69</sup> This predatory expedition is related by Froissart (*Chronique*, tom. i. p. 230), and in the life of du Guesclin (*Collection Générale des Mémoires Historiques*, tom. iv. c. 16, p. 107-113). As early as the year 1361, the court of Avignon had been molested by similar freebooters, who afterwards passed the Alps (*Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. iii. p. 563-569).

<sup>70</sup> Fleury alleges, from the annals of Odericus Raynaldus, the original treaty which was signed the 21st of December 1376 between Gregory XI. and the Romans (*Hist. Ecclés.* tom. xx. p. 275).

<sup>71</sup> The first crown or regnum (Ducange, *Gloss. Latin.* tom. v. p. 702) on the Episcopal mitre of the popes is ascribed to the gift of Constantine [to Pope Sylvester] or Clovis. The second was added by Boniface VIII. as the emblem, not only of a spiritual, but of a temporal, kingdom. The three states of the church are represented by the triple crown which was introduced by John XXII. or Benedict XII. (*Mémoires sur Pétrarque*, tom. i. p. 258, 259). [The regnum or pointed tiara "originally consisted of white peacock's feathers, and was later ornamented with precious stones, encircled by a gold rim, and afterwards by three diadems; the whole was surmounted by a carbuncle." Gregorovius, v. p. 8 (where there is a description of the papal coronation). The three diadems are said to have been added by Nicholas I., Boniface VIII., and Urban V. Monograph: Zöpfel, *Die Papstwahlen und die mit ihnen im nächsten Zusammenhang stehenden Ceremonien vom 11 bis 14 Jahrhundert*, 1871.]

of Rome," <sup>72</sup> replied that venerable ecclesiastic, "and my first law is the voice of my country." <sup>73</sup>

If superstition will interpret an untimely death,<sup>74</sup> if the merit of councils be judged from the event, the heavens may seem to frown on a measure of such apparent reason and propriety. Gregory the Eleventh did not survive above fourteen months his return to the Vatican; and his decease was followed by the great schism of the West, which distracted the Latin church above forty years. The sacred college was then composed of twenty-two cardinals: six of these had remained at Avignon; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians entered the conclave in the usual form. Their choice was not yet limited to the purple; and their unanimous votes acquiesced in the archbishop of Bari, a subject of Naples, conspicuous for his zeal and learning, who ascended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban the Sixth. The epistle of the sacred college affirms his free and regular elec-

<sup>72</sup> Baluze (Not. ad Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 1194, 1195) produces the original evidence, which attests the threats of the Roman ambassadors, and the resignation of the abbot of Mount Cassin, qui ultro se offerens respondit se civem Romanum esse, et illud velle quod ipsi vellent.

<sup>73</sup> The return of the popes from Avignon to Rome, and their reception by the people, are related in the original Lives of Urban V. and Gregory XI. in Baluze (Vit. Papparum Avenionensium, tom. i. p. 363-486) and Muratori (Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. iii. p. i. p. 610-712). In the disputes of the schism, every circumstance was severely though partially scrutinised, more especially in the great inquest which decided the obedience of Castile, and to which Baluze, in his notes, so often and so largely appeals, from a MS. volume in the Harley library (p. 1281, &c.). [See the works of Theodoricus de Niem: De scismate (ed. Erler, 1890); Vitae Pontificum Romanorum a Nicolao IV. usque ad Urbanum V. with an anonymous continuation to A.D. 1418 (in Eccard, Corpus hist. mediæ aevi (i. p. 1461 sqq.); Nemus Unionis (collection of documents for Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.) ed. Schard (with the De scismate), 1566. Monograph: G. Erler, Dietrich von Nieheim; sein Leben und seine Schriften, 1887.]

<sup>74</sup> Can the death of a good man be esteemed a punishment by those who believe in the immortality of the soul? They betray the instability of their faith. Yet, as a mere philosopher, I cannot agree with the Greeks, *δὲ οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος* (Brunck, Poetæ Gnomici, p. 231). See in Herodotus (l. i. c. 31) the moral and pleasing tale of the Argive youths.

tion, which had been inspired, as usual, by the Holy Ghost; he was adored, invested, and crowned with the customary rites; his temporal authority was obeyed at Rome and Avignon, and his ecclesiastical supremacy was acknowledged in the Latin world. During several weeks, the cardinals attended their new master with the fairest professions of attachment and loyalty, till the summer-heats permitted a decent escape from the city. But, as soon as they were united at Anagni and Fundi, in a place of security, they cast aside the mask, accused their own falsehood and hypocrisy, excommunicated the apostate and antichrist of Rome, and proceeded to a new election of Robert of Geneva, Clement the Seventh, whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Christ. Their first choice, an involuntary and illegal act, was annulled by the fear of death and the menaces of the Romans; and their complaint is justified by the strong evidence of probability and fact. The twelve French cardinals, above two-thirds of the votes, were masters of the election; and, whatever might be their provincial jealousies, it cannot fairly be presumed that they would have sacrificed their right and interest to a foreign candidate, who would never restore them to their native country. In the various and often inconsistent narratives,<sup>76</sup> the shades of popular violence are more darkly or faintly coloured; but the licentiousness of the seditious Romans was inflamed by a sense of their privileges, and the danger of a second emigration. The conclave was intimidated by the shouts, and encompassed by the arms, of thirty thousand rebels; the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter's rang an alarm: "Death, or an Italian pope!" was the universal cry; the same threat was repeated by the

<sup>76</sup> In the first book of the *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, M. Lenfant has abridged and compared the original narratives of the adherents of Urban and Clement, of the Italians and Germans, the French and Spaniards. The latter appear to be the most active and loquacious, and every fact and word in the original *Lives of Gregory XI. and Clement VII.* are supported in the notes of their editor Baluze.



twelve bannerets or chiefs of the quarters, in the form of charitable advice; some preparations were made for burning the obstinate cardinals; and, had they chosen a Transalpine subject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. The same constraint imposed the necessity of dissembling in the eyes of Rome and of the world; the pride and cruelty of Urban presented a more inevitable danger; and they soon discovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden and recite his breviary, while he heard from an adjacent chamber six cardinals groaning on the rack. His inflexible zeal, which loudly censured their luxury and vice, would have attached them to the stations and duties of their parishes at Rome; and, had he not fatally delayed a new promotion, the French cardinals would have been reduced to an helpless minority in the sacred college. For these reasons, and in the hope of repassing the Alps, they rashly violated the peace and unity of the church; and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic schools.<sup>76</sup> The vanity, rather than the interest, of the nation determined the court and clergy of France.<sup>77</sup> The states of Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Arragon, Castille, Navarre, and Scotland were inclined by their example and authority to the obedience of Clement the Seventh, and, after his decease, of Benedict the Thirteenth. Rome and the principal states of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England,<sup>78</sup> the Low Countries,

<sup>76</sup> The ordinal numbers of the popes seem to decide the question against Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. who are boldly stigmatised as anti-popes by the Italians, while the French are content with authorities and reasons to plead the cause of doubt and toleration (Baluz. in Præfat.). It is singular, or rather it is not singular, that saints, visions, and miracles should be common to both parties.

<sup>77</sup> Baluze strenuously labours (Not. p. 1271-1280) to justify the pure and pious motives of Charles V., king of France: he refused to hear the arguments of Urban; but were not the Urbanists equally deaf to the reasons of Clement, &c. ?

<sup>78</sup> An epistle, or declamation, in the name of Edward III. (Baluz. Vit. Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 553) displays the zeal of the English nation against the Clementines. Nor was their zeal confined to words; the bishop of Nor-



and the kingdoms of the North, adhered to the prior election of Urban the Sixth, who was succeeded by Boniface the Ninth, Innocent the Seventh, and Gregory the Twelfth.

From the banks of the Tiber and the Rhône, the hostile pontiffs encountered each other with the pen and the sword; the civil and ecclesiastical order of society was disturbed; and the Romans had their full share of the mischiefs, of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors.<sup>79</sup> They had vainly flattered themselves with the hope of restoring the seat of the ecclesiastical monarchy, and of relieving their poverty with the tributes and offerings of the nations; but the separation of France and Spain diverted the stream of lucrative devotion; nor could the loss be compensated by the two jubilees which were crowded into the space of ten years. By the avocations of the schism, by foreign arms and popular tumults, Urban the Sixth and his three successors were often compelled to interrupt their residence in the Vatican. The Colonna and Ursini still exercised their deadly feuds; the bannerets of Rome asserted and abused the privileges of a republic; the vicars of Christ, who had levied a military force, chastised their rebellion with the gibbet, the sword, and the dagger; and, in a friendly conference, eleven deputies of the people were perfidiously murdered and cast into the street. Since the invasion of Robert the Norman, the Romans had pursued their domestic quarrels without the dangerous interposition of a stranger. But, in the disorders of the schism, an aspiring neighbour, Ladislaus king of Naples, alternately supported and betrayed the pope and the people; by the former he was declared *gonfalonier*, or general of the church, while the latter submitted to his choice the nomination of their magistrates. Besieging Rome by land and water, he thrice

wich led a crusade of 60,000 bigots beyond sea (Hume's History, vol. iii. p. 57, 58).

<sup>79</sup> Besides the general historians, the Diaries of Delphinus Gentilis, Peter Antonius, and Stephen Infessura, in the great Collection of Muratori, represent the state and misfortunes of Rome.

entered the gates as a Barbarian conqueror; profaned the altars, violated the virgins, pillaged the merchants, performed his devotions at St. Peter's, and left a garrison in the castle of St. Angelo. His arms were sometimes unfortunate, and to a delay of three days he was indebted for his life and crown; but Ladislaus triumphed in his turn, and it was only his premature death that could save the metropolis and the ecclesiastical state from the ambitious conqueror, who had assumed the title, or at least the powers, of king of Rome.<sup>80</sup>

I have not undertaken the ecclesiastical history of the schism; but Rome, the object of these last chapters, is deeply interested in the disputed succession of her sovereigns. The first counsels for the peace and union of Christendom arose from the university of Paris, from the faculty of the Sorbonne, whose doctors were esteemed, at least in the Gallican church, as the most consummate masters of theological science.<sup>81</sup> Prudently waiving all invidious inquiry into the origin and merits of the dispute, they proposed, as an healing measure, that the two pretenders of Rome and Avignon should abdicate at the same time, after qualifying the cardinals of the adverse factions to join in a legitimate election; and that the nations should *subtract*<sup>82</sup> their obedience, if either of the competitors

<sup>80</sup> It is supposed by Giannone (tom. iii. p. 292) that he styled himself *Rex Romæ*, a title unknown to the world since the expulsion of Tarquin. But a nearer inspection has justified the reading of *Rex Ramæ*, of Rama, an obscure kingdom annexed to the crown of Hungary.

<sup>81</sup> The leading and decisive part which France assumed in the schism is stated by Peter du Puis, in a separate history, extracted from authentic records, and inserted in the seventh volume of the last and best edition of his friend Thuanus (tom. xi. p. 110-184).

<sup>82</sup> Of this measure, John Gerson, a stout doctor, was the author or the champion. The proceedings of the university of Paris [of which he was chancellor] and the Gallican church were often prompted by his advice, and are copiously displayed in his theological writings, of which Le Clerc (*Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. x. p. 1-78) has given a valuable extract. John Gerson acted an important part in the councils of Pisa and Constance. [The collective works of Gerson were issued several times in the 15th century. The best edition is that of Ellies Du Pin, 1706. Monographs: J. B. Schwab,

preferred his own interest to that of the public. At each vacancy, these physicians of the church deprecated the mischiefs of an hasty choice; but the policy of the conclave and the ambition of its members were deaf to reason and entreaties; and, whatsoever promises were made, the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinal. During fifteen years, the pacific designs of the university were eluded by the arts of the rival pontiffs, the scruples or passions of their adherents, and the vicissitudes of French factions that ruled the insanity of Charles the Sixth. At length a vigorous resolution was embraced; and a solemn embassy, of the titular patriarch of Alexandria, two archbishops, five bishops, five abbots, three knights, and twenty doctors, was sent to the courts of Avignon and Rome, to require, in the name of the church and king, the abdication of the two pretenders, of Peter de Luna, who styled himself Benedict the Thirteenth, and of Angelo Corrarion, who assumed the name of Gregory the Twelfth. For the ancient honour of Rome and the success of their commission, the ambassadors solicited a conference with the magistrates of the city, whom they gratified by a positive declaration that the most Christian king did not entertain a wish of transporting the holy see from the Vatican, which he considered as the genuine and proper seat of the successor of St. Peter. In the name of the senate and people, an eloquent Roman asserted their desire to co-operate in the union of the church, deplored the temporal and spiritual calamities of the long schism, and requested the protection of France against the arms of the king of Naples. The answers of Benedict and Gregory were alike edifying and alike deceitful; and, in evading the demand of their abdication, the two rivals were animated by a common spirit. They agreed on the necessity of a previous interview, but the time, the place, and the manner could never be ascertained by

Johannes Gerson, 1858; A. L. Masson, *Jean Gerson, sa vie, son temps, ses œuvres*, 1894.]

mutual consent. "If the one advances," says a servant of Gregory, "the other retreats; the one appears an animal fearful of the land, the other a creature apprehensive of the water. And thus, for a short remnant of life and power, will these aged priests endanger the peace and salvation of the Christian world."<sup>83</sup>

The Christian world was at length provoked by their obstinacy and fraud: they were deserted by their cardinals, who embraced each other as friends and colleagues; and their revolt was supported by a numerous assembly of prelates and ambassadors. With equal justice, the council of Pisa deposed the popes of Rome and Avignon; the conclave was unanimous in the choice of Alexander the Fifth,<sup>84</sup> and his vacant seat was soon filled by a similar election of John the Twenty-third, the most profligate of mankind.<sup>85</sup> But, instead of extinguishing the schism, the rashness of the French and Italians had given a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter. Such new claims of the synod and conclave were disputed; three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, adhered to the cause of Gregory the Twelfth; and Benedict the Thirteenth, himself a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotism of that powerful nation. The rash proceedings of Pisa were corrected by the council of Constance; the emperor Sigismond acted a conspicuous part as the advocate or protector of the Catholic church; and the number and weight of civil and ecclesiastical members might

<sup>83</sup> Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, one of the revivers of classic learning in Italy, who, after serving many years as secretary in the Roman court, retired to the honourable office of chancellor of the republic of Florence (Fabric. *Bibliot. medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 290). Lenfant has given the version of this curious epistle (*Concile de Pise*, tom. i. p. 192-195). [The Letters of Leonardus were edited in eight books by L. Mehns, 1741.]

<sup>84</sup> [Pietro Filargo was a native of Candia. The last Greek Pope was John VII. (elected A.D. 705).]

<sup>85</sup> [Theodoric of Niem, *Historia de vita Johannis XXIII.*, in Meibomius, *Ser. rer. Germ.* i. p. 5 *sqq.* C. Hunger, *Zur Geschichte Papst Johannis*, xxiii. 1876.]

seem to constitute the states-general of Europe. Of the three popes, John the Twenty-third was the first victim: he fled, and was brought back a prisoner; the most scandalous charges were suppressed; the vicar of Christ was only accused of piracy, murder, rape, sodomy, and incest; and, after subscribing his own condemnation, he expiated in prison the imprudence of trusting his person to a free city beyond the Alps. Gregory the Twelfth, whose obedience was reduced to the narrow precincts of Rimini, descended with more honour from the throne, and his ambassador convened the session in which he renounced the title and authority of lawful pope. To vanquish the obstinacy of Benedict the Thirteenth, or his adherents, the emperor in person undertook a journey from Constance to Perpignan. The kings of Castille, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland obtained an equal and honourable treaty; with the concurrence of the Spaniards, Benedict was deposed by the council; but the harmless old man was left in a solitary castle to excommunicate twice each day the rebel kingdoms which had deserted his cause. After thus eradicating the remains of the schism, the synod of Constance proceeded, with slow and cautious steps, to elect the sovereign of Rome and the head of the church. On this momentous occasion, the college of twenty-three cardinals was fortified with thirty deputies; six of whom were chosen in each of the five great nations of Christendom, the Italian, the German, the French, the Spanish, and the *English*:<sup>86</sup>

<sup>86</sup> I cannot overlook this great national cause, which was vigorously maintained by the English ambassadors against those of France. The latter contended that Christendom was essentially distributed into the four great nations and votes of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the lesser kingdoms (such as England, Denmark, Portugal, &c.) were comprehended under one or other of these great divisions. The English asserted that the British islands, of which they were the head, should be considered as a fifth and co-ordinate nation with an equal vote; and every argument of truth or fable was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Including England, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland, and the Orkneys, the British islands are decorated with eight royal crowns, and discriminated by

the interference of strangers was softened by their generous preference of an Italian and a Roman; and the hereditary as well as personal merit of Otho Colonna recommended him to the conclave. Rome accepted with joy and obedience the noblest of her sons, the ecclesiastical state was defended by his powerful family, and the elevation of Martin the Fifth is the era of the restoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican.<sup>87</sup>

The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exercised near three hundred years by the senate, was *first* resumed by Martin the Fifth,<sup>88</sup> and his image and superscription introduce the series of the papal medals. Of his two immediate successors, Eugenius the Fourth was the *last*

four or five languages, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scotch, Irish, &c. The greater island, from north to south, measures 800 miles, or 40 days' journey; and England alone contains 32 counties, and 52,000 parish churches (a bold account!), besides cathedrals, colleges, priories, and hospitals. They celebrate the mission of St. Joseph of Arimathea, the birth of Constantine, and the legate powers of the two primates, without forgetting the testimony of Bartholemy de Glanville (A.D. 1360), who reckons only four Christian kingdoms, 1. of Rome, 2. of Constantinople, 3. of Ireland, which had been transferred to the English monarchs, and 4. of Spain. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their arguments. The adverse pleadings were found at Constance by Sir Robert Wingfield, ambassador from Henry VIII. to the emperor Maximilian I. and by him printed in 1517, at Louvain. From a Leipsic MS. they are more correctly published in the Collection of Von der Hardt, tom. v.; but I have only seen Lenfant's abstract of these acts (Concile de Constance, tom. ii. p. 447, 453, &c.).

<sup>87</sup> The histories of the three successive councils, Pisa, Constance, and Basil, have been written with a tolerable degree of candour, industry, and elegance, by a Protestant minister, M. Lenfant, who retired from France to Berlin. They form six volumes in quarto; and, as Basil is the worst, so Constance is the best, part of the Collection. [See above, vol. xi. p. 253, note 40.]

<sup>88</sup> See the xxvith Dissertation of the Antiquities of Muratori, and the ist Instruction of the Science des Médailles of the Père Joubert and the Baron de la Bastie. The Metallic History of Martin V. and his successors has been composed by two monks, Moulinet a Frenchman, and Bonanni an Italian; but I understand that the first part of the series is restored from more recent coins.

pope expelled by the tumults of the Roman people,<sup>89</sup> and Nicholas the Fifth, the *last* who was importuned by the presence of a Roman emperor.<sup>90</sup> I. The conflict of Eugenius with the fathers of Basil, and the weight or apprehension of a new excise, emboldened and provoked the Romans to usurp the temporal government of the city. They rose in arms, selected seven governors of the republic and a constable of the Capitol; imprisoned the pope's nephews; besieged his person in the palace; and shot volleys of arrows into his bark as he escaped down the Tiber in the habit of a monk. But he still possessed in the castle of St. Angelo a faithful garrison and a train of artillery: their batteries incessantly thundered on the city, and a bullet more dexterously pointed broke down the barricade of the bridge and scattered, with a single shot, the heroes of the republic. Their constancy was exhausted by a rebellion of five months. Under the tyranny of the Ghibeline nobles, the wisest patriots regretted the dominion of the church; and their repentance was unanimous and effectual. The troops of St. Peter again occupied the Capitol; the magistrates departed to their homes; the most guilty were executed or exiled; and the legate, at the head of two thousand foot and four thousand horse, was saluted as the father of the city. The synods of Ferrara and Florence, the fear or resentment of Eugenius, prolonged his absence: he was received by a submissive people; but the pontiff understood from the acclamations of his triumphal entry that, to secure their loyalty and his own repose, he must grant, without delay, the abolition of the odious excise. II. Rome was

<sup>89</sup> Besides the Lives of Eugenius IV. (Rerum Italic. tom. iii. p. i. p. 869, and [the Life by Vespasianus Florentinus] tom. xxv. p. 256), the Diaries of Paul Petroni and Stephen Infessura are the best original evidence for the revolt of the Romans against Eugenius IV. The former, who lived at the time and on the spot, speaks the language of a citizen equally afraid of priestly and popular tyranny.

<sup>90</sup> The coronation of Frederic III. is described by Lenfant (Concile de Basle, tom. ii. p. 276-288) from Æneas Sylvius, a spectator and actor in that splendid scene.

restored, adorned, and enlightened by the peaceful reign of Nicholas the Fifth. In the midst of these laudable occupations, the pope was alarmed by the approach of Frederic the Third of Austria; though his fears could not be justified by the character or the power of the Imperial candidate. After drawing his military force to the metropolis and imposing the best security of oaths<sup>91</sup> and treaties, Nicholas received, with a smiling countenance, the faithful advocate and vassal of the church. So tame were the times, so feeble was the Austrian, that the pomp of his coronation was accomplished with order and harmony; but the superfluous honour was so disgraceful to an independent nation that his successors have excused themselves from the toilsome pilgrimage to the Vatican, and rest their Imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

A citizen has remarked, with pride and pleasure, that the king of the Romans, after passing with a slight salute the cardinals and prelates who met him at the gate, distinguished the dress and person of the senator of Rome; and, in this last farewell, the pageants of the empire and the republic were clasped in a friendly embrace.<sup>92</sup> According to the laws of Rome,<sup>93</sup> her first magistrate was required to be a doctor of laws, an alien, of a place at least forty miles from the city; with whose inhabitants he must not be connected in the third

<sup>91</sup> The oath of fidelity imposed on the emperor by the pope is recorded and sanctified in the Clementines (l. ii. tit. ix.); and Æneas Sylvius, who objects to this new demand, could not foresee that in a few years he should ascend the throne and imbibe the maxims of Boniface VIII.

<sup>92</sup> Lo senatore di Roma, vestito di brocarto con quella beretta, e con quelle maniche, et ornamenti di pelle, co' quali va alle feste di Testaccio e Nagone, might escape the eye of Æneas Sylvius, but he is viewed with admiration and complacency by the Roman citizen (Diario di Stephano Infessura, p. 1133). [See Gregorovius, v. p. 289 sqq.]

<sup>93</sup> See, in the statutes of Rome, the *senator and three judges* (l. i. c. 3-14), the *conservators* (l. i. c. 15-17; l. iii. c. 4), the *caporioni* (l. i. c. 18; l. iii. c. 8), the *secret council* (l. iii. c. 2), the *common council* (l. iii. c. 3). The title of *feuds, defiances, acts of violence, &c.* is spread through many a chapter (c. 14-40) of the second book.



canonical degree of blood or alliance. The election was annual; a severe scrutiny was instituted into the conduct of the departing senator; nor could he be recalled to the same office till after the expiration of two years. A liberal salary of three thousand florins was assigned for his expense and reward; and his public appearance represented the majesty of the republic. His robes were of gold brocade or crimson velvet, or in the summer season of a lighter silk; he bore in his hand an ivory sceptre; the sound of trumpets announced his approach; and his solemn steps were preceded at least by four lictors or attendants, whose red wands were enveloped with bands or streamers of the golden colour or livery of the city. His oath in the Capitol proclaims his right and duty to observe and assert the laws, to control the proud, to protect the poor, and to exercise justice and mercy within the extent of his jurisdiction. In these useful functions he was assisted by three learned strangers, the two *collaterals*, and the judge of criminal appeals: their frequent trials of robberies, rapes, and murders are attested by the laws; and the weakness of these laws connives at the licentiousness of private feuds and armed associations for mutual defence. But the senator was confined to the administration of justice; the Capitol, the treasury, and the government of the city and its territory were entrusted to the three *conservators*,<sup>94</sup> who were changed four times in each year; the militia of the thirteen regions assembled under the banners of their respective chiefs, or *caporioni*; and the first of these was distinguished by the name and dignity of the *prior*. The popular

<sup>94</sup> [Urban V. introduced the three Conservators of the Civic Camera — “a civic council with judicial and administrative power whose office endures to the present day,” Gregorovius, v. p. 439. At the same time, Urban abolished the Council of Seven Reformatores, who had been elected in 1358 to advise the Senators, and suppressed the “Banderesi,” the heads of military companies which had been organised in 1356. These Banderesi executed justice (like the Gonfalonieri in Florence), and their power had become very tyrannical. See Gregorovius, *ib.* p. 403.]

legislature consisted of the secret and the common councils of the Romans. The former was composed of the magistrates and their immediate predecessors, with some fiscal and legal officers, and three classes of thirteen, twenty-six, and forty counsellors, amounting in the whole to about one hundred and twenty persons. In the common council, all male citizens had a right to vote; and the value of their privilege was enhanced by the care with which any foreigners were prevented from usurping the title and character of Romans. The tumult of a democracy was checked by wise and jealous precautions: except the magistrates, none could propose a question; none were permitted to speak, except from an open pulpit or tribunal; all disorderly acclamations were suppressed; the sense of the majority was decided by a secret ballot; and their decrees were promulgated in the venerable name of the Roman senate and people. It would not be easy to assign a period in which this theory of government has been reduced to accurate and constant practice, since the establishment of order has been gradually connected with the decay of liberty. But in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty the ancient statutes were collected, methodised in three books, and adapted to present use, under the pontificate, and with the approbation, of Gregory the Thirteenth:<sup>95</sup> this civil and criminal code is the modern law of the city; and, if the popular assemblies have been abolished, a foreign senator, with the three conservators, still resides in the palace of the Capitol.<sup>96</sup> The policy

<sup>95</sup> *Statuta almae Urbis Romæ Auctoritate S. D. N. Gregorii, XIII. Pont. Max. a Senatu Populoque Rom. reformatæ et edita. Romæ, 1580, in folio.* The obsolete, repugnant statutes of antiquity were confounded in five books, and Lucas Pætus, a lawyer and antiquarian, was appointed to act as the modern Tribonian. Yet I regret the old code, with the rugged crust of freedom and barbarism.

<sup>96</sup> In my time (1765), and in M. Grosley's (*Observations sur l'Italie*, tom. ii. p. 361), the senator of Rome was M. Bielke, a noble Swede, and a proselyte to the Catholic faith. The pope's right to appoint the senator and the conservator is implied rather than affirmed in the statutes.

of the Cæsars has been repeated by the popes; and the bishop of Rome affected to maintain the form of a republic, while he reigned with the absolute powers of a temporal as well as spiritual monarch.

It is an obvious truth that the times must be suited to extraordinary characters, and that the genius of Cromwell or Retz might now expire in obscurity. The political enthusiasm of Rienzi had exalted him to a throne; the same enthusiasm, in the next century, conducted his imitator to the gallows. The birth of Stephen Porcaro was noble, his reputation spotless; his tongue was armed with eloquence, his mind was enlightened with learning; and he aspired, beyond the aim of vulgar ambition, to free his country and immortalise his name. The dominion of priests is most odious to a liberal spirit: every scruple was removed by the recent knowledge of the fable and forgery of Constantine's donation; Petrarch was now the oracle of the Italians; and, as often as Porcaro revolved the ode which describes the patriot and hero of Rome, he applied to himself the visions of the prophetic bard. His first trial of the popular feelings was at the funeral of Eugenius the Fourth: in an elaborate speech, he called the Romans to liberty and arms; and they listened with apparent pleasure, till Porcaro was interrupted and answered by a grave advocate, who pleaded for the church and state. By every law the seditious orator was guilty of treason; but the benevolence of the new pontiff, who viewed his character with pity and esteem, attempted, by an honourable office, to convert the patriot into a friend. The inflexible Roman returned from Anagni with an increase of reputation and zeal; and on the first opportunity, the games of the place Navona, he tried to inflame the casual dispute of some boys and mechanics into a general rising of the people. Yet the humane Nicholas was still averse to accept the forfeit of his life; and the traitor was removed from the scene of temptation to Bologna, with a liberal

allowance for his support, and the easy obligation of presenting himself each day before the governor of the city. But Porcaro had learned from the younger Brutus that with tyrants no faith or gratitude should be observed: the exile declaimed against the arbitrary sentence; a party and a conspiracy were gradually formed; his nephew, a daring youth, assembled a band of volunteers; and on the appointed evening a feast was prepared at his house for the friends of the republic. Their leader, who had escaped from Bologna, appeared among them in a robe of purple and gold: his voice, his countenance, his gestures, bespoke the man who had devoted his life or death to the glorious cause. In a studied oration, he expatiated on the motives and the means of their enterprise; the name and liberties of Rome; the sloth and pride of their ecclesiastical tyrants; the active or passive consent of their fellow-citizens; three hundred soldiers and four hundred exiles, long exercised in arms or in wrongs; the licence of revenge to edge their swords, and a million of ducats to reward their victory. It would be easy (he said) on the next day, the festival of the Epiphany, to seize the pope and his cardinals before the doors, or at the altar, of St. Peter's; to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Angelo; to extort by the threat of their instant death a surrender of the castle; to ascend the vacant Capitol; to ring the alarm-bell; and to restore in a popular assembly the ancient republic of Rome. While he triumphed, he was already betrayed. The senator, with a strong guard, invested the house; the nephew of Porcaro cut his way through the crowd; but the unfortunate Stephen was drawn from a chest, lamenting that his enemies had anticipated by three hours the execution of his design. After such manifest and repeated guilt, even the mercy of Nicholas was silent. Porcaro, and nine of his accomplices, were hanged without the benefit of the sacraments; and, amidst the fears and invectives of the papal court, the Romans pitied, and almost

applauded, these martyrs of their country.<sup>97</sup> But their applause was mute, their pity ineffectual, their liberty for ever extinct; and, if they have since risen in a vacancy of the throne or a scarcity of bread, such accidental tumults may be found in the bosom of the most abject servitude.

But the independence of the nobles, which was fomented by discord, survived the freedom of the commons, which must be founded in union. A privilege of rapine and oppression was long maintained by the barons of Rome; their houses were a fortress and a sanctuary; and the ferocious train of banditti and criminals whom they protected from the law repaid the hospitality with the service of their swords and daggers. The private interest of the pontiffs, or their nephews, sometimes involved them in these domestic feuds. Under the reign of Sixtus the Fourth, Rome was distracted by the battles and sieges of the rival houses; after the conflagration of his palace, the proto-notary Colonna was tortured and beheaded; and Savelli, his captive friend, was murdered on the spot, for refusing to join in the acclamations of the victorious Ursini.<sup>98</sup> But the popes no longer trembled in the Vatican: they had strength to command, if they had resolution to claim, the obedience of their subjects; and the strangers, who observed

<sup>97</sup> Besides the curious though concise narrative of Machiavel (*Istoria Fiorentina*, l. vi. *Opere*, tom. i. p. 210, 211, edit. Londra, 1747, in 4to), the Porcarian conspiracy is related in the *Diary of Stephen Infessura* (*Rer. Ital.* tom. iii. p. ii. p. 1134, 1135), and in a separate tract by Leo Baptista Alberti (*Rer. Ital.* tom. xxv. p. 609-614). It is amusing to compare the style and sentiments of the courtier and citizen. *Facinus profecto quo . . . neque periculo horribilius, neque audaciâ detestabilius, neque crudelitate tetrius, a quoquam perditissimo uspiam excogitatum sit. . . . Perdette la vita quell' huomo da bene, e amatore dello bene e libertà di Roma.* Another source: *Petrus de Godis, Dyalogon de conjuratione Porcaria*, was first published by M. Perlbach in 1879. See also Tommasini, *Documenti relativi a Stefano Porcari*, in the *Arch. della Soc. rom. di storia patria*, iii. p. 63 sqq. 1879; Sanesi, *Stefano Porcari e la sua congiura*, 1887.]

<sup>98</sup> The disorders of Rome, which were much inflamed by the partiality of Sixtus IV., are exposed in the diaries of two spectators, Stephen Infessura and an anonymous citizen. See the troubles of the year 1484, and the death of the proto-notary Colonna, in tom. iii. p. ii. p. 1083, 1158.

these partial disorders, admired the easy taxes and wise administration of the ecclesiastical state.<sup>99</sup>

The spiritual thunders of the Vatican depend on the force of opinion; and, if that opinion be supplanted by reason or passion, the sound may idly waste itself in the air; and the helpless priest is exposed to the brutal violence of a noble or a plebeian adversary. But after their return from Avignon the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the sword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel; the use of cannon is a powerful engine against popular seditions; a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enlisted under the banners of the pope; his ample revenues supplied the resources of war; and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hostile neighbours and loyal subjects.<sup>100</sup> Since the union of the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino, the ecclesiastical state extends from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po; and, as early as the sixteenth century, the greater part of that spacious and fruitful country acknowledged the lawful claims and temporal sovereignty of the Roman pontiffs. Their claims were readily deduced from the genuine or fabulous donations of the darker ages; the successive steps of their final settlement would engage us too far in the transactions of Italy, and even of Europe:

<sup>99</sup> Est toute la terre de l'église troublée pour cette partialité (des Colonnes et des Ursins), come nous dirions Luce et Grammont, ou en Hollande Houc et Caballan; et quand ce ne seroit ce différend la terre de l'église seroit la plus heureuse habitation pour les sujets, qui soit dans tout le monde (car ils ne payent ni tailles ni guères autres choses), et seroient toujours bien conduits (car toujours les papes sont sages et bien conseillés); mais très souvent en advient de grands et cruels meurtres et pilleries.

<sup>100</sup> By the economy of Sixtus V. the revenue of the ecclesiastical state was raised to two millions and a half of Roman crowns (Vita, tom. ii. p. 291-296); and so regular was the military establishment that in one month Clement VIII. could invade the duchy of Ferrara with three thousand horse and twenty thousand foot (tom. iii. p. 64). Since that time (A.D. 1597), the papal arms are happily rusted; but the revenue must have gained some nominal increase.

the crimes of Alexander the Sixth, the martial operations of Julius the Second, and the liberal policy of Leo the Tenth, a theme which has been adorned by the pens of the noblest historians of the times.<sup>101</sup> In the first period of their conquests, till the expedition of Charles the Eighth, the popes might successfully wrestle with the adjacent princes and states, whose military force was equal, or inferior, to their own. But, as soon as the monarchs of France, Germany, and Spain contended with gigantic arms for the dominion of Italy, they supplied with art the deficiency of strength, and concealed, in a labyrinth of wars and treaties, their aspiring views and the immortal hope of chasing the Barbarians beyond the Alps. The nice balance of the Vatican was often subverted by the soldiers of the North and West, who were united under the standard of Charles the Fifth; the feeble and fluctuating policy of Clement the Seventh exposed his person and dominions to the conqueror; and Rome was abandoned seven months to a lawless army, more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals.<sup>102</sup> After this severe lesson, the popes contracted their ambition, which was almost satisfied, resumed the character of a common parent, and abstained from all offensive hostilities, except in an hasty quarrel, when the vicar of Christ and the Turkish sultan were armed at the same time against the kingdom of Naples.<sup>103</sup> The French and Germans at length withdrew from the field of battle: Milan,

<sup>101</sup> More especially by Guicciardini and Machiavel: in the general history of the former, in the Florentine history, the Prince, and the political discourses of the latter. These, with their worthy successors, Fra Paolo and Davila, were justly esteemed the first historians of modern languages, till, in the present age, Scotland arose to dispute the prize with Italy herself.

<sup>102</sup> In the history of the Gothic siege, I have compared the Barbarians with the subjects of Charles V. (vol. v. p. 250-251): an anticipation which, like that of the Tartar conquests, I indulged with the less scruple, as I could scarcely hope to reach the conclusion of my work.

<sup>103</sup> The ambitious and feeble hostilities of the Caraffa pope, Paul IV., may be seen in Thuanus (l. xvi.-xviii.) and Giannone (tom. iv. p. 149-163). Those Catholic bigots, Philip II. and the duke of Alva, presumed to separate the Roman prince from the vicar of Christ; yet the holy character, which

Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the sea-coast of Tuscany were firmly possessed by the Spaniards; and it became their interest to maintain the peace and dependence of Italy, which continued almost without disturbance from the middle of the sixteenth to the opening of the eighteenth century. The Vatican was swayed and protected by the religious policy of the Catholic king; his prejudice and interest disposed him in every dispute to support the prince against the people; and, instead of the encouragement, the aid, and the asylum which they obtained from the adjacent states, the friends of liberty or the enemies of law were enclosed on all sides within the iron circle of despotism. The long habits of obedience and education subdued the turbulent spirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and factions of their ancestors, and insensibly became the servants of luxury and government. Instead of maintaining a crowd of tenants and followers, the produce of their estates was consumed in the private expenses, which multiply the pleasures, and diminish the power, of the lord.<sup>104</sup> The Colonna and Ursini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and their antique splendour was rivalled or surpassed by the sudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and discord is no longer heard; and, instead of the foaming torrent, a smooth and stagnant lake reflects the image of idleness and servitude.

A Christian, a philosopher,<sup>105</sup> and a patriot will be equally

would have sanctified his victory, was decently applied to protect his defeat. [For the Popes of the 16th century, see Ranke, *History of the Popes, their Church and State* (Eng. tr. by Kelly), 1843.]

<sup>104</sup> This gradual change of manners and expense is admirably explained by Dr. Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. p. 495-504), who proves, perhaps too severely, that the most salutary effects have flowed from the meanest and most selfish causes.

<sup>106</sup> Mr. Hume (*Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 389) too hastily concludes that, if the civil and ecclesiastical powers be united in the same person, it is of little moment whether he be styled prince or prelate, since the temporal character will always predominate.



scandalised by the temporal kingdom of the clergy; and the local majesty of Rome, the remembrance of her consuls and triumphs, may seem to embitter the sense, and aggravate the shame, of her slavery. If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the ecclesiastical government, it may be praised in its present state as a mild, decent, and tranquil system, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the sallies of youth, the expenses of luxury, and the calamities of war. But these advantages are overbalanced by a frequent, perhaps a septennial, election of a sovereign, who is seldom a native of the country; the reign of a *young* statesman of threescore, in the decline of his life and abilities, without hope to accomplish, and without children to inherit, the labours of his transitory reign. The successful candidate is drawn from the church, and even the convent; from the mode of education and life the most adverse to reason, humanity, and freedom. In the trammels of servile faith, he has learned to believe because it is absurd, to revere all that is contemptible, and to despise whatever might deserve the esteem of a rational being; to punish error as a crime, to reward mortification and celibacy as the first of virtues; to place the saints of the calendar<sup>106</sup> above the heroes of Rome and the sages of Athens; and to consider the missal or the crucifix as more useful instruments than the plough or the loom. In the office of nuncio, or the rank of cardinal, he may acquire some knowledge of the world, but the primitive stain will adhere to his mind and manners: from study and experience he may suspect the mystery of his profession; but the sacerdotal artist will imbibe some portion of the bigotry which he inculcates. The genius of Sixtus the Fifth<sup>107</sup> burst from the gloom of a

<sup>106</sup> A Protestant may disdain the unworthy preference of St. Francis or St. Dominic, but he will not rashly condemn the zeal or judgment of Sixtus V. who placed the statues of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul on the vacant columns of Trajan and Antonine.

<sup>107</sup> A wandering Italian, Gregorio Leti, has given the *Vita di Sisto-Quinto* (Amstel. 1721, 3 vols. in 12mo), a copious and amusing work, but which

Franciscan cloister. In a reign of five years, he exterminated the outlaws and banditti, abolished the *profane* sanctuaries of Rome,<sup>108</sup> formed a naval and military force, restored and emulated the monuments of antiquity, and, after a liberal use and large increase of the revenue, left five millions of crowns in the castle of St. Angelo. But his justice was sullied with cruelty, his activity was prompted by the ambition of conquest: after his decease, the abuses revived; the treasure was dissipated; he entailed on posterity thirty-five new taxes, and the venality of offices; and, after his death, his statue was demolished by an ungrateful or an injured people.<sup>109</sup> The wild and original character of Sixtus the Fifth stands alone in the series of the pontiffs: the maxims and effects of their temporal government may be collected from the positive and comparative view of the arts and philosophy, the agriculture

does not command our absolute confidence. Yet the character of the man, and the principal facts, are supported by the annals of Spondanus and Muratori (A.D. 1585-1590), and the contemporary history of the great Thuanus (l. lxxxii. c. 1, 2; l. lxxxiv. c. 10; l. c. c. 8). [The source of Leti was a collection of anecdotes, of apocryphal character, entitled *Detti e fatti di papa Sisto V.*, of which the MS. is in the Corsini library at Rome. This discovery was made by Ranke. See his *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 39, pp. 59-65 (in Appendix to his *Lives of the Popes*).]

<sup>108</sup> These privileged places, the *quartieri* or *franchises*, were adopted from the Roman nobles by the foreign ministers. Julius II. had once abolished the abominandum et detestandum franchitiarum hujusmodi nomen; and after Sixtus V. they again revived. I cannot discern either the justice or magnanimity of Louis XIV. who, in 1687, sent his ambassador, the marquis de Lavardin, to Rome, with an armed force of a thousand officers, guards, and domestics, to maintain this iniquitous claim, and insult Pope Innocent XI. in the heart of his capital (*Vita di Sisto V.* tom. iii. p. 260-278; Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. xv. p. 494-496; and Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* tom. ii. c. 14, p. 58, 59).

<sup>109</sup> This outrage produced a decree, which was inscribed on marble and placed in the Capitol. It is expressed in a style of manly simplicity and freedom: *Si quis, sive privatus, sive magistratum gerens de collocandâ vivo pontifici statuâ mentionem facere ausit, legitimo S. P. Q. R. decreto in perpetuum infamis et publicorum munerum expers esto.* MDXC. mense Augusto (*Vita di Sisto V.* tom. iii. p. 469). I believe that this decree is still observed, and I know that every monarch who deserves a statue should himself impose the prohibition.

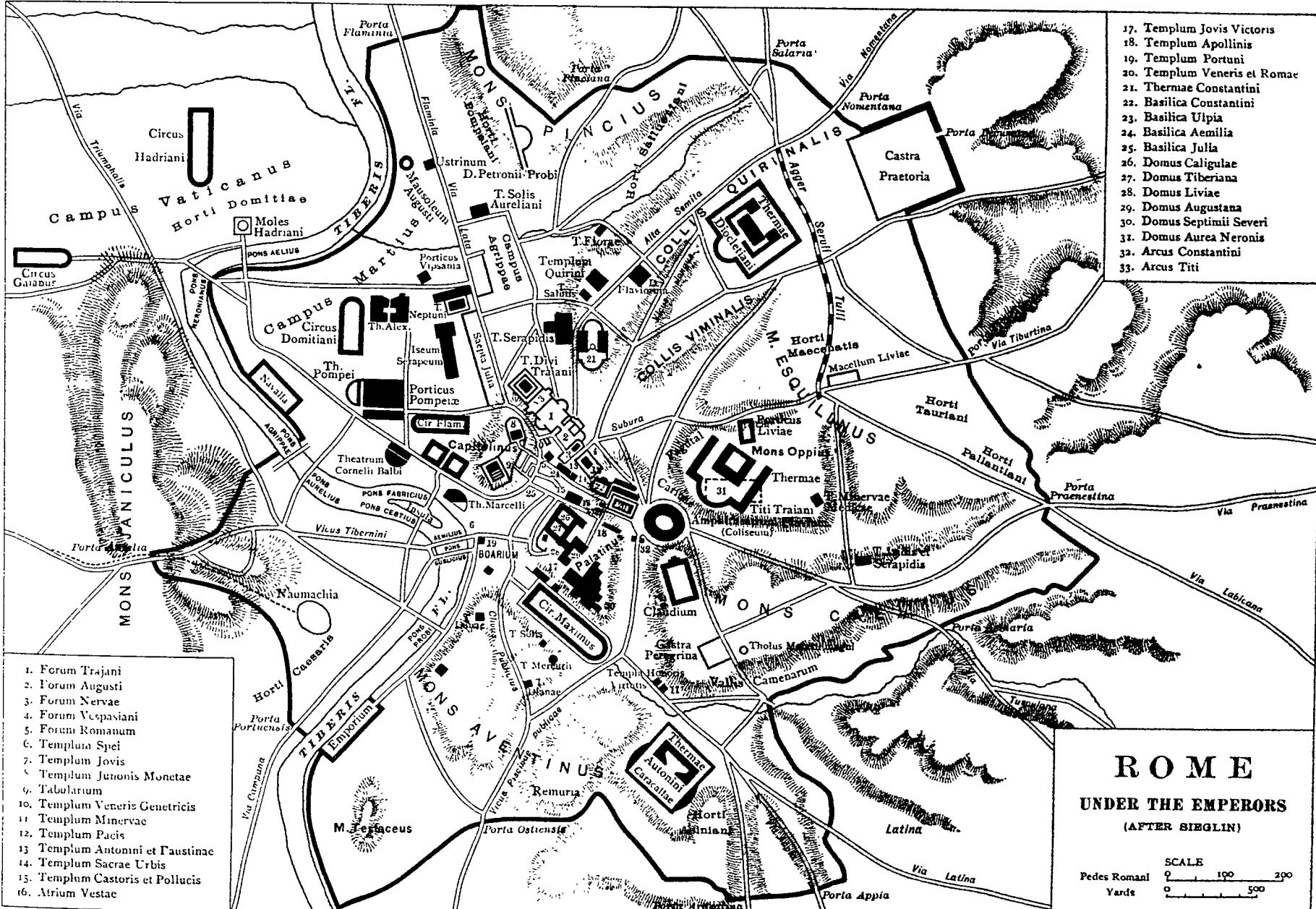
and trade, the wealth and population, of the ecclesiastical state. For myself, it is my wish to depart in charity with all mankind; nor am I willing, in these last moments, to offend even the pope and clergy of Rome.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>110</sup> The histories of the church, Italy, and Christendom have contributed to the chapter which I now conclude. In the original Lives of the Popes, we often discover the city and republic of Rome; and the events of the xivth and xvth centuries are preserved in the rude and domestic chronicles which I have carefully inspected, and shall recapitulate in the order of time.

1. Monaldeschi (Ludovici Boncomitis) *Fragmenta Annalium Roman.* A.D. 1328, in the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum* of Muratori, tom. xii. p. 525. *N.B.* The credit of this fragment is somewhat hurt by a singular interpolation, in which the author relates *his own death* at the age of 115 years. [The work seems to be a forgery; and Labruzzi (*Arch. della Società Romana di storia patria*, ii. p. 281 *sqq.* 1879) ascribes it to Alfonso Ceccarelli (who was executed in 1583).]
2. *Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ* (vulgo *Thomas. Fortificocæ*), in *Romano Dialecto vulgari* (A.D. 1327-1354), in Muratori, *Antiquitat. mediæ Ævi Italiæ*, tom. iii. p. 247-548; the authentic ground-work of the history of Rieti. [See above, p. 128, note 20.]
3. Delphini (Gentilis) *Diarium Romanum* (A.D. 1370-1410), in the *Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. p. ii. p. 846.
4. Antonii (Petri) *Diarium Rom.* (A.D. 1404-1417), tom. xxiv. p. 969. [See Savignoni, *Giornale d'Antonio di Pietro dello Schiavo*, in the *Arch. della Società Rom. di stor. patr.* xiii. p. 295 *sqq.*]
5. Petroni (Pauli) *Miscellanea Historica Romana* (A.D. 1433-1446), tom. xxiv. p. 1101.
6. Volaterrani (Jacob.) *Diarium Rom.* (A.D. 1472-1484), tom. xxiii. p. 81.
7. Anonymi *Diarium Urbis Romæ* (A.D. 1481-1492), tom. iii. p. ii. p. 1069.
8. Infessuræ (Stephani) *Diarium Romanum* (A.D. 1294, or 1378-1494), tom. iii. p. ii. p. 1109. [New edition by O. Tommasini, 1890.]
9. *Historia Arcana Alexandri VI. sive Excerpta ex Diario Joh. Burcardi*, (A.D. 1492-1503), edita a Godefr. Guilelm. Leibnizio, Hanover, 1697, in 4to. The large and valuable Journal of Burcard might be completed from the MS. in different libraries of Italy and France (M. de Foncemagne, in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript.* tom. xvii. p. 597-606). [Best, and only complete, edition by L. Thuasne, 3 vols. 1883-5.]

Except the last, all these fragments and diaries are inserted in the Collections of Muratori, my guide and master in the history of Italy. His country and the public are indebted to him for the following works on that subject:

1. *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (A.D. 500-1500), *quorum potissima pars nunc primum in lucem prodit*, &c. xxviii. vols. in folio, Milan, 1723-1738, 1751. A volume of chronological and alphabetical tables is still wanting as a key



1. Forum Trajani
2. Forum Augusti
3. Forum Nervae
4. Forum Vespasiani
5. Forum Romanum
6. Templum Spei
7. Templum Jovis
8. Templum Junonis Monetae
9. Tabularium
10. Templum Veneris Genetricis
11. Templum Minervae
12. Templum Pacis
13. Templum Antonini et Faustinae
14. Templum Sacrae Urbis
15. Templum Castoris et Pollucis
16. Atrium Vestae

17. Templum Jovis Victoris
18. Templum Apollinis
19. Templum Portuni
20. Templum Veneris et Romae
21. Thermae Constantini
22. Basilica Constantini
23. Basilica Ulpia
24. Basilica Aemilia
25. Basilica Julia
26. Domus Caligulae
27. Domus Tiberiana
28. Domus Liviae
29. Domus Augustana
30. Domus Septimii Severi
31. Domus Aurea Neronis
32. Arcus Constantini
33. Arcus Titi

# ROME

## UNDER THE EMPERORS

(AFTER SIEGLIN)

SCALE

Pedes Romani 0 100 200

Yards 0 500

to this great work, which is yet in a disorderly and defective state. [After the lapse of nearly a century and a half this great Collection has been supplied with Chronological Indices by J. Calligaris and others: *Indices Chronologici ad Script. Rer. Ital.* 1885.] 2. *Antiquitates Italiae medii Aevi*, vi. vols. in folio, Milan, 1738-1743, in lxxv. curious dissertations on the manners, government, religion, &c. of the Italians of the darker ages, with a large supplement of charters, chronicles, &c. [Also published in 17 quarto volumes at Arezzo, 1777-80. Chronological Indexes have been prepared to this work too by Battaglino and Calligaris, 1889, &c.] 3. *Dissertazioni sopra le Antiquità Italiane*, iii. vols. in 4to, Milano, 1751, a free version by the author, which may be quoted with the same confidence as the Latin text of the Antiquities. 4. *Annali d'Italia*, xviii. vols. in octavo, Milan, 1753-1756, a dry, though accurate and useful, abridgment of the history of Italy, from the birth of Christ to the middle of the xviiiith century. 5. *Dell' Antichità Estense ed Italiane*, ii. vols. in folio, Modena, 1717, 1740. In the history of this illustrious race, the parent of our Brunswick kings, the critic is not seduced by the loyalty or gratitude of the subject. In all his works, Muratori proves himself a diligent and laborious writer, who aspires above the prejudices of a Catholic priest. He was born in the year 1672, and died in the year 1750, after passing near sixty years in the libraries of Milan and Modena (*Vita del Proposto Ludovico Antonio Muratori*, by his nephew and successor, Gian. Francesco Soli Muratori, Venezia, 1756, in 4to). [Several biographies of Muratori have appeared since; e.g. by Reina in 1819; by Brigidi in 1871. In 1872, the centenary of his birth, were published: *Belviglieri, La vita, le opere, i tempi di L. A. Muratori*; and *Roncaglia, Vita di L. A. Mur.*]

## CHAPTER LXXI

*Prospect of the Ruins of Rome in the Fifteenth Century—  
Four Causes of Decay and Destruction—Example of  
the Coliseum—Renovation of the City—Conclusion of  
the whole Work*

IN the last days of Pope Eugenius the Fourth, two of his servants, the learned Poggius<sup>1</sup> and a friend, ascended the Capitoline Hill; reposed themselves among the ruins of columns and temples; and viewed, from that commanding spot, the wide and various prospect of desolation.<sup>2</sup> The place and the object gave ample scope for moralising on the vicissitudes of fortune, which spares neither man nor the proudest of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed that in proportion to her former greatness the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. “Her primeval state, such as she might appear in a remote age, when Evander entertained the stranger of Troy,<sup>3</sup> has

<sup>1</sup> I have already (not. 58, 59, on chap. lrv.) mentioned the age, character, and writings of Poggius; and particularly noticed the date of this elegant moral lecture on the varieties of fortune. [On the subject of this chapter the following works may be consulted: Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages* (notices of the fortunes of the ancient monuments are scattered throughout the work; consult Index); Jordan's *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, 1871; O. Richter's article on the Topography of Rome in *Baumeister's Denkmäler*, iii. p. 1436 *sqq.*; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, 2 vols., 1892; above all, the works of R. Lanciani: *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 1892; *The Ruins and Excavation of Ancient Rome*, 1897.]

<sup>2</sup> *Consedimus in ipsis Tarpeie arcis ruinis, pone ingens portæ cujusdam, ut puto, templi, marmoreum limen, plurimasque passim confractas columnas, unde magnâ ex parte prospectus urbis patet* (p. 5).

<sup>3</sup> *Æneid*, viii. 97–369. This ancient picture, so artfully introduced and so exquisitely finished, must have been highly interesting to an inhabitant of

been delineated by the fancy of Virgil. This Tarpeian rock was then a savage and solitary thicket: in the time of the poet, it was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple: the temple is overthrown, the gold has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has accomplished her revolution, and the sacred ground is again disfigured with thorns and brambles. The hill of the Capitol, on which we sit, was formerly the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of the earth, the terror of kings; illustrated by the footsteps of so many triumphs, enriched with the spoils and tributes of so many nations. This spectacle of the world, how is it fallen! how changed! how defaced! The path of victory is obliterated by vines, and the benches of the senators are concealed by a dunghill. Cast your eyes on the Palatine Hill, and seek, among the shapeless and enormous fragments, the marble theatre, the obelisks, the colossal statues, the porticoes of Nero's palace: survey the other hills of the city, the vacant space is interrupted only by ruins and gardens. The forum of the Roman people, where they assembled to enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation of pot-herbs or thrown open for the reception of swine and buffaloes. The public and private edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie prostrate, naked, and broken, like the limbs of a mighty giant; and the ruin is the more visible, from the stupendous relics that have survived the injuries of time and fortune."<sup>4</sup>

These relics are minutely described by Poggius, one of the first who raised his eyes from the monuments of legendary, to those of classic, superstition.<sup>5</sup> 1. Besides a bridge, an arch, a

Rome; and our early studies allow us to sympathise in the feelings of a Roman.

<sup>4</sup> *Capitolium adeo . . . immutatum ut vineæ in senatorum subsellia successerint, stercore ac purgamentorum receptaculum factum. Respice ad Palatinum montem . . . vasta rudera . . . cæteros colles perlustra omnia vacua ædificiis, ruinis vineisque oppleta conspicias* (Poggius de Varietat. Fortunæ, p. 21).

<sup>5</sup> See Poggius, p. 8-22.

sepulchre, and the pyramid of Cestius, he could discern, of the age of the republic, a double row of vaults in the salt-office of the Capitol, which were inscribed with the name and munificence of Catulus. 2. Eleven temples were visible in some degree, from the perfect form of the Pantheon, to the three arches and a marble column<sup>6</sup> of the temple of Peace, which Vespasian erected after the civil wars and the Jewish triumph. 3. Of the number, which he rashly defines, of seven *thermæ*, or public baths, none were sufficiently entire to represent the use and distribution of the several parts; but those of Diocletian and Antoninus Caracalla still retained the titles of the founders, and astonished the curious spectator, who, in observing their solidity and extent, the variety of marbles, the size and multitude of the columns, compared the labour and expense with the use and importance. Of the baths of Constantine, of Alexander,<sup>7</sup> of Domitian, or rather of Titus,<sup>8</sup> some vestige might yet be found. 4. The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus,<sup>9</sup> and Constantine were entire, both the structure and the inscriptions; a falling fragment was honoured with the name of Trajan; and two arches, then extant in the Flaminian Way, have been ascribed to the baser memory of Faustina and Gallienus.<sup>10</sup> 5. After the wonder of the

<sup>6</sup> [The column was moved by Paul V. to the church of S. Maria Maggiore.]

<sup>7</sup> [Thermæ Neronianæ et Alexandrinæ, baths built by Nero and enlarged by Alexander Severus, were close to the Stadium (discovered in 1869), south of the Piazza Navona — south-west of the Pantheon.]

<sup>8</sup> [It has been proved only quite recently (by excavations in 1895) that the Baths of Titus and Trajan were distinct; it was not a case of baths built by Titus and restored or improved by Trajan. The Propylæa of the Thermæ of Titus have been found on the north side of the Coliseum; the Baths of Trajan were to the north-east, almost adjoining. See Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, p. 365-6. On the Aventine there were other large Baths, the Thermæ Decianæ. See Lanciani, *ib.* p. 544-6.]

<sup>9</sup> [An interesting sketch of the history of this arch will be found in Lanciani, *op. cit.* p. 284-6.]

<sup>10</sup> [He also mentions the Arch of Claudius (in the Piazza Sciarra) and the Arch of Lentulus (on the Aventine). Lanciani has shown that an old Church of St. Stephen, which was excavated in the Piazza di Pietra, was built of spoils taken from the triumphal Arch of Claudius and from the



Coliseum, Poggius might have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick, most probably for the use of the prætorian camp. The theatres of Marcellus<sup>11</sup> and Pompey were occupied, in a great measure, by public and private buildings; and in the circus, Agonalis and Maximus, little more than the situation and the form could be investigated. 6. The columns of Trajan and Antonine<sup>12</sup> were still erect; but the Egyptian obelisks were broken or buried.<sup>13</sup> A people of gods and heroes, the workmanship of art, was reduced to one equestrian figure of gilt brass, and to five marble statues, of which the most conspicuous were the two horses of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7. The two mausoleums or sepulchres of Augustus<sup>14</sup> and Hadrian could not totally be lost; but the former was only visible as a mound of earth; and the latter, the castle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortress. With the addition of some separate and nameless

Temple of Neptune (in the Piazza di Pietra). Cp. his Pagan and Christian Rome, p. 99. Fragments of the Arch of Tiberius at the foot of the Capitoline have been discovered. Foundations of the Arch of Augustus were found in 1888. Lanciani had shown in 1882 that "this arch had been found and destroyed by the workmen of the fabbrica di S. Pietro between 1540 and 1546 exactly in that place, and that the inscription *Corpus*, vol. vii. no. 872, belonged to it." Ancient Rome, p. 271.]

<sup>11</sup> [See below, p. 200, note 54.]

<sup>12</sup> [It is interesting to observe that in the Middle Ages it was usual to ascend the Column of Marcus Aurelius for the sake of the view, by the spiral staircase within, and a fee of admission was charged. See Gregorovius, iii. p. 549.]

<sup>13</sup> [Poggio saw on the Capitol a small obelisk which is now in the Villa Mattei. And there was the obelisk in the Vatican Circus, which Sixtus V. removed to the Piazza di S. Pietro, where it now stands. Since then several obelisks have been set up again, e.g., the great red granite obelisk in the Piazza of St. John in the Lateran; the obelisks in the Piazza del Popolo, and the Piazza di Monte Citorio. See Parker's Twelve Egyptian Obelisks. And cp. above, vol. iii. p. 245, note 48.]

<sup>14</sup> [The Mausoleum of Augustus was taken as a stronghold by the Colonnas and destroyed in 1167 when they were banished. It was refortified in 1241, and it was used as a pyre for the body of Rienzi. See Lanciani, Pagan and Christian Rome, p. 177-80. The Soderini family converted it into a hanging garden in 1550. The ancient *ustrinum* or cremation enclosure, and a number of monuments, were found in excavations in 1777.]

columns, such were the remains of the ancient city; for the marks of a more recent structure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of ten miles, included three hundred and seventy-nine turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates.

This melancholy picture was drawn above nine hundred years after the fall of the Western empire, and even of the Gothic kingdom of Italy. A long period of distress and anarchy, in which empire, and arts, and riches had migrated from the banks of the Tiber, was incapable of restoring or adorning the city; and, as all that is human must retrograde if it do not advance, every successive age must have hastened the ruin of the works of antiquity. To measure the progress of decay, and to ascertain, at each era, the state of each edifice, would be an endless and a useless labour; and I shall content myself with two observations, which will introduce a short inquiry into the general causes and effects. 1. Two hundred years before the eloquent complaint of Poggius, an anonymous writer composed a description of Rome.<sup>15</sup> His ignorance may repeat the same objects under strange and fabulous names. Yet this Barbarous topographer had eyes and ears: he could observe the visible remains; he could

<sup>15</sup> *Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ, ex Registro Nicolai Cardinalis de Arragoniâ, in Bibliothecâ St. Isidori Armario IV. No. 69.* This treatise, with some short but pertinent notes, has been published by Montfaucon (*Diarium Italicum*, p. 283-301), who thus delivers his own critical opinion: *Scriptor xiiiimi circiter sæculi, ut ibidem notatur; antiquariæ rei imperitus, et, ut ab illò ævo, nugis et anilibus fabellis refertus: sed quia monumenta quæ iis temporibus Romæ supererant pro modulo recenset, non parum inde lucis mutuabitur qui Romanis antiquitatibus indagandis operam navabit* (p. 283). [*Mirabilia Romæ*, ed. Parthey, 1867; *The Marvels of Rome* or picture of the Golden City, Eng. tr. by F. M. Nicholls, 1889. The *Mirabilia* is a 12th century recension of an older guide-book, probably of the 10th century, of which the *Graphia aureæ urbis Romæ* (publ. in Ozanam's *Documents inédits*, p. 155 *sqq.*) is another recension. We have a still older description, of about A.D. 900, in the Collection of inscriptions by the Anonymous of Einsiedeln. It is published in Jordan's *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, vol. ii. Cp. the accounts of this topographical literature in Jordan, *op. cit.*, and Gregorovius, iii. p. 516 *sqq.*]

listen to the tradition of the people; and he distinctly enumerates seven theatres, eleven baths, twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, of which many had disappeared before the time of Poggius. It is apparent that many stately monuments of antiquity survived till a late period,<sup>16</sup> and that the principles of destruction acted with vigorous and increasing energy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. 2. The same reflection must be applied to the three last ages; and we should vainly seek the Septizonium of Severus,<sup>17</sup> which is celebrated by Petrarch and the antiquarians of the sixteenth century. While the Roman edifices were still entire, the first blows, however weighty and impetuous, were resisted by the solidity of the mass and the harmony of the parts; but the slightest touch would precipitate the fragments of arches and columns that already nodded to their fall.

After a diligent inquiry, I can discern four principal causes of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a thousand years. I. The injuries of time and nature. II. The hostile attacks of the Barbarians and Christians. III. The use and abuse of the materials. And, IV. The domestic quarrels of the Romans.

I. The art of man is able to construct monuments far more permanent than the narrow span of his own existence; yet these monuments, like himself, are perishable and frail; and, in the boundless annals of time, his life and his labours must

<sup>16</sup> The Père Mabillon (*Analecta*, tom. iv. p. 502) has published an anonymous pilgrim of the ixth century, who, in his visit round the churches and holy places of Rome, touches on several buildings, especially porticoes, which had disappeared before the xiiiith century. [The Anonymous of Einsiedeln, see last note.]

<sup>17</sup> On the Septizonium, see the *Mémoires sur Pétrarque* (tom. i. p. 325), Donatus (p. 338), and Nardini (p. 117, 414). [The existing remains of the Palace of Severus on the Palatine are about sixty yards high. In the eighth century, two fifths of the building in the centre collapsed. The siege of Henry IV. in 1084 (see below, p. 200-1) destroyed many pillars, and in 1257 Brancaleone destroyed the larger extremity. For its use by Sixtus V. see below, p. 197.]

equally be measured as a fleeting moment. Of a simple and solid edifice, it is not easy, however, to circumscribe the duration. As the wonders of ancient days, the pyramids<sup>18</sup> attracted the curiosity of the ancients: an hundred generations, the leaves of autumn,<sup>19</sup> have dropped into the grave; and, after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemics, the Cæsars and Caliphs, the same pyramids stand erect and unshaken above the floods of the Nile. A complex figure of various and minute parts is more accessible to injury and decay; and the silent lapse of time is often accelerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and inundations. The air and earth have doubtless been shaken; and the lofty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations; but the seven hills do not appear to be placed on the great cavities of the globe; nor has the city, in any age, been exposed to the convulsions of nature which, in the climate of Antioch, Lisbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the works of ages into dust. Fire is the most powerful agent of life and death: the rapid mischief may be kindled and propagated by the industry or negligence of mankind; and every period of the Roman annals is marked by the repetition of similar calamities. A memorable conflagration, the guilt or misfortune of Nero's reign, continued, though with unequal fury, either six or nine days.<sup>20</sup> Innumerable buildings, crowded in close and

<sup>18</sup> The age of the pyramids is remote and unknown, since Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. i. c. 44, p. 72) is unable to decide whether they were constructed 1000 or 3400 years before the clxxxth Olympiad. Sir John Marshman's contracted scale of the Egyptian dynasties would fix them about 2000 years before Christ (Canon. Chronicus, p. 47). [Most of the pyramids belong to the 4th millennium B.C. The Great Pyramid of Gizeh was the tomb of Khufu (Cheops), the second king of the 4th dynasty said to have flourished in B.C. 3969-3908. See Petrie, *History of Egypt*, i. p. 38 sqq. For the earlier pyramid of Sneferu, *ib.* p. 32-3; and for the pyramids of the successors of Khufu, and the following dynasties, the same volume *passim*.]

<sup>19</sup> See the speech of Glaucus in the *Iliad* (Z, 146). This natural but melancholy image is familiar to Homer.

<sup>20</sup> The learning and criticism of M. des Vignoles (*Histoire Critique de la République des Lettres*, tom. viii. p. 74-118; ix. p. 172-187) dates the fire

crooked streets, supplied perpetual fuel for the flames; and, when they ceased, four only of the fourteen regions were left entire; three were totally destroyed, and seven were deformed by the relics of smoking and lacerated edifices.<sup>21</sup> In the full meridian of empire, the metropolis arose with fresh beauty from her ashes; yet the memory of the old deplored their irreparable losses, the arts of Greece, the trophies of victory, the monuments of primitive or fabulous antiquity. In the days of distress and anarchy, every wound is mortal, every fall irretrievable; nor can the damage be restored either by the public care of government or the activity of private interest. Yet two causes may be alleged, which render the calamity of fire more destructive to a flourishing than a decayed city. I. The more combustible materials of brick, timber, and metals are first melted or consumed; but the flames may play without injury or effect on the naked walls and massy arches that have been despoiled of their ornaments. 2. It is among the common and plebeian habitations that a mischievous spark is most easily blown to a conflagration; but, as soon as they are devoured, the greater edifices which have resisted or escaped are left as so many islands in a state of solitude and safety. From her situation, Rome is exposed to the danger of frequent inundations. Without excepting the Tiber, the rivers that descend from either side of the Apennine have a short and irregular course; a shallow stream in the summer heats; an impetuous torrent, when it is swelled

of Rome from A.D. 64, 19th July, and the subsequent persecution of the Christians from 15th November of the same year.

<sup>21</sup> Quippe in regiones quatuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quatuor integræ manebant, tres solo tenus dejectæ; septem reliquis pauca tectorum vestigia supererant, lacera et semiusta. Among the old relics that were irreparably lost, Tacitus enumerates the temple of the Moon of Servius Tullius; the fane and altar consecrated by Evander præsentî Herculi; the temple of Jupiter Stator, a vow of Romulus; the palace of Numa; the temple of Vesta, cum Penatibus populi Romani. He then deplores the opes tot victoriis quæsita et Græcarum artium decora . . . multa quæ seniores meminerant, quæ reparari nequibant (Annal. xv. 40, 41).

in the spring or winter by the fall of rain and the melting of the snows. When the current is repelled from the sea by adverse winds, when the ordinary bed is inadequate to the weight of waters, they rise above the banks, and overspread, without limits or control, the plains and cities of the adjacent country. Soon after the triumph of the first Punic war, the Tiber was increased by unusual rains; and the inundation, surpassing all former measure of time and place, destroyed all the buildings that were situate below the hills of Rome. According to the variety of ground, the same mischief was produced by different means; and the edifices were either swept away by the sudden impulse, or dissolved and undermined by the long continuance, of the flood.<sup>22</sup> Under the reign of Augustus, the same calamity was renewed: the lawless river overturned the palaces and temples on its banks;<sup>23</sup> and, after the labours of the emperor in cleansing and widening the bed that was encumbered with ruins,<sup>24</sup> the vigilance of his successors was exercised by similar dangers and designs. The project of diverting into new channels the Tiber itself, or some of the dependent streams, was long opposed by

<sup>22</sup> A. U. C. 507, *repentina subversio ipsius Romæ prævenit triumphum Romanorum . . . diversæ ignium aquarumque clades pene absumsere urbem. Nam Tiberis insolitis auctus imbribus et ultra opinionem, vel diurnitate vel magnitudine redundans, omnia Romæ ædificia in plana posita delevit. Diversæ qualitates locorum ad unam convenere pernicem: quoniam et quæ segnior inundatio tenuit madefacta dissolvit, et quæ cursus torrentis invenit impulsæ dejecit* (Orosius, *Hist. l. iv. c. 11, p. 244, edit. Havercamp*). Yet we may observe that it is the plan and study of the Christian apologist to magnify the calamities of the pagan world.

<sup>23</sup> *Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis*

*Littore Etrusco violenter undis*

*Ire dejectum monumenta Regis*

*Templaque Vestæ. (Horat. Carm. i. 2.)*

If the palace of Numa and temple of Vesta were thrown down in Horace's time, what was consumed of those buildings by Nero's fire could hardly deserve the epithets of *vetustissima* or *in corrupta*.

<sup>24</sup> *Ad coerendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit ac repurgavit, complotum olim ruderibus, et ædificiorum prolapsionibus coarctatum* (Suetonius in *Augusto, c. 30*).

superstition and local interests; <sup>25</sup> nor did the use compensate the toil and cost of the tardy and imperfect execution. The servitude of rivers is the noblest and most important victory which man has obtained over the licentiousness of nature; <sup>26</sup> and, if such were the ravages of the Tiber under a firm and active government, what could oppose, or who can enumerate, the injuries of the city after the fall of the Western empire? A remedy was at length produced by the evil itself: the accumulation of rubbish and the earth that had been washed down from the hills is supposed to have elevated the plain of Rome fourteen or fifteen feet, perhaps, above the ancient level; <sup>27</sup> and the modern city is less accessible to the attacks of the river. <sup>28</sup>

II. The crowd of writers of every nation, who impute the destruction of the Roman monuments to the Goths and the Christians, have neglected to inquire how far they were animated by an hostile principle and how far they possessed the means and the leisure to satiate their enmity. In the preceding volumes of this History, I have described the triumph of Barbarism and religion; and I can only resume, in a few words, their real or imaginary connection with the ruin of ancient Rome. Our fancy may create, or adopt, a pleasing

<sup>25</sup> Tacitus (*Annal.* i. 79) reports the petitions of the different towns of Italy to the senate against the measure; and we may applaud the progress of reason. On a similar occasion local interests would undoubtedly be consulted; but an English House of Commons would reject with contempt the arguments of superstition, "that nature had assigned to the rivers their proper course," &c.

<sup>26</sup> See the *Epoques de la Nature* of the eloquent and philosophic Buffon, His picture of Guyana in South America is that of a new and savage land. in which the waters are abandoned to themselves, without being regulated by human industry (p. 212, 561, quarto edition).

<sup>27</sup> In his *Travels in Italy*, Mr. Addison (his works, vol. ii. p. 98, Baskerville's edition) has observed this curious and unquestionable fact.

<sup>28</sup> Yet, in modern times, the Tiber has sometimes damaged the city; and in the years 1530, 1557, 1598, the *Annals of Muratori* record three mischievous and memorable inundations, tom. xiv. p. 268, 429; tom. xv. p. 99, &c.

romance, that the Goths and Vandals sallied from Scandinavia, ardent to avenge the flight of Odin,<sup>29</sup> to break the chains, and to chastise the oppressors, of mankind; that they wished to burn the records of classic literature and to found their national architecture on the broken members of the Tuscan and Corinthian orders. But, in simple truth, the Northern conquerors were neither sufficiently savage nor sufficiently refined to entertain such aspiring ideas of destruction and revenge. The shepherds of Scythia and Germany had been educated in the armies of the empire, whose discipline they acquired, and whose weakness they invaded; with the familiar use of the Latin tongue, they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome; and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire than to abolish, the arts and studies of a brighter period. In the transient possession of a rich and unresisting capital, the soldiers of Alaric and Genseric were stimulated by the passions of a victorious army; amidst the wanton indulgence of lust or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their search; nor could they derive either pride or pleasure from the unprofitable reflection that they had battered to the ground the works of the consuls and Cæsars. Their moments were indeed precious: the Goths evacuated Rome on the sixth,<sup>30</sup> the Vandals on the fifteenth, day;<sup>31</sup> and, though it be far more difficult to build than to destroy, their hasty assault would have made a slight impression on the solid piles of antiquity. We may remember that both Alaric and Genseric affected to spare the buildings of the city; that they subsisted in strength and beauty under the auspicious government of Theodoric;<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> I take this opportunity of declaring that in the course of twelve years I have forgotten, or renounced, the flight of Odin from Azoph to Sweden, which I never very seriously believed (vol. ii. p. 6-7). The Goths are apparently Germans; but all beyond Cæsar and Tacitus is darkness or fable in the antiquities of Germany.

<sup>30</sup> *History of the Decline, &c.* vol. v. p. 252.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 158.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* vol. viii. p. 241-2.



and that the momentary resentment of Totila<sup>33</sup> was disarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From these innocent Barbarians the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. The statues, altars, and houses of the demons were an abomination in their eyes; and in the absolute command of the city they might labour with zeal and perseverance to erase the idolatry of their ancestors. The demolition of the temples in the East<sup>34</sup> affords to *them* an example of conduct, and to *us* an argument of belief; and it is probable that a portion of guilt or merit may be imputed with justice to the Roman proselytes. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen superstition; and the civil structures that were dedicated to the business or pleasure of society might be preserved without injury or scandal. The change of religion was accomplished, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperor, of the senate, and of time. Of the Christian hierarchy, the bishops of Rome were commonly the most prudent and least fanatic; nor can any positive charge be opposed to the meritorious act of saving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon.<sup>35</sup>

III. The value of any object that supplies the wants or pleasures of mankind is compounded of its substance and

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 255.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* vol. v. c. xxviii. p. 80-84.

<sup>35</sup> Eodem tempore petiit a Phocate principe templum, quod appellant *Pantheon*, in quo fecit ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ semper Virginis, et omnium martyrum; in quâ ecclesiæ princeps multa bona obtulit (Anastasius vel potius Liber Pontificalis in Bonifacio IV. in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. p. i. p. 135). According to the anonymous writer in Montfaucon, the Pantheon had been vowed by Agrippa to Cybele and Neptune, and was dedicated by Boniface IV. on the kalends of November to the Virgin, quæ est mater omnium sanctorum (p. 297, 298). [It is now established that the existing Pantheon was not the work of Agrippa but of Hadrian (A.D. 120-5). The original building of Agrippa was rectangular. See Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, p. 476-88. Urban VIII. removed the bronze roof from the portico of the Pantheon. Raphael's coffin and bones were discovered here in 1833.]

its form, of the materials and the manufacture. Its price must depend on the number of persons by whom it may be acquired and used; on the extent of the market; and consequently on the ease or difficulty of remote exportation, according to the nature of the commodity, its local situation, and the temporary circumstances of the world. The Barbarian conquerors of Rome usurped in a moment the toil and treasure of successive ages; but, except the luxuries of immediate consumption, they must view without desire all that could not be removed from the city in the Gothic waggons or the fleet of the Vandals.<sup>36</sup> Gold and silver were the first objects of their avarice; as in every country, and in the smallest compass, they represent the most ample command of the industry and possessions of mankind. A vase or a statue of those precious metals might tempt the vanity of some Barbarian chief; but the grosser multitude, regardless of the form, was tenacious only of the substance; and the melted ingots might be readily divided and stamped into the current coin of the empire. The less active or less fortunate robbers were reduced to the baser plunder of brass, lead, iron, and copper; whatever had escaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants; and the emperor Constans, in his rapacious visit, stripped the bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon.<sup>37</sup> The edifices of Rome might be considered as a vast and various mine: the first labour of extracting the materials was already performed; the metals were purified

<sup>36</sup> Flaminus Vacca (apud Montfaucon, p. 155, 156; his Memoir is likewise printed, p. 21, at the end of the *Roma Antica* of Nardini), and several Romans, doctrinâ graves, were persuaded that the Goths buried their treasures at Rome, and bequeathed the secret marks filiis nepotibusque. He relates some anecdotes to prove that, in his own time, these places were visited and rifled by the Transalpine pilgrims, the heirs of the Gothic conquerors.

<sup>37</sup> *Omnia quæ erant in ære ad ornatum civitatis deposuit: sed et ecclesiam B. Mariæ ad martyres quæ de tegulis æreis cooperta discooperuit* (Anast. in *Vitalian.* p. 141). The base and sacrilegious Greek had not even the poor pretence of plundering an heathen temple; the Pantheon was already a Catholic church.

and cast; the marbles were hewn and polished; and, after foreign and domestic rapine had been satiated, the remains of the city, could a purchaser have been found, were still venal. The monuments of antiquity had been left naked of their precious ornaments, but the Romans would demolish with their own hands the arches and walls, if the hope of profit could surpass the cost of the labour and exportation. If Charlemagne had fixed in Italy the seat of the Western empire, his genius would have aspired to restore, rather than to violate, the works of the Cæsars; but policy confined the French monarch to the forests of Germany; his taste could be gratified only by destruction; and the new palace of Aix la Chapelle was decorated with the marbles of Ravenna<sup>38</sup> and Rome.<sup>39</sup> Five hundred years after Charlemagne, a king of Sicily, Robert, the wisest and most liberal sovereign of the age, was supplied with the same materials by the easy navigation of the Tiber and the sea; and Petrarch sighs an indignant complaint that the ancient capital of the world should adorn, from her own bowels, the slothful luxury of Naples.<sup>40</sup> But these examples of plunder or purchase were

<sup>38</sup> For the spoils of Ravenna (*musiva atque marmora*) see the original grant of Pope Hadrian I. to Charlemagne (*Codex Carolin. epist. lxxvii.* in Muratori, *Script. Ital. tom. iii. p. ii. p. 223*).

<sup>39</sup> I shall quote the authentic testimony of the Saxon poet (A.D. 887-899), *de Rebus gestis Caroli Magni*, l. v. 437-440, in the *Historians of France*, tom. v. p. 180:—

Ad quæ marmoreas præstabat ROMA columnas,  
Quasdam præcipuas pulchra Ravenna dedit.  
De tam longinquâ poterit regione vetustas  
Illius ornatum Francia ferre tibi.

And I shall add, from the *Chronicle of Sigebert* (*Historians of France*, tom. v. p. 378), *extruxit etiam Aquisgrani basilicam plurimæ pulchritudinis, ad cuius structuram a ROMA et Ravennâ columnas et marmora devehit fecit.* [See above, vol. viii. p. 346.]

<sup>40</sup> I cannot refuse to transcribe a long passage of Petrarch (*Opp. p. 536, 537*, in *Epistolâ hortatoriâ ad Nicolaum Laurentium*), it is so strong and full to the point: *Nec pudor aut pietas continuit quominus impii spoliata Dei templa, occupatas arces, opes publicas, regiones urbis, atque honores magistratuum inter se divisos; (habeant?) quam unâ in re, turbulenti ac*

rare in the darker ages; and the Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their private or public use the remaining structures of antiquity, if in their present form and situation they had not been useless in a great measure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls still described the old circumference, but the city had descended from the seven hills into the Campus Martius; and some of the noblest monuments which had braved the injuries of time were left in a desert, far remote from the habitations of mankind. The palaces of the senators were no longer adapted to the manners or fortunes of their indigent successors; the use of baths <sup>41</sup> and porticoes was forgotten; in the sixth century, the games of the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus had been interrupted; some temples were devoted to the prevailing worship; but the Christian churches preferred the holy figure of the cross; and fashion or reason had distributed, after a peculiar model, the cells and offices of the cloister. Under the ecclesiastical reign, the number of these pious foundations was enormously multiplied; and the city was crowded with forty monasteries of men, twenty of women, and sixty chapters and colleges of canons and priests,<sup>42</sup> who aggravated, instead of relieving, the depopulation of the tenth century. But, if the forms

*seditioni homines et totius reliquæ vitæ consiliis et rationibus discordes, inhumani fœderis stupendâ societate convenirent, in pontes et mœnia atque immeritos lapides desævirent. Denique post vi vel senio collapsa palatia, quæ quondam ingentes tenuerunt viri, post diruptos arcus triumphales (unde majores horum forsitan corruerunt), de ipsius vetustatis ac propriæ impietatis fragminibus vilem quæstum turpi mercimonio captare non puidit. Itaque nunc, heu dolor! heu scelus indignum! de vestris marmoreis columnis, de liminibus templorum (ad quæ nuper ex orbe toto concursus devotissimus fiebat), de imaginibus sepulchrorum sub quibus patrum vestrorum venerabilis civis (*cinis?*) erat, ut reliquas sileam, desidiosa Neapolis adornatur. Sic paullatim ruinæ ipsæ deficiunt.* Yet King Robert was the friend of Petrarch.

<sup>41</sup> Yet Charlemagne washed and swam at Aix la Chapelle with an hundred of his courtiers (Eginhart, c. 22, p. 108, 109); and Muratori describes, as late as the year 814, the public baths which were built at Spoleto in Italy (Annali, tom. vi. p. 416).

<sup>42</sup> See the Annals of Italy, A.D. 988. For this and the preceding fact, Muratori himself is indebted to the Benedictine history of Père Mabillon.

of ancient architecture were disregarded by a people insensible of their use and beauty, the plentiful materials were applied to every call of necessity or superstition, till the fairest columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the richest marbles of Paros and Numidia, were degraded, perhaps, to the support of a convent or a stable. The daily havoc which is perpetrated by the Turks in the cities of Greece and Asia may afford a melancholy example; and, in the gradual destruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus the Fifth may alone be excused for employing the stones of the Septizonium in the glorious edifice of St. Peter's.<sup>43</sup> A fragment, a ruin, howsoever mangled or profaned, may be viewed with pleasure and regret; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of substance, as well as of place and proportion; it was burnt to lime for the purpose of cement. Since the arrival of Poggius, the temple of Concord<sup>44</sup> and many capital structures had vanished from his eyes; and an epigram of the same age expresses a just and pious fear that the continuance of this practice would finally annihilate all the monuments of antiquity.<sup>45</sup> The smallness of their numbers was the sole check on the demands and depredations of the Romans. The imagi-

<sup>43</sup> Vita di Sisto Quinto, da Gregorio Leti, tom. iii. p. 50.

<sup>44</sup> Porticus ædis Concordiæ, quam cum primum ad urbem accessi vidi fere integram opere marmoreo admodum specioso: Romani post modum ad calcem ædem totam et porticus partem disjectis columnis sunt demoliti (p. 12). The temple of Concord was therefore *not* destroyed by a sedition in the xiiiith century, as I have read in a MS. treatise del' Governo civile de Rome, lent me formerly at Rome, and ascribed (I believe falsely) to the celebrated Gravina. Poggius likewise affirms that the sepulchre of Cæcilia Metella was burnt for lime (p. 19, 20).

<sup>45</sup> Composed by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. and published by Mabillon from a MS. of the Queen of Sweden (*Musæum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 97):—

Oblectat me, Roma, tuas spectare ruinas:  
 Ex cujus lapsu gloria prisca patet.  
 Sed tuus hic populus muris defossa vetustis  
*Calcis in obsequium* marmora dura coquit.  
 Impia tercentum si sic gens egerit annos,  
 Nullum hinc indicium nobilitatis erit.

nation of Petrarch might create the presence of a mighty people; <sup>46</sup> and I hesitate to believe that even in the fourteenth century they could be reduced to a contemptible list of thirty-three thousand inhabitants. From that period to the reign of Leo the Tenth, if they multiplied to the amount of eighty-five thousand, <sup>47</sup> the increase of citizens was in some degree pernicious to the ancient city.

IV. I have reserved for the last the most potent and forcible cause of destruction, the domestic hostilities of the Romans themselves. Under the dominion of the Greek and French emperors, the peace of the city was disturbed by accidental though frequent seditions: it is from the decline of the latter, from the beginning of the tenth century, that we may date the licentiousness of private war, which violated with impunity the laws of the Code and the Gospel, without respecting the majesty of the absent sovereign or the presence and person of the vicar of Christ. In a dark period of five hundred years, Rome was perpetually afflicted by the sanguinary quarrels of the nobles and the people, the Guelphs and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Ursini; and, if much has escaped the knowledge, and much is unworthy of the notice, of history, I have exposed in the two preceding chapters the causes and effects of the public disorders. At such a time, when every quarrel was decided by the sword and none could trust their lives or properties to the impotence of law, the powerful citizens were armed for safety or offence against the domestic enemies whom they feared or hated. Except Venice alone, the same dangers and designs were common

<sup>46</sup> Vagabamur pariter in illâ urbe tam magnâ; quæ, cum propter spatium vacua videretur, populum habet immensum (Opp. p. 605; Epist. Familiares, ii. 14).

<sup>47</sup> These states of the population of Rome, at different periods, are derived from an ingenious treatise of the physician Lancisi, de Romani Cœli Qualitatibus (p. 122). [Cp. above, p. 135, note 29. The population at beginning of the 16th century was 85,000; in 1663, it was 105,433. Gregorovius, *op. cit.* vi. p. 731.]

to all the free republics of Italy; and the nobles usurped the prerogative of fortifying their houses, and erecting strong towers<sup>48</sup> that were capable of resisting a sudden attack. The cities were filled with these hostile edifices; and the example of Lucca, which contained three hundred towers, her law, which confined their height to the measure of four-score feet, may be extended, with suitable latitude, to the more opulent and populous states. The first step of the senator Brancalione in the establishment of peace and justice was to demolish (as we have already seen) one hundred and forty of the towers of Rome; and in the last days of anarchy and discord, as late as the reign of Martin the Fifth, forty-four still stood in one of the thirteen or fourteen regions of the city.<sup>49</sup> To this mischievous purpose, the remains of antiquity were most readily adapted: the temples and arches afforded a broad and solid basis for the new structures of brick and stone; and we can name the modern turrets that were raised on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæsar, Titus, and the Antonines.<sup>50</sup> With some slight alterations, a theatre, an amphitheatre, a mausoleum, was transformed into a strong and spacious citadel. I need not repeat that the mole of Hadrian has assumed the title and form of the castle of St. Angelo; <sup>51</sup> the Septizonium of Severus was

<sup>48</sup> All the facts that relate to the towers at Rome, and in other free cities of Italy, may be found in the laborious and entertaining compilation of Muratori, *Antiquitates Italiæ mediæ Ævi*, dissertat. xxvi. (tom. ii. p. 493-496, of the Latin, tom. i. p. 446, of the Italian, work).

<sup>49</sup> [Thirteen regions in the 14th century. Their names and armorial bearings in Gregorovius, vi. p. 727-8.]

<sup>50</sup> As for instance, *Templum Jani nunc dicitur, turris Centii Frangapanis; et sane Jano impositæ turris lateritiæ conspicua hodieque vestigia supersunt* (Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum*, p. 186). The anonymous writer (p. 285) enumerates, *arcus Titi, turris Cartularia; arcus Julii Cæsaris et Senatorum, turres de Bratis; arcus Antonini, turris de Cosectis, &c.* [There is an account of these towers and fortresses in Gregorovius, v. p. 657 *sqq.*]

<sup>51</sup> *Hadriani molem . . . magnâ ex parte Romanorum injuria . . . disturbavit: quod certe funditus evertissent, si eorum manibus pervia, absumptis grandibus saxis, reliqua moles exstitisset* (Poggius de *Varietate Fortunæ*,

capable of standing against a royal army; <sup>52</sup> the sepulchre of Metella has sunk under its outworks; <sup>53</sup> the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus were occupied by the Savelli <sup>54</sup> and Ursini families; and the rough fortress has been gradually softened to the splendour and elegance of an Italian palace. Even the churches were encompassed with arms and bulwarks, and the military engines on the roof of St. Peter's were the terror of the Vatican and the scandal of the Christian world. Whatever is fortified will be attacked; and whatever is attacked may be destroyed. Could the Romans have wrested from the popes the castle of St. Angelo, they had resolved, by a public decree, to annihilate that monument of servitude. Every building of defence was exposed to a

p. 12). [In A.D. 1379, the mausoleum of Hadrian, which held out for Pope Clement, was destroyed by the Romans. It was "pulled down to the central part which encloses the vault" (Gregorovius, vi. 516). The ruins lay for about twenty years till it was restored by Boniface IX. A.D. 1398, with a tower. In the 14th century there was a covered passage connecting St. Angelo with the Vatican.]

<sup>52</sup> Against the emperor Henry IV. (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. ix. p. 147). [See above, p. 187, note 17.]

<sup>53</sup> I must copy an important passage of Montfaucon: *Turris ingens rotunda . . . Cæciliæ Metellæ . . . sepulchrum erat, cujus muri tam solidi, ut spatium per quam minimum intus vacuum supersit: et Torre di Bove* [or *Capo di Bove*] dicitur, a boum capitibus muro inscriptis. Huic sequiori ævo, tempore intestinorum bellorum, ceu urbecula adjuncta fuit, cujus mœnia et turres etiamnum visuntur; ita ut sepulchrum Metellæ quasi arx oppiduli fuerit. Ferventibus in urbe partibus, cum Ursini atque Columnenses mutuis cladibus perniciem inferrent civitati, in utriusve partis ditionem cederet magni momenti erat (p. 142). [The sepulchre of Caecilia Metella still stands, a conspicuous object on the Appian Way.]

<sup>54</sup> See the testimonies of Donatus, Nardini, and Montfaucon. In the Savelli palace, the remains of the theatre of Marcellus are still great and conspicuous. [The theatre of Marcellus, towards end of 11th century, was converted into a fortress by the Pierleoni. In 1712 it passed into the hands of the Orsini. "The section of the outside shell visible at present, a magnificent ruin in outline and colour, is buried 15 feet in modern soil and supports the Orsini palace erected upon its stage and ranges of seats. What stands above ground of the lower or Doric arcades is rented by the Prince for the most squalid and ignoble class of shops." Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, p. 401. The Theatre of Balbus became the fortress of the Cenci.]



siege; and in every siege the arts and engines of destruction were laboriously employed. After the death of Nicholas the Fourth, Rome, without a sovereign or a senate, was abandoned six months to the fury of civil war. "The houses," says a cardinal and poet of the times,<sup>55</sup> "were crushed by the weight and velocity of enormous stones;<sup>56</sup> the walls were perforated by the strokes of the battering-ram; the towers were involved in fire and smoke; and the assailants were stimulated by rapine and revenge." The work was consummated by the tyranny of the laws; and the factions of Italy alternately exercised a blind and thoughtless vengeance on their adversaries, whose houses and castles they rased to the ground.<sup>57</sup> In comparing the *days* of foreign, with the *ages* of domestic, hostility, we must pronounce that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city; and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch. "Behold," says the laureat, "the relics of Rome, the image of her pristine greatness! neither time nor the Barbarian can boast the merit of this stupendous destruction: it was perpetrated by her own citizens, by the most illustrious of her sons; and your ancestors (he writes to a noble Annibaldi) have done with the

<sup>55</sup> James, cardinal of St. George, ad velum aureum, in his metrical life of Pope Celestin V. (Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. i. p. iii. p. 621; l. i. c. 1, ver. 132, &c.).

Hoc dixisse sat est, Romam caruisse Senatu  
 Mensibus exactis heu sex; belloque vocatum (*vocatos*)  
 In scelus, in socios fraternaue vulnera patres:  
 Tormentis jecisse viros immania saxa;  
 Perfodisse domus trabibus, fecisse ruinas  
 Ignibus; incensas turres, obscuraue fumo  
 Lumina vicino, quo sit spoliata supellex.

<sup>56</sup> Muratori (Dissertazione sopra le Antiquità Italiane, tom. i. p. 427-431) finds that stone bullets, of two or three hundred pounds weight, were not uncommon; and they are sometimes computed at xii. or xviii. *cantari* of Genoa, each *cantaro* weighing 150 pounds.

<sup>57</sup> The vith law of the Visconti prohibits this common and mischievous practice; and strictly enjoins that the houses of banished citizens should be preserved pro communi utilitate (Gualvaneus de la Flamma, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 1041).

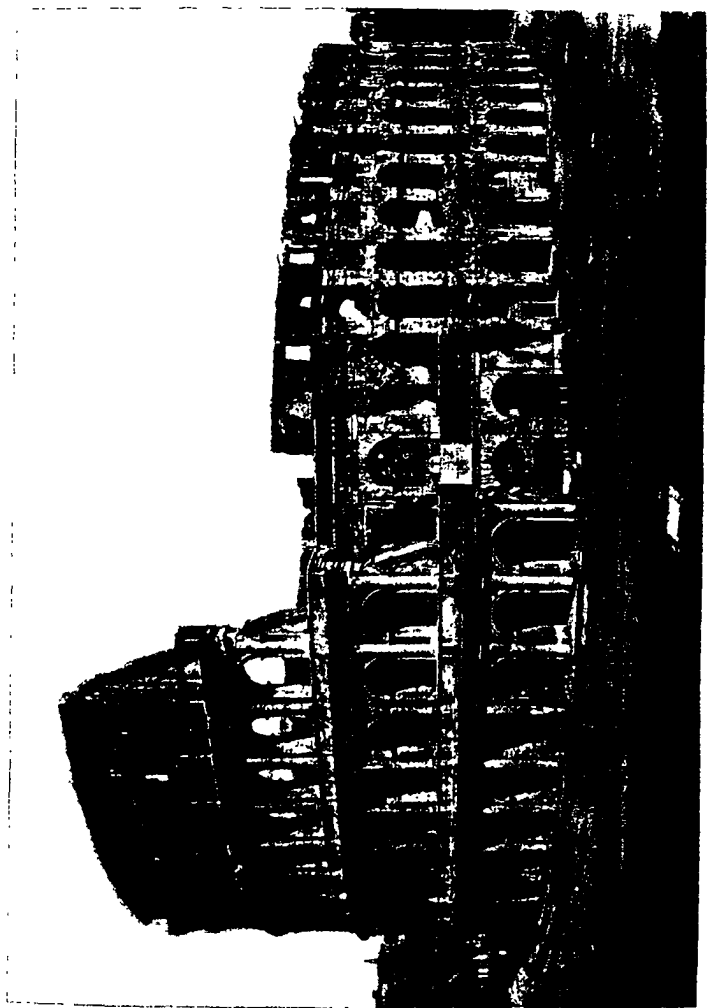
battering-ram, what the Punic hero could not accomplish with the sword." <sup>58</sup> The influence of the two last principles of decay must, in some degree, be multiplied by each other; since the houses and towers, which were subverted by civil war, required a new and perpetual supply from the monuments of antiquity.

These general observations may be separately applied to the amphitheatre of Titus, which has obtained the name of the COLISEUM, <sup>59</sup> either from its magnitude or from Nero's colossal statue: an edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might, perhaps, have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries, who have computed the numbers and seats, are disposed to believe that, above the upper row of stone steps, the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with several stages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly consumed by fire and restored by the emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the statues of gods and heroes, and the costly ornaments of sculpture, which were cast in brass, or overspread with leaves of silver and gold, became the first prey of conquest or fanaticism, of the avarice of the Barbarians or the Christians. In the massy stones of

<sup>58</sup> Petrarch thus addresses his friend, who, with shame and tears, had shown him the mœnia, laceræ specimen miserabile Romæ, and declared his own intention of restoring them (Carmina Latina, l. ii. epist. Paulo Annibalensi, xii. p. 97, 98): —

Nec te parva manet servatis fama ruinis  
 Quanta quod integræ fuit olim gloria Romæ  
 Reliquiæ testantur adhuc; quas longior ætas  
 Frangere non valuit; non vis aut ira cruenti  
 Hostis, ab egregiis franguntur civibus, heu! heu!  
 . . . Quod *ille* nequivit (*Hannibal*)  
 Perficit hic aries. . . .

<sup>59</sup> The fourth part of the Verona Illustrata of the Marquis Maffei professedly treats of amphitheatres, particularly those of Rome and Verona, of their dimensions, wooden galleries, &c. It is from magnitude that he derives the name of *Colosseum*, or *Coliseum*: since the same appellation was applied to the amphitheatre of Capua, without the aid of a colossal statue; since that of Nero was erected in the court (*in atrio*) of his palace, and not in the Coliseum (p. iv. p. 15-19; l. i. c. 4).



the Coliseum many holes are discerned; and the two most probable conjectures represent the various accidents of its decay. These stones were connected by solid links of brass or iron, nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the baser metals:<sup>60</sup> the vacant space was converted into a fair or market; the artisans of the Coliseum are mentioned in an ancient survey; and the chasms were perforated or enlarged, to receive the poles that supported the shops or tents of the mechanic trades.<sup>61</sup> Reduced to its naked majesty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims of the North; and their rude enthusiasm broke forth in a sublime proverbial expression, which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede: "As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand; when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, the world will fall."<sup>62</sup> In the modern system of war, a situation commanded by three hills would not be chosen for a fortress; but the strength of the walls and arches could resist the engines of assault; a numerous garrison might be lodged in the enclosure; and, while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was intrenched in the Lateran and the Coliseum.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Joseph Maria Suarés, a learned bishop, and the author of an history of Præneste, has composed a separate dissertation on the seven or eight probable causes of these holes, which has been since reprinted in the Roman Thesaurus of Sallengre. Montfaucon (*Diarium*, p. 233) pronounces the rapine of the Barbarians to be the unam germanamque causam foraminum. [The travertine blocks were connected by iron clamps, run with lead; and the holes, as the author says, are due to the removal of these clamps in the Middle Ages. Cp. Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. 87 *note*.]

<sup>61</sup> Donatus, *Roma Vetus et Nova*, p. 285.

<sup>62</sup> *Quamdiu stabit Colyseus, stabit et Roma; quando cadet Colyseus, cadet Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus* (Beda in *Excerptis seu Collectaneis apud Ducange Glossar. med. et infimæ Latinitatis*, tom. ii. p. 407, edit. Basil). This saying must be ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who visited Rome before the year 735, the era of Bede's death; for I do not believe that our venerable monk ever passed the sea.

<sup>63</sup> I cannot recover, in Muratori's original *Lives of the Popes* (*Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. p. i.), the passage that attests this hostile parti-

The abolition at Rome of the ancient games must be understood with some latitude; and the carnival sports of the Testacean Mount and the Circus Agonalis<sup>64</sup> were regulated by the law<sup>65</sup> or custom of the city. The senator presided with dignity and pomp to adjudge and distribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the *pallium*,<sup>66</sup> as it was styled, of cloth or silk. A tribute on the Jews supplied the annual expense;<sup>67</sup> and the races, on foot, on horseback, or in chariots, were ennobled by a tilt and tournament of seventy-two of the Roman youth. In the year one thousand three hundred and thirty-two, a bull-feast, after the fashion of the Moors and Spaniards, was celebrated in the Coliseum itself; and the living manners are painted in a diary of the times.<sup>68</sup> A convenient order of benches was restored; and a general proclamation, as far as Rimini and Ravenna, invited the nobles to exercise their skill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were

tion, which must be applied to the end of the xith or the beginning of the xiith century.

<sup>64</sup> Although the structure of the Circus Agonalis be destroyed, it still retains its form and name (Agona, [in Agona] Nagona, Navona): and the interior space affords a sufficient level for the purpose of racing. But the Monte Testaceo, that strange pile of broken pottery, seems only adapted for the annual practice of hurling from top to bottom some waggon-loads of live hogs for the diversion of the populace (Statuta Urbis Romæ, p. 186).

<sup>65</sup> See the Statuta Urbis Romæ, l. iii. c. 87, 88, 89, p. 185, 186. I have already given an idea of this municipal code. The races of Nagona and Monte Testaceo are likewise mentioned in the Diary of Peter Antonius, from 1404 to 1417 (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxiv. p. 1124).

<sup>66</sup> The *Pallium*, which Menage so foolishly derives from *Palmarium*, is an extension of the idea and the words from the robe or cloak to the materials, and from thence to their application as a prize (Muratori, dissert. xxxiii.).

<sup>67</sup> For these expenses, the Jews of Rome paid each year 1130 florins, of which the odd thirty represented the pieces of silver for which Judas had betrayed his master to their ancestors. There was a foot-race of Jewish as well as of Christian youths (Statuta Urbis, *ibidem*).

<sup>68</sup> This extraordinary bull-feast in the Coliseum is described, from tradition rather than memory, by Ludovico Buonconte Monaldesco, in the most ancient fragments of Roman annals (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 535, 536); and, however fanciful they may seem, they are deeply marked with the colours of truth and nature.

marshalled in three squadrons, and seated in three balconies, which on this day, the third of September, were lined with scarlet cloth. The fair Jacova di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tiber, a pure and native race, who still represent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was divided, as usual, between the Colonna and Ursini; the two factions were proud of the number and beauty of their female bands: the charms of Savella Ursini are mentioned with praise; and the Colonna regretted the absence of the youngest of their house, who had sprained her ankle in the garden of Nero's tower. The lots of the champions were drawn by an old and respectable citizen; and they descended into the *arena*, or pit, to encounter the wild bulls on foot, as it should seem, with a single spear. Amidst the crowd, our annalist has selected the names, colours, and devices of twenty of the most conspicuous knights. Several of the names are the most illustrious of Rome and the ecclesiastical state; Malatesta, Polenta, della Valle, Cafarello, Savelli, Capoccio, Conti, Annibaldi, Altieri, Corsi; the colours were adapted to their taste and situation; the devices are expressive of hope or despair, and breathe the spirit of gallantry and arms. "I am alone like the youngest of the Horatii," the confidence of an intrepid stranger; "I live disconsolate," a weeping widower; "I burn under the ashes," a discreet lover; "I adore Lavinia, or Lucretia," the ambiguous declaration of a modern passion; "My faith is as pure," the motto of a white livery; "Who is stronger than myself?" of a lion's hide; "If I am drowned in blood, what a pleasant death!" the wish of ferocious courage. The pride or prudence of the Ursini restrained them from the field, which was occupied by three of their hereditary rivals, whose inscriptions denoted the lofty greatness of the Colonna name: "Though sad, I am strong;" "Strong as I am great;" "If I fall," addressing himself to the spectators, "you fall with me;" — intimating (says the contemporary writer) that, while the other families were the subjects of the Vatican, they

alone were the supporters of the Capitol. The combats of the amphitheatre were dangerous and bloody. Every champion successively encountered a wild bull; and the victory may be ascribed to the quadrupeds, since no more than eleven were left on the field, with the loss of nine wounded, and eighteen killed, on the side of their adversaries. Some of the noblest families might mourn, but the pomp of the funerals, in the churches of St. John Lateran and Sta. Maria Maggiore, afforded a second holiday to the people. Doubtless it was not in such conflicts that the blood of the Romans should have been shed; yet, in blaming their rashness, we are compelled to applaud their gallantry; and the noble volunteers, who display their magnificence and risk their lives under the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous sympathy than the thousands of captives and malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the scene of slaughter.<sup>69</sup>

This use of the amphitheatre was a rare, perhaps a singular, festival: the demand for the materials was a daily and continual want, which the citizens could gratify without restraint or remorse. In the fourteenth century, a scandalous act of concord secured to both factions the privilege of extracting stones from the free and common quarry of the Coliseum;<sup>70</sup> and Poggius laments that the greater part of these stones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Romans.<sup>71</sup> To check this abuse, and to prevent the nocturnal

<sup>69</sup> Muratori has given a separate dissertation (the *xxixth*) to the games of the Italians in the middle ages.

<sup>70</sup> In a concise but instructive memoir, the Abbé Barthélemy (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 585) has mentioned this agreement of the factions of the xvth century de Tiburtino faciendo in the Coliseum, from an original act in the archives of Rome.

<sup>71</sup> Coliseum . . . ob stultitiam Romanorum *majori ex parte* ad calcem deletum, says the indignant Poggius (p. 17): but his expression, too strong for the present age, must be very tenderly applied to the xvth century. [It may be inferred with tolerable certainty that the chief injury which the shell of the Coliseum sustained, the falling of the whole western half towards the Cælian Hill, happened in the great earthquake of A.D. 1348. These ruins were then freely used as a quarry. Cp. Lanciani, *op. cit.* p. 395-6. In

crimes that might be perpetrated in the vast and gloomy recess, Eugenius the Fourth surrounded it with a wall; and, by a charter long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent.<sup>72</sup> After his death, the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people; and, had they themselves respected the noblest monument of their fathers, they might have justified the resolve that it should never be degraded to private property. The inside was damaged; but, in the middle of the sixteenth century, an era of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of one thousand six hundred and twelve feet was still entire and inviolate; a triple elevation of fourscore arches, which rose to the height of one hundred and eight feet. Of the present ruin the nephews of Paul the Third are the guilty agents; and every traveller who views the Farnese palace may curse the sacrilege and luxury of these upstart princes.<sup>73</sup> A similar reproach is applied to the Barberini; and the repetition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till the Coliseum was placed under the safeguard of religion by the most liberal of the pontiffs, Benedict the Fourteenth, who consecrated a spot which persecution and fable had stained with the blood of so many Christian martyrs.<sup>74</sup>

A.D. 1386 the senate and people gave one third of the Coliseum to the Compagnia del Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum.]

<sup>72</sup> Of the Olivetan monks. Montfaucon (p. 142) affirms this fact from the memorials of Flaminius Vacca (No. 72). They still hoped, on some future occasion, to revive and vindicate their grant.

<sup>73</sup> After measuring the priscus amphitheatrici gyros, Montfaucon (p. 142) only adds that it was entire under Paul III.; tacendo clamat. Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. xiv. p. 371) more freely reports the guilt of the Farnese Pope and the indignation of the Roman people. Against the nephews of Urban VIII. I have no other evidence than the vulgar saying, "Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecere Barberini," which was perhaps suggested by the resemblance of the words. [The spelling *Barbarini* here is intentional and should not be changed.]

<sup>74</sup> As an antiquarian and a priest, Montfaucon thus deprecates the ruin of the Coliseum: Quod si non suo merito atque pulchritudine dignum fuisset quod improbas arceret manus, indigna res utique in locum tot martyrum cruore sacrum tantopere sævitum esse.



When Petrarch first gratified his eyes with a view of those monuments whose scattered fragments so far surpass the most eloquent descriptions, he was astonished at the supine indifference <sup>75</sup> of the Romans themselves; <sup>76</sup> he was humbled rather than elated by the discovery that, except his friend Rienzi and one of the Colonna, a stranger of the Rhône was more conversant with these antiquities than the nobles and natives of the metropolis.<sup>77</sup> The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elaborately displayed in the old survey of the city, which was composed about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and, without dwelling on the manifold errors of name and place, the legend of the Capitol <sup>78</sup> may provoke a smile of contempt and indignation. "The Capitol," says the anonymous writer, "is so named as being the head of the world; where the consuls and senators formerly resided for the government of the city and the globe. The strong and lofty walls were covered with glass and gold, and crowned with a roof of the richest and most curious carving.

<sup>75</sup> Yet the Statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 81, p. 182) impose a fine of 500 *aurei* on whosoever shall demolish any ancient edifice, ne ruinis civitas deformetur, et ut antiqua ædificia decorem urbis perpetuo representent.

<sup>76</sup> In his first visit to Rome (A.D. 1337; see Mémoires sur Pétrarque, tom. i. p. 322, &c.), Petrarch is struck mute miraculo rerum tantarum, et stuporis mole obrutus. . . . Præsentia vero, mirum dictu, nihil imminuit: vere major fuit Roma majoresque sunt reliquiæ quam rebar. Jam non orbem ab hâc urbe domitum, sed tam sero domitum, miror (Opp. p. 605; Familiares, ii. 14; Joanni Columnæ).

<sup>77</sup> He excepts and praises the *rare* knowledge of John Colonna. Qui enim hodie magis ignari rerum Romanarum, quam Romani cives? Invidus dico, nusquam minus Roma cognoscitur quam Romæ.

<sup>78</sup> After the description of the Capitol, he adds, statuæ erant quot sunt mundi provinciæ; et habebat quælibet tintinnabulum ad collum. Et erant ita per magicam artem dispositæ, ut quando aliqua regio Romano Imperio rebellis erat, statim imago illius provinciæ vertebat se contra illam; unde tintinnabulum resonabat quod pendebat ad collum; tuncque vates Capitoli qui erant custodes senatui, &c. He mentions an example of the Saxons and Suevi, who, after they had been subdued by Agrippa, again rebelled; tintinnabulum sonuit; sacerdos qui erat in speculo in hebdomadâ senatoribus nuntiavit; Agrippa marched back and reduced the — Persians (Anonym. in Montfaucon, p. 297, 298).

Below the citadel stood a palace, of gold for the greatest part, decorated with precious stones, and whose value might be estimated at one third of the world itself. The statues of all the provinces were arranged in order, each with a small bell suspended from its neck; and such was the contrivance of art-magic <sup>79</sup> that, if the province rebelled against Rome, the statue turned round to that quarter of the heavens, the bell rang, the prophet of the Capitol reported the prodigy, and the senate was admonished of the impending danger." A second example of less importance, though of equal absurdity, may be drawn from the two marble horses, led by two naked youths, which have since been transported from the baths of Constantine to the Quirinal Hill. The groundless application of the names of Phidias and Praxiteles may perhaps be excused; but these Grecian sculptors should not have been removed above four hundred years from the age of Pericles to that of Tiberius; they should not have been transformed into two philosophers or magicians, whose nakedness was the symbol of truth and knowledge, who revealed to the emperor his most secret actions, and, after refusing all pecuniary recompense, solicited the honour of leaving this eternal monument of themselves.<sup>80</sup> Thus awake to the power of magic, the Romans were insensible to the beauties of art: no more than five statues were visible to the eyes of Poggius; and, of the multitudes which chance or design had buried under the ruins, the resurrection was fortunately delayed till a safer and more enlightened age.<sup>81</sup> The Nile, which now adorns

<sup>79</sup> The same writer affirms that Virgil captus a Romanis invisibiliter exiit ivitque Neapolem. A Roman magician, in the xith century, is introduced by William of Malmesbury (*de Gestis Regum Anglorum*, l. ii. p. 86); and in the time of Flaminius Vacca (No. 81, 103) it was the vulgar belief that the strangers (the *Goths*) invoked the demons for the discovery of hidden treasures.

<sup>80</sup> Anonym. p. 289. Montfaucon (p. 191) justly observes that, if Alexander be represented, these statues cannot be the work of Phidias (Olympiad lxxxiii.), or Praxiteles (Olympiad civ.), who lived before that conqueror (Plin. *Hist. Natur.* xxxiv. 19).

<sup>81</sup> William of Malmesbury (l. ii. p. 86, 87) relates a marvellous discovery

the Vatican, had been explored by some labourers in digging a vineyard near the temple, or convent, of the Minerva; but the impatient proprietor, who was tormented by some visits of curiosity, restored the unprofitable marble to its former grave.<sup>82</sup> The discovery of a statue of Pompey, ten feet in length, was the occasion of a law-suit. It had been found under a partition-wall: the equitable judge had pronounced that the head should be separated from the body, to satisfy the claims of the contiguous owners; and the sentence would have been executed, if the intercession of a cardinal and the liberality of a pope had not rescued the Roman hero from the hands of his Barbarous countrymen.<sup>83</sup>

But the clouds of Barbarism were gradually dispelled; and the peaceful authority of Martin the Fifth and his successors restored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the ecclesiastical state. The improvements of Rome, since the fifteenth century, have not been the spontaneous produce of freedom and industry. The first and most natural root of a great city is the labour and populousness of the adjacent country, which supplies the materials of subsistence, of manufactures, and of foreign trade. But the greater part of the Campagna of Rome is reduced to a dreary and desolate wilderness; the overgrown estates of the princes and the clergy are cultivated by the lazy hands of indigent and hopeless vassals; and the scanty harvests are confined or ex-

(A.D. 1046) of Pallas, the son of Evander, who had been slain by Turnus: the perpetual light in his sepulchre, a Latin epitaph, the corpse, yet entire, of a young giant, the enormous wound in his breast (*pectus perforat ingens*), &c. If this fable rests on the slightest foundation, we may pity the bodies, as well as the statues, that were exposed to the air in a Barbarous age.

<sup>82</sup> *Prope porticum Minervæ, statua est recubantis, cujus caput integrâ effigie tantæ magnitudinis, ut signa omnia excedat. Quidam ad plantandas arbores scrobes faciens detexit. Ad hoc visendum cum plures in dies magis concurrerent, strepitum adeuntium fastidiumque pertæsus, horti patronus congestâ humo texit (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12).*

<sup>83</sup> See the Memorials of Flaminius Vacca, No. 57, p. 11, 12, at the end of the *Roma Antica* of Nardini (1704, in 4to).

ported for the benefit of a monopoly. A second and more artificial cause of the growth of a metropolis is the residence of a monarch, the expense of a luxurious court, and the tributes of dependent provinces. Those provinces and tributes had been lost in the fall of the empire; and, if some streams of the silver of Peru and the gold of Brazil have been attracted by the Vatican, the revenues of the cardinals, the fees of office, the oblations of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of ecclesiastical taxes afford a poor and precarious supply, which maintains, however, the idleness of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the measure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants;<sup>84</sup> and, within the spacious enclosure of the walls, the largest portion of the seven hills is overspread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and splendour of the modern city may be ascribed to the abuses of the government, to the influence of superstition. Each reign (the exceptions are rare) has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childless pontiff at the expense of the church and country. The palaces of these fortunate nephews are the most costly monuments of elegance and servitude; the perfect arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture have been prostituted in their service; and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the most precious works of antiquity, which taste or vanity has prompted them to collect. The ecclesiastical revenues were more decently employed by the popes themselves in the pomp of the Catholic worship; but it is superfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, since these lesser stars are eclipsed by the sun of the Vatican, by the dome of St. Peter, the most glorious structure that ever has

<sup>84</sup> In the year 1709, the inhabitants of Rome (without including eight or ten thousand Jews) amounted to 138,568 souls (Labat, *Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. iii. p. 217, 218). In 1740 they had increased to 146,080; and in 1765, I left them, without the Jews, 161,899. I am ignorant whether they have since continued in a progressive state.

been applied to the use of religion. The fame of Julius the Second, Leo the Tenth, and Sixtus the Fifth is accompanied by the superior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael-Angelo; and the same munificence which had been displayed in palaces and temples was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity. Prostrate obelisks were raised from the ground and erected in the most conspicuous places; of the eleven aqueducts of the Cæsars and Consuls, three were restored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long series of old or of new arches, to discharge into marble basons a flood of salubrious and refreshing waters; and the spectator, impatient to ascend the steps of St. Peter's, is detained by a column of Egyptian granite, which rises between two lofty and perpetual fountains to the height of one hundred and twenty feet. The map, the description, the monuments of ancient Rome have been elucidated by the diligence of the antiquarian and the student;<sup>85</sup> and the footsteps of heroes, the relics, not of superstition, but of empire, are devoutly visited by a new

<sup>85</sup> The Père Montfaucon distributes his own observations into twenty days, he should have styled them weeks, or months, of his visits to the different parts of the city (*Diarium Italicum*, c. 8-20, p. 104-301). That learned Benedictine reviews the topographers of ancient Rome; the first efforts of Blondus, Fulvius, Martianus, and Faunus, the superior labours of Pyrrhus Ligorius, had his learning been equal to his labours; the writings of Onuphrius Panvinius, qui omnes obscuravit, and the recent but imperfect books of Donatus and Nardini. Yet Montfaucon still sighs for a more complete plan and description of the old city, which must be attained by the three following methods: 1. The measurement of the space and intervals of the ruins. 2. The study of inscriptions and the places where they were found. 3. The investigation of all the acts, charters, diaries of the middle ages, which name any spot or building of Rome. The laborious work, such as Montfaucon desired, must be promoted by princely or public munificence; but the great modern plan of Nolli (A.D. 1748) would furnish a solid and accurate basis for the ancient topography of Rome. [We have now Lanciani's great plan in forty-six sheets: *Forma Urbis Romæ* (published by the Academy of the Lincei). For excavations in recent times see especially the series of the *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, 1872 *et sqq.*; *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1876 *et sqq.*; *Mittheilungen of the German archæol. Institute, Römische Abtheilung*, 1886 *et sqq.*]

race of pilgrims from the remote, and once savage, countries of the North.

Of these pilgrims, and of every reader, the attention will be excited by an History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: the greatest, perhaps, and most awful scene in the history of mankind. The various causes and progressive effects are connected with many of the events most interesting in human annals: the artful policy of the Cæsars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic; the disorder of military despotism; the rise, establishment, and sects of Christianity; the foundation of Constantinople; the division of the monarchy; the invasion and settlements of the Barbarians of Germany and Scythia; the institutions of the civil law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal sovereignty of the popes; the restoration and decay of the Western empire of Charlemagne; the crusades of the Latins in the East; the conquests of the Saracens and Turks; the ruin of the Greek empire; the state and revolutions of Rome in the middle age. The historian may applaud the importance and variety of his subject; but, while he is conscious of his own imperfections, he must often accuse the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the Capitol that I first conceived the idea of a work which has amused and exercised near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wishes, I finally deliver to the curiosity and candour of the public.

LAUSANNE,  
June 27, 1787.



## APPENDIX

### ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE EDITOR

#### SOURCES FOR THE SIEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 1453 — (CHAP. LXVIII)

For the siege of Constantinople, Gibbon had only three accounts by eye-witnesses, that of Phrantzes, that of Leonardus of Chios, and that of Cardinal Isidore (see above, p. 6, note 12). Several other relations by persons who were in the city during the siege have been published during the present century.

Chief among these is the Journal of a Venetian, Nicolò Barbaro: *Giornale dell' assedio di Constantinopoli 1453*, edited by E. Cornet, 1856.<sup>1</sup> It is invaluable for determining the diary of the siege; but it is marked by hostility and spite towards the Genoese, especially Giustiniani, and by contempt for the Greeks.

An "Informacion" sent by Francesco de Tresves to the Cardinal d'Avignon, and also by Jehan Blanchin and Jacques Tedardi (or Tedaldi) of Florence, on the capture of Constantinople. Edited in Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus*, i. p. 1819 *sqq.* (1717) and in Chartier's *Chroniques de Charles VII.*, iii. p. 20 *sqq.*, 1858. Tedardi was an eye-witness. He escaped by throwing himself into the water, and was rescued by a Venetian boat.

Ubertino Pusculo of Brescia, who was also fortunate enough to escape, has left an account of the last episode of the history of the Empire in four Books of Latin hexameters. It contributes little enough to our knowledge of facts. The description of the siege does not begin till the middle of the Third book. In the First book there is an account of the battle of Varna, and much about the ecclesiastical antagonism of the Greeks and Latins. The Second begins with the death of John Palacologus and the accession of Constantine, and contains a virulent description of the moral degeneration of the people of Constantinople (v. 117 *sqq.*):—

obscaena sanctae pietatis in urbe  
nec species nec forma fuit, nec gratia recti,  
nec virtutis amor (v. 141).

The work is published in Ellissen's *Analekten*, vol. iii., as an appendix, 1857.

An anonymous Greek poem, in political verses, under the title of Capture of Constantinople (*Ἀλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*), is misnamed, for it touches only incidentally on the facts of the siege and is in this respect of little historical importance. It is really an appeal to the powers of the West—

αὐθένταις εὐγενέστατοι, τῆς Δύσης μεγιστᾶνες —

<sup>1</sup> There is a good analysis of the contents in Ellissen's *Analekten*, vol. iii., Appendix, p. 84 *sqq.*



French and English, Spanish and Germans

Φραζζέζους καὶ Ἀγκέζιδες, Σπανιόλους, Ἀλαμάνους —

to combine and recover Constantinople from the unbelievers. The Venetians are especially encouraged and urged to set the example —

᾿Ω Βενετζιάνοι φρόνιμοι, πρακταῖοι κ' ἐπιδέξιοι.

The Hungarians, Servians, and Walachians are incited to avenge the defeat of Varna: —

᾿Ω Βλαχία πολύθλιβη, Σερβία ποινεμένη,  
θυμείσθε ταῖς αἰχμαλωσιαῖς, Οὐγκρία λυπημένη.

The author, though orthodox, was not extreme in his ecclesiastical views. He probably lived within reach of Mohammad's arm, for he will not disclose his name: —

Τώρα σκεπάζω τθνομα καὶ κρύβω τθνομά μου,  
γὰ μὴ τὸ ᾿ξεύρουσι οἱ πολλοὶ τίς ὁ τοιαῦτα γράψας,

but gives his friends the means of knowing his identity by mentioning two bodily marks — a black mole on the little finger of his right hand, and another of the same size on his left hand (vv. 10, 20 *sqq.*). The work was first edited by Ellissen in vol. iii. of his *Analekten* (1857), with introduction, translation, and analysis, under the title *Dirge of Constantinople* (*Θρήνος Κωνσταντινοπόλεως* — a misnomer, for it is not a dirge but a tearful appeal. Legrand published an improved text in 1880 in vol. i. of his *Bibl. grecque vulgaire*, p. 169 *sqq.*

A Slavonic account, written probably by a Slav of some of the Balkan countries, is also preserved, and has been published by Sreznevski under the title: *Skazaniia o vziatii Tsargrada bezbozhnym turetskym sultanom*, in the *Zapiski of the 2nd Division of the St. Petersburg Academy of Science*, vol. i. p. 99 *sqq.*, 1854.

We have another Slavonic account, written in a mixture of Polish and Servian, by a Janissary of Mohammad, named Michael, who took part in the siege. He was a Servian of Ostroviča, and in his later years he went to Poland and wrote his *Memoirs*, which were edited, as "*Pamietniki Janiczara*," by Galezowsky in 1828, in vol. v. of his collection of Polish writers (*Zbior Piszarzy Polskich*). This relation is especially valuable as written from outside, by one who knew what was going on in the camp of the besiegers. It has been utilised by M. Mijatovich in his account of the siege (see below).

A report by the Father Superior of the Franciscans who was at Galata during the siege was printed by Muratori in vol. 18 (p. 701) of the *Scr. Rer. It.*: *Rapporto del Superiore dei Franciscani presente all' assedio et alla presa di Constantinopoli*. It seems to have escaped the notice of Gibbon.

An account by Christoforo Riccherio (*La presa di Constantinopoli*) is inserted in Sansovino's *Dell' Historia Universale dell' origine et imperio de Turchi* (1564), p. 343 *sqq.*

Abraham, an Armenian monk, who was present at the siege, wrote a "*Mélocie élégiaque*," which was translated into French by Brosset and printed in St. Martin's ed. of Lebeau's *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (xxi. p. 307 *sqq.*) which Brosset completed.

Adam de Montaldo, of Genoa: *De Constantinopolitano excidio ad nobilissimum juvenem Melleducam Cicalam, amicum optimum*; edited by C. Desimoni, in the *Atti della Società Ligure di storia patria*, x. p. 325 *sqq.*, 1874.

Besides these relations of eye-witnesses we have some additional contem-

porary accounts which were not accessible to Gibbon. The most important of these sources, Critobulus, has been spoken of in Appendix 1 of vol. xi.

Zorzi Dolphin wrote an account of the "siege and capture of Constantinople in 1453," which was published by G. M. Thomas in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy, 1868. His sources were the reports of Leonardo of Chios, Philip da Rimano, and anonymous eye-witnesses. He adds little to the story.

A letter of the Genoese "Podestà of Pera," written on June 23, 1853, giving a brief account of the capture, was published by Sylvestre de Sacy in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Roi*, xi. 1, p. 74, 1827.

Documents throwing light on the policy of the Genoese in the fatal year will be found in Vigna's *Codice diplomatico delle Colonie Tauro-Liguri, durante la Signoria dell' ufficio de S. Georgio (1453-1475)*, 1868.

Of little importance for the siege is the *Amyris* of Filelfo—on the life and deeds of Mohammad in 4 Books—published in Hopf's *Chroniques gréco-romanes*. The *Ἀνάκληματῆς Κωνσταντινῆς* (the anonymous writer of these verses was possibly a Cretan) published by Legrand, *Collection de monuments, Nouv. sér.*, v. p. 85 *sqq.*, and the *Θρήνος* on the capture, published by Lampros in *Ἔσθια*, 1886, p. 821 *sqq.*, tell us nothing. A Monody of Andronicus Callistus, in Migne's *Patr. Gr.*, 161, p. 1124, teaches us, as Paspates has pointed out, that there was water in the ditch outside the western wall.

The final scene of the siege is briefly described in Spandugino Cantacusino's *Della origine de principi Turchi* (which is included in Bk. ii. of Sansovino's *Dell' Historia Universale*, p. 187 *sqq.*), p. 195-6.

There are a number of other documents extant which have not yet been printed. C. Hopf and A. Dethier had designed and prepared the publication of these in the *Monumenta Hungar. Hist.*, along with many sources which had been already published. Four volumes lie in MS.; a description of their contents is given by Krumbacher in his *Gesch. der byzantinischen Litteratur*<sup>2</sup>, p. 311-12.

Brosset gathered some material from Armenian and Georgian sources; see the last vol. of St. Martin's edit. of Lebeau's *Histoire du Bas-Empire*.

The Turkish authorities are of very little value for the siege; they were utilised by Hammer. The earliest Ottoman historians belong to the end of the 15th century, *viz.* the History of the great-grandson of Ashik-Pasha (who lived under Murad I.); the anonymous chronicle, *Tarikhi Ali Osmân*; the *World-view of Neshri*. See Hammer's Introduction to his History. These earlier works were used by the most famous of Ottoman historians, Sad ad-Din, in his *Crown of Histories* (written under Murad III., end of 16th cent.).

The following is a list of the chief modern accounts of the siege that have appeared since Gibbon wrote:—

Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, i. p. 398 *sqq.*, 1834.  
Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, i. p. 811 *sqq.*, 1840.  
Stassulevich (J.), *Osada i Vziatie Vizantii Turkami*, 1854.  
Sreznevski, *Poviest o Tsargradie*, 1855.  
Mordtmann (A. D.), *Belagerung und Eroberung Constantinopels durch die Türken im Jahre 1453; 1858*. (This had two advantages over previous accounts. Mordtmann knew the ground; and he made use of the diary of Barbaro.)

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# INDEX

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## PART I. TO TEXT AND NOTES

- AAST (Asi), father of Amrou, ix., 172.  
 Aazaz, castle of, ix., 165.  
 Abactores, vii., 378 *note*.  
 Aban, Arabian soldier, death of, ix., 145.  
 Abares, Scythian colony of, in Hungary, vi., 2 *note*; destroy the Illyrian frontier fortresses, 12 *note*.  
 Abbas Shah, vii., 222 and *note*.  
 Abbas, son of Motassem, at Amorium, ix., 292-3.  
 Abbas, uncle of Mahomet, at the battle of Honain, ix., 76; posterity of, 233; rewarded by Omar, 115.  
 Abbasides, elevation of the, ix., 258; dynasty of, established, 262; expiration of family of, 295; fall of the, 305 *sq*.  
 Abd-al-Aziz, son of Musa, treaty of, with Theodemir, ix., 191 *sq*.; valour of, 192; death, 222.  
 Abd-al-Balcides, Abyssinian history of, ix., 172 *note*.  
 Abdallah defeats the Caliph Mervan, ix., 261 *sq*.  
 Abdallah ibn Maimum al-Kaddah, founder of the Carmathian movement, ix., 297 *note*.  
 Abdallah, son of Abbas, ix., 21.  
 Abdallah, son of Abd-al-Motaleb, ix., 31; death of, at Muta, 78.  
 Abdallah, son of Jaafar, ix., 152.  
 Abdallah, son of Musa, ix., 221.  
 Abdallah, son of Said, invades Africa, ix., 192; valour of, 192.  
 Abdallah, son of Zobeir, ix., 202.  
 Abd-al-Malek, caliph, conquers of, in Africa, ix., 202.  
 Abd-al-Motaleb, grandfather of Mahomet, ix., 29.  
 Abd-al-Rahman, general of Caliph Moawiyah, ix., 238 *note*.  
 Abd-al-Rahman, governor of Africa [A.D. 749], ix., 230 *note*.  
 Abd-al-Rahman III., Caliph of Spain, ix., 262 *sq*.; magnificence of, 266-7.  
 Abd-al-Rahman, or Abderame, victories of, ix., 252 *sq*.; defeated by Charles Martel, 256 *sq*.; death, 256.  
 Abdas, bishop, destroys the fire temple at Susa, v., 329 and *note*.  
 Abderame, *see* Abd-al-Rahman.  
 Abdication, Diocletian's, ii., 189 *sq*.  
 Abdullah, *see* Abdallah.  
 Abélard, xii., 79 and *note*.  
 Abgarus, last King of Edessa, i., 266.  
 Abgarus V., King of Edessa, ii., 341 *note*; correspondence of with Christ, viii., 313 and *note*.  
 Abibas, son of Gamaliel, body of, exhumed, v., 100.  
 Ablavius (Ablabius), iii., 180 *note*, 192; death of, 194; Prætorian Prefect, 378 *note*, iv., 120.  
 Aboras or Araxes, i., 245; ii., 175 and *note*.  
 Abrahah, King of the Homerites, vii., 233; viii., 63 and *note*; besieges Mecca, 30 *note*.  
 Abraham, nephew of John Maron, viii., 199.  
 Abraham, opposes idolatry, ix., 37; place of, in the Koran, 39.  
 Abu-Ayub or Job, companion of Mahomet, death of, ix., 239; his grave (*turbé*), xii., 55 and *note*.  
 Abu-Bekr, publishes Koran, ix., 42 and *note*; at battle of Bedr, 66-7; spreads religion of Mahomet, 54; flight of, from Mecca, 58; chosen by Mahomet, 81-2; elected Caliph, 92 *sq*.; death, 93; conquers the

- Arabs, 112; virtues of, 115; invades Syria, 134 *sq.*
- Abu-Caab, emir of the Andalusian Arabs, ix., 238.
- Abu-Hafs, leader of Sicilian rebels, x., 87 *note.*
- Abu-Hafs, *see* Abu Caab.
- Abu-Horaira, on Mahomet, ix., 32 *note.*
- Abulfeda, ix., 8; era of, 31 *note*; Arabic text of, edited by Gagnier, 53 *note*; on burial of Ali, 100 *note*; on the Fatimites, 106 *note*; his *Annales Moslemici*, 118 *note*; his account of Caliph Mervan, ix., 260; of Caliph Muktedir, 266; on the Bedoween, 298; family of, x., 294 *note*, 396 *note*; spectator of the war in Syria, 326; on the crusaders, xi., 38 *note*; fights against the Moguls, 134 *note.*
- Abulghazi Bahadur, History of the Tartars by, iv., 263 *note*, 272 *note*; on Zingis Khan, xi., 130 *note*, and 132 *notes.*
- Abulphragius, or Gregory Bar Hebraeus, primate of the East, viii., 89 *note*, 197 and *note*; on the Arabs, ix., 5 *note*; compendious History of, 118 *note*; Dynasties of, 183; on Caliph Almamun, 270; on the Mongols, xi., 154 *note.*
- Abu-l-Waled, King of Grenada, ix., 232 *note.*
- Abu-Moslem, rebellion of, ix., 259 *sq.*
- Abuna, head of the Abyssinian priesthood, viii., 209 and *note.*
- Abundantius exiled to Pityus by Eutropius, v., 204 and *note.*
- Abu-Obeidah, commands Arabian army in Syria, ix., 137; at taking of Damascus, 148; at battle of Yermuk, 158; besieges Jerusalem, 160, Antioch and Aleppo, 163; death, 169.
- Abu-Rafe, servant of Mahomet, ix., 71 *note.*
- Abū-Sa'id, sultan, death of, xi., 186, date of, *ib.* *note.*
- Abū-S'id, the Carmathian, ix., 298.
- Abu Sophian [Abu-Sofyān ibn Harb], prince of Mecca, ix., 57-8; defeated by Mahomet 68; commands expedition of the nations, 69; besieges Medina, *ib.*; adopts religion of Mahomet, 73; rewarded by Mahomet, 76.
- Abu-Taher, the Carmathian, ix., 298 *sq.*
- Abu-Taleb, uncle of Mahomet, ix., 31; his testimony to Mahomet, 32 *note.*
- Abu-Taleb, *read* Abu Lahab, uncle of Mahomet, ix., 56 and *note*; death of, 57.
- Abydus, iii., 95.
- Abyla, fair of, ix., 151 *sq.*
- Abyssinia, Church of, ii., 273 *note*; viii., 209 *sqq.*; christianised, iii., 311; trade of, vii., 36 *sq.*; described by Cosmas, 231 *note*; Greek speech in, viii., 183; Portuguese in, 210 *sqq.*
- Abyssinians, conquered, vii., 230 *sq.*; their alliance with Justinian, 232; an Arab race, viii., 208.
- Acacius, Bishop of Amida, redeems the Persian captives, v., 330.
- Acacius, leader of the Homœans, iii., 363 *note.*
- Acacius, master of the bears, vii., 10.
- Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, vi., 303 *note*; draws up the Henoticon, viii., 163 *note.*
- Academics, i., 38.
- Academy of the Platonists at Athens, vii., 76.
- Acatzires, vi., 18; ruled over by Ellac, son of Attila, vi., 76.
- Accaioli, Italian family of, in Greece, xi., 92.
- Accarias, on Roman law, vii., 302 *note*; 319 *note.*
- Accents, Greek, xi., 286.
- Acclamations, addressed to Greek Emperors, ix., 344.
- Acephali, Egyptian sect of, viii., 164 and *note.*
- Acesius, Novatian bishop, iii., 334 and *note.*
- Achaia, province of, i., 30.
- Acheloum, taken by the Turks, xii., 17.
- Achelöus, battle of, x., 33 and *note.*
- Achilles, the, of the Vandals, vii., 86 and *note.*
- Achilleus, tyrant, ii., 161 and *note.*
- Achin, promontory of, vii., 35.
- Acholiüs, Bishop of Thessalonica, baptises Theodosius, v., 11 and *note.*
- Achrida, *see* Lychnidus.
- Acolyth, office of, ix., 340.
- Acra, Mount, iv., 75.

- Acre or Ptolemais, ii., 116; Emir of, treats with crusaders, x., 254; Conrad III. at, 281 *note*; siege of (1189 A.D.), 305 *sqq.*; Richard I. at, 309-10; Louis IX. at, 322; metropolis of Latin Christians, 324; taken by Sultan Khalil, 326 *note*.
- Acropolita George, xi., 26 *note*, 32 *note*; Minister of Vataces, 54 *note*; punished by Theodore Lascaris II., 58; collects letters of Theodore Lascaris, *ib.* *note*.
- Acta Diurna, vii., 312 *note*.
- Acta Sanctorum, v., 360 *note*.
- Actiac games, restored by Julian, iv., 42 *note*.
- Actions, right of judicial, vii., 366 *sq.*
- Ad, tribe of, ix., 56.
- Adam and Clérisseau, work on Spalatro, ii., 196 *note*.
- Adam, place of, in the Koran, ix., 39; apocryphal books of, *ib.* *note*.
- Adarman, general of Nushirvan, reduces Syria, viii., 52.
- Adarne, passes of, iii., 215.
- Adauctus, martyr, iii., 76.
- Adclamationes graves*, i., 125 *note*.
- Addæus (Addai) Doctrine of*, viii., 313 *note*.
- Addison, Mr., bigotry of, viii., 313 *note*, xi., 271 *note*, xii., 191 *note*.
- Addua, river of Lombardy, crossed by Alaric, v., 152; battle of the, vi., 310.
- Adel or Saphadin, brother of Sultan Saladin, x., 311.
- Adela, wife of Raymond of Toulouse, x., 217 *note*.
- Adenulf [*De Excidio urbis Accomis*], x., 326 *note*.
- Aderbijan or Media, conquered by the Moslems, ix., 26 *note*; conquered by Togrul, x., 158.
- Adhad el Dowlat, tyrant of Persia, ix., 100 *note*.
- Adharbijan, *see* Aderbijan.
- Adhed [Adid], last Fatimite caliph of Egypt, x., 293 and *note*.
- Adhémar, Bishop of Puy, x., 199, 218, 250; death, 259.
- Adiabene, march of Julian through, iv., 120; name of Assyria, 127 *note*.
- Adiabenicus*, title of Diocletian, ii., 178 *note*; *Maximus*, of Constantius, iii., 199 *note*.
- Adjudicatio*, vii., 358 *note*.
- Admiral, etymology of that name, xi., 340-1 and *note*.
- Adolphus, v., 359.
- Adolphus, reinforces Alaric, v., 230 and *note*; count of domestics, 237; succeeds Alaric, 256 *sqq.*; allies himself with Jovinus, 269; assassinated at Barcelona, 274; his death celebrated at Constantinople, 275 *note*.
- Adoption, ceremony of, x., 229 *note*.
- Adoration of the emperor, ii., 183; ceremony of, ix., 341.
- Adorno, Genoese governor, accompanies Amurath II. to Europe, xi., 222.
- Adrian, *see* Hadrian.
- Adrumetum, city of, surrenders to Belisarius, vii., 98; destroyed by Antalas, vii., 240.
- Adulis, seaport, vii., 37 and *note*, 232.
- Adultery, German punishment of, i., 291 and *note*; Roman laws concerning, vii., 376 *sqq.*; declared to be a capital offence, 381.
- Adventus, Prætorian prefect, i., 176.
- Advocatus, iii., 133 *note*.
- Ædesius, the Platonist, iv., 52; at Pergamus, 56.
- Ædui, Gallic tribe, iii., 162 and *note*.
- Ægæ, city in Cilicia, v., 358.
- Ægidius, master-general of Gaul, revolt of, vi., 116; death, *ib.*; character, 115 *note*; defeats Ricimer at Orleans, 131; elected King by the Franks, 212 *note*.
- Ægilus, station of, viii., 254 *note*.
- Ælia Capitolina, ii., 271; iv., 75; ix., 160 and *note*.
- Ælianus, leader of the Bagaudæ, ii., 152 and *note*.
- Ælianus or Lælianus, *see* Lollianus.
- Ælius Gallus, invades Arabia, ix., 12 *note*.
- Ælius Pætus, *tripartite* of, vii., 320.
- Æmilianus, emperor, ii., 50.
- Æmilianus, governor of Pannonia, revolt of, ii., 20, 21.
- Æmona, ii., 246 and *note*; resists Maximus, v., 38; siege of, by Theodosius, 41; Alaric at, 183 and *note*.

- Æneas**, galley of, preserved at Rome, vii., 262 *note*.
- Æneas of Gaza**, his description of the African confessors, vi., 199 and *note*.
- Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.)**, founds University of Basil, xi., 254 *note*; efforts against the Turks, xii., 62; at coronation of Frederic III., 168 *note*, 169 *note*; epigram of, 197 and *note*.
- Æolus**, tragedy of Euripides, v., 267 *note*.
- Æon or Emanation of the Deity**, Gnostic conception of, iii., 343 and *note*.
- Aerial tribute**, vii., 43.
- Æschines**, vii., 74; on Alexander, ix., 127 *note*.
- Æsculapius**, i., 41; island of, vi., 135; temple of, at Lambesa, vii., 120.
- Æstii**, inhabitants of the Baltic coast, iv., 246 and *note*; bring amber to Theodoric, vi., 317 and *note*.
- Æteriarch**, office of, ix., 340 and *note*.
- Æthiopia**, i., 2; ii., 274 *note*; tribes of, join Gildo the Moor, v., 132; saved by the Portuguese, viii., 211.
- Æthiopians**, vii., 286 *note*; three thousand at battle of Ascalon, x., 259.
- Aetius**, hostage in camp of Alaric, v., 197; general of Placidia, 340 and *note*; supports John, the usurper, 341; battle with Boniface, 353; his flight, *ib.*; his restoration, vi., 41; his government, *ib. sqq.*; allies himself with the Huns and Alani, 42; portrait of, by Renatus, *ib. note*; subdues the Franks and Suevoi, *ib.*; defeats Clodion, 50; his son's betrothal, 78; his death, *ib.*
- Aetius**, surnamed the Atheist, iii., 351 and *note*; favoured by Gallus, 370.
- Ætolia**, recovered by John Cantacuzene, xi., 105.
- Afghanistan**, Ghōrid dynasty of, xi., 137 *note*.
- Afrasiab**, Emperor of Touran, x., 157 *note*; "towers of," xii., 152.
- Afrasiabs**, iv., 273.
- Africa**, province of, i., 32, and 33; tribute, 204, 205; revolts from Maximin, 223; from Diocletian, ii., 160, 161; Christianity in, 338 and *note*; persecution of the Christians in, by Maximin, iii., 75; religious discord in, 405 *sqq.*; Count Romanus in, iv., 231 *sqq.*; rebellion of Firmus in, 233 *sqq.*; Theodosius in, 234 *sq.*; Africa described, 237 *sq.* and *notes*; Gildo's revolt in, v., 126 *sqq.*; revolt of Boniface in, 342 *sqq.*; Vandal invasion of, 344; Donatist persecution in, 346 and *notes*; desolated by Vandals, 349 and 350; Vandal persecution in, vi., 190 *sqq.*; reduced by Belisarius, vii., 97 *sqq.*; date of conquest of, 88 *note*; Catholic Church re-established in, 109; taxed by Justinian, 235; revolt of Stozza in, 238 *sq.*; rebellion of the Moors in, 240 *sqq.*; desolation of, 242; Saracen invasion of, ix., 191 *sqq.*; final reduction of, 204 *sq.*; Christianity extinct in, 230 *sq.*; revolts from the Caliph, ix., 301; Norman conquests in, x., 130 *sq.*
- Agapae**, ii., 323.
- Agatharchides**, geographer, ix., 2 *note*, 4 *note*; date of his *Historica*, 23 *note*.
- Agathias**, on testament of Arcadius, v., 319 and *note*; describes the Franks, vi., 237 and *note*; continues history of Procopius, vii., 7 *note*; edition of Leyden, 8 *note*; on Anthemius, 50; on Persia, 201 and *note*; on Lazic war, 213 *note*, 227 *note*, 280 and *note*.
- Agathocles**, iv., 145 *note*.
- Agathyrsi**, tribes of, iv., 285.
- Agaunum or St. Maurice**, monastery of, founded by Sigismund, vi., 228 and *note*.
- Agentes in rebus**, iii., 151 and *note*.
- Agiamogians**, Turkish class of, xi., 228.
- Agilo**, general, iv., 35.
- Aglab**, lieutenant of Harun, ix., 301.
- Aglabites**, usurp the provinces of Africa, ix., 286.
- Aglæ**, a Roman lady, iii., 77.
- Agnats**, in Roman law, vii., 354, 360.
- Agnellus**, viii., 331 *note*.
- Agnes or Irene**, daughter of Henry of Brunswick, wife of Andronicus III., xi., 103 and *note*.
- Agnes**, wife of Henry, Emperor of Constantinople, xi., 18.

- Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, vi., 247 *note*.  
 Agria, vi., 28 and *note*.  
 Agricola, i., 4 *note*, 5 and *note*; origin of, iii., 120 *note*.  
 Agriculture, i., 65, 66, 67; encouraged by the Magi, 258; ruined by land tax, iii., 158; of the eastern empire, vii., 28 *sq.*; in Asia Minor under Romanus, viii., 265 *note*.  
 Agrippa, builds the Pantheon at Rome, i., 55 *note*, and xii., 193 *note*; aqueducts of, v., 219.  
 Agrippina, i., 192 and *note*.  
 Agro Calventiano, Boethius executed at, vi., 340 *note*.  
 Ahmad, Ben Joseph, ix., 61 *note*.  
 Ahmad ibn Arabshah, xi., 181 *note*, 187 *note*; on Bajazet, 207.  
 Ahmad, son of Abd Allah, ix., 297 *note*.  
 Ahmad, son of Tülün, ix., 303 *note*.  
 Ahnaf ibn Kais, subdues Khurāsān, ix., 126 *note*.  
 Ahriman, i., 255, 256 and *note*; nature of, x., 8.  
 Aibak, husband of a Mameluke queen, x., 321 *note*.  
 Aidin, Turkish chief, xi., 160; prince of, submits to Murad, *ib. note*; subdued by Bajazet I., 169.  
 Aikaterina, Bulgarian princess, viii., 281 *note*.  
 Aimoin, a French monk, his account of Belisarius, vii., 165 *note*.  
 Aix la Chapelle, memorable duel at, vi., 247 *note*; palace and church of Charlemagne at, viii., 346 *note*; xii., 195.  
 Ajax, sepulchre of, iii., 96.  
 Ajnadin, battle of, ix., 121 *sq.*  
 Akbah, lieutenant of Moawiyah, ix., 197-8; African expedition of, 199 *sq.*; death, 200.  
 Akhal Emir, x., 87 *note*.  
 Akindynos, Gregory, xi., 319 *note*.  
 Akshahr, death of Bajazet at, xi., 205.  
 Ala, lieutenant of the Abbasides, ix., 263.  
 Alā ad-Din Mohammad, Shah of Carizme, xi., 137 *note*.  
 Alā-ad-Din, vizir of Orchan, reforms of, xi., 158 and *note*.  
 Aladin (İftikhar) defends Jerusalem, x., 255.  
 Aladin, Sultan of Iconium, xi., 156.
- Alamanni, *see* Alemanni.  
 Al-Amin, Caliph of Bagdad, ix., 264 *note*.  
 Alani, ii., 10; invade Asia, 110; conquered by the Huns, iv., 285; in the service of Gratian, v., 4; invade Spain, 272; join the Vandals, 276; colony of, at Orleans, vi., 43 and *note*; allies of Ætius, *ib.*; invade Italy, 117 *note*; allies of the Avars, vii., 190 and *note*.  
 Alankavah, virgin mother, Seljukides, derived from, x., 157 *note*.  
 Alaon, monastery of, viii., 364 *note*.  
 Alaric, King of the Visigoths, vi., 67; slain by Clovis at Vouillé, vi., 232.  
 Alaric, the Goth, family of, v., 139 and *note*; revolt of, *ib. sqq.*; in Greece, 140 *sqq.*; enters Athens, 141; destroys Eleusis, 143; retreats to Elis, 143; escapes to Epirus, 144; allies himself with the Emperor of the East, 145; master-general of Eastern Illyricum, *ib.*; King of the Visigoths, 147; in Italy, 148 *sqq.*; defeated by Stilicho at Pollentia, 155; demands a province, 183; demands hostages, 197; before Rome, 225; raises the siege, 228; negotiations for peace, 231; takes Ostia, 235; declares Attalus emperor, 237; degrades him, 240; sack of Rome, 241 *sqq.*; his moderation, 242; evacuates Rome, 252; his projects, 254, 255; death and funeral, 256.  
 Alatheus and Saphrax, chiefs of the Ostrogoths, iv., 288; send ambassadors to Antioch, 294; at the battle of Hadrianople, 313; cross the Danube, 334; death of Alatheus, *ib.*  
 Alauda, Roman legion, i., 12 *note*.  
 Alavivus and Frutigern, judges of the Visigoths, iv., 289 and *note*; lead the revolt of the Goths, 297; at the battle of Salices, 303 *note*.  
 Alba, vii., 130 *note*; interview at, between ambassadors of Theodatus and Justinian, 131; taken by Belisarius, 152.  
 Alba Pompeia in Piedmont, i., 124 *note*.  
 Alba, river, ii., 118 *note*.  
 Al-Bakri, ix., 191 *note*.



- Albania (Caucasian), i., 8; Heraclius in, viii., 105 and *note*, 106.
- Albania (Illyrian), prince of, opposes Ottomans, xi., 168 *note*.
- Albanians (Caucasian), in the army of Sapor, iii., 254 and *note*.
- Albanians (Illyrian), their invasion of Greece, xi., 115 *note*; revolt of, 318 *sq.*; colony of, in Calabria, 321 and *note*; in the Peloponnesus, xii., 58.
- Albano, Roman villas at, xii., 101.
- Albara, captured by crusaders, x., 253 *note*.
- Al-Beithar, Arabian botanist, ix., 275 *note*.
- Albengue, ii., 125 *note*.
- Alberic, revolt of, viii., 380-1; his title *senator*, xii., 84 *note*.
- Albigeois, persecution of, x., 19 *sq.*; etymology of name, 19 *note*.
- Albinus Clodius, governor of Britain, i., 139, 140; war with Severus, 149 *sqq.*; death, 154.
- Albinus, Prefect of Rome, v. 262.
- Albinus, senator, accused of treason, vi., 338.
- Albinus, the Pontiff, conversion of, v., 79 *note*.
- Al-Bocchari, edits the Koran, ix., 43 and *note*.
- Albofleda, sister of Clovis, marries Theodoric, vi., 218.
- Alboin, King of the Lombards, assists Justinian, vii., 266 *note*; early prowess, viii., 5; allies himself with the Avars, *ib.*; destroys the kingdom of the Gepidæ, 7 *sq.*; invades Italy, 9 *sqq.*; Arianism of, 10; subdues great part of Italy, 13 *sqq.*; besieges Pavia, 13; murdered by his wife Rosamund, 15 *sq.*
- Albornoz, Cardinal, xii., 152 and *note*.
- Alcantara, bridge of, i., 56.
- Alchymy, ii., 164, 275 *note*, 276.
- Alciat, on the Pandects, vii., 332 *note*.
- Aldus Manutius, prints Greek authors at Venice, xi., 290 *note*.
- Alemanni, Nicholas, quotes the *Justiniani Vita*, vii., 2 *note*; publishes the *Secret History* of Procopius, 8 *note*.
- Alemanni, origin, ii., 27; etymology of name, 28 *note*; in Gaul and Italy, 28 *note*; alliance of the, with Gallienus, 29; oppose Claudius, 65 *note*; invade Italy, 77; defeated by Aurelian, 78; destroy the wall of Probus, 121; defeated by Constantius, 159; in Alsace, iii., 260; defeated by Julian, 267; in Gaul, iv., 213 *sq.*, 306 *sq.*; defeated by Majorian, vi., 103 and *note*; derivation of their name, 217; defeated by Clovis, *ib.* and 218; their institutions, 240; protected by Theodoric, 320 and *note*; invade Italy, vii., 275; defeat of, by Narses, 277; invade Italy and are defeated by the Lombards, viii., 27; their country under Charlemagne, 366; name of, given by the Greeks to the Germans, x., 277 *note*.
- Alembic, 275 *note*, 276.
- Aleppo, church of, ii., 272; Julian at, iv., 117; besieged by Nushirvan, vii., 208; resists Baian, viii., 72; siege of, by the Saracens, ix., 163 *sq.*; castle of, *ib.* and *note*; taken by Nicephorus, 310-11; princes of, expelled by the Syrian dynasty of Seljuks, x., 177; under the Atabegs, 288; attacked by Saladin, 395; pillaged by the Moguls, xi., 144; sack of, by Timour, 197.
- Alexander the Great, Indian conquests of, i., 35 and *note*; in Julian's *Cæsars*, iv., 108, 109 *note*; his fort near the Caspian Gates, vii., 72; compared to Belisarius, 140.
- Alexander, Archbishop of Alexandria, iii., 350 and *note*.
- Alexander, emperor, colleague of Constantine VII., viii., 264.
- Alexander, general of Justinian, vii., 244 *note*.
- Alexander of Diospolis, disgrace of, vii., 382.
- Alexander III., pope, assists the Lombards, viii., 385; receives embassy from Constantinople, x., 137; pronounces separation of Latin and Greek Churches, 138; defines the right of Papal election, xii., 103-4 and *note*; disqualifies the Colonna, 120 and *note*.
- Alexander Severus, *see* Severus.

- Alexander, son of Basil I., emperor, viii., 261.
- Alexander the Scribe (Logothete), vii., 246 and *note*; called *Psallition*, *ib.*
- Alexander V., pope, xii., 165 and *note*.
- Alexander VI. [Borgia], xii., 176.
- Alexandria, i., 63; massacre at, 174; described, ii., 55; tumults at, under Gallienus, *ib.* and 56; seized by Firmus, 93; taken by Diocletian, 161; corn at, 163 *note*; church of, 335; school of, iii., 340; Jews at, *ib.*; Trinitarian controversy at, 344 *sq.*; siege of, by Syrianus, 390; tumults at, under Julian, iv., 99; earthquake at, 259; temple of Serapis at, v., 84 *sqq.*; library of the Ptolemies, 85 *note*; library of Serapeum, 87; museum of, vii., 75; taken by Chosroes, viii., 91; patriarch of, lends money to Heraclius, 99 *note*; siege of, by Amrou, 179 *sq.*; date of Saracen conquest of, 181 *note*; destruction of library at, 182 *sqq.*; church of St. John at, 180; poverty of, relieved by Charlemagne, x., 183; taken by Shiracouh, 292.
- Alexandrians, character of the, ii., 55, 56.
- Alexiad of Anna Comnena, x., 16 *note*.
- Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, viii., 193.
- Alexius I., son of John Comnenus, viii., 285; character, 287; takes Constantinople, *ib.*; persecutes the Paulicians, x., 17; requests help from the Latins, 114; defeated by Guiscard at Durazzo, 116; epistle of, to the Count of Flanders, 181-2 and *note*; ambassadors of, at Placentia, 195; diverts the crusaders into Asia, 212; policy of, towards crusaders, 227, 229; fails to assist them at Antioch, 248 and *note*; compared to the jackal, 271; successes against the Turks, *ib.* *sqq.*
- Alexius II., Comnenus, Emperor of Constantinople, reign, viii., 294 *sqq.*; new titles introduced by, ix., 336.
- Alexius III., Angelus, x., 340.
- Alexius IV., son of Isaac Angelus, his alliance with the crusaders, x., 354 *sq.*; flight of, 366; restored and crowned, 367; visits Europe with Montferrat, 369; accused of apostasy, 369-70; conduct toward the Latins, 371; death of, 372-3.
- Alexius Mourzouffe, *see* Mourzouffe.
- Alexius, son-in-law of Theophilus, purchases the palace of Anthemius, vi., 124 *note*.
- Alexius, son of Manuel Comnenus, x., 335; governor of Trebizond, xi., 10; founds state of Trapezus in 1204, 11 *note*; succeeded by his stepson, 11 *note*.
- Alexius Strategopoulos, general of Michael Palæologus, xi., 35; made Cæsar, 65-6.
- Alfred the Great, translates the writings of Boethius, vi., 341 and *note*; sends ambassadors to Madras, viii., 191.
- Algardi, relief by, representing the appearance of SS. Peter and Paul to Attila, vi., 74 and *note*.
- Algebra, discovery of, ix., 274 and *note*.
- Algezire in Spain, town of Julian, ix., 212 and *note*.
- Algiers, aristocracy of, i., 245 and *note*; Christianity revives at, ix., 232.
- Al-Hurr invades Gaul, A.D. 718, ix., 252 *note*.
- Ali, son of Abu Taleb, sixty-nine sentences of, ix., 19-20, 54, 55; aids Mahomet to escape, 58; valour of, 71; marries Fatima, 90; character, 91 *sq.*; renounces caliphate, 93; reign, 97 *sq.*; defeat and death, 100; tomb of, at Cufa, *ib.* *note*; one of the twelve Imams, 105; posterity of, *ib.*
- Ali Pasha, vizir of Bajazet, xi., 170 *note*.
- Alicant surrendered by Theodemir to the Saracens, ix., 219-20.
- Alice or Agnes, wife of Andronicus I., viii., 305.
- Aligern, brother of Teias, vii., 273; defends Cumæ, 274.
- Aliquaca, Gothic chief, ii., 258 *note*.
- Aliturus, a Jewish actor, iii., 23.
- Al-Jannabi, Arabian physician, ix., 53 *note*.
- Al-Kaim, *see* Cayem.
- Al-Lâta [Al-Lât], worship of, x., 56 and *note*.
- Allectus, ii., 156.
- Allier, river, vi., 256.

- Allis, battle of, ix., 119.
- Allobich, barbarian commander of the guards of Honorius, v., 234.
- Allodial lands in Gaul, vi., 251.
- Alma, Mount, ii., 126.
- Al-Makkari, ix., 210 *note*.
- Almamon, caliph, besieges Bagdad, ix., 264 *note*; wealth of, 265-6; encourages learning, 269, 278 *note*; subdues Crete, 282 *sq.*; revolt of the provinces under, 300 *sq.*
- Al-Mamūn, *see* Almamon.
- Al-Mansor, caliph, encourages learning, ix., 260, 269; founds Bagdad, 264 and *note*.
- Almeria, learning at, under the caliphs, ix., 271; manufacture of silk at, 326-7.
- Al-Modain (the cities), winter residence of the Persian kings, iv., 137.
- Al-Mohades or Princes of Morocco, ix., 105; fanaticism of, 232; x., 131.
- Almondar, Saracen Prince, vii., 205 and *note*, 206.
- Almus, King of the Hungarians, x., 37 *note*, 38.
- Al-Nagjar*, meaning of, ix., 61 *note*.
- Al-Nāsir Nāsir-al-Din Faraj, Circassian Mameluke, xi., 196 *note*.
- Alodes, tribe of, conversion of the, viii., 208 *note*.
- Alogians, ii., 332 *note*.
- Alor, town of, taken by the Moslems, ix., 132 *note*.
- Alp Arslan, sultan of the Turkmans, x., 161; conquests of, 162; defeated by Diogenes, 164; wins the battle of Manzikert, 166; treaty of, with the emperor, 170; death, 171; tomb of, 172.
- Alphabet, Phœnician, i., 31 *note*; Mycæan syllabary, *ib.*
- Alphonso III., King of Leon, ix., 208 *note*.
- Alphonso Mendez, Catholic Patriarch of Æthiopia, viii., 211 and *note*.
- Alphonso of Castile, viii., 389 *note*.
- Alphonso the Chaste, Kingdom of, viii., 368.
- Alps, passages of the, ii., 229 and *note*, 230; Maritime Alps, one of the seven provinces, v., 286 *note*; passage of, by Majorian, vi., 110 and *note*.
- Al-Sama, invades Gaul, ix., 252 *note*.
- Altai Mountains, *see* Caf.
- Altieri, Italian family of, xii., 205.
- Altinum, city of, pillaged by Alaric, v., 198; destroyed by Attila, vi., 68.
- Alum, mines of, in Melos, xi., 221 *note*.
- Al-Uzzah (Uzzā), worship of, ix., 56 and *note*.
- Alva, Duke of, xii., 176 *note*.
- Alvarez, Portuguese traveller, vii., 232 *note*.
- Alypius, minister of Julian, iv., 79 *sq.*
- Al-Zāhir Sayf-al-Din Barkūk, founds Burji dynasty (Circassian Mamelukes), xi., 196 *note*.
- Amala, King of the Goths, ii., 9.
- Amalafrida, sister of Theodoric, marries Thrasimond, vii., 122 and *note*.
- Amalaric, grandson of Theodoric, restored to the throne of Spain, vi., 342.
- Amalasontha, daughter of Theodoric, vi., 315 *note*; erects monument of Theodoric, 343; character, vii., 124 and *note*; regent of Italy, *ib.*; reigns with Theodahad, 126; exile and death, 127.
- Amalasontha, granddaughter of Theodoric, marries Germanus, vii., 264.
- Amali, royal line of, v., 274 *note*.
- Amalphi, discovery of the Pandects at, vii., 335 and *note*; Roman colony at, viii., 29; independence of, *ib.*; joins League of the southern cities, ix., 288; dukes of, x., 78-9 *note*; subdued by Robert Guiscard, 102; trade of, 104-5, 184; siege of, 219; founds the hospital of St. John at Jerusalem, 263 *note*; decline of, 334.
- Amalric or Amaury, King of Jerusalem, x., 265 *note*; invades Egypt, 292-3; wars of, 299.
- Amandus, Gallician bishop, viii., 179 *note*.
- Amandus, leader of revolt in Gaul, ii., 152 and *note*, 257.
- Amantius, eunuch, vii., 2; death, 4.
- Amara, fortified by the Paulicians, x., 12 *note*.
- Amari, on Saracens in Sicily, ix., 284 *note*.
- Amastris, Genoese colony, xii., 55 *note*.
- Amaury, *see* Amalric.

- Amazons, ii., 94 and *note*.
- Amber, i., 69 and *note*; brought to Theodoric, vi., 317 and *note*.
- Amblada, Aetius at, iii., 388 *note*.
- Amboise, conference of Clovis and Alaric near, vi., 229.
- Ambrose, St., iii., 323 *note*; epistle of, to Theodosius, iv., 81 and *note*; his treatise on the Trinity, v., 3 *note*; toleration of, 28; early history, 30, 31; disputes with Justina, 32 *sqq.*; friendship with Theodosius, 52; dealings with Theodosius, 55 *sqq.* and *notes*; with Eugenius, 65; opposes Symmachus, 77; on the state of Italy, vi., 154 and *note*; vii., 317 *note*; cathedral of, at Milan, viii., 391.
- Ambrosius Aurelian the Roman, vi., 276 and *notes*.
- Amedée the Great, of Savoy, xi., 104 *note*.
- Amelius, neo-Platonist, ii., 198.
- Amelot de la Houssaie, vi., 71 *note*.
- Amer, apostate Arabian, ix., 168.
- Ameria, rebuilt by Leo, ix., 290.
- America, vi., 295 *note*.
- Amida, city of, iii., 254 and *note*; modern name of, 254 and *note*; taken by Sapor, 256 and *note*; capital of Mesopotamia, iv., 168; strengthened by the sieges of, vii., 69 *note*, 70; destroyed by Chosroes, viii., 88; taken by the Saracens, ix., 170; recovered by Nicephorus, 312; *see* Diarbekir.
- Amiens, ii., 159.
- Amina, the Zahrite, ix., 31.
- Amir, Turkish prince of Ionia, rescues the Empress Irene from the Bulgarians, xi., 162; death of, 163.
- Ammates, brother of Gelimer, slain by the Romans, vii., 100.
- Ammianus Marcellinus, i., 252 *note*; iii., 171 *note*; on Eusebius, 225; as a writer, 225 *note*, 228 *note*; attended Ursicinus, 242 *note*; at Amida, 258 *note*; on Constantius II., iv., 26 *note*; on the Christians, iii., 408; on Julian's clemency, iv., 63; on the temple at Jerusalem, 81; in Persia, 141 *note*; on the Church of Rome, 210; at Salices, 304; impartiality of, 326 and *note*; on Roman manners, v., 208 *sqq.* and *notes*.
- Ammon, the mathematician, his measurement of the walls of Rome, v., 223.
- Ammonius, neo-Platonist, ii., 198; John Philoponus, his last disciple, ix., 183.
- Ammonius, the monk, viii., 138.
- Amnesty, general, published by Honorius, v., 262.
- Amogavares, xi., 85 *note*; name for Spaniards and Catalans.
- Amor or Hamaland, code of, vi., 240 *note*.
- Amorian war, ix., 28 *sqq.*
- Amorium, birthplace of Leo the Armenian, viii., 246 *note*; destruction of, 250; taken by the Saracens, ix., 23; siege of, by the Saracens, 292-3; site of, 292 *note*.
- Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium, v., 12.
- Amphipolis, under the Servians, xi., 113 *note*.
- Amphissa, taken by Boniface, xi., 7 *note*.
- Amphitheatre of Titus at Rome, ii., 137 and *notes*, 138 and *notes*.
- Ampoulle, Sainte, vi., 220 *note*.
- Ampsaga, river, v., 354.
- Amrou (Amr), ix., 73; attempt on his life, 99; acknowledges Moawiyah, 100; at Damascus, 144; birth, 172; in Egypt, 173 *sqq.*; interview with the prefect, 180; administration of, in Egypt, 186 *sq.*; canal of, between Nile and Red Sea, 187 and *note*; correspondence with Omar, 188 *note*.
- Amrou, brother of Jacob the Sofforite, ix., 303.
- Amselfeld, battle of the, xi., 168 *note*.
- Amurath I., Sultan [Murad], reign and conquests of, xi., 166 *sqq.*; institutes the Janizaries, 168; death, 169; punishes Sauzes, 176.
- Amurath II., Sultan, marries Servian princess, xi., 207 *note*; reign of, 221; takes Hadrianople, 222; besieges Constantinople, 224-5; embassy of, to John Palæologus, 258 and *note*; character and reign, 300 *sqq.*; pardons Scanderbeg, 302;

- abdication, 302 *sq.*; in battle of  
Warna, 309 *sq.*; enters Albania,  
319; retires from Croya, *ib.*; re-  
ceives Phranza, 322; death, 324.
- Amycus, iii., 92 and *note*.
- Anachorets, vi., 157, 175 *sq.*
- Anacletus, pope, consecrates Roger,  
first King of Sicily, x., 130; xii.,  
87 *note*; "antipope," 116.
- Anagni, xii., 107; Boniface VIII. at,  
108; the curse of, 109 *note*; college  
of cardinals at, 159; Porcaro at,  
172.
- Anaitis, golden statue of, v., 89 *note*.
- Anas, river, v., 344.
- Anastasia, daughter of Heraclius, viii.,  
221 *note*.
- Anastasia, daughter of the Emperor  
Maurice, viii., 83 *note*.
- Anastasia, Empress, wife of Tiberius,  
viii., 21 and *note*.
- Anastasia, Gregory's conventicle, v., 16,  
17 and *note*.
- Anastasia, sister of Constantine, ii., 209  
*note*, 245; iii., 173.
- Anastasia, sister of the Empress Theo-  
dora, vii., 10.
- Anastasius, author of the Liber Pontifi-  
calis, vii., 254 *note*.
- Anastasius, grandson of the Empress  
Theodora, vii., 260 and *note*.
- Anastasius I., Emperor, heresy of, vi.,  
222; makes Theodoric consul, 235;  
marries Ariadne, 303; war with  
Theodoric, 318 *sq.*; religious  
troubles in the circus, vii., 21;  
economy of, 40 and *note*; remits  
taxation, 39 and *note*; exempted  
various cities from taxation, 42;  
long wall of, 62; suppressed the  
pensions of the Isaurians, 64;  
Persian war, 69 *sq.*; in the circus  
as a suppliant, viii., 167; signs  
treaty of orthodoxy, *ib.*
- Anastasius II., Emperor, viii., 233;  
preparations against Saracens, ix.,  
242-3 and *note*.
- Anastasius I., Pope, epistle of, to Clovis,  
vi., 222 *note*.
- Anastasius IV., Pope, xii., 82.
- Anastasius, librarian of the Roman  
Church, ix., 256 *note*, 291 *note*.
- Anastasius, Patriarch, supports Arta-  
vasdus, viii., 256 *note*.
- Anastasius, St., acts of, viii., 92 *note*.
- Anatho, iv., 126 and *note*.
- Anatolia, invaded by Monguls, xi., 145;  
divided among the Emirs, 159; in-  
vaded by Timour, 200; given to  
Mousa, 205.
- Anatolius, heretic, vii., 46 *note*.
- Anatolius, master-general of the armies  
of the East, ambassador to Attila,  
vi., 36.
- Anatolius, master of the offices, iv., 152,  
154.
- Anatomy, study of, among the Saracens,  
ix., 275 and *note*.
- Anazarbus, valley of, viii., 291.
- Anbar, city of, reduced by Caled, ix.,  
119.
- Anbasa, invades Gaul, ix., 252 *note*.
- Anchialus, ii., 39; warm baths at, vii.,  
61; Emperor Maurice at, viii., 73;  
Andronicus at, 297; battle of, x.,  
33 *note*.
- Ancilia, or sacred shields, i., 186;  
iv., 52 *note*; v., 227 *note*.
- Ancona, taken by Belisarius, vii., 155;  
resists Totila, 264; siege of, by  
Frederic Barbarossa, x., 137; trad-  
ers of, at Constantinople, xii., 49;  
Pius II. at, 63.
- Ancyra, Monumentum Ancyranum, i.,  
2 *note*; ii., 87; council of, 326;  
Jovian at, iv., 178; taken by Chos-  
roes, viii., 91; pillaged by the  
Paulicians, x., 13; taken by Mu-  
rad V., xi., 160 *note*.
- Andages the Ostrogoth, kills Theodoric  
at Châlons, vi., 62.
- Andalusia, ix., 207 *note*.
- Andalusian Arabs in Egypt and Crete,  
ix., 283.
- Anderida (Andreses Ceaster), vi., 278  
and *note*.
- Andernach, fortified by Julian, iii., 273  
*note*.
- Anderson's History of Commerce on the  
Hanseatic league, x., 55 *note*.
- Andragathius, general to Maximus, v.,  
43 *note*.
- Andreas de Redusiis de Quero, his de-  
scription of the sack of Azoph, xi.,  
190 *note*; Chancellor of Trevigi,  
207 *note*.
- Andrew, eunuch, protects the Chris-  
tians, iii., 59.

- Andrew, King of Hungary, refuses the empire, xi., 22.
- Andrew of Naples, strangled, xii., 139 *note*.
- Andrew, St., body of, removed to Constantinople, v. 98; spiritual founder of Constantinople, *ib. note*; head of, removed to Vatican, xii., 60; family portrait of Gregory I. at monastery of, viii., 42; shrine of, at Patras, ix., 324.
- Andronicus Angelus, viii., 306.
- Andronicus Ducas, brother of Constantine X., x., 240 and *note*.
- Andronicus I., surnamed Gidos, second Emperor of Trebizond, xi., 11 *note*.
- Andronicus I., viii., 282; character and adventures of, 294 *sqq.*; reign, 303 *sqq.*; death, x., 139; massacre of Latins, 336.
- Andronicus II., or Elder, Palæologus, restores Justinian's statue, vii., 290; crowned, xi., 72; pays the Catalans, 87; defeated by them, 89; reign, 94 *sqq.*; associates Michael, 97; abdicates, 101; death, 102; preserves colossus of Justinian and St. Sophia, xi., 296.
- Andronicus III., or Younger, xi., 97; coronation, 100; character, 100; reign, 102 *sqq.*; death, 106; defeated by Orchan, xi., 159; embassy to Benedict XII., 233 and *note*.
- Andronicus, President of Libya, excommunicated, iii., 326 and *note*.
- Andros, island of, taken by Venice, xi., 5 *note*.
- Anecdoton Holderi, vi., 335 *note*.
- Anemas, tower of, xi., 176; xii., 20 *note*.
- Angamala or Cranganor, Jesuits invade the see of, viii., 193; Bishop of, 192.
- Angelo, St., fortress of, viii., 382.
- Angels, bishops so called, ii., 312 *note*.
- Angles, in Britain, vi., 271.
- Anglo-Saxons, conversion of, by Gregory, viii., 46.
- Angora, battle of, xi., 201 *sq.*
- Angora, *see* Ancyra.
- Angoulême, siege of, vi., 234 and *note*.
- Anguillara, the Count of, at Petrarch's coronation, xii., 126.
- Ani, captured by Alp Arslan, 1064 A.D., x., 162 *note*.
- Anianus, Bishop of Orleans, vi., 56; Life of, 56 *note*.
- Anician family, conversion of, v., 79, 202 and *note*; consulships of, 202 *note*.
- Anicius Gallus, *see* Gallus.
- Anicius, Julian, senator, v., 203 and *note*.
- Anicius, Q. (Prænestinus), tribune, v., 202 *note*.
- Aniush, Castle of, in Susiana, iv., 239 *note*.
- Anna Comnena, Life of her father, viii., 287, 288; conspires against her brother, 289; her property confiscated, 290; on Greek fire, ix., 248 *note*; learning of, 371; on Malek Shah, x., 177 *note*, 227 and *note*; on crusaders, 234; on the Latin Church, 332 *note*.
- Annah, city of, *see* Anatho.
- Annales Barenses*, x., 92 *note*.
- Anne, daughter of the Emperor Romanus II., viii., 268; ix., 348; marries Woladimir, 349; x., 114; her account of battle of Durazzo, 118.
- Anne of Savoy, Empress, xi., 104 and *note*; opposes John Cantacuzene, 107 *sqq.*; makes a treaty with Cantacuzene, 114; her mediation at Thessalonica, 116; treaty with Orchan, xi., 165.
- Anne, or Constance, daughter of FredERIC II., xi., 56.
- Annibaldi, Italian, family of, xii., 116, 117 *note*, 205.
- Annibalianus, brother of Constantine, ii., 209 *note*.
- Annibalianus, general of Probus, ii., 117.
- Anni, family of the, consulships of, v., 203 *note*.
- Annona*, tax under Justinian, vii., 42 *sq.*
- Anomæans, sect of, ii., 351.
- Ansars, or auxiliaries of Medina, ix., 61; [al-Ansâr], 239.
- Anseau de Cayeux, corresponded with Michael Palæologus, xi., 35 and *note*.
- Anses, Gothic demigods, ii., 9.
- Antala, Gothic prince, vi., 67.
- Antalus the Moor, vii., 86 *note*; assists

- Artaban against Gontharis, 239 *note*; defeats Solomon at Tebeste, 240 *sq.*
- Ante portam Cyperon, name for Sopron or Posen, x., 211 *note.*
- Antes, Slavonian tribe, ii., 10 *note*; vii., 183 and *note.*
- Anthemius, Emperor of the West, 12,000 men levied for his service in Britain, v., 282 *note*; family of, vi., 121; marries the daughter of Marcian, 122; religious toleration of, 124; quarrels with Ricimer, 136 *sq.*; born in Galatia, *ib. note*; death, 140.
- Anthemius, grandfather of the emperor, consul and prætorian prefect, governs the eastern empire, v., 320 and *note.*
- Anthemius, the architect, vii., 48, 50, 51.
- Anthimus, Bishop of Nicomedia, iii., 169 *note.*
- Anthimus, son of Constantine Copronymus, viii., 239.
- Anthropomorphism, viii., 129 and *note.*
- Anticus, title adopted by Justinian and his successors, vii., 183 *note.*
- Antigonus, iii., 208 *note.*
- Antinomies, vii., 333 *note.*
- Antinopolis, in Upper Egypt, vii., 48.
- Antinöus, i., 96.
- Antioch, i., 63; captured by Sapor, ii., 44; battle of, 87, 88; arsenals at, 157; Diocletian at, 169; Church of, 334; Christian Church erected by Constantine at, iii., 321; Council of, 379 and *note*; Olympic games at, iv., 90; cathedral of, shut by Julian, 93; Julian at, 109 *sqq.*; Church of, 111; Jovian at, 177; persecution at, for magic, 192 *sq.*; sedition at, v., 47 *sqq.*; date of, 49 *note*; restored by Justinian, vii., 57 and *note*; burnt by Nushirvan, 209; earthquake at, 294; taken by Chosroes, viii., 88; by the Saracens, ix., 163 *sq.*; date of, 165 *note*; recovered by Nicephoras Phocas, 310; loyalty of, to the empire, x., 181; taken by Sultan Soliman, *ib.*; by the crusaders, 242 *sqq.*; history of, 261 *note*; principality of, 266 *note*; princes of, 273; taken by Sultan Bondocdar, 324.
- Antioch-Chosrou, vii., 210 *note.*
- Antioch (Pisidia), crusaders at, x., 240.
- Antiochus, King, era of, i., 151 *note.*
- Antiochus, monk, homilies of, viii., 89 *note.*
- Antiochus, officer of the household, iii., 199.
- Antiochus, proconsul of Greece, v., 139.
- Antiochus Sidetes, v., 333 *note.*
- Anti-Tribonians, vii., 302 *note.*
- Antivari, anonymous writer of, xi., 316 *note.*
- Antonina, wife of Belisarius, vii., 47; character, 91 *sq.*; accompanies Belisarius to Africa, 96; death of Constantine attributed to, 156 and *note*; secret history and adventures of, 167 *sqq.*; accused of exile of Sylverius, 246 *note*; solicits return of Belisarius, 258; founds a convent, 287 *note.*
- Antonines, the, found a school at Athens, i., 12 *note*; reign, 97; endow the schools of philosophy, vii., 77.
- Antoninus Arrius, i., 115.
- Antoninus, fugitive at the court of Sapor, iii., 251 and *note.*
- Antoninus, M. Aur., wars, i., 11; levies troops from the Quadi and Marcomanni, 19 *note*, 93 *note*, 301 *note*; character and reign, 97, 98 and *note*; campaigns on the Danube, 99; indulgence of, 106, 107, 134 *note*; Marcomannic wars of, 300, 301; ii., 115 *note*; in Julian's Cæsars, iv., 106.
- Antoninus, name of Geta and Caracalla, i., 163 *note*, 164.
- Antoninus, name of Heliogabalus, i., 182.
- Antoninus Pius, wall of, i., 5, 6; compared with Hadrian, 9, 10; wars with the Moors, and Brigantes of Britain, 10 *note*; character and reign, 98; edict of, in favour of the Jews, iii., 3.
- Antoninus, Proconsul of Asia, iii., 44 and *note.*
- Antonio de Ferrariis, xii., 63 *note.*
- Antonius, L., i., 93 *note.*
- Antonius Petrus, xii., 180; Diary of, 204 *note.*
- Antony, Mark, v., 85 *note.*

- Antony, St., monastery of, at Kauleas, iii., 100 *note*; on Mount Colzim, vi., 158 *sq.*; founds colonies of monks in Egypt, *ib. sq.*
- Antrusion, rank of, among the Franks, vi., 243 and *note*.
- Anulinus, master of Diocletian, ii., 144.
- Anulinus, prætorian prefect, ii., 212.
- Anushtigin, Governor of Carizme, xi., 137 *note*.
- Apamea or Corna, ii., 35; iv., 127 *note*; besieged by Nushirvan, vii., 208; destroyed by Adarman, viii., 52; massacre of monks at, 194 and *note*; taken by the Saracens, ix., 168; recovered by Nicephorus, 311.
- Aper, Arrius, prætorian prefect, ii., 140, 141 *note*; death, 142 and *note*.
- Apharban, ii., 172.
- Aphdal, Sultan, restores Faïmite rule in Palestine, x., 252.
- Apocalypse, the, rejected by Council of Laodicea, ii., 291 *note*, 332 *note*.
- Apocaucus, Duke, attacks regency of John Cantacuzene, xi., 106, 107 *note*; defeats Cantacuzene, 109; death, 111.
- Apodemius, iv., 35.
- Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, his theory of the incarnation, viii., 133 *sq.*
- Apollinaris, Patriarch of Alexandria, viii., 203 *sq.*
- Apollinaris, son of Sidonius, vi., 233.
- Apollinaris, works of, iv., 85 *note*.
- Apollo, statue of, at Constantinople, iii., 104.
- Apollodorus, Trajan's architect, vii., 59 *note*.
- Apollonia, city of Assyria, iv., 127 *note*.
- Apolloniates, Lake, ii., 36.
- Apollonius, ambassador of Marcian, vi., 39.
- Apollonius of Perga, ix., 272 and *note*.
- Apollonius of Tyana, ii., 87 and *note*; iii., 161 *note*.
- Apologists, early Christian, ii., 346.
- Apostates, Christian, iii., 47.
- Apostles, ii., 310; iii., 16 and *note*.
- Apotheosis, *see* Deification of Emperors.
- Apparitors, iii., 127.
- Apsarus, fortifications of, vii., 219.
- Apsimar (Tiberius III.), assumes the purple, viii., 229; executed by Justinian II., 230.
- Apuleius, i., 47 *note*; his metamorphoses, ii., 328 *note*.
- Apulia, state of, in tenth century, x., 80; conquered by the Normans, 89; count of, 90; reduced by Manuel, 135.
- Apulians, i., 27.
- Apulus, William, on the Normans, x., 83 *note*, 87 *note*.
- Aqueducts, Roman, vii., 147 and *note*.
- Aquileia, siege of, i., 235; besieged by Jovinus, iv., 25; taken by Theodosius, v., 42; siege of, by the Goths, 148; pillaged by Alaric, 198; usurper John, beheaded at, 338; besieged by Attila, vi., 66; destroyed by him, 67 and *note*.
- Aquitain, province of, i., 25; ii., 82; Goths settle in, v., 277 *sqq.*; first and second, two of the *seven provinces*, 286 *note*; united by Clovis to France, vi., 234; under Charlemagne, viii., 364; recovered by Eudes, ix., 257.
- Aquyrión, palace of Constantine, iii., 191.
- Arabah, blind Arab, ix., 21.
- Arabia, attempted reduction of, i., 2 and *note*; description of, ix., 1 *sqq.*; geographers of, 2 *note*; European travellers in, *ib. note*; three divisions of, 4; horses of, 6; camel, 7; cities, 8 *sq.*; trade, 9; Roman language of, 18; province of, 11 *note*; Sabians in, 26; Magians, Jews, and Christians in, 27 *sqq.*; Turks in, 11 *note*; religious sects of, 24; subdued by Mahomet, 74 *sqq.*; province of Syria called Arabia, 137; languages in, 235 *note*.
- Arabia, daughter of Justin II., viii., 19.
- Arabian Nights, ix., 227 *note*.
- Arabic language, diffusion of, ix., 235 and *note*.
- Arabissus, in Lesser Armenia, v., 316; in Cappadocia, viii., 24.
- Arabs, under the Roman Empire, i., 31; assist the Romans, iii., 200; prophecy of independence, ix., 10 and *note*; description of, 5 *sqq.*, 10; civil wars of, 16; social life of, 18; annual truce, *ib. note*; poetry



- of, 19 and *note*; generosity of, 20; ancient idolatry of, 21; their rites and sacrifices, 24 *sq.*; union of, 111 *sq.*; military tactics, 121; *see* Saracens; in Persia, 127 *sqq.*; in Transoxiana, 132 *sqq.*; in Syria, 134 *sqq.*; further conquests, 169 *sq.*; naval exploits, 171; in Egypt, 172; in Africa, 191 *sqq.*; in Spain, 207 *sqq.*; at Constantinople, 237 *sqq.*; in France, 250 *sqq.*; learning among, 269 *sqq.*; in Sicily, 284; in Italy, 286; *see* Saracens.
- Aradus, ix., 170.
- Aramæan, Syriac dialect, viii., 183 *note*.
- Araric, King of the Goths, crosses the Danube, iii., 187.
- Aratus, commands Heruli against Totila, vii., 266.
- Araxes, river, Heraclius at, viii., 104 and *note*.
- Araxes, river, *see* Aboras.
- Arba, river, Heraclius reaches the, viii., 115, 116.
- Arbalist, crossbow, x., 239.
- Arbela, i., 268 *note*.
- Arbetio, general of Constantine, iv., 35, 191.
- Arbetio, general of Julian, iv., 35.
- Arbogastes the Frank, opposes Maximus, v., 40; puts Flavius Victor to death, 42; dismissed by Theodosius, 59 and *note*; makes Eugenius emperor, 61; defeats Theodosius, 64; death, 66.
- Arboruchi or Armorici, vi., 216 *note*, 223 *note*.
- Arcadia, daughter of Arcadius, v., 322.
- Arcadius Charisius, iii., 153 *note*.
- Arcadius, son of Theodosius, Augustus, v., 12; Emperor of the East, v., 67, 107; marries Eudoxia, 116, reign, 288 *sqq.*; his cruel law of treason, 297; signs condemnation of Eutropius, 302; death and testament, 186, 319 *sq.*; column of, xi., 9 *note*.
- Arcaph, iii., 376 *note*.
- Arch of Constantine, ii., 238.
- Archæopolis, siege of, vii., 225.
- Archelais, Asia Minor, Crusaders at, x., 240.
- Archers, in Homer, iv., 276 and *note*; Roman, defended by Procopius, *ib.*
- Archimagus, i., 259.
- Archimedes, vi., 49.
- Archipelago, etymology of name, ix., 321 *note*.
- Architecture, Roman, i., 55 *sq.*; oldest model of Gothic, vii., 327 and *note*; Saracen, ix., 267.
- Ardaburius, opposes the usurper John, v. 337.
- Ardalio, battle of, between Gildo and Macezel, v. 132.
- Ardaric, King of the Gepidæ, councillor of Attila, vi., 8; at the battle of Châlons, 61; victory on the Netad, 76; established a new kingdom, 77.
- Ardeshir I. and II., *see* Artaxerxes I. and II.
- Arduin, Greek interpreter, x., 88, 89 *note*.
- Arelate, ii., 28 *note*; marriage of Constantine at, 214; Maximinian at, 220; council of, iii., 330, 336, 384; assembly of the seven provinces at, v., 286; besieged by the Visigoths, vi., 44; taken by Euric, 211; belonged to Burgundy in year 499 A.D., 254 *note*; Clovis raises siege of, 235; resigned to the Franks, 236; conquered by Theodoric, 320; siege of, by Abderame, ix., 252.
- Arenula, battle of, x., 85 *note*.
- Areobindus, the Goth, v., 330; marries niece of Justinian, vi., 141 *note*; Mag. Mil. in Africa, 238 and *note*.
- Arethas, Arabian chief, vii., 205, 211.
- Arethas, St., Prince of Negra, martyrdom of, vii., 232 *note*.
- Arethusa or Restan, iv., 88 *note*.
- Aretinus, Leonardus Brunus, steals the Gothic history of Procopius, vii., 7 *note*; life of, xi., 282 and *notes*; xii., 165 *note*.
- Argæus, Mount, viii., 254 *note*.
- Argaus, church of the Paulicians, x., 4 *note*, 12 *note*.
- Argentaria (Colmar), battle of, iv., 308 and *note*.
- Argos, iv., 41; destroyed by Alaric, v., 141.
- Argyropulus, John, xi., 284.
- Argyrus, officer of Constantine Mono-

- machus, x., 92; cruelty of, 93; his flight to Bari, 94.
- Ariadne, daughter of Leo and Verina, vi., 302; character of, 303; marries Anastasius, *ib.*
- Arianism, iii., 351; creeds of, 356 *sqq.*; under Valens, iv., 203 *sq.*; in Constantinople, v., 13 *sq.*; ruin of, at Constantinople, 18 *sq.*; ruin of, among the Barbarians, vi., 200; complete ruin of, 207.
- Arians, cruelty of the, iii., 402 *sq.*; persecution of, by Theodosius, v., 19 *sqq.*; edicts against, 24 *sqq.*; toleration of, vi., 187; cruelty of the Arian clergy, 195; law against, under Justin, 334; Arian clergy expelled from Rome, vii., 253 and *note*; of Italy and Spain, reconciled under Gregory I. to the Catholic Church, viii., 45; wealth of the Arian Church at Constantinople, 170-1.
- Aricia, i., 89.
- Arii, tribe of, ii., 118.
- Ariminum, *see* Rimini.
- Arinthæus, Julian's general of horse, iv., 124, 156; his embassy to Sapor, 160; general of Valens, 191 and *note*; defends the Euphrates, 241.
- Ariolica, vi., 73 *note*.
- Ariovistus, crosses the Rhine, vi., 248.
- Aristides, philosopher and Christian, apology of, ii., 343 and *note*.
- Aristo of Pella, ii., 271 *note*.
- Aristobulus, prætorian prefect, ii., 146 *note*.
- Aristotle, vii., 74; philosophy of, ix., 272, 273; study of, revived by the Caliphs, 273; in western universities, xi., 41; study of, by Theodore Gaza, 286.
- Arius, character of, iii., 349 and *note*; heresy of, 351; his Thalia, *ib.* *note*; banishment, 365; recall of, 366; death, *ib.* and *note*.
- Arka, besieged by Crusaders, x., 254 *note*.
- Arles, *see* Arelate.
- Armatus, widow of, marries Attila's secretary, vi., 24.
- Armenia, Roman province, i., 8, 9; under Persia, ii., 42; state of, 165, 166 and *note*; revolt of, from Persia, *ib.*; again Roman, 176; Christianised, 340 and *note*, 198; recovered by Persia, *ib.*; Christians of, iii., 311; relinquished by the Romans, iv., 161; invaded by Sapor, 239 *sqq.*; divided between Aspacurus and Pap, 241; independent, 242 *sq.*; divided between Persia and Rome, v., 331 *sq.*; further revolutions, *ib.* *sq.* and *notes*; language of, 332 *note*; Count of Armenian frontier, *ib.*; towns of, fortified by Justinian, vii., 68; Greek speech in, viii., 183; Fourth Armenia lost to the Saracens, 231 *note*; incorporated in the empire, 278 *note*; Paulicians of, x., 11; conquered by Alp Arslan, 162; Moguls in, xi., 145.
- Armenians, schism of the, viii., 200 *sq.*; patriarch of the, 202; commerce of, *ib.*; settlement of Armenians in Thrace, 256 *note*; attitude of, to images, 318 and *note*.
- Armentarius, surname of Galerius, ii., 149.
- Arminians, v., 352 *note*.
- Armorica, independence of, v., 281 and *note*; revolt of, *ib.* and *note*; disturbed by the Bagaudæ, vi., 82; federation of, 214 *note*; description of the Armorican republic, 243; subdued by Clovis, *ib.*; British settlement in, 275 and *note*; Britons of, *ib.* and *note*; cavalry of, 283; struggle against Clovis, 223 and *note*.
- Armoricans, Gallic tribe, vi., 58 and *note*, 216 *note*, 223 *note*.
- Armour, use of, v., 69.
- Arms, of the Roman soldiers, i., 16.
- Army, Roman, under Hadrian, i., 21; stations of, *ib.*; under Augustus, 92 *sqq.*, 157; pay of, 175 and *note*; attempted reformation of, by Macrinus, 180; recruited from the Barbarians by Probus, ii., 121; under Constantine, iii., 139 *sqq.*; state of, under Maurice, viii., 75 *sq.*; discontent of, 76.
- Arnold, Matthew, on Persian Passion Play, ix., 104 *note*.
- Arnold of Brescia, his theories, xii., 79; at Zürich, 80; at Rome, 81 *sqq.*;

- his death, 83 and *note*, 86; plan of, *ib. note*.
- Arnulph, Duke of Moravia, x., 43.
- Arnulph, Patriarch of Jerusalem, x., 260 *note*.
- Aromatics, use of, i., 69, 70 and *note*.
- Arpad, King of the Hungarians, x., 37 *note*, 38; reign of, 44 *note*.
- Aragon, etymology of the name, i., 24 *note*; house of, acknowledged in Greece, xi., 91; kings of, buy title of Emperor of Constantinople, xii., 60.
- Arras taken by the Germans, v., 175.
- Arrechis, Duke of Beneventum, subdued by Charlemagne, viii., 365.
- Arrian, i., 30 *note*; Periplus of, vii., 215 *note*; visit of, to Colchos, 220.
- Arrius Antoninus, i., 115.
- Arsaces, reigns in Western Armenia, under Arcadius, v., 332; royal house of, 333 *note*.
- Arsaces, satrap, iv., 121 *note*.
- Arsaces Tiranus, King of Armenia, character, iv., 120; treachery of, 141; death, 239.
- Arsacides, of Armenia, i., 253, 261; iv., 121.
- Arsacius, Archbishop of Constantinople, v., 315; crowns Michael Palæologus, 65; excommunicates Michael, 70; banishment of, 71.
- Arsenites, schism of, xi., 70 *sq.*
- Arsenius, bishop, iii., 375 and *note*; accompanied Athanasius, 376.
- Arsenius, Patriarch of Nice, xi., 59, 65; Patriarch of Constantinople, excommunicates Michael VIII., 70 *sq.*
- Arsenius, tutor of Arcadius, v., 115 and *note*.
- Arshak, King of Armenia, iv., 239 and *note*.
- Arsuf, battle of, x., 308.
- Art, attitude of the Christians towards, ii., 282.
- Artaban, Armenian prince, in Africa, vii., 239 and *note*; conspires against Justinian, 260 and *note*; replaces Liberius in command, 263; reduces Sicily, 264.
- Artaban, King of Parthia, i., 252.
- Artabanus, Armenian prince, at court of Leo I., viii., 256.
- Artabazus, Persian in service of Justinian, vii., 244 and *note*.
- Artasires, one of the assassins of Gontharis, vii., 239 *note*.
- Artasires, successor of Chosroes, v., 332; deposed, 333.
- Artavasdes, commander of Armenian army, ii., 166.
- Artavasdes, King of Armenia, ii., 42 *note*, 47 *note*.
- Artavasdus, Count of the Opsikian theme, viii., 236 *note*; supports images, 322.
- Artaxata, Archbishop of, iii., 199; palace at, v., 332.
- Artaxerxes I. (Ardeshir) restores Persian monarchy, i., 251; reign, 253 *sqq.*; declares war with Rome, 267; character, 270; laws of, revived by Nushirvan, vii., 200.
- Artaxerxes II., succeeds Sapor in Persia, iv., 242 *note*.
- Artemita, residence of Chosroes II., viii., 93 and *note*; palace of, 115 and *note*.
- Artemius, Duke of Egypt, death, iv., 36, 37 and *note*.
- Artemius, martyr, Acts of, iii., 301 *note*
- Artemius, *see* Anastasius II.
- Artemon, followers of, ii., 343.
- Arthur, King, vi., 276 and *note*, 277.
- Artillery, Roman, i., 19.
- Artogerassa, siege of, iv., 240 and *note*.
- Artois, Count of, storms Massoura, x., 320.
- Aruspices, edict of Constantine concerning, iii., 281 and *note*.
- Arvandus, prætorian prefect, trial of, vi., 133 *sqq.*; exile, 135 *sq.*
- Arzanene, province of, ceded to the empire, ii., 176 and *note*.
- Arzan Su, tributary of the Tigris, iv., 162 *note*.
- Arzema (Azarmidocht), Queen of Persia, ix., 120 and *note*.
- Arzingan, city of, taken by Timour, xi., 195.
- As, Roman, value of, vii., 309 *note*.
- Asan, Bulgarian chief, revolt of, x., 338 *sq.* and *note*.
- Asbad the Gepid, vii., 271.
- Asburg, *see* Asgard.
- Ascalon, ix., 167 *note*; taken by the Saracens, 168; battle of (A.D. 1099),

- x., 251; conquest of, 261 and *note*; dismantled by Saladin, 309; destroyed, 312.
- Ascansar (Aksunkur), governor of Aleppo, x., 288.
- Ascellinus, traveller, his journey among the Mongols, xi., 134 *note*.
- Ascetics, Christian, ii., 306, 307; vi., 156 *sq*.
- Asclepiades, philosopher, iv., 91 *note*.
- Asclepiodatus, general of Probus, ii., 117, 156, 157.
- Ascoli, conquered by the Normans, x., 89 *note*.
- Asconius Pedianus, vii., 385 *note*.
- Asena, *see* Bertezena.
- Asfendar, Persian hero, iv., 273.
- Asfoeld, plain of, viii., 6.
- As-gard, residence of Odin, ii., 6 and *note*.
- Ashik-pasha-zadi, Ottoman historian, xi., 203 *note*.
- Asia Minor, description of, i., 30; given to Theodosius, iv., 323; settlement of the Goths in, 335; desolated by Tribigild, v., 299; security of, vii., 62 *sq*.; campaign of Chosroes in, viii., 91 *sq*.; conquered by the Turks, xi., 160 *sq*.
- Asia, tribute, i., 204; ancient revolutions of, 251; seven churches of, ii., 332; xi., 160.
- Asiarch, ii., 328 *note*.
- Asinius Quadratus, ii., 27 *note*.
- As-of, city of, *see* As-gard.
- Asomaton, fortress at, xii., 7 and *note*; description and dimensions of fortress, 9 and *note sq*.
- Aspacuras, King of the Iberians, iv., 240.
- Aspalathus, ii., 196.
- Aspar, Prince of Lesser Scythia, vii., 4 *note*.
- Aspar, son of Ardaburius, v., 337; opposes the Vandals in Africa, 352; Marcian in the service of, vi., 38; heresy of, 120 and *note*; death of, 302.
- Asper, Turkish coin, xi., 224 and *note*.
- Asprudus, river, ii., 174.
- Assassins or Ismaelians, Sheik of, x., 308 and *note*; extirpation of, xi., 143 *sq*. and *notes*.
- Assemannus, Joseph Simon, account of, viii., 184 *note*; xi., 271 *note*.
- Assemblies of the people, i., 85 and *note*; legislative of the Visigoths in Spain, vi., 265 *sq*.
- Assessors, vii., 385.
- Assise of Jerusalem, x., 264 *sqq*.; introduced into the Peloponnesus, xi., 4 *note*.
- Assyria, Roman province of, i., 8; described, iv., 127 and *notes*; revenue, 129 and *note*; invasion of Julian, 129 *sqq*.; Persian province, vii., 199; conquered by Omar, ix., 125.
- Asta, in Liguria, retreat of Honorius, v., 153 and *note*.
- Astarte, image of, brought to Rome, i., 187.
- Asterius, St., of Amasea, on execution of Tatian, v., 111 *note*; on exile of Abundantius, 294 *note*; Count Asterius marches against the Vandals, 343.
- Asti, citizens of, defeated by the Marquis of Montferrat, xi., 351 *note*; *see* Asta.
- Astingi, iii., 187.
- Astolphus, King of the Lombards, takes Ravenna, viii., 336; besieges Rome, 338; defeat of, 329.
- Astorga, sacked by Theodoric, vi., 98.
- Astracan, Kingdom of, invaded by Mongols, xi., 146; city of, destroyed by Timour, 216.
- Astrology, belief in, among the Romans, v., 216.
- Astronomical Tables of Samarcand [Gurganian], xi., 182 *note*.
- Astronomy, science of, cultivated at Babylon, ix., 22; by the Saracens, 274 *sq*.
- Asturians, i., 24.
- Asturias, gold of, i., 205; survival of Gothic kingdom in, ix., 217 and *note*.
- Astytzion, castle of, on the banks of the Scamander, xi., 63 *note*.
- Atabeks, x., 177; *atabegs, ib. note*; of Syria, 288 and *note*.
- Atelkuzu, Patzinaks driven out of, x., 165 *note*.
- Athalaric, grandson of Theodoric, inherits Italy, vi., 342; education of, vii., 124; death, 126.
- Athanagild, King of the Visigoths, vi., 201 *note*.

- Atharic**, judge of the Visigoths, iv., 245 and *note*; war with Valens, 249 *sqq.*; peace with Valens, 250; defeated by Huns, 289; at Constantinople, 331 and *note*; death, 332; his persecution of the Christian Goths, vi., 181.
- Athanasius of Mount Athos**, viii., 269 *note*.
- Athanasius**, Patriarch of Constantinople, xi., 94 *sq.*
- Athanasius**, Prætorian Prefect of Africa, vii., 239 *note*.
- Athanasius**, St., iii., 326; supports Nicene doctrine, 355; opposes Arianism, 356; banished by Constantine, 366; character and adventures, 372 *sqq.*; Archbishop of Alexandria, 373; banishment, 379; restored by Constantine II., *ib.*; second exile, *ib.*; restoration by Constans, 382; third expulsion, 389; retreat, 393; returns to Alexandria, iv., 99; persecuted by Julian, 100, 101; restored by Jovian, 175 and *note*; death, 205; introduced monasticism at Rome, vi., 160, 161 and *note*; Festal Letters of, *ib. note*; Life of St. Antony, 162 *note*; creed of, 196, 197 and *note*.
- Athaulf**, *see* Adolfus.
- Atheism**, Christians accused of, iii., 9.
- Athelstan**, conquers Cornwall, vi., 275 *note*.
- Athenais**, *see* Eudocia.
- Athens**, resort of students, i., 38; population of, 41, 42 and *note*; school of the Antonines at, 72 *note*; sack of, by the Goths, ii., 37; walls restored, *ib. note*, 38 *note*, 41; fleet of, 255 *note*; Church of, 332 *note*; Julian at, iii., 236; favoured by Julian, iv., 41; taken by Alaric, v., 140 *sq.*; walls of, restored by Justinian, vii., 61; schools of, 73; library of Hadrian at, 77; supposed visit of Roman deputies to, 303 and *note*; marriage laws of, 352; law of inheritance at, 359-60 *note*; law of testaments at, 362; revolution of, under the Franks, xi., 89 *sq.*; dukes of, 90-1; state of, 92 *sq.*; taken by Turks, 92; circumnavigation of, 294 and *note*.
- Athos**, Mount, Gothic fleet at, ii., 66; Great Laura founded by Athanasius on, viii., 269 *note*; opinion and practice of the monks of, xi., 118 *sq.*; manuscripts in monasteries of, 294 *note*.
- Athribis**, bishopric of, viii., 164 *note*.
- Atlas**, Mount, i., 33 and *note*.
- Atmeidan**, *see* Hippodrome.
- Atropatene**, province, ii., 177; iii., 199; x., 158, and *see* Aderbijan.
- Atsiz**, Shah of Carizme, xi., 137 *note*.
- Atsiz**, the Carizmian, lieutenant of Malek Shah, x., 188 *sqq.*; takes Jerusalem, A.D. 1070, 189 *note*.
- Attacotti**, Caledonian tribe of, iv., 228 and *note*.
- Attalus**, Count of Autun, vi., 258 *note*, 259.
- Attalus**, Prefect of Rome, made emperor, v., 237; reign, *ib. sq.*; Arian baptism of, 238 *note*; deposed, 240; at wedding of Adolphus, 260; ambassador, 270; banishment, 271.
- Attica**, territory of, wasted by Alaric, v., 141.
- Atticus**, successor of Chrysostom, v., 317 *note*; viii., 140 *note*.
- Attila** (Etzel), King of the Huns, description of, vi., 3 *sqq.*; puts his brother Bleda to death, 6; acquires Scythia and Germany, 7 *sq.*; invades Persia, 9; invades the Eastern Empire, 11 *sqq.*; defeats the Romans, on the Utus, at Maricanopolis and in the Thracian Chersonese, 13; ravages Europe, *ib.*, *sq.*; peace with Theodosius, 19 *sq.*; his embassies to Constantinople, 22 *sq.*; his village and negotiations with the Romans described, 28 *sqq.*; receives Maximin, 30; royal feast of, 31 *sq.*; conspiracy of the Romans against, 34; sends ambassadors to Theodosius, 36; threatens both empires, 39; alliance with the son of Clodion, 51; invades Gaul, 53; crosses the Rhine, 54; besieges Orleans, 55; defeated on the Catalaunian fields, 59 *sqq.*; invades Italy, 66; destroys Aquileia, 67; makes peace

- with Valentinian, 71 *sq*; marriage and death, 74; funeral, 75; empire of, dismembered, 76 *sq*.
- Attitianus, ii., 81 *note*.
- Attok, on the Indus, xi., 191.
- Attuarii, tribe of Franks, iv., 13.
- Atyras, river, vii., 283; fortress of, *ib. note*.
- Atys and Cybele, story of, iv., 53.
- Auchenii, family of, v., 202 *note*.
- Auctions, tax on, i., 208.
- Audax, friend of Sidonius, vi., 142 *note*.
- Audeflada, sister of Clovis, vii., 124 *note*.
- Audians, sect of the, v., 26; viii., 141.
- Audoin, King of the Lombards, vii., 266 and *note*; viii., 6.
- Augsburg, battle of, x., 43.
- Augurs, v., 72 and *note*.
- Augustal Prefect of Egypt, iii., 127.
- Augustin, St., a Manichæan, ii., 278 *note*; teacher of rhetoric in Milan, v., 36; De Civitate Dei of, 101 *note*, 243 and *note*; on the defeat of Radagaisus, 169 *sq*.; approves the persecution of the Donatists, 347 and *note*, 348 *notes*; letter to Count Boniface, *ib. note*; death, 351; writings, *ib. and note*; his ignorance of Greek, *ib. note*; canonisation, 352 *note*; relics of, carried to Sardinia, vii., 108 *note*.
- Augustina, daughter of Heraclius, viii., 221 *note*.
- Augustulus (Romulus), emperor of the West, vi., 144; banished to the Lucullan villa, 149.
- Augustus, moderation of, i., 2; testament of, 3; policy, 10; buildings of, 55 and *note*; after the battle of Actium, 75; reforms the senate, 76; made emperor, 78; administration and policy, 78 *sqq*, 92 and *note*; breviarium or register, 204 and *note*; taxes, 206; at Jerusalem, ii., 264; in Julian's *Cæsars*, iv., 106; temperance, v., 219 and *note*; makes the harbour at Classis, 163; undermines the power of the popular assemblies, vii., 310; modesty of, viii., 293.
- Augustus, title, i., 89 and *note*; three Augusti, ii., 237 and *note*.
- Auranitis, vii., 206 *note*.
- Aurasius, Mount, citadel of, vii., 119 and *note*, 236.
- Aurelian, consul, sentences Eutropius, v., 304.
- Aurelian, Emperor, succeeds, ii., 69; origin and reign, 70 *sqq*.; cedes Dacia to the Goths, defeats the Alemanni, 77, 78; superstition of, 79; fortifies Rome, *ib.*; defeats Tetricus, 82; captures Palmyra and Zenobia, 91; defeats Firmus, 93; triumph of, 93, 94; magnificence and superstition, 96; cruelty, 99; death, 101; wore the diadem, 185 *note*; conduct to the Christians, iii., 58.
- Aurelius Litua, ii., 161 *note*.
- Aurelius, *see* Antoninus, Marcus.
- Aureolus, emperor, ii., 50; invades Italy, 59, 60; death, 63 and *note*.
- Aureus (coin), iii., 160 *note*.
- Auri Oblatio, iii., 166 *note*.
- Aurangzebe, Great Mogul, camp of, vi., 28 *note*; xi., 217.
- Auruss (Urus) Khan, xi., 188.
- Ausonius, iii., 116 *note*, 117 *note*; iv., 217 *note*; tutor of Gratian, v., 2 *note*; consul, *ib. note*; letters to Paulinus, 253 *note*.
- Auspices, i., 80 *note*.
- Autenti, battle of, vii., 237 *note*.
- Autharis, son of Clepho, viii., 18.
- Autonomus, St., church of, Emperor Maurice at, viii., 79 and *note*.
- Autun, vineyards of, i., 67 *note*; siege of, ii., 83 and *note*; rebuilt by Constantine, 160 *note*; college of rhetoric at, 198 *note*; visit of Constantine to, 223 and *note*; capital of the Ædui, iii., 162 and *note*; school of, vi., 210.
- Auvergne, province of, opposes Euric, vi., 132; ceded to the Visigoths, 142; oppressed by Euric, 211; conquered by Theodoric, son of Clovis, 255; description of, *ib. sq*.; counts of, x., 197 and *note*.
- Auxentius, Mount, viii., 254 *note*.
- Auxiliaries, i., 18, 19; Barbarian auxiliaries under Constantine, iii., 141; Nervian, v., 130; Barbarian auxiliaries employed by Majorian, vi., 109; British, levied by Anthemius to defend Gaul, 132 *sq*.

- Auximum, *see* Osimo.
- Avars, subdued by the Turks, vii., 190 *sq.*; embassy to Justinian, 191; conquests of, 192; embassy to Justin II., viii., 3; alliance with the Lombards, 5, 6; defeat the Gepidæ, 7 *sq.*; dominions of, 68 *sqq.*; wars of, with Maurice, 73 *sqq.*; attack Heraclius, 96; Heraclius treats with, 99; attack Constantinople, 108 *sqq.*; defeat, 110; subdued by Charlemagne, 367.
- Avernus, lake, v., 211 *note*.
- Averroes, Arabian philosopher, ix., 278 *note*.
- Aversa, town of, foundation of, x., 86; county of, *ib. note*.
- Avicenna, Arabian physician, ix., 275.
- Avienus, Rufus, translator of Dionysius, ix., 154 *note*.
- Avienus, senator, his embassy to Attila, vi., 72; portrait of, *ib. note*.
- Avignon, flight of Gundobald to, vi., 226; translation of Holy See to, xii., 109 *sqq.*; Petrarch at, 155; the "Mystic Babylon," Petrarch on, 155-6; Urban V. returns from, 156.
- Avitus, Bishop of Vienna, epistles of, vi., 187 *note*; letter to Clovis, 220 *note*; at conference of Lyons, 226 and *note*.
- Avitus, senator, minister of Aetius, vi., 46 *note*; preceptor of Theodoric II., 47 *note*; ambassador to Theodoric, 57; commands in Gaul, 92; character and reign, *ib. sqq.*; estate of, in Gaul, *ib.*; visits Theodoric, 93; made emperor, 94; consent of Marcian doubtful, *ib. note*; panegyric of, by Sidonius, 99; deposed by Ricimer, 100; Bishop of Placentia, 101; flight and death, *ib. and note*; burial at Brivas, *ib.*
- Awsites, Arabian tribe of, adopt religion of Mahomet, ix., 59.
- Axuch, a Turkish slave, viii., 290.
- Axum, inscription of a king of, vii., 37 *note*; village of, 232 and *note*; deserted, viii., 210.
- Arumites, *see* Abyssinians.
- Ayesha, wife of Mahomet, ix., 82; daughter of Abu-bekr, 88; enemy of Ali, 92; flight of, with Talha and Zobeir, 97; present at the battle of Bassora, 98.
- Ayoubites (Kurds), x., 293 *note*.
- Ayub, father of Saladin, x., 294.
- Azan, King of Bulgaria, xi., 26 and *note*; peace with Eastern empire, 28 *note*.
- Azimus, or Azimuntium, city of, opposes the Huns, vi., 21 *sq.*; its position in Thrace, *ib. note*; privileges of, viii., 74.
- Azoph, *see* Tana.
- Azymites, sect of, xi., 297.
- Azmys, debate concerning the, x., 329.
- Azzadin (Izz-ad-Din), Sultan of Iconium, flies to Constantinople, xi., 145; taken by the Tartars, 153.
- Azzo, Marquis of Lombardy, x., 109 *note*.
- BAALBEC, *see* Heliopolis.
- Baanes, Paulician teacher, x., 4 *note*.
- Bâbag, Prince of Persis, i., 252 *note*.
- Babain, battle of, x., 291.
- Bâbar, introduces guns in Upper India, x., 149 *note*; descent of, xi., 217 *note*.
- Babec, father of Artaxerxes, i., 252 *note*.
- Babegan, surname of Artaxerxes, i., 252 *note*.
- Babolinus, life of St., ii., 152 *note*.
- Babylas, St., Bishop of Antioch, iv., 90 and *note*, 92.
- Babylon, name applied to Rome, ii., 291; circumference of, iii., 102 *note*; made into a royal park, iv., 128; licentiousness at, 133 *note*.
- Bacchanals, ii., 336 and *note*.
- Bacchus, St., account of, viii., 66 *note*.
- Bacon, Friar, on Greek fire, ix., 250 *note*.
- Bacon, public distribution of, at Rome, v., 219.
- Bactriana, Greek kings of, iv., 282 *note*; Greeks of, vii., 193 *note*; vizier of, appointed by Chosroes, 199.
- Bacurius, Iberian prince, iii., 310 *note*; at the battle of Hadrianople, iv., 313; fights for Theodosius, v., 64.
- Badavard, chamber of Chosroes, viii., 93.
- Bader, village of, vii., 60 *note*.
- Badoeri, Dukes of Venice, viii., 18 *note*.

- Baduarius, superintendent of the palace, viii., 19; family of, *ib. note*.
- Baduila, name of Totila, *q.v.*
- Bætica, province of Spain, i., 24; Silingi in, v., 273; sea-coast of, subdued by the Saracens, ix., 215.
- Bagai, battle of, iii., 407.
- Bagaudæ, ii., 151 and *note*; v., 179 *note*; in Spain and Gaul, vi., 83 *note*; allies of Majorian, 110.
- Bagavan, Mount, ii., 166.
- Bagdad, founded, ix., 264; etymology of the name, *ib. note*; college at, 271; disorders of Turkish guards at, 295; Greeks retreat from, 312; Togrul Beg at, x., 160; Malek Shah at, 176; taken by Mongols, xi., 144; Holagou at, 154; pyramid of Timour at, 199.
- Baghisian, commander of Antioch, x., 242.
- Bagrās, tower of, near Antioch, x., 243 *note*.
- Baharites, Mamaluke dynasty, x., 323 *note*, 291 *note*.
- Bahram, *see* Vahranes.
- Bahrein, district of, ix., 5; Carmathians in, 298.
- Baiæ, springs of, vi., 328.
- Baian, chagan of the Avars, account of, viii., 68; wars of, 69 *sqq.*; empire of, 72; war with Maurice, 73 *sqq.*; threatens Constantinople, 75.
- Baikal, Lake, iv., 276.
- Bailly, M., system of, vi., 318 *note*.
- Bain, Mr. R. N., on siege of Belgrade, xi., 314 *note*.
- Bajazet I., Sultan (Ilderim), xi., 169 *sqq.*; surname, *ib. note*; conquests, *ib. sqq.*; morals and manners at court of, 170 *note*; wins the battle of Nicopolis, 171; takes the French princes prisoner, 173-4; threatens Constantinople, 177; receives tribute, 178; builds mosque at Constantinople, *ib.*; sends embassy to Timour, 193; letters of, to Timour, 194; their genuineness questioned, *ib. note*; defeated at Angora, 201 *sq.*; his captivity, 202 *sqq.*; death, 209.
- Bajazet II., Sultan, xi., 289 *note*.
- Bajazet, vizir of Mahomet I., Sultan, xi., 220.
- Balash, vii., 69 *note*.
- Balbatus, *see* Valebathus.
- Balbinus [D. Cælius Calvius], i., 231 and *note*; reigns with Maximus, *ib. sqq.*; death, *ib.* 241.
- Balbus, Cornelius, i., 231 *note*.
- Balch, in Khorasan, i., 252; missionaries of, viii., 189; subdued by the Moslems, ix., 128; taken by Zingis Khan, xi., 138.
- Baldus on treason, v., 208 *note*.
- Baldwin [I.], Count of Flanders, x., 334 *note*; in fourth crusade, 344; character of, xi., 3; Emperor of the East, *ib.*; capture, 15; death, 17 and *note*.
- Baldwin II., Emperor of Constantinople, xi., 23-25; marriage, 26; sells holy relics of Constantinople, 31, 38.
- Baldwin, hermit, pretender to the empire of Constantinople, xi., 17.
- Baldwin I., brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, x., 216; reproves Robert of Paris, 231-2; founds principality of Edessa, 241 and *note*; King of Jerusalem, 298.
- Baldwin II., King of Jerusalem, x., 298.
- Baldwin III., King of Jerusalem, x., 298-9.
- Baldwin IV., King of Jerusalem, x., 299.
- Baldwin V., King of Jerusalem, x., 299.
- Balearic Islands, i., 33.
- Baliols, origin of the, x., 165 *note*.
- Balista, Emperor, ii., 50.
- Balista or crossbow, vii., 142.
- Ballot, secret, at Rome, vii., 309.
- Baltha Ogli, admiral of Mahomet II., xii., 31 *sq.*
- Balti or Baltha, family of Alaric, v., 138 and *note*.
- Baltic Sea, i., 274 *note*; how known to the Romans, iv., 221 *note*.
- Baluze, Stephen, his edition of Lives of the Avignon Popes, xii., 109 *note*; defends Charles V. of France, 161 *note*.
- Banchor, Monastery of, vi., 162.
- Bandalarios or standard-bearer, vii., 139 *note*.
- Banderesi, heads of military companies, xii., 170 *note*.



- Baptism, ancient practice and theory of, iii., 306 and *note*; opinion of Fathers concerning deathbed baptism, 307 *note*.
- Baradeus, James, monk, founder of the Jacobites, viii., 195; history of, *ib. note*.
- Baratier, his translation of the Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, ix., 330 *note*.
- Barbalissus, Persian host cross the Euphrates at, vii., 210.
- Barbarians, conversion of, vi., 179 *sqq.*; motives for their faith, 182 *sq.*; effects of conversion, 184 *sqq.*; involved in Arian heresy, 186 *sq.*; laws of the, 241 *sqq.*; division of lands by, 248 *sq.* and *note*.
- Barbaro, Nicolò, xii., 24 *note*.
- Barbary, suppression of Christianity in, ix., 232.
- Barbatio, general, iii., 233; marches against the Alamanni, 265.
- Barbyses, river, x., 228 *note*.
- Barca, Saracen conquest of, ix., 192 *note*.
- Barcelona taken by Adolphus, v., 274; residence of the French governor, viii., 365; Saracens at, ix., 219.
- Barchochebas, iii., 4 and *note*.
- Barclay, apologist of the Quakers, ii., 307 *note*.
- Bardanes, rebel, prophecy of, viii., 245.
- Bardanes, surnamed Philippicus, made emperor, viii., 232; restores Monotheletism, 233.
- Bardas Phocas, supports Constantine Porphyrogenitus, viii., 267 *note*; campaign in Asia, 273, 274 and *note*.
- Bardas Sclerus, general, campaign of, in Asia, viii., 273, 274 and *note*; x., 66 *note*.
- Bardas, uncle of Michael III., viii., 258; patron of Photius, x., 331 and *note*.
- Bardesanes, ii., 341 *note*; converts Edessa, viii., 313 *note*.
- Bards, Welsh, vi., 276 *note*, 282 *sq.*
- Bargæus, dissertation on the edifices of Rome, v., 247 *note*.
- Bargus, favourite of Timasius, v., 295.
- Bar-Hebræus, *see* Abulpharagius.
- Bari, colony of Saracens at, x., 76; taken by the Emperor Lewis II., 77; won by the Greeks, 78; blockade of, by Robert Guiscard, 101; besieged by Palæologus, 136.
- Barid, horse of Chosroes, viii., 93.
- Barkok, Circassian (Mamaluke), xi., 196 *note*.
- Barlaam and Josaphat, story of, viii., 316 *note*.
- Barlaam, Calabrian monk, xi., 119 and *note sq.*; embassy, 233; learning, 277 *sq.*; Bishop of Calabria, 278 and *note*.
- Barlass, family of Timûr, xi., 182 *note*.
- Barletius Marinus, Albanian history of, xi., 316 *note*.
- Barmecides, extirpation of, ix., 280 and *note*.
- Barnabas, Epistle of, ii., 289 *note*; Gospel of, ix., 40 *note*.
- Baroncelli, tribune, xii., 150, 152.
- Baronius, iii., 326 *note*; on the Donatists, v., 348 *note*; on secret history of Procopius, vii., 9 *note*; Annals of, viii., 41 *note*, 46 *note*; on the excommunication of Leo III., 325; his division of the Romans, xii., 78 *note*; on Arnold of Brescia, 82 *note*.
- Barsumas at the second council of Ephesus, viii., 154 *sq.*
- Barthélemy, Abbé, xii., 206 *note*.
- Barthius, commentator of Claudian, v., 290 *note*.
- Bartholdus de Roma, xii., 157 *note*.
- Bartholemy, a Neocastro Sicilian historian, xi., 84 *note*.
- Bartholemy, Peter, *see* Peter Bartholomy.
- Bartolus, the civilian, on treason, v., 298 *note*; pensioner of Charles the Fourth, viii., 393.
- Basic and Cursic, *see* Basich.
- Basich and Cursich, commanders of Huns in Persia, vi., 10 and *note*.
- Basil I., the Macedonian reign, viii., 256 *sqq.*; family of, 256; avarice of, ix., 330; defeated Chrysocheir, x., 13-14; alliance with Lewis II., 76; restores the patriarch Ignatius, 331.
- Basil II., Emperor of Constantinople, viii., 268; reign, 273; conquers Bulgarians, 275; death, *ib.*; called

- the "Bulgar-slayer," *ib.*, x., 35 and *note*.
- Basil, Archbishop of Cæsarea, iv., 103 *note*; canonical epistles of, iii., 326 *note*; on Arintheus, iv., 191 *note*; transactions with Valens, 206 and *note*; account of, v., 14 *sq.*; founds monastery of Pontus, vi., 161 and *note*; opposes Apollinaris, viii., 134; canons of, concerning soldiers, ix., 357.
- Basil Bojannes (Catepan), x., 85 *note*.
- Basil, Chamberlain, assaulted by Theophano, viii., 271 *note*; account of, 272 *note*; banished, 275 *note*.
- Basil Mesardonites (Catepan), x., 85 *note*.
- Basil, St., Calabrian monks of, xi., 276 and *note*.
- Basil the monk, burnt at Constantinople, x., 17 and *note*.
- Basil, city of, xi., 254 *note*.
- Basilicius, Roman general, rebellion of, viii., 286, 304.
- Basileopator*, title of, first introduced, viii., 261 *note*; x., 338 *note*.
- Basileus*, title of Asiatic sovereigns, ii., 184; imperial title used by Gelimer, vii., 87 *note*; title of Charlemagne, viii., 374.
- Basilicus, code, viii., 261; ix., 315 and *note*, 369.
- Basilides, Abyssinian Emperor, expels the Jesuits, viii., 213.
- Basilides the Gnostic, viii., 130.
- Basilidians, gnostic sect, ii., 277.
- Basilike Therma, battle of, viii., 274 *note*.
- Basina, mother of Julian, iii., 226 *note*; iv., 186 *note*.
- Basiliscus, brother of the Empress Verena, commands expedition against Vandals, vi., 128; vii., 87; defeated by Genseric, vi., 130; flight to Constantinople, *ib.*; Emperor, 302.
- Basilus, consul, vi., 152 *note*; vii., 82 *note*.
- Basilus, delator of Boethius, vi., 339 *note*.
- Basilus, a senator, ambassador to Alaric, v., 228; vi., 72; portrait of, *ib.* *note*; friend of Sidonius, 152 and *note*; condemned by Pope Symmachus, 153 *note*.
- Basina, Queen of the Thuringians, marries Childeric, vi., 212 and *note*.
- Basnage, his Ecclesiastical History, viii., 142 *note*, 144 *note*; on images, 312 *note*.
- Basra, iv., 127 and *note*; see Bassora and Bussorah.
- Bassi, family of the, v., 79.
- Bassianus (Cæsar), ii., 209 *note*, 245.
- Bassianus, name of Caracalla, i., 163 *note*.
- Bassianus, name of Elagabalus, i., 182.
- Bassora, Christians of St. John at, ix., 27; Arabian insurgents at, 96; rebels defeated by Ali at, 98; battle called Day of the Camel, *ib.*; foundation of, 123 and *note*; pillaged by the Carmathians, 299; see Basra and Bussorah.
- Bastarnæ, ii., 9, 10 and *note*; in Thrace, 122; colonies of, in Gaul, 160; massacred by Stilicho, v., 120.
- Batavian horseguards, i., 131 *note*.
- Batavians, i., 298; defeated by Probus, ii., 117; island of the, iii., 260; vi., 212.
- Batavians, legion, iv., 3 and *note*; mutiny of, 178; degradation of, 214; in Britain, 229.
- Bath (Aqua Sulis), Roman colony, i., 45 *note*.
- Baths, public, at Rome, v., 219 *sq.*
- Batnæ, near Hierapolis, Julian at, iv., 118 and *note*.
- Batnir, fortress of, taken by Timour, xi., 191.
- Battle, trial by, xi., 64 *note*.
- Bätü, Khan of Kipchak, xi., 140 *note*; expedition and victories of, 145 *sq.*; retreats from the Danube to Serai, 149 and *note*; death of, 153; conquers tribes of the Western Kipchak, 187 *note*.
- Bau or Pabau, monastery of, vi., 159 *sq.* *note*.
- Bauto, general of the Franks, father of the Empress Eudoxia, v., 115 and *note*.
- Baux, de, James, titular Emperor of Constantinople in 1373-1383, xi., 82 *note*.
- Baux (near Arles), lords of, v., 138 *note*.
- Bavares, ii., 160 *note*.
- Bavaria, dukes of, viii., 366.

- Bavarians, revolt of, from the Huns, vi., 3; institutions of, adopted by the Merovingians, 239 *sq.*; under Charlemagne, viii., 366.
- Bayer, Theophilus Siegfried, on the Russians, x., 49 *note*.
- Bayle, iii., 288 *note*; on comets, vii., 293 and *note*; on Gregory I., viii., 41 *note*; his "wicked wit," xii., 79 *note*; on Abelard, *ib.*
- Beacons, extinguished by Michael III., viii., 254 and *note*; ix., 354 and *note*; stations of, *ib.*
- Bears of Valentinian, iv., 198.
- Beatrice, daughter of Charles of Anjou, xi., 80.
- Beaufort, on Roman law, vii., 383 *note*.
- Beaune, wine of, xii., 56 *note*.
- Beauplan de, French engineer, x., 56 *note*.
- Beausobre, ii., 277 *note*; on Christian idolatry, v., 104 *note*; viii., 122 *note*; on images, 315 *note*.
- Beauvais, ii., 159.
- Becket, Thomas, iii., 41 *note*.
- Bede, the Venerable, iv., 226; vi., 268, 272 *note*; date of his death, xii., 203 *note*.
- Beder [Bedr], battle of, ix., 66 and *note*.
- Bederiana, district of, vii., 1 *note*.
- Bedowens, description of, ix., 5 *sqq.*; incorrect form of name, *ib. note*.
- Beehives, construction of, ix., 270 and *note*.
- Beg, Turkish word meaning lord or prince, xi., 181 *note*.
- Beglerbegs, name of Ottoman generals, xi., 310.
- Bela (Alexius), Hungarian prince, viii., 294.
- Bela IV., King of Hungary, notary of, writes Chronicle, x., 37 *note*; defeated by the Mongols, xi., 147.
- Belenus, tutelary deity, i., 235, 236 *note*.
- Beles (Balis), on the Euphrates, ix., 2 and *note*.
- Belfry (Belfridus), war engine, x., 237 and *note*.
- Belgæ, i., 26.
- Belgic Gaul, i., 25.
- Belgrade or Singidunum, vi., 321 and *note*; destroyed by the Avars, viii., 71 and *note*; besieged by Charles of Anjou, xi., 81; withstands Amurath, 300; besieged by Mahomet II., 314.
- Belisarius, quells Nika riot, vii., 28; birth, education, campaigns in Africa, 89; Persian campaigns, *ib.* and *note*; in Africa, 97 *sqq.*; takes Carthage, 102; fortifies it, 104; at Hippo Regius, 107; invades Italy, 132 *sq.*; enters Rome, 137; valour of, 140; defends Rome, 141 *sq.*; epistles to emperor, 150; receives embassy of Vitiges, 152; besieges Ravenna, 161; enters Ravenna, 164; return and glory of, *ib. sqq.*; expedition against the Persians, 172; disgrace and submission of, *ib. sq.*; recall of, 211; return to Syria, *ib.*; repulses the Persians, 212 *sq.*; tranquillises Africa, 238; second command of, in Italy, 248 *sqq.*; epistle to Totila, 249; last victory of, 284; disgrace and death, 287; fable concerning, 287 and *note*.
- Belius, Matthew, Prodrômus and Notitia of, vi., 2 *note*.
- Bell of Antermony, Travels of, in Persia, ix., 266 *note*.
- Bellarmino, Cardinal, on the excommunication of Leo III., viii., 325.
- Bellini, Gentile, visits court of Mahomet II., xii., 3 *note*.
- Bellona, temple of, x., 9 and *note*.
- Bellonoti, tribe of, vi., 54 *note*.
- Bells, among the Moslems, ix., 138 and *note*.
- Belus, tower of, at Babylon, ix., 125 and *note*.
- Benacus, lake, vi., 73 and *note*; vii., 277-8.
- Bender, i., 7.
- Benedict Anianinus, Codex Regularum of, vi., 166 *note*.
- Benedict XI., Pope, resumes right of coining, xii., 88 *note*; his bull *Flagitiosum*, 109.
- Benedict XII., Pope, receives ambassadors of Andronicus, xi., 233; character, 235 and *note*; addressed by Petrarch, xii., 155 and *note*, 156; said to have introduced triple crown, 158 *note*.
- Benedict XIII., Pope (Peter de Luna), xii., 164, 165; deposed, 166.
- Benedict XIV., Pope, consecrates the Coliseum, xii., 207.

- Benefice, of the Merovingians, vi., 251.  
*Beneficium*, meaning of, viii., 379 *note*.  
 Benefits, vii., 367.
- Beneventum, tusks of the Calydonian boar at, vii., 135 and *note*; princes of, viii., 30; dukes of, 32; duchy of, 365; princes of, x., 76; duchy of, *ib. note*; subject to the Greek emperor, 78 and *note*; little Chronicle of, 79 *note*; besieged by the Saracens, 81; under Roman Pontiff, 102; battle of, xi., 79.
- Benfey, Theodore, his translation of the Fanchatantra, vii., 203 *note*.
- Bengal, kingdom of, conquered by the Mongols, xi., 142.
- Benjamin of Tudela, ix., 330 and *note*; on the Jews, x., 210 *note*.
- Benjamin, Patriarch of the Copts, flight of, viii., 206; ix., 178; life of, 179 *note*.
- Ben Schounah, Arabic history of, xi., 171 *note*; see Ebn Schounah.
- Bentivoglio, nuncio, iii., 291 *note*.
- Bentley, Dr., on Roman money, vii., 305 *note*; xi., 290.
- Beran-birig (Marlborough), battle of, vi., 274 and *note*.
- Berbers, Barbars or Barbarians, subdue North Africa, ix., 202 *note*; history of the word *Barbars*, 205 *note*.
- Berengarius, Panegyricon, viii., 382 *note*.
- Berenice, concubine of Titus, vii., 353 and *note*; ix., 345 and *note*.
- Berenice, in Cyrene, march of Cato from, vi., 126 *note*.
- Beretti, Father, professor at Pavia, viii., 14 *note*; on state of Italy, 30 *note*.
- Bergamo ad Pedem Montis, Alani repulsed by Ricimer at, vi., 117 *note*.
- Bergamo, city of, destroyed by Attila, vi., 68.
- Berger de Xivrey, on Emperor Manuel, xi., 249 *note*.
- Bergier, Histoire des Grands Chemins, i., 34 *note*.
- Beric, chieftain at Attila's feast, vi., 32.
- Berimund, descendant of Hermanric, vi., 343 *note*.
- Bernard, monk, Itinerary of the, x., 184 *note*.
- Bernard, St., opposes Roger of Sicily, x., 130; preaches crusade, 284 *sqq.*; on appeals to Rome, xii., 71 *note*; on the character of the Romans, 77 *sq.*; on the temporal dominion of the Popes, 81 and *note*; supports Pope Innocent II., 104 *note*, -116.
- Bernardus Thesaurarius, x., 199 *note*.
- Bernice, see Berenice.
- Bernier, i., 264 *note*.
- Bernoulli, on comets, vii., 293 and *note*.
- Berœa, in Thrace, Liberius at, iii., 387; vi., 301 *note*; besieged by the Avars, viii., 72.
- Berœa, see Aleppo.
- Berry, city of, opposes Euric, vi., 132; given to Childebert, 255 *note*.
- Bertezena (Berte-scheno), leader of the Turks, vii., 187 and *note*.
- Bertha, mother of Hugo, King of Italy, ix., 347.
- Bertha, daughter of Hugo, ix., 346 *sq.*
- Bertha, wife of Manuel Comnenus, viii., 294.
- Bertram, son of Raymond of Toulouse, x., 261 *note*.
- Bertrandon de la Brocquière, describes Amurath, xi., 300 *note*; on Constantinople, 326 *note*.
- Berytus, law-school at, iii., 131 and *note*; manufactures of, vii., 32, 75, 79 *note*; destroyed by an earthquake, 295 *sq.*; date of, *ib. note*; Andronicus becomes lord of, viii., 299; taken by the Saracens, 168; lost by the Franks, x., 324.
- Berzem, governor of, opposes Alp Arslan, x., 171.
- Besançon, Julian at, iv., 13 and *note*; taken by the Saracens, ix., 253.
- Bessarion, Bishop of Nice, xi., 259; at the council of Florence, 265; made cardinal, 266-7 and *note*; literary merit of, 283-4.
- Bessas, general of Justinian, vii., 224, 244 *note*; defends Rome, 250 *sqq.*; avarice of, *ib.* and *note*, 255.
- Bessi, or minor Goths, iv., 301 *note*; vii., 4 *note*.
- Bēth Armāye, province of, viii., 106 *note*.
- Bethlem, residence of St. Jerome, v., 250; monk of, 285 *note*; crusaders at, x., 254.

- Bezabde, taken by Sapor, iii., 257; besieged by Constantine, 259.
- Beza, Theodore, error in the Greek Testament, vi., 198 *note*.
- Bianca Lancia of Piedmont, x., 56 *note*.
- Bibars, Sultan of Egypt, *see* Bondocdar.
- Bible, text of the Latin, vi., 198 and *note*; translated into Arabic, ix., 28.
- Bidpai, *see* Bilpay.
- Bielasica, battle of, x., 35 *note*.
- Bielke, M., senator of Rome, xii., 171 *note*.
- Biemmi, Giammaria, on Scanderbeg, xii., 171 *note*.
- Biet, M., on the kingdom of Syagrius, vi., 214 *note*.
- Bigerra (Bejar), surrendered to the Saracens by Theodemir, ix., 220.
- Bigleniza, name of mother of Justinian, vii., 1 *note*; *see* Vigilantia.
- Bilādhuri, ix., 191 *note*.
- Bilbeys, *see* Pelusium.
- Bilimer, *see* Gilimer.
- Bindoës, a Sasanian Prince, dethrones Hormouz, viii., 60; murders him, 62.
- Bineses, Persian ambassador, iv., 167.
- Bingen, fortified by Julian, iii., 273 *note*.
- Bir, passage of the Euphrates at, iv., 119 *note*.
- Biserta, Arabian squadron at, ix., 286.
- Bishops, origin and authority of, ii., 311-313; at court of Alexander Severus, iii., 53; under Christian emperors, 314 *sqq.*; *see* clergy; rural bishops, *see* Chorepiscopi; income of, 322 and *note*; thirteen, of Lydia and Phrygia deposed by Chrysostom, v., 312; banishment of the African, vi., 191 and *note*.
- Bisinus, Thuringian king, vi., 212 *note*.
- Bissenî, Turkish tribe, in Hungary, x., 49 *note*.
- Bissextile, iv., 183 and *note*.
- Bithynia, ii., 87; subdued by Procopius, iv., 189; Theodora in, vii., 18; conquered by Orchan, xi., 159 *sq.*
- Bizon, taken by the Turks, xii., 17.
- Blandina, martyr of Lyons, iii., 35 *note*.
- Bleda, brother of Attila, interview with ambassadors of Theodosius, vi., 3; put to death by Attila, 6; his widow entertains the Roman ambassadors, 27.
- Blemmyes, ii., 93, 116 and *note*, 161, 162; religious privileges of, viii., 208 *note*.
- Bléterie, Abbé de la, i., 300 *note*.
- Blinding, modes of, xi., 69 and *note*.
- Blois, Count of, receives Duchy of Nice, xi., 8.
- Blue Horde, tribes subject to Bātū, xi., 187 *note*.
- Blues, or orthodox faction in Constantinople, vii., 21 *sq.*
- Blum, Richard, father of Roger de Flor, xi., 86 *note*.
- Boadicea, i., 4.
- Boccaccio, xi., 279; entertains Leo Pilatus, *ib. sq.*; his "Homer," 280 and *note*.
- Bochara (Bukhārā), vii., 188; reduced by Malek Shah, 244; subjugated by the Saracens, ix., 133 and *note*; subdued by Zingis Khan, xi., 138.
- Bodonitza, near Thermopylæ, xi., 7 *note*.
- Boethius, minister of Theodoric, vi., 323, 332; account of, 335 and *notes*; works of, 336 *sq.*; accused of treason, 338; imprisonment, 339; his *De Consolatione, ib. sq.*; death, 340; tomb of, *ib.* and *note*; children of, restored to their inheritance, vii., 124.
- Boethius, prætorian prefect, death of, vi., 79.
- Bogislav, Stephen, revolt of, viii., 277 *note*.
- Bogomiles, Gnostic sect, x., 17 *note*.
- Bohadin (Behā-ad-Din), life of Saladin by, x., 294 *note*.
- Bohemia, Marcomanni in, i., 301 *note*; subdued by Charlemagne, viii., 366; king of, elector, 389 *note*.
- Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, x., 109; commands at Durazzo, 111 *sq.*; against the Greeks, 119 *sqq.*; in the first crusade, 219; at Constantinople, 225; Anna Comnena on, 227 *note*; at Constantinople, 229; takes Antioch, 244-5; his reputation with the Saracens, 252; becomes Prince of Antioch, 258; captivity of, 272.
- Boillaud, Ismael, xii., 12 *note*.

- Bolanus, iv., 230 *note*.  
 Bolgary, village of, x., 27 *note*.  
 Bolingbroke, Lord, on the Popes, xi., 288 *note*.  
 Bollandists, Acta Sanctorum of the, v., 360 *note*.  
 Bologna, city of, resists Attalus, v., 238; Stilicho at, 187; number of students in university of, xi., 274 *note*; under Papal interdict, xii., 93; Porcaro at, 172-3.  
 Bolsena, lake, vii., 127 and *note*.  
 Bona, Cape Basiliscus at, vii., 128.  
 Bona, *see* Hippo Regius.  
 Bonamy, M., on the French language, vi., 262 *note*.  
 Bonanni, metallic history of, xii., 167 *note*.  
 Bondari, history of the Seljukides by, x., 160 *note*.  
 Bondocdar, or Bibars, Sultan of Egypt, takes Antioch, x., 324 and *note*; builds mosque in Crimea, xi., 122 *note*.  
 Bonfinius, history of Hungary by, xi., 171 *note*; on Ladislaus, 307 *note*, 311 *note*.  
 Boniface, Count, repulses Adolphus from Marseilles, v., 257; character, 340 *note*, 341; revolt of, 342 *sqq.*; invites the Vandals, *ib.*; repentance of, 348; besieged in Hippo Regius, 350; defeat, 352; death, 353; medals struck in honour of, *ib. note*.  
 Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, leads fourth crusade, x., 351; adopts cause of Alexius, *ib. note*, 356 and *note*; clemency, 377; sells Candia, xi., 6 and *note*; acquires Macedonia, *ib.* and 7; defends Thessalonica, 18; death, *ib.*  
 Boniface IV., Pope, consecrates the Pantheon, v., 84 *note*; xii., 193 *note*.  
 Boniface VIII., Pope, i., 247 *note*; his *Sexte* of the Decretals, xii., 94 *note*, 104 *note*; his quarrel with Philip, 108 *sq.*; institutes jubilee, 111 *sq.*; metrical history of his coronation, 117 *note*; adds a diadem to the papal mitre, 158 *note*.  
 Boniface IX., Pope, xii., 162; restores mausoleum of Hadrian, 199 *note*.  
 Boniface, St., vi., 183 *note*; apostle of Germany, vii., 211.  
 Bonifatius, Roman charioteer, medals in honour of, v., 353 *note*.  
 Bonn, fortified by Julian, iii., 273 *note*.  
 Bononia, on the Danube, ii., 252; Julian at, iv., 21.  
 Bononia, *see* Bologna.  
 Bononia, *see* Gessoriacum.  
 Bonosus, general of Aurelian, ii., 73 *note*; revolt of, in Gaul, 125.  
 Bonzes, vii., 188.  
 Borak, horse of Mahomet, ix., 44.  
 Borân, Persian queen, ix., 120 *note*.  
 Borani, ii., 10.  
 Bordeaux, description of, v., 277; school at, vi., 210; Clovis at, 234; taken by the Saracens, ix., 252.  
 Borderers, iii., 136.  
 Borga, Khan, in Russia, xi., 153.  
 Borgites (Bürji), Mamaluke, dynasty of, x., 291 *note*, 323 *note*.  
 Boris, Bulgarian prince, x., 32 *note*; 64 *note*.  
 Borjigen, family of Zingis Khan, xii., 2 *note*.  
 Borysthenes, ii., 9, 30.  
 Bosnia, i., 28; King of, opposes the Ottomans, xi., 168 *note*.  
 Boso of Vienne, founds kingdom of Lower Burgundy, viii., 372 *note*.  
 Bosphorus, city of, siege of, by the Turks, vii., 189 and *note*.  
 Bosphorus, kingdom of, subdued by Trajan, i., 8; Goths in, ii., 31 *sqq.*  
 Bosphorus, Strait of, iii., 92.  
 Bossuet, Universal History of, i., 36 *note*.  
 Bostra or Bosra, Julian's epistle to people of, iv., 62; fairs of, ix., 10 and 11 *note*; siege of, by the Saracens, 137 *sq.*; fortifications of, *ib. note*.  
 Botaniates, *see* Nicephorus Botaniates.  
 Botany, ancient knowledge of, ix., 276.  
 Botheric, commandant of Thessalonica, v., 51 *sqq.*  
 Botrys, vii., 295 and *note*.  
 Boucher, silversmith, at Caracorum, xi., 150 *note*.  
 Boucicault, Marshal, commands an army against Bajazet, xi., 172 and *note*; memoirs of, *ib. note*; ransomed, 174; relieves Constantinople, 178-9; returns to France, 179; Memoirs of, 206 *note*.

- Bouillon in the Ardennes, x., 215.
- Boulainvilliers, Count de, Life of Mahomet, viii., 94 *note*; ix., 53 *note*.
- Boulogne, *see* Gessoriacum, iv., 227.
- Boursa (Brusa), residence of Bajazet, xi., 174; pillaged by Mehemed Sultan, 202-3; royal schools at, 228; decline of, xii., 54. *See* Prusa.
- Bova, territory of, Greek dialect spoken in the, xi., 276 *note*.
- Bowden, J. W., Life of Gregory VII., x., 122 *note*.
- Bowides, Persian dynasty of, ix., 229 *note*, 304 and *note*; war with the Sultan of Gazna, x., 152.
- Boyardo, Count, forgery of, x., 220 *note*; Orlando Inamorato of, xi., 292 *note*.
- Brabant, Franks in, iii., 260; duchy of, x., 215 *note*.
- Bracara in fourth century, v., 271.
- Bracca, ii., 94 and *note*.
- Brachophagos, battle of, between Greeks and Genoese, xi., 126.
- Braga, metropolis of the Suevi in Spain, pillaged by Theodoric, vi., 96.
- Brahmanābād, town of, taken by the Arabs, ix., 132 *note*.
- Brahmapootra, river, xi., 192 *note*.
- Bramante, architect, xii., 212.
- Brancaleone, podesta of Rome, xii., 92 and *note*; death, 93; destroys palace of Severus, 187 *note*; demolishes towers of Rome, 199.
- Brandenburg, Vandals of, vii., 117 *note*.
- Braniseba, duchy of, viii., 296.
- Bread, distribution of, v., 218.
- Breakspear, Nicholas (Hadrian IV.), xii., 82.
- Bregetio, on the Danube, Valentinian at, iv., 255.
- Bremen, bishopric of, viii., 366; town of, destroyed by Hungarians, x., 44.
- Brenckmann, his *Historia Pandectarum*, vii., 335 *note*.
- Brenta, Hungarian camp on the, x., 44.
- Breones, Gallic tribe, vi., 58 and *note*.
- Breigny, M. de, his life of Posthumus, ii., 25 *note*.
- Brescia, ii., 231; dukes of, viii., 32; revolts against her bishop, xii., 80.
- Bretagne, *see* Armorica.
- Bride-show, at the marriage of the Czar, viii., 252 *note*; held for Leo VI., *ib. note*.
- Bridges, Roman, i., 64 and *note*.
- Bridget, St., of Sweden, xii., 157 and *note*.
- Brienne, Walter de, Duke of Athens, *see* Walter de Brienne.
- Brigantes, i., 26.
- Britain, conquest of, i., 4; province of, described, 25 *sq.*; colonies of, 45 and *note*; Vandals in, ii., 122; importance of, 154 *sq.*; revolt of Carausius, 154 *sqq.*; Christianity in, 339; invaded by Picts and Scots, iv., 5; how peopled, 223, 227 *sq.*; Theodosius in, 229 *sq.*; Maximus in, v., 5 *sq.*; Stilicho recalls legions from, 151; invaded by Scots from Ireland, 177 and *note*; various emperors, 178 *sq.* and *note*; revolt of, 280 *sq.* and *note*; independence of, confirmed, *ib.*; state of, 282 *sq.*; cities of, 283 and *note*; Church and bishops, 285 and *note*; revolution of, vi., 268 *sqq.*; Saxon invasion, 269 *sqq.*; Lesser Britain, 275; desolation of, 278; fabulous accounts of, 284 *sq.*; Christianity introduced by Gregory, viii., 45; mentioned by Anna Comnena [Thule], x., 273 *note*; revenue of, in thirteenth century, 379 and *note*; herring fishery of, xi., 148 *note*; description of, by Chalcondyles, 247 *sq.*; feelings of English clergy towards the Popes, xii., 92 *note*; eight kingdoms in British Islands, 166 *note*.
- Britons of France, subdued by Charlemagne, viii., 364.
- Britons, state of, vi., 272 *sqq.*; flight of, into Wales, 275; in Gaul, *ib. note*; servitude of, 280; manners of, 282; in Cinnamus, x., 277 *note*.
- Brittia, Island of, mentioned by Procopius, vi., 285 and *note*.
- Brittii, mentioned by Cinnamus, x., 277 *note*.
- Brivas or Brioude, burial of Avitus at, vi., 101; taken by Theodoric, 257.
- Brosses, Président de, vii., 213 *note*; xii., 13 *note*.
- Brotomagus (Brumath), battle of, iii., 263, 264.

- Bruchion in Alexandria, ii., 56.
- Bructeri, i., 299.
- Brun, on Palace of Serai, xi., 149 *note*.
- Brundisium, port of, fleet of Guiscard at, x., 125 and *note*.
- Brunechild, mother of Ingundis, vi., 201 and *note*.
- Bruno, St., brother of Otto the Great, viii., 371 *note*.
- Brunswick, house of, origin of, x., 109 *note*.
- Brusa, *see* Bursa and Prusa.
- Bruttium, gold mines at, vi., 328; name changed to Calabria, viii., 30 *note*.
- Brutus, i., 90 *note*; founds consulship, vii. 81; judgment of, 376.
- Brutus, the Trojan romance, iv., 223 *note*.
- Bryce, Mr., on Charles IV., viii., 392 *note*; on the De Monarchia, xii., 138 *note*.
- Bryennius, *see* Nicephorus.
- Buat, Comte de, on German invasion of Gaul, v., 173 *note*; on destruction of Metz, vi., 55 and *note*; on defeat of Attila, 63 *note*; on the Slavonians, vii., 181 *note*.
- Bubalia in Pannonia, birthplace of Decius, ii., 2 *note*.
- Bucelin, Duke of the Alamanni, invades Italy, vii., 275 and *note*; defeated by Narses, 278; death of, 279.
- Bucentaur, ship of John Palæologus II., xi., 260.
- Buchanan, iii., 288 *note*; iv., 226 *note*.
- Bucharia, province of, iv., 263 *note*; Magian worship in, ix., 131.
- Buda, city of, iii., 248; Ladislaus at, xi., 306.
- Budæus, xi., 290.
- Buffaloes introduced into Italy by the Lombards, viii., 33 and *note*.
- Buffon, vii., 49 *note*; description of Guyana by, xii., 191 *note*.
- Bugia, city of, taken by the Saracens, ix., 198.
- Bukulithos, battle of, viii., 274 *note*.
- Bulgaria, kingdom of, position of, x., 27 and *note*; first kingdom of, 31; Greek prefect of, in first crusade, 211; relations with Nicholas I., 331; joins the Greek Church, 332; foundation of second kingdom of, 338-9 and *note*; invaded by Theodore Lascaris, xi., 58; wasted by the Mongols, 149 and *note*.
- Bulgarians, first mention of, vi., 304 *note*; ethnology, vii., 180 and *note sq.*; threaten Constantinople, 183 *sq.*; pillage Greece, *ib.*; threaten Constantinople, 282 *sq.*; retire, 285; besiege Constantinople with Justinian II., viii., 230; approach Constantinople in reign of Philippicus, 232 *note*; besiege Constantinople in reign of Leo V., 246 *note*; kingdom of, overthrown by Basil, 275 *sq.*; assist the Emperor Leo against the Saracens, ix., 246; name of, x., 19 and *note*; emigration of, 27-8; war of, with Nicephorus, 31; defeated by Basil II., 35; colonies of, in Hungary, 49 *note*; war with the empire of Romania, xi., 18 *sqq.*
- Bull fight in the Colosseum, xii., 204 and *note*.
- Bulla, near Carthage, vii., 105, 237.
- Bullets, stone, use of, at Rome, xii., 201 and *note*.
- Bundicia, death of R. Guiscard at, x., 126 *note*.
- Buonaccorsi, Philip (Callimachus), on Varna campaign, xi., 311 *note*.
- Burcard, J., his Diary, xii., 180.
- Burckhardt, on the Renaissance, xi., 291 *note*.
- Burdigala, ii., 82 *note*; *see* Bordeaux.
- Burgesses, court of the, at Jerusalem, x., 269.
- Burgundians, ii., 8, 9 *note*; conquered by Probus, 117; on the Elbe, iv., 218 and *note*; feud with the Alamanni, 219; invade Italy, v., 166; invade Gaul and settle there, 278 and *note*; subdued by Attila on the Rhine, vi., 7; invade Belgium, 44; invade Belgic provinces and settle in Savoy, 45; join Theodoric against the Huns, 58; betray Rome to Genseric, 89 *note*; conversion of, 182; on Lake Leman, 217; boundaries, 224; conquered by the Franks, 227 *sqq.*; laws of, 241 and *note*; judicial combats among, 247; assist Odoacer, 310.
- Burgundy, Duke of, opposes Bajazet



- Sultan, xi., 172-3; pays ransom to Bajazet, 175.
- Burgundy, Duke of, uncle of Charles VI., xi., 243; at Council of Ferrara, 262.
- Burgundy, i., 67; two provinces of, v., 278; kingdom of, vi., 214 *note*; wars of Clovis in, 225 *sqq.*; final conquest of, by the Franks, 227 *sqq.*; three Romans command in, 261; Kingdom of Lower Burgundy, viii., 372 *note*; of Upper Burgundy, *ib.*; vassals of, called "provincials," x., 218; wines of, xii., 156 and *note*.
- Buri, i., 301 *note*.
- Būrji (Mamlūks), x., 291 *note*, 323 *note*.
- Burnet's sacred theory of the earth, ii., 293 *note*.
- Burning glasses, vii., 49, 50 and *note*.
- Busbequius, ambassador at court of Soliman, xi., 207; on slavery and rights of war among Turks, xii., 49 *note*.
- Busiris in Egypt, ii., 161; camp of Caliph Merwan at, ix., 261; four places of same name in Egypt, *ib. note*.
- Bussorah, Nazarenes at, ii., 271 *note*; see Bassora.
- Büst, conquered by Subuktigin in 978 A.D., x., 148 *note*.
- Busta Gallorum, vii., 268 and *note*.
- Butler, author of Lives of the Saints, viii., 43 *note*.
- Buwayh, ix., 304 *note*.
- Buwayhids, see Bowides.
- Buzentinus (Bazentinus), river, course of, diverted for burial of Alaric, v., 256.
- Buzes, colleague of Belisarius, vii., 172.
- Buzurg Mihur, Persian philosopher, viii., 55; account of, *ib. note*.
- Bynkershoek, on Roman law, vii., 374 *note*.
- Byrthus, senator, i., 115.
- Byssus, cloth made from *pinna squamosa*, vii., 33 and *note*.
- Byzacena, see Byzacium.
- Byzacium, i., 223 *note*; ceded to the Vandals, v., 354 *note*; Moors in, vii., 118.
- Byzantine empire, see Roman empire.
- Byzantine writers, collections of, xii., 64 *note*.
- Byzantium, besieged by Severus, i., 153; fortifications demolished, 154 *note*; taken by Maximin, ii., 240; by Constantine, 257; situation, iii., 90; fisheries, 98 and *note* (see Constantinople).
- Byzas, iii., 91 *note*.
- CAAB, Arab, ix., 21 *note*.
- Caaba, temple of Mecca, ix., 23; plan of, *ib. note*; 360 idols of, broken, 74.
- Cabades or Kobad, King of Persia, wars with the Romans, vii., 69; restoration and death, 196, 197.
- Cabul, subdued by Nushirvan, vii., 230.
- Cadarian, Persian officer, second in command, viii., 112.
- Cadesia, battle of, ix., 120, and *note*; situation of, *ib. note*; periods of the battle of, 121 and *note*.
- Cadhi, office of, xi., 170 and *note*.
- Cadijah, wife of Mahomet, ix., 31; accepts the religion of Mahomet, 54; affection of Mahomet for, 90.
- Cadiz, see Gades.
- Cadmus, Mount, battle of (1147 A.D.), x., 281 *note*.
- Cæcilian, Bishop of Africa, iii., 335 and *note*.
- Cæcilius (see Lactantius), on the dream of Constantine, iii., 296 and *note*.
- Cælestian, senator of Carthage, v., 357.
- Cælius, Mons, ii., 79 *note*.
- Cærmarthæn, vi., 282.
- Cærwys, vi., 283 *note*.
- Cæsar and Augustus, i., 89; titles of, under Greek emperors, x., 336-7.
- Cæsar, Julius, i., 75 *note*; iv., 107; Commentaries of, 318 *note*; era of, ix., 211 *note*.
- Cæsarea, capital of Cappadocia, siege of, ii., 45; residence of Hannibalianus, iii., 183; temple of Fortune at, iv., 103; Hospital at, 206 and *note*; sacked by Chosroes, viii., 89; Togrul at, x., 162; occupied by Timour, xi., 200.
- Cæsarea in Mauretania, iv., 233; vi., 108; duke of, 110.
- Cæsarea, in Syria, surrenders to the Saracens, ix., 167; date of, *ib. note*; crusaders at, x., 254 and

- note*; fief of Sidon, 266 *note*; recovered by crusaders, 308.
- Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles, vi., 330 and *note*.
- Cæsarius, consul, v., 323 *note*.
- Cæsarius, imperial physician, iv., 71 and *note*.
- Cæsarius, master of the offices, v., 48 *sq.*
- Cæsarius, Roman magistrate, i., 65 *note*.
- Cæsarius, son of Duke of Naples, his conquests over the Saracens, ix., 288.
- Cæsars of Julian, iv., 31, 106, 107 and *notes*.
- Caf, mountain, vii., 186 and *note*, 194 and *note*.
- Cafarello, Italian family, xii., 205.
- Caffa, Genoese colony of, xi., 123 and *note*; inhabitants of, transported to Constantinople, xii., 55 *note*.
- Cagan, *see* Khan.
- Cagliari, Vandal fleet at, vii., 105.
- Cabina, Queen of the Moors, ix., 205 *sq.*
- Caietan, Cardinal (of St. George) Jacopo, xii., 111 *note*, 120 *note*, 201 *note*.
- Cairo, ix., 176; New and Old, *ib.* *note*; inhabitants of, repulse the Turks, x., 189; attacked by Amalrig, 292; fortified by Saladin, 297.
- Cairoan, foundation of, by the Saracens, ix., 201 and *note*; attempt to revive Christian religion at, 231.
- Caius, Roman presbyter, v., 97 *note*.
- Caius, the civilian, authority of, in jurisprudence, vii., 326; Institutes of, 337 and *note*.
- Calabria, loss of, viii., 30 *note*; name applied to Bruttium, *ib.*; province of, made by Constans II., 225 *note*; taken by the Iconoclasts from Rome, 355 and *note*; towns of, pillaged by the Saracens, ix., 286; state of, in tenth century, x., 80; reduced by Manuel, 135-6.
- Calapin (Callistus Athomannus), xii., 5 *note*.
- Calchas, the soothsayer, x., 85 *note*.
- Caled [Khälid], vii., 231 *note*; at Ohud, ix., 68; conversion of, 73; massacres, *ib.*; at battle of Muta, 78; victories of, 113; in Persia, 119; Syrian war of, *ib.* *sq.*, 137 *sqq.*; takes Damascus, 146-7; defeats the Gassanites, 157; death, 169.
- Caledonia, description of, iv., 224 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Caledonian war of Severus, i., 165, 166.
- Caledonians, i., 166.
- Calendar, reformed by Malek Shah, x., 174; Julian, at Constantinople, xii., 51 *note*.
- Caligula, i., 92; statue of, at Jerusalem, ii., 264.
- Calil Basha, vizier of Mahomet II. (Khalil Pasha), xii., 6-7; treasonable correspondence of, 12-13, 32.
- Caliph, title of, ix., 90-1; first four caliphs, 91 *sqq.*; characters, 114 *sq.*
- Caliphate, division of the, ix., 263 *note*; extinction of Abbaside, xi., 144 *sq.*
- Calisia, ii., 117 *note*.
- Calixtus II., Pope, on romance of Turpin, x., 196 *note*; his pontificate, xii., 77 and *note*.
- Calligraphes, epithet of Theodosius the younger, v., 325.
- Callimachus, *see* Philip Buonaccorsi.
- Callinicum, religious riots at, v., 53 and *note*.
- Callinicus of Heliopolis, inventor of Greek fire, ix., 247 and *note*.
- Callixene, priestess of Ceres, iv., 68 *note*.
- Calmucks, black, iv., 284 and *note*; vii., 293.
- Calocerus, iii., 184 *note*.
- Calocyres, ambassador of Nicephorus, x., 64; assumes the purple, 65.
- Calo-John, King of Bulgaria, correspondence of, with Pope Innocent III., x., 338 *note*, 339; assists the Greeks against the Latins, xi., 13 *sqq.*; Scythian army of, 14; defeats Baldwin and imprisons him, 15.
- Caloman, Hungarian king, x., 211 *note*; treaty with Godfrey of Bouillon, 224.
- Calpurnius, date of, ii., 95 *note*; first eclogue of, 130 *note*, 135 *note*, 137 *note*, 138 *note*.
- Callabellotta, taken by the Saracens, ix., 285 *note*.
- Calvary, Mount, fair at, x., 184.
- Calvin compared to Augustine, v., 352 *note*; doctrine of, ix., 21-2.

- Calycadnus river, x., 283 *note*.  
 Calydonian boar, vii., 135 and *note*.  
 Camara, ii., 32 and *note*.  
 Camarina, taken by the Saracens, ix., 285 *note*.  
 Cambrai, ii., 159; taken by Clodion, King of the Franks, vi., 49; residence of Chararieh, 213 *note*.  
 Camden, iv., 223 *note*; vi., 274 *note*.  
 Camel, Arabian, ii., 91 *note*; ix., 7; of Chosroes, 93 and *note*; use of, introduced into Sicily by the Arabs, x., 107 *note*.  
 Camelopardalis, i., 120 *note*; presented to Timour, xi., 210.  
 Camenday, in the mountains of Cilicia, x., 162 *note*.  
 Cameniates, John, viii., 261 *note*.  
 Camillus, Roman general, vii., 268 *note*.  
 Camisards of Languedoc, iii., 407 *note*.  
 Camp, Roman, i., 19, 20.  
 Campania, i., 27; desolation of, iii., 158; towns of, pillaged by the Saracens, ix., 286.  
 Campania, or Champagne, vi., 59 and *note*.  
 Camphire, in Persia, ix., 124; in China and Japan, *ib. note*.  
 Campi Canini, or Valley of Bellingzone, Alamanni defeated by Majorian, in, vi., 103 and *note*.  
 Campona, ii., 252.  
 Campsa, fortress of, defended by the Goths, vii., 279.  
 Camus, a liquor distilled from barley, vi., 27.  
 Canabus, Nicholas, phantom emperor, x., 372.  
 Canada, i., 276.  
 Canals, in Europe, begun by Charlemagne, viii., 267 and *note*; between Nile and Red Sea, 187 and *note*.  
 Cananus, John, his account of siege of Constantinople, xi., 225.  
 Canary Islands, i., 33 *note*.  
 Cancellarius, ii., 134 *note*.  
 Candahar, taken by Mongols, xi., 138.  
 Candaules, story of, viii., 16 *note*.  
 Candax, camp of the Saracens in Crete, ix., 283.  
 Candelapti, office of the, ix., 338 *note*.  
 Candia, in Crete, besieged by Nicephorus Phocas, ix., 308.  
 Candia, or Crete, ix., 283; *see* Crete.  
 Candidian, minister of Theodosius, insulted by the Council of Ephesus, viii., 146; received by John of Antioch, 147.  
 Candidianus, ii., 242.  
 Candioli, Avar ambassador, vii., 191.  
 Canidia of Horace, iv., 193 *note*.  
 Canighul, gardens of, xi., 211.  
 Caninian law, ii., 108 *note*.  
 Cannæ, battle of, x., 76; Normans defeat the Saracens, 89; date of, *ib. note*.  
 Cannibalism of the Crusaders, x., 236 and *note*.  
 Cannon of Mahomet II., xii., 13 *sq.*  
 Canobin, Monastery of, residence of the patriarch of the Maronites, viii., 199.  
 Canoes of the Goths, iv., 293, 334 *note*.  
 Canon Nameh of Soliman II., xii., 18 *note*.  
 Canons of the church, ii., 314; fifteenth, of Nicæa, v., 23.  
 Cantabrians, i., 24.  
 Cantacrusino, T. Spandugino, xii., 44 *note*.  
 Cantacuzene, Demetrius, defends Constantinople, xii., 41 *note*.  
 Cantacuzene, John, History of, xi., 96 and *note*; supports the younger Andronicus, 99; great domestic, 106; regency of, *ib.*; despatches letters to the provinces, *ib.*; assumes the purple, 108; flies to Thessalonica, 109; alliance with the Servians, *ib.*; victory of, 110; reign of, 114 *sq.*; continues his history, *ib. note*; Servian expedition of, 115 *sq.*; defeats John Palæologus, 117; abdication of, *ib.*; death, 118 *note*; four discourses of, *ib. note*; his war with the Genoese, 123 *sqq.*; his treaty with the Venetians, 125; solicits help from the Turks, 162; his friendship with Amir, *ib. note*; negotiations of, with Clement VI., 235-6.  
 Cantacuzene, Manuel, governor of Mithra, x., 113 *note*.  
 Cantacuzene, Matthew, abdication of, x., 114 *note*; associated in the empire, 117.

- Cantelorius, Felix, iii., 126 *note*.
- Cantemir, Demetrius, on Mahomet, ix., 107 *note*; History of the Othman Empire, xi., 157 *note*; account of Moldavia, 170 *note*; of Bajazet, 208; on conversion of Church of St. Sophia, xii., 52 *note*; on the treatment of the Greek Church by the Ottomans, 56 and *note*.
- Canterbury, Emperor Manuel at, xi., 244.
- Capelianus, i., 229.
- Capernaum, Latin pilgrims besieged in, x., 188.
- Caphargamal, village near Jerusalem, v., 101.
- Capiculi*, Turkish troops, xii., 18 and *note*.
- Capistran (John Capistrano), xi., 314 *note*.
- Capitation tax in Gaul, ii., 223; levied on the Jews, iii., 24; under Constantine, 158 and *note*; levied by Leo III., viii., 330 and *note*.
- Capito, Ateius, vii., 320, 324 and *note*.
- Capitol of Rome, iii., 24 and *notes*; *see* Rome.
- Capitoline games, *see* Games.
- Capitoline Mount, ii., 79 *note*.
- Capitolinus, i., 124 *note*, 129 *note*.
- Capizucchi, the, family of, xii., 116.
- Capoccia, Italian family of, xii., 206.
- Caporioni*, chiefs of militia, xii., 170.
- Cappadocia, invaded by Alaric, ii., 110; domains of, iii., 148, 149 and *note*; proconsul of, vii., 65; Paulicians of, x., 8.
- Capranica, xii., 136.
- Caprara, vii., 271.
- Capraria, Island of, monks in the, v., 130 *sq*.
- Capreolus, Bishop of Carthage, on desolation of Africa, v., 350 *note*.
- Capsia, taken by Roger of Sicily, x., 132.
- Captain*, title of, in Rome, viii., 384 and *note*.
- Capua, i., 27; amphitheatre at, 56, 62; xii., 202 *note*; destroyed by Alaric, v., 252 and *note*; Belisarius at, vii., 137; Lombard princes of, x., 78-9; besieged by the Saracens, 81; taken by Roger, 129.
- Caput Vada, Belisarius at, vii., 96 and *note*.
- Capuzzi, Roman family of, xii., 90 *note*.
- Caracalla, i., 157 *note*; names of, 163 *note*; reign, 167 *sqq.*; titles of, 168 *note*; edict concerning freemen, 202 and *note*; taxation of Roman citizens by, 211; baths of, v., 220 *sq.*; laws of, vii., 315 *note*; edict of, concerning the name of Romans, ix., 364.
- Caracorum or Holin, residence of Zingis Khan, xi., 150 and *note sq.*
- Caractacus, i., 4.
- Caracullus for Caracalla, i., 164 *note*; in the poems of Ossian, 166 *note*.
- Caramania, Emir of, military force of the, xi., 159-60; state of, rivals the Ottomans in Asia, 160 *note*; Sultan of, defeated by Murad, *ib.*; conquered by Bajazet, 169; war with the Ottoman Turks, 306, 307.
- Carausius, ii., 153 *sqq.*
- Carashar Nevian, ancestor of Timour, xi., 182.
- Caravans, Sogdian, vii., 34.
- Carbeas, the Paulician, x., 12 *sq*.
- Carbonarian forest, vi., 49 and *note*.
- Carcassonne, vi., 233 *note*; Church of St. Mary at, ix., 219; taken by Anbasa, x., 252 *note*.
- Carche, iv., 158 and *note*.
- Cardinals, titles of, viii., 376 and *note*; their right to elect a Pope, xii., 103-4; sacred college of, 104 *note*; conclave of, 104 and *note*; predominance of French, 111 and *note*.
- Cardonne, De, his History of Africa, ix., 191 *note*; on Aglabites and Edrisites, 301.
- Carduchians, subdued by Trajan, i., 8; ii., 176.
- Carduene (Corduene), ii., 175 and *note*.
- Carette, M., on assembly of the Seven Provinces, v., 287 *note*.
- Caribert, King of Paris, vi., 286 *note*.
- Carinus (M. Aurelius), ii., 129; Cæsar, 130, 131 *note*; emperor, 132; character, 134 and *note*; celebrates the Roman games, 135; death, 143 and *note*.
- Carizme [Khwärizm], city of, taken by the Saracens, ix., 133 and *note*; reduced by Malek Shah, x., 173; province of, invaded by Mongols,

- xi., 137; and city of, taken by Mongols, 138; by Timour, 216.
- Carizmians, invade Syria, x., 318.
- Carloman, brother of Charlemagne, viii., 360.
- Carlovingian dynasty, viii., 340 *sqq.*
- Carmath, an Arabian preacher, ix., 297 and *note.*
- Carmathians, Arabian sect, rise and progress of, ix., 298 *sqq.*, 300 *note.*
- Carmel, Mount, battles near, x., 305.
- Carmelites, vi., 158 *note.*
- Carnuntum, on the Danube, Severus declared emperor at, i., 143 *note*; Congress of, ii., 214 *note.*
- Carocium, standard of the Lombards, viii., 384 *note*; placed in Capitol by Frederic II., xii., 99.
- Carpi, ii., 10, 160 and *note*, 252 *note.*
- Carpilio, son of Aetius, educated in the camp of Attila, vi., 42 and *note*, 78 *note.*
- Carpini, John de Plano, friar, visits court of the great Khan, xi., 135 *note.*
- Carpocrates, viii., 130.
- Carpocratians, iii., 13.
- Carrago*, circle of waggons, iv., 303 *note.*
- Carthæ, temple of the Moon at, i., 177, 244 *note*; iv., 119 and *note*; Roman colony at, i., 266 *note*; taken by Sapor, ii., 42; Paganism at, 48 *note.*
- Carrier pigeons, introduced into Sicily by the Arabs, x., 107 *note.*
- Carsamatius*, meaning of the word, ix., 335 *note.*
- Carthage, i., 32, 62; taken by Capellianus, 229; buildings of Maximian at, ii., 180 *note*; wasted by Maxentius, 224; Council at, 314 *note*; temple of Venus at, v., 84; conference at, 346 and *note*; description of, 355 *sqq.* and *notes*; conference of bishops at, vi., 191; cathedral at, restored by Hunneric, 195; buildings of Justinian at, vii., 57; Belisarius at, 101 *sqq.*; neighbourhood of, 103 *note*; fortifications of, 104; synod of, 109 *sq.*; saved by Belisarius, 129 and *note*; conspiracy against Solomon at, 237; patrician of, ix., 197; taken by Hassan, 202; burnt, 204; bishop of, in eleventh century, 231; poverty of, relieved by Charlemagne, x., 183.
- Carthagena, silver mines at, i., 205; taken by the Vandals, v., 343; fleet of Majorian destroyed by Genseric at, vi., 112.
- Carthaginiensis, province of, Alani in, v., 273.
- Carun, i., 166.
- Carus, general of Probus, ii., 117; emperor, 128 and *note*; reign, *ib. sqq.*; eastern expedition, 130; death, 132.
- Carushomo, Benedict, xii., 92 *note.*
- Casaubon, i., 112 *note*, 116 *note.*
- Casbin, city of, Heraclius at, viii., 107 and *note.*
- Cascellius, Roman lawyer, vii., 334 *note.*
- Cashgar, under Malek Shah, x., 173; Khedar Khan at, 174 *note.*
- Casia, *see* Icasia.
- Casilinum, battle of, vii., 277 and *note.*
- Casiri, ix., 224 *note*, 225 *note.*
- Caspian or Albanian gates of Mount Caucasus, vii., 72 and *note.*
- Caspian Sea, explored, viii., 54; two navies on, *ib. note.*
- Cassano, battle of, ii., 60 *note.*
- Cassian, duke of Mesopotamia, iii., 249.
- Cassian, on monastic institutions, vi., 165 *note*; on anthropomorphism, viii., 130 *note.*
- Cassians, legal sect, vii., 325.
- Cassianus Bassus, *Geoponica* of, ix., 316 *note.*
- Cassini on comets, vii., 293.
- Cassiodorus, Gothic history of, ii., 4; account of embassy to Attila, vi., 43 and *note*; of battle of Châlons, 61 *sq.*; history of, abridged by Jordanes, 54 and *note*; epistles of, 313; minister of Theodoric, 323 and *note*; at Squillace, 324; his account of the toleration of Theodoric, 330 *note*; announces to the senate the accession of Theodatus and Amalasontha, vii., 126.
- Cassius, Avidius, i., 93 *note*, 106, 264 *note.*
- Cassius Dion, *see* Dion Cassius.
- Cassius, Roman general, iv., 91 *note.*
- Castalian fountain of Daphne, iv., 91.
- Castamona, estate of the Comneni, viii., 279.

- Castellæ, explanation of name, ix., 225 *note*.
- Castile, *see* Castellæ.
- Castinus, master-general, marches against the Vandals, v., 343.
- Castles in Africa, vii., 59 *note*; in Balkan Peninsula, 60 and *note*.
- Castor and Pollux, apparitions of, iii., 299 *note*.
- Castoria, duchy of, viii., 296.
- Castra Herculis (Heraclea), fortified by Julian, iii., 273 *note*.
- Castriça, persecutes Chrysostom, v., 310 *note*.
- Castriotes, George, *see* Scanderbeg.
- Castriotes, John, xi., 315-16.
- Castruccio Casticani, Life of, ix., 329 *note*.
- Catalalon, veteran, viii., 280.
- Catalafimi in Sicily, ix., 284 *note*.
- Catalans, service and war of, in the Greek empire, xi., 85 *sqq.* and *note*; annual pension of, 87; conquests of, in Greece, 91 *sqq.*; ally themselves with the Venetians against Genoa, 126.
- Catalaunian Plains, iv., 215; vi., 50 and *note*.
- Catana in Sicily, Belisarius at, vii., 128; taken by the Saracens, x., 285 *note*.
- Cataneo, on Capistrano, xi., 314 *note*.
- Cataplan, governor of Theme of Lombardy, x., 79 and *note*.
- Catechumen, iii., 280 *note*.
- Cathay, name of Northern China, xi., 141 and *note*.
- Catherine, grand-daughter of Baldwin II., marries Charles of Valois, x., 38 and *note*.
- Catherine, St., of Sienna, xii., 157 and *note*.
- Catholic, primate of the Persian Church, viii., 185; applied to Seleucia, Ctesiphon and Bagdad, 191.
- Catholics, Roman, criteria of martyrdom, iii., 35 *note*; Catholics, iv., 203 *sq.*
- Catibah (Kutaiba), lieutenant of Walid, viii., 132 and *note*; conquests of, *ib.*; conquers Transoxiana, 133 *note*.
- Cato, the censor, legal studies of, vii., 320; on the Oppian law, 347 *note*; maxims of, on family law, 361 and *note*.
- Cato the Younger, march of, to Carthage, vi., 126 *sq.* and *note*.
- Catti, ii., 24, 121 *note*.
- Cattle, horned, in the Vosges, vii., 160 *note*.
- Catullus, poem of, on Atys, iv., 53 *note*.
- Catulus, gilds the roof of the Capitol, vi., 90 *note*.
- Catus, *see* Ælius Pætus.
- Caucaland (Hauha-land), iv., 331 and *note*.
- Caucana in Sicily, vii., 96 and *note*.
- Caucasus, Mount, vii., 72.
- Caucha (or Coca), Theodosius at, iv., 331 and *note*.
- Cava, daughter of Count Julian, ix., 209 and *note*.
- Cavalry, Roman, i., 17; arms of, 18; of the Crusaders, x., 232-3.
- Caviar, exportation of, xi., 122 and *note*.
- Cayem (Kaim), Caliph, delivered by Togrul, x., 159.
- Cazan, Khan of Persia, collects Mongol traditions, xi., 132 *note*; death and character, 155 and *note*.
- Cazan, kingdom of, invaded by Mongols, xi., 146.
- Cea, island of, taken by the Venetians, xi., 5 *note*.
- Ceaulin, grandson of Cerdic, vi., 274.
- Cecaumenos, Strategicon of, x., 51 *note*, 338 *note*.
- Ceccarelli, Alphonso, xii., 180.
- Cecrops (Cecropius), ii., 60.
- Cedars, of Mount Libanus, viii., 199 and *note*.
- Cedrenus the historian, iii., 103; x., 161 *note*.
- Celer, consul (508 A.D.), viii., 162.
- Celestine I., Pope, receives embassy from the Egyptian Church, viii., 143-4.
- Celestine III., Pope, x., 145; riches and nepotism of, xii., 120 *sq.*
- Celsius, i., 279 *note*.
- Celsus, Emperor, ii., 48 *note*, 50.
- Celsus, friend of Lucian, ii., 344 *note*, 346 *note*; iii., 19 *note*.
- Celtæ, legion, iv., 3.
- Celtiberians, i., 24.
- Celtic Gaul, i., 25.

- Celtic language, i., 47 and *note*.  
 Cencius Camerarius, xii., 67 *note*, 74 *note*.  
 Cenni, on imperial coronations, xii., 67 *note*.  
 Censors, last, ii., 14 *note*.  
 Censorship of Augustus, i., 83; revived by Decius, ii., 14, 15.  
 Census of the Roman people, v., 199 *note*.  
 Centumcellæ, vii., 152, 261; resists Tutila, 264; inhabitants of, transported to Leopolis, ix., 290.  
 Centuries, assembly of, at Rome, vii., 309.  
 Ceos, isle of, manufacture of silk at, vii., 31 and *note*.  
 Cephallonia, taken by the Venetians, xi., 5 *note*.  
 Cephisus, river, battle of the, xi., 91.  
 Ceramio, battle of, x., 107; fortress of, *ib.* *note*.  
 Cerca or Creca, wife of Attila, vi., 29.  
 Cerceau, Père du, on Rienzi, xii., 128 *note*.  
 Cerdic the Saxon, vi., 273.  
 Ceremonics, pagan, attitude of the Christians towards, ii., 280; adopted by Christians, v., 104 *sq.*  
 Cerinthus of Asia, his theory of the double nature of Christ, viii., 130 and *note*, 131; adopted by the Catholics, 134.  
 Cerroni, tribune, xii., 150.  
 Cerularius, Michael, Patriarch of Constantinople, viii., 280-1 and *note*; letters of, ix., 203 *note*; excommunicated by the Pope, x., 332.  
 Cesena, city of, vii., 276.  
 Cethegus, the Patrician, appears to Justinian in a dream, vii., 263.  
 Ceuta, *see* Septem.  
 Ceylon, *see* Taprobana.  
 Chaboras, river, iv., 122 *note*.  
 Chagan, title of the, King of the Avars, vii., 192; alliance with the Lombards, viii., 7; Dacian empire of the, 9; policy and power of, 68 *sq.*  
 Chaibar (Khaibar), town of, viii., 70; submits to Mahomet, 71; tribe of, *ib.*; Jews of, transplanted to Syria, *ib.*  
 Chais, M., xii., 114 *note*.  
 Chalcedon, ii., 35; Roman legions at, 141; founded, iii., 93; tribunal of, iv., 36; church of St. Peter and St. Paul at, v., 111; of the martyr Euphemia, 304; taken by Chosroes, viii., 91.  
 Chalcis, in Syria, granaries of, iv., 112; Julian's settlement near, 126; besieged by Nushirvan, vii., 208; tribute of, to Saracens, ix., 156; taken by the Saracens, 163 *note*; death of Soliman at, 244.  
 Chalcondyles, Demetrius, xi., 290 *note*.  
 Chalcondyles, Laonicus, ix., 366 *note*; xi., 207; Greek and Turkish history of, 245 *note*; description of European countries, *ib.*, 284; on schism of Constantinople, 296 *note*; on Varna campaign, 311 *note*; on sack of Constantinople, xii., 45 *note*.  
 Chaled, *see* Caled.  
 Châlons, battle of, ii., 82; iii., 163 and *note*; description of, vi., 61 and *note* and *sqq.*; iv., 215.  
 Chalybians, or Chaldæans, vii., 66 and *note*.  
 Chamavians, Frankish tribe (pagus Chamavorum), ii., 159 *note*; subdued by Julian, iii., 270, 271; code of (lex Chamavorum), vi., 240 *note*.  
 Chameleon, surname of Leo V., *g.v.*  
 Champagne St. Hilaire, village of, vi., 233 *note*.  
 Chancellor, *see* Cancellarius.  
 Chang-Tsong, Emperor of China, death of, xi., 135 *note*.  
 Chanse, province of, iv., 281.  
 Chanson d'Antioche, x., 192 *note*.  
 Chao-wu, the great Khan, invades Persia, viii., 57.  
 Chapters, the Three, controversy of, viii., 174 *sq.*  
 Chararich, dominions of, vi., 213 *note*.  
 Chardin, Sir John, on Islam, ix., 46 *note*; on Hosein, 104 *note*; on Persia, 230 *note*.  
 Charegites, or Khārejites, revolt of, ix., 96.  
 Charigites, or Khazrajites, Arabian tribe, adopt Islam, ix., 59.  
 Chariot races, iii., 30, 31 and *note*; vii., 19 *sqq.*  
 Charito, wife of Jovian, iv., 179.

- Charlemagne, studied laws of the Franks, vi., 240; falconers of, viii., 34 *note*; rustic code of, vi., 250 *note*; conquers the Lombards, viii., 339; alliance with Hadrian I., 344; at Rome, *ib.*; donation of, 346 and *note*; holds synod at Frankfort, 354; assemblies of, *ib.* *note*; church of, at Aachen, *ib.* *note*; book of, 354 and *note*; pilgrimages to the Vatican, 356; coronation of, 356-7; reign, *sqq.*; character, 359; name of, *ib.* *note*; cruelty of, to the Saxons, 360; laws of, *ib.*; Spanish expedition of, 361; literary merits of, 362-3; extent of his empire in France, *ib.* *sq.*; instituted the *Spanish March*, 365; founded eight bishoprics, *ib.*; protects the Latin pilgrims, x., 183.
- Charles Martel, receives embassy of Pope Gregory I., viii., 337; made patrician of Rome, 342 and *notes*; defeats the Saracens, ix., 254 *sqq.*; on the *filioque* question, 328 and *note*; palace of, at Aix la Chapelle, xii., 195, 196 *note*.
- Charles of Anjou in Sicily, x., 78 *sqq.*; defeat and death, 84; senator of Rome, xii., 93 and *note*.
- Charles the Bald, grants charter to monastery of Alacon, viii., 364 *note*.
- Charles the Bold, gives right of coinage to Zurich, xii., 80 *note*.
- Charles the Fat, viii., 371 *sq.*
- Charles IV. of Germany, weakness of, viii., 390 *sqq.*; founds University of Prague, 390 *note*; ostentation of, 391 *sq.*; contrast between Charles and Augustus, 393; receives Rienzi, xii., 151 and *note*; imperial coronation of, 154.
- Charles V., emperor, ii., 189; sack of Rome by, v., 251; in Northern Africa, ix., 232; struggle of, with the popes, xii., 176 *sq.*
- Charles V. of France, defended by Baluze, xii., 161 *note*.
- Charles VI., *Histoire de Charles VI.*, xi., 172 *note*; his gifts to Sultan Bajazet, 174; assists Emperor Manuel, 178; receives Emperor Manuel, 243; xii., 164.
- Charles VIII., of France, receives titles to empires of Constantinople and Trebizond, and assumes title Augustus, xii., 60 and *note*.
- Charles XII. of Sweden, i., 177.
- Charnoy, M., account of Timour's campaigns, xi., 189 *note*.
- Charon, name of a patrician, viii., 280.
- Charondas, laws of, vii., 306 and *note*.
- Châteaubriand, on the assembly of the seven provinces, v., 287 and *note*.
- Chauci, ii., 24.
- Chazars, tribe of in Hungary, x., 49 *note*; see Chozars.
- Chazrajites, see Charigites.
- Chelebi*, Turkish title, viii., 294.
- Chemistry, science of, revived by the Arabs, ix., 275 and *note*.
- Chemnis, in Upper Egypt, Nestorius buried at, viii., 153; description of, *ib.* *note*.
- Cherefeddin Ali, panegyrist of Tamerlane, vi., 16 *note*.
- Cherson, city of, iii., 188 *note*; Wolodomir at, x., 70; capture of, *ib.* *note*.
- Chersonesus Taurica, ii., 31; Justinian II. banished to, viii., 228-9.
- Chersonesus, Thracian, defeat of the Romans by Attila in, vi., 13; fortifications, a long wall of, vii., 62.
- Chersonites, allies of Constantine against the Goths, iii., 188, 189; exemption of, from duties, 189.
- Cherusci, ii., 24.
- Chesney, General, his survey of the Euphrates and Tigris, ix., 125 *note*.
- Chess, vii., 204 and *note*; improved by Timour, xi., 214 and *note*.
- Chester, Roman colony, i., 45 *note*.
- Chiauss, office of, x., 339 and *note*.
- Childebert, laws of, vi., 245 *note*; attempt to conquer Auvergne, 255 *sq.*; invades Italy, viii., 27 *sq.*
- Childeric, exile of, vi., 116 and *note*; marries Basina, 212 and *note*.
- Childeric, last Merovingian king, deposed, viii., 340 and *note*.
- Chiliarchs, of Vandal army, v., 345.
- China, in the third century A.D., ii., 167 and *note*; iv., 274 *sqq.* and *notes*; invaded by the Topa, v., 164; silk in, vii., 31; early Chinese chronicle, *ib.* *note*; trade in, 35 *sq.*; Turks in,



- vii., 188 *sq.*; Christianity in, viii., 190 *sq.*; friendship of, with the Arabs, 133; paper manufacture in, 134; invaded by Zinghis Khan, xi., 135 *sqq.*; northern and southern empires of, 140-1 *sq.*
- Chingiz, *see* Zingis.
- Chionites, in the army of Sapor, iii., 254 and *note*.
- Chiorli, town of, xi., 29.
- Chios, Island of, Turks driven from, x., 271; Giustiniani in, xii., 41-42.
- Chiozza, Isle of, vi., 70.
- Chishul, traveller, v., 307 *note*.
- Chivalry, x., 220.
- Chlienes, Armenian prince, viii., 256.
- Chlodwig, *see* Clovis.
- Chlorus, *see* Constantius.
- Chlum, prince of, xi., 168 *note*.
- Chnodomar, King of the Alamanni, iii., 266 and *note*; taken prisoner by Julian, 269.
- Chodai-nama or book of Lords, vii., 201 and *note*.
- Chorasan, *see* Khurāsān.
- Chorasnia, province of, iv., 282 *note*.
- Chorepiscopi, or rural bishops, iii., 315 *note*.
- Chosroes I., Nushirvan, King of Persia, i., 270 *note*; seven philosophers at his court, vii., 81; accession of, *ib.* *note*; date of accession, 198 *note*; proposed adoption by Justin, 197; meaning of "Nushirvan," 198 *note*; character of, 198 *sqq.*; appoints four viziers, 199; endless peace with Rome, 205; makes war against the Romans, *ib.*; invades Syria, 208 *sqq.*; ruins Antioch, 209; negotiations with Justinian, 228 *sqq.*; empire of, 230; palace of, ix., 124 *sq.*
- Chosroes II., son of Hormouz, accession of, viii., 61; flies to the Romans, 62-3; restored by Narses, 65; letters of, 67 *note*; invades the Roman Empire, 86-7 *sqq.*; conquers Syria, 88; threatens Constantinople, 100; retreats before Heraclius, 105; flight, 116; murder of, 118 and *note*.
- Chosroes, King of Armenia, i., 269 and *note*; ii., 42.
- Chosroes, son of Tiridates, iii., 199.
- Chosroes, vassal of Persia, rules over Eastern Armenia, v., 332.
- Chosroiduchta, sister of Otas, ii., 166 and *note*.
- Chozars, or Khazars, relations of, with Heraclius, viii., 111 and *note*; Justinian II. seeks refuge with the, 229.
- Chrabr, monk, x., 32 *note*.
- Christ, date of birth and crucifixion of, iii., 18 *note*; miraculous image of, viii., 57 and *note*, 85 *note*; sepulchre of, burnt, 90; opinions concerning the nature of, 123 *sqq.*; statue of, 312 and *note*; correspondence with Abgarus, 313; picture of, *ib.* *sq.*; how regarded by Mahomet, ix., 39 *sq.*
- Christian, Archbishop of Mentz, x., 137 *note*.
- Christianity, inquiry into its progress and establishment, ii., 261 *sqq.*; Jewish converts to, 268; causes of, and historical view of its progress, 327 *sqq.*; in the East, 332; in Egypt, 334; in Rome, 336; in Africa, 337; beyond the empire, 341; attitude of Hadrian to, iii., 30, 31; under Constantine, 284 *sqq.*, 308 *sqq.*; under Jovian, iv., 174; in Rome, v., 75 *sqq.*; Pagan ceremonies in, 104 *sq.*; a cause of the fall of the western empire, vi., 291 *sq.*; propagation of, in Asia, viii., 188 *sqq.*; in the north of Europe, x., 71 *sqq.*
- Christians, peculiar opinions of primitive, ii., 278 *sqq.*; their belief in miracles, 295 *sqq.*; virtues and customs of primitive, 300 *sqq.*; community of goods among, 319 *sqq.*; tithes, 319, 320; under Nero, 336; proportion to Pagans, 341; poverty of, 344; confounded with the Jews, iii., 15 and *note*; favourably regarded by Constantine, 285; description of, under Constantine, 285 *sqq.*; loyalty of, 290, 291; yearly synods, 329; respect for Plato, 344 and *note*; doctrines of, 351 *sqq.*; Arian controversy, 354 *sqq.*; their sects, 356 *sqq.*; Julian's treatment of, iv., 84 *sqq.*

- influence of, on the Mahometans, ix., 28; of the seventh century relapse into semblance of paganism, 36; manners of, at time of first crusade, x., 202; their discipline of penance, *ib. sq.*
- Christians of St. John, in Bassora, ix., 27.
- Christmas day, origin of, iv., 16 *note.*
- Christopher, son of Constantine Copronymus, viii., 239.
- Christopher, son of Romanus I., made emperor, viii., 265.
- Christopolis, pass of, x., 110 *note*; on the Greek frontier, 113 *note.*
- Chrobatians, *see* Croats.
- Chronicon Farfense, viii., 348 *note.*
- Chronique du religieux de Saint Denys*, xi., 172 *note.*
- Chrysanthius the philosopher, iv., 56, 69; high priest of Lydia, 70 *note.*
- Chrysaphius, favourite of Theodosius the younger, vi., 34 and *note*; pardoned by Attila, 36; supports cause of Eutychius, viii., 154; death, 157.
- Chrysocheir the Paulician, viii., 260; victories of, x., 13 *sq.*; death, 14.
- Chrysologus, St. Peter, commends piety of Placidia, vi., 78 *note.*
- Chrysoloras, Manuel, professor of Greek at Florence, xi., 281; death, 283; his pupils, *ib. note*; compares Rome and Constantinople, 293 *sq.*; epistle of, to John Palæologus, 293 *note*; death, *ib.*
- Chrysopolis, battle of, ii., 258; iii., 93; Harun al Rashid at, ix., 279; Sultan Soliman entertained at, x., 179.
- Chrysostom, John, on the church at Antioch, ii., 334 *sq.*; eloquence of, iii., 329; on earthquake at Jerusalem, iv., 80, 81; on the luxury of Constantinople, v., 288 and *note*; protects Eutropius, 302; homilies in defence of Eutropius, 303 *note*; election and merit of, 308 *sq.*; administration, 310 *sq.*; extends the jurisdiction of Constantinople, 312; persecution of, by Eudoxia, 313 *sqq.*; exile, 316; death, 317; epistles of, 316 *note*; his relics brought to Constantinople, 317 and *note*; on monastic life, vi., 163 *note*; opposes Apollinaris, viii., 134.
- Chundo, chamberlain of Gontran, King of Burgundy, vi., 252 *note.*
- Church, Christian, government of primitive, ii., 309 *sqq.*; wealth of, 319; revenues of, 322; excommunication in, 323, 324; property of, secured by edict of Milan, iii., 320 and *note*; authority of, 348; disendowed by Julian, iv., 84; Eastern Church torn with discord, viii., 161 *sqq.*; union of the Latin and Greek, 182; corruption of the Latin, xi., 252 *sq.*; union of the Latin and Greek, concluded at Ferrara and Florence, 264 *sqq.*; treaty between the Greek and Latin, 268 *sq.*
- Churches, Christian, under Constantine, iii., 322; privilege of sanctuary transferred to, 325 and *note.*
- Chu Yuen Chang, revolt of, xi., 152; founds Ming dynasty, *ib. note.*
- Cibalis, battle near, ii., 246 and *note.*
- Cibossa, church of Paulicians at, x., 4 *note.*
- Cicero, De natura Deorum, i., 37 and *note*; attitude to religion, 39 *note*, 105, 210; on the immortality of the soul, ii., 284 and *note*; on Plato's Timæus, iii., 346 *note*; aspired to the Augurate, v., 73 *note*; on the Twelve Tables, vii., 308, 318; account of De Legibus, 322 *note.*
- Cilicia, province, war in, between Severus and Pescennius Niger, i., 151; Persian conquest of, ii., 45; invaded by Alani, 110; Cilician gates, viii., 100 and *note*; conquest of, by Nicephorus, ix., 309.
- Cillium, or Colonia Cillitana, vii., 241 *note*; subdued by the Saracens, ix., 170; wars of Alexius in, x., 272.
- Cimbri, iv., 220 *note.*
- Cineas, councillor of Pyrrhus, v., 199 *note.*
- Cingolani, his map of the Campagna, xii., 101 *note.*
- Cinnamus, historian, prejudice of, x., 278 *note.*
- Circassians, dynasty of, xi., 196 and *note.*

- Circesium, site of, i., 245 *note*; fortified by Diocletian, ii., 175; Julian at, iv., 121, 123; vii., 66; Chosroes at, viii., 63.
- Circumcellions, sect of, iii., 405 *sqq.*; tunnels of, in Africa, v., 347.
- Circumcision, ii., 267, 273 *note*; practised by Mahometans on the Euxine, vii., 217; condemned in Abyssinia by the Jesuits, viii., 213 and *note*.
- Circus, Roman, v., 220 and *note*; factions of the, at Rome and Constantinople, vii., 19 *sq.*; factions of, abandon the Emperor Maurice, viii., 78.
- Cirencester, Richard of, i., 45 *note*; iv., 226 *note*; on cities of Britain, v., 283 *note*.
- Cirta, ii., 224; iii., 186 *note*; opposes Gaiseric, v., 355; duke of, vii., 110.
- Citadels of the Alps, ii., 229 and *note*.
- Citeaux, monastery of, x., 284.
- Cities, in the Roman empire, i., 61; in ancient Italy, *ib.*; in Britain, Gaul, and Spain, *ib.*; in Africa and Asia, 62; of Britain, v., 282 and *note*, 283 and *note*; decay of the cities of the Western Empire, ix., 322; wealth of the Eastern cities, *ib. sq.*
- Citizenship under Caracalla, i., 211 and *note*.
- Citron wood, valued by the Romans, viii., 199 and *note*.
- City of God*, work of St. Augustine, v., 243.
- Cius, ii., 35.
- Civetot, crusaders at, x., 212 *note*.
- Civilians, Roman, vi., 152 *sqq.*
- Civilis the Batavian, i., 298.
- Civitate, battle of, x., 94-5.
- Cività Vecchia, *see* Centumvellæ.
- Clairvaux, monastery of, x., 284 and *note*.
- Clarissimi, Roman senators, iii., 109 *note*.
- Classics, Greek and Latin, x., 277; losses, and partial preservation of, xii., 50.
- Classis, harbour of Ravenna, v., 163 *note*; pillaged by Duke of Spoleto, viii., 26.
- Claudia, miracle of, iv., 51, 52 *note*.
- Claudian, portrait of Serena, v., 119 *note*; on death of Rufinus, 123 and *note*; epithalamium, 135 *note*; poem on Getic war, 147 *note*; epigram on old man at Verona, 149 *note*; on battle of Pollentia, 156 and *note*; account of, 191 *sqq.*; on Eutropius, 291 *notes*; on auction of the state, 293.
- Claudiopolis, baths at, i., 56 *note*.
- Claudius I., elected emperor, i., 91, 96 *note*, 134 *note*.
- Claudius II., at Thermopylæ, ii., 13 *note*; origin, 61 and *note*; reign, *ib. sqq.*; letter of, 66; victories over the Goths, *ib.* and 68; death, *ib.*
- Claudius, a freedman, iii., 108 *note*.
- Claudius Quadrigarius the annalist, vii., 342 *note*.
- Cleander, minister of Commodus, i., 114 *sqq.*
- Cleaveland, Ezra, History of the Courtneys, xi., 43 *note*.
- Clematius of Alexandria, iii., 228 and *note*.
- Clemens, Flavius, ii., 312 *note*; execution of, iii., 26.
- Clemens of Alexandria, ii., 304 *note*, 343.
- Clement III., Pope, x., 123; xii., 90 *note*.
- Clement V., Pope, at Avignon, xii., 109-10 and *note*; appoints cardinals, 111 *note*.
- Clement VI., Pope, his negotiations with Cantacuzene, xi., 235-6; Lives of, 236 *note*; celebrates second jubilee, xii., 114 and *note*; addressed by Rienzi, 129; confirms his title, 135; summoned by Rienzi, 142 and *note*; his Bulls against Rienzi, 148 *note*; his death, 152; Petrarch's exhortation to, 154-5 and *note*, 156.
- Clement VII., Pope (Robert of Geneva), his election, xii., 160.
- Clement VIII., invades Ferrara, xii., 175 *note*.
- Clementines, the, iii., 342 *note*.
- Cleodamus, fortifies Piræus, ii., 37.
- Cleopatra, daughter of Emperor Maurice, viii., 83 *note*.
- Cleopatra, queen, library of, v., 86 *note*; concubine of Mark Antony, vii., 353.

- Clepho, King of the Lombards, viii., 18.  
 Clergy, distinction of, from laity, ii., 318 *sq.*; order of, iii., 313; under the emperors, *ib. sqq.*; celibacy of, 317 and *note*; ordained by the bishops, *ib.*; exemptions of, 319 and *note*; number of, *ib.*; wealth of, 320 *sq.*; civil jurisdiction, 323 *sq.*; spiritual censorship of, 325 and *note*; public preaching of, 328 and *note*; legislative assemblies of, 329 *sqq.*; avarice of, restrained by Valentinian, iv., 207 and *note*; in Gaul, vi., 262 and *note*; clergy and bishops exiled and imprisoned by Justin, viii., 194-5 and *note*; under the Carolingians, 387.
- Clermont, estate of Avitus at, vi., 92 and *note*; besieged by the Visigoths, 132 *sq.*; council of, x., 196 *sq.*
- Cleves, Julian at, iv., 13.
- Clodion, King of the Franks, occupies Tournay and Cambray, vi., 49; death, 50.
- Cloaire, son of Clovis, constitution of, vi., 242 *note*.
- Clotilda, wife of Clovis, converts her husband, vi., 219; promotes his expedition against the Goths, 230.
- Clovis, King of the Franks, vi., 212 *sq.*; birth of, *ib. note*; character, 214; defeats Syagrius, *ib. sq.*; adds Tongres to his dominions, 216; defeats the Alemanni at Tolbiac, 217 *sq.*; conversion of, 219 *sq.*; baptism of, 220 *sq.* and *note*; subdues Armorica, 223; war with the Burgundians, 235 *sqq.*; victory of, near Dijon, 226; war with the Goths, 229 *sqq.*; conference with Alaric, *ib.*; consulship of, 235 and *note*.
- Cluverius on the Lombards, vii., 178 *note*.
- Cniva, King of the Goths, ii., 12.
- Coaches, Roman (carrucæ), v., 209 *note*.
- Cocaba, village of, iii., 25.
- Coche on the Tigris, Julian at, iv., 136 *sqq.*
- Cochin China, conquered by the Mongols, xi., 142.
- Cochin, King of, grants privileges to the Christians of St. Thomas, viii., 192.
- Codex Argenteus, Gothic, vi., 181 *note*.
- Codex Carolinus, viii., 337 *note*.
- Codex, the Gregorian and the Hermogenian, vii., 316.
- Codex of Justinian, vii., 329 *sqq.*; second edition of, 336.
- Codex Nasiræus, *see* Nasiræus.
- Codex of Theodosius, v., 24 *note*; laws against the Donatists in, 347 *note*.
- Codicils, Roman law on, vii., 364 *sq.*
- Codinus, iii., 110 *note*, 178 *note*; vii., 288 *note*; his account of honours and offices, x., 341 *note*.
- Codrus, Roman poet, v., 224.
- Cœmption, vii., 345, 346 *note*.
- Cœnobites, origin of, vi., 157 *note*; account of, 175 and *note*.
- Cœnum Gallicanum, iii., 232 *note*.
- Cogende (Khojend), city of, taken by the Mongols, xi., 138.
- Cognats, vii., 360.
- Cogni, *see* Iconium.
- Cohorts, city, i., 22, 116 *note*.
- Coil, British king, ii., 204 *note*.
- Coimbra, treaty with Saracens, ix., 220 *note*.
- Coinage, depreciation of, under Gallienus, ii., 58 *note*, 97; of Constantine the Great, iii., 160 and *note*; with head of Boniface, v. 353 and *note*; under the Palæologi, xi., 87 and *note*; papal, xii., 68 and *note*; Roman republican, in twelfth and thirteenth centuries, 88 and *note*; of the popes, 167 and *note*.
- Colchester, Roman colony, i., 45 *note*.
- Colchians, bravery of, vii., 218.
- Colchos, conquered by Trajan, i., 8; also called Lazica or Mingrelia, vii., 214; description of, *ib. sqq.*; manners of the natives, 216; Christians of, 217; revolutions of, 218; revolts of, 221 *sqq.*
- Colias, Gothic leader, iv., 300.
- Coliseum, *see* Rome.
- Collaterals, or assessors, xii., 170.
- Collatio episcoporum proved a forgery by Havet, vi., 226 *note*.
- College, electoral, of Germany, viii., 389 and *note*.
- Collyridian heresy, ix., 36 and *note*.
- Cologne (Colonia), i., 281 *note*; Posthumus at, ii., 54 *note*; destroyed by Germans, iii., 260; pillaged by

- Clodion, vi., 50; archbishops of, their relation to Rome, xii., 71.
- Colonatus*, i., 301 *note*.
- Colonia, Sultanate of, viii., 299.
- Colonies, Roman, i., 44, 45; in Britain and Spain, *ib. note*; honorary colonies, *ib. note*.
- Colonna, John, Marquis of Ancona, xii., 118; learning of, 208 *note*.
- Colonna, John, son of Stephen the Younger, xii., 146.
- Colonna, Marco Antonio, xii., 118 *note*.
- Colonna, Otho, *see* Martin V.
- Colonna, Peter, senator of Rome, xii., 118; arrested, 136; death, 146.
- Colonna, Protonotary, xii., 174.
- Colonna, Roman family, xii., 117 *sqq.*; splendour of, 177; quarrels of, with the Ursini, 205.
- Colonna, Sciarra, xii., 108, 119.
- Colonna, Stephen, the Elder, xii., 118-9 and *note*, 120, 133 *sq.*, 145.
- Colonna, Stephen, the Younger, xii., 121, 122; death of, 146.
- Colovion*, tunic worn by the Greek emperors, ix., 336 *note*.
- Columba, St., Monastery of, vi., 163 and *note*.
- Columban, St., vii., 277 *note*.
- Columbanus, rule of, vi., 166 *note*, 169 *note*.
- Columella, v., 206 *note*.
- Columna Regina, at Rhegium, viii., 28 *note*.
- Colzim, Mount, Monastery of, at, vi., 159; Anthony at, *ib.* and *note*.
- Comana, temple of, iii., 149 and *note*; Chrysostom at, v., 317.
- Comans, Turkish tribe of, serve under Bulgarian king, xi., 14 and *note*; under Alexius Strategopulus, 35 and *note*, 36-7; 40,000 families of the, adopted by King Bela IV., xi., 147.
- Comes*, *see* Count.
- Comets, vii., 291 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Comitia*, *see* Assembly.
- Comito, sister of the Empress Theodora, vii., 10 and *note*.
- Commachio, morass of, viii., 28 *note*.
- Commentiolus, general of the Emperor Maurice, viii., 74 and *note*.
- Commerce, despised by the plebeians of Rome, v., 216.
- Commodus, shared the imperial power, i., 107; reign, *ib. sqq.*; Porphyrogenitus, 108 *note*; death, *ib.*; accuses Severus, 143 *note*; protected the Christians, iii., 50.
- Comneni, family of, viii., 279; genealogy of, 280 *sqq.*; extinction of, xii., 59.
- Comnenus, *see* Alexius, David, Isaac, John, Manuel (emperors).
- Comnenus, Hadrian, viii., 285.
- Comnenus, John, refuses the empire, viii., 281; Cæsar, 283; children of, 285.
- Comparetti, on South Italian dialects, xi., 276 *note*.
- Compiègne, Palace of the Merovingians at, ix., 251 and *note*.
- Compostella, shrine of, ii., 339.
- Compurgators, vi., 246.
- Comum, town of Attila at, vi., 68; lake of, 328.
- Conception, doctrine of immaculate, ix., 40 and *note*.
- Conclave, institution of the, xii., 105.
- Concord, altar of, in Elephantine, vii., 65 *note*.
- Concordia, pillaged by Alaric, v., 198; destroyed by Attila, vi., 68.
- Concubines, Roman laws respecting, vii., 353 *sq.*
- Confarreation, marriage rite, vii., 345, 346 *note*.
- Confederates, Barbarian army of, subverted the Western Empire, vi., 142 and *note*; new legion of Tiberius so called, viii., 24 and *note*.
- Confessors, iii., 43 *note*.
- CONOB, inscription of Byzantine coins, viii., 335 *note*.
- Conon, name of Leo the Isaurian, viii., 235.
- Conon, St., church and monastery of, vii., 24 and *note*.
- Conrad, Duke of Franconia, death of, x., 48.
- Conrad, Duke of the Franconians, x., 48.
- Conrad I., viii., 373 *note*.
- Conrad II., Emperor, annexed kingdom of Arles to empire, viii., 372 *note*; in Southern Italy, x., 86 *note*.
- Conrad III., Emperor, x., 194; joins

- second crusade, 274; dealings with the Greek emperor, 279; his march in Asia Minor, 280; illness of, 281 *note*; invited to Rome by the senate, xii., 85 *note*, 95.
- Conrad of Montferrat, takes part in third crusade, x., 304; death, 308; husband of Theodora Angela, 355 *note*; defends Tyre, *ib.*
- Conradin of Swabia, invades France, x., 79, 81-2; in Rome, xii., 94.
- Consentia (Consenza), Isthmus of, landmark of Autharis, viii., 29; subdued by R. Guiscard, x., 100.
- Conservators, instituted, xii., 170.
- Consilium Speciale and Generale, xii., 171.
- Consistorium, iii., 146 *note*; at Treves, condemns Priscillian, v., 27; secrets of, disclosed to Attila, vi., 26.
- Constable, office of, ix., 340 and *note*; of French mercenaries at Constantinople, xi., 61.
- Constance, heiress of Antioch, x., 300 *note*.
- Constance, treaty of, viii., 385; Council of, 392 *note*; synod of, 1095 A.D., x., 194 *note*; xi., 253; xii., 166.
- Constans I., son of Constantine, iii., 173; governs Italy and Africa, 183; Augustus, 196; reigns, *ib.*; war with Constantine II., 205 *sq.*; slain at Helena, 208; protects Athanasius, 381; tolerates paganism, 411; visits Britain, iv., 227.
- Constans II., son of Constantine III., type of, viii., 179; emperor, 224 *sq.*; name of, *ib. note*; puts his brother Theodosius to death, 224; in Greece and Italy, *ib.*; murder of, in Sicily, 225; checked advance of the Saracens, *ib. note*; death of, 328; dream of, ix., 171 and *note*; sends army to Africa, 197 *note*; visit to Rome, 364; takes roof from the Pantheon, xii., 194.
- Constans, son of the usurper Constantine, put to death at Vienna, v., 265.
- Constantia, sister of Constantine the Great, ii., 209 *note*, 240, 258; iii., 173.
- Constantia, daughter of Roger of Sicily, x., 142, 146.
- Constantia, wife of Gratian, iv., 190 and *note*; escapes to Sirmium, 252.
- Constantian, general of Justinian, vii., 117 *note*.
- Constantina, daughter of Constantine the Great, crowns Vetrano, iii., 209 and *notes*; marries Gallus, 227; character, 228; death, 232.
- Constantina, sister of Eusebia, iv., 15 *note*.
- Constantina, widow of the Emperor Maurice, viii., 83; death, *ib.*
- Constantina, town, besieged by Cobad, vii., 69 *note*.
- Constantine I., the Great, ii., 75; birth and family of, 204 and *note*; education, *ib.*; escape of, and journey to Britain, 207; elevation, 208 *sqq.*; marries Fausta, 214; named Augustus, *ib.*; besieges Arles, 220; in Gaul, 224; war with Maxentius, 226 *sqq.*; passes the Alps, 230; battles of Turin and Verona, *ib. sqq.*; victory near Rome, 235; reception of, at Rome, 237; established senatorial tax, 239; alliance with Licinius, 240; civil war with Licinius, 246 *sqq.*; treaty of Peace, 249; laws of, 249 *sqq.*; clemency to the Christians, iii., 75; chooses Byzantium as site for Constantinople, 90, 91; plans Constantinople, *ib.*; prodigality of, 109; character, 168 *sqq.*; family of, 172; edict of, encouraging informers, 175, 176; visits Rome, *ib.*; puts Crispus to death, 177; punishes Fausta, 179; elevates his sons and nephews, 181; Gothic war, 187; alliance with the Chersonites, 188; death, 191; conversion of, 279 *sqq.*; conduct towards the Church and Christians, 280, 281; pagan superstition of, 282 and *notes*; protects Christians of Gaul, 283; publishes Edict of Milan, 284; divine right of, 289; religious war against Licinius, 292 and *note*; dream of, 296; his conversion, 301 *sqq.*; his devotion, 305; his baptism, 306; at Council of Nice, 331; opposes the Arians, 365; and the Orthodox, *ib.*, 366; his religious vacillation, 370; tolerates paganism, 409 *sq.*; in Julian's

- Cæsars, iv., 45; donation of, viii., 349 and *note*; imaginary law of, ix., 346, 347 and *note*; cured of leprosy, xii., 142 and *note*.
- Constantine II., ii., 249 and *note*; iii., 173; elevation of, 181, 183; Augustus, 196; war with Constans, 205; death, 206.
- Constantine III., general of Honorius, receives the fortune of Heraclian, v., 264; character, 267 *sq.*; raised to the Empire of the West, 336; marries Placidia, 335; death, 336.
- Constantine [III.], son of Heraclius, made Augustus, viii., 221 and *note*; at Cæsarea, ix., 166-7.
- Constantine IV., Pogonatus, defeats the usurper, Mizizios, viii., 226; revolt of his brothers, *ib.*, 227; reign, ix., 238 *sq.*
- Constantine V. Copronymus, reign, viii., 236 *sqq.*; military prowess of, 237 *note*; abolishes the monks, *ib.*; pestilence in the empire, *ib.*; bones of, burned, 255; settled Armenian families in Thrace, 256 *note*; marries daughter of King of the Chozars, ix., 346; introduces the Paulicians into Thrace, x., 15 *sq.*
- Constantine VI., crowned, viii., 238; marries Theodote, 241 *note*; blinded by order of Irene, 242 and *note*.
- Constantine VII., Porphyrogenitus, on the Chersonites, iii., 188 *note*; birth of, viii., 263; title of, 264; deposes government to his wife Helena, 267; death, *ib.*; on Greek fire, ix., 249; works of, 282 *note*, 314 *sqq.* and *notes*; Ceremonies, Themes, Administration of Empire, Geoponics, Encyclopædia, Tactics, Hippitrica, *ib.*; on the Franks, 362 *sq.*; on the Slavonians, x., 30 *note*; on Russia, 53 *note*; his account of baptism of Olga, 69.
- Constantine VIII., son of Romanus I., viii., 266.
- Constantine IX. [VIII.], viii., 275.
- Constantine X. [IX.], Monomachus, viii., 278 and *note*.
- Constantine XI. [X.], Ducas, viii., 282; policy of, *ib.* *note*; sons of, banish the mother of the Comneni, 285.
- Constantine XII., viii., 283.
- Constantine XIII. [XI.], Palæologus, last Greek emperor, xi., 321; crowned at Sparta, 322; message to Mahomet II., xii., 11; signs act of union of Greek and Latin Churches, 21; defends Constantinople, 24 *sqq.*; last speech of, 28; death, 44.
- Constantine, African Christian, learning of, x., 104; translates Hippocrates, 104 *note*.
- Constantine Angelus, viii., 306.
- Constantine, brother of Michael, x., 109 *note*; letters of, to R. Guiscard, *ib.*; commands in Greece, xi., 72.
- Constantine Dragases, Prince of Serbia, xi., 321 *note*.
- Constantine, governor of Spoleto, vii., 155; death, 156 and *note*.
- Constantine Paleokappa, author of the *Ionian*, ix., 371 *note*.
- Constantine, private soldier, tyrant, elected in Britain, v., 178 and *note*; besieged in Vienna, 179; claims ratified, 265; besieged in Arles, 266; death, 268.
- Constantine, son of Bardas Phocas, viii., 267.
- Constantine, son of Basil I., death of, viii., 261.
- Constantine, son of Michael VII., x., 109.
- Constantine Sylvanus, x., 4 and *note*; labours of, 8; death, 9.
- Constantinople:—  
 Augusteum, iii., 104 *note*.  
 Baths of: Zeuxippus, iii., 401; burnt during the Nika riots, vii., 25.  
 Anastasia, iv., 188.  
 Blachernæ, iii., 101 *note*; bridge of the, x., 228 *note*; palace of, occupied by Franks, 376; fortified by Heraclius, xii., 20 *note*.  
 Caligaria, quarter, xii., 20 *note*; mining operations of the Turks at, 35 *note*.  
 Chain of Harbour, iii., 94 and *note*; xii., 20 and *note*.  
 Churches of: Acacius, St., iii., 402.  
 Anastasia, St., v., 16 and *note*.  
 Holy Apostles, 18 *note*; vii., 56; rifled by the Franks, x., 381.  
 Lawrence, St., vii., 24.  
 Conon, St.,

- ib.*, *note*. Sophia, St., burnt during the Nika riots, 25; foundation, 51; description of, 52 *sqq.*; authorities concerning, *ib.* *note*; marbles of, 55; riches of, *ib.* *sq.*; eastern hemisphere of, falls, xi., 296 and *note*; inhabitants of Constantinople seek refuge in, A.D. 1453, xii., 45; Mahomet II. in, 51 *sq.*; converted into a mosch, 52 and *note*. John, St., vii., 170. Virgin, the, 171. Diomedes, St., viii., 257. Irene, St., harbour chain preserved in, xii., 20 *note*.
- College, Royal, at, ix., 367.
- Column: of Arcadius, xi., 9 *note*; of Justinian, 295 and *note*; (and Colossus) Constantine, xii., 46.
- Description of, iii., 91 *sqq.*; advantageous situation of, 97; foundation of, 98; extent, 100; edifices, 103; population, 106, 107; dedication, 111; new form of government at, 112; church of, 400 *sqq.*; imperial court of, and its reformation by Julian, iv., 31, 32 *sqq.*; senate, 41; revolt of Procopius in, 189; school founded by Valentinian I. at, 200; Athanaric's impressions of, 331; its Arianism, v., 13 *sqq.*; interest of its inhabitants in theological questions, *ib.*; first council of, 20 *sqq.*; massacre of Goths at, 305 *sq.*; religious riots, 313 *sq.*; walls of, rebuilt by Athemius, 321; earthquake, vi., 13; circus factions at, vii., 21 *sqq.*; Nika riots, 23 *sqq.*; riots (A.D. 561), 285 *sq.*; revolt against Maurice, viii., 78 *sqq.*; famine at, 95; religious war, 165 *sqq.*; second council of, 175; third council of, 180; iconoclast council of, 320; manners of, reformed by John Comnenus, 290-1; first Crusaders at, x., 229 *sqq.*; fire at, 370; pillage of, 376 *sqq.*; statues of, destroyed, 382 *sqq.*; libraries of, destroyed, 384; bronze horses of, taken to Venice, *ib.* *note*; walls of, restored by Michael, xi., 78; state of the language at, 271 *sqq.*; seclusion of the women of, 273 *sq.*; compared with Rome, 293 *sqq.*; circuit of, xii., 24 *note*; re-peopled and adorned by Mahomet, 54 *sqq.*
- Forum of Constantine, iii., 104 and *note*.
- Gates of: Caligaria, xii., 20 *note*. Contoscali, *ib.* Xylokerkos (Kerkoporta), 20 *note*, 43 *note*, 44 *note*. Selymbria (or Pegana), 25 *note*. Rusii (or Rhegii), *ib.* Charisii (or Charseæ) or Hadrianople, 25 *note*, 43 *note*. Romanus, 25 *note*; tower of, 28, 44 *note*, 51. Phenar, 44. Hebdomon, or field of Mars, iv., 184 *note*; see below under Palaces.
- Hippodrome (Atmeidan), iii., 104 and *note*; condemned to silence after Nika riot, vii., 28; Mahomet II. in, xii., 51.
- Monastery on the Bosphorus, founded by Theodora, vii., 17; of St. Conon, 24.
- Mosch of Mahomet II., xii., 55.
- Palaces of: Imperial, iii., 100, 105 and *note*; v., 288; restored by Justinian, vii., 57; x., 331 *sqq.* and *notes*. Hebdomon, Arabian troops disembark near, v., 123; viii., 80; ix., 238. Heræum, and gardens, vii., 58 and *note*. Lausus, 287 *note*. Daphne, ix., 331 *note*. Magnaura, *ib.*; school at, 368. Blachernæ, see above, Blachernæ. Boucoleon, x., 376.
- Phiale, ix., 333.
- Sieges and threatened attacks: Threatened by Goths, iv., 317; by Goths under Alaric, v., 139; by Bulgarians under Zabergan, vii., 283; besieged by Avars, viii., 96; threatened by Persians, 100; besieged by Thomas the Slavonian, 248; by Arabs, ix., 237; date of siege, *ib.* *note*; second siege, 242 *sqq.*; threatened by Harun al-Rashnid, 278-9; besieged by Krum, x., 32 *note*; threatened by Hungarians, 45; four times by Russians, 57 *sqq.*; by George of Sicily, 133-4; siege and conquest of, by the Latins, 363 *sq.*; siege of, by Asan and Vataces, xi., 26 *sq.*; recovered by Michael Palæologus, 35 *sqq.*; escape of, from the Mongols, 153; threatened by Holo-



- gou, 154; by Bajazet, 177; relieved by Boucicault, 178; besieged by Amurath II., 235 *sq.*; by Mahomet II., xii., 24 *sqq.*; capture of, 41 *sqq.*
- Sigma, semi-circular portico, x., 333.
- Skylla, a vestibule, ix., 331 *note.*
- Triclinos: of Justinian II., ix., 331 *note*; Chrysotriklinos, *ib.* 334 and *note*; Lausiaca, 331 *note.*
- Trikonchon, building of Theophilus, ix., 331 *note*, 333 *note.*
- Turbé (grave) of Abu Ayub, xii., 55 and *note.*
- Constantius I., Chlorus, general of Probus, ii., 117; adopted by Carus, 135; made Cæsar, 149 and *note*; in Britain, 156, 157; in Gaul, 159; character and reign, 201 *sqq.*; death, 206; epitaph on, *ib.* *note*; averse to persecution, iii., 74.
- Constantius II., son of Constantine, iii., 173; Cæsar and ruler of Gaul, 175; in the East, 183; receives the testament of Constantine, 194; seizes Constantinople, 193; Augustus, 196; Persian wars of, 199 *sqq.*; refuses to treat with Magnentius, 210; deposes Vetricianus, 211; makes war against Magnentius, 213, 214; defeats him at Mursa, 216; elevates Julian, 239; visits Rome, 242 *sqq.*; war with the Quadi, 246 *sqq.*; Persian negotiations of, 249 *sqq.*; Eastern expedition of, 258; besieges Bezabde, 259; apotheosis of, 282; adopts Arian heresy, 367, 368; reconciled with Athanasius, 381, 382; edicts against the Catholics, 403; tolerates paganism, 412; visits temples of Rome, *ib.*; his fear of Julian and war against him, iv., 1 *sqq.*; receives Julian's embassy, 14; death, 26.
- Constantius III., general of Honorius, receives the fortune of Heraclian, v., 264; character 267 *sq.*; raised to the Empire of the West, 336; marries Placidia, 335; death, 336.
- Constantius, Julius, the Patrician, brother of Constantine, ii., 209 *note*; iii., 173.
- Constantius, secretary of Attila, vi., 23 and *note.*
- Constitutions, of the emperors, vii., 112 *sq.*
- Consularis, iii., 128.
- Consuls, i., 82, 84 *note*; under Constantine, iii., 116 *sqq.*; in the middle ages, xii., 84 and *note.*
- Consulship, under the empire, i., 84 and *note*; assumed by emperors in fourth and fifth centuries, ii., 187 *note*; Julian's reverence for the, iv., 40; restored by Odoacer, vi., 152 and *note*; suppressed by Justinian, vii., 81 *sq.*; resumed by Justin II., viii., 3.
- Conti, Roman family of, xii., 116, 205.
- Contracts, vii., 366 *sqq.*
- Convertisseur, iv., 71 *note.*
- Conybear, Mr., defends Philo's treatise on the Therapeutæ, ii., 335 *note.*
- Copiate, or grave-diggers, iii., 320.
- Coptic dialect, viii., 183.
- Coptos, ii., 116, 162.
- Copts, or Egyptians, heresy of, viii., 186, 202; decline of, 207; submit to the Saracens, ix., 10, 11.
- Corbulo, i., 4 *note.*
- Corcyra, Totila at, vii., 262; Procopius at, *ib.* *note*; siege of, by Manuel I., viii., 292; Crusaders at, x., 358; taken by Venice, xi., 5 *note.*
- Cordova in fourth century, v., 271; siege of, vi., 202; governor of, in the hands of the Saracens, ix., 216; legion of Damascus at, 224; seat of the Caliphs, 225; Christians of, under Arabs, 232 and *note*; martyrs of, 234 and *note*; seat of learning, 271.
- Corduene, iv., 147.
- Corea, kingdom of, conquered by the Mongols, xi., 142.
- Corfu, *see* Corcyra.
- Corinth, i., 62; church at, vi., 310; destroyed by Alaric, v., 141; walls of, restored by Justinian, vii., 61; besieged by George of Sicily, x., 133; taken by Turks, xii., 57.
- Corippus, *Johannis* of, vii., 235 *note*; on Justinian, viii., 1 *note.*
- Corn, at Alexandria, ii., 163 *note*; at Constantinople, iii., 108 *sq.* and

- note*; export of, from Egypt, vii., 29.
- Corneille, "Attila" of, vi., 8 *note*;  
"Heraclius" of, viii., 81 *note*.
- Cornwall conquered by Athelstan, vi., 275 *note*.
- Coronary gold (Aurum Coronarium), iii., 165, 166 *note*.
- Coronations, imperial, at Rome, account of, xii., 67 and *note*, 68.
- Corporations, municipal, laws of Majorian concerning, vi., 106 *sq*.
- Correctors, iii., 128.
- Corruptibles and Incorruptibles, heresy of, viii., 202.
- Corsi, Roman family of, xii., 116, 205.
- Corsica, i., 33; bishops banished to, vi., 191; state of, *ib.* and *note*.
- Cortes, iv., 145 *note*.
- Corvinus, Matthew, King of Hungary, xi., 315 and *note*.
- Corvinus, surname of John Huniades, *q.v.*
- Cos, Isle of, silk made in, vii., 31 and *note*.
- Cosa (Kussai), ancestor of Mahomet, usurps the Caaba, ix., 24 *note*.
- Cosdar, town of, taken by the Moslems, ix., 132 *note*; *see* Kusdār.
- Cosmas Indicopleustes, vii., 36 *note*, 39 *note*; account of the Axumites, 231 *note*; Christian topography of, viii., 188 *note*.
- Cosmo of Medicis, *see* Medicis.
- Cossova, battle of, xi., 168 *sq.*; John Huniades defeated at, 314.
- Cotini, i., 277 *note*.
- Cotrigurs, *see* Bulgarians.
- Cotyæum, battle of, vii., 64; Turkish camp at, x., 178.
- Coucy, Sire de, joins in crusade against the Turks, xi., 172 and *note*; death, 174.
- Council, general, authority of, xi., 254.
- Councils of: Ancyra, ii., 526.  
Antioch, iii., 379 and *note*.  
Ariminum, iii., 360.  
Arles, iii., 384.  
Basil, A.D. 1431-43, xi., 253 and *notes*, and *sq*.  
Chalcedon, acts of the Council of, viii., 146 and *note*; summoned Nestorius to appear, 152; council held, 156; faith of the, 159 *sq.*; ratified by Justinian, 173.  
Clermont, x., 196 *sq*.  
Constance, viii., 392 *note*; xi., 253; xii., 165 *sq*.  
Constantinople, first of, v., 20 *sq.* and *note*; ratified by Justinian, viii., 173.  
Constantinople, second of (fifth general council), viii., 175.  
Constantinople, third of (sixth general council), viii., 180.  
Constantinople (eighth general council), x., 331 and *note*.  
Constantinople, iconoclast of, viii., 319.  
Ephesus, first of, viii., 144-5; condemned Nestorius, 146; ratified by Justinian, 173.  
Ephesus, second of, viii., 154; persecutes Flavian, 155 *sq.*; character of, 156.  
Ferrara, A.D. 1438, xi., 262 *sqq.*  
Florence, A.D. 1438-39, xi., 262 *sqq.*; acts of union of the Council of, 269 *note*.  
Frankfort, viii., 354 and *note*, 362 *note*.  
Illibris, ii., 326.  
Lateran (A.D. 649), viii., 179; (A.D. 1179), xii., 104.  
Lyons, general Council of, xi., 28; Greek clergy at, 75.  
Mantua (A.D. 1459), xi., 63.  
Milan, iii., 385 *note*.  
Nice, first of, iii., 331, 353 and *note*; ratified by Justinian, viii., 173.  
Nice, second of, viii., 351.  
Pisa, A.D. 1409, xi., 253 and *note*, 165.  
Placentia, x., 197.  
Rimini, *see* Ariminum.  
Rome, anti-Iconoclastic, convened by Gregory II., viii., 332.  
Sardica, iii., 380 *note*, 381 and *note*.  
Seleucia, iii., 360.  
Sophia, St. (fictitious), xi., 298 *note*.  
Toledo, vi., 267 and *note*.  
Tyre, iii., 376.
- Councils, provincial, instituted, ii., 313.
- Count, Latin title, vi., 245 and *note*.
- Count: of the East, iii., 127 *note*, 129 *note*; military title of, 135; of the household (castrensis), 143 and *note*; of the Sacred Largesses, 147

- sq.* and *note*; of the private estate, 148 *sq.* and *note*; of the domestics, 150 *sq.*
- Coupele, rock of, xi., 192 *note*.
- Couroultai, or Diet of the Tartars, iv., 271 and *note*; vi., 66 *note*.
- Courtenay, lordship of, xi., 29 and *note*; digression on the family of, 43-53, *see* Table of Contents.
- Courtesy, term of chivalry, x., 221.
- Cousin, President, his translation of Procopius, vii., 85 *note*; mistranslation in, 300 *note*; his translation of Cantacuzene, xi., 105 *note*; mistranslation of a passage in Ducas, xii., 12 *note*.
- Cracow, city of, destroyed by the Mongols, xi., 146.
- Craiova, Turkish forces defeated by the Prince of Wallachia at, xi., 171 *note*.
- Cral [Kral], or despot of Servia, derivation of name, xi., 109 *note*.
- Cranmer, x., 24 and *note*.
- Crassus, ii., 169.
- Cremera, ii., 235 *note*.
- Cremona, pillaged by Alaric, v., 198.
- Crescentius, Consul of Rome, viii., 382.
- Crestona, city of, vii., 304 *note*.
- Crete, i., 34; archers of, at Thermopylæ, ii., 13 *note*; conquered by Nicephorus, viii., 269; by the Arabs, ix., 282 *sq.*; Saracens of, put to death, 294 and *note*; recovered by Nicephorus Phocas, 308; taken by the Venetians, xi., 5 *note*; bought by Venice, 6.
- Creyghton, Robert, his history of the union of the Greek and Latin Churches, xi., 259 *note*.
- Crim Tartary, ii., 31.
- Crimea, fortifications of Justinian in, vii., 65; trade of, xi., 123.
- Crinitus Ulpianus, ii., 70.
- Crispinus, i., 235.
- Crispius Vibius, i., 103 *note*.
- Crispus, son of Constantine, Cæsar, ii., 249 and *note*; defeats the Franks and Alemanni, 252 and *note*; naval victory of, 257; character, iii., 174; Cæsar, *ib.*; disgrace and death, 177.
- Crispus the Patrician, son-in-law of Phocas, viii., 84 and *note*; betrays Phocas, 85; condemned to monastic life, 86.
- Critobulus, historian, xi., 326 *note*; xii., 46 *note*.
- Croatia, i., 28; kingdom of, x., 30; prince of, opposes the Ottoman Turks, xi., 168 *note*.
- Croats, of Dalmatia, x., 30.
- Crocodyles, ii., 136 *note*.
- Crocus, or Erocus, ii., 207 and *note*.
- Cromwell, Oliver, xii., 138 *note*.
- Cross, symbol of, adopted by Constantine, iii., 294; invention of the, iv., 76 and *note*; true cross removed to Persia, viii., 90; recovered by Heraclius, 120; exaltation of the, *ib.*; sign adopted by the Crusaders, x., 209; cross-bearers of St. Sophia, xi., 268.
- Crossbow, used by Crusaders, x., 239 and *note*.
- Crotona, Belisarius at, vii., 258; resists Totila, 264; battle of, x., 79.
- Crown of thorns, sold by Baldwin II. to the King of France, xi., 31.
- Crowns, obsidional, given by Julian, iv., 134, 135; of Greek Emperors, ix., 336 and *note*.
- Croya, taken by Scanderbeg, xi., 318; siege of, 319.
- Crucifixion, date of, ii., 333.
- Cruitnich, or wheat eaters, iv., 225.
- Crum, Bulgarian King, viii., 8 *note*; death, 246 *note*.
- Crusades: first crusade, x., 191 *sqq.*; justice of, 200 *sq.*; motives for, 202 *sqq.*; second and third, 274 *sqq.*; fourth and fifth, 314 and *note*; sixth, 318 *sqq.*; seventh, 322 *sq.*; account of fourth, 341 *sqq.*; consequences of the, xi., 38 *sqq.*
- Crusius, his Turco-Græcia, xii., 56 *note*.
- Ctesiphon, or Madayn, i., 265; besieged by Severus, *ib.*, ii., 84, 85; taken by Carus, 131; Julian at, iv., 136 *sqq.*; palace of, Nushirvan at, vii., 230; Heraclius near, viii., 115; Chosroes enters, 116; sack of, by the Saracens, ix., 123 and *note sq.*; palace of Chosroes at, 124; decay, 125; ruins of the hall of Chosroes at, *ib.* *note*.
- Cubit of the Arabians, ix., 274 *note*.

- Cublai, grandson of Zingis Khan, xi., 140 and *note*; conquests of, 141 *sq.*; prosperity under, 151; resides at Pekin, 153.
- Cucusus, in Lesser Armenia, iii., 401 *note*; retreat of Chrysostom, v., 316.
- Cudworth, iii., 339 *note*, 341 *note*.
- Cufa, insurgent Arabs of, ix., 96; tomb of Ali at, 100; foundation of, 125; pillaged by the Carmathians, 299.
- Cufic letters, ix., 19.
- Cumæ, reduced by Totila, vii., 245; defended by Aligern, 273; Sibyll's cave at, 274 and *note*.
- Cumans, Turkish tribe in Hungary, x., 49 *note*; same as the Uzes, *ib.*, 165 *note*; glossary of the Cumanian language, *ib.*
- Cunimund, viii., 6; slain by the Lombards, 7; skull of, used as drinking cup by Alboin, 15.
- Curator, office of, in Rome, vii., 355.
- Curds, ii., 176; dynasty of Curds or Ayoubites, ix., 10 *note*; x., 294 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Curland, holy groves of, x., 55 and *note*.
- Curopalata, office of, ix., 338 and *note*.
- Cursus publicus, *see* Post; *cursus clavularis*, iv., 6 *note*.
- Curubis, town of, Cyprian banished to, iii., 38.
- Cusina, Moorish chief, vii., 241 *note*.
- Cuspinian, xii., 5 *note*.
- Customs (imposts), i., 207 and *note*.
- Cutturgurians, tribes of, vii., 180 *note*.
- Cutulmish, grandson of Seljuk, x., 177.
- Cybele, i., 41, 114 and *note*; oration of Julian in honour of, iii., 51 and *note*.
- Cyclades, islands, Saracens in, ix., 171.
- Cydnus, river, iv., 171 and *note*.
- Cydonia, in Crete, ix., 284.
- Cynegius, prætorian prefect, closes the pagan temples, v., 81.
- Cynochoritæ, church of the Paulicians, x., 4 *note*.
- Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage [Thasius Cæcilius Cyprianus], ii., 315 and *note*; opposes Bishop of Rome, 317; *de Lapsis*, 322 and *note*; on Episcopal government, 326, 327; teacher of rhetoric, 343; opposes the account of, iii., 36 *sqq.*; letters *ib.*; flight, *ib.*; at Curubis, 38; martyrdom, 39; festival of, vii., 102.
- Cyprus, i., 34; insurrection against Constantine, iii., 184; Hyrcanian captives sent to, viii., 54; ravaged by the Saracens, ix., 171, 281; recovered by Nicephorus, 313; Assise in the Latin kingdom of, x., 266, 270 *note*; conquest of, by Richard Plantagenet, 338 and *note*.
- Cyrene, i., 32; ruined state of, iii., 326 and *note*; Greek colonies of, extirpated by Chosroes, viii., 91; confounded with Cairoan of the Arabs, ix., 201 *note*.
- Cyriacus, of Ancona, iii., 24 *note*.
- Cyriades, Emperor, ii., 44, 50.
- Cyril of Alexandria, answers Julian, iv., 60 and *note*; account of, viii., 135-6; made patriarch, 137; tyranny of, *ib.*; allows Hypatia to be murdered, 139 and *note*; at the first Council of Ephesus, 145 *sqq.*; degraded by the Oriental bishops, 147; is reconciled to John of Antioch, 148.
- Cyril of Jerusalem, iii., 368, 369 and *note*; character of, iv., 77 and *note*.
- Cyrila, Arian bishop, at conference of Carthage, vi., 181; his ignorance of Latin, 195 *note*.
- Cyrizus, station of, viii., 254 *note*.
- Cyrrhus, Bishop of, v., 325 *note*; vi., 301 *note*; diocese of, x., 3 *note*.
- Cyrus the Great, eunuchs of, iii., 224 *note*; capture of Babylon by, xii., 45 *note*.
- Cyrus, nephew of Solomon, vii., 240.
- Cyrus, prætorian prefect, disgrace of, v., 328.
- Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria, ix., 178 *note*.
- Cyrus, river, vii., 214.
- Cyta, or Cotatis, town of, vii., 216.
- Cyzicus, ii., 35; buildings of, iii., 102 *note*; massacre of heretics at, 404; subdued by Procopius, iv., 18; John of Cappadocia at, vii., 47 *sq.*; Arabian fleet at, ix., 239.
- DACIA, conquered by Trajan, i., 6, 7; description of, 29; inroads of the

- Goths into, ii., 8, 11; lost to the Goths, 30 *note*; given by Aurelian to the Goths, 73; invaded by Crispus, 253; given to the Eastern Empire, iv., 323; subdued by Ardoric, King of the Gepidæ, vi., 77; desolation of, 309; two provinces of, vii., 59 *note*.
- Dacians, driven from Upper Hungary by the Sarmatians, iii., 186.
- Dadastana, iv., 178 and *note*.
- Dagalaiphus, officer of Julian, iv., 21; in Persia, 124; at Maogamalcha, 131; faction of, at death of Julian, 156; address to Valentinian I., iv., 184; consulate of, 214 *note*.
- Daghestan, vii., 73.
- Dagisteus, general of Justinian, commands on the Euxine against the Persians, vii., 224; commands the Huns against Totila, 266.
- Dagobert, founded the Church of St. Denys, v., 261 *note*; viii., 364.
- Daher, Indian chief, conquered by the Moslems, ix., 132 *note*.
- Dahes and Gabrah, war of, ix., 17 *note*.
- Daibal, capture of, by Mohammad ibn Kâsim, ix., 132 *note*.
- Daimbert, Archbishop of Pisa, made Patriarch of Jerusalem, x., 260 and *note*.
- Dakiki, Persian writer, vii., 201 *note*.
- Dalmatia, description of, i., 28; subdued by the Romans, 142; won by Constantius, iii., 219; ceded to the Eastern Empire, v., 339; occupied by Marcellinus, vi., 115; iron mines of, 328; Crusaders in, x., 225.
- Dalmatian legionaries, destroyed by the Goths, v., 232.
- Dalmatinus, Juvenicus Cælius Calanus, life of Attila, vi., 1 *note*.
- Dalmatius, nephew of Constantine, iii., 173; made Cæsar, 181; character of, 193 *note*; murder of, 194.
- Dalmatius the abbot, viii., 149 and *note*.
- Dalmatius the censor, ii., 209 *note*; iii., 173.
- Damascenus Studites, xii., 56 *note*.
- Damascius, his Life of Isidore, vii., 79 *note*.
- Damascus, Andronicus flies to, viii., 299; fairs of, ix., 10; caliphs at, 110; besieged by the Saracens, 139 *sqq.*; fall of, 146-7 and *note*; exiles of, pursued and slain, 149 *sq.*; Gate Keisan at, 149; capital of the Saracens, 187; taken by Zimisce, 311; princes of, expelled by the Seljuks, x., 177; reduced by Atsiz, 188; siege of, by Conrad III., 282; joined to Aleppo, 288; attacked by Saladin, 395 and *note*; Saladin retreats to, 304; Timour at, xi., 198.
- Damasus, Bishop of Rome, iv., 208; account of, 209 *sqq.*; v., 12.
- Dames, a Saracen, ix., 164.
- Damghan, battle of, x., 156.
- Damianus, Peter, viii., 376 *note*; x., 45 *note*; friend and biographer of St. Dominic Loricatus, 204 *note*.
- Damiatta, taken by the Crusaders, x., 314.
- Damocles, story of, vi., 87 and *note*.
- Damophilus, Archbishop of Constantinople, exile of, v., 18 and *note*.
- Dandolo, Andrew, x., 367 *note*.
- Dandolo, Henry, Doge of Venice, chronicle of, x., 31 *note*; account of, 348 and *note*; at siege of Constantinople, 365 *sqq.*; refuses the Latin empire, xi., 2; despot of Romania, 5; death, 18.
- Danes, iv., 220; vi., 271.
- Daniel, first bishop of Winchester, epistle of, to St. Boniface, vi., 183 *note*.
- Daniel, Père, on Childeric, vi., 116 *note*.
- Daniel, prophecy of, vi., 289 *note*.
- Danielis, Matron of Patras, viii., 257; gifts to the Emperor Basil, ix., 326; wealth of, 334 *sq.*
- Dante, his *De Monarchia*, xii., 138 *note*.
- Danube, victories of M. Antoninus on, i., 11; provinces on, 27; frozen, 275; bridge of boats on, iv., 249; conference of Valens and Athanaric on, 250; Goths transported over the, 292 *sq.*; frozen under Justinian, vii., 282; canal of Charlemagne, viii., 367.
- D'Anville, M., plan of Rome by, vii., 140 *note*; eastern geography of, ix., 119 *note*; description of Alexandria, 179 *note*; on the Ottoman dynasty, xi., 155 *note*.

- Daphne, grove and temple of, iv., 89 and *note*; temple of, burnt, 93 *sq.*
- Daphnusia, town of, xi., 36 and *note*.
- Dara, siege of, vii., 213; by Nushirvan, viii., 52; Bahram at, 57; restored, 66; destroyed by Chosroes, 88.
- Dardania, province of, vii., 59 *note*; acquired by the Bulgarians, x., 28 and *note*.
- Dardanians, ii., 13 *note*, 149 and *note*.
- Dardanus of Troy, ii., 61 *note*.
- Dardanus, praetorian prefect in Gaul, opposes Jovinus, v., 269 and *note*; inscription erected by, 284 *note*.
- Dargham, Egyptian vizir, x., 290 and *note*, 291.
- Darius, constructs canal in Egypt, ix., 187 *note*; compared to Vataces, xi., 57 *note*.
- Darius, officer of Valentinian III., interview with Count Boniface at Carthage, v., 348 *sq.*
- Dastagerd, *see* Artemita.
- Datianus, governor of Spain, iii., 74 and *note*.
- Datianus the Patrician, iv., 180 and *note*.
- Datius, Bishop of Milan, vii., 152; retires to Constantinople, 158 and *note*.
- D'Aubigné, on early Christian faith, v., 104 *note*.
- Daur, town of, taken by the Moslems, ix., 132 *note*.
- Dausara, taken by Avidius Cassius, i., 264 *note*.
- David Comnenus, last Emperor of Trebizond, xii., 59 *sq.*
- David, grandson of Andronicus, seizes Paphlagonia, xi., 11 *note*; death, *ib.*
- David, Iberian prince, aids Phocas against Sclerus, viii., 274 *note*.
- David, son of Heraclius, viii., 221 *note*.
- David, son of Shishman, x., 64 *note*.
- Davila, Fra, historian, xii., 176 *note*.
- Davy, Major, his Institutions of Timour, xi., 181 *note*.
- Dawkins and Wood, description of Palmyra and Baalbec, ix., 155 *note*.
- Debt, law of, vii., 374 *sq.*
- Decapolis, plain of, ix., 157.
- Decebalus, Dacian king, i., 6, 7.
- Decempagi*, Dieuze in Lothringen, iii., 264 *note*.
- Decemvirs, twelve Tables of, vii., 305 *sqq.*, 308.
- Decennovium, vii., 135 and *note*.
- Decentius, brother of Magnentius, made Cæsar, iii., 220 and *note*, 221.
- Decimus, battle of (Ad Decimum), vii., 100.
- Decius, consul, vii., 269 *note*.
- Decius, emperor, defeats Philip, ii., 2; reign, *ib.*; birth, *ib.* *note*; marches against the Goths, 3, 4; Gothic war of, 13 *sqq.*; death, 17; persecutes the Christians, iii., 55 and *note*; v., 359 and *note*.
- Decius, the Younger, death, ii., 16.
- Decius, Roman patrician, vii., 254.
- Decoratus, delator of Boethius, vi., 339 *note*.
- Decretals, the Forged, viii., 347.
- Decumates, ii., 120 and *note*.
- Decurions, or Curiales, iii., 156.
- Defensores*, iv., 200; office revived by Majorian, vi., 106.
- Deification of emperors, i., 80, 88.
- Dejal, or the Antichrist, ix., 105.
- Dejoces, King of the Medes, vi., 215 *note*.
- De la Malle, Dureau, on population of the Roman empire, i., 53 *note*.
- Delators, i., 111, 128. *Cp.* iii., 175-6.
- Delbene, Sannuccio, xii., 126 *note*.
- Delhi, conquered by the Sultan of Gazna, x., 150; Timour at, xi., 191-2.
- Deljan, Peter, revolt of, in Macedonia, viii., 277 *note*.
- Delphi, iv., 42.
- Delphicum*, royal banqueting hall at Rome, Constantinople, and Carthage, vii., 103 *note*.
- Delphidius, in Gaul, iii., 275; widow of, v., 27.
- Delphinus, Gentilis, xii., 180.
- Demaratus, vii., 174 *note*.
- Demetrius, granddaughter of Proba, v., 249 *note*.
- Demetrius, brother of John II., x., 33 and *note*; voyage of, to Venice, xi., 260, 268.
- Demetrius, despot of Epirus, siege of Rhodes by, ix., 171 and *note*.
- Demetrius, Egyptian prelate, ii., 335.
- Demetrius Poliorcetes, ix., 352 *note*.
- Demetrius, son of Marquis of Montferrat, xi., 24.

- Democedes of Crotona, vii., 202 *note*.  
 Democritus, philosopher, xi., 69 *note*.  
 Demons, ii., 279, 280.  
 Demosthenes, vii., 74.  
 Demotica given to Count of St. Pol, xi., 8 and *note*; massacre of the Latins at, 14; Cantacuzene assumes the purple at, 108; Empress Anne besieged in, by the Bulgarians, 162.  
 Denarius (coin), iii., 160 *note*.  
 Dengisich, son of Attila, on the banks of the Danube, vi., 76; invades the Eastern Empire, 77; death, *ib*.  
 Denmark, Crusaders from, x., 304; kingdom of, restored to the empire, xii., 98.  
 Deogratias, Bishop of Carthage, assists the prisoners of Gaiseric, vi., 91 and *note*.  
 Depopulation, in third century, ii., 57, 58.  
 Derar [Dhīrār], Arab warrior, iv., 317 *note*; at siege of Damascus, ix., 140 *sq.*; valour of, 142 and *note*.  
 Derbend, vii., 72 and *note*; gates of, penetrated by the Mongols, xi., 140.  
 Dervishes, xi., 303 and *note*; in Turkish camp at Constantinople, xii., 37.  
 Desiderius, brother of Magnentius, made Cæsar, iii., 220 *note*; death, 221 *note*.  
 Desiderius, daughter of, repudiated by Charlemagne, viii., 339 *note*; conquered by Charlemagne, *ib*.  
 Deslisle, William, geographer, ix., 314 *note*.  
 Despina (?), queen, restored by Timour to Bajazet, xi., 204-5.  
 Despot, title bestowed by the Greek emperors, ix., 337.  
 Deuterius, chamberlain, v., 189 *note*.  
 Develtus, town of, captured by Krum, x., 32 *note*.  
 Devonshire, earls of, *see* Courtenay.  
 Dexippus, ii., 38 and *note*.  
 D'Herbelot, his Bibliothèque Orientale, ix., 118 and *note*.  
 Dhoulanaf, Arab title of Sapor, iii., 197.  
 Diadem, imperial, introduced by Aurelian and Diocletian, ii., 185 and *note*; ix., 336 and *note*.  
 Diadumenianus, i., 178; death, 184.  
 Diamonds, i., 69 and *note*.  
 Diamper, synod of, viii., 193.  
 Diarbekir (or Amida), despoiled by Saladin, x., 395.  
 Diarium Parmense, xii., 63 *note*.  
 Diarium, Urbis Romæ, xii., 180.  
 Dibra, two provinces of, xi., 319 *note*.  
 Dicæarchus, iv., 260 *note*.  
 Dicanice, Greek name for the imperial sceptre, xi., 66 *note*.  
 Didot, A. F., on Aldus Manutius, xi., 290 *note*.  
 Didymus, prince of the Theodosian house, opposes Constantine the Tyrant, v., 180 and *note*.  
 Diedo, Venetian sea captain, xii., 24 *note*.  
 Diehl, C., on African forts, vii., 58 *note*.  
 Diet of the Tartars, *see* Couroultai; of the Huns, iv., 271 *note*; German, viii., 389, 392, 393.  
 Dietrich of Bern, vi., 327 *note*.  
 Diffarreatio, vii., 348.  
 Digest, *see* Pandects.  
 Dijon, fortress of, vi., 226 and *note*.  
 Dilemites, ii., 168 *note*; allies of the Persians in the Lazic war, vii., 225.  
 Dimitriu, article of, on Russia, x., 57 *note*.  
 Dinar, ix., 241.  
 Dinarchus, vii., 93 *note*.  
 Dioceses (civil), iii., 126 *sq.*  
 Diocletian (C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus), ii., 117; election, 142 and *notes*; reign, 144 *sqq.*; associates Maximian, 145; Galerius and Constantine, 149; defence of the frontiers, 157; policy, *ib.*; settlement of the Germans, Sarmatians, etc., 160 and *note*; wars in Egypt and Africa, 161 *sqq.* and *note*; suppresses alchemy, 163; Persian wars of, 164 *sqq.*; at Antioch, 169; receives Tiridates, 170; negotiates with Persia, 172; his moderation, 173; triumph, 177; titles of, 178 *note*; edict of maximum prices, *ib.*; at Nicomedia, 180; system of Imperial Government, 181 *sqq.*; assumes the diadem, 185; administration, 186 *sqq.*; increase of taxation under, 188; abdication, 189, 190; at Salona, 192 *sqq.*; baths at Rome, 209 and *note*; treatment of the Chris-

- tians, iii., 58 *sqq.*; first edict, 66; second edict, 73; third and fourth edicts, *ib.*
- Diocletianopolis, besieged by the Avars, viii., 72.
- Diodorus, Count, iv., 96.
- Diodorus, heretic, viii., 134.
- Diodorus Siculus, on the priesthood, iii., 318 *note*; vi., 296 *note*; on the Caaba, ix., 23 and *note*.
- Dioigenes, leader of the Chersonites, iii., 188.
- Dioigenes, officer of Justinian in Rome, vii., 261.
- Dion Cassius, i., 42 *note*, 86 *note*; his father, 95 *note*; enemy of Didius Julianus, 137 *note*, 153, 160; consul under Alexander Severus, 199.
- Dionysius, Bishop of Milan, banishment of, iii., 387.
- Dionysius I. of Syracuse, viii., 33 *note*; xii., 34 *note*.
- Dionysius of Alexandria, iii., 36.
- Dionysius of Byzantium, vi., 91 *note*.
- Dionysius of Corinth, ii., 323 *note*.
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, on Roman constitutional history, vii., 303 *note*.
- Dionysius of Telmahrè, Patriarch of Antioch, ix., 170 *note*.
- Dionysius, poetical geographer, ix., 154 *note*.
- Diophantus of Alexandria, ix., 274 *note*.
- Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, supports Eutyches, viii., 154; disgrace of, 157; deposed and banished, 159.
- Dioscurias, town, ii., 33 *note*; vii., 216; fortifications of, 219.
- Diospolis, image at, viii., 315-6 and *note*.
- Diplokionion, or Beshik Tash, xii., 29 *note*.
- Dir, Slav king, x., 52 *note*.
- Dirhem (drachma), ix., 241 *note*.
- Disabul, Khan of the Turks, vii., 193 and *note*; receives the Roman ambassadors, 195 *sq.*
- Dispargum, residence of Clodion, King of the Franks, vi., 49; site of, *ib.* *note*.
- Ditch, battle of the, viii., 369.
- Dithmar, chronicle of, x., 52 *note*.
- Dius, vi., 301 *note*.
- Diva, or Male, iii., 311 *note*.
- Divetesion*, long tunic worn by the Byzantine emperors, ix., 336 *note*.
- Divination, iii., 410.
- Divinity, titles of, assumed by Diocletian and Maximian, ii., 184.
- Divorce, vii., 348 *sqq.*; limitations of the liberty of, 349 *sq.*
- Dlugossius, Johannes, his history of Poland, xi., 134 *note*.
- Dniester, Gothic fleet on, ii., 65; Visigothic camp on, iv., 288.
- Docetes, gnostic sect, iii., 343 and *note*; their opinion on the nature of Christ, viii., 126 *sq.*
- Docles, name of Diocletian, ii., 144 *note*.
- Doelia, ii., 144 *note*.
- Dodona, Goths at, vi., 262 and *note*.
- Doge of Venice, institution of, x., 347.
- Dogs, sent from Europe to Bajazet, xi., 175 *note*.
- Dolfino, Giovanni, Doge of Venice, xi., 5 *note*.
- Dollinger, on the popes, viii., 377 *note*.
- Domestic, Great, office of, ix., 340 and *note*.
- Domestics, revolt of, against Commodus, i., 123; schools of, iii., 150.
- Dominic, St., hermit, x., 204; Life of, *ib.* *note*.
- Dominus*, title of the emperor, i., 183 and *note*; refused by Julian, iv., 39 and *note*; adopted by the popes, viii., 334-5 and *note*; on papal coins, xii., 70.
- Domitian, emperor, i., 5, 92; life censorship of, ii., 14 *note*; gilds the capitol, vi., 90 *note*; bust of, vii., 289 and *note*; law of, concerning suicides, 387; founds Capitoline games, xii., 125 *note*.
- Domitian, Oriental prefect, iii., 229, 230 *note*.
- Domitilla, niece of Domitian, iii., 26 and *note*.
- Domitianus Domitianus, ii., 161 *note*.
- Domninus of Syria, ambassador of Valentinian, v., 37 *sq.*
- Domus*, class of Roman house, v., 224.
- Donation of Constantine, iii., 280 *note*; forgery of, viii., 347; of Charlemagne, *ib.*; of Constantine, 348 and *note*.
- Donatists, schism of, iii., 336 *sqq.*; revolt of, 405 *sqq.*; religious suicides



- of, 407 *sq.*; persecution of, v., 346, 347 and *notes*.
- Donatus, African bishop, iii., 335.
- Donatus, on topography of Rome, xii., 212 *note*.
- Dongola, ruins of, viii., 209.
- Dorcon, horse of Heraclius, viii., 114 *note*.
- Doria, Genoese admiral, xi., 126.
- Dorotheus, eunuch, protects the Christians, iii., 59.
- Dorotheus, religious enthusiast, x., 334.
- Dorotheus, selects the Institutes of Justinian, vii., 338.
- Doryläum, Theophilus at, ix., 293; battle of, x., 238; now Eskishehr, 240; Conrad III. at, 280 *note*.
- Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, xi., 98 *note*.
- Doutremens, Jesuit, his History of Fourth Crusade, x., 344 *note*.
- Dovin, destroyed by Heraclius, viii., 103 *note*.
- Doxology, iii., 397.
- Draco, name of visitor-general of Leo III., viii., 323 and *note*.
- Draco, river, *see* Sarnus.
- Draco, statutes of, vii., 372; age of, *ib.* *note*.
- Dracon, river, x., 212 *note*.
- Dracontius, master of the mint, iv., 96.
- Dragoman, office of, ix., 339-40.
- Dragon, city, iv., 271 *note*.
- Drenco, river, Attila receives the embassy of Theodosius on the banks of the, vi., 36.
- Drepanum, ii., 204 *note*; Crusaders at, x., 212 *note*.
- Dristra or Durostolus, x., 66 *note*; Swatoslaus at, 67.
- Drogo, brother of William of Apulia, x., 90 *note*; death of, 94.
- Dromedary, viii., 93 and *note*; in Arabia, ix., 7.
- Dromones, or Byzantine galleys, ix., 352 and *note*.
- Druids of Gaul, i., 40.
- Drungarius, Great, office of, ix., 340.
- Druses, of Mount Libanus, x., 186 and *note*.
- Drusus, German conquest of, lost by Varus, i., 25 *note*; iv., 221 *note*.
- Dryden, fable of Theodore and Honoria, v., 163 *note*; quotation from, xii., 43 *note*, 152 *note*.
- Dubis, Persian camp at, vii., 213.
- Dubos, Abbé, i., 44 *note*; on the state of Gaul, vi., 40 *note*; on influence of climate in relation to the Romans, xii., 66 *note*.
- Ducange, C. du Fresne, ix., 247 *note*; on the Catalans, 89 *note*; his editions of Byzantine writers, xii., 64 *note*.
- Ducas, Greek historian of the Turks, xi., 218 *note*, 220 *note*; on schism of Constantinople, 46 *note*; account of the destruction of Venetian ship by the Turks, xii., 11 and *note*; history of, printed, 21 *note*; ambassador to sultan, 46 *note*.
- Ducas, *see* Constantine XI.
- Ducat, derivation of the name, xi., 256 *note*.
- Ducenarius, imperial procurator, iii., 56 *note*.
- Duels, judicial, *see* Judicial combat.
- Duke, Latin title, vi., 245 and *note*.
- Dukes of the frontier, ii., 70 and *note*; ix., 340-1.
- Dukes, military, iii., 135; established by Narses in Italy, vii., 280 and *note*.
- Dumatiens, tribe of, ix., 25.
- Dunaan, Prince of the Homerites, vii., 231 and *note*.
- Dura on the Tigris, iv., 159 and *note*; treaty of, 162 and *note*; taken by Nushirvan, vii., 207.
- Durazzo, siege of, x., 111 *sq.*; battle of, 116; taken by Robert Guiscard, 118-9; name of, 119 *note*; Bohemond at, 273; Latins land at, 358; Michael Angelus at, xi., 12.
- Durham, bishopric of, vi., 280.
- Durostolus, *see* Dristra.
- Dyeing industries, vii., 30 *sq.* and *note*.
- Dyrrachium, fortifications of, v., 170; treasure of Amalasontha at, vii., 126; taken by the Lombards, 179; Belisarius at, 250; *see* Durazzo.
- EAGLE, Roman, i., 13 and *note*.
- Earthquakes, at Jerusalem, iv., 80; A.D. 365, 259 *sq.*; under Justinian, vii., 294 *sq.*
- Easter, viii., 171-2 and *note*.

- Eba, the elder, ix., 323.
- Ebermor, deserts to the Roman camp, vii., 132.
- Ebionites, ii., 272 and *note*; opinions of, iii., 342 and *note*; opinion on the incarnation, viii., 123-4; their gospel, 125 *note*.
- Ebn [Ibn] Schounah, his account of Timour, xi., 196; *see* Ben Schounah.
- Ebredunum, or Iverdun, Roman fleet at, vi., 45 *note*.
- Ecbatana, i., 265; ii., 177; iv., 147 *note*; Tower of Oblivion at, 239 and *note*; use of the name, ix., 312 and *note*.
- Ecclesiastes, Book of, authenticity of, vii., 115 *note*.
- Ecclesiastical order, iii., 315; government, discussion of its nature, xii., 177-8.
- Ecdicius, prefect of Egypt, iv., 102.
- Ecdicius, son of Avitus, defended Auvérigne, vi., 101 *note*, 132; family of, *ib.* *note*.
- Ecebolus, vii., 12.
- Eclactus, conspiracy of, i., 122.
- Eclipses, ii., 348.
- Ecthesis, of Heraclius, viii., 179.
- Edda, ii., 6.
- Edeco, lieutenant of Roderic the Goth, ix., 212.
- Edecon, father of Odoacer, ambassador of Attila, vi., 24; his interviews with Chrysaphius, 34; his confession and repentance, *ib.*; defeats the Scyri, 145.
- Edessa, described, i., 266 and *note*; battle of, ii., 43; Christianised, 341 and *note*; Sabinian at, iii., 258; church of, oppressed by Julian, iv., 98; shrine of St. Thomas at, v., 154 *note*; tribute paid by, vii., 39; strengthened by Justinian, 67; siege of, 69, 70 and *note*, 213; destroyed by Chosroes, viii., 88; Heraclius at, 112 and *note*; school at, 186 and *note*; conversion of, 313 *note*; image of Christ at, 314 *sq.*; captured by Arabs, ix., 170 and *note*; taken by Zimisces, 311; principality of, x., 241 and *note*; retaken by Sultan Zenghi, *ib.* *note*, 288; county of, 266 *note*; Timour at, xi., 187.
- Edicts, of the prætors, vii., 311 and *note*; perpetual edict, 312 and *note*.
- Edifices of Justinian, vii., 48 *sqq.*
- Edobic, general of Constantine, defeat and death, v., 267.
- Edom, kingdom of, iii., 5.
- Edris (Idris), founder of the Edrisite caliphate, ix., 302 *note*.
- Edrisi, on the Christianity of the Nubians, viii., 209 *note*; on geography of Arabia, ix., 2 *note*.
- Edrisites of Mauritania, caliphs of the, ix., 263; founding of the, *ib.* and *note*.
- Edward, Count of Savoy, xi., 104 *note*.
- Edward I., of England, in the East, x., 324.
- Edward III., of England, letter of, against Clement VII., xii., 161 *note*.
- Egbert, his intercourse with Charlemagne, viii., 368 *note*.
- Egica, King of the Goths, in Spain, vi., 267.
- Egilona, widow of Roderic, ix., 222.
- Eginhard, marries daughter of Charlemagne, viii., 360 *note*.
- Egregius, rank of, iii., 115 *note*.
- Egypt, province of, described, i., 32; language of, 48 and *note*; population, 63 *note*; revenue, 204; rebellion of Firmus in, ii., 93; works of Probus, 126; revolts from Diocletian, 161 *sqq.*; Christianity in, 335; Augustal prefect of, iii., 127; kings of, 314 *note*; monks in, 394; given to Theodosius, iv., 323; wheat exported from, vii., 29 and *note*; marriage laws in, 352; conquered by Chosroes, viii., 90; date of, *ib.* *note*, 206; invaded by Saracens, ix., 173 *sqq.*; description of, 188 *sqq.*; population, 189 *sq.* and *notes*; revenues of, 190 *note*; church of, under the Saracens, 232 *sq.*; vineyards of, destroyed by Hakem, x., 186; invaded by Seljuks, 188; conquered by Turks, 289 *sqq.*; invaded by the Mongols, xi., 144-5; Sultan of, submits to Timour, 210.
- Egyptian language, i., 48 and *note*.
- Egyptian worship, prohibited, i., 40.
- Egyptians, disabilities of the, i., 48, 49;

- dispute the election of Gregory, v., 23.
- Ehrhard, A., on Simeon Metaphrastes, ix., 317 *note*.
- Einsiedeln, Anonymous of, xii., 186 *note*, 187 *note*.
- Eisenach, in Thuringia, vi., 66 *note*.
- Ekmiasin (Etchmiazin), Monastery of, viii., 201.
- Ektag, Mount, probably Mount Altai, vii., 193 *note*.
- Elagabalus, i., 182; bravery, 184; reign, *ib. sqq.*; death, 191; wears silk, vii., 32.
- Elburz, Mount, Magians at, ix., 229-30.
- Eleanora, wife of Edward I., x., 324 *note*.
- Eleans, exempt from war, v., 143 and *note*.
- Election of bishops, iii., 315 and *note*.
- Electors of Germany, viii., 389.
- Electus, chamberlain of Commodus, i., 123.
- Elephant, era of the, *see* Eras.
- Elephantine, island, ii., 163; altar of Concord destroyed by Justinian at, vii., 65 *note*.
- Elephants at Rome, ii., 137.
- Eleusinian mysteries, Julian initiated into the, iv., 57 and *note*; put an end to, v., 143.
- Eleusis, destroyed by Alaric, v., 143.
- Eleuthero-* (or Free) Laconians, ix., 325 *sq.*
- Eleutherus, river, iii., 199.
- Elias, Nestorian Bishop of Damascus, viii., 135 *note*.
- Elijahs, patriarchs of Mosul, viii., 191.
- Elis, cities of, iv., 42.
- Ellac, son of Attila, death of, in the battle of Nctad, vi., 76; King of the Acatzires, *ib.*
- Elmacin [Ibn al Amid al-Makin], History of the Saracens, viii., 89 *note*; ix., 118 *note*; on victories of Caled, 119; on Egypt, 190 *note*; on Arabian coinage, 241 *note*.
- Elpidius, physician of Theodoric, vi., 342.
- Elpidius, Prætorian Prefect of the East, iv., 15 *note*.
- Elusa, birthplace of Rufinus, v., 108 *note*.
- Emaus, Crusaders at, x., 254.
- Emblemata*, vii., 333 *note*.
- Emeralds, vii., 68 and *note*; large emerald at Cairo, x., 290 *note*.
- Emerita, or Merida, v., 271, *see* Merida.
- Emesa, Elagabalus declared emperor at, i., 182; worship of the sun at, 186; defies Sapor, ii., 45; residence of Odenathus of Palmyra, 84, 85; battle of, 87; arsenal at, 157; Heraclius at, ix., 77; army of Heraclius at, 142; captured by the Saracens, 154 *sq.*; recovered, 311; acknowledges the Sultan, x., 188.
- Emir al-Omra*, ix., 306 and *note*.
- Emir* (Amir), or admiral, title of, ix., 340.
- Emirs, Arabian, in Spain, ix., 263 *note*.
- Emma, mother of Tancred, x., 219 *note*, 238 *note*.
- Emperor of the Romans, title of, ix., 364.
- Emperors, Roman, election and designation of the, i., 93; their jurisdiction over the Church, iii., 312; office of pontifex maximus, 313 and *note*; public speeches of, iv., 69 *sq.*; legislative power of, vii., 314 *sq.*; rescripts of, 315 *sq.*; of the West, viii., 370 *sqq.*; jurisdiction of emperors of the West in Rome, 379; weakness of the German, 390; of Constantinople, ix., 331 *sqq.*; adoration of, 341 and *note*; revival of learning under, 367-8.
- Empire, *see* Roman empire.
- Empire, Greek, ix., 320 *sqq.*; *see* Roman empire.
- Engaddi, town near the Dead Sea, mentioned by Pliny, vi., 158 *note*.
- Engibert sends Libri Carolini to Hadrian I., viii., 354 *note*.
- Engines of war, x., 231 and *note*.
- England, *see* Britain.
- Enguerrand VII., *see* Sire de Coucy.
- Ennodius, account of embassy of Epiphanius, vi., 138 *note*; panegyric of, 311 *note*; oration of, 313 *note*; Bishop of Pavia, *ib.*; *libell* of, 331 *note*.
- Enoch, book of, ix., 39 *note*.
- Epagathus, Prefect of Egypt, i., 199.
- Ephemeris* of Ausonius, v., 2 *note*.
- Ephesus, temple of, i., 63; ii., 40; Church of St. John at, vii., 56; Michael VII., Archbishop of, viii.,

- 285; pillaged by the Paulicians, x., 13; recovered by Alexius I., 271; Louis VII. at, 281 *note*; taken by the Turks, xi., 160.
- Ephrem, St., on monks, vi., 176 *note*.
- Epictetus, Arian bishop, iv., 15.
- Epicureans, i., 38.
- Epicurus, religious devotion of, i., 39 *note*; bequeaths his garden, vii., 77; birth of, 78 *note*.
- Epidaurus, iv., 260 *note*.
- Epigenes, quæstor, vi., 3.
- Epiphania, *see* Eudocia, daughter of Heraclius.
- Epiphania, taken by the Saracens, ix., 163 *note*.
- Epiphanius, Bishop of Pavia, ambassador of Ricimer, to Anthemius, vi., 137 and *note*; intercedes for the people of Pavia, 152 *note*, 328 *note*, 330 and *note*.
- Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, v., 313 *note*.
- Epiphany, Christian Festival of, iv., 16 and *note*.
- Epirus, subdued by Alaric, v., 144; province of, ceded to Bulgaria, x., 28 and *note*; islands and towns of, subdued by Robert Guiscard, 112; despots of, xi., 12 *sqq.*
- Episcopal authority, *see* Bishops.
- Eponina, i., 101 *note*.
- Epulones, v., 73 and *note*.
- Equestrian order, i., 18 and *note*; proposed revival of, xii., 86 and *note*.
- Equitius, Master-General of Illyricum, iv., 251.
- Eraric, the Rugian, vii., 243 *note*.
- Eras, Greek and Latin, vii., 83; Christian era, *ib.* *note*; of the elephant, ix., 30 and *note*.
- Erasmus, on Hilary, iii., 357 *note*; account of Chrysostom, v., 308 *note*; life of St. Jerome, vi., 166 *note*; publishes the Greek Testament, 122 *note*; religious opinions of, x., 24 *note*; system of Greek pronunciation, xi., 285 *note*, 290; Life of, *ib.* *note*.
- Erbe, or Lambesa, metropolis of Numidia, ix., 198.
- Erchempert, chronicler, x., 80 *note*.
- Erdaviraph, one of the seven Magi, i., 254.
- Erdély, Hungarian name of Transylvania, x., 49 *note*.
- Eregli, Heraclea, x., 240 *note*.
- Erichtho, of Lucan, iv., 193.
- Erivan, caravan station, viii., 202.
- Erixo, vii., 343 and *note*.
- Eros and Anteros of the Platonists, iv., 56 *note*.
- Erzeroum, Timour at, xi., 195.
- Escander Dulcarnein, Arabic legend of, x., 162 *note*.
- Eschinard, P., description of the Campaigna, xii., 101 *note*.
- Esimonton, *see* Azimus.
- Eskishehr, *see* Dorylæum.
- Eslam, daughter of, vi., 31 and *note*.
- Eslaw, ambassador of Attila, vi., 3; pronounces before Theodosius the reproof of Attila, 35.
- Esquiline, Mount, ii., 79 *note*.
- Essenians, ii., 319.
- Esserif Essachalli, Arabian philosopher, x., 108 *note*.
- Estachar [Istakhr], or Persepolis, ix., 126 *note*; valley of, Arabs in the, 127.
- Este, house of, origin of, x., 109 *note*.
- Esthonia, province of, iv., 246.
- Estius, iii., 350, 360 *note*.
- Etruscans, i., 26; vices of the, vii., 380 and *note*.
- Eubœa, derivation of name *Negroponte*, x., 357 *note*; inhabitants transported to Constantinople, xii., 55 *note*.
- Eucharist, divers opinions concerning, x., 21.
- Eucherius, son of Stilicho, v., 186; religion of, 190.
- Euchrocia, matron of Bordeaux, execution of, v., 27.
- Eudæmon, of Carthage, v., 357.
- Eudæmonis, a virgin, iii., 395 *note*.
- Eudamidas, of Corinth, vii., 45 *note*.
- Eudes, Duke of Aquitain, repels the Saracens, ix., 252; marries his daughter to Munuza, 253; seeks aid from Charles Martel, 255; letters of, to the pope, 256 *note*.
- Eudocia, Athenais, consort of Theodosius II., character and adventures of, v., 326 *sqq.*; account of, by John Malalas and by Socrates, *ib.* *note*; her paraphrase of the Old

- Testament, 327; pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 328; disgrace and exile, 329 and *notes*; death, *ib.*
- Eudocia, daughter of Valentinian III., marries Hunneric the Vandal, vi., 118.
- Eudocia, wife of Heraclius, viii., 112 *note*.
- Eudocia, or Epiphania, daughter of Heraclius, viii., 112 and *note*, 221 *note*.
- Eudocia Ingerina, mother of Leo VI., viii., 258 *note*.
- Eudocia Baiantē, wife of Leo VI., viii., 263 *note*.
- Eudocia, daughter of Constantine IX. (VIII.), viii., 276.
- Eudocia, widow of Constantine X., viii., 282 and *note*; philosophical studies of, 284; learning of, ix., 371 and *note*; attacked by Alp Arslan, x., 164; marries Romanus Diogenes, *ib.*
- Eudocia, niece of Manuel Comnenus, viii., 295.
- Eudocia of Damascus, ix., 151.
- Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius, daughter of Bauto, v., 115, 116; accuses Eutropius, 302 and *note*.
- Eudoxia, daughter of Theodosius the Younger, marries Valentinian III., v., 339; vi., 80; obliged to marry Petronius Maximus, 87; implores the aid of Genseric, 88; carried captive to Carthage, 91; restored by Genseric, 118.
- Eudoxia (Eudocia), wife of Heraclius, viii., 86.
- Eudoxus, Arian Bishop of Constantinople, iv., 203 and *note*.
- Eudoxus (Eudocimus), son of Constantine Copronymus, viii., 239.
- Euelthon, King of Cyprian Salamis, viii., 12 *note*.
- Eugenius, chamberlain, vi., 53.
- Eugenius III., Pope, xii., 77.
- Eugenius IV., Pope, xi., 254; opposed by the Council of Constance, 254-5; deposed at Council of Basil, 269; receives Oriental embassies, 270-1; forms league against the Turks, 303 *sq.*; spurious epistle of, to King of Ethiopia, 321 *note*; expelled, xii., 167-8; funeral of, 172; builds wall round the Coliseum, 207.
- Eugenius, the rhetorician, made emperor by Arbogastes, v., 61; paganism of, *ib. note*; death, 65 *sq.*
- Eugippius, Life of St. Severinus by, vi., 151 *note*, 153 *note*.
- Eugraphia, widow at Constantinople, persecutes Chrysostom, v., 310 *note*.
- Eugubine Tables, vii., 304 and *note*.
- Eulalia, St., of Merida, vi., 98.
- Eulalius, count of the domestics, testament of, vii., 44.
- Eulalius, philosopher, vii., 80.
- Eulogia, sister of Michael Palæologus, xi., 66; conspires against her brother, 77.
- Eulogies and benedictions* at Constantinople, viii., 150.
- Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, account of, viii., 204 and *note*.
- Eulogius, St., of Cordova, ix., 234 *note*.
- Eumenius, the orator, i., 67 *note*; ii., 154 *note*; Professor of Rhetoric at Autun, 198 *note*; panegyric of, iii., 283 *note*.
- Eunapius, history of the Sophists, iv., 52 *note*, 116 *note*; on the Gothic war, 248 *note*; on the ravages of the Goths, 320 *note*; fanaticism of, v., 95.
- Eunomians, disabilities of the, under Theodosius, iv., 26.
- Eunomius, iii., 359 and *note*; shelters Procopius, iv., 187 *note*; v., 12.
- Eunuchs, ii., 185; power of, iii., 223 *sq.*; character of, 224; power of, under Arcadius, v., 291 and *note*.
- Euphemia, daughter of John of Cappadocia, vii., 47.
- Euphemia, daughter of Marcian, marries Anthemius, vi., 122.
- Euphemia, St., church of, council held in, viii., 157.
- Euphemius, expedition of, to Sicily, ix., 284 and *note*; death, 285.
- Euphrates, victories of M. Antoninus on the, i., 11; navigation of, iv., 145, 146 *note*; source of, vii., 67 and *note*.
- Euphrosyne, daughter of Constantine VI., marries Michael the Second, viii., 242, 249.
- Euphrosyne, wife of Alexius Angelus, x., 341.
- Euric, King of the Visigoths, assassi-

- nates his brother Theodoric, vi., 131; persecutes the Orthodox party, 188; dominions of, 211 *sq.*; first Gothic prince who wrote laws, 241.
- Euripides, ii., 31.
- Europe, population of, i., 53, 54 and *note*; change in climate of, 275; present state of, vii., 292 *sq.*; political system of, in fifteenth century, xii., 166 *note*.
- Europus, i., 264 *note*; vi., 301 *note*; Belisarius at, vii., 211.
- Eusebia, wife of Constantius II., friendship of, to Julian, iii., 235, 237; friendly reception of Julian, 238; her supposed jealousy of Julian, 240 and *note*; death, iv., 15 and *note*.
- Eusebius, Bishop of Vercellæ, iii., 387.
- Eusebius, chamberlain of Honorius, his death, v., 234.
- Eusebius, Count of Ticinum, orders execution of Boethius, vi., 340 *note*.
- Eusebius, neo-Platonist, iv., 56.
- Eusebius of Cæsarea, as a historian, ii., 253 and *note*; iii., 60 and *note*; on Palestine martyrs, 85 *note*; remark on his style, *ib.*; silence on death of Crispus, 178 *note*; account of Constantine's conversion, 300 and *note*; friendship with Constantine, 304; description of the Church at Jerusalem, 321 *note*; supports Arius, 350; accepts the Homoousion, 365; character of, *ib.* *note*; at the Council of Tyre, 376.
- Eusebius of Nicomedia, supports Arius, iii., 350; exile, 365; recall, 366; educates Julian, iv., 48 and *note*; Bishop of Constantinople, v., 13 *note*.
- Eusebius Scholasticus, poem on the Gothic war, v., 308 *note*.
- Eusebius the eunuch, chamberlain of Constantius, iii., 225; questions Gallus, 234; fall of, iv., 26; death, 35.
- Eustace, the elder brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, x., 216.
- Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica, ix., 370; x., 140 *note*.
- Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, iii., 366; death, 397.
- Eustathius of Cappadocia, iii., 251 *note*.
- Eustathius of Epiphania, vii., 64 *note*.
- Eustochium, daughter of Paula, vi., 164.
- Euthalites, or Nephthalites (White Huns), iv., 282 and *note*, 283; conquests of, vii., 68; defeat Perozes, King of Persia, 69; conquered by the Turks, 188; by Nushirvan, 230; in Transoxiana, ix., 133 *note*.
- Euthalius at Terracina, vii., 151.
- Eutharic, grandson of Berimund, vi., 343 *note*; vii., 124 *note*.
- Eutherius, chamberlain of Julian, iv., 12.
- Euthymius, Patriarch of Constantinople, viii., 263 *note*.
- Eutropia, sister of Constantine, ii., 209 *note*; iii., 173; death, 219.
- Eutropius, father of Constantius, ii., 149.
- Eutropius the eunuch, v., 62; opposes Rufinus, 115 *sq.*; magistrate and general, 291; power over Arcadius, *ib.*; consul, 292 and *note*; venality and injustice, 293 and *note*; degrades Abundantius, 295; exiles Timasius, 296; calls council of war, 300 and *note*; fall of, 302 *sq.*
- Eutropius the historian, iii., 170 *note*; date of his History, 228 *note*; iv., 160 *note*.
- Eutyches, heresiarch, vi., 34 *note*.
- Eutyches, abbot, viii., 149 *note*; heresy of, 154 *sqq.*
- Eutychiean heresy, suppressed by Pulcheria, v., 323; controversy in the East, vi., 207.
- Eutychieus, exarch, forms a league with Liutprand, viii., 335 *note*.
- Eutychieus, historian, viii., 89 *note*; Annals of, ix., 118 *note*, 173 *note*; on taking of Alexandria by the Saracens, 180, 181 *note*.
- Euxine, Roman naval station on the, i., 23; circumnavigation of, vii., 214 and *note*.
- Evagrius, description of the Church of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon, v., 304 *note*; on the Isaurian war, vii., 64 *note*; on Emperor Maurice, viii., 25 *note*.
- Evander the Arcadian, vi., 125.
- Evans, A. J., Cretan discoveries of, i., 31 *note*; researches in Illyricum, vii., 60 *note*.
- Evodius, Bishop of Uzalis, v., 101 *note*.

- Exarchate, given to the popes, viii., 345 and *note*.
- Exarchs, title of, in Africa, vii., 110; of Ravenna, 280 and *note*; extinction of, viii., 336; governor of Septem received title of, ix., 208 *note*.
- Excise, i., 208 and *note*.
- Excommunication, ii., 324; iii., 326, 327.
- Exercitus, i., 14 and *note*.
- Exeter, colony planted at, by Athelstan, vi., 275 *note*.
- Exorcism of demons, ii., 295 *sq.*
- Expositio totius Mundi*, v., 355 *note*, 356 *note*.
- Ezra, adored as the son of God by the Jews of Mecca, ix., 36 and *note*.
- Ezzerites, in Greece, ix., 324.
- FABRICIUS, his *Bibliotheca Græca*, ix., 370 *note*.
- Facciolati, Duke of Constantinople, xi., 113.
- Factions, of the circus, vii., 19 *sq.*
- Fadella, daughter of the Emperor Marcus, i., 117; death of, 172.
- Fadl-allâh, vizir, his Persian history of the Mongols, xi., 132 *note*.
- Faenza, van-guard of Theodoric betrayed at, vi., 310; battle at, vii., 284.
- Fæsulæ, v., 170 and *note*; taken by Belisarius, vii., 157.
- Falcandus, Hugh, on Palermo, ix., 327 *note*; on Sicily, x., 14 *sq.*; his *Historia Sicula*, 141 *note*.
- Falcidian portion, term in Roman law of inheritance, vii., 364.
- Falconry, introduced by the Lombards into Italy, viii., 34 and *note*; price of falcons in Palestine, x., 270; *see* Hawking.
- Falco Sossius, i., 130 and *note*.
- Fallmerayer, on the reign of Andronicus I., viii., 303 *note*; his history of Trebizond, xi., 11 *note*.
- Famine, rare under the empire, i., 67.
- Fano, ii., 78.
- Farage (Faraj), Circassian ruler, xi., 196.
- Faras, families or generations, term in Lombard law, viii., 32 *note*.
- Farghâna, territory of, ii., 167 *note*; ix., 130 and *note*; subdued by the Saracens, 133 *note*.
- Farmah, *see* Pelusium.
- Fârs, subdued by the Arabs, ix., 126 *note*; Bowides at, 229 *note*; dynasty of, 305 *note*.
- Farsistan, mountains of (Yezdegerd flies to the), ix., 126.
- Fasti, Consular, vi., 235 and *note*.
- Fathers of the Church, visions in the Apostolic, ii., 295 *note*; morality of, 302 *sqq.*; on marriage, 305 *sqq.*; on war and politics, 307 *sq.*; belief of, in pagan gods, iii., 62 *note*; works illustrating their superstition, v., 98 *note*; Greek translations of Latin, xi., 39.
- Fâtima, daughter of Ali, ix., 103.
- Fâtima, daughter of Mahomet, v., 336 *note*; married Ali, ix., 90; death, 93.
- Fâtimids, ix., 91; in Egypt and Syria, 106 and *note*; caliphs of the, reign at Cairo, 263; usurp the provinces of Africa, 286; succeed the Ikhshidids, 303 *note*, 307; in the Holy Land, x., 185; lose Egypt, 289 *sq.*
- Faun, the Barberini, discovery of, vii., 142 *note*.
- Faunus, ii., 129.
- Fausta, daughter of Maximian, ii., 214; receives Maximian, 219; children of, iii., 173; disgrace and death, 179, 180.
- Faustina, daughter of Antoninus Pius, i., 97, 106.
- Faustina, widow of Constantius II., supports Procopius, iv., 190.
- Faustinus, Roman noble, v., 206 *note*.
- Faustus, account of Armenian war, iv., 239 *note*.
- Fava, or Feletheus, King of the Rugians, conquered by Odoacer, vi., 153.
- Faventia, *see* Faenza.
- Felicissimus, ii., 97.
- Felix, an African bishop, execution of, iii., 70, 335 *note*.
- Felix, Archbishop of Ravenna, blinded by Justinian II., viii., 232 *note*.
- Felix II., anti-pope, election of (A.D. 356), iii., 396 *note*; expulsion, 399.
- Felix IV., Pope, grandfather of Gregory the Great, viii., 42.
- Felix V., xi., 264; retires to Ripaille, 271 and *note*.

- Felix, St., tomb of, at Nola, v., 253.
- Ferdusi, the Persian poet, vii., 201 *note*;  
lines of, quoted by Mahomet II.,  
xii., 52.
- Fergana, *see* Farghāna.
- Fergus, cousin of Ossian, iv., 226  
*note*.
- Ferishta, Persian writer, x., 149 *note*.
- Ferramenta Samiata, ii., 72 *note*.
- Ferrara, John Palæologus at, xi., 262-3;  
council at, *ib.*; duchy of, united to  
Urbino, xii., 175.
- Ferreolus, Bishop of Ufez, monastic rule  
of, vi., 168 *note*.
- Festivals, attitude of the Christians to  
pagan, ii., 282 and *notes*; pro-  
hibited, v., 91 and *note*; four great,  
of the Latin Church, viii., 47 and  
*note*.
- Feu Grégeois, *see* Greek fire.
- Fez, Edrisite kingdom of, founded, ix.,  
302 and *note*.
- Fidei-commissa, vii., 364 *note*, 365.
- Fihl (Pella), battle of, ix., 151 *note*.
- Filioque controversy, x., 328 *sq.*
- Finances, of the Roman empire, i., 202  
*sqq.*; administration of, under Con-  
stantine, iii., 147 *sqq.*, 154 *sqq.*; laws  
of Majorian concerning, vi., 104  
*sq.*; in ninth to twelfth centuries, ix.,  
329 *sq.*
- Fines, in the army, iii., 140; for schism,  
v., 347.
- Fingal, i., 165.
- Finlay, Mr., viii., 24 *note*; on Emperor  
Maurice, 25 *note*; on Michael  
VIII., xi., 78 *note*; on the Otto-  
mans, 161 *note*; on Constantinople,  
326 *note*.
- Finns, language of, allied to Hungarian,  
x., 38 and *note*.
- Fioretto, G., on revival of learning in  
fifteenth century, xi., 275 *note*.
- Firdusi, *see* Ferdusi.
- Fire, Greek, *see* Greek fire.
- Fire signals, *see* Beacons.
- Fire worship, i., 256 and *note*.
- Firmicus, Julius, ii., 205 *note*.
- Firmum (Fermo) Council of War be-  
tween Belisarius and Narses at,  
vii., 155 *note*.
- Firmus, rebellion of, ii., 93.
- Firmus the Moor, revolt of, iv., 233 *sqq.*;  
death, 236.
- Firüz, son of Yezdegerd, ix., 131 and  
*note*.
- Fiscus or public money paid to the  
emperor, i., 126 *note*.
- Fisheries, of the Propontis, iii., 98.
- Flaccilla, consort of Theodosius the  
Great, v., 12.
- Flaccilla, daughter of Arcadius, v., 322  
*note*.
- Flaccus, Granius, vii., 304 *note*.
- Flagellation, practice of, by the monks,  
x., 204 and *note*.
- Flamens, Roman, v., 73 and *note*.
- Flaminian way, stations of, vii., 268.
- Flamininus, iii., 139 *note*.
- Flamsteed and Diodorus, v., 293.
- Flavian family, i., 94 and *note*.
- Flavian, Bishop of Antioch, v., 47.
- Flavian, ecclesiastic, v., 22 *note*.
- Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople,  
opposes Eutyches, viii., 154; perse-  
cuted by the second Council of  
Ephesus, 155; death, 156.
- Flavianus and Diodorus, iii., 397.
- Flavianus, pagan senator, v., 76 *note*.
- Flavius Asellus, count of the sacred  
largesses, vi., 134.
- Flax, i., 67.
- Fléchier, Bishop of Nismes, his life of  
Theodosius, iv., 322 *note*.
- Fleury, Abbé de, Inst. of Canon Law,  
iii., 323 *note*; Ecclesiastical History  
of, xi., 233 *note*; continuator of,  
on schism of Constantinople, 271  
*note*, 296 *note*; on appeals to Rome,  
xii., 71 *note*.
- Flor, Roger de, *see* Roger de Flor.
- Florence, siege of, by Radagaisus, v.,  
168; origin of, *ib.* *note*; Pandects  
at, vii., 335; council of, xi., 264;  
revival of Greek learning at,  
283.
- Florentius, Prætorian Prefect of Gaul,  
iii., 275; character of, iv., 5; flight,  
12, 22; disgrace, 36.
- Florianus, ii., 108, 111 *note*; usurpation  
and death, 112.
- Florin, xi., 256 *note*.
- Florus, Prince, xi., 49.
- Florus, Roman historian, xii., 100.
- Fo, Indian god, worshipped by Kublai  
Khan, xi., 152 and *note*.
- Fœderati, or allies, v., 336.
- Folard, Chev., on Roman military en-



- gines, i., 19 *note*, 153 *note*; ii., 60 *note*; vii., 278 *note*.
- Follis*, or purse, tax, iii., 166 *note*.
- Fontcemagne, M. de, on Merovingians, vi., 51 *note*; on the title of French kings to the Roman empire, xii., 60 *note*.
- Fontana, architect, xii., 212.
- Fontanini, viii., 28 *note*.
- Fontenelle, comedy of, vii., 45 *note*, 328 *note*.
- Foot, Roman, i., 238 *note*; Greek, iii., 101 *note*.
- Fortifiocca, T., xii., 128 *note*, 147 *note*, 180.
- Fortunatus, poet, vi., 258 *note*.
- Forum Julii, capital of Venetia, vi., 67 *note*; Lombards at, viii., 13; first duke of, 31.
- Forum Trebonii, ii., 16 and *note*.
- Fostat, Saracen settlement of, ix., 176; x., 292.
- Fraknói, W., on Matthias Corvinus, xi., 315 *note*.
- Framea*, i., 297.
- France, New, xi., 24.
- France, population compared with Gaul, iii., 161 *sqq.*; name of, vi., 255; under Charlemagne, viii., 364; invaded by the Arabs, ix., 250 *sqq.*; Hungarians in, x., 44; position of kings of, in eleventh century, 197 *sq.*; description of, by Chalcondyles, xi., 246 *sq.*; title of kings of, to empire of Constantinople, xii., 60 and *note*.
- Francis II., Emperor, resigns the empire, xii., 66 *note*.
- Francis, St., visited by a "*rex versuum*," xii., 125 *note*.
- Francisca*, or Frankish battle axe, vi., 230 and *note*.
- Francisco of Toledo, at siege of Constantinople, xii., 25 *note*.
- Franconia, viii., 366; duchy of, 389 *note*.
- Frangipani (Frangipane), Cencio, xii., 75. *Cp.* 76 *note*.
- Frangipani, name and family of, xii., 116.
- Frangipani, Odo, x., 137.
- Frankfort, synod of, *see* Councils.
- Frankincense of Arabia, ix., 4 and *note*.
- Franks, or Freemen, origin of, ii., 23, 24 and *notes*; invade Gaul, Spain, and Africa, *ib.*, 25, 26; driven from Gaul by Probus, 117; in the Mediterranean, 123; power of, under sons of Constantine, iii., 142; invade Gaul, 259; in Batavia and Toxandria, 260 and *note*, 261 and *note*; subdued by Julian, 270; ally themselves with Stilicho, v., 173; subdue the Vandals, 174; in Second or Lower Germany, 278; in Gaul, under the Merovingians, vi., 48; defeated by Aetius, 50; elect Ægidius king, vi., 116; Christianity of, 192; in Germany, 218; in Burgundy, 228 *sqq.*; in Aquitain, 233; political controversy concerning the, 238 and *note*; laws, 239 *sqq.*; fines for homicide, 243 *sq.*; judgments of God, 245; judicial combats, 247 *sqq.*; their division of Gaul, 248; anarchy of, 263; in Italy, vii., 158 *sqq.*; retire, 160; invade Italy, 276 *sqq.*; defeat of, by Narses, 277; invade Italy and are defeated by Autharis, viii., 27; empire of, under Charlemagne, 368; military force of, ix., 351 *sqq.*; name of, applied to all Western nations, 360; their character and tactics, *ib.* *sq.*
- Frascati, xii., 101; *see* Tusculum.
- Fravitta, Gothic leader, v., 338; consul, 339 *note*; defeats Gainas, 306; consul, 307.
- Freculphus, v., 101 *note*.
- Fredegarius, viii., 12 *note*.
- Fredegundis, Queen of France, vi., 246 and *note*, 262 *note*.
- Frederic I., Barbarossa, in Italy, viii., 385 *sq.*; Italian cities oppose, x., 137; undertakes third crusade, 274 *sqq.*; number of his host, 276; in Anatolia, 282; death of, 283; crowned emperor, xii., 83; embassy of the Romans to, 96 *sqq.*; wins battle of Tusculum, 101-2.
- Frederic II., reign of, viii., 386; founds universities of Salerno and Naples, 390 *note*; x., 103 *note*; in Palestine, 315 *sq.*; obtains Jerusalem from the Sultan, 317 *sq.*; marries daughter of John of Brienne, xi., 26; deposed at Council of Lyons, 28; Theodore Lascaris on, *ib.* *note*;

- urges Europe to oppose the Tartars, 148; places standard in the Capitol, xii., 99; assists the pope, 102 *note*.
- Frederic III., of Austria, xi., 304; letters of the Hungarians to, 307 *note*; coronation of, xii., 168 *note*, 169.
- Freebooters, Turkish soldiers in the service of Orchan, xi., 159.
- Freedmen, i., 51; vii., 339.
- Free gifts, ii., 225; iii., 165.
- Freeman, Mr., on the Bagaudæ, v., 179 *note*; on Radiger, King of the Varni, vi., 285; on the Heptarchy, 286 *note*.
- Freinshemius, i., 286 *note*.
- Fréjus, naval station, i., 23.
- Fremona, in Abyssinia, Jesuit mission, viii., 211.
- Frexenses, Moorish tribe, vii., 86 *note*.
- Frigeridus, dux of Valeria, iv., 253 *note*; defeats the Taifalæ, 309 and *note*.
- Frigeridus, Renatus Profuturus, fragment of, v., 174 *note*.
- Frigidus, river, battle at, v., 64 and *note*.
- Frisians, ii., 117; in Britain, vi., 271 and *note*.
- Fritigern, judge of the Visigoths, iv., 245 *note*; at the battle at Salices, 304; negotiation with Valens, 311 *sq.*; at the battle of Hadrianople, 312; death, 329; converted by Ulphalis, vi., 181.
- Friuli, *see* Forum Julii.
- Froissard, chronicle of, xi., 172 *note*.
- Fronto, Count, ambassador of Avitus to Rechiarius, vi., 97.
- Fruit, introduction of, into Europe, i., 66.
- Frumentius, iii., 311.
- Fulcaris, the Herulian, vii., 276.
- Fulcherius, historian, x., 233 and *note*, 241 *note*.
- Fulgentius, St., Life of, vi., 190 *note*; controversial books of, 192 *note*; family and education of, 196 *note*.
- Fulgentius, the quæstor, friend of the Emperor Maximus, vi., 87.
- Fulk, Count of Anjou, Life of, vii., 85 *note*.
- Fulk of Neuilly, x., 341.
- Fundi, pillaged by the Saracens, ix., 287; College of Cardinals at, xii., 160.
- Funerals, Roman, iv., 171.
- Furtum lance licioque conceptum*, vii., 317 and *note*.
- Fust, or Faustus, first printed Bibles of, vii., 333 *note*.
- GABALA, town in Syria, Saracens at, ix., 150 and *note*; taken by the Saracens, 168; lost by the Franks, x., 324.
- Gabinus, King of the Quadi, murdered by order of Marcellinus, iv., 252.
- Gabour Ortachi, name given to Khalil vizir, xii., 12.
- Gabours* or *Giaours*, Turkish name, etymology of, xii., 8 *note*.
- Gabriel, Roman, son of Samuel, Bulgarian rule, x., 35 *note*.
- Gades, honorary colony, i., 46 *note*, 205 *note*.
- Gaeta, subject to the Greek emperor, x., 78 *note*; Pope Gelasius II. at, xii., 76 *note*.
- Gætulia, tribes of, join Gildo, the Moor, v., 132.
- Gagnier, M., Life of Mahomet, ix., 53 *note*.
- Gaian, Patriarch of Alexandria, viii., 202 *sq.*
- Gaillard, M., History of Charlemagne, viii., 359 *note*.
- Gainas, the Goth, commands the troops against Rufinus, v., 122; against Trebigild, 301; allies himself with Trebigild, *ib.* *note*; enters Constantinople, 305 and *note*; defeated by Fravitta, 306; by Uldin, 307; death, 308 *note*.
- Gaiseric, King of the Vandals, defeats Hermanric, v., 344; his name, *ib.* *note*; befriends the Donatists, 347 and *note*; treaty with Valentinian III., 354 and *note*; surprises Carthage, 355; cruel treatment of Theodorici's daughter by, vi., 47; title of, Kings of Vandals and Alani, 84; builds a fleet, 85; conquers Sicily, *ib.*; casts anchor in the Tiber, *ib.*; destroys the navy of Majorian at Carthage, 112; ravages the coast of the Mediterranean, 117; destroys the fleet of Basiliscus, 129; allies himself with the Visigoths in Gaul, 131; persecutes the Catho-

- lics, 189; peace of, with the Catholic Church, *ib. note*.
- Gaita [Sigelgaita], wife of Robert Guiscard, x., 109, 117.
- Gaius, commentaries of, vii., 334 *note*, 340 *note*.
- Gala, etymology of the word, ix., 343 *note*.
- Galanus, History of Galanus, viii., 200 *note*.
- Galata, iii., 101 and *note*; tower of, stormed by the Latins, x., 362 and *note*; suburb of, quarter of French and Venetians, 367; siege of, by Michael Palæologus, xi., 35 *note*; given to the Genoese, 68, 120; destroyed, 121; Genoese of, make a treaty with Mahomet II., xii., 16; abandoned by Genoese after capture of Constantinople, 48; fortifications of, demolished, 54.
- Galatia, Alani in, ii., 110.
- Galatians, paternal power of the, vii., 340 *note*.
- Galba, i., 94; capital punishment under, vii., 378.
- Galeazzo, John, first duke of Milan, xi., 242 *note*.
- Galerius, general of Probus, ii., 117; associated in the empire by Diocletian, 149, 150 and *note*; Persian wars, 169 *sqq.*; character and reign, 201 *sqq.*; makes Constantine Cæsar, 208; invades Italy, 215, 216; elevates Licinius, 217, 218 *note*; death, 221; persecution of the Christians, iii., 39; in the East, 78; edict of toleration, 79.
- Galfridus, Malaterra, history of, x., 83 *note*.
- Galilæans, sect of, under Nero, iii., 23 and *note*; use of name enjoined by Julian, iv., 83 and *note*.
- Galilee, principality of, x., 266 and *note*.
- Gall, St., vii., 277 *note*.
- Galla, mother of Gallus, iii., 226 *note*.
- Galla, sister of Valentinian II., marries Theodosius, v., 40; death, 61 *note*.
- Gallicanus, consular senator, i., 239.
- Gallicia, gold of, i., 205; divided between the Suevi and the Vandals, v., 273; held by the Suevi, vi., 131.
- Galliena, ii., 48 *note*.
- Gallienus, associated in the empire with Valerian, ii., 23 *note*; reign of, 47 *sqq.*; death, 61 and *note*; conspiracy against, favoured the Christians, iii., 56.
- Gallipoli, fortifications of, vii., 62; taken by the Catalans, xi., 88; taken by the Ottomans, 165 *note*; rebuilt by Soliman, 165.
- Gallo-Grecians of Galatia, vi., 137 *note*.
- Gallus, elected emperor, ii., 18; peace with the Goths, *ib.*; death, 21.
- Gallus, M. Anicius, tribune, v., 202 *note*.
- Gallus, nephew of Constantine, iii., 173; education of, 225; iv., 49; governor of the East, iii., 227; cruelty of, *ib. sqq.*; disgrace and death, 232 *sqq.*; removes body of St. Babylas, iv., 93.
- Gamaliel appears to Lucian the presbyter, v., 100.
- Games, secular, i., 246, 247 and *note*; Capitoline, xii., 125 *note*, *see* Ludi.
- Ganges, river, xi., 193.
- Gannys, eunuch, i., 184.
- Ganzaca, Temple of, destroyed by Heraclius, viii., 103 *note*, 105 and *note*.
- Gapt, one of the Anses or Demi-gods, vi., 299 *note*.
- Garda, Lake, ii., 65 *note*.
- Garden of the Epicureans at Athens, vii., 76.
- Garganus, Mount, vii., 256 and *note*; x., 84.
- Garibald, King of Bavaria, allies himself with Autharis, viii., 35.
- Garizim, mountain of blessing, viii., 172 and *note*.
- Gascony, subdued by the Arabs, ix., 252.
- Gassan, Arabian tribe, iv., 126 and *note*; vii., 205; in Syrian territory, ix., 13; defeated by Caled, 157 *sq.*
- Gass, W., on Gennadius and Pletho, xi., 286 *note*.
- Gaubil, Père, his translation of Annals of the Mongols, xi., 141 *note*.
- Gaudentius, Count, closes the pagan temple, v., 81.
- Gaudentius, father of Aetius, v., 340 *note*; vi., 41; his betrothal to Eudoxia, 78.

- Gaudentius, the notary, iv., 24; death, 36.
- Gaul, provinces of, i., 24, 25; divided by Augustus, *ib.*; *Celtic, ib.*; limited toleration in, 40; tribute, 204; usurpers in, ii., 80, 81; invaded by Lygians, 118; peasant revolt in, 151, 152; Christianity in, 337 and *note*; capitation tax, iii., 159 *sqq.* and *notes*; invaded by Germans, 259 *sqq.*; by the Alamanni, 266; Julian in, iv., 2 *sqq.*; outlaws in, 13 and *note*; invaded by the Saxons, 222 and *note*; by Suevi, Vandals and Burgundians, v., 174; *sqq.*; Alani in, vi., 43; Visigoths in, 44; 131 *sq.*; Barbarians in Gaul converted from Arianism, 200; revolution of, 209; allodial lands of, 251; Britons in, 275 *note*.
- Gauls, in Lombardy, i., 26; in Germany, 277 *note*; religion of, ii., 287 *note*; relation of, to the Franks, vi., 239.
- Gayangos, M., ix., 225 *note*.
- Gayeta, besieged by the Saracens, ix., 287; siege raised, 288; maritime state of, *ib.*
- Gayuk (Kuyuk), Khan, xi., 140.
- Gaza, temples at, iv., 78 *note*; taken by the Saracens, ix., 168; battle of, x., 318.
- Gaza, Theodore, *see* Theodore.
- Gazi, holy war of the Turks, xi., 156; carried on by Timour, 187.
- Gazi (Ghāzi), title of Sultan Soliman, x., 179.
- Gazna, city and province of, x., 148 and *note*.
- Gaznevdes, dynasty of, x., 148 *note*.
- Geber, Arabian physician, ix., 275.
- Geberic, King of the Goths, iii., 89.
- Gedda, Arabian seaport, ix., 9.
- Gedrosia, district of, i., 262 *note*.
- Gegnesius, Paulician leader, x., 4 *note*; date of, 10 *note*.
- Geisa, Hungarian king, x., 49.
- Gelalæan era of the Turks, x., 175 and *note*.
- Gelaledin, defeated by Zingis Khan, xi., 139; activity of, 155; death, *ib.*
- Gelasius I., Pope, iii., 322 *note*; abolishes the festival of the Lupercalia, v., 125 and *note*; deplores the state of Italy, 154 *sq.*
- Gelasius II., Pope, xii., 75.
- Gelimer, King of the Vandals, in Africa, vi., 190; deposes Hilderic, vii., 86 *sq.*; defeated by Belisarius, 100 *sqq.*; further adventures, 104 *sqq.*; flight of, 107; captivity of, 110 *sqq.*; interview with Belisarius, 113; at Constantinople, 115; retires to Galatia, 116.
- Gelli, ii., 168 *note*.
- Geloni, iv., 285.
- Gelzer, H., vii., 79 *note*; estimate of Theophilus, viii., 249 *note*.
- Gemoniæ, i., 103 *note*.
- Generals, Roman (Imperatores), i., 78, 79.
- Genesis, ix., 282 *note*; works of, 314 *note*.
- Geneviève, St., of Paris, vi., 55; life of, 54 *note*, 216 *note*.
- Gennadius, monk and Patriarch of Constantinople, xii., 22 *sq.*, 56 [George Scholarius].
- Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople, on the creed of Athanasius, vi., 197 *note*.
- Generid Master-General of Dalmatia, strengthens the Illyrian frontier, v., 233 and *note*.
- Genoa, city of, destroyed by the Franks, vii., 160.
- Genoese, engineers, x., 256; assist the Greeks against the Latins, xi., 35 and *note*; settle in suburb of Galata, 68, 120; attacked by the Venetians, 121; privileges conferred upon the, by Michael VIII. and Andronicus the Elder, 122 *note*; trade of, *ib.*; war of, with Cantacuzene, 123 *sqq.*; they destroy the Greek fleet, 124; defeat the Venetians and Greeks, 125 *sq.*; their treaty with the empire, 127; of Galata, give free passage to the Turks, xii., 33; policy of, suspected, 42 *note*.
- Gens, Roman, vii., 360 *sq.*
- Genseric, *see* Gaiseric.
- Genso, son of Genseric, vi., 130.
- Gentiles, term in Roman law, vii., 361.
- Gentoo, sovereign, acknowledged by the Christians of St. Thomas, viii., 192.

- Gentoos of Hindostan, war with Mahmūd, x., 149.
- Geoffrey, father of Henry II. of England, xii., 73 *note*.
- Geographer of Ravenna, ii., 23 *note*.
- Geography, early Christian, vii., 38 and *note*.
- Geometry, studied at Alexandria, viii., 139.
- Geoponics of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ix., 316 and *note*.
- George Branković, Despot of Servia, sends troops to Mohammed, xii., 20 *note*.
- George Branković, xi., 305.
- George of Cappadocia, iii., 391; iv., 96 and *note*, *sqq.*; worshipped as saint and martyr, 97 and *note*.
- George of Pisidia, viii., 103 *note*; de Bello Avarico, 111; Heracliad, 118 *note*.
- George of Sienna, xii., 27 *note*.
- George of Trebizond, writings of, xi., 256 *note*, 284.
- George Phranza, ambassador to Amurath II., xi., 207-8; his account of Bajazet, 207 and *note*.
- George Scholarius, *see* Gennadius.
- George, Sicilian admiral, besieges Mahadia, x., 132.
- Georgia, beauty of the inhabitants, vii., 217; Christians of, *ib.*; conquest of, by Alp Arslan, x., 162; under Malek Shah, 173; visited by Phranza, xi., 323.
- Georgians, religion of the, x., 162 *sq.*; name of the, 163 *note*; they submit to Timour, xi., 193.
- Georgillas, Rhodian poet, vii., 287 *note*.
- Geougen, Scythian tribe, v., 164; subdued by Attila, vi., 8 and *note*, 77; enslave the Turks, vii., 186; extirpated by the Turks, 187.
- Gepidæ, ii., 8 and *note*; subdued by Attila, vi., 8; seize Belgrade, vii., 177 and *note*; conquered by the Avars and Lombards, 189; viii., 7 *sq.*
- Gerard of Reicherspeg, xii., 89 *note*.
- Gerasa, fortress, ix., 137 and *note*.
- Gergovia, siege of, by Cæsar, vi., 255 and *note*.
- Germane, near Sardica, vii., 89 *note*.
- Germania, in Thrace, vii., 89 *note*.
- Germanicia, won back from the Saracens by Constantine V., viii., 235 *note*; Crusaders at, x., 240.
- Germanicus, i., 4 *note*; at Thebes, iii., 244 *note*; belief of, in magic, iv., 194 *note*.
- Germans, ancient, in Belgium, i., 25; origin of, 277; manners of, 279 *sqq.*; political institutions of, 287 *sqq.*; religion, 293; invade Gaul, ii., 117; iii., 259; defeated by Julian, 267 *sqq.*; driven from the Rhine, 274; religious indifference of, 292 and *note*; emigration of, into Italy, v., 165 *sq.*; invade Gaul, 172; character of, in sixteenth century, 251, 252; cross the Rhine under Ariovistus, vi., 248; join fourth crusade, x., 351-2.
- Germanus, elder and younger, vii., 165 *note*.
- Germanus, father-in-law of Theodosius, viii., 78 *sqq.*
- Germanus, nephew of Justinian, in Africa, vii., 238 and *note*, *ib.* and *note*; commands the army, 263; family of, *ib.* *note*; marriage and death, 264.
- Germanus, son of a patrician, punished by Constantine IV., viii., 226.
- Germay, Upper and Lower, Roman provinces, i., 25; description of, 273 *sqq.*; its population, 285; iv., 213 *sq.*; Goths, Burgundians, and Franks settle in First or Upper, v., 278; Burgundians in Second or Lower, *ib.*; Slavonian colonists in, viii., 72; united by Charlemagne, 366; princes of, independent, 386 *sq.*; Germanic confederation, 388 *sqq.*; counts of, 389; description of, by Chalcondyles, xi., 245 *sq.*; armies of, in fifteenth century, 304 *note*.
- Gerontius, commander in Greece, v., 139.
- Gerontius, general of the usurper Constantine, makes Maximus emperor, v., 265; death, 266 and *note*.
- Gerrha, or Katif, built by Chaldæans, ix., 10.
- Gerson, John, doctor of the Sorbonne, xii., 163 *note*.

- Gervasius and Protasius, martyrs, v., 35 and *note*.
- Gessoriacum (Boulogne), ii., 153, 154.
- Gesta Francorum*, vi., 233 *note*, 234 *note*; x., 199 *note*.
- Gesta Friderici imperatoris*, xii., 83 *note*.
- Gesta Ludovici VII.*, x., 282 *note*.
- Geta and Caracalla, i., 163, 164; reign of, 167 *sqq.*; titles of, *ib. note*; death of Geta, 170; apotheosis of, 168 and *note*.
- Getes, Jits, or Calmucks, confounded with the Getæ (Dacians), xi., 183 *note*; invade Transoxiana, *ib.*; driven from Transoxiana, 184-5.
- Getulia, iv., 231.
- Gezi, magic stone, vi., 8 *note*.
- Ghebers, or Magians, ix., 227 *sq.*
- Ghermian (Karmiyân), Emir of, military force of, xi., 159-60 and *note*; subdued by Bajazet, 169.
- Ghibelines, faction of, viii., 386; *see* Guelfs.
- Giannone, his history of Naples, iii., 323 *note*; iv., 199 *note*; xii., 63 *note*.
- Giaour, *see* Gabour.
- Gibamund, nephew of Gelimer, defeated by the Massagetæ, vii., 100.
- Gibraltar, ix., 212.
- Gijon, town of, term of the conquest of Musa, ix., 216.
- Gildas, vi., 268; account of Britain by, 272 *sq.*
- Gildo, the Moor, independence of, v., 121; revolt of, 126 and *note*; condemned by the senate, 128; war with his brother, 129; defeat and death, 132, 133.
- Gilimer, Gothic leader, death of, vi., 140; name of, *ib. note*.
- Gilles, St., x., 218 *note*.
- Giom Omortag, Bulgarian prince, viii., 246 *note*; x., 32 *note*.
- Giraffe, *see* Camelopardalis.
- Gisulf, nephew of Alboin, Duke of Friuli, viii., 31.
- Giubin, surname of Bahram, viii., 58.
- Giustendil, *see* Küstendil.
- Giustiniani, Giambattista, ii., 194 *note*.
- Giustiniani, John, brings company of Genoese to Constantinople, xii., 20; quarrels with the Duke of Venice, 35; flight of, and death, 41-2 and *note*.
- Gladiators, revolt of, under Probus, ii., 125, 126.
- Glanville, Bartholemy de, xii., 166 *note*.
- Glasgow, iv., 228.
- Glycerius, Emperor of the West, vi., 141; Bishop of Salona, 142; assassinates Nepos, 143; Archbishop of Milan, *ib.* and *note*.
- Gnapheus, Peter, Monophysite bishop, viii., 166 and *note*.
- Gnelus (Knel), son of Para (Pap), iv., 245 *note*.
- Gnosticis, authorities on, ii., 274 *note*.
- Gnostics, ii., 274 *sqq.*
- Goar, King of the Alani, v., 269.
- Godas, governor of Sardinia, vii., 88.
- Godegesil, brother of Gundobald, reigns in Geneva, vi., 225; joins Clovis, 226; killed by Gundobald, 227.
- Godescal, monk, x., 209.
- Godfrey of Bouillon, leads the first crusade, x., 215; character of, 216 *note*; in Hungary, 224; menaces Constantinople, 228; adopted by Alexius, 229; torn by a bear, 240-1; at Antioch, 243; piety of, 247; at siege of Jerusalem, 256 *sqq.*; defender and baron of Holy Sepulchre, *ib.*; death of, 260; assize of Jerusalem ascribed to, 264.
- Godfrey of Viterbo, Pantheon of, viii., 381 *note*.
- Godsigiclus, King of the Vandals, v., 174.
- Gog and Magog, imaginary wall of, vii., 73 *note*.
- Goguet, author of *Origines des Loix et des Arts*, vii., 30 *note*.
- Goisvintha, wife of Leovegild, vi., 201 and *note*.
- Gold and silver, proportion between, i., 69, 70 and *note*; in Arabia, ix., 4 and *note*.
- Gold of affliction, tribute levied on the poor, vii., 39 and *note*.
- Golden Bull, viii., 391-2 and *note*.
- Golden-footed Dame, leader of female Crusaders, x., 277.
- Golden Horde, kingdom of, xi., 187 and *note*.
- Golden Horn, iii., 93.
- Golden Mountains, *see* Caf.
- Golden spears, army of Chosroes II., viii., 109.

- Goletta, entrance to lake of Tunis, vii., 102; Spaniards in the fortress of, ix., 204.
- Gom, vii., 215.
- Gonderic, Prince of the Vandals, v., 343.
- Gondi Sapor, academy of physic at, vii., 201 and *note*.
- Gonfalonier, xii., 162.
- Gonfanon, Imperial, x., 374 and *note*.
- Gongylus, General, ix., 308 *note*.
- Gontharis, vii., 239 and *note*.
- Gontran, King of Burgundy, invades Septimania, vi., 263 *sq*.
- Gordian, father of Gregory the Great, viii., 42.
- Gordian I., Proconsul of Africa, i., 223; elevation and character, 224; reigns with his son, 225 *sqq.*; defeat and death of, 229 and *note*.
- Gordian II., i., 225 *sqq*.
- Gordian III., declared Cæsar, i., 232; emperor, 242 and *note*; Persian war, 243; death, 245.
- Gorgo, or Carizme, iv., 283.
- Gorgona, isle of, v., 131 *note*.
- Gorgonius, eunuch, protects the Christians, iii., 59.
- Görres, on the miracle of Tipasa, vi., 200 *note*.
- Gorski, his History of the Council of Florence, xi., 271 *note*.
- Gospels, ii., 331 *sq* and *note*.
- Goths, earliest mention of, i., 287 *note*; war of, with Decius, ii., 3, 12; origin, religion, and institutions of, 4 *sqq.*; emigrations of, 7 *sqq.*; invade Roman provinces, 11; obtain tribute from Gallus, 18; conquests of, in third century, 31 *sqq.*; attempt Thessalonica, 38 *note*, 66; invade Illyricum, 252; invade Moesia, iii., 187 *sqq.*; assist revolt of Procopius, iv., 247 *sq.*; war with Valens, 248 *sqq.*; driven by the Huns into Western provinces, 261; implore protection of Valens, 291; settled in Thrace, 292 *sqq.*; converted to Christianity, vi., 180 *sqq.*; settlement of, in Crimea, vii., 65 and *note*; said to have invoked demons to find treasure, xii., 209 *note*.
- Ostrogoths* [Gruthungi], name of, ii., 8 and *note*; war of, with Huns, iv., 287 *sq.*; defeat of, by Gratian, 333 *sqq.*; desolate Asia Minor under Tribigild, v., 299; conquered by Attila, vi., 8; revolt against Huns, 76; settle in Pannonia, 77; embrace Christianity, 182 *sq.*; invade Illyricum and Thrace, 301 *sqq.*; state of, in first years of Theodoric, 301 *note*; march to Italy, 308 *sqq.*; condition of, in Italy, 314 *sq.*; threatened by Belisarius, vii., 122; dissensions of, under Amalasontha, 124 *sqq.*; besiege Rome, 138 *sqq.*; raise the siege, 153; evacuate Pannonia, 177; revolt of, in Italy, 242 *sqq.*; besiege Rome, 250 *sqq.*; enter Rome, 254; lose Rome, 256; retake Rome, 261; kingdom of, destroyed by Narses, 279.
- Visigoths* [Thervingi], name of, ii., 8 and *note*; conquered by Hermanric, iv., 245; war of, with Huns, 286; revolt of, in Moesia, 297; win battle of Hadrianople, 313; siege of Hadrianople by the, 316 *sq.*; at Constantinople, 317; ravage the provinces, 318 *sqq.*; massacre of, in Asia, 320 *sq.*; division, defeat, and submission of, 329 *sqq.*; revolt of, after death of Theodosius I., v., 137 *sqq.*; ravage Greece, 139 *sqq.*; invade Italy, 148 *sqq.*; join Radagaisus, 166; besiege Rome, 225 *sqq.*; second siege of, by, 235 *sq.*; third siege and sack by, 241 *sq.*; character of, 242; occupy Italy, 254; march into Gaul, 256 *sq.*; in Spain, 274 *sqq.*; win permanent dominion in Gaul, 278; moderation of, 280 *sq.*; besiege Narbonne, vi., 44 *sq.*; conquered by Majorian, 110 *notes*; conversion of, from Arianism, 200; Theodoric protects, in Spain, 234; code of, 241 *note*, 267 *sq.*, 268 *note*; history of, in Spain, 265 *note*; of Gaul, assist Theodoric, 310; expedition to Africa under Theudes, vii., 121; lose part of Spain to Justinian, *ib.*; join John the Prefect against the Arabs, ix., 203 and *note*.
- Gotones, *see* Goths.
- Governolo, vi., 73 *note*.
- Gozelo, Duke, x., 215 *note*.

- Gozz, Oriental name for the Uzi, *q.v.*
- Gracchi, family of the, conversion of, v., 79.
- Grado, Isle of, vi., 70; viii., 13 and *note*.
- Grammar, teaching of, in the empire, iv., 200.
- Grampian Hills, i., 5 and *note*.
- Gran, German colony at, attacked by Tartars, xi., 147.
- Granaries, public, i., 156 *note*.
- Grand Signor, name of Turkish Sultans, xii., 54.
- Grant, *see* Johannes Grant.
- Graphia aurea urbis Romæ, xii., 87 *note*, 186 *note*.
- Grassé, palace of Vandal kings, vii., 98.
- Grasses, artificial, i., 67.
- Gratian, Count, father of Valentinian, iv., 181.
- Gratian, declared emperor by the British legions, v., 178.
- Gratian, son of Valentinian I., Emperor, passes the Rhine, iv., 216; reign, 257 *sq.*; made Augustus, *ib.*; marries Constantia, *ib.*; accepts Valentinian II. as colleague, 258; victory over the Alemanni, 307 *sq.*; associates Theodosius, 322; character, v., 1 *sqq.*; flight and death, 7 *sq.*, 8 *note*; friendship with Ambrose, 30, abolished pagan ceremonies, 74.
- Gratianopolis, in region of Chalkidike, xi., 113 *note*.
- Gratianus, magister militum, ix., 287 *note*.
- Gratus, Bishop of Carthage, iii., 406 *note*.
- Gray, poet, on the Nile, ix., 189 *note*.
- Greaves, on Roman coinage, vi., 106 *note*.
- Greaves, traveller, on the Seraglio, xi., 228 *note*.
- Greece, Christianity in, ii., 333; cities of, restored by Julian, iv., 41 *sq.*; invaded by Goths, 330 *note*; plundered by Alaric, v., 140 *sqq.*; coast of, attacked by Totila, vii., 262; Albanian invasion of, xi., 115 *note*; conquests of Bajazet in, 170. *See* Greeks.
- Greek Church, union with the Latin Church, viii., 182; discord with the Latin, x., 327 *sqq.*; reunion, xi., 73; dissolution of, 78; Council of Florence, 262 *sq.*; acts of union, 268 *sq.* and *note*; new schism, 296 *sq.*; under Turkish rule, xii., 56 and *notes*.
- Greek Empire, *see* Roman Empire.
- Greek fire, ix., 247 and *note*, 248 and *note*, 355.
- Greek language, i., 48; scientific idiom, 49; modern pronunciation, x., 234 *note*; xi., 286 and *note*; state of the, in fourteenth century, 272 *sq.*; loanwords in, *ib. note*.
- Greek learning, revival of, ix., 368 *sqq.*; in Italy, xi., 275 *sqq.*
- Greeks, return of, from Troy, vii., 95 and *note*; flight of, from Egypt, ix., 179; navy of, 355 *sq.*; their hatred of the Latins, x., 327 *sq.*, 333 *sqq.*; massacre the Latins, 335-6; xi., 14; quarrel of, with Latins in Constantinople, x., 369; revolt of, 1204 A.D., xi., 8 *sqq.*; knowledge of the, 245. *See* Greece.
- Green faction of the Hippodrome, vii., 19 *sqq.*
- Gregorian chant, *see* Gregory the Great.
- Gregorian code, vii., 316 and *note*.
- Gregorius Catinensis, Chronicon Farsense of, viii., 348 *note*.
- Gregorovius, Athenais of, v., 326 *note*; on schools of Athens, vii., 79 *note*; his History of Mediæval Rome, xii., 66 *note*; and in the notes of chaps. lix-lxi. *passim*.
- Gregory, of Agrigentum, Life of, ix., 208 *note*.
- Gregory, Archbishop of Alexandria, iii., 379.
- Gregory, Bar Hebræus, *see* Abulpharagius.
- Gregory, Bishop of Hadrianople, xi., 71.
- Gregory, Bishop of Langres, vi., 258 and *note*.
- Gregory I., the Great, Pope, on miracle of Tipasa, vi., 199, 200 and *note*; consulted by Recared, 204; papal nuncio, viii., 26; his aversion to classical monuments, 40 and *note*; birth and history, 42 *sqq.*; Lives of, *ib. note*; founds monasteries, 43 and *note*; pontificate of, 44 *sqq.*; Gregorian chant, 45 and *note*; his



- missionaries in Britain, 45-6; temporal government of, 46 *sq.*; alms of, 47; saves Rome, 48.
- Gregory II., Pope, viii., 321 *note*; champion of image worship, 324; letters of, 326 and *note*; convenes synod at Rome, 332.
- Gregory III., Pope, champions image worship, viii., 324.
- Gregory IV., Pope, demolishes the episcopal city of Ostia, v., 236.
- Gregory VII. [Hildebrand], reforms the papacy, viii., 379; letters of, ix., 231 and *note*; Lives of, x., 122 *note*; besieged by the Emperor Henry III., 122; his design for a crusade, 193 *sq.*; virtues of, xii., 70; founds the papal monarchy, 74; death, *ib.*
- Gregory IX., Pope, excommunicates Frederic II., x., 316.
- Gregory X., Pope, urges union of Greek and Latin Churches, xi., 74-5; mediation of, between Charles of Anjou and Michael VIII., 80; institutes the conclave, xii., 104 and *note*, 105.
- Gregory XI., Pope, supported by Viterbo, xii., 102 *note*; his return from Avignon, 157 *note*; death of, 159.
- Gregory XII., Pope, documents concerning, xii., 159 *note*; accession of, 162, 164 *sqq.*; abdicates, 166.
- Gregory XIII., Pope, xii., 171.
- Gregory of Cyprus, xi., 76 *note*.
- Gregory, *Illuminator*, ii., 340 *note*; apostle of Armenia, v., 333 *note*.
- Gregory, lieutenant of the exarch Heraclius, viii., 85.
- Gregory Nazianzen, ii., 184 *note*; at Athens with Julian, iii., 23 *note*; eloquence of, 329; supports Nicene doctrine, 355; on religious sects, 408; on Julian's elevation, iv., 9 *note*; calumniates Julian, 26 *note*; opposes Julian, 47 and *note*; account of earthquake at Jerusalem, 81; account of, v., 14 *sqq.*; birth, *ib.* *note*; his mission to Constantinople, 16 *sq.*; poem on his life, 15 *note*; Archbishop of Constantinople, 18 *sq.*; retreat of, 23; orations of, *ib.* *note*; death, 24; opposes Apollinaris, viii., 134.
- Gregory, nephew of Heraclius, ix., 196 *note*.
- Gregory of Nyssa, ii., 333 *note*.
- Gregory, Patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 1452, xii., 21.
- Gregory, prefect of Africa, ix., 193; revolts against Constans, *ib.* *note*; daughter of, 194; death, 195; fate of his daughter, 196 *note*.
- Gregory Thaumaturgus, ii., 34 *note*; miracles of, x., 9 and *note*.
- Gregory of Tours, translates the legend of the Seven Sleepers, v., 360; his account of Julian the Martyr, vi., 101 *note*; on death of Apollinaris, 233; on siege of Angoulême, 234 *note*; family of, 260 *note*.
- Grenada, given to ten thousand Syrians, ix., 224; suppression of Christians in, 232 and *note*.
- Grenoble (Gratianopolis), vi., 45 *note*.
- Grethungi, oppose Claudius, ii., 65 *note*. See Gruthungi.
- Gretser, on images, viii., 315 *note*.
- Grigor'ev, on the Palace at Serai, xi., 149 *note*.
- Grigori Presbyter, x., 32 *note*.
- Grimoald, Duke of Beneventum, viii., 365.
- Grocyn, xi., 290 *note*.
- Gronovius, James, iii., 259 *note*.
- Grotius, iii., 87; on political system of the Christians, 287 *note*; on royal succession, v., 338 *note*; on kingdom of the Visigoths, vi., 211 *note*; De Jure Belli, vii., 162 *note*; on origin of the Lombards, 178 *note*.
- Grubenhagen, principality of, xi., 103 *note*; silver mines of, *ib.* *note*.
- Grumbates, King of the Chionites, iii., 252.
- Gruter's Inscriptions, i., 84 *note*.
- Gruthungi, or Ostrogoths, defeat of, by Gratian, iv., 333 *sqq.*; subject to Attila, vi., 8. See under Goths and *cp.* Gruthungi.
- Gualterius Cancellarius, his History of Principality of Antioch, x., 261 *note*.
- Guardians and wards, Roman law of, vii., 354 *sq.*
- Gubazes, King of Lazica, vii., 221;

- allied himself with Nushirvan, 222; his war against Persia, 224 *sq.*; religion of, 227; his death, *ib.*
- Guðmarson, Ulf, xii., 157 *note.*
- Guelfs and Ghibelines, factions of, viii., 386; xii., 74, 121 and *note.*
- Guénéé, Abbé, on Palestine, v., 329 *note.*
- Guérard, on Capistrano, xi., 314 *note.*
- Guibert, historian of the crusades, x., 199 *note*, 233 and *note.*
- Guicciardini, history of, v., 251 *note*; xii., 176 *note.*
- Guido, Bernard, author of Lives of Popes, xii., 74 *note.*
- Guidobonus, Antonius, on Scanderbeg, xi., 320 *note.*
- Guignes, de, History of the Huns, iv., 267 *note*; on the Edrisites, ix., 301 *note*; on Zingis Khan, xi., 135 *note*; on the Ottoman dynasty, 155 *note.*
- Guiscard, Robert, defeats Leo IX., x., 95; birth and character, 96-7 *sqq.*; Duke of Apulia, 101; invades the Eastern Empire, 108 *sq.*; at Ot-ranto, 111; victory at Durazzo, 116; delivers Pope Gregory VII., 123; second expedition into Greece, 124; death, 126.
- Guizot, on the Assembly of the Seven Provinces, v., 287 *note.*
- Gundamund, King of the African Vandals, persecutes the Orthodox party, vi., 189.
- Gundelinda, wife of Theodatus, epistles of, vii., 128 *note.*
- Gundobald, Burgundian prince and nephew of Ricimer, vi., 141; acquired kingdom of Burgundy, 142 *note*; convenes an assembly of bishops at Lyons, 225; defeated by Clovis, 226; murders Godegesil, 227; establishes judicial combat, 247 *note.*
- Gunpowder, used by the Chinese, vi., 66 *note*; xi., 141; invention of, 230 *sq.*
- Guns, introduction of, into India, x., 149 *note.*
- Gunther, prior, his history of the German crusade, x., 352 *note*; his Ligurinus, xii., 79 *note.*
- Guntarius, King of the Burgundians, v., 269.
- Gür Khans, xi., 137 *note.*
- Gustavsburg, or Lupudunum, fortress repaired by Julian, iii., 272 and *note.*
- Gustavus Adolphus, attempts to form regiment of Laplanders, x., 40 *note.*
- Guy I., first Duke of Athens, xi., 90 *note.*
- Guy II., Duke of Athens, xi., 90 *note.*
- Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, x., 299; imprisoned, 300; released, 305; receives Cyprus, 338.
- Guy of Spoleto, relieves Rome, ix., 287 *note.*
- Guy Pallavicini, granted land by Boniface of Montferrat, xi., 7 *note.*
- Guyana, description of, by Buffon, xii., 191 *note.*
- Guzarat, kingdom of, conquered by Mahmud, x., 150.
- Gwent, spearman of, vi., 283.
- Gyarus, Isle of, i., 206.
- Gyllius, iii., 91 *note*; on equestrian statue of Justinian, xi., 295 *note.*
- HADRIAN I., Pope, condemns Iconoclasts, viii., 355; pontificate of, 356 *sq.*; allows Charlemagne to despoil Ravenna, xii., 195 *note.*
- Hadrian IV., Pope, xii., 82 and *note.*
- Hadrian, Pratorian prefect, v., 192 and *note.*
- Hadrian, Emperor, resigns Eastern conquests of Trajan, i., 9; character of, 10; pacific system of, *ib.*; rebellion of Jews under, *ib.* *note*; encouraged military exercises, 15, 16; monuments of, 55; adoption of, 95 and *note*; character, *ib.*; adopts Verus, *ib.*, 97, 134 *note*; makes Trebizond a port, ii., 33; letter of, 55 *note*; at Daphne, iv., 90 *note*; his Athenian library, vii., 77; mausoleum of, 142 and *note*; establishes Perpetual Edict, 312 and *note*; builds Pantheon at Rome, xii., 193 *note.*
- Hadrianople, battle of, ii., 255, 256; Gallus at, iii., 233 and *note*; siege of, by the Goths, iv., 300; Valens defeated at, 313 *sq.*; siege of, 316 *sq.*; siege of, by the Avars, viii., 72; by the Latins, xi., 15; younger

- Andronicus erects his standard at, 99; siege of, raised by the Bulgarians, 108; residence of Murad Sultan, 166 and *note*; taken by Amurath II., 222; royal school at, 228; saved by Amurath II., 303; palace of Mahomet II. at, xii., 12; Phrantzes at, 47; Mahomet at, A.D. 1453, 54; becomes a provincial town, *ib.*
- Hadrumentum, *see* Adrumetum.
- Hæmimontus, province of, iv., 312 *note*.
- Hæmus, Mount, retreat of the Goths at, ii., 68.
- Hænel, his edition of the Codex Theodosianus, vii., 316 *note*.
- Hafsa, daughter of Omar and wife of Mahomet, ix., 89.
- Hahn, M., xi., 115 *note*.
- Hainault, province of, iii., 161 *note*.
- Haiton, the Armenian, Tartar History of, x., 180 *note*; xi., 133 *note*.
- Hakem (Häkim), Fätimid, Caliph of Egypt, x., 185; sacrilege of, 186-7; date of, 185 *note*.
- Halberstadt, bishopric of, viii., 366.
- Halicz, Andronicus at, viii., 297.
- Halys, river, Heraclius on, viii., 103.
- Hamadanites (Hamdānids), Saracen dynasty of, ix., 304 and *note*, 311.
- Hamadhān, subdued by the Moslems, ix., 127 *note*; Bowides at, 229 *note*; x., 160.
- Hamscheu, Chinese royal residence, xi., 142.
- Hamyarites, Arabian tribe of, viii., 158 *note*.
- Hamza, uncle of Mahomet, conversion of, ix., 56; death, 68.
- Han, dynasty of, iv., 279.
- Hanbal, sect of, ix., 305.
- Hanbal, Ahmad Ibn, ix., 305 *note*.
- Hanîf, religious movement of, ix., 35 *note*; follow Mosailama, 112.
- Hannibal, ii., 126 *note*; passage of, over the Alps, 229 and *note*; before Rome, v., 199 *sq.*; camp of, at Mount Garganus, vii., 256 and *note*; introduces his ships into the harbour of Tarentum, xii., 34 *note*.
- Hannibalianus, brother of Constantine, iii., 173 and *note*.
- Hannibalianus, nephew of Constantine, iii., 173; Cæsar, 181; *Nobilissimi*, *ib.*; bore the title of *King*, *ib.*; lived at Cæsarea, 183; his kingdom, *ib.*; death, 194.
- Hanseatic League, vi., 293; viii., 389.
- Hapsburg, counts of, succeed to the empire, viii., 390.
- Harald Hardrada, in Sicily, x., 88 *note*.
- Haran, Temple of the Moon at, ix., 27.
- Harbii, proscribed sects of, ix., 226 *note*.
- Hardouin, Père, on the *Æneid*, ii., 317 *note*.
- Hardt, historian, on the Council of Constance, xi., 253 *note*.
- Harmatius, vi., 302.
- Harmozan, satrap of Abwaz and Susa, surrenders to Othman, ix., 128.
- Harpies, iii., 92 *note*.
- Harris, James, Commentary on Aristotle, ix., 273 *note*.
- Harris, Mr., his Philological Arrangements, ix., 370 *note*.
- Harris, Mr., of Salisbury, x., 382 *note*, 383 *note*.
- Hart, ford of the, crossed by Clovis, vi., 232.
- Harte, Mr., Essays on Agriculture, i., 67 *note*; History of Gustavus Adolphus, v., 318 *note*.
- Harun al-Rashid, his presents to Charlemagne, viii., 368 and *note*; wars with the Romans, ix., 278 *sq.*; ally of Charlemagne, *ib.*; x., 183.
- Haruspices, Tuscan, v., 81.
- Hasan, Governor of Egypt, ix., 202; defeated by the Moors, 205.
- Hasan, Hamdānid, ix., 304.
- Hasan, son of Ali, ix., 97; retires to ascetic life, 101; one of the twelve Imams, 105; marries daughter of Yezdegerd, 131 *note*.
- Hasan, the Janizary, at siege of Constantinople, xii., 43.
- Hashem (Hishām), Caliph, ix., 223, 252.
- Hashemites, family of Mahomet, ix., 24; refuse to acknowledge Abubekr, 92.
- Hatem (Hâtim), Arab, ix., 21.
- Hatfield, synod of, held by Theodore, Bishop of Britain, viii., 182 *note*.
- Hatra, or Atra (Al Hadr), i., 244 *note*; site of, iv., 165 *note*.
- Hauteville, Castle of, seat of Tancred, x., 97.

- Hauteville, John de, monk of St. Albans, iv., 8 *note*.
- Haverfield, Mr. F., v., 285 *note*.
- Havet, J., on the *Collatio Episcoporum*, vi., 226 *note*.
- Hawking among the Normans, x., 91 and *note*.
- Hawks, in possession of Bajazet, Sultan, xi., 175 *note*.
- Hawkwood, John, English mercenary, xi., 240 *sq.*; his name, *ib.* *note*.
- Hayton, on the Mongols, xi., 154 *note*.
- Hebal, statue of, ix., 24.
- Hebdomon, or field of Mars, *see* Constantinople; palace of, *see* Constantinople.
- Hebron, principality of, x., 266 *note*.
- Hebrus, ii., 256.
- Hegira (Hijra), era of, ix., 59 and *note*.
- Heineccius, on civil law, v., 298 *note*; vii., 302 *note*, 312 *note*.
- Heinemann, O. von, monograph on Æneas Sylvius, xii., 62 *note*.
- Hejaz, province of, ix., 5.
- Helena, city of, iii., 208 and *note*.
- Helena, consort of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, viii., 266; assumes administration, 267.
- Helena, daughter of Eudda, v., 6 *note*.
- Helena, daughter of Licinius, iii., 177 *note*.
- Helena, daughter of Robert Guiscard, x., 109.
- Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, ii., 204; iii., 179; her Christianity, 282 *note*; at Jerusalem, iv., 75.
- Helena, sister of Constantius II., marries Julian, iii., 238; death, iv., 14.
- Helenopolis, *see* Drepanum.
- Helepolis, iv., 130; used by the Avars, viii., 72 *note*.
- Heliodoros, Bishop of Altinum, v., 138 *note*.
- Helion, Patrician, invests Valentinian III. with the purple, v., 339.
- Heliopolis, captured by the Saracens, ix., 154 *sq.*; ruins of, 156 and *note*; pillaged by the Carmathians, 299.
- Hellebicus, general of Theodosius, v., 48, 49.
- Hellespont, battle at, between Pescennius Niger and Severus, i., 151; description of, iii., 94; naval victory of Fravitta over Gainas, v., 306; date of naval victory, 307 *note*.
- Helmichis, lover of Rosamund, viii., 15, 17.
- Helvetii, i., 285 *note*.
- Helvidius Priscus, i., 101 *note*, 102, 172 and *note*.
- Helvius Pertinax, *see* Pertinax.
- Helyot, on Monasticism, vi., 156 *note*.
- Hems, *see* Emesa.
- Henda, wife of Abu Sofyan, ix., 67-8.
- Hendinos, title of general or King of the Burgundians, iv., 218.
- Hengist and Horsa, vi., 269 *sq.*
- Henna, town of, taken by the Saracens, ix., 285 *note*.
- Henoticon, of Zeno, viii., 162 and *note*.
- Henry, brother of Baldwin I., takes the cross, x., 344; conquers Mourzoufle, 373; assumes the regency, xi., 16; reign and character of, 18 *sqq.*; death, 21.
- Henry I., King of France, marries granddaughter of Anne, daughter of Romanus II., viii., 268 and *note*; ix., 349.
- Henry II., Emperor, coronation of, xii., 85 *note*; besieges Rome, 1084 A.D., 187 *note*.
- Henry III., Emperor, visit of, to Southern Italy, 1047 A.D., x., 91 *note*; invited by the Greeks, 121; besieges Rome, 122; flies before Guiscard, 123.
- Henry III., King of Castile, sends embassy to Timour, xi., 212 *note*.
- Henry IV., of England, receives the Emperor Manuel, xi., 243-4.
- Henry IV., of France, compared with Clovis, vi., 224; with Belisarius, vii., 140.
- Henry V., Emperor, coronation of, xii., 67 *note*; called to Rome by the Frangipani, 76 *note*.
- Henry VI., Emperor, united Naples and Sicily to the empire, viii., 386; marries daughter of Roger, x., 142; conquers Sicily, 144.
- Henry the Fowler, viii., 372; title of, 373 *note*; defeats the Hungarians, x., 46 *sqq.*
- Henry, the Greek, of Brunswick, xi., 103 *note*.

- Henry the Wonderful, Duke of Brunswick, xi., 103 *notes*.
- Heparchy, Saxon, vi., 272 and *note*.
- Hera, Cave of, Mahomet retreats to, ix., 35; situation of, *ib. note*.
- Heracles, Egyptian bishop, ii., 335.
- Heraclea Pontica, siege of, by the Saracens, ix., 281 and *note*.
- Heraclea (Thracian), ii., 36, 141; taken by Maximin, 240, 241; Julian at, iv., 27; Genoese colony in, xi., 68.
- Heracleonas, viii., 222; reign, 223; exile of, *ib.*; ix., 167 *note*.
- Heracian, Count, slays Stilicho, v., 189; oppresses the family of Proba, 250; revolt of, in Africa, 263; death, 264.
- Heracianus, Prætorian prefect, ii., 60, 61 *note*.
- Heracitus, spurious epistles of, vii., 305 *note*.
- Heracius, Exarch of Africa, viii., 85.
- Heracius, favourite of Valentinian III., vi., 78; death, 81.
- Heracius I., Emperor, rebels against Phocas, viii., 85; made emperor, 86; distress of, 94 *sq.*; his campaigns against Persia, 100 *sqq.*; ecsthesis of, 179 *sq.*; a Maronite, 198; marries Martina, 221; date of his death, 222; children of, 221 *note*; receives Mahomet's ambassador, ix., 77; war with, 78 *sq.*; fortifies Palace of Blachernæ, xii., 20 *note*; daughter of, captured by Saracens, ix., 151; flight of, 166; death, 182; date of, *ib. note*.
- Heracius II., or Heracleonas, son of Heracius, viii., 222, 223; ix., 167 *note*.
- Heracius, son of Constans II., rebels against his brother, Constantine IV., viii., 226 *sq.*
- Heracius, son of Constantine IV., viii., 227.
- Heracius, the prefect, campaign of, against the Vandals in Africa, vi., 126 *sqq.*; his defeat, 130.
- Heræum, Palace of, *see* Constantinople.
- Herat, city of Khorasan, destroyed by Zingis, vi., 15; subdued by the Moslems, ix., 128; Magians in, 228; taken by the Mongols, xi., 138.
- Hercules, columns of, i., 26, 33; Roman, title of Commodus, 119.
- Herculians, guards of Diocletian, ii., 182 and *note*; of Julian, iv., 141.
- Herculius, title of Maximian, ii., 148.
- Hercynian Forest, ii., 75.
- Hereditary succession, i., 214 *sq.*
- Heredium*, of the first Romans, vii., 357.
- Heresy, beginning of, ii., 274; persecution of, iii., 332 *sqq.*; disabilities attached to, vi., 120 *note*.
- Hermæan promontory, Roman fleet at, vii., 102.
- Hermann, on Capistrano, xi., 314 *note*.
- Hermanric, King of the Ostrogoths, conquests of, iv., 245 *sq.*; wars with the Huns, 286 *sqq.*
- Hermanric, King of the Suevi, in Spain, v., 344.
- Hermapion, iii., 245 *note*.
- Hermecionites, vii., 192 *note*.
- Hermenegild, son of Leovegild, King of Spain, revolt of, vi., 201 *sq.*; death, 202 and *note*.
- Hermes, Christian forgery, ii., 347.
- Hermias, the philosopher, vii., 80.
- Herminianus, Claudius, ii., 86 *note*; severity towards the Christians, iii., 33 *note*.
- Hermits, vi., 175 *sq.* and *note*.
- Hermodorus, the Ephesian, vii., 305 and *note*.
- Hermogenes, general of the cavalry, iii., 401.
- Hermogenian code, vii., 316 and *note*.
- Hermunduri, i., 301 *note*.
- Hero and Leander, tale of, iii., 95 and *note*.
- Herod, son of Odenathus, ii., 85.
- Herodes Atticus, family of, i., 57; his education, *ib.*; public monuments, 58.
- Herodian, officer of Justinian, at Spoleto, vii., 259.
- Herodian, the historian, description of Imperial Palace, i., 168 *note*.
- Herodians, sect of, ii., 263 *note*.
- Herodotus, on polytheism, i., 36 *note*; on the Persian religion, 256; on the Syrians, ii., 263 *note*; description of Assyria, iv., 127 *note*; on the Scythians, 263 *note*.

- Hertzberg, Count de, on the Lombards, vii., 177 *note*.
- Hertzberg, G., vii., 79 *note*.
- Heruli, ii., 8, 9 *note*; body of, in Roman service, 38, 39 and *note*; legion of, in Gaul, iv., 3 and *note*; in Britain, 229; subdued by the Goths, 246; slaves of the, vi., 18 *note*; at the battle of Châlons, 61; allies of Theodoric, 316, 317 and *note*; at Constantinople, in the Nika riots, vii., 25; join the expedition of Belisarius to Africa, 92; defeated by the Lombards, 179; serve under Narses, 266.
- Herzegovina, Prince of, opposes the Ottomans, xi., 168 *note*.
- Hesnus, Arab, ix., 21 *note*.
- Hessels, J. H., edition of the Salic law, vi., 242 *note*.
- Hesychasts, or Quietists, xi., 118.
- Hexamilion (wall of Manuel), xi., 251 and *note*; xii., 57.
- Heyne, edition of Virgil by, vii., 274 *note*.
- Hia, land of the, conquered by Zingis, xi., 135 *note*.
- Hierapolis, in Syria, Constantius at, iv., 24; granaries of, 112; Julian at, 118 and *note*, 119; besieged by Nushirvan, vii., 208; Chosroes at, viii., 63; taken by the Saracens, ix., 168; recovered, 311.
- Hierarchy, imperial, iii., 113 *sq.*
- Hierocles, i., 188 *note*.
- Hierocles, wrote review of the Eastern provinces, vii., 29 *note*.
- Hieroglyphics, iii., 244 *sq.* and *note*.
- Hieromax, or Yermuk, *q.v.*
- Hilâl, an Arab, slays Rustum, x., 122 *note*.
- Hilarion, St., iv., 260 *note*.
- Hilarion, the Syrian anachoret, vi., 161; life of, *ib. note*; voyage of, 162 *note*.
- Hilarius, senator of Antioch, v., 47; made governor of Palestine, 50.
- Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, iii., 357, 358 and *note*; on the *Homoiousion*, 361, 362 and *note*; account of Council of Antioch, 379 *note*; banishment, 387; tomb of, destroyed by the Saracens, ix., 254.
- Hilary, Pope, censures the religious toleration of Anthemius, vi., 124 and *note*.
- Hildegardis, daughter of Lewis the Pious, xii., 80 *note*.
- Hilderic, King of the African Vandals, religious toleration of, vi., 190 *sq.*; daughters of, educated by Justinian, vii., 116.
- Hilderic, Vandal prince, religious toleration of, vii., 85; deposed by Gelimer, 86.
- Hildesheim, bishopric of, viii., 366.
- Hildibald, commander of the Goths of Italy, vii., 243; death, *ib.*
- Hilleh, village of, iii., 200.
- Himerius, general, expedition against Crete, ix., 308.
- Hincmar of Rheims, v., 286 *note*; Life of Remigius, vi., 220 *note*; on baptism of Clovis, *ib. note*; pastoral letter composed by, ix., 258 *note*.
- Hindoos, religion of, ix., 227 *note*.
- Hindostan, conquest of, by the Mongols, xi., 143, 190 *sq.*
- Hiong-nou, iv., 267 *note*, 275 *note*, 282 *note*.
- Hipparchus, astronomer, ix., 26 *note*.
- Hippocrates, aphorisms of, translated by Constantine, x., 104 *note*.
- Hippodrome, *see* Constantinople.
- Hippolytus, Bishop, works of, viii., 127 *note*.
- Hippo Regius, colony of, v., 350; city of, *ib. note*; siege of, 351 *sq.*; Belisarius at, vii., 107; conquered by Roger of Sicily, x., 132.
- Hira, vii., 205; ix., 13; reduced by Caled, 119; foundation of, *ib. note*.
- Hirth, F., vii., 32 *note*.
- Hismahelitæ, Slavonians, x., 49 *note*.
- Hittin, battle of, x., 300.
- Hobal, deity of the Caaba, ix., 68.
- Hocsemius, John, xii., 128 *note*.
- Hodaibiya, treaty of, between Mahomet and the Koreish, ix., 72.
- Hodgkin, Mr., on Ambrose, v., 35 *note*; on Alaric, 147 *notes*; on journey of Stilicho, 174 *note*, 181 *note*; on Claudian, 193 *note*; on Alaric's army, 231 *note*, 242 *note*; on passage of the Vandals, 345 *note*; on Huns at Troyes, vi., 54 *note*; references to, 300 *note*,

- 301 *note*; 308 *notes*, 321 *note*, 322 *note*, 343 *note*; vii., 93 *note*, 143 *note*, 156 *note*, 268 *note*.
- Hody, Humphry, Dr., on revival of Greek learning, xi., 275 *note*, 281 *note*.
- Hoensbroech, Count Paul von, on miracle of Tipasa, vi., 200 *note*.
- Hoeschlius of Augsburg, prints Greek text of Procopius, vii., 8 *note*.
- Holagou (Hülägü) Khan, grandson of Zingis, xi., 143 and *note*.
- Holin, *see* Caracorum.
- Holstenius, Lucas, monastic rule, vi., 166 *note*.
- Holwān, hill fortress of, Yezdegerd at, ix., 126 *note*; taken by the Moslems, *ib. note*.
- Holy Island, at mouth of the Tiber, v., 236 *note*.
- Holy Lance, legend of, x., 248 *sq.*
- Holy Year, *see* Jubilee.
- Homer, mythology of, i., 37 and *note*; Læstrygons in Italy, vi., 298 and *note*; vii., 19 *note*, 29 *note*, 92 *note*; Syriac version of, ix., 277 *note*; Florence edition of, 1488, xi., 290 *note*.
- Homerites, vii., 231 *sqq.*; monuments of the, ix., 19.
- Homicide, pecuniary fines for, vi., 243 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Homœans, sect of, iii., 359.
- Homojousians, Arian sect of, iii., 358.
- Homœousians, iii., 358; iv., 203; persecuted under Valens, v., 14.
- Homœousion, term, iii., 354, 355 and *note*.
- Honain [Ibn Ishāk], Arabian physician, ix., 272 *note*.
- Honain, war of, ix., 75; battle of, 75-6.
- Hongvou, founder of dynasty of Ming, xi., 211.
- Honoratus, Bishop of Milan, viii., 14.
- Honorians, troops called, v., 180 and *note*; betray Spain to the Goths, 272 and *note*.
- Honoria, sister of Valentinian III., education, vi., 51; exile, *ib.*; negotiations with Attila, *ib.*; medal struck with portrait of, *ib. note*; imprisonment, 53.
- Honorius I., Pope, condemned by the third Council of Constantinople, viii., 180 *note*.
- Honorius III., Pope, crowns Peter of Courtenay, xi., 22; his nepotism, xii., 116 *note*.
- Honorius, succeeds to Empire of the West, v., 67, 107; marriage, 134; character, 135; flight from Milan, 150 *sq.*; triumph of, at Rome, 159; abolishes gladiatorial shows, 160 and *notes*; at Ravenna, 161 *sqq.*; associates Constantius in the empire, 335; death, 336; persecuted the Donatists, 346.
- Horace, description of Mount Garganus, vii., 256 *note*.
- Hormisdas, Pope, iv., 189 *note*.
- Hormisdas, Prince of Persia, iii., 244 *note*; general of Julian, iv., 124 *sq.* and *note*; advice of, refused, 130; receives messages from Sapor, 143; son of, 189 and *note*.
- Hormuz contends with Narses for throne of Persia, ii., 168.
- Hormuz, son of Nushirvan, vices of, viii., 54-5; authorities for account of, 56 *note*; accepts help of the Turks, 57; treatment of Bahram, 59; deposed and imprisoned, 60; death, 62.
- Hormuz, *see* Ram Hormuz.
- Horologoi, office of the, ix., 338 *note*.
- Horses, Roman cavalry, i., 18; Arabian, ix., 6 *sqq.*; price of war horses in kingdom of Jerusalem, x., 270 and *note*.
- Horta, rebuilt by Leo IV., ix., 290.
- Hortaire, King of the Alamanni, iii., 272.
- Hosein, son of Ali, at siege of Constantinople, ix., 102; insurrection of, *ib.*; flight and death, 103-4; one of the twelve Imams, or pontiffs, 105.
- Hosein, *see* Houssein.
- Hospitallers, knights, at Rhodes, xi., 161.
- Hostilianus, son of Decius, made emperor by the senate, ii., 18.
- Hottoman, Francis, lawyer of the sixteenth century, vii., 302 *note*.
- Houses, Roman, rent of, v., 224; number of, and two classes of, *ib.*
- Houssaie, Amelot de la, his History of Venice, vi., 71 *note*.

- Houssein, Emir, xi., 185; death of, *ib.*
- Hoveden, Roger, xii., 90 *note.*
- Howell, History of the World, iii., 137 *note.*
- Howorth, Sir H., on the Avars, viii., 68 *note*; on the Karaits, xi., 130 *note.*
- Hugh Capet, founder of Capetian race, x., 196 and *note.*
- Hugh, Count of Vermandois, leader in the first crusade, x., 216, 226; captured by Alexius Comnenus, 226, 229; returns to France, 247.
- Hugh de Reiteste, vii., 68 *note.*
- Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, at the third crusade, x., 307, 309 *note.*
- Hugh, King of Burgundy, introduced into Rome by Marozia, viii., 380.
- Hugh, son of Azzo of Lombardy, x., 109 *note.*
- Hughes, Mr., author of Siege of Damascus, ix., 149 *note.*
- Hugo, King of Italy, marriage of, x., 346, 347.
- Huldin, chief of the Huns, joins Stilicho, v., 168.
- Hume, History of Religion, i., 36 *note*, 143 *note*, 286; on theism and polytheism, v., 104 *note*; on ancient population, 223 *note*; on crime, vii., 373 *note*; on ecclesiastical government, xii., 177.
- Humphrey, son of Tancred of Hauteville, x., 97; death, 99.
- Hungarians, war of, with Manuel Comnenus, viii., 292; establishment and inroads of, x., 42 *sqq.* See Magyars.
- Hungary, Great, on the Volga, iv., 283 and *note.*
- Hungary, Huns in, vi., 2 *sq.*; Scythian colonies in, 2 *note*; conversion of, x., 187; devastated by the Crusaders, 211; opposes Godfrey of Bouillon, 224; invaded by the Mongols, xi., 147 *sq.*; by the Ottomans, 171 *sq.*; truce with Turkey, 1451 A.D., xii., 31 *note.*
- Huniades, John, campaign against the Turks, xi., 306 *sqq.*; defeated at Warna, 310-11; birth and family of, 313 and *note*; second defeat and flight, 314; defends Belgrade against Mahomet II., *ib.*; death, 315; ambassador of, at siege of Constantinople, xii., 32 and *note.*
- Huneric, son of Genseric, King of the Vandals, v., 354; marries Eudocia, vi., 118; persecutes the Catholics, 189; calls a conference of bishops at Carthage, 191; delivers Roman citizens to the Moors, 193; restores the cathedral at Carthage, 195.
- Huns, origin, iv., 275 and *note*; conquests and wars, *ib. sqq.*; decline of, 279; emigrations of, 281; white, 282 and *note*; of the Volga, 283; subdue the Alani, 285 *sq.*; victories over the Goths, 286 *sq.*; conquered by Shelun, v., 165; join Alaric, 230; on the Illyrian frontier, 233; under Attila, vi., 1 *sqq.*; in Hungary, 2 *note*; intercourse with the Goths, 17; religious opinions of, 16 and *note*; mechanic arts encouraged by, 17; language of, *ib.* and *note*; invade Gaul, 53 *sqq.*; invade Italy, 66 *sqq.*; said to have invaded Britain, 271 and *note.*
- Huntingdon, Henry of, vi., 274 *note.*
- Hyader, river, ii., 195 *note.*
- Hycsos, or shepherd kings, ix., 16 *note.*
- Hymettus, Mount, honey of, xi., 92 and *note.*
- Hypæpe, city of Asia, i., 62 *note.*
- Hypatia, daughter of Theon, teaches at Alexandria, viii., 139; death, *ib.*
- Hypatius, nephew of the Emperor Anastasius, crowned at Constantinople, vii., 26; death, 28; besieges Amida, 69 *note.*
- Hyperides, ix., 371.
- Hyphasis, Alexander the Great at, i., 35.
- Hyrkania, subdued by Nushirvan, vii., 230.
- Hyssus, fortifications of, vii., 219.
- IAMBlichus, neo-Platonist, iv., 52, 56 *note.*
- Iamblichus, one of the seven sleepers, v., 359.
- Iazygia, settlement of the Gepidæ, vii., 177 *note.*
- Ibas of Edessa, viii., 175.
- Ibelin, see John d'Ibelin.



- Iberia, i., 8; conversion of, ii., 340 and *note*; attacked by Sapor, iv., 239.
- Iberian and Caspian gates, vii., 72 and *note*.
- Ibn Abd al-Hakam, historian, ix., 184 *note*, 185 *note*, 191 *note*.
- Ibn Alwardi, author of chart, ix., 235 *note*.
- Ibn Ishāk, on expedition of Abrahah, ix., 30 *note*.
- Ibn Khaldūn, ix., 191 *note*.
- Ibn Khateb, ix., 224 *note*.
- Ibn Kutaiba, ix., 30 *note*.
- Ibn Shuna, *see* Ebn Schounah.
- Ibrāhīm = Ibrahim.
- Ibrahim, chief of the Abbassides, ix., 259; death, 260.
- Ibrahim, grandson of Eba the Elder, ix., 223.
- Ibrahim, infant son of Mahomet, ix., 90.
- Ibrahim, Prince of Shirwan or Albania, submits to Timour, xi., 186.
- Ibrahim, son of Aglab, ix., 301.
- Ibrahim, son of Sharokh, xi., 205 *note*.
- Ibrahim, vizir of Murād II., xi., 221 and *note*.
- Icasia, viii., 252 and *note*.
- Iceni, British tribe, i., 26.
- Ichoglans, Turkish class of, xi., 228.
- Ichthyophagi of Gedrosia, i., 262 *note*; on the shores of the Persian Gulf, ix., 5 and *note*.
- Iconium, or Cogni, Crusaders at, x., 241; Seljuk capital, 273 and 274 *note*; taken by Frederick Barbarossa, 282; battle of, xi., 160 *note*.
- Iconoclasts, extirpation of, viii., 253; rise of, 316 *sqq.*
- Idatius, on passage of the Vandals, v., 344 *note*; spurious Fragment of Chronicle of, vi., 54 *note*; Bishop of Iria Flavia, 99 *note*; account of the Suevic war, *ib.*; in Galicia, 112 *note*.
- Idolatry, ii., 280 and *note*; iii., 414 and *note*.
- Idrisids, *see* Edrisites.
- Ieroslaus [Yaroslav], of Halicz (not of Kiev), viii., 297.
- Iftikhar, *see* Aladin.
- Igilgilis, or Gigeri, iv., 234.
- Igilium, Isle of, resists the Goths, v., 248, 249 and *note*.
- Igmazen, King of the Isafenses, iv., 235 *sqq.*
- Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, restored, x., 331 and *note*.
- Ignatius, St., ii., 312 *note*; Acts and Epistles of, iii., 34 *note*; on martyrdom, 43; epistle of, to the Smyrnæans, viii., 127 *note*.
- Igor, son of Ruric, x., 60.
- Igours, Vigours, or Onigors, Tartar race of, iv., 276 and *note*; destroy the kingdom of the Huns, vi., 77; art of writing among the, xi., 132 and *note*.
- Ikshidids, Saracen dynasty of, ix., 303 and *note*.
- II Khans, dynasty of the, xi., 143 *note*.
- Ilderim, surname of Bajazet, xi., 169 and *note*.
- Ildico, wife of Attila, vi., 74.
- Ilerda, or Lerida, ii., 26 *note*.
- Ilium, ii., 179 *note*.
- Illiberis, Council of, ii., 326; iii., 13 *note*; decree concerning martyrs, 44 *note*; concerning images, viii., 310 and *note*.
- Illustres, rank of, iii., 114.
- Illyricum, i., 27 and *note*; Julian in, iv., 19; prefecture of, dismembered, 333; divided between Arcadius and Honorius, v., 107; Western Illyricum ceded to Constantinople, 339 and *note*; seven provinces of, vii., 59; diocese of, separated from Rome, viii., 355 and *note*.
- Imād-ad-dawla, his principality, ix., 305 *note*.
- Images, worship of, viii., 309 *sqq.*; "made without hands," 315 and *note*; condemned by Council of Constantinople, 320; restored by second Council of Nice, 350.
- Imāms, twelve Persian, ix., 105 and *note*.
- Imaus, Mount (or Caf), iv., 273; *see* Caf.
- Imbros, Demetrius Palæologus, Lord of, xii., 58.
- Imma, daughter of Charlemagne, marries Eginhard, viii., 360 *note*.
- Immæ, battle of, i., 183 *note*; ii., 87 *note*.
- Immortality of the soul, doctrine of the, ii., 284 *sqq.*
- Immortals, royal Persian cavalry, iv.,

- 158 and *note*; v., 330; put to flight by Belisarius, vii., 90; of John Zimisces, x., 66.
- Imperator, i., 78 and *note*; later meaning of, ii., 183.
- Ina, King of Wessex, viii., 329 *note*.
- Incarnation, history of the doctrine of, viii., 122 *sqq.*
- Incendiarism, law concerning, vii., 373 *sq.*
- Incest, Roman law of, vii., 352 *sq.*
- India, Roman trade with, i., 69, 70 and *notes*; ambassadors to Constantine from, iii., 191 and *note*; Christians of St. Thomas in, viii., 191 and *note*.
- Indian commodities taxed by Alex. Severus, i., 208 and *note*.
- Indians, vii., 286 *note*.
- Indictions, iii., 154 *sqq.* and *notes*.
- Indo-Scythæ, vii., 69 *note*.
- Indulgences, to the emperors, vii., 313 and *note*; practice of, x., 204.
- Infanticide (by exposing), Constantine's law against, ii., 250; Christians try to prevent, 323; vii., 344 and *note*.
- Infantry, Roman, lay aside their armour, v., 69.
- Infessura, Stephen, xii., 174 *note*, 180.
- Ingenuus, citizen of Narbonne, v., 259.
- Ingenuus, Emperor, ii., 50, 53.
- Ingo, King of Sweden, ii., 5 *note*.
- Ingulphus, secretary of William the Conqueror, x., 188.
- Ingundis, consort of Hermenegild, persecuted by Goisvintha, vi., 201.
- Inheritance, Roman law of, vii., 359 *sq.*
- Inigo, or Ignatius, founder of the Jesuits, vi., 174 *note*.
- In jure cessio*, process of, vii., 357 *note*.
- Injuries, Roman law concerning, vii., 370 *sq.*
- Innocent I., Bishop of Rome, supposed superstition of, v., 228.
- Innocent II., Pope, election of, x., 130; xii., 77; condemns Arnold, 80 and *note*, 82; his triumph over Anacleto, 116.
- Innocent III., Pope, persecutes the Albigois, x., 20; promotes fourth and fifth crusades, 312 *sqq.*; negotiations with Bulgarians, 338 *note*, 339; biography of, 342 *note*; proclaims fourth crusade, *ib.*; account of pillage of Constantinople, 377; letters of, xi., 4 and *note*; reforms the office of prefect, xii., 89.
- Innocent VI., Pope, his treaty with John Palæologus, xi., 238; his pontificate, xii., 152.
- Innocent VII., Pope, xii., 162.
- Innocent XI., Pope, xii., 179 *note*.
- Inquisitors, religious, under Theodosius, v., 26.
- Institutes of Justinian, vii., 329 *sqq.*, 337 *sqq.*; of Caius, 337 and *note*.
- Insula*, or Roman lodging-house, v., 224 and *note*.
- Interamnia, Septimius Severus at, i., 146.
- Interest, Roman law of, vii., 369 *sq.*
- Interregnum, A.D. 275, ii., 103, 104.
- Intiline, province of, ceded to the empire, ii., 176 and *note*.
- Inveges, Augustine monk of Palermo, x., 97 *note*.
- Iona, Isle of, monastery at, vi., 162; library and tombs of, 163 *note*.
- Ionia*, work ascribed to an Empress Eudocia, v., 327 *note*.
- Iphicles, deputy of Epirus, iv., 254 and *note*.
- Irāk, conquered by the Saracens, ix., 122; extent of, *ib. note*; Bowides at, 229 *note*.
- Iran, or Persia, vii., 196.
- Ireland, iv., 225.
- Irenæus, ii., 290 and *note*; preaches in Gaul, 295; works of, viii., 127 *note*.
- Irene, daughter of Theodore Lascaris, xi., 56.
- Irene, or Pansophia, viii., 158 and *note*.
- Irene, wife of John Cantacuzene, xi., 108; defends Constantinople, 124; besieged in Demotica, 163; invites Amir to Constantinople, *ib.*
- Irene, wife of Leo IV., Emperor of Constantinople, crowned with her son, viii., 238; her connection with Charlemagne, 373; letter of Nicephorus concerning, ix., 280; reign, viii., 240 *sqq.*; restored images, *ib.*; canonised, *ib.*; banished by her son, *ib.*; restored, 242-3; dethroned and banished to Lesbos by Niceph-

- orus, 243; Life of, 252 *note*;  
 restoration of images by, 350 *sq.*  
 Irene, wife of Philip of Swabia, x., 341.  
 Irgana-kon, Mountain of, vii., 186 *note.*  
 Irnac, youngest son of Attila, vi., 33;  
 retires to Lesser Scythia, 77; king-  
 dom of, destroyed by the Igours,  
*ib.*  
 Iron, Siberian, vii., 186 and *note.*  
 Isa, son of Bajazet, xi., 218.  
 Isaac, an Armenian archbishop, v., 332.  
 Isaac, grandson of Eba the Elder, ix.,  
 223.  
 Isaac I., Comnenus, viii., 280 *sq.*; in the  
 Abbey of Studion, 282.  
 Isaac II., Angelus, accession, viii., 304  
*sq.*; reign, 306 *sq.*; defeats the  
 Normans, x., 140; policy of,  
 towards Crusaders, 277, 280; char-  
 acter and reign, 336 *sqq.*; de-  
 posed by Alexius, 340; restored,  
 366-7 *sq.*; death, 373.  
 Isaac, lieutenant of Belisarius, vii., 253.  
 Isaac, son of Alexius Comnenus, made  
*Sebastocrator*, viii., 289; sons of,  
 294.  
 Isaac, son of John Comnenus, imprison-  
 ment of, viii., 291; restoration of,  
 x., 366 *sq.*  
 Isaiah of Rhodes, disgrace of, vii., 382.  
 Isamus, station of, viii., 254 *note.*  
 Isar, Atiz, expedition of, x., 189 *note.*  
 Isaurians, rebellion of, ii., 56 *sq.*; de-  
 feated by Probus, 116; besiege  
 Seleucia, iii., 237; iv., 290; in-  
 vade Palestine, v., 318; army of,  
 levied by Leo, vi., 121; destruc-  
 tion of, *ib. note*; invaded Asia, vii.,  
 63; defeated in Phrygia by the  
 Goths, 64; betray Rome to the  
 Goths, 253, 254; betray Rome a  
 second time, 261.  
 Iscander, *see* Escander.  
 Isdigune, ambassador of Chosroes, vii.,  
 228.  
 Isidore, Archbishop of Russia, made  
 cardinal, xi., 299 and *note*; im-  
 prisoned, *ib.*; epistle of, to Nicho-  
 las V., xii., 6 *note*; Papal legate,  
 21; his escape, 48 and *note.*  
 Isidore of Badajoz, ix., 208 *note.*  
 Isidore of Pelusium, v., 87 *note*; friend  
 of Cyril of Alexandria, viii., 136  
 and *note.*  
 Isidore of Seville, iii., 187 *note*; v., 170  
*note*; on passage of the Vandals,  
 v., 344 *note*; monastic rule of, vi.,  
 168 *note*, 169 *note*; on Sisebut, 206  
*note*; History of the Visigoths, 265  
*note.*  
 Isidore, pupil of Proclus, vii., 79; Life  
 of, *ib. note*; leaves Athens, 80.  
 Isidore, the Milesian, architect, vii., 51.  
 Isis and Serapis, Temple of, i., 41 and  
*note*; v., 85.  
 Islam, faith of, ix., 35 *sq.*; derivation of  
 name, *ib. note*; description of, 46  
*sqq.*; belief concerning the Resur-  
 rection, 49; Hell and Paradise of,  
 50; tolerant spirit of, 226; propa-  
 gation of, *ib.*  
 Ismael = Ismäil.  
 Ismael, ancestor of the Arabs, ix., 10.  
 Ismael Beg, Prince of Sinope, xii., 59  
 and *note.*  
 Ismael, son of Jafar al-Sadik, ix., 297  
*note.*  
 Ismael, the Seljuk, x., 154.  
 Ismaelians of Persia, *see* Assassins.  
 Ismäil Hamza, brother-in-law of Ma-  
 homet II., xii., 36 *note.*  
 Isocrates, iv., 13 *note*; vii., 74, 76; on  
 musical contests, xii., 125 *note.*  
 Isonzo, battle of the, vi., 309.  
 Ispahan, Heraclius at, viii., 107; taken  
 by the Moslems, ix., 127 *note*;  
 Magian religion at, 229; Bowide  
 dynasty in, 230 *note*; Malek Shah  
 at, x., 176; Timour at, xi., 193;  
 destroyed by Timour, 216.  
*Israelite*, a club, iii., 406.  
 Issus, city of, camp of Heraclius at, viii.,  
 101 and *note.*  
 Ister, Lower Danube, i., 29 and *note.*  
 Isthmus of Corinth, wall of the, ii.,  
 37 *note*; games of, iv., 42; trans-  
 portation of fleet over, xii., 34 *note*;  
 Turks at, 57-8.  
 Istria, i., 27; campania of, vi., 328.  
 Italian language (modern), formation  
 of, viii., 31 and *note.*  
 Italians, separation of, from the Goths,  
 under Theodoric, vi., 315.  
 Italica, honorary colony, i., 46 *note*;  
 iv., 323 *note.*  
 Italy, described, i., 26, 27; distinct from  
 the provinces, 43 and *note*; Gothic  
 invasion of, v., 167 *sqq.*; ports of,

- closed by Stilicho, 190 *note*; laws for the relief of, 262; Western Empire consists of the kingdom of, vi., 116; under Odoacer, 153 *sqq.*; partition of, under Theodoric the Ostrogoth, 313 *sq.*; civil government of, 321 *sqq.*; state of, 327 *sqq.*; invasion of Belisarius, vii., 132 *sqq.*; invasion of Franks, 160; subdued by Narses, 277 *sqq.*; settlement of, 280; the Lombards in, viii., 13 *sqq.*; distress of, 26 *sq.*; revolts from Leo the Isaurian, 329 *sqq.*; Byzantine dominion continues in, till time of Charlemagne, 332 and *note*; Charlemagne's empire in, 365; rise of cities in, 384 *sq.*; Hungarian invasion, x., 44 *sqq.*; Saracens, Latins, and Greeks in, 75 *sqq.*; Theme of, 79 *note*; Normans in, 83; revival of Greek learning in, xi., 275 *sqq.*; Rienzi's idea of a confederation of, xii., 137 *sq.*; compared with France by Petrarch, 155 and *note*.
- Ithacius, Catholic Presbyter, v., 29 and *note*.
- Ithobal, King of Tyre, vii., 295 *note*.
- Itineraries, i., 64 *note*; of the Bordeaux pilgrim, iv., 75 *note*; of Antoninus, 178 *note*, 303 *note*, v., 15 *note*, 153 *note*.
- Itinerarium regis Ricardi, x., 310 *note*.
- JAAFAR, kinsman of Mahomet, death of, ix., 78.
- Jaafar, sixth Imām, ix., 106 *note*.
- Jabalan, chief of the Christian Arabians, ix., 157; exile of, in Byzantium, 159 and *note*.
- Jablonski, viii., 144 *note*, 153 *note*.
- Jabril, general of Harun al-Rashid, ix., 281 *note*.
- Jacob, son of Leith, ix., 302 and *note*.
- Jacobites or Monophysites, viii., 177; submission of, in Egypt, to the Saracens, ix., 177; friendly to the Saracens, 233 and *note*.
- Jadera, *see* Zara.
- Jaen, legion of Kinnisrin or Chalcis at, ix., 224.
- Jaffa, county of (with Ascalon), x., 266 *note*; town of, taken by Crusaders, 308; surprised by Saladin, 309; lost by the Franks, 324.
- Jalal ad-Din Hasan, Ismaelian prince, xi., 143 *note*.
- Jalāl ad-Din Mangbarti, *see* Gelaeddin.
- Jalūla, battle of, ix., 126.
- James de Delayto, xi., 207 *note*.
- James of Sarug, Syrian bishop, v., 360 and *note*; homily on the Seven Sleepers, by, viii., 314 *note*.
- James, St., Bishop of Edessa, miracles of, iii., 203 *note*.
- James, St., Legend of, in Spain, ii., 339 and *note*.
- Jami (mosques), xii., 55.
- Jane, daughter of Emperor Baldwin, xi., 17.
- Jane, Queen of Naples, sells Avignon, xii., 110 and *note*; strangles her husband, 139.
- Jane, sister of the Count of Savoy, *see* Anne of Savoy.
- Janiculum, *see* Rome.
- Janizaries, instituted by Alā-ad-Din, xi., 58 *note*, 167-8 and *note*; at the Byzantine Court, 263 and *note*; adoption among, xii., 37.
- Jansenists, ii., 293 *note*; v., 352 *note*.
- Januarius, St., blood of, x., 185 *note*.
- Janus, Temple of, vii., 143.
- Jaroslau, Yaroslav, ix., 349 and *note*; x., 61; college of, 73.
- Jason, hostage in Alaric's camp, v., 197.
- Jaxartes, river, ix., 129 and *note*.
- Jazberin, vi., 28 and *note*.
- Jazyges, Sarmatian tribe, i., 301 *note*; ii., 10; iii., 186.
- Jeffery of Monmouth, vi., 277.
- Jehan Numa, palace of Mahomet II., xii., 12.
- Jerom, St., on the Council of Rimini, iii., 363 *note*; dialogue of, iv., 100 *note*; on the clergy, iv., 209 *note*; on the ravages of the Goths, iv., 319.
- Jeroslaus, *see* Jaroslau.
- Jerusalem, kingdom of, x., 260 *sqq.*; decline of, 298; female succession in, *ib. note*; conquered by Saladin, 300 *sq.*
- Jerusalem, temple of, destroyed by fire, iii., 24; Christian church at, 321 and *note*; Julian's design to rebuild it, iv., 77, 78 *sqq.*; Church of the Holy Virgin at, vii., 56; city of, described, iv., 74, 75; spoils of

- temple at, taken from Rome to Carthage, vi., 90; taken by Chosroes, viii., 89; Monophysite tumults at, 161; taken by the Saracens, ix., 160 *sqq.*; Omar's mosque at, 162 and *note*; conquered by the Turks, x., 174, 182 *sq.*; sacrilege of the Holy Sepulchre at, 187; miraculous flame in the Holy Sepulchre, 184 and *note*; besieged by Afdal, 252; by the Crusaders, 254 *sqq.*; population of, 255 *note*; water supply of, *ib. note*; St. Stephen's Gate at, 256; tower of Psephina in citadel of, 257 *note*; Assise of, 264 *sqq.*; principality of, 266 *note*; Christians of, despoiled by Saladin, 295; taken by Saladin, 301 *sq.*; mosque of Omar at, 303; Richard I. near, 309 and *note*.
- Jesuits, mission of, in Abyssinia, viii., 211 *sqq.*; expulsion of, 213-4.
- Jews, rebellion of, under Hadrian, i., 10 *note*; character of, ii., 263 *sq.*; zeal of, 264 *sqq.*; under the Asmonæan princes, 288; cruelties of, iii., 3; under Nero, 22; of Alexandria, 340; Julian's letter to, iv., 73 and *note*; synagogue of, destroyed at Callinicum, v., 53 and *note*; conversion of, at Minorca, 103 *note*; exemption of, from municipal offices, 340 *note*; persecution of, in Spain, vi., 205 *sqq.*; persecuted by the Italians, 333; by Heraclius, viii., 120; their belief in immortality, 126; persecution of, by Cyril of Alexandria, 137-8; persecuted by Justinian, 171 *sq.*; in Arabia, ix., 27 *sq.*; assist the Saracens in Spain, 215; massacre of, by first Crusaders, x., 210-11; pay tribute at Rome in fourteenth century, xii., 204 *note*.
- Jezdegerd, *see* Yezdegerd.
- Jirjir [Prefect Gregory], ix., 193 *note*.
- Joan, Pope, viii., 377 *note*, 378 *note*.
- Joan, sister of Richard I. of England, x., 311.
- Joannina, daughter of Belisarius and Antonina, vii., 260.
- Joannina, fortified by Stephen Dushan, xi., 110 *note*.
- Joannites, or followers of Chrysostom, v., 317 *note*.
- Joasaph, monk of Mount Athos, xi., 117.
- Job, book of, ix., 43 and *note*.
- Jodelle, xi., 291 *note*.
- Johannes Grant, German engineer, at siege of Constantinople, xii., 35 *note*.
- John Angelus, Emperor of Salonica, xi., 33 *note*.
- John Asen II., *see* Calo-John of Bulgaria.
- John Asen IV. of Bulgaria, xi., 86 *note*.
- John Bermudez, viii., 211 *note*.
- John, Bishop of Antioch, important authority on deaths of Aetius and Valentinian, vi., 81 *note*; summoned to the first Council of Ephesus, viii., 146; reconciled to Cyril, 148-9.
- John, Bishop of Asia, *see* John of Ephesus.
- John Boivin, xi., 32 *note*.
- John, brother of Pappus, magister militum of Africa, hero of Corippus, vii., 238 *note*.
- John, brother of Paul of Samosata, x., 4 *note*.
- John Comnenus, or Calo-Johannes, Emperor of Constantinople, viii., 289 *sqq.*
- John, Count, lover of Eudoxia, v., 318.
- John, Count of Nevers, his crusade against the Turks, xi., 172 *sq.*; taken prisoner, 173; ransomed, 174, 243.
- John Damascenus, works of, on images, viii., 319 *note*, 322; life of, *ib. note*.
- John d'IBelin, compiles Assise of Jerusalem, x., 265 and *note*, 266 *note*.
- John Ducas, Cæsar, x., 167 *note*.
- John, Duke of Trebizond, xi., 11 *note*.
- John Eladas, regent for Constantine VII., viii., 264 *note*.
- John, Emperor of the East, Iberia, and Peratea, xi., 11 *note*.
- John Geometres, x., 35 *note*.
- John, grandson of John Vataces, xi., 33 (Lascaris), minority of, 59; not crowned, 65; blinded and banished, 68 *sq.*

- John I., Pope, sent by Theodoric to Constantinople, vi., 334.
- John VII., Greek Pope, xii., 165 *note*.
- John XI., Pope, viii., 378 and *note*, 381.
- John XII., Pope, viii., 378; disgrace of, 381.
- John XXII., Pope, wealth of, xi., 253 *note*; deposition of, xii., 106; exhorted by Petrarch, 156; said to have introduced triple crown, 158 *note*.
- John XXIII., Pope, xii., 165; imprisoned, 166.
- John of Apri, Patriarch of Constantinople, xi., 107; deposed, 120.
- John of Biclar, historian of the Visigoths, vi., 265 *note*.
- John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, xi., 25; Empress of Constantinople, 26; defends Constantinople from Vataces, *ib.*; becomes a monk, 28.
- John of Cappadocia, minister of Justinian, vii., 26; disgrace and exile of, 48; opposes the African expedition, 87; supplies bad food for the army, 95; poverty of, 287 *note*.
- John of Ephesus, on Theodora, vii., 16 *note*; on speech of Justin II., viii., 20 *note*.
- John, officer of Basiliscus, vi., 129.
- John of Gorz, embassy of, to Cordova, ix., 232 *note*.
- John of Lycopolis, v., 62 and *note*.
- John of Nikiu, chronicle of, ix., 117 *note*, 185 *note*.
- John of Procida, account of, xi., 81 *sq.*
- John of Ravenna, pupil of Petrarch, xi., 282.
- John of Salisbury, on slavery, vi., 252 *note*; on papal avarice, xii., 73 *note*.
- John Palæologus I., emperor, reign, xi., 104; marries daughter of Cantacuzene, 114; takes up arms against Cantacuzene, 116; enters Constantinople, 117; weakness of, 175 *sq.*; imprisonment and escape, 176; death of, 177; pays tribute to Amurath II., 225; treaty with Innocent VI., 238; his visit to Urban V., 239; in Venice, 241.
- John Palæologus II., associated in the empire, xi., 250; reign, 252 *sqq.*; embarks in the Pope's galleys, 256; enters Venice, 260; enters Ferrara, 261; resides at Ferrara, 263; marries Princess of Trebizond, 252; date of his association, 293 *note*; wall of, xii., 20 *note*.
- John, Patriarch of Alexandria (the almsgiver), receives fugitives from Palestine, viii., 90; Life of, *ib.* *note*; gives money to Heraclius, 99 and *note*; account of, 204 and *note*.
- John Philoponus, his intercourse with Amrou, viii., 183; works of, *ib.* *note*.
- John, St., Christians of, at Bassora, ix., 27 and *note*.
- John, St., of Jerusalem, hospital of, x., 184; knights of, *see* Hospitallers.
- John, St., the Evangelist, iii., 341 and *note*; gospel of, 342 *note*; appearance of, to Theodosius, v., 64 *note*.
- John, son of Isaac the Sebastocrator, apostacy of, viii., 294.
- John, son of Sisiniolus, vii., 238 *note*.
- John, son of Vitalian, general of Justinian, vii., 284 *note*; marries daughter of Germanus, 250 *note*.
- John the Armenian, general of Belisarius, vii., 99.
- John, the Deacon, on Gregory I., viii., 42 *note*.
- John, the eunuch, brother of Michael IV., viii., 277.
- John, the Exarch, x., 32 *note*.
- John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople, viii., 44.
- John, the prefect, expedition against the Arabs, ix., 203.
- John, the primicerius, embassy to Alaric, v., 228; usurped the throne of Honorius, 337; death, 338.
- John the Sanguinary, vii., 152; besieges Rimini, 154; takes Vitiges prisoner, 164 *note*.
- John Tzimisces, *see* Zimisces.
- John Vladislav, Bulgarian ruler, x., 35 *note*.
- Johnson, Dr., his Irene, xii., 16 *note*, 37 *note*.
- Joinville, the historian, description of Greek fire, ix., 250; in the East, x., 319 and *note*.
- Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, vi., 252 *note*.
- Jonas of Damascus, ix., 149.
- Jones, Sir William, vii., 370 *note*; his seven poems of the Caaba, ix.,

- 20 *note*; on Asiatic poetry, 277 *note*.
- Jordan, John Christopher de, on the Sclavonians, x., 29 *note*.
- Jordan, on Rome, xii., 182 *note*.
- Jornandes, ii., 4 and *note*, 21 *note*; account of Alaric, v., 147 *note*; account of Placidia, 258, 259 and *note*; description of Catalaunian fields, vi., 59; suppresses the defeat of the Visigoths by Majorian, 110.
- Jortin, Dr., iii., 355 *note*.
- Joseph, ancestor of the Zeirides, x., 131.
- Joseph of Arimathea, St., mission of, xii., 166 *note*.
- Joseph, Patriarch of Constantinople, pardons Emperor Michael, xi., 71; withdraws to a monastery, 75.
- Josephus, Paulician leader, x., 4 *note*.
- Joseph the Carizmian, opposes Malek Shah, x., 171.
- Joseph, the patriarch, accompanies John Palæologus to Italy, xi., 258; death, 266.
- Josephs, the, of Amida, Nestorian sect, viii., 191.
- Josephus, i., 91 *note*; ii., 264 *note*; on Christ, iii., 20 *note*.
- Josephus, the false, iii., 5 *note*.
- Joshua Stylites, vii., 64 *note*, 69 *note*.
- Joubert, Père, xii., 88 *note*.
- Jovian, iv., 141 *note*; made emperor, 155 *sq.*; campaign in Persia, 158 *sqq.*; reign, 173 *sqq.*; universal toleration proclaimed by, 176; death, 179 *sq.*
- Jovians, guards of Diocletian, ii., 182; of Julian, iv., 141; in Britain, 229.
- Jovinian, v., 149 *note*.
- Jovinus, general of Julian, iv., 19; besieges Aquileia, 25, 27; defeats the Alamanni, 214 *sq.*; consul, 215.
- Jovinus, tyrant, declared emperor at Mentz, v., 269; death, 270.
- Jovius, quæstor of Julian, iv., 19.
- Jovius, Prætorian prefect under Honorius, made emperor by the eunuchs, v., 232; his treaty with Alaric, 234; deserts Honorius, 239.
- Jovius, sent by Theodosius to close pagan temples, v., 81.
- Jovius, title of Diocletian, ii., 148.
- Jubilee, or Holy Year, institution of, xii., 111; description of first, 112 and *note*; second, 113-4.
- Judas the Gaulonite, iii., 23 and *note*.
- Jude, St., grandsons of, iii., 25 and *note*.
- Judex, Visigothic title, iv., 245 and *note*.
- Judgments of God, among the Franks, vi., 245 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Judicial combats, vi., 246 *sq.*; established by Gundobald, 247 *note*; in kingdom of Jerusalem, x., 266 *sq.*; prohibited by Michael VIII., xi. 63; in France and England, 64 and *notes*.
- Judicial procedure, vii., 383 *sq.*
- Jūji, *see* Tōushi.
- Julia Domna, i., 151, 163, 169; death, 181.
- Julia Mæsa, i., 82.
- Julian, antecessor of Constantinople, ix., 365 *note*.
- Julian, Cardinal, at Council of Florence, xi., 265; legate, 305; account of, 312; death of, at Varna, 313.
- Julian, Count, general of the Goths, in Africa, ix., 208; invites the Moors and Arabs into Spain, 210; castle and town of, 212 and *note*; advises the Saracens, 214; entertains Musa, 217; death, 223.
- Julian, Emperor, his *Cæsars*, i., 90 *note*, 107 *note*, 124 *note*; ii., 63 *note*, 127 *note*, 129 *note*, 150 *note*; spared by Constantius, iii., 226; education, *ib.* *sq.* *note*; sent to Milan, 234; to Athens, 236; recalled, 238; made Cæsar, 240; in Gaul, 261 *sqq.*; defeats the Allemanni, 266 *sq.*; subdues the Franks, 269; crosses the Rhine three times, 271 *sq.*; civil administration of, 275 *sq.*; winters at Paris, 277; Gallic legions ordered to the East, iv., 3 *sq.*; proclaimed emperor, 7 *sqq.*; dreams of, 10 and *note*; embassy to Constantius, 12; crosses the Rhine, 13; preparations for war, 17; marches into Illyricum, 19 *sqq.*; enters Sirmium, 21; epistles of, 23 and *note*; besieges Aquileia, 25; enters Constantinople, 27; civil government of, 28 *sqq.*; date of his birth, *ib.* *note*; works of,

- 31; reforms the palace, *ib.*; and the chamber of justice, 34; clemency of, 38; protects the Grecian cities, 41; as an orator and judge, 42 *sq.*; character of, 44, 45; paganism of, 46 *sqq.*; education, 48 *sq.*; fanaticism of, 58; universal toleration of, 60; writes against the Christians, *ib.* and *note*; restores paganism, 63; edict against the Christians, 84 and *note*; condemns the Christians to restore the pagan temples, 87; *Misopogon*, 114 and *notes*; march of, to the Euphrates, 117 *sqq.*; Persian campaign, 129 *sqq.*; invasion of Assyria, 129; takes Perisabor, *ib.*, and Maogamalcha, 131; crosses the Tigris, 137; refuses to treat with Sapor, 141; burns his fleet, 144; retreat of, 148; death, 152; funeral, 171; account of Damascus, ix., 140 *note*.
- Julian, first of the notaries, in the Gothic camp, v., 238.
- Julian of Halicarnassus, viii., 177 *note*; converted the Armenians, 200 and *note*.
- Julian, Salvius, Roman lawyer, vii., 312, 326.
- Julian, tutelar saint of Auvergne, sanctuary of, vi., 101; account of, by Gregory of Tours, *ib.* *note*; sepulchre of, at Brioude, 257.
- Julian, tyrant, ii., 161, 162 and *note*.
- Julianus, Claudius, consul, i., 238.
- Julianus, Didius, purchases the empire, i., 136; reign, 137 *sqq.*; distress of, 144 and *note*, 145; death, 146.
- Julianus, M. Aurelius, tyrant of Pannonia, ii., 142 *note*.
- Julin, city of, x., 55.
- Julius Africanus, ii., 343; vii., 83 *note*.
- Julius Cæsar, ii., 179 *note*.
- Julius II., Pope, xii., 176; munificence of, 212.
- Julius, master-general, massacre of the Goths in Asia by, iv., 320.
- Julius Solon, i., 115 *note*.
- Jumelpur, diamond mine at, i., 70 *note*.
- Junghans, History of Childeric and Chlodovech, vi., 212 *note*.
- Jupiter, Urius, temple of, iii., 92.
- Jurisconsults, iii., 133 *note*; vii., 319.
- Jurisprudence, Roman, vii., 301 *sqq.*; abuses of civil, 387 *sq.*
- Jurjân, territory of, subdued by the Saracens, ix., 132 *note*.
- Jus, Latinum, i., 46 and *note*; relations, ii., 115 *note*; Italicum, iii., 110 and *note*; Papirianum, vii., 304 *note*.
- Justin, general of Justinian, vii., 245 *note*.
- Justin I., elevation of, vii., 3; crowns his nephew Justinian, 7; death, *ib.*
- Justin II., nephew of Justinian, receives Turkish embassy, vii., 192 *note*; elevation of, to the empire, viii., 2; consulship of, 3; receives embassy of the Avars, *ib.* *sq.*; abandons the Gepidæ, 9; weakness of, 18 *sq.*; associates Tiberius, 19-20; speech of, 20 and *note*; reign, 2-21; death, 21; war with Persia, 52.
- Justin Martyr, ii., 274; dialogue of, 274 *note*, 290; on spread of Christianity, 340 *note*; studied Greek philosophy, 343; on the Ebionites, 342 and *note*.
- Justina, Aviana, wife of Valentinian I., iv., 256 and *note*; Arianism of, v., 31; summons Ambrose to the council, 32; causes an edict in favour of the Arians, 34; flight to Aquileia, 38; death, 57.
- Justinian I., Emperor, on the miracle of Tipasa, vi., 200 *note*; ratifies the establishment of the French monarchy, 236; birth and education, vii., 1 *sq.* and *note*; names of, *ib.* *note*; becomes emperor, 3; marries Theodora, 13 *sq.*; favours the blue faction, 20; celebrates the ides of January, 23; Nika riot and distress of Justinian, 25; state of the revenue under, 40; avarice of, *ib.*; remittances and taxes under, 42 *sqq.*; coinage of, 44 and *note*; venality at the court of, *ib.*; ministers of, 46; edifices of, and architects, 48 *sqq.*; restores St. Sophia, 52; builds churches and palaces throughout the empire, 56 *sqq.*; his fortifications in Europe and Asia, 58 *sqq.*; suppresses the schools of Athens, 73; and consulship of Rome, 81; resolves to invade Africa, 84; peace with Persia,



- 85; fleet of, 94 and *note*; invades Africa, 96 *sq.*; his generals in Italy, 132 *sqq.*; makes peace with Vitiges, 162; weakness of his empire, 174 *sqq.*; alliance with the Avars, 191 *sq.*; Lazic war, 225 *sqq.*; negotiations with Nushirvan, 228 *sqq.*; his jurisprudence in the West, 281; death and character of, 288 *sqq.*; statue of, 290; Code, Pandects, and Institutes of, 301 and *note*, 329 *sqq.*; legal inconstancy of, 336 *sq.*; law of, on inheritance of, 363 and *note*; general criticism on legislation of, 387 *sq.*; death of, viii., 1; Persian war of, 54; theological character and government of, 168 *sqq.*; persecutes heretics and pagans, 170; the Jews and Samaritans, 171-2; his orthodoxy, 173 *sqq.*; heresy of, 176 *sq.*; equestrian statue of, at Constantinople, xi., 295 and *note*.
- Justinian II., Emperor, viii., 227; mutilation and exile of, 228-9; takes refuge with the Chozars, 229; allies himself with the Bulgarians, 230; besieges Constantinople, *ib.*; restoration and death, *ib.* *sqq.*; his treatment of Ravenna, 232 *note*; persecutes the Paulicians, x., 11; his treatment of Leontius and Aspimar, 168 *note*.
- Justinian, general of Honorius, v., 179.
- Justinian, Roman advocate, v., 186.
- Justinian, son of Germanus, commands the Eastern army, viii., 22 *sq.*
- Justiniana Prima, *see* Tauresium.
- Justiniana Secunda, *see* Ulpiana.
- Justiniani Vita* of Theophilus, vii., 1 *note*.
- Justiniani, John, *see* Giustiniani.
- Justus, the apostate Paulician, x., 10.
- Jutes, in Kent, vi., 271.
- Juthungi, ii., 75 *note*, 76 *note*, 77 *note*.
- Juvenal, i., 39 *note*, 67 *note*; his satires read by the Romans, v., 214; on the hardships of the poor in Rome, 224 and *note*.
- Juventius, prefect, iv., 210.
- KABARS**, a Khazar people, x., 49 *note*.
- Kahina, *see* Cahina.
- Kaifong, residence of the Chinese emperor, xi., 141.
- Kainoka, Jewish tribe of the, ix., 69 and *note*.
- Kairawān, *see* Cairoan.
- Kākwayhids, dynasty of the, ix., 305 *note*.
- Kalilah and Dimnah, vii., 203 *note*.
- Kalligas, on Council of Florence, xi., 271 *note*.
- Kamhi, Emperor, iv., 269 *note*.
- Kāmil (Mohammad), Sultan, x., 317 and *note*.
- Kamtchatka, vii., 188.
- Kandahār, taken by the Moslems, ix., 132 *note*.
- Kaoti, Emperor of China, iv., 277 and *note*.
- Karacorum, residence of the successors of Zingis, vi., 28 *note*.
- Karā-Khitay, tribe of Turks, xi., 135 *note*; kingdom of, conquered by Zingis, 137 *note*.
- Karāsī, ancient Mysia, conquered by Orchan, xi., 159 *note*.
- Kars, ceded to the empire, x., 162 *note*.
- Kāshgar, Chinese garrison at, ii., 167 *note*; khans of, invade Transoxiana, xi., 183; people of, called Uzbegs, *ib.* *note*; kingdom of, subdued by Timour, 187.
- Kāsimpasha, Bay of, xii., 33 *note*.
- Kastamuniyā, principality of, conquered by the Turks, xi., 160 *note*.
- Kastoria, fortified by Stephen Dushan, xi., 110 *note*.
- Katalankataci, Moses, Armenian writer, viii., 106 *note*.
- Katona, Stephen, x., 36 *note*.
- Kazgan, Emir of Transoxiana, xi., 182 *note*.
- Keating, Dr., History of Ireland, i., 278 *note*.
- Kebla of prayer, ix., 69.
- Kekaumenos, Strategikon of, x., 35 *note*.
- Kenric, conquests of, vi., 274.
- Keraites, khans of the, xi., 130 and *note*; account of, *ib.*
- Kerak, lordship of, x., 266 *note*; fortress of, 299.
- Kerbela, plain of, Hosein surrounded in, ix., 102.

- Kerboga, Prince of Mosul, x., 245 sq.; twenty-eight emirs of, 252-3.
- Kerman, *see* Kirmān.
- Kermiyan (Western Phrygia), *see* Ghermanian.
- Khalil pasha, *see* Calil.
- Khalil, Sultan, takes Acre, x., 325.
- Khan, or Cagan, iv., 270 and *note*; title of Shelun, v., 165 and *note*; great Khan of the Turks, invades Persia, viii., 57.
- Khazars, *see* Chozars.
- Khedar (Khidr) Khan, x., 174 and *note*.
- Khitans, revolt of, on Chinese frontier, xi., 136.
- Khondemir, abridges History of Mirchond, ix., 228 *note*.
- Khoten, Chinese garrison, ix., 130.
- Khubilāy, *see* Cublai.
- Khurāsān, conquest of, by Ahnaf ibn Kais, ix., 126 *note*; Magians in, 228; conquered by Mongols, xi., 138.
- Khūzistān, conquest of, by the Moslems of Kufa, ix., 126 *note*.
- Kienlong, poet, iv., 269 *note*.
- Kiev, *see* Kiow.
- Kilidje (Kilij), Arslān, II., his dealings with the Crusaders, x., 283 *note*.
- Kilidje (Kilij), Arslān, Sultan of Roum, *see* Soliman, son of Cutulmish.
- Kin, dynasty in China, xi., 135 *note*.
- Kinnisrin, *see* Chalcis.
- Kinnoge, city of, Mahmūd at, x., 149 and *note*.
- Kiotahia, Timour plants his standard at, xi., 202.
- Kiow (Kiev), Andronicus at, viii., 297; Oleg at, x., 52 *note*; capital of Russia, 54 and *note*; Church of St. Sophia at, 73 and *note*; crypt monastery at, *ib. note*; destroyed by the Tartars, xi., 146.
- Kipzak, Plain of, Bātū defeats the Cossacks in the, xi., 146 and *note*; conquered by Timour, 187-8; Western Kipzak, conquered by Bātū, 187 *note*.
- Kirghiz Kazaks, Siberian tribe, xi., 187 *note*.
- Kirmān, in Persia, conquered by the Arabs, ix., 126 *note*; survival of the religion of the Magi in, 229 and *note*; Seljukian dynasty of, x., 176 and *note*.
- Kislar Aga, protects the Athenians, xi., 93.
- Kiss, on John Huniades, xi., 314 *note*.
- Kiuperli, grand vizier, xi., 226 *note*.
- Klette, T., on Philelphus, xi., 272 *note*.
- Klokotniza, battle of, xi., 26 *note*.
- Knez, title of Bulgarian rulers, x., 34 *note*.
- Knight, Dr., his Life of Erasmus, xi., 290 *note*.
- Kighthood, x., 220 sqq.
- Knolles, historian, his History of the Turks, xi., 157 *note*.
- Koba, town near Medina, Mahomet at, ix., 60.
- Kobad, grandson of the Persian king, commands the Persians against Totila, vii., 266; origin, *ib. note*.
- Koraidha, Jewish tribe of, ix., 69 *note*, 70.
- Koran, the, viii., 316; chapter of, called the Elephant, ix., 30 *note*; chapters of, called Suras, 33 *note*, origin of, 41; editions of, 42 sq. and *note*; versions of the, 53 *note*; tenets of predestination in, 65.
- Koreishites, Arabian tribe of, ix., 9; sceptre transferred to, 15; acquire custody of the Caaba, 24; Mahomet sprung from the, 29; deliver Mecca from the Abyssinians, 30; persecute Mahomet, 56 sqq.; interdict of, 57; defeated by Mahomet at Bedr, 66-7; defeat Mahomet at Ohud, 68.
- Kosho-Tsaidam, Lake, Turkish inscription found near, ix., 133 *note*.
- Kosovo-polje, battle of, between the Slavs and Ottomans, xi., 168 *note*.
- Krumbacher, on Icasia, viii., 252 *note*.
- Kudatker Bilik, or Art of Government, x., 175 *note*.
- Kul, Turk, inscription to, ix., 133 *note*.
- Kunoviza, battle of, xi., 306.
- Kurikan, Turkish clan, xi., 182 *note*.
- Kusdār, conquered by Subuktigin, x., 148 *note*. *See* Cosdar.
- Kuseila, Berber chief, ix., 202 *note*.
- Kussai, *see* Cosa.
- Kustendil, vii., 60 *note*.
- Kutaieh, *see* Cotyæum.

- Kutritzakes, one of the *volunteers* of Alexius Strategopoulus, xi., 36 *note*.
- Kuyuk, *see* Gayuk.
- LABARUM, or standard of the Cross, iii., 294 *sqq.* and *notes*; name of Christ erased from, by Julian, iv., 72; displayed by Jovian, 174.
- Labat, Père, his description of towns near Rome, xii., 101 *note*; on the curse of Anagni, 109 *note*.
- Labeo, Antistius, vii., 320, 324, and *note*, 325.
- Labeo, Q., commentaries of the Twelve Tables, vii., 371 *note*.
- Laconians, Free, ix., 325 *sq.*
- La Croze, viii., 144 *note*.
- Lactantius, ii., 145 *note*, 190 *note*, 290 and *note*; his Institutes, iii., 279 and *notes*; vii., 337 *note*; his Christianity, iii., 303 *note*; on images, viii., 310 *note*.
- Lactarius, Mount, vii., 273 and *note*.
- Ladislaus, King of Naples, xii., 162, 164.
- Ladislaus, King of Poland and Hungary, xi., 305 and *note*; marches against the Turks, 306; concludes peace of Szegedin, 307; death of, at Varna, 311.
- Læta, daughter of Proba, v., 249.
- Læta, widow of the Emperor Gratian, generosity of, to the poor in Rome, v., 226 and *note*.
- Læti, Gallic tribe, vi., 58 and *note*.
- Lætus, Mæcius, i., 159 *note*.
- Lætus, Prætorian prefect of Commodus, i., 122 *sq.*, 135.
- Lagodius, opposes the usurper Constantine, v., 180 and *note*.
- Lahore, city of, taken by Sultan of Gazna, x., 150.
- Laity, order of, iii., 313.
- Lambesa, ruins of, vii., 120.
- Lampadius, Roman senator, v., 185 and *note*.
- Lamus, river, ix., 294 *note*.
- Lancearii, iv., 313.
- Lanciani, R., on Rome, xii., 182 *note*; plan of Rome, 212 *note*.
- Lancisi, Roman physician, on population of Rome, xii., 198 *note*.
- Land question in tenth century, viii., 265 *note*; 273 *note*.
- Land-tax, under Constantine, iii., 158 and *note*.
- Lane-Poole, S., Studies in a Mosque, ix., 104 *sq.* *note*, 138 *note*; Life of Saladin, x., 294 *note*.
- Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, corrects text of the Bible, vi., 198 *note*.
- Langlés, M., his Life of Timour, xi., 181 *note*.
- Langres, battle of, ii., 159; bishops of, vi., 226 *note*.
- Languantan, Moorish tribe, vii., 240 *note*.
- Languedoc, *see* Septimania.
- Laodicea, in Asia Minor, i., 63; council of, ii., 291 *note*; Frederic Barbarossa at, x., 279.
- Laodicea in Syria, Antioch subject to, v., 48 and *note*; Saracens at, ix., 150 and *note*, 163 *note*; taken by the Saracens, 168; by Sultan Soliman, x., 181; lost by the Franks, 324.
- Laplanners, x., 39 *sq.*
- Lardner, Dr., Credibility, v., 26 *note*.
- Larissa, captured by the Bulgarians, x., 35 *note*; besieged by Bohemond, 120.
- Lascaris, Constantine, Greek grammar of, xi., 290 *note*.
- Lascaris, James, Greek grammarian, xi., 285 *sq.* and *note*; founds Greek colleges of Rome and Paris, *ib.* *note*; brings MSS. from the East for Lorenzo de Medicis, 289.
- Lascaris, John, grandson of Vataces, *see* John.
- Lascaris, Theodore I., *see* Theodore.
- Lascaris, Theodore II., *see* Theodore.
- Latifundia, viii., 265 *note*.
- Latimer, xi., 290 *note*.
- Latin Christians, indifference of, iii., 361, 362; influenced by Valens and Ursacius, 362 and *note*; Church of, distracted by schism, xi., 244.
- Latin language in the Roman provinces, i., 46, 47 and *note*; official use of, 49; oblivion of the, ix., 364 *sq.*
- Latins, name of the Franks, ix., 360.
- Latium, right of, i., 46 and *note*.
- Latronian, the poet, execution of, v., 27.
- Laugier, Abbé, History of Venice, x., 347 *note*.

- Laura, of Eastern monasteries, vi., 158 *note*, 176.
- Laure de Noves, xii., 124 and *note*, 126 and *note*.
- Laurence, competitor for bishopric of Rome, vi., 331.
- Laurence, deacon, ii., 320.
- Lavardin, Marquis de, xii., 179 *note*.
- Law, study of, iii., 130 *sqq.*; Roman or civil law, vii., 301 *sqq.*; Twelve Tables of, 305 *sqq.*; of the people, 309 *sqq.*; of the Senate, 310; edicts of the emperors, 313 *sqq.*; royal law, 314 and *note*; forms of, 316 *sq.*; three periods of civil law, 318 *sqq.*; legal sects in Rome, 324 *sqq.*; reform of Roman law by Justinian, 326; loss of ancient Roman law, 333 *sq.*; statutes of Draco, 372; criminal laws, *ib. sqq.*; abolition of penal laws, 375.
- Laws:—
- Aquilian, vii., 371 and *note*.
- Caninian, ii., 108 *note*.
- Cornelian, vii., 310, 344 *note*, 345, 377.
- Julian, vii., 310, 377, 379 *note*.
- Of Citations, vii., 326.
- Pompeian, vii., 310, 344 *note*, 377.
- Porcian, vii., 375.
- Scatinian, vii., 380 and *note*.
- See Lex de imperio Vespasiani (= Lex regia).
- Valerian, vii., 375.
- Voconian, vii., 361 and *note*, 365.
- Lawyers, Roman, series of, vii., 318 *sqq.*; their philosophy, 321 *sq.*; authority of, 322.
- Laymen, ii., 314 *note*, 318 *sq.*
- Lazarus, Kral of Servia, conquered the Ottomans, xi., 168 *note*.
- Lazarus, the painter, persecuted, viii., 353 *note*.
- Lazi, tribe of, vii., 220 and *note*; solicit friendship of Chosroes, 221 *sq.*; renew alliance with Justinian, 223; their war with Persia, 225 *sqq.*; death of the Lazi king, 227; serve as Janizaries, xii., 59 *note*.
- Lazica, war for the possession of, vii., 25, 213 *note*; description of, see Colchos.
- Leander and Hero, see Hero.
- Leander, Archbishop of Seville, con-
- verts Hermenegild, vi., 202; goes to Byzantium, *ib.*
- Lebanon, cedars of, built the church at Jerusalem, vii., 57.
- Le Beau, on images, viii., 350 *note*.
- Lebedev, Professor, History of Greek Church under Turks, xii., 55 *note*.
- Lebedias, refuses Hungarian sceptre, x., 38.
- Lechfeld, battle of the, x., 47.
- Lechi (= Poles), mentioned by Cinnamus, x., 277 *note*.
- Leclerc, ecclesiastical historian, ii., 272 *note*, 277 *note*; viii., 122 *note*; ix., 183 *note*.
- Legacy duty, i., 208, 209; reduced by Tiberius, 209 *note*; by Macrinus, 212 *note*.
- Legacy hunters, i., 210; viii., 213.
- Legibus solutus, vii., 313 and *note*.
- Legion, Roman, description, i., 13 *sqq.*; stipend increased by Domitian, 13 *note*; revolt of, under Alex. Severus, 199; under Maximin, 233 and *note*; reduction of, by Constantine, iii., 138; degeneration of, v., 69; Jovian, Herculan, and Augustan, 130; twentieth, recalled from Britain, 151.
- Legrand, his Biographie Hellénique, xi., 275 *note*.
- Leibnitz, xi., 41 *note*.
- Leman, Lake, Alemanni at, vi., 217.
- Lemberg, or Leopold, See of, xi., 299 *note*.
- Lemnos, Isle of, taken by the Venetians, xi., 5 *note*; Demetrius Palæologus, lord of, xii., 58.
- Lenfant, M., historian of the councils, xi., 253 *note*, 167 *note*.
- Lentienses, tribe of, iv., 307.
- Lentz, E., on relations of Venice with the empire, x., 345 *note*.
- Leo Africanus, geography of, ix., 193 *note*; on tribes of Barbary, 207 *note*.
- Leo, Allatius, xi., 32 *note*.
- Leo, Archbishop of Ravenna, usurpations of, viii., 347 *note*.
- Leo, Archbishop of Thessalonica, ix., 368.
- Leo, brother of John Zimisces, viii., 271.
- Leo Diaconus, historian, ix., 313 *note*.

- Leo Gabalas, takes Island of Rhodes, ix., 290 *note*.
- Leo, general of Eutropius, opposes Tribigild, v., 300.
- Leo I., of Thrace, Emperor, vi., 120; opposes Aspar, 121; elects Anthemius Emperor of the West, *ib.*; sends naval armament against the Vandals, 127 *sq.*; cost of armament, *ib.* and *note*; connives at the election of Olybrius, 139 and *note*; murders Aspar, 302.
- Leo III., the Isaurian, Emperor, viii., 234; origin and birthplace of, 235 *note*; valour of, *ib.*; abolishes images, 318 *sqq.*; quarrels with Pope Gregory, 329-30; revolt of Italy from, 330 *sq.*; defends Constantinople against the Saracens, ix., 43 *sqq.*
- Leo IV., Emperor, viii., 238; religious opinions of, 350.
- Leo V., the Armenian, Emperor, prophecy concerning, viii., 245; reign, 246; death, 248; opposes image worship, 352; persecutes the Paulicians, x., 11; defeats the Bulgarians at Mesembria, 32 and *note*.
- Leo VI., the philosopher, Emperor, viii., 261 *sqq.*; marriages, 263 and *note*; Tactics of, ix., 315 and *note*, 355-6; absolutism of, 350 *sq.*; date of his death, 363 *note*; encouraged learning, 369 *sq.*
- Leo I., the Great, Bishop of Rome, embassy to Attila, vi., 72; character, *ib.* *note*; mediates with Genseric, 89 and *note*; calls Council of Chalcedon, viii., 156; his epistle, *ib.*; approved by the council, 160.
- Leo III., Pope, election of, viii., 357; assaulted and imprisoned, *ib.*; crowns Charlemagne in St. Peter's, 358; on the *filioque* question, x., 329 and *note*.
- Leo IV., Pope, election of, ix., 287; victory and reign of, 288 *sqq.*; founds Leonine city in Rome, 290.
- Leo IX., Pope, his league with the two empires, x., 93; Life of, *ib.* *note*; expedition of, against the Normans, 94; detained by them at Beneventum, 96 *note*; death, *ib.*; extant coin of, xii., 68 *note*.
- Leo X., Pope, xii., 176; munificence of, 212.
- Leo of Tripolis, attacks Thessalonica, viii., 261 *note*.
- Leo Pilatus, first professor of Greek at Florence, xi., 279 *sq.*; his translation of Homer, 281 *note*.
- Leo Sgueros, of Nauplia, xi., 7 *note*.
- Leo, slave of the Bishop of Langres, vi., 258 *sq.*
- Leo, son of Bardas Phocas, viii., 267 *note*.
- Leo the Jew, founds family of the Pierleoni, xii., 115 *sq.*
- Leo Tornikios, revolt of, viii., 278 *note*.
- Leonard Aretin, *see* Aretinus.
- Leonardus Chiensis, on siege of Constantinople, xii., 6 *note*; on cannon of Mahomet, 14 *note*, 19 *note*; on Giustiniani, 41 *note*, 42 *note*.
- Leonas, the quaestor, iv., 16.
- Leontia, wife of Phocas, viii., 81.
- Leontini, taken by the Saracens, ix., 285 *note*.
- Leontius, Athenian sophist, father of Eudocia, v., 326.
- Leontius, Bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, Life of John the Almsgiver, viii., 204 *note*.
- Leontius, Roman general, made governor of Greece by Justinian II., viii., 228; assumes the purple, *ib.*; death, 230.
- Leopards, in possession of Bajazet Sultan, xi., 175 *note*.
- Leopolis, foundation of, ix., 290 and *note*.
- Leovigild, Gothic King of Spain, religious toleration of, vi., 201.
- Leptis, city of, iv., 231 *sq.*; surrenders to Belisarius, vii., 98; duke of, 110; massacre of Moorish deputies at, 240.
- Lesbos, island of, taken by John Vataces, xi., 24 and *note*; recovered by John Cantacuzene, 105; reduced by Turks, xii., 46 *note*.
- Lethe, castles on the Bosphorus, iii., 93 *note*.
- Leti, Gregorio, his Life of Sixtus V., xii., 178 *note*.
- Leucadia, Bishop of, ix., 326.
- Leucothoe, or St. Cyprian, fair at, vi., 328 *note*.

- Leuderis, Gothic commander in Rome, vii., 137.
- Leunclavius on the Turks, xi., 157 *note*, 208; his edition of Chalcondyles, 245 *note*.
- Lutetia, ancient name of Paris, *see* Lutetia.
- Lewis, derivation of the name, vi., 212 *note*.
- Lewis I., the Pious, emperor, duel at Aix la Chapelle before, vi., 247 *note*; laws on falconry, viii., 34 *note*; donation of, 346 *note*; associated in the empire, 370; receives embassy from Charlemagne, x., 50; his donation to Hildegard, xii., 80 *note*.
- Lewis II., son of Lewis the Pious, association of, viii., 370; reigned in Italy, 371; called "rex," 375; letter of, to Basil I., x., 78 *note*; death, 78.
- Lewis VII., *see* Louis VII.
- Lewis IX., *see* Louis IX.
- Lewis of Bavaria, emperor, excommunication of, viii., 390; Senator of Rome, xii., 95; interferes in papal election, 106 and *note*; coronation of, 120.
- Lewis of Hungary, appeals to Rienzi, xii., 138-9.
- Lewis the Child, x., 43.
- Lex, see* Laws.
- Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* (*Lex Regia*), i., 84 *note*; vii., 314 *note*; discovery of, xii., 130 and *note*.
- Libanius the Sophist, account of Julian, iii., 236 *note*, iv., 15 *note*; on Julian as an orator, 43; on his religion, 59; on the restoration of paganism, 65; account of, and literary character of, 115 *sq.* and *notes*; remarks on Jovian's treaty, 162 and *note*, 166 *note*; funeral oration on Valens, iv., 315 *sq.*; praises the moderation of Theodosius, v., 94.
- Libanus, vii., 294 and *note*; topography of, ix., 154 and *note*; colony of, xi., 143.
- Libel, law of, vii., 374.
- Libellatici*, iii., 46 *note*, 54 *note*.
- Libelli*, iii., 54 *note*.
- Liber Censuum, Vatican MS., x., 100 *note*; xii., 74 *note*.
- Liber Pontificalis, vii., 254 *note*; continuation of, x., 193 *note*.
- Liberiana, Basilica, iv., 210 *note*.
- Liberius, Bishop of Rome, banishment of, iii., 387 *sq.*; retracta, 388; expulsion and recall, 398 *sq.*
- Liberius, officer of Justinian, vii., 263.
- Liberius, Prætorian prefect, vi., 323.
- Libertines, or freedmen, i., 50, 51; vii., 339.
- Libraries of Constantinople destroyed, xii., 50.
- Libri Carolini, viii., 354 *note*.
- Liburnian galleys, i., 23; mentioned by Zosimus, v., 306 *note*.
- Licinius, claimed relationship with Philip, i., 245 *note*; benefactor of Tiridates, ii., 165; birth, *ib. note*; raised to the purple, 214 *note*, 218; divides the empire, 223, 249; alliance with Constantine, 240; war with Maximin, *ib.*; cruelty of, 241; wars with Constantine, 246 *sqq.*, 253, 254; defeated at Hadrianople, 255; death, 259; persecutes the Christians, iii., 290 and *note*.
- Licinius the Younger, Cæsar, ii., 249 and *note*; death of, iii., 177 and *note*.
- Liegnitz, battle of, between Tartars and Russians, xi., 147 and *note*.
- Lieutenants, imperial, i., 80.
- Lightning, ii., 133 and *note*.
- Lignitz, battle of, *see* Liegnitz.
- Ligorius Pyrrhus, topographer, xii., 212 *note*.
- Ligurians, i., 26 and *note*.
- Ligurinus*, the poem, authorship of, xii., 79 *note*.
- Lilius, ambassador of Phocas, viii., 87.
- Lilybæum, fortress of, ceded to the Vandals, vii., 123; claimed by Belisarius, *ib.*; destroyed by the Saracens, ix., 284 *note*.
- Limagne, plain of, vi., 256.
- Limborch, ii., 269 *note*.
- Limigantes, Sarmatian slaves, iii., 190; treachery of, 248; exterminated by Constantius, 249.
- Linacer, xi., 290 *note*.
- Lincoln, Roman colony, i., 45 *note*.
- Lintax*, name for Leith, x., 211 *note*.

- Lions, African, i., 119 *note*.
- Lipari, Isle of, Attalus banished to, v., 271; volcano of, vi., 344 and *note*.
- Liris, or Garigliano, river, fleet of Vandals and Moors at, vi., 109.
- Lisbon, Saracens at, ix., 224; silk manufacture at, ix., 327.
- Lissa, city in Silesia, viii., 73.
- Lissus (Alessio), assembly at, xi., 318; death of Scanderbeg at, 320.
- Litarbe, iv., 117 *note*.
- Literature, in the Roman Empire, i., 12, 13; decline of, *ib.*; Byzantine, ix., 314 *sqq.*; 369 *sqq.*
- Lithuania, conversion of, x., 72.
- Liticiani, Gallic tribe, vi., 58 *note*.
- Litorius, Count, relieves Narbonne, vi., 46; attacks Toulouse, *ib.*
- Liturgy, Roman, of Gregory I., viii., 44 and *note*.
- Liturnum, country house of the elder Scipio at, vi., 149 and *note*.
- Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, viii., 334; on Nicephorus Phocas, ix., 307 *note*; embassy of, 319 and *note*, 342 and *note*, 348 *note*.
- Liutprand, King of the Lombards, conveys relics of St. Augustine to Pavia, vii., 108 *note*; viii., 335 and *note*.
- Livy, on constitutional history of Rome, vii., 303 *note*; on library at Alexandria, ix., 184 *note*.
- Lizios (Λίζιος), Greek form for liegeman, xi., 120 and *note*.
- Locri, or Santa Cyriaca, Barlaam, Bishop of, xi., 278 *note*.
- Locrians, republic of, vii., 306 and *note*.
- Logos, the Platonic, iii., 339; opinion of Athanasius on, 345 and *note*; of the Christians, 341 *sq.*; of Arius, 351 and *note*; of the Gregories, 351 *note*; represented by the sun, iv., 55 and *note*; opinion of the Docetes on, viii., 127; of Apollinaris, 133.
- Logothete, office of, vii., 246 *note*; ix., 339 and *note*; of the military chest, 339 *note*; of the Dromos, *ib.*; of the flocks, *ib.*
- Lollianus (Laelianus), tyrant, ii., 50, 81 and *note*.
- Lollius Urbicus, wall of, i., 26 *note*.
- Lombards, ii., 8; adopt Nicene faith, vi., 205; in Noricum and Pannonia, vii., 177; origin of, *ib.* *note*; subdue the Gepidae, 179; destroy their kingdom under Alboin, viii., 7 *sq.*; relinquish their lands to the Avars, 11; conquer Italy, 13 *sqq.*; kingdom of the, 30; description of, 31 *sqq.*; dress and marriage of, 34 *sq.*; introduce the chase into Italy, *ib.* and *note*; government and laws of, 37 *sq.*; attack Rome, 335 *sq.*; defeat of, under Astolphus, 338-9.
- Lombardy, viii., 13; ravaged by Attila, vi., 68; kingdom of, under Alboin, viii., 5 *sqq.*; destroyed by Charlemagne, 365; Greek province of, x., 79.
- London, Roman colony, i., 45 *note*; Allectus at, ii., 157.
- Longinus, Exarch of Ravenna, viii., 11 and *note*; lover of Rosamund, 17.
- Longinus, tutor of Zenobia, i., 73 and *note*; ii., 84; death, 92.
- Lonicerus, Chronica Turcica of, xii., 6 *note*.
- Lopadium, Louis VII. at, x., 280 *note*.
- Lorca, surrendered by Theodemir to the Saracens, ix., 220.
- Loria, Roger de, *see* Roger.
- Lothaire, Duke of the Alamanni, invades Italy, vii., 275 *sq.*; death of, 277 and *note*.
- Lothaire I., Emperor, constitution of, vi., 242 *note*; associated in the empire, viii., 370; kingdom of, 370-1; xii., 115 *note*.
- Lothaire II., ix., 247; opposes Roger of Sicily, x., 130.
- Lotharingia, or Lorraine, kingdom of, x., 215 *note*.
- Loughborough, Lord, x., 268 *note*.
- Louis, Count of Blois and Chartres, x., 343.
- Louis le Gros, x., 269 *note*.
- Louis VII., viii., 305; rescued by George of Sicily, x., 134; conducts second crusade, 274 *sqq.*; his march through Anatolia, 280 *sq.* and *note*.
- Louis IX., ix., 181 *note*; refuses knighthood to infidels, x., 295 *note*; crusades of, 318 *sqq.*; takes Damietta, 319-20; captivity, 320; ransom of, 321 *note*; death of, 322; generosity of, to Baldwin, xi., 29

- and *note*; buys holy relics from Baldwin, 31; last crusade of, 79.
- Louis XIV., iv., 71 *note*; sends ambassador to Rome, xii., 179 *note*.
- Lublin, city of, destroyed by the Mongols, xi., 146.
- Lucan, i., 148 *note*; Pompey of, viii., 62 *note*.
- Lucania, ii., 96; forests of, v., 218 and *note*; Totila in, vii., 256 *sqq.*; Belisarius in, 258.
- Lucanians, i., 27.
- Lucanus, Joh. Albinus, xii., 63 *note*.
- Lucar, Cyril, Protestant patriarch of Constantinople, viii., 207 *note*.
- Lucas Notaras, Duke of Constantinople, *see* Notaras.
- Lucas Tudensis, Gallician deacon, ix., 209 *note*.
- Lucca, siege of, vii., 275 *sq.*; monopoly of silk trade at, ix., 328; three hundred towers at, xii., 199.
- Luccari, M., vii., 2 *note*.
- Lucerne, artificial grass, i., 67.
- Lucian, Count of the East, put to death by Rufinus, v., 114.
- Lucian, eunuch, protects the Christians, iii., 59.
- Lucian, martyr, iv., 203 *note*.
- Lucian, Presbyter of Jerusalem, exhumes the bodies of the saints, v., 100 and *note*, 101.
- Lucian, satirist, i., 72 *note*; Philopatris ascribed to, ii., 131 *note*; on Christianity in Pontus, 333.
- Lucifer of Cagliari, iii., 382 *note*; exile, 387; libels of, 396 *note*; iv., 100 *note*.
- Lucilla, purchases the Bishopric of Carthage, iii., 57 *note*.
- Lucilla, sister of Commodus, i., 111.
- Lucillianus, Count, iii., 202; general of cavalry in Illyricum, iv., 21; taken prisoner, *ib.*; death, 178.
- Lucius, Bishop of Alexandria, iv., 205.
- Lucius II., Pope, xii., 76; applies to Conrad III., 85 *note*.
- Lucius III., Pope, xii., 76 and *note*.
- Lucrine Lake, v., 211 and *note*.
- Lucullus, i., 268 *note*; villa of, vi., 149; Augustulus banished to castle of, 150 *note*; other villas of, 151 *note*.
- Ludwig, Life of Justinian, vii., 289 *note*, 301 *note*.
- Ludi, Sarmatici, ii., 111 *note*; Gothic, *ib.* *See* Games.
- Ludolph, Duke of Saxony, viii., 371 *note*.
- Ludolphus, *Æthiopian History* of, vii., 231 *note*.
- Ludovicus Vives, vii., 312 *note*.
- Lugdunensis Gallia, province, i., 25.
- Lugdunum or Lyons, i., 25.
- Lugo, camp of Musa at, ix., 221.
- Luke, St., body of, removed to Constantinople, v., 98.
- Lulon, fortress of, viii., 254 *note*.
- Lupercal, situation of the, vi., 135 *note*.
- Lupercalia, festival of, celebrated under Anthemius, vi., 124 *sq.*; abolished by Pope Gelasius, 125, 126 *note*.
- Lupercals, confraternity of, v., 73.
- Lupicina, Empress (Euphemia), vii., 13.
- Lupicinus, general, iv., 5 and *note*; imprisoned, 12; fights for Valens, iv., 191; governor of Thrace, 295; oppresses the Goths, *ib.*; defeated by them, 299.
- Lupicinus, St., vi., 217 *note*.
- Lupus, Protospata, author of *Chronicles of Bari*, x., 92 *note*.
- Lupus, St., of Troyes, vi., 55; Life of, *ib.* *note*.
- Lusatia, Wends of, vii., 117 *sq.* *note*.
- Lusignan, de, *see* Guy de Lusignan.
- Lusignan of Cyprus, his gifts to Bajazet, xi., 174.
- Lusitania, province of Spain, i., 24; gold of, 205; Alani in, v., 273.
- Lûstai, office of the, ix., 338 *note*.
- Lustral contribution [lustralis collatio or chrysargyron], iii., 164.
- Lutetia, ancient name of Paris, iii., 278 *note*.
- Luther, doctrine of, x., 21.
- Luxury of the Greek emperors, ix., 331 *sqq.*
- Lycandus, battle of, viii., 274 *note*.
- Lycaonia, prætor of, vii., 65; people of, *ib.* *note*.
- Lyceum of the Peripatetics, at Athens, vii., 76.
- Lychnidus, or Achrida, x., 28 and *note*; flight of Alexius to, 118.
- Lycia, province of, degraded by Rufinus, v., 111.
- Lycophron, vii., 306 *note*.



- Lycopolis, city of, v., 62 and *note*;  
John of, *ib.*
- Lycus, river, iii., 93 *note*; Theodosius  
falls into the, vi., 36.
- Lydda, Crusaders at, x., 254.
- Lydius, the Isaurian robber, ii., 116 *note*.
- Lydus, John, vii., 28 *note*.
- Lygians, ii., 118 and *note*.
- Lyons, battle of, Severus defeats Al-  
binus, i., 151; taken by Aurelian,  
ii., 83; Magnentius at, iii., 220; as-  
sembly of bishops at, vi., 225; resi-  
dence of Gundobald, *ib.* *note*;  
taken by Clovis, 226; by the Sara-  
cens, ix., 253.
- Lysias, speech of, vii., 376 *note*.
- MAARRA, captured by Raymond and  
Bohemond, x., 253 *note*.
- Mabillon on monasticism, vi., 166 *note*.
- Macarius, commissioner in Africa, iii.,  
405 and *note*.
- Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, con-  
demned by the third Council of  
Constantinople, viii., 180.
- Macedonia, i., 29; invaded by the  
Goths, ii., 68; given to Eastern  
Empire, iv., 323; ravaged by the  
Huns, vi., 13; Macedonia *se-*  
*cunda*, vii., 59 *note*.
- Macedonia, maid of Antonina, vii., 168.
- Macedonians, sect of, iv., 203; tenets of  
the, condemned, v., 148 and *note*.
- Macedonius I., semi-Arian Bishop of  
Constantinople, iii., 400; enters the  
cathedral at Constantinople, 402;  
oppresses the Orthodox party in  
Thrace and Macedonia, 403; and  
in Paphlagonia, 404.
- Macedonius II., Bishop of Constanti-  
nople (A.D. 496-511), exile of, viii.,  
165.
- Macellum, castle of, iii., 226.
- Macepracta, town of, iv., 127.
- Machiavelli, i., 286 and *note*; on the  
popes, xii., 176 *note*.
- Macon, iii., 163 and *note*.
- Macoraba, Greek name for Mecca, *q.v.*
- Macpherson, Dr. John, iv., 224 *note*.
- Macpherson, James, iv., 224 *note*.
- Macpherson's Ossian, i., 166 *note*.
- Macrianus, Emperor, ii., 50.
- Macrianus, Prætorian prefect under  
Valerian, ii., 43.
- Macrianus, Prince of the Alamanni, iv.,  
219.
- Macrinus Decianus, ii., 160 *note*.
- Macrinus Opilius, i., 176; reign, 177  
*sqq.*; death, 184; peace with the  
Parthians, 263.
- Macrobius, ii., 282 *note*; Saturnalia of,  
v., 215 *note*; his belief in the stars,  
216 *note*.
- Madayn, *see* Ctesiphon and Modain.
- Madras, Church of St. Thomas near,  
viii., 191 and *note*.
- Mæcenas, i., 42 *note*.
- Mæcenas, a Prætorian senator, i., 239.
- Mæonius, ii., 85.
- Mæotis, lake, v., 289 *note*.
- Mæsia, *see* Mœsia.
- Maffei, i., 44 *note*; ii., 137 *note*, 231 *note*,  
233 *note*; history of Venetia, vi.,  
69 *note*, 70 *note*; interview between  
St. Leo and Attila, 73 *note*; on  
dukes in Italy, vii., 280 *note*; on  
amphitheatres, xii., 202 *note*.
- Magdeburg, sack of, iv., 318 *note*.
- Magi, religion of, i., 253 *sqq.*; council  
of, 254; power of, 258 *sq.*; spirit  
of persecution of, 260; predict  
birth of Sapor, iii., 196; restrained  
by Constantine, 311; number of,  
318 *note*; persecute the Christians,  
v., 330; persecute the churches of  
Persarmenia, viii., 52; persecute  
in Persia, 92; fly to Arabia, ix., 27  
and *note*; astronomy of the, intro-  
duced into China, ix., 130; fall of,  
in Persia, 227 *sqq.*
- Magic, practised by Julianus, i., 146;  
by Severus, 162; by the Persian  
priests, 260; under Valentinian and  
Valens, iv., 192 *sqq.* and *notes*;  
ancient belief in, 193; persecution  
of, in Rome and Antioch, 195 *sq.*;  
Roman law against, vii., 374.
- Magister militum, peditum et equitum,  
iii., 134 and *note*; utriusque  
militiæ, *ib.*; in præsentî, *ib.*; per  
orientem, vii., 89 *note*; in Arme-  
nia, *ib.*
- Magister officiorum, iii., 144.
- Magistracies, civil, laid aside by Dio-  
cletian, ii., 182 and *note*.
- Magistrates, Roman, i., 84, 85 and *note*.
- Magnaura, Palace of, *see* Constanti-  
nople.

- Magentius**, saluted emperor in Gaul, iii., 206 and *note*, *sqq.*; campaign against Constantius II., 213 *sqq.*; battle of Mursa, 216 *sq.*; defeat and death, 220, 221.
- Magnesia**, or Guzel Hissar, i., 62 *note*; Theodore Lascaris died at, xi., 61 and *note*; Amurath II. retires to, xi., 302 and *note*.
- Magna Urbica**, ii., 134 *note*.
- Magnus of Carthæ**, iii., 151 *note*.
- Magnus**, senator, i., 221.
- Magyars** or Hungarians, vi., 2 *note*; name of, x., 37 *sq.*
- Mahadi (Mahdi)**, caliph, son of Al-Mansûr, wealth of, ix., 265.
- Mahadi (Mahdi)**, last of the Persian Imâms, ix., 105.
- Mahadia**, in Africa, x., 132.
- Mahmûd**, Sultan, of Delhi, defeat of, by Timour, xi., 192.
- Mahmûd II.**, Sultan, massacres the Janizaries, xi., 168 *note*.
- Mahmûd**, Prince of Gazna, viii., 4 *note*.
- Mahmûd**, the Gaznevide, x., 147 *sq.*; assumes title of Sultan, 148; in Hindostan, 149 *sq.*; character of, 151; death, 155.
- Mahomet**=Mohammad, *q.v.*
- Mahomet I.** (Ottoman Sultan), son of Bajazet, xi., 220; obtains Anatolia, *ib.*; defeats Mûsâ, *ib.*
- Mahomet II.**, restores castles of Europe and Asia, iii., 92; his descent from the Comneni, viii., 294; puts last Duke of Athens to death, xi., 92; marries Asiatic princess, 207 *note*; besieges Belgrade, 314; character of, xii., 1 and *note sq.*; reign, 4 *sqq.*; marriage, *ib.*; hostile intentions of, 5 *sq.*; builds fortress on the Bosphorus, 9; prepares for the siege, 10; great cannon of, 13-4; forces of, 17 *sq.*; headquarters of, *ib. note*; besieges Constantinople, 24 *sqq.*; employs mines, 27; punishes Baltha Oglî, 31; transports his vessels ten miles, 33; constructs a bridge, 34; his treatment of the Greeks, 52 *sq.*; repeoples Constantinople, 54 *sqq.*; his mosque, 55; his death, 63.
- Mahomet**, the Prophet, v., 336 *note*; adopts the Legend of the Seven Sleepers, 360 *note*; date of his birth, viii., 51 *note*; rejection of his summons by Chosroes, 94 and *note*; ancestors of, ix., 24 and *note*; birth and education, 29 *sqq.*; appearance and character of, 32; journeys to Syria, 34; his knowledge of writing, 33 *note*; assumes title of Prophet, 35, 37; creed of, 37 *sqq.*; composes the Koran, 41 *sq.*; prophecy of the Paraclete applied to, 41 and *note*; miracles of, 43 *sq.*; vision of, 45 and *note*; institutes a fast, 48; preaches at Mecca, 53 *sq.*; Lives of, 53 *note*; his disciples emigrate to Æthiopia, 57; his flight, 58 *sq.*; Prince of Medina, 59; regal and sacerdotal office of, 61; military laws of, 63; wars of, 65 *sqq.*; subdues the Jews, 69; submission of Mecca, 71 *sq.*; ten years' truce with the Koreish, 72; submission of Arabia, 77; embassy of, to Heraclius, *ib.*; expedition of Tabuc, 79 *sq.*; death, 81 *sq.*; epilepsy of, 80 *note*; tomb, 83 and *note*; character, *ib. sqq.*; private life of, 86 *sq.*; wives, 88; and children, 90; choice of a successor, 92; success of his religion, 107 *sq.*; Life of, in Modern Universal History, 110 *note*; embassy to Mokawkas, 177 and *note*.
- Mahometanism**, *see* Islam.
- Maillet**, M., Consul, his description of Egypt, ix., 189 *notes*, 191 *note*.
- Maimbourg**, History of Iconoclasm, viii., 318 *note*; on Alexius Comnenus, x., 227 *note*.
- Maimonides**, ii., 263 *note*.
- Maine**, Sir Henry, Ancient Law of, vii., 311 *note*.
- Mainfroy**, King of Naples and Sicily, x., 145; proscribed by the Popes, xi., 78.
- Mainotes** or Eleuthero-Laonians, ix., 325.
- Mainz**, *see* Mentz.
- Maiuma**, port of Gaza, iv., 104 *note*.
- Majella**, *see* Monte Majella.
- Majestas**, crime of, i., 103 *note*; law concerning, under Arcadius, v., 297 and *note*; vii., 379.

- Majo, Admiral, conspires against William I. of Sicily, x., 141.
- Majorca and neighbouring isles, Vandals in, v., 343; submit to Justinian, vii., 108.
- Majorian, Emperor, origin of, vi., 102; panegyric of Sidonius on, *ib.* and *note*; made Emperor by Ricimer, 103; epistle of, to the senate, *ib.* *sq.*; laws of, 105 and *note*, 106; protects the edifices of Rome, 107; laws concerning marriage, 108; defeats Theodoric, 110; builds a fleet, 111 and *note*; his fleet destroyed by Genseric, 112; abdication and death, 113.
- Majorinus, African Bishop, iii., 335.
- Makrizi, x., 320 *note*.
- Malabar, Nestorian Christians of, viii., 192 *sq.*
- Malaga, reduced by Abdelaziz, ix., 219; seat of learning under the Arabs, ix., 271.
- Malas, John, ii., 129 *note*; on History of Antioch, v., 329 *note*.
- Malarich, iv., 178.
- Malasontha, *see* Amalasontha.
- Malaterra, *see* Galfridus.
- Malatesta, Italian family of, xii., 205.
- Malatesta, Sigismond, Prince of Rimini, xii., 2 *note*.
- Malaxus, Emanuel, xii., 56 *note*.
- Malazkerd, siege of, x., 164; called Manzikert, *ib.* *note*; battle of, 166.
- Malchus, account of embassy from the senate to Zeno, vi., 148 *note*.
- Malchus, adventures of, iii., 200 *note*.
- Maldives, islands, iii., 311 *note*.
- Malek Rodosaces, Emir of the tribe of Gassan, iv., 126.
- Malek Shah, son of Sultan Alp Arslan, x., 163; conquests of, 172 *sq.*; pilgrimage of, to Mecca, 174; death of, 175.
- Malespina Ricordano, on Charles of Anjou, xi., 79 *note*.
- Malleolus, P., vii., 373 *note*.
- Mallevilla, name for Zemlin, x., 211 *note*.
- Mallius (Theodorus), Prætorian prefect, iii., 131, 132 *note*; epigram of Claudian on, v., 192 and *note*.
- Malmistra, *see* Mopsuestia.
- Malomir, son of Omortag, x., 32 *note*.
- Malta, i., 34; taken by the Saracens, ix., 286 *note*; conquered by Roger of Sicily, x., 131; Knights Hospitallers at, 264.
- Maltepe, Hill of, headquarters of Mahomet, xii., 18 *note*.
- Maltret, Claude, publishes Paris edition of Procopius, vii., 8 *note*; his unfulfilled promises, 131 *note*.
- Mamaccæ, on the Oise, Palace of the Merovingians, ix., 251.
- Mamachi, Father, iii., 281 *note*.
- Mamalukes (Mamlûks), name, x., 291 *note*; two dynasties of, 323 and *note*; recruited from Circassia, xi., 122; defeat the Mongols, xi., 145; alliance of, with the Khan, 153.
- Mamas, beacon of, viii., 254 *note*.
- Mamas, St., monument of, at Cæsarea, iv., 48 and *note*.
- Mamertinus, the panegyrist, ii., 147 *note*, 155 *note*; consul, iii., 35 and *note*; iv., 40 and *note*.
- Mango, the Scythian, ii., 167.
- Mammæa, mother of Alexander Severus, i., 182; regent, 191; avarice, 193; murder of, 219; interview with Origen, iii., 52.
- Mamûn, Caliph, ix., 228 *note*. *See* Al-Mamûn.
- Man, Isle of, inhabited by Scots, iv., 226.
- Mananalis, in Cappadocia, x., 3 and *note*.
- Manât, Arabic deity, vi., 56 *note*.
- Man-Chu, dynasty in Northern China, xi., 135 *note*.
- Mancipation, vii., 357 *note*.
- Mancipium*, explanation of that term in Roman law, vii., 357 and *note*.
- Mandæans, ii., 271 *note*.
- Mandolori, G., on Barlaam, xi., 277 *note*.
- Mandracium, suburb of Carthage, sacked by a Roman officer, vii., 102; restored by Belisarius, 103.
- Manes, i., 261 *note*; iii., 333 *note*; tenets of, revived, viii., 179; rejected by the Paulicians, x., 5.
- Mangi, name of Southern China, xi., 141 *note*.
- Mangû, grandson of Zingis, xi., 140 and *note*.
- Maniaces, George, Greek governor of

- Lombardia, general, viii., 277 *note*;  
subdues Sicily, x., 88 and *note*.
- Maniach, Turkish ambassador, vii.,  
192 *note*; at the Byzantine court,  
193.
- Maniach, prince of the Sogdoites, vii.,  
193.
- Manichæans, ii., 277; iii., 334 and  
*notes*; laws against, under Theo-  
dosius, v., 26; persecuted by Hun-  
neric, vi., 191; persecuted in the  
provinces, 207; on the nature of  
Christ, viii., 128; in Arabia, ix.,  
28; desert the standard of Alexius  
Comnenus, x., 16.
- Manilius, i., 110 *note*.
- Manilius, Roman lawyer, vii., 334 *note*.
- Manlius Torquatus, i., 79 *note*.
- Manors or farms granted to the hospi-  
tallers and templars, x., 264 and  
*note*.
- Mansûr, *see* Al-Mansor.
- Mansûr, Prince of Fars, opposes  
Timour, xi., 186.
- Mansûra, battle of, x., 320 and 321 *notes*.
- Mantinium, iii., 404 and *note*.
- Manuel, brother of Theodore Angelus,  
xi., 33 *note*.
- Manuel Comnenus, Emperor of Con-  
stantinople, viii., 291; wars of, *ib.*  
*sq.*; character, 293; repulses the  
Normans, x., 135; his ambition,  
137; makes peace with the Nor-  
mans, 139; second and third crus-  
ades in reign of, 277; accused of  
treachery, 280; wives of, 335; let-  
ters of, to Pope Alexander III., *ib.*  
*note*; wall of, xii., 20 *note*.
- Manuel Comnenus, first of the Com-  
neni, viii., 280.
- Manuel Comnenus of Trebizond, xi.,  
11 *note*.
- Manuel Comnenus, son of Andronicus,  
viii., 305.
- Manuel Comnenus, brother of Alexius  
I., viii., 285.
- Manuel Palæologus, Emperor, xi., 176;  
imprisonment and escape, *ib.*;  
serves under Bajazet, 177; visits  
French court, 179; returns to Con-  
stantinople, 223; concludes treaty  
with Mahomet, *ib.*; death, 225,  
251; negotiations of, 250; dia-  
logues of, *ib.* *note*.
- Manuel Palæologus, son of the elder  
Andronicus, xi., 98.
- Manuel, Roman general, 634 A.D., ix.,  
159.
- Manufactures, Roman, i., 67.
- Manumission, limitation of, ii., 108  
*note*.
- Manus*, power of a husband over his  
wife, vii., 346 and *note*.
- Manuscripts, ancient, destruction of, by  
the Turks in Constantinople, xii.,  
46 *note*, 50 and *note*.
- Manzikert, *see* Malazkerd.
- Maogamalcha, fortress of, taken by  
Julian, iv., 131 *sq.*
- Maphriân, Jacobite ecclesiastic, viii.,  
196.
- Maracci, Father, on the Koran, v., 336  
*note*; on almsgiving, ix., 49 *note*;  
on Paradise and Hell of Mahomet,  
53 *note*.
- Marasquin, x., 354 *note*.
- Marble, varieties of, i., 224 and *note*.
- Marc Antony, removes the Pergamene  
library to Alexandria, v., 85 *note*.
- Marcella, a Roman lady, v., 149 *note*,  
246 *note*; taught by Athanasius, vi.,  
161 *note*.
- Marcellinus, brother of Maximus, v.,  
41.
- Marcellinus, Count, Chronicle of, v.,  
171, 293 *note*; on treaty of Theo-  
dosius with Attila, vi., 21 *note*; on  
the miracle of Tipasa, vi., 200 *note*.
- Marcellinus, Count of the Sacred Lar-  
gesses, rebels against Constans, iii.,  
207; embassy to Constantius, 210;  
death, 221 and *note*.
- Marcellinus [Marcellianus], son of  
Maximin, iv., 251 *sq.*
- Marcellinus, Roman general, rules in  
Dalmatia, vi., 115 *sq.*; acknow-  
ledges and assists Anthemius, 127;  
expels the Vandals from Sardinia,  
*ib.*; flight to Sicily, 130; death, *ib.*  
*note*.
- Marcellus, Bishop of Apamea, destroys  
the temples, v., 82 *sq.*
- Marcellus, Bishop of Rome, iii., 76 and  
*note*.
- Marcellus Eprius, i., 103 *note*.
- Marcellus, general of the cavalry in  
Gaul, iii., 264 and *note*; son of,  
executed, iv., 39.

- Marcellus, conspirator against Justinian, vii., 286.
- Marcellus of Ancyra, iii., 356 and *note*.
- Marcellus, centurion, iii., 63, 64.
- March, Spanish, iastituted by Charlemagne, viii., 365.
- Marcia, concubine of Commodus, i., 117, 122, 123; iii., 50.
- Marcian, conspires against Gallienus, ii., 60.
- Marcian, Emperor, v., 322; marries Pulcheria, vi., 37; education and character, *ib. sq.* and *note*; his dream before the death of Attila, 76; acknowledges Avitus (?), vi., 94 and *note*; death, 119.
- Marcian or Black Forest, iv., 19 and *note*.
- Marcianopolis, siege of, by the Goths, ii., 12 and *note*; camp of Valens at, iv., 249; revolt of the Goths at, 297; Attila defeats the Romans at, vi., 13; position of, x., 66.
- Marcilian fountain, fair at the, vi., 328.
- Marcion, ii., 321 and *note*.
- Marcionites, gnostic sect, ii., 277; iii., 13; persecuted, 333; *phantastic* system of, viii., 127; in Arabia, ix., 28; remnant of, in fifth century, x., 3.
- Marco Polo, visits the court of the great Khan, xi., 134 *note*.
- Marcomanni, i., 301 and *note*.
- Marcomir, Frankish king, v., 173.
- Marcus, *see* also Mark.
- Marcus, Bishop of the Nazarenes, ii., 272.
- Marcus, deacon, his Life of Porphyry, v., 318 *note*.
- Marcus, Emperor, in Britain, v., 178 and *note*.
- Marcus Græcus, on Greek fire, ix., 248 *note*.
- Mardaites or Maronites of Mount Libanus, viii., 198 *sq.*; reconciled to the Latin churches, 199 and *note*; attack Damascus, ix., 240; in the Greek navy, 354.
- Mardavige, the Dilemite, Magian, ix., 229 *note*.
- Mardia, battle of, ii., 247.
- Mardonius the eunuch, iv., 48 *note*.
- Margaret, daughter of Catherine of Valois, xi., 38 *note*.
- Margaret of Hungary, wife of Isaac Angelus, x., 341 *note*; xi., 6 *note*.
- Margensis, or Upper Mœsia, ii., 143 *note*.
- Margus, battle between Carinus and Diocletian at, ii., 143 and *note*, 252; magazine of arms at, v., 147; meeting between Attila and Bleda, and the ambassadors of Theodosius, vi., 3; Bishop of, treats with the Huns, 12; battle between Theodorice the Ostrogoth and the Romans, vi., 319.
- Maria, daughter of Emperor Manuel, wife of Reinier of Montferrat, x., 355 *note*.
- Maria, daughter of Emperor Maurice, viii., 67 *note*.
- Maria, daughter of Eudæmon the Carthaginian, v., 358.
- Maria, daughter of Isaac Comnenus, viii., 281.
- Maria, daughter of Michael Palæologus, marries Noga the Mongol, xi., 154.
- Maria, daughter of Theodore Lascaris, xi., 58 *note*.
- Maria, sister of Alexius II., viii., 300.
- Maria, widow of Amurath II., xi., 324 and *note*; retires to a convent, *ib.*
- Maria, widow of Manuel Comnenus, viii., 294; regent, 300; death, 302.
- Maria, wife of Constantine VI., viii., 241 *note*.
- Maria, wife of Honorius, v., 189.
- Mariaba or Merab, i., 2 *note*.
- Mariana, i., 286; his History of Spain, ix., 208 *note*.
- Marina, daughter of Arcadius, v., 322.
- Marino, nobles gather at, against Rienzi, xii., 146.
- Marinus, elected emperor by the Mœsian legions, ii., 2; murder of, 2.
- Marinus, Prætorian prefect, vii., 50 *note*.
- Marius Maximus, historian, v., 215 and *note*.
- Marius of Aventicum, account of the Burgundian war, vi., 227 *note*.
- Marius, one of the thirty tyrants, ii., 50 *sq.*, 82.
- Marius, Villa of, vi., 150.
- Mark Antony, iv., 149 *note*.
- Mark, Bishop of Arethusa, iii., 226 *note*; persecution of, iv., 88 *sq.*
- Mark, Bishop of Ephesus, at Council of

- Florence, xi., 265; opposes union of the churches, 268; death, 298.
- Mark I., of Alexandria, viii., 164 *note*.
- Markezina, the, mistress of John Vataces, xi., 57 *note*.
- Markland, Jeremiah, xi., 285 *note*.
- Marlborough, battle of, vi., 274 and *note*.
- Marmol, his description of Africa, ix., 193 *note*.
- Maroboduus, King of the Marcomanni, i., 301 *note*, ii., 120 *note*.
- Maroe, river, name for the Savus, x., 211 *note*.
- Maron, a Syrian saint, account of, viii., 198.
- Maronga, battle at, iv., 148, 149.
- Maronites, sect of Maron, or Monothelites, viii., 197 *sq.* See Mardaites.
- Marozia, Roman courtesan, viii., 377, 380.
- Marriage, of the Visigoths, v., 259 *note*; of the Lombards, *ib.* *note*; laws of Majorian concerning, vi., 108; Roman and Byzantine laws of, vii., 345 *sqq.*; of the Cæsars, ix., 345 *sq.*
- Marsa, widow at Constantinople, persecutes Chrysostom, v., 310 *note*.
- Marsala, built on site of Lilybæum, ix., 284 *note*.
- Marseilles, siege of, by Constantine, ii., 220; taken by Euric, vi., 211; province of, ceded to the Ostrogoths, 224 *note*; resigned to the Franks, 236 and *note*; conquered by Theodoric, 320; port for Avignon, xii., 136 *note*, 157.
- Marsham, Sir John, on Islam, ix., 50 *note*.
- Marsi, i., 27.
- Marsigli, Count, his Military State of the Ottoman Empire, xii., 18 *note*.
- Marsyas and Mæander, rivers of Phrygia, v., 299 and *note*.
- Martel, *see* Charles Martel.
- Martialis, assassinates Caracalla, i., 177.
- Martial, on Ravenna, v., 162 *note*.
- Martin, abbot, pilgrimage of, x., 352 *note*; in Palestine, 356 *note*; pious robbery of, 385 *note*.
- Martin, brings Sclavonians and Huns to siege of Rome, vii., 150.
- Martin I., Pope, resided at the Lateran Council, viii., 179; exile, *ib.* *note*, 328.
- Martin IV., Pope, excludes Michael VIII. from Latin Church, xi., 78; French Pope, 81; made senator, xii., 95.
- Martin V., Pope, xi., 249, 252; election of, xii., 167; medals of, *ib.* and *note*; restoration of Rome under, 210.
- Martin, St., Bishop of Tours, iii., 313 *note*; toleration of, v., 28, 29; miraculous gifts of, 30 and *note*; destroyed the pagan temples, 82 and *note*; founds monasticism in Gaul, vi., 161, 162; life of, *ib.* *note*; miraculous shrine, 203, 222; miracles of, 252 *note*.
- Martin, Vice-Prefect of Britain, iii., 222.
- Martina, wife of Heraclius, viii., 98; assumes the purple, 221; disgrace and exile, 223.
- Martinianus, named Cæsar by Licinius, ii., 258 and *note*.
- Martius, Galeotus, on Matthias Corvinus, xi., 315 *note*.
- Martyropolis, siege of, vii., 70; restored, viii., 66.
- Martyrs, primitive, legends of, iii., 32; honours paid to, 42, 43; under Diocletian, 59; number of, 85; worship of, v., 96 *sq.*; fabulous, 99.
- Maru, city of Khorasan, destroyed by Zingis, vi., 15; tomb of Alp Arslan at, x., 172.
- Marwân, caliph, *see* Mervan.
- Mary, an Egyptian captive, ix., 86 *note*, 88.
- Mary, daughter of Conrad of Montferrat, xi., 25.
- Mary, Queen of Bulgaria, xi., 77.
- Mary, Virgin, worship of, by the Latin Church, viii., 193; Christians of St. Thomas object to image of, *ib.*; worshipped as a goddess by the Collyridians, ix., 36; doctrine of immaculate conception of, borrowed from the Koran, 40 and *note*.
- Masada, town near the Dead Sea mentioned by Pliny, vi., 158 *note*.
- Mascezel, brother of Gildo, commands troops against Gildo, v., 130 and *note*; his victory, 133; death, 134 and *note*.

- Mascou on Roman law, vii., 325 *note*.
- Massagetæ, invade Persia, iii., 204 and *note*; sail for Africa, vii., 92.
- Massoud (Masûd), son of Mahmûd the Gaznevide, x., 155.
- Master-general, of cavalry and infantry, *see* Magister militum.
- Master of the Offices, *see* Magister officiorum.
- Maternus, insurrection of, against Commodus, i., 113.
- Maternus, Julius Firmicus, on idolatry, v., 71 *note*; his Cato, 221 *note*.
- Mathasuintha, vii., 161 *note*; mother of Germanus, 165 *note*.
- Mathematics, study of, by the Arabs, ix., 272 and *note*.
- Mathilda, Countess, x., 194.
- Matthew of Montmorency, x., 343; at passage of the Bosphorus, 361; ambassador to the emperor, 366.
- Matthew, St., Hebrew gospel of, ii., 331 *note*; viii., 125 *note*.
- Matthias Corvinus, *see* Corvinus.
- Mattiaci, ii., 121 *note*.
- Mattiarîi, iv., 312.
- Ma Tuan-lin, Chinese book, vii., 32 *note*.
- Maundrell, his account of march of the Franks, x., 254 *note*, 255 *note*.
- Maurenahar, name for Transoxiana, *see* Mâ-warâ-l-nahr.
- Maurice, Emperor, Strategikon of, vii., 182 *note*; commands the confederates, viii., 24 and *note*; reign, 25 *sqq.*; policy of, *ib. note*; Persian war, 26; receives embassy of Chosroes, 63; wars against the Avars, 73; his books on military art, 75 *note*; flight, 79; execution, 81; Life of, 87 *note*; pretended son of, 88-9 and *note*.
- Mauringania, supposed seat of the Franks, ii., 23 *note*.
- Mauritania Cæsariensis and Tingitana, i., 32 and *note, sq.*; Genseric in, v., 345; relinquished to the empire by Genseric, 354; ravaged by Genseric, vi., 112; *Gaditana*, vii., 116 *note*; Tingitana, conquered by Akbah, ix., 198.
- Mauritanian Siftî, province of, vii., 120.
- Maurontius, Duke of Marseilles, ix., 257 *note*.
- Maurus, iv., 310 *note*; betrays pass of Succi to the Goths, 318.
- Mavia, reign of, ix., 14 *note*.
- Mâ-warâ-l-nahr, Transoxiana, iv., 282 *note*; xi., 140 *note*.
- Maxentius, son of Maximian, revolt of, ii., 204; declared emperor at Rome, 211 *sq.* and *note*; excluded from the succession by Congress of Carnuntum, 214 *note*; opposes Galerius in Italy, 217; one of the six emperors, 219; tyranny of, 224 *sq.* and *note*; civil war with Constantine, 226 *sqq.*; leaves Rome, 234; defeated by Constantine at Saxa Rubra, 236; death, *ib.*; protected the Christians, iii., 76.
- Maximian and Galerius, persecute the Christians, iii., 63.
- Maximian, colleague of Diocletian, ii., 117, 145; emperor, 146 and *note*; provinces ruled by, 150 and *note*; defeats the Bagaudæ, 151 *sq.*; wars of, 153 *sqq.*; triumph of, 178; abdicates, at Milan, 191; re-assumes the purple, 220 and *note*; takes Arles, *ib.*; death, 221 and *note*.
- Maximianists, Donatist sect, iii., 338.
- Maximilianus, martyr, iii., 63.
- Maximin, courtier of Constantinople, his embassy to Attila, vi., 24; account of, *ib. note*; interview with the ministers of Attila, 26; returns to Constantinople, 34.
- Maximin, Emperor, origin and reign, i., 217 *sqq.*; character of, 220 and *note*; marches into Italy, 234; death, 237; portrait of, *ib.*
- Maximin [Galerius Valerius Maximinus], (Daza), Cæsar, ii., 203; emperor, 218; divides the empire with Licinius, 223; allies himself with Maxentius, 223; takes Byzantium, 240; death, *ib.*; conduct towards Valeria, 242 *sq.*; towards the Christians, iii., 53, 80.
- Maximin, Prefect of Gaul, iv., 198; tyranny of, 251.
- Maximinianopolis, *see* Messinople.
- Maximus, abbot, opponent of monothelism, viii., 180 and *note*; protected by Prefect Gregory, ix., 193 *note*.

- Maximus, Emperor with Balbinus, i., 230; reign, *ib. sqq.*; death, 241.  
 Maximus, friend and rival of Gregory Nazianzen, v., 17 and *note*.  
 Maximus, made emperor in Spain by Gerontius, v., 265; death, 267.  
 Maximus, Marius, historian, v., 214, 215 and *note*.  
 Maximus, military Governor of Thrace with Lupicinus, iv., 295 *sq.*  
 Maximus, Petronius, Senator of the Anician family, vi., 80; procures the death of Valentinian, 81; character of, vi., 85 *sq.*; epistle of Sidonius on, *ib. note*; made emperor, 86; marries Eudoxia, 87; death, 88.  
 Maximus, revolt of, in Britain, v., 5 *sq.*; invades Gaul, 7; persecutes the Priscillianists, 27 *sq.*; invades Italy, 37 *sqq.*; defeat and death, 42.  
 Maximus, Roman Patrician, vii., 254.  
 Maximus, the Platonist, iv., 56; at the court of Julian, 69 and *note*; at Julian's deathbed, 154; charged with magic, iv., 195, 196 *note*; metaphysics of, viii., 125 *note*.  
 Mazanderan, Princes of, ix., 106 *note*.  
 Mazara, Euphemius lands at, ix., 284; physician of, at the court of Roger of Sicily, x., 108.  
 Mazdak, the Persian Archimagus, vii., 196 and *note, sq.*  
 Mazdakites, massacre of, vii., 199 *note*.  
 Mead, Dr., on the plague, vii., 209 *note*.  
 Mebodes, general of Chosroes I., vii., 198; death, 199.  
 Mebodes, general of Chosroes II., viii., 64.  
 Mecca, ix., 9 and *note*; Caaba at, 23; besieged by Abrahah, 30 *sq.*; flight of Mahomet from, 58; the kebla of prayer, 69; taken by Mahomet, 71 *sq.*; Christians excluded from, 74 and *note*; college at, 235 *note*; pillaged by Abu Taher, ix., 299; Malek Shah at, x., 174; acknowledges Saladin, 295; threatened by Reginald of Chatillon, 300.  
 Medals, *see* Coins.  
 Media, Persian province, invites Trajan, i., 8; vizier of, appointed by Nushirvan, vii., 199.  
 Mediana, Castle of, iv., 185.  
 Medicine, science of, among the Arabs, ix., 275.  
 Medicis, Cosmo of, xi., 289.  
 Medicis, Lorenzo of, learning of, xi., 289.  
 Medina, residence of Mahomet, ix., 8 and *note*; under Scythian conqueror, 11; Mahomet made Prince of, 59 *sq.*; siege of, by Abu Sofyan, 69; death and burial of Mahomet at, 83; acknowledges Saladin, x., 295.  
 Mediomatrici, iv., 246 *note*.  
 Mediterranean Sea, included in Roman Empire, i., 33.  
 Megalesia, Roman festival, i., 114 *note*.  
 Mekran, conquered by the Saracens, ix., 132 *note*.  
 Melania, St., v., 209 *note*; generosity to the monks, vi., 172.  
 Melanthius, vii., 283 and *note*.  
 Melchites or royalists, eastern name for Catholics, viii., 182 *sq.* and *note*; of Paphlagonia put Xenaias to death, 195; in Egypt, under the Arabs, ix., 182, 232.  
 Meletians, sect of, iii., 375 and *note*.  
 Meletius; Bishop of Antioch, iii., 375 and *note*; iv., 92 *note*; his death, v., 22 and *note*; persuades Chrysostom to enter the Church, 309.  
 Meliarakes, A., his History of Empire of Nicæa, xi., 54 *note*.  
 Melisenda, daughter of Baldwin II., x., 298.  
 Melissenus, pretender, x., 179.  
 Melitene, restored by Justinian, vii., 67; battle of, viii., 53; destruction of, *ib.* and *note*; won from the Saracens by Constantine V., 237 *note*.  
 Mellobaudes, Count of the Domestics and King of the Franks, iv., [236 and *note*, 257, *see* Merobaudes], 307.  
 Melo of Bari, x., 85.  
 Melos, Isle of, taken by the Venetians, xi., 5 *note*; alum mines in, xi., 229 *note*.  
 Melphi, metropolis of the Normans in Apulia, x., 89 *note, sq.*; synod of, 100.  
 Membressa, in Africa, vii., 237 *note*.



- Memnon, Bishop of Ephesus, viii., 145; degraded by the Oriental synod, 147.
- Memory, Temple of, at Carthage, v., 264.
- Memphis, taken by the Saracens, ix., 174 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Menander (comic poet), last plays of, ix., 371 *note*; "whom the gods love die young," quoted, xii., 159 *note*.
- Menander (historian), extracts of, vii., 196 *note*; embassies of, viii., 51 *note*.
- Menbigz, bridge of, over the Euphrates, iv., 119 *note*.
- Menelaus, archer, iii., 217 *note*.
- Mengo, Timour, Khan of Kipzak, xi., 54.
- Menophilus, i., 235.
- Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage, iii., 77.
- Mentesia, lord of, submits to Orchan, xi., 160 *note*.
- Mentz, destroyed by the Germans, v., 175; pillaged by the Franks, vi., 50; massacre of Jews at, x., 210; story of its foundation, xii., 118 *note*.
- Mequinez, i., 33.
- Merab, in Arabia Felix, reservoir at, ix., 8 and *note*.
- Meranes or Mirranes, Persian title, iv., 148, 152.
- Mercury, promontory of, *see* Cape Bona.
- Merdaza, son of Chosroes, viii., 117.
- Merians, Russian tribe, x., 54 *note*.
- Merida, defeat of Hermanric at, v., 344; Theodoric at, vi., 98; siege of, 202; taken by the Saracens, ix., 217 *sq.*
- Merioneth, archers of, vi., 283.
- Merivale, on the population of Roman Empire, i., 53 *note*, 70 *note*.
- Mermeroes, Persian general in the Lazic war, vii., 236.
- Merobaudes, pagan of the fifth century, panegyric of Aetius, vi., 42 *note*.
- Merobaudes, saves Romanus from justice, iv., 236 *note*; with Equitius elevates Valentinian II., 257; death, v., 8.
- Meroliac, castle, taken by Theodoric, vi., 256 *sq.*; position of, *ib.* *note*.
- Merou, revolts from Yezdegerd, ix., 130; taken by Zingis, xi., 138.
- Meroveus, younger son of Clodion, seeks protection of Rome, vi., 51 and *note*.
- Merovingian Kings of the Franks, vi., 51 and *note*; coinage of, 237 and *note*; laws of, 239 *sqq.*; domains of, 250; palaces of, *ib.*; survival in Aquitain, viii., 364; last kings, ix., 251 *sq.*
- Merseburg, castle of, x., 46 and *note*.
- Mervan, last Omayyad caliph, ix., 260 and *note*; death at Busiris, 261.
- Merv-er-Rüd, Yezdegerd at, ix., 127 *note*; taken by the Saracens, *ib.*
- Merv, taken by the Saracens, ix., 127 *note*.
- Mesebroch, name for Marseburg, x., 211 *note*.
- Mesembria, battle of, x., 32 *note*; town of, captured by Krum, *ib.*; taken by the Turks, xii., 17.
- Mesene, Island of, siege of, i., 262 *note*.
- Meshed Ali, city of, ix., 100 *note*.
- Meshed Hosein, city of, ix., 100 *note*.
- Mesopotamia, subdued by Trajan, i., 8; resigned by Hadrian, 9; ravaged by Carus, ii., 131; Galerius defeated in, 169; ceded to the empire, 175; invaded by Sapor, iii., 198, 252 *sqq.*; Julian in, iv., 125; towns of, fortified by Justinian, vii., 68.
- Mesrobes, inventor of Armenian alphabet, v., 332 *note*.
- Messalla, Governor of Pannonia, saves Constantia, iv., 253.
- Messalla Valerius, first prefect of Rome, iii., 124 and *note*.
- Messiah, *see* Christ.
- Messina, Straits of, v., 255; capture of town of, by the Normans, x., 88; Roger the Norman at, 106 and *note*; etymology of name, 107 *note*.
- Messinople or Maximianopolis, fief of Villehardouin, xi., 19 *note*.
- Messius Decius, Q., Herennius Etruscus, son of the Emperor Decius, ii., 3 *note*.
- Messius Quintus, C. Valens Hostilianus, son of the Emperor Decius, ii., 3 *note*.
- Mesua, Arabian physician, ix., 275.
- Metaurus, river, ii., 78 *note*.
- Metelli, consulships of the, i., 201 *note*; iii., 119 *note*.

- Metellus, iv., 234.  
 Metellus Numidicus, on Women, i., 192 *note*.  
 Metempsychosis, x., 294 *note*.  
 Meteorion, in Asia Minor, xi., 66 *note*.  
 Methodius, Bishop of Tyre, ii., 307 *note*.  
 Methone or Modon, iv., 259 *note*; vi., 301 *note*.  
 Metius Falconius, ii., 107.  
 Metrodorus, the grammarian, vii., 50.  
 Metrophanes, Patriarch of Constantinople, xi., 298.  
 Metropolitanas, Spanish, preside at the legislative assemblies, vi., 266.  
 Metz, destruction of, by Attila, vi., 55 and *note*.  
 Meursius, Treatise on Rhodes, ix., 171 *note*.  
 Meyer, G., on the Greek language, xi., 272 *note*.  
 Meyer, Paul, his treatise on Roman Concubinage, vii., 354 *note*.  
 Michael Angelo, xii., 212.  
 Michael, Archbishop of Athens (Ako-minatos), xi., 7 *note*; defends the Acropolis, *ib. note*, 90 *note*.  
 Michael Catharus, grandson of Andronicus the Elder, xi., 98 *note*.  
 Michael Doceanus, Catepan, x., 89 *note*.  
 Michael I. (Angelus), despot of Epirus, xi., 12 and *note*.  
 Michael II., despot of Epirus, son of Michael I., xi., 33 *note*; war with Theodore Lascaris, 58 *note*.  
 Michael I., Rhangabe, Emperor, elected, viii., 244; reign of, 245; superstition of, 352; persecutes the Paulicians, x., 11.  
 Michael II., Emperor, revolts against Leo, viii., 246 *sq.*; reign of, 248 *sq.*; letter to Lewis the Pious, *ib. note*; Crete and Sicily lost under, ix., 282.  
 Michael III., Emperor, viii., 253 *sqq.*; campaign against the Paulicians, x., 13.  
 Michael IV., the Paphlagonian, Emperor, viii., 276 and *note*.  
 Michael V., Calaphates, Emperor, viii., 277 *sq.*  
 Michael VI., Stratioticus, Emperor, viii., 279 *sq.*
- Michael VII., Parapinaces, Emperor, viii., 282 *sq.*  
 Michael VIII., Palæologus, reign, xi., 34 *sq.*; recovers Constantinople, 35 *sqq.* and *note*; campaign of, in Epirus, 58 *note*; his family and character, 60 *sqq.*; his elevation, 63 *sq.*; entry into Constantinople, 67; blinds John Lascaris, 69; excommunicated by Arsenius, 70; absolved by Joseph, 71; union of, with the Latin Church, 73; releases Villehardouin, 72 *note*; sends embassy to Council of Lyons, 75; persecutes the Greeks, 76 *sq.*; poverty of, 87 *note*; restored the navy, 121; Golden Bull to Genoa, *ib. note*; surprised by the Tatars, 153.  
 Michael IX., defeated by the Catalans, xi., 88; associated in the empire, 97 and *note*; death, 98.  
 Michael, pretender, acknowledged by Robert Guiscard, x., 110; death of, at Durazzo, 118.  
 Michael the Janissary, xii., 33 *note*.  
 Michael the Syrian, viii., 21 *note*.  
 Middleton, Dr., his Free Inquiry, ii., 297 *note*; on paganism, v., 106 *note*.  
 Milan, Duke of, opposes Eugenius IV., xi., 255; troops of, before Ferrara, 264.  
 Milan, siege of, ii., 60; imperial residence of Maximin, 180; edict of, iii., 284 and *note*, 320 and *note*; council of, 384 *sq.* and *note*; capital of Emperor of the West, iv., 186; Porcian Basilica at, v., 32; disorders at, 33; taken by Attila, vi., 68; by the Goths, vii., 158; destroyed, 159 and *note*; taken by Alboin, viii., 14; by Frederic I., 385; rebuilt by Manuel, x., 136.  
 Miles, i., 15 *note*.  
 Milesians, iv., 223 *note*.  
 Military force of the Roman emperors, i., 11 *sq.*; whole amount of, 23.  
 Military officers, iii., 133.  
 Millennium, doctrine of the, ii., 289 *sq.* and *notes*.  
 Millet, culture of, vii., 181 and *note*.  
 Milo, trial of, vii., 285 *sq.*  
 Milosh Obilic, Servian who stabbed Murad Sultan, xi., 168 *note*.

- Milton, ii., 265 *note*; vii., 293 and *note*.  
 Milvian Bridge, i., 146 *note*; Vitiges at, vii., 138 and *note*.  
 Mina, valley of, ix., 24; Feast of Victims in, 48 *note*.  
 Mincius, vi., 73.  
 Minden, bishopric of, viii., 366.  
 Mineo, taken by the Saracens, ix., 285 *note*.  
 Minervina, wife of Constantine, iii., 172 and *note*.  
 Mines, use of, at siege of Constantinople, xii., 27 and *note*.  
 Ming, Chinese dynasty of, xi., 152 *note*, 211.  
 Mingrelia, *see* Lazica.  
 Minorbino, a count of, xii., 149.  
 Minorca, relics of St. Stephen at, v., 103 *note*.  
 Minority, Roman law distinguished two kinds, v., 120 *note*.  
 Mint, revolt of workers in, ii., 97 *sq.*  
 Minucius, Felix, iii., 7 *note*.  
*Mirabilia Romæ*, xii., 186 *note*.  
 Miracles of the Primitive Church, ii., 295 *sqq.*; pagan writers omit to notice, 345; v., 100 and *notes*; of the monks, vi., 178 *sq.*; of Mahomet, ix., 44.  
 Miran, Shah, son of Timour, xi., 217 *note*.  
 Mirchond, his History of the East, ix., 228 and *note*.  
 Mirranes of Persia, vii., 89 and *note*.  
 Mirtschea the Great, Prince of Wallachia, at battle of Nicopolis, xi., 171 *note*.  
 Mirza Mehmed Sultan, grandson of Bajazet, xi., 202 *sq.*  
 Miscreants, origin of word, x., 238 and *note*.  
 Misenum, a naval station, i., 23; restored by Majorian, vi., 111; promontory of, 150.  
 Mithras, minister of Gordian, i., 244 and *note*.  
 Mithra, Despotat of, province of the empire in fourteenth century, x., 113 *note*.  
 Misnah, iii., 73 *note*.  
*Misopogon*, Julian's, iv., 31, 114 and *notes*.  
 Misrah, name of Memphis, ix., 175.  
 Missionaries, Christian, ii., 331; amongst the Scythians, vi., 16 and *note*.  
 Missorium, gold dish belonging to Torismund, King of the Goths, v., 261.  
 Mistrrianus, ambassador of Licinius, ii., 248.  
 Mithras, i., 256; iii., 61 *note*; birthday of, v., 106 *note*.  
 Mithreum, v., 86 *note*.  
 Mithridates, i., 45; gold bust of, v., 156 *note*; subdues Colchos, vii., 219.  
 Moāwiya, caliph, subdues Persia and Yemen, ix., 99; attempt on his life, *ib.*; reign, *ib.* *sq.*; sends forces to Africa, 197; his peace with the emperor, ix., 240.  
 Moāwiya, Ibn Hudaii, general of the Caliph Moawiyah, ix., 197 and *note*.  
 Mocilus, beacon of, viii., 254 *note*.  
 Mochtadi (Muktadi), caliph, marries the daughter of Malek Shah, x., 176.  
 Mochtador (Muktadir), caliph, ix., 266; defeated by the Carmathians, 299.  
 Modain, Al, winter residence of the Sassanids, iv., 137 *sq.*; loyal to Chosroes, viii., 64; *see* Ctesiphon.  
 Modar, a Gothic prince, iv., 330.  
 Modena and Parma, settlement of the Taifalæ in, iv., 309, 310 and *note*; Attila at (?), vi., 68; reduced by the Greeks, viii., 28; threatened by the Hungarians, x., 45 *note*.  
 Moderator, name used by the Pope of the Greek emperor, xi., 235 and *note*.  
 Modestinus, iii., 4 *note*; authority of, in jurisprudence, vii., 326.  
 Mœotis, Lake, ii., 110.  
 Mœsia, i., 27 *sq.*; legions of, elect Marinus, ii., 1; invaded by the Goths, 12; regained by Claudius, 68; revolt of the Goths in, iv., 297 *sqq.*; Duke of, *see* Theodosius the Great; Theodoric in, vi., 305; *secunda*, vii., 59 *note*.  
 Moezaldowlat (Muizz ad-dawla), ix., 306.  
 Moez, Fatimite caliph, ix., 106.  
 Mogan, plains of, Heraclius in, viii., 105 and *note*.  
 Moguls, great, i., 268 *note*; successors of Timour, xi., 217.

- Moguls, *see* Mongols.
- Moguntiacum (Mentz), taken by the Alemanni, iv., 216 and *note*.
- Mohadi or Mahdi, Abbasside caliph, sends expedition to the Thracian Bosphorus, ix., 278.
- Mohagerians, or fugitives of Mecca, ix., 61 [Al-Muhajirun].
- Mohammad, *see* also Mahomet.
- Mohammad-al-Ikshid, founder of the Ikshidid dynasty, ix., 303 *note*.
- Mohammad I., Aghlabid caliph, ix., 288 *note*.
- Mohammad, Ibn Kāsim, conquests beyond the Indus, ix., 132 *note*.
- Mohammad, Mameluke, Sultan, A.D. 1311-1341, x., 323 *note*.
- Mohammad, son of Abbas, ix., 258.
- Mohammad, son of Abubekr, ix. 131 *note*.
- Mohammad, son of Ismail, ix., 297 *note*.
- Mohammad, Sultan of Carizme, iv., 282 *note*; defeated by Zingis Khan, xi., 137 *sq.*; death, 139.
- Mohyadi (Muhtadi), caliph, ix., 297 *note*.
- Mokawkas, an Egyptian noble, ix., 177 and *note*, 180.
- Moko, slave of the Topa princes, v., 164.
- Mola, surrendered to the Saracens, ix., 220.
- Moldavia, conquest of, by Bajazet, xi., 170 and *note*.
- Molinists, v., 352 *note*.
- Momyllus, Greek corruption of Romulus, vi., 149.
- Monachus, George, vii., 49 *note*.
- Monaldeschi, L., his Diary, xii., 126 *note*, 180.
- Monarchianism, heresy of, iii., 353 *note*.
- Monarchy, i., 75.
- Monasticism, vi., 156 *sqq.*; in Egypt, 159; in Rome, 160; in Palestine, 161; in Gaul, 162; causes of the progress of, 162 *sq.*
- Moncada, de, his History of the Catalans, xi., 89 *note*.
- Mondars, dynasty of, ix., 119 and *note*.
- Money, use and value of, i., 282.
- Mongols or Moguls, their connection with the Tatars, iv., 261 *note*; barbarous maxims of war, vi., 14 *sq.* and *notes*; conquests of, under Zingis, xi., 128-155; derivation of name, 130 *note*; division of empire of the, 159 *sq.*
- Mongous, iv., 275 and *note*.
- Monks, their legends, iii., 32; of Egypt, 394; vi., 159; serve in the army, iv., 207; destroy pagan temples, v., 84; origin of, vi., 156 *sq.*; account of, 159 *sqq.*; obedience of, 165 *sq.*; dress and habitations, 167 *sq.*; diet, 169 *sq.*; labour, 170 *sq.*; riches, 171; solitude, 173; visions of, 174; two classes of, 175; miracles and worship of, 178 *sq.*; suppressed by Constantine V., viii., 322 *sq.*; attitude of the Saracens to, ix., 136; lay-monks, *ib. note*.
- Monomachus*, meaning of the name, viii., 278 and *note*.
- Monophysite doctrine, viii., 153; defined by Severus, 194.
- Monophysites, pillage Jerusalem, viii., 161; massacre of, in Persia, 187.
- Monopolies, under Justinian, vii., 43.
- Monothelite controversy, viii., 178 *sq.*; Greek patriarch a Monothelite, ix., 233 *note*.
- Monoxyla, or canoes, x., 58.
- Monreal, *see* Montreal (Chevalier).
- Monstret, on siege of Constantinople, xii., 6 *note*.
- Montaigne, ii., 41 *note*.
- Montanists, ii., 283 *note*; excommunicated, 325 *note*; on martyrdom, iii., 46; persecution of, by Constantine, 333; in Phrygia, viii., 170 and *note*.
- Montasser, caliph [Muntasir], ix., 296 *sq.*
- Monte Maggiore, battle of, between Normans and Greeks, x., 89 *note*.
- Monte Majella, xii., 151 *note*.
- Monte Peloso, Norman victory at, x., 89 *note*.
- Montesquieu, de, i., 246; his Sylla and Eucrates, 234 *note*; on Roman military government, 246; on the censorship, ii., 14 *note*; on taxation, iii., 154 and *note*; criticised by Raynal, 409; on decline of the empire, *ib.*; on English laws, iv., 38 *note*; on revolutions of Asia, 267 *note*; on the Goths, 339 *note*; on Armorica, v., 281 *note*; pro-

- posed history of Theodoric, vi., 313 *note*; on secret history of Procopius, vii., 9 *note*; on Justinian, 58 *note*; on crime, 382 and *note*; on climate, xii., 66 *note*; on a passage of Florus, 100 *note*.
- Montfaucon, Father, edition of St. Chrysostom, v., 288 *note*, 308 *note*; on the Coliseum, xii., 207 *note*; his visits to antiquities of Rome, 212 *note*.
- Montferrat, Marquis of, sends his daughter to Constantinople, xi., 249.
- Montius, quæstor of the palace, iii., 229 and *note*, sq.
- Montreal (beyond Jordan), lordship of, x., 266 *note*.
- Montreal, Chevalier, Italian freebooter, xii., 153 and *note*.
- Monuments, Roman, i., 54 *sqq.*
- Monza, Palace of, viii., 34 *note*.
- Moors and Parthians, instructors of Commodus, i., 118.
- Moors, wars of Antoninus against the, i., 10 *note*; description of the, iv., 237 and *note*; preserved the Mahometan religion, v., 96 *note*; ally themselves with the Vandals, 346 and *note*; Gelimer among the, vii., 111 *sq.* and *note*; origin and manners of, 118 and *note*; revolt from Justinian, 119; defeat of, 120; rebellion of, 240 *sq.*; conversion of, to Islam, ix., 206.
- Mopsucrene, near Tarsus, death of Constantine at, iv., 26.
- Mopsuestia, in Cilicia, Aetius at, iii., 388 *note*; siege of, by Andronicus, viii., 295; by Phocas and Zimiscus, ix., 309; taken by the Crusaders, x., 241; restored to the empire, 273; name of, *ib. note*.
- Moravia, i., 301 *note*.
- Mordvans, religion of the, xi., 299 *note*.
- Morea, the, *see* Peloponnesus.
- Morging cup, wedding gift of the Lombards, v., 259 *note*.
- Morocco, i., 33.
- Morosini, Patriarch of Constantinople, xi., 3 and *note*.
- Morosi, on Greek dialects in Italy, xi., 276 *note*.
- Morrah, district of, in fourteenth century, xi., 113 *note*.
- Mortgages, Roman laws concerning, vii., 368 *sq.*
- Mortmain, in Empire of Romania, xi., 21.
- Moscow, province of, x., 53; city of, destroyed by Mongols, xi., 146 and *note*; burnt, A.D., 1382, 187 *note*; threatened by Timour, 189; taken by Toctamish, *ib. note*.
- Moscilama, a false Arabian prophet, ix., 112 and *note*; death, 113.
- Moselle, iv., 214 and *note*.
- Moses of Chorene, iii., 60; Persian war described by, iv., 242 *note*; adventures of Para, 245 *note*; history of Armenia, v., 331 *note*.
- Moses, religion of, ii., 265 *sqq.*; did not teach immortality, 287; in the Koran, ix., 39; laws of, compared with those of Mahomet, 63.
- Mosheim on Gnosticism, ii., 275 *note*, 277 *note*; viii., 122 *note*; on the Paulicians, x., 2 *note*; on Arnold of Brescia, xii., 78 *note*.
- Moslemah, brother of Caliph Soliman, besieges Constantinople, ix., 243 *sqq.*; his retreat, 246.
- Moslim, or Musulman, meaning of, ix., 35 *note*.
- Mosque founded at Constantinople, x., 280.
- Mostali, Caliph of Egypt, imprisons deputies of the Crusaders, x., 252.
- Mostarabes, *see* Mozarabes.
- Mostasem [Mustasim], last of the Abbasside caliphs, ix., 291 and *note*; death, 292 *note*; brings Turks into Bagdad, 295; put to death by Holagou, xi., 144.
- Mosthadi (Mustadi), caliph of Bagdad, his death, ix., 264 *note*; acknowledged in Egypt, x., 293.
- Mosul, Heraclius at, viii., 113 and *note*.
- Motadhed (Mutadid), caliph, ix., 233 and *note*.
- Motassem (Mutasim), caliph, "Octonary," war with Theophilus, ix., 291 *sqq.*
- Motawakkil (Mutawakkil), caliph, edicts of, ix., 233 *note*; death of, ix., 296.
- Motaz, caliph, ix., 297 *note*.

- Moulinet, metallic history of, xii., 167  
*note.*
- Moultan, conquest of, by grandson of Timour, xi., 191.
- Mountain, old man of the, xi., 143.
- Mourzoufle, deposes Isaac Angelus, x., 372; flight, 376; death, xi., 9.
- Mousa, *see also* Mūsā.
- Mousa, son of Bajazet, King of Anatholia, xi., 204; flight of, and defeat by Mahomet, 219-20; death, 220.
- Mousa Cassem, descendant of Ali, ix., 106 *note.*
- Moxoene, province of, ii., 176 and *note.*
- Moyle, Mr., i., 253 *note*; on Roman religious colleges, v., 72 *note.*
- Mozarabes of Spain and Africa, ix., 231 and *note.*
- Mucaper, assassinates Aurelian, ii., 101.
- Mucii, family of, vii., 319.
- Muezin (crier), xii., 52.
- Mugello, battle of, vii., 284 and *note.*
- Mugnier on union of Greek and Latin churches, xi., 254 *note.*
- Muhallab advances to the Indus, ix., 132 *note.*
- Mukan, vii., 194 *note.*
- Muizz ad-dawla, in Irak, A.D. 932, ix., 305 *note.* *See* Moezaldowlat.
- Muizz ben Badis, Zayrid, Sultan of Tunis, x., 87 *note.*
- Multan on the Hyphasis, siege of, by the Saracens, ix., 132 *note*; taken by Mahmud, x., 150.
- Mulucha, river, i., 32 *note.*
- Mummus, v., 141 *note.*
- Mummolus, last governor of Burgundy, vi., 261 and *note.*
- Mundus, quells tumult at Constantinople vi., 28.
- Mundzuk, father of Attila, vi., 4.
- Municipal cities, Italian, i., 44, 45 and *note*; under Hadrian, *ib.*; under the Antonines, 46.
- Munster, bishopric of, viii., 366.
- Muntaner, Raman de, historian of the Catalans, xi., 89 *note.*
- Munuza (or Abu Nesa), rebel Moor, ix., 253.
- Muratori, Italian annalist, i., 234, 235 *notes*; his Script. Rer. Ital. in Gibbon's library, xii., 74 *note*; on decline of imperial power in Italy, 100 *note*; account of his works, 180-1; biographies of, 181.
- Murcia, Saracens at, ix., 224.
- Murci, iii., 141 and *note*; on Eudoxia and the Vandals, vi., 88.
- Murder, under the Merovingians, vi., 243 *sq.*; under Charlemagne, 245; Roman law concerning, vii., 373.
- Muromians, Russian tribe, x., 54 *note.*
- Murom, town of, x., 54 *note.*
- Murra, *see* Porcelain.
- Mursa, or Essek, battle of, iii., 215, 216 and *note.*
- Mursa, Tatar chiefs so called, iv., 283.
- Murtadi of Cairo, ix., 186 *note*, 188 *note.*
- Mūsā, *see also* Mousa.
- Mūsā [ibn Nusair] the Saracen, defeats the Greeks at Utica, ix., 204; converts the Africans, 207; date of, *ib. note*; conquers Spain, 217 *sqq.*, 219 *note*; disgrace and death, 221, 222; legends concerning, 223.
- Mūsā, last of the Holagou dynasty, xi., 186 *note.*
- Musailima, *see* Moseilima.
- Music, under the Romans, v., 215 *sq.*
- Musonian, Prætorian prefect, iii., 249.
- Mustapha, reputed son of Bajazet, xi., 218; imprisonment and release of, 224; dismisses ambassadors of Manuel, *ib.*
- Muta, battle of, ix., 78.
- Muzalon, George, great domestic, xi., 59; death of, 60.
- Mycenæ, iii., 42 *note.*
- Mycone, Isle of, taken by the Venetians, xi., 5 *note.*
- Mygdonius, river, ii., 175; iii., 203 and *note.*
- Myos Hormos, trading port on the Red Sea, i., 69.
- Myriandrion, part of wall of Constantinople, xii., 18 *note.*
- Myron, heifer of, at Rome, vi., 326 and *note.*
- Mythology, Pagan, i., 37 and *note.*
- NABAL, father of Firmus, iv., 233; discord in the house of, v., 129 *sq.*
- Nabathæan, Syriac dialect, viii., 183 *note.*
- Nabathæan Arabs oppose Antigonus, ix., 11 *note.*
- Nacolia, battle of, iv., 192 and *note.*

- Nacoragan, Persian general in the Lazic war, vii., 236; death of, *ib.*
- Nadhirites, Jewish tribe of, ix., 69 *note* [Banu Nadir].
- Nadir Shah, ix., 94 *note*; enriches tomb of Ali, 100 *note*.
- Nahar Malcha, canal of the Tigris, iv., 137 and *note*.
- Nanienus, iv., 307.
- Nairs, or nobles of Malabar, viii., 192.
- Naissus, birthplace of Constantine, ii., 204; Julian at, iv., 22; magazine of arms at, v., 147; included in Attila's dominion, vi., 19; embassy to Attila arrive at, 25.
- Nakishbend, religious order in Islam, xi., 183 *note*.
- Nakitchevan, destroyed by Heraclius, viii., 103 *note*.
- Nantes, siege of, by Clovis, vi., 216 *note*; subdued by the Britons of Armorica, 275.
- Naples, kingdom of, fief of the Holy See, x., 96.
- Naples, town of, buildings of Theodoric at, vi., 327; Greek language spoken at, vii., 133 and *note*; taken by Belisarius, 134; taken by Totila, 245; dukes of, vii., 29.
- Napoli di Romania, or Nauplia, xi., 7 and *note*.
- Naptha, ix., 247 and *note*.
- Narbonne, besieged by the Visigoths, vi., 45; marriage of Placidia and Adolphus at, v., 259; palace of, 260; column of Musa at, ix., 219; conquered by the Saracens, ix., 252 and *note*; recovered by Pepin, 257 *note*.
- Narbonne (Narona) in Illyricum, ii., 128 *note*.
- Narbonne, province of, i., 25; First and Second Narbonnese, two of the seven provinces, v., 286 *note*.
- Nardini, topographer, xii., 212 *note*.
- Narisci, i., 301 and *note*.
- Narni, Galerius at, ii., 215; saved from Alaric, v., 199; rock of, vii., 138; taken by Belisarius, 152.
- Narses, King of Persia, war with Rome, ii., 168 and *note*; flight, 171; receives the ambassadors of the emperors in Media, 173; treaty with Rome, 175.
- Narses, Persian ambassador of Sapor, iii., 250.
- Narses, Persian general of the Emperor Maurice, restores Chosroes, viii., 64 and *note*; revolt and death of, 88.
- Narses, the eunuch, vii., 155; opposes Belisarius, 156 *sq.*; recall of, 157; character and expedition of, 265 *sq.*; titles of, *ib. note*; marches from Ravenna, 268; defeats Totila, 270; takes Rome, 271 *sqq.*; his disaffection and death, viii., 11 *sq.*
- Narshaki of Bokhara on the conquest of Transoxiana, ix., 132 *note*.
- Nasiræus, Codex, sacred book of the Christians of St. John.
- Nasr ibn Ahmad, founder of Sāmānid dynasty, ix., 303 *note*.
- Natanleod opposes Cerdic, vi., 276 *note*.
- Nations, or Ditch, battle of the, ix., 69.
- Naulobatus, chief of the Heruli, ii., 38.
- Navigation, Roman, i., 65; v., 289 and *note*; in fourteenth century, xii., 136 *note*.
- Navy, Roman, i., 22, 23; stations of, under Augustus, *ib.*; amount of, *ib.*; of the Greek emperors, ix., 351 *sqq.*
- Naxos, Island of, taken by the Venetians, xi., 5 *note*.
- Nazarene church, at Jerusalem, ii., 270.
- Nazario, Church of S., and S. Celso, at Ravenna, Mausoleum of Placidia, vi., 98 *note*.
- Nazarius, oration of, ii., 250 *note*; account of Constantine's dream, iii., 299 and *note*.
- Nazianzus, Church of, iv., 105 *note*; site of, v., 15 and *note*.
- Neapolis, *see* Sichern.
- Nebridius, Prætorian prefect in Gaul, quæstor of the palace, iii., 230 *note*; iv., 18 and *note*.
- Necho, King of Egypt, constructs canal, ix., 187 *note*.
- Nectarius, successor of Gregory at Constantinople, v., 24 and *note*, 308.
- Neged, district of Arabia, ix., 5.
- Negra, city of Yemen, vii., 231 and *note*.
- Negroes, African, iv., 238 and *note*.
- Negus of Abyssinia, vii., 231-3.
- Nehavend, battle of, ix., 126 and *note*.

- Neisabour, *see* Nishabur.
- Nemausus, taken by the Saracens, ix., 252 *note*.
- Nemesianus, ii., 95 *note*, 140 *note*.
- Nennius, vi., 268.
- Neo-Cæsarea, retreat of St. Basil near, vi., 161 *note*.
- Neopatras, in Thessaly, xi., 91 *note*.
- Neo-Platonists, ii., 198; iii., 62; suppressed at Athens, vii., 78 *sq*.
- Nepos, Julius, Emperor of the West, vi., 142; makes Ecdicius patrician, *ib. note*; flight and death, 142, 143; sends Epiphanius to the Visigoths, *ib. note*.
- Nepotian, nephew of Constantine, iii., 218.
- Nepotianus (consul), ii., 209 *note*; iii., 218.
- Nepthalites (Ephthalites), or White Huns, *see* *Futhalites*.
- Nero, Emperor, i., 92, 118, 121 *note*; conspiracy against, 91; character of, 101; desires to abolish taxes, 210; said to have burned Rome, iii., 18 *sq.*; introduces musical contest at Olympia, xii., 125 *note*; fire in his reign, 188 and *note*.
- Nerva, Emperor, i., 94; administration of, iii., 27.
- Neshri, Ottoman historian, xi., 203 *note*.
- Nestor, Russian chronicle ascribed to, x., 51 *note*.
- Nestorian heresy, suppressed by Pulcheria, v., 323; controversy in the East, vi., 207.
- Nestorians, opinions of the, viii., 184 *sqq.*; school of, at Edessa closed, 186; missions of the, in Tartary, India, China, 188; under the caliphs, 190; in Transoxiana, ix., 133 *note*; friendly to the Mahometan government, 232-3.
- Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, viii., 134, 140 *sqq.*; heresy of, 141-2; condemned by the Council of Ephesus, 146; exile of, 151; death, 153.
- Netad, battle of the, vi., 76; position of, *ib. note*.
- Neumann, C., on the empire in the eleventh century, viii., 282 *note*.
- Neuss, fortified by Julian, iii., 273 *note*; siege of, xi., 304 *note*.
- Nevers, iii., 162 and *note*.
- Nevigastes, general of Honorius, v., 179.
- Nevitta, general of Julian's cavalry, iv., 19; defends pass of Succ, 22, 35; consul, 40; in Mesopotamia, 124; at Maogamalcha, 131; faction of, after death of Julian, 156.
- Newstadt, in Austria, defended by the Franks against the Tartars, xi., 149.
- Newton, Sir Isaac, vii., 293; on corruption of the New Testament text, viii., 132 *note*; chronological rule of, 306.
- Neyss (Neisse), city in Silesia, viii., 73.
- Nicæa, *see* Nice.
- Nice, in Bithynia, gymnasium and theatre at, i., 56 *note*; burnt by the Goths, ii., 35; council of, iii., 331; its canons, concerning synods, iii., 329 *note*; emperor elected at, iv., 182; synod at, A.D. 451, viii., 157; reduced by Andronicus, 304; second council favours image worship, 350; metropolis of the Obsequian theme, ix., 43 *note*; pillaged by the Paulicians, x., 13; Seljuk conquest of, 179 and *note*; capital of Roum, 180; Crusaders near, 212; besieged by the Crusaders, 237; taken by Alexius Comnenus, *ib.*; Conrad at, 280 *note*; Theodore Lascaris at, xi., 10; empire of, *ib.*; panic of citizens of, caused by the Tartars, 154; taken by the Turks, 159 and *note*; Mirza Mehemed at, 203.
- Nicephorium, or Callinicum, town of, Julian at, iv., 121; ix., 280 *note*; pillaged by the Carmathians, 299.
- Nicephorus I., Emperor of Constantinople, viii., 8 *note*; character of, 243; financial administration of, *ib. note*; embassy of, to Charlemagne, 373; to Haroun al Rashid, ix., 280; clemency to the Paulicians, x., 11; slain by the Bulgarians, 32; expedition against the Bulgarians, 63 *note*; treaty of, with Bulgaria, 64 *note*; death of, 65 *note*.
- Nicephorus II., Phocas, Emperor of Constantinople, character of, viii., 269 and *note*; death, 271; reduced Crete, ix., 308; Eastern conquests, 309; fortifies Bagras, x., 243 *note*.



- Nicephorus III., Botaniates, Emperor of Constantinople, revolt of, viii., 284; interview with Alexius, 285; revolt of, x., 179.
- Nicephorus Blemmydes, his autobiography, xi., 54 *note*; his quarrel with Vataces, 57 *note*.
- Nicephorus Bryennius, revolt of, viii., 284; x., 179; vanquished, viii., 286; history of, x., 161 *note*.
- Nicephorus Callistus, Greek of the fourteenth century, account of the death of Theodosius, vi., 37 and *note*.
- Nicephorus, son of Constantine Copronymus, viii., 239 *sq.*
- Nicephorus Gregoras, historian, xi., 54 *note*, 96 and *note*, 114 *note*; on the Quietists, 119 *note*; on Cantacuzene, 164 *note*, 296-7 *notes*.
- Nicephorus Melissenus, rebellion of, viii., 286.
- Nicephorus, son of Michael II. of Epirus, xi., 58 *note*.
- Nicephorus, patriarch and chronicler, viii., 243 *note*; abridgment of, ix., 117 *note*.
- Nicephorus Xiphias, victory of, over the Bulgarians, x., 35 *note*.
- Nicetas, son of Constantine V., viii., 239.
- Nicetas, son of Gregory, lieutenant of Maurice, viii., 85; marries daughter of Heraclius, 86.
- Nicetas, a Greek general in tenth century, xii., 34 *note*.
- Nicetas Choniates, historian, x., 140 *note*; defends Philippopolis against the Franks, 278 *note*; on Isaac Angelus, 336 *note*, 372; on flight of the Greeks, 376; saved by a Venetian merchant, 377 and *note*; narrative of, compared to Villehardouin, 379; misfortunes of, 380; MS. of, in Oxford, 382.
- Nicetius, Bishop of Trèves, viii., 177 *note*.
- Nicholas Specialis, Sicilian writer, xi., 83 *note*.
- Nicholas, Cardinal, corrects text of the Latin Bible, vi., 198 *note*.
- Nicholas I., Pope, his quarrel with Photius, x., 331.
- Nicholas II., Pope, makes Robert Guiscard duke of Apulia, x., 100.
- Nicholas III., Marquis of Este, xi., 261 and *note*.
- Nicholas III., Pope, xi., 80; enmity of, to Charles of Anjou, xii., 94; his Bull, *ib. note*.
- Nicholas IV., Pope, xii., 118; [Ursini], 120; his policy, 121 and *note*.
- Nicholas V., Pope, xi., 288; xii., 61; founds Vatican library, xi., 289; fails to assist the Greek emperor, xii., 16; recognised by Greek Church, 21, 168; Rome restored under, 169.
- Nicholas Querini, Venetian, xi., 31.
- Nicodemus, body of, exhumed, v., 100.
- Nicolaus Mysticus, Patriarch of Constantinople, viii., 263 and *note*; x., 34 *note*.
- Nicolo, S. di Lido, Island of, Crusaders imprisoned by the Venetians in, x., 352 *note*.
- Nicomedia, forum and aqueduct at, i., 56 *note*; taken by the Goths, ii., 35, 36; residence of Maximian and Diocletian, 180; abdication of Diocletian, 192; Church of, burnt, iii., 66; Palace of, burnt, 68; earthquake at, 371; pillaged by the Paulicians, x., 13; Seljuk conquest of, 179; Crusaders at, 236; territory of, invaded by Othman, xi., 157.
- Nicon, St., Life of, ix., 308 *note*.
- Nicopolis, siege of, ii., 12 and *note*; restored by Julian, iv., 41 *note*; capitulated to the Goths, 330 *note*; property of Paula, v., 205 and *note*; Goths at, vii., 262; battle of, between Turks and European allies, xi., 171.
- Nicosia, Cathedral of, x., 266 *note*.
- Niebuhr, his work on Arabia, ix., 94 *note*; his visit to Meshed Ali, 104 *note*, 107 *note*.
- Niger Pescennius, governor of Syria, *see* Pescennius.
- Nika riots at Constantinople, vii., 23 *sqq.*; suppressed, 28.
- Nile, statue of, found at Rome, xii., 209-10.
- Nile, navigation of the, ii., 126; v., 289 *note*; rising of the, ix., 175 and *note*.

- Nilus, Patriarch, xi., 177 *note*.  
*Nine*, reverence of the Tartars for mysterious number, xi., 186 *note*.  
 Nineveh, battle of, viii., 113; circumference of, *ib. note*.  
 Nini, battle of the river, ix., 205 and *note*.  
 Ninus, date, i., 251 *note*.  
 Nishabur, royal city of the Seljuks, x., 157; palace at, 158; taken by Zingis, vi., 15; xi., 138.  
 Nisabur, *see* Nishabur.  
 Nisavi, secretary of Sultan Gelaeddin, xi., 133 *note*.  
 Nisibis, i., 244 *note*; capture of, by Avidius Cassius, 264 *note*; besieged by Sapor, ii., 42; meeting of the emperors at, 172, 174; siege of, by Sapor, iii., 203; ceded by Jovian, iv., 161; taken by Zimiscas, ix., 312.  
 Nitria, Desert of, iv., 207; tall brothers of, v., 313 *note*; anachorets of, vi., 159.  
 Nitzch, battle of, xi., 306.  
 Nivernois, Duke of, on political system of Clovis, vi., 214 *note*.  
 Nizâm [al-Mulk], vizir, x., 172; crimes and dismissal of, 175.  
 Noah, a prophet, his place in the Koran, ix., 39; seven precepts of, *ib. note*.  
 Nobadæ or Nubians, ii., 162; conversion of, viii., 208 *note*.  
 Nobilissimus, title of, iii., 181 and *note*.  
 Nobles, Roman, wealth of the, v., 204 *sq.* and *notes*; manners of, 206 and *notes*; character of, by Ammianus Marcellinus, 207 *sqq.* and *notes*.  
 Nocera, in Apulia, Saracen colony at, x., 145.  
 Noga, Mogul chief, xi., 154.  
 Nogaret, William of, minister of Philip the Fair, xii., 108.  
 Nogent, near Soissons, battle of, vi., 215 *note*.  
 Nohordates (Nohordares), iv., 152.  
 Nola, retreat of Paulinus, v., 150 *note*, 253; destroyed by Alaric, 254.  
 Nohac, de, P., xi., 277 *note*.  
 Nollî, plan of Rome by, xii., 212 *note*.  
 Nomius, ambassador of Theodosius to Attila, vi., 36.  
 Nonnosus, ambassador of Justinian, vii., 231 *note*; his interview with the Negus, 232.  
 Noodt, treatise on Aquilian law, vii., 371 *note*, 383 *note*.  
 Noricum, i., 28.  
 Normans or Northmen, x., 50; invade Italy, 83; in Sicily, 87; in Apulia, 89; Italian conquests, 102; conquest of Sicily, 105; extinction of, 146; serve under Romanus, 164.  
 Northern Sea (Baikal), iv., 276.  
 Notaras, Lucas, Great Duke, xi., 325; xii., 24; quarrels with Giustiniani, 35; his fate, 53 *sq.*  
*Notoria*, official despatch, ii., 62 *note*.  
 Notitia Dignitatum, iii., 112 and *note*, 139; Urbis Romæ, v., 75 *note*; Imperii, 130 *note*; of Ancient Gaul, by De Valois and D'Anville, 281 *note*; cities mentioned in, i., 25 *note*.  
 Nouredin (Nûr-ad-Dîn), Sultan of Aleppo, viii., 299; war with Christians, x., 288 *sq.*; conquests in Egypt, 292 *sq.*; death of, 296.  
 Novairi, ix., 191 *note*.  
 Novatians, excommunicated, ii., 325 *note*; persecuted, iii., 334; exempted from penalties, 334 and *note*; of Constantinople, 404.  
 Novels of Theodosius, v., 340 *note*; of Justinian, vii., 338 *sq.*  
 Novempopulania, one of the seven provinces, v., 286 *note*.  
 Novgorod, Russian capital, x., 54 and *note*, 55; Borga Khan at, xi., 153.  
 Nubia, Church of, viii., 208 *sqq.*  
 Numerals, Arabic, ix., 241 *note*.  
 Numerian, son of Carus (M. Aurelius), ii., 129 and *note*; Cæsar, 130; emperor, 132; character, 140; death, 141.  
 Numidia, i., 32; council of bishops in, iii., 335; ceded to the Vandals, v., 354 *note*; attacked by the Saracens, ix., 198.  
 Numidicus, Metellus, censor, i., 192 *note*.  
 Nushirvan, *see* Chosroes.  
 Nushizad, son of Nushirvan, vii., 202 *note*.  
 Nymphæum, residence of the Emperors of Nicæ, xi., 66 and *note*.

- OAK, suburb of Chalcedon, v., 111; synod of the, 313 and *note*.
- Oasis of Libya, description of, v., 296 *note*; Timasius exiled to, 296; Nestorius exiled to, viii., 152 *note*.
- Oaths of the Ancients, v., 235 *note*.
- Obedience, passive, theory and practice of, iii., 287 *sq*.
- Obeidollah (Obaid-Alläh), governor of Cufa, ix., 102; insults corpse of Hosein, 104, 131 *note*.
- Obelisk, of the Temple of the Sun, removed by Constantine, iii., 245; placed in the Circus at Rome by Constantius, *ib.* and *note*.
- Oblations, of the Church, ii., 319 *sq*.
- Obligations, Roman law concerning, vii., 366 *sqq*.
- Obsequium, fourth Theme, ix., 243 and *note*.
- Ochrida, capital of Samuel, the Bulgarian, x., 35 *note*.
- Ockley, author of the History of the Saracens, ix., 104 *note*, 135 *note*, 240 *note*.
- Octai, son of Zingis, Khan of the Mongols, xi., 140; conquests of, 145 *sq*.
- Octavia, tragedy of Seneca, v., 221 *note*.
- Octavian, son of Alberic, Pope John XII., *see* John XII.
- Octavianus, name of Augustus, i., 75.
- Octavius, i., 75 *note*.
- Oculus Pastoralis, xii., 91 *note*.
- Odenathus of Palmyra, ii., 46, 50, 53; Persian victories of, 84, 85; death, 85.
- Odenathus (?), Prince, ii., 36 *note*.
- Odessus, Milesian colony, *see* Varna.
- Odeum, restored by Herodes, i., 58 and *note*.
- Odin, flight of, ii., 6, 7 and *note*; Gibbon renounces his earlier view on, xii., 192 *note*.
- Odo, Frangipani, marries niece of Emperor Manuel, x., 137.
- Odo, Abbot of Clugny, his Life of Gregory of Tours, vi., 260 *note*.
- Odo de Deogilo, x., 274 *note*.
- Odoacer, son of Edecon, commands in Italy, vi., 144; puts Orestes to death, 145; reign, 145 *sqq*.; his correct name, Odovacar, *ib.* *note*; abolishes the Western Empire, 147; silver coin of, *ib.* *note*; character, 152; miserable state of Italy under, 153 *sq*.; resigns provinces to Euric, 211; defeated by Theodoric, 309 *sq*.; capitulation and death, 311, 312 and *note*.
- Odothæus, invasion of, iv., 335 *note*.
- Oea, city of, iv., 231 and *note*.
- Oenoë, in Pontus, Manuel Comnenus at, viii., 300.
- Ogli, Lazarus, xi., 324 *note*.
- Ogotai, Grand Khan, death of, xi., 149 *note*.
- Ogors or Varchonites, conquered by the Turks, vii., 190 and *note*.
- Ogyges, comets in his time, vii., 292 and *note*.
- Ohud, battle of, ix., 68 and *note*.
- Oil, distribution of, at Rome, v., 218 *note*; tax on, in Africa, 219.
- Okba ibn Nafi, *see* Akbah.
- Olahus, Nicholas, Archbishop of Gran, his Life of Attila, vi., 1 *note*.
- Old man of the mountain, xi., 143.
- Olearius, traveller, viii., 58 *note*; on Novgorod, x., 54 *note*.
- Olga, Princess of Russia, baptism of, x., 68.
- Olibriones, Gallic tribe, vi., 58 *note*.
- Olive, cultivation of, i., 67.
- Olivento, river, victory of the Normans on the, x., 89 *note*.
- Oljai, wife of Timour, xi., 184 *note*.
- Olybrius, Roman patrician, vii., 254.
- Olybrius, senator, made Emperor of the West by Ricimer, vi., 138; death, 141 *sq.* and *note*.
- Olympias, wife of Arsaces Tiranus (Arshak), iv., 240 and *note*, 242.
- Olympias, daughter of Ablavius, ix., 284 *note*.
- Olympic games at Antioch, iv., 90.
- Olympiodorus, account of Rome, v., 335 *sq*.
- Olympius, the philosopher, defends paganism, v., 86 and *note*.
- Olympius of Tralles, vii., 50.
- Olympius, an officer of the palace, under Honorius plots against Stilicho, v., 185 *sq*.; dismissed the ambassadors of Alaric, 231; death, 232.
- Olympus, deities of, iv., 50.
- Oman, district of Arabia, ix., 5.
- Omar I., caliph [Omar ibn al-Khattab], mosque of, at Jerusalem, iv., 80;

- conversion to Mahometanism, ix., 55; acknowledges Abubeker, 92; reign and death, 93; virtues of, 114-5; conquests, 116 *sq.*; founds Bassora, 123; interview with Harmozan at Jerusalem, 161 *sq.*; mosque of, 162 and *note*; Mahomet's opinion of, 169 *note*; destroys library at Alexandria, and Persian books, 183 *sq. note*; mosque of, at Jerusalem, x., 303.
- Omar II., caliph, persecutes the Christians, ix., 233 *note*; 245 and *note*.
- Omayya, *see* Ommiyah.
- Ommiyah, family of, ix., 58; support Omayya, 98; Syria under the, 170; revolt of Arabia and Persia from, 258 *sqq.*; fall of, 261.
- Omortag, *see* Giom Omortag.
- Onagri, warlike engines, vii., 142 and *note*.
- Onegesius, favourite of Attila, vi., 17 *sq.*; wife of, receives Attila, 31.
- Onulph, brother of Odoacer, vi., 146.
- Opadna, vii., 69 *note*.
- Ophites, ii., 274 *note*.
- Opilio, delator of Boethius, vi., 339 *note*.
- Opima, iv., 335 *note*.
- Opis, iv., 145.
- Oppas, Archbishop of Toledo, ix., 209, 216 *note*.
- Oppian law, vii., 347 *note*.
- Opsikian Theme, mutiny of, viii., 233 *note*; besiege Anastasius, ix., 243 *note*.
- Opsopœus, vii., 131 *note*.
- Optatianus, panegyric of, ii., 252 *note*; iii., 176 *note*.
- Optatus, brother-in-law of Constantine, iii., 173; his death, 194.
- Optatus of Milevis, iii., 405 *note*.
- Ora or Opta, given by Theodemir to the Saracens, ix., 220.
- Oracles, iii., 61 and *note*; abolished, 410.
- Orang outang, iv., 237 *note*.
- Orchan, son of the Caliph Othman, conquers Prusa, xi., 157; conquests of, 159 *sqq.*; marries daughter of Cantacuzene, 163; death, 166.
- Orchoe, in Assyria, iv., 127 *note*.
- Orda, grandson of Zingis, xi., 187 *note*.
- Ordeals, trial by, abolished by Michael VIII., xi., 63; compared with judicial combat, 64 *note*.
- Ordination of clergy, iii., 318 and *note*.
- Orestes, prefect of Egypt, persecuted by Cyril, viii., 138.
- Orestes, Roman patrician, vii., 254.
- Orestes the patrician, ambassador of Attila, vi., 24 *sq.*; at Constantinople, 35; deposes Nepos, 142; account of, *ib. sq.*; refuses to divide Italy, 144; put to death by Odoacer, 145.
- Orbihuela, given by Theodemir to the Saracens, ix., 220.
- Oribasius, physician of Julian, iv., 10 *note*.
- Origen, ii., 278 *note*, 306; account of the number of Christians, 341; of the martyrs, iii., 36; tries to convert Mamæa, 52; opinions of, viii., 174 and *note*.
- Origenism, controversy in Egypt concerning, v., 313 *note*.
- Orlando (Rutland or Rolando), viii., 361 *note*.
- Orleans, Duke of, brother of Charles VI. of France, xi., 243.
- Orleans, colony of Alani at, vi., 43 and *note*; besieged by Attila, 55, 56; siege of, raised, 58; Ægidius defeats Ricimer at, vi., 131.
- Ormusd, principle of good, i., 255, 256 and *note*.
- Ormuz, city of, xi., 187 and *note*.
- Orosius, ii., 26; v., 169; in Palestine, 263 *note*; on an inundation of Rome, xii., 190 *note*.
- Orpheus, Christian forgery of, ii., 347 and *note*.
- Orsini, *see* Ursini.
- Orthogrul, father of the Caliph Othman, xi., 156.
- Ortok, hereditary Emir of Jerusalem, x., 189.
- Ortokides, expulsion of the, x., 189 *note*.
- Ortous, territory of, iv., 281.
- Orvieto, taken by Belisarius, vii., 157; bishop of, vicar of pope, xii., 132, 135, 143.
- Osimo (Auximum), taken by Belisarius, vii., 157, 161 and *note*.
- Osiris, Egyptian deity, v., 85 and *note*.
- Osimimi, tribe of, vi., 275.

- Osius, Bishop of Cordova, iii., 312 *note*, 336; presided at Council of Nice, 365; banishment, 387 *sq.* and *note*.
- Oskold, Slav hero, x., 52 *note*.
- Osnaburgh, bishopric of, viii., 366.
- Osrhoene, conquered by Trajan, i., 8; by Severus and Caracalla, 266.
- Osset, or Julia Constantia, in Bætica, font at, vi., 203 and *note*.
- Ossian's poems, i., 166 and *note*; ii., 340 *note*.
- Ostia, port of, i., 65; taken by Alaric, v., 235; description of, 236 *note*; an episcopal city, *ib.*; held by the Goths, vii., 252 *note*; Casarius at, ix., 288; bishops of, their part in imperial coronations, xii., 67 *note*; in the twelfth century, 101.
- Ostius, L., first parricide in Rome, vii., 373 *note*.
- Ostrogoths, *see* under Goths.
- Ostrogotha, ii., 11 *note*.
- Otas the satrap, ii., 166.
- Othmān, caliph, revises the Koran, ix., 42; reign, 94; forged document bearing the seal of, 96 and *note*; death of, *ib.*; recalls Amrou, 173.
- Othmān, first Ottoman Sultan, reign, xi., 156 *sq.*
- Otho, Roman Emperor, i., 94, 135 *note*.
- Otho (Otto) I., or Great, Emperor of the West, viii., 371 and *note*; restores the Western Empire, 372 *sq.*; nominates the Popes, 376; war with the Hungarians, x., 46 *sqq.*; defeats the Hungarians at the battle of the Lech, 47; Zurich walled in his reign, xii., 80 *note*.
- Otho (Otto) II., Emperor of the West, marries Theophano, viii., 268 and *note*; massacres the senators, 381 and *note*; ix., 348.
- Otho (Otto) III., removes bones of Boethius, vi., 341 and *note*; revolt of Rome against, viii., 382; defeat of, by the Saracens, x., 79; spurious diploma of, xii., 85 *note*.
- Otho (Otto) of Freisingen, historian, on Italian cities, viii., 384 *note*; x., 280 *note*; leads part of Conrad's army, *ib. note*; his Works, xii., 95 *note*; on the Franks, 98 *note*.
- Otho de la Roche, Duke of Athens and Thebes, xi., 90.
- Otranto (Hydrus, Hydruntum), Greek dialect spoken in, xi., 276 *note*; capture by Turks, xii., 63 and *note*.
- Otrar, massacre of Moguls at, xi., 137 and *note*; taken by Zingis, 138 and *note*; death of Timour at, 213.
- Otter, on Africa, ix., 191 *note*; travels in Turkey, x., 240 *note*.
- Ottomans, origin of, xi., 155; etymology of name, 156 *note*; era of Ottoman Empire, 158; their conquests under Orchan, *ib. sqq.*; coinage of the, *ib. note*; cavalry, *ib.*; causes of success of, 161 *note*; establishment of, in Europe, 165; conquests of, under Bajazet, 169 *sqq.*; threaten Constantinople, 177; attack Constantinople, 223; besiege Constantinople under Amurath II., 224 *sq.*; hereditary succession and merit of the, 225 *sq.*; education and discipline of, 227 *sq.*; levy tribute on the Christians, *ib. note*; principle of Ottoman law, that the Sultans may abrogate treaties, xii., 5-6.
- Outlaws, in Gaul, iv., 13 and *note*.
- Ovid, i., 104 *note*; 292 *note*; his Fasti, ii., 282 *note*; description of the Sarmatians, iii., 186 and *note*.
- Oxford, number of students at university of, xi., 274 *note*.
- Oxus or Gihon, river, vii., 196, 214; ix., 129 and *note*.
- Oxyrhynchus, city of, monasteries at, vi., 160 and *note*.
- PACATUS, his panegyric of Theodosius the Great, v., 43 *note*.
- Pachomius, Abbot, in the Isle of Tabenne, vi., 159, 160.
- Pachymeres, George, historian, on Ordeals, xi., 61 *note*; his perspicuity, 63 *note*, 96 and *note*.
- Pacts, in Roman law, vii., 366.
- Pacuvius, his Brutus and Decius, v., 221 *note*.
- Paderborn, camp of Charlemagne at, viii., 358; bishopric of, 365.
- Padua, destroyed by Attila, vi., 68; wealth of, 69.
- Pænius, ii., 159 *note*.
- Pæderasty, laws against, vii., 390 *sqq.*
- Pætus, Lucas, xii., 171 *note*.
- Pætus, Thræsea, i., 172 *note*.

- Pagan*, history of the word, iii., 413, 414 *note*.
- Paganism, toleration of, by Constantine and his sons, iii., 409 *sqq.*; restored by Julian, iv., 63 *sqq.*; fall of, under Jovian, 176 *sq.*; tolerated by Valentinian, 202; account of, under Theodosius, v., 71 *sqq.*; prohibited, 90 *sqq.*; extinguished, 94; in the fifteenth century, xi., 291.
- Pagans, zeal against the Christians, iii., 61; favoured by Julian, iv., 70; they persecute the Christians, 94 *sq.*; of the West, v., 94; tolerated by Theodosius, *ib.* and 95; conversion of, under Justinian, viii., 171.
- Pagi, chronology of, vii., 137 *note*.
- Pagus Arebrignus, i., 67 *note*.
- Painting, in Italy, in sixth century, viii., 42.
- Palaces of the Merovingians, vi., 250.
- Palæologi, end of the, xii., 57 *sq.* and *note*; of Montferrat, extinction of the, 57 *note*.
- Palæologus, Andrew, son of Thomas, despot of the Morea, xii., 60 and *note*.
- Palæologus, Andronicus, Regent of Constantinople, xi., 241; receives Thessalonica, 251.
- Palæologus, Andronicus, son of John, xi., 176; blinded, *ib.*; made Emperor, *ib.*
- Palæologus, Demetrius, despot of the Morea, xi., 322; pays tribute to Turks, xii., 57; civil war with his brother, 58; submits to Turks and receives islands in North Ægean, *ib.*
- Palæologus, George, viii., 286; defends Durazzo, x., 112; besieges Bari, 136; death, 139.
- Palæologus, John, brother of Michael VIII., xi., 34 *note*.
- Palæologus, John, son of Andronicus, xi., 176; blinded, *ib.*; made Emperor, *ib.*; held Selymbria, 177; civil war with Manuel, *ib.*; receives Ottoman support, 179.
- Palæologus, Manuel, son of Thomas, despot of the Morea, xii., 60.
- Palæologus, Michael, lieutenant of the Emperor Manuel, x., 136.
- Palæologus, Theodore, xii., 41 *note*.
- Palæologus, Thomas, despot of the Morea, xi., 322; son of, xii., 11; pays tribute to Turks, 57; war with his brother, 58; flees to Italy, 60.
- Palamas, Gregory, his theological views, xi., 119 and *note*.
- Palamites, *see* Palamas.
- Palanders or horse transports, x., 357 and 361 *note*.
- Palatine, Mount, i., 79, 80 *note*; vi., 125.
- Palatines, iii., 136; auxiliaries, iv., 3 *note*; or borderers, in Africa, viii., 110.
- Palermo, sack of, by Genseric, vi., 85; taken by Belisarius, vii., 129; Saracens at, ix., 285 and *note*; silk manufacture at, 327 *note* and 328; coronation of Roger at, x., 129.
- Palestine, i., 31; invaded by the Isaurians, v., 318; taxes remitted after Samaritan revolt, vii., 42 and *note*; monasteries built by Justinian in, 57; corruption of, 382 *note*.
- Palastrina (or Præneste), overthrown by the Romans, xii., 101; seat of the Colonna, 119.
- Palimbothra (Patna), *see* Kinnoge.
- Palladium, i., 187; v., 72 *note*; of Edessa, viii., 314; brought to Constantinople, 317 and *note*.
- Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, defence of St. Chrysostom, v., 308 *note*; vi., 115 *note*.
- Palladius, son of the Emperor Petronius Maximus, marries daughter of Valentinian III., vi., 87.
- Palladius, messenger, v., 330.
- Palladius, a notary, sent to Africa, iv., 232 and *note*.
- Pallas, son of Evander, discovery of his tomb, xii., 209 *note*.
- Pallas, i., 115 *note*.
- Pallium*, xii., 204 and *note*.
- Palma, A. Cornelius, lieutenant of Trajan, ix., 11 *note*.
- Palmaria, Isle of, Sylvester at, vii., 246 *notes*.
- Palmyra, ii., 46 and *note*, 88 *sqq.*
- Paltogles, admiral of Mahomet II., xii., 17 *note*.
- Pambo, the monk, vi., 172 *note*.
- Pampeluna, taken by Euric, vi., 131.

- Pamphronius, Roman patrician, his mission to Constantinople, viii., 26.
- Pamphylia, peasants of, resist Tribigild, v., 299.
- Pan, Altar of, on the Palatine, vi., 125.
- Panætius, friend of Scipio, vii., 322 *note*.
- Panaretos, Michael, historian of Trebizond, xi., 11 *note*.
- Panchatantra, collection of fables, vii., 203 *note*.
- Pandects, or Digest of Justinian, vii., 315, 330 and *notes*, 331; Latin of, 333 *note*; faintly remembered at Rome, xii., 86.
- Pandetaria, iii., 26 *note*.
- Pandulph of Capua, x., 86 *note*.
- Pandulph of Pisa, x., 193 *note*; xii., 74 *note*.
- Pandulph, nephew of Hugh of Alatri, x., 193 *note*.
- Paneas in Palestine, image of Christ at, viii., 312 and *note*.
- Panhypsebastos, title invented by Alexius Comnenus, ix., 337.
- Pankalia, battle of, viii., 274 *note*.
- Pannonia or Hungary, description of, i., 28; submits to Roman yoke, 142; settlement of Suevi, ii., 30; colony of Sarmatians in, iii., 190; invaded by the Quadi, iv., 252; falls to the Emperor of the East, v., 339; Aetius in, 353; occupied by the Ostrogoths, vi., 77; campaign of Majorian in, 110 *note*; evacuated by the Goths, vii., 177.
- Pannonia Secunda, vii., 59 *note*.
- Pannonians, character of, i., 142.
- Pansophia or Irene, viii., 158.
- Pansophia, matron of Florence, v., 169 *note*.
- Pantheon at Rome, i., 55 *note*; made into a Christian church, v., 84 and *note*.
- Pantomimes, Roman, v., 221, 222 and *note*.
- Panvinus, Onuphrius, xii., 212 *note*.
- Paolo, Fra, iii., 88 *note*; on the Papal System, xi., 253 *note*; xii., 176 *note*.
- Papaioannu, Ch., on Acts of the Council of Florence, xi., 298 *note*.
- Papencordt, Dr. Felix, his Life of Rienzi, xii., 128 *note*.
- Paper, manufacture of, at Samarcand, ix., 134 and *note*.
- Paphlagonia, invaded by legionaries, iii., 404; seized by David Comnenus, xi., 11 *note*.
- Papianilla, wife of Sidonius, vi., 132 *note*.
- Papias, the Great, office of, ix., 338 *note*.
- Papinian, Prætorian prefect, i., 159; death of, 173; legal work of, vii., 320; authority of, 326 and *note*.
- Papirius, i., 79 *note*; vii., 304 *note*.
- Papirius, Pætus, friend of Cicero, vi., 155 *note*.
- Papua, Mount, vii., 111 and *note*.
- Para, son of Arsaces Tiranes, acknowledged King of Armenia, iv., 241; adventures of, 242 *sqq.*; assassinated by the Romans, 244 and *note*.
- Parabolani or visitors of the sick, iii., 319, 320; viii., 137 and *note*.
- Paradise, Persian garden, vii., 99 and *note*; of the Moslems, ix., 52-3.
- Parakamōmenos (chamberlain), viii., 272 *note*.
- Paraspondylus Zoticus, xi., 311 *note*.
- Paris, Matthew, on Baldwin II., xi., 29 *note*.
- Paris, description of, iii., 277 *sq.*; palace of the baths (Thermaum) at, iv., 8 and *note*; siege of, by Clovis, vi., 216 *note*; University of, xi., 274 *note*, xii., 126, 163 and *note*.
- Parker, E. H., A Thousand Years of the Tartars, iv., 267 *note*; on the Turks, vii., 186 *note*.
- Parker, J. H., Archæology of Rome, vii., 143 *note*.
- Parma, reduced by the Greeks, viii., 28.
- Parricide, laws concerning, vii., 373.
- Paros, Isle of, taken by the Venetians, xi., 5 *note*.
- Parsus, i., 256 *note*.
- Parthia, subdued by Trajan, i., 8; by Artaxerxes, 252; feudal government in, 261, 262; summary of war with Rome, 263.
- Parthians, subdued by Artaxerxes, i., 251; wars of, with the Romans, 263, 264.
- Partholanus, the giant, i., 278 *note*.
- Paschal II., Pope, his coins, xii., 68 *note*; sedition against, 75 *sq.*; contest with the Colonna, 117.
- Paschal chronicle, account of Attila, vi., 40 *note*; viii., 96 *note*, 97 *note*.

- Pasitigris, or Shat-el-Arab, iv., 127 *note*.  
 Patara in Lycia, vii., 246 *note*.  
 Paternus, Proconsul of Africa, iii., 38.  
 Patras, Basil I. at, viii., 257.  
 Patriarch, title of, vi., 195 *note*.  
*Patria Potestas*, vii., 340 *sq.*; limitation of, 342 *sq.*  
 Patrician of Rome, title granted by the Senate to Charles Martel, viii., 344.  
 Patricians, Roman, revived by Constantine, iii., 119, 120 and 121 and *notes*; viii., 342 *sq.* and *note*.  
 Patriate, Roman, viii., 343.  
 Patricius, Augustin, historian, xi., 271 *note*.  
*Patricius*, name of, vi., 149 *note*; title of, in Burgundy, 261 and *note*.  
 Patrick, saint, vi., 149 *note*.  
 Patripassians, iii., 353 *note*.  
 Patrocles, admiral of the Kings of Syria, fleet of, in the Caspian Sea, viii., 54 *note*.  
 Patzinaks, invasion of, under Constantine IX., viii., 278 *note*; besiege Kiev, x., 63 *note*.  
 Pauton, M., his *Métrologie*, vii., 145 *note*.  
 Paul Catena, iii., 222; iv., 35.  
 Paul of Cilicia, deserts to Totila, vii., 262.  
 Paul the Civilian, i., 160; vii., 320; authority of, 326.  
 Paul, commissioner in Africa, iii., 405 and *note*.  
 Paul, orthodox bishop of Constantinople, banished, iii., 366; flight, 401.  
 Paul, the deacon of Aquileia, on the Seven Sleepers, v., 361 *note*; on the provinces of Italy, vi., 69 *note*.  
 Paul, the hermit, iii., 33 *note*.  
 Paul, brother of the Patrician Orestes, vi., 145.  
 Paul II., Pope, persecutes Roman Academy, xi., 291 *note*.  
 Paul III., Pope, vandalism of his nephews, xii., 207 and *note*.  
 Paul IV., Pope, xii., 176 *note*.  
 Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, iii., 56; his degradation, 58; x., 4 *note*.  
 Paul the Silentary, vii., 52 *note*, 54 *note*.  
 Paul of Tanis, Patriarch of Alexandria, persecution of, and death, iii., 400 and *note*; viii., 203.  
 Paul, Warnefrid, the deacon of Friuli, on the Lombards, viii., 6 *note*, 9 *note*.  
 Paula, pupil of Jerome, family of, v., 200 and *note*, 201; owned Nicopolis, 205; founds hospital and monasteries in Palestine, vi., 164; epitaph of, by Jerome, *ib. note*; generosity of, to the monks, 172.  
 Paulicians, Christian sect, description of, x., 1 *sqq.*; derivation of name, 4 *note*; seven teachers of the, *ib.*; belief and worship of, 6 *sq.*; in Armenia and Pontus, 8 *sq.*; persecuted, 9; revolt of, 11; in Asia Minor, 13; in Thrace, 15; in Italy and France, 18 and xii., 78; settled among the Albigeois, x., 19 *sq.*  
 Paulinus of Bordeaux, v., 279, 280 and *note*.  
 Paulinus, Suetonius, i., 4 *note*.  
 Paulinus, Bishop of Antioch, v., 22.  
 Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, v., 150 *note*, 168 *note*.  
 Paulinus, secretary of Ambrose, v., 36.  
 Paulinus, master of the offices, execution of, v., 328.  
 Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, viii., 13.  
 Paulinus, Bishop of Trèves, banishment, iii., 387.  
 Paullini, family of the, conversion of, v., 79.  
 Paullina, wife of Maximin, i., 221 *note*.  
 Paulus, Julius, on Roman law, vii., 360 *note*.  
 Paulus the Secutor, i., 121 and *note*.  
 Pautalia, vii., 60 *note*.  
 Pavia, battle of, ii., 78; pillaged by Attila, vi., 68; Honorius at, v., 187; siege of, by Odoacer, vi., 145; buildings of Theodoric at, 327; Boethius at, 339; taken by Charlemagne, viii., 339; burnt by the Hungarians, x., 44.  
*Paximacia*, monastic loaves, vi., 170 *note*.  
 Peace, temple of, at Rome, *see* Rome.  
 Peacock, a royal bird, xii., 61 *note*.  
 Pearl fishery in Britain, i., 4 and *note*; in Ormuz and Cape Comorin, i., 69



- note*; large pearl in caliph's treasury at Cairo, x., 290 *note*.
- Pegasians, legal sect of the, vii., 325 and *note*.
- Pegasus, slave of Domitian, vii., 325 and *note*.
- Pegu, kingdom of, conquered by Zingis, xi., 142.
- Pehlvi language, i., 253 *note*.
- Peking, besieged by Zingis, xi., 136 and *note*; royal residence of the Khans, 140 *note*, 152.
- Pelagian controversy, v., 176 and *note*.
- Pelagianism in Britain, v., 285 and *note*; decay of, vi., 207.
- Pelagius, papal legate in Egypt, x., 314; his measures at Constantinople, xi., 20.
- Pelagius, archdeacon, embassy to Gothic camp, vii., 253 and *note*; appeals to Totila, 254; Pope, *ib. note*; viii., 176.
- Pelagius, Prætorian prefect, oppresses the people of Pavia, vi., 152 *note*.
- Pelamides, or thunnies, iii., 98 *note*.
- Pelham, Mr., on Arrian, vii., 213 *note*.
- Pella, Nazarene church at, ii., 271 and *note*; vi., 301 *note*.
- Pellegrini, on Greek dialect of Calabria, xi., 276 *note*.
- Pellegrino Camillo, history of the Lombards, x., 75 *note*.
- Peloponnesus, state of, in eighth century, ix., 323 *sqq.*; cities and revenue of, 325; manufacture of silk in, 326-7; families of, transported to Constantinople, xii., 55; condition in fifteenth century, 58 and *note*; Albanians in, *ib.*; conquered by Turks, *ib.*
- Pelso, lake, ii., 222 and *note*; vi., 299 *note*.
- Pelusium, plague at, vii., 296; taken by Chosroes, viii., 90; taken by Amrou, ix., 174; evacuated by Shiracouh, x., 291.
- Penance, public, ii., 325.
- Pendragon, or British dictator, v., 285.
- Pengwern, or Cærmearthaen, vi., 282.
- Penicola, Benedict XIII. at, xii., 166.
- Penitentials, Greek, x., 203.
- Pentadius, master of the offices, iv., 11, 12.
- Pentapolis, the inland (in Italy), viii., 29.
- Pentapolis, the maritime (in Italy) of Ravenna, viii., 29, 345.
- Pepin, son of Charles Martel, delivers Rome, viii., 337 *sq.*; King of France, 340 *sq.*; coronation of, *ib.* and *note*; donations of, to the Pope, 344 *sq.*; recovers Narbonne, ix., 257 *note*.
- Pepin, John, Count of Minorbino, xii., 149 and *note*.
- Pepper, price of, v., 229 *note*.
- Pera, iii., 101; Latins in, x., 371; Genoese in, xi., 120; siege of, 124 *sq.*; power of the colony at, 127; royal school of the Turks at, xi., 228.
- Peratea, in Crimea, xi., 11 *note*.
- Peredeus, murdered Alboin, viii., 16.
- Peregrinus, the philosopher, ii., 302 *note*.
- Perennis, minister of Commodus, i., 112 and *note*.
- Perfectissimus, rank of, iii., 115 *note*.
- Pergamus, ancient splendour of, i., 63 and *note*; library of, v., 85 *note*; taken by the Saracens, ix., 243.
- Peristhlava, Sviatoslav at, x., 63 *note*.
- Perinthus, i., 153; Belisarius at, vii., 94.
- Periplus, of Sallust, vii., 213 *note*; of Arrian, *ib.*
- Perisabor, or Anbar, on the Euphrates, destroyed by Julian, iv., 130 and *note*.
- Perjury, Roman law concerning, vii., 373.
- Peroun, god of thunder, x., 71.
- Perozes, Persian physician, vii., 203.
- Perozes, King of Persia, iv., 283; death, vii., 68 *sq.* and *note*; Nestorianism of, viii., 187.
- Perpera, silver coin, xi., 31 *note*.
- Perpignan, vi., 234 *note*.
- Perron, Cardinal du, on early Christian faith, v., 104 *note*.
- Persarmenia, v., 333; revolt of, viii., 52 *sqq.*
- Persecution of the early Christians, under Nero, iii., 17 *sqq.*; under Domitian, 24 *sqq.*; three methods of escaping, 45 *sq.*; ten persecutions, 48; in second century, 50; by Severus, 50, 51; in third century,

- 51 *sqq.*; by Diocletian and his colleagues, 64 *sqq.*; in Italy and Africa, 76 *sq.*; in the East, 78 *sq.*; fresh persecution by Maximin, 80; end of, 82.
- Perseus, treasures of, i., 203.
- Persia, foundation of Sassanid monarchy in, i., 250 *sqq.*; religion of, 253; extent and population of, 262; military power of, 271; civil war in, ii., 168; war between Sapor and Constantius, iii., 199 *sqq.*; Christians of, protected by Constantine, 311; Julian invades, iv., 123; peace with Theodosius, v., 331; under Kobad or Cabades, vii., 196 *sq.*; accession of Chosroes, 197; province of, 199; endless peace with Rome, 205; war with Rome, viii., 50 *sqq.*; anarchy after the death of Chosroes, 55 *sqq.*; Christianity in, 185 *sq.*; Shiite schism in, ix., 94 and *note*; Sophis of, 106 and *note*; conquered by the Saracens, 127 *sqq.*; Seljuks in, x., 176; under Sangiar, 287; under Mohammad of Carizme, xi., 137; conquered by Holagou, 143; decline of Mogul Khans in, 155; conquered by Timour, 186 *sq.*
- Persona, Christopher, translates works of Procopius, vii., 8 *note*.
- Pertinax, Emperor, i., 123 *note*; reign, 124 *sqq.*; employments of, 124 *note*; death, 131, 140 *note*; funeral and apotheosis of, 147 *sq.*
- Pertinax Helvius, i., 172 and *note*.
- Perusia (Perugia), taken by Belisarius, vii., 152; besieged by Totila, 261; a retreat of Popes, xii., 107.
- Pescennius Niger, governor of Syria, i., 139, 142; war with Severus, 150 *sqq.*; death, 154.
- Pessinus, iv., 68 *note*; altar of Cybele at, 103.
- Pestcherski, or Crypt Monastery at Kiev, x., 73 *note*.
- Pestilence at Rome, under Commodus, i., 116.
- Petancius, Felix, on Varna campaign, xi., 311 *note*.
- Petavius, on the Trinity, iii., 348 *note*; viii., 122 *note*.
- Peter, King of Arragon, receives Charles of Anjou, xi., 82; proclaimed King of Sicily, 83.
- Peter Bartholemy, vision of Holy Lance seen by, x., 248 *sqq.*
- Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, v., 11.
- Peter, Bulgarian Tsar, x., 17 *note*, 63 *note*.
- Peter of Bulgaria, founds second Bulgarian kingdom, x., 338.
- Peter of Courtenay, Emperor of Constantinople, xi., 22; captivity and death, 23 and *note*.
- Peter Gnapheus, Patriarch of Antioch, viii., 165-6 and *note*.
- Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia, iii., 178; vii., 73 *note*; fleet of, in the Caspian, viii., 54 *note*.
- Peter the Hermit, x., 191; proclaims first crusade, 192 *sq.*; leads the first, 209; flight of, 212; shirks the fast, 247.
- Peter, brother of the Emperor Maurice, viii., 74.
- Peter the Notary, v., 189 *note*.
- Peter, the Patrician, ii., 172 *note*; ambassador to Italy, vii., 130.
- Peter Phocas, defeated by Sclerus, viii., 274 *note*.
- Peter the Reader, murders Hypatia, viii., 139.
- Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, xii., 102 *note*.
- Peter, St., visit to Rome of, ii., 317 and *note*; trophies of, at Rome, v., 97 *sq.*; apparition to Attila, vi., 74; Epistles of, rejected by the Paulicians, x., 5 and *note*; church of, at Rome, spared by the Goths, v., 243.
- Peter of Navarre, gunpowder mines used by, xii., 27 *note*.
- Peter of Corbara, xii., 106.
- Petit de la Croix, his history of Zingis, xi., 133 *note*; of Timur Beg, 180 *note*.
- Petra, Arabian town of, vii., 221 and *note*; siege of, 222 *sq.*
- Petrarch, on Charles IV., viii., 391; epistle of, to the Doge of Venice, xi., 127; revived learning in Italy, 277 *sq.*; Greek studies of, 278; on St. Bernard, xii., 78 *note*; on foreigners in Rome, 115 *note*; character and coronation, 123 *sqq.*; relations to Rienzi, 129, 139; letter

- of consolation to the Colonna, A.D. 1347, 148 *note*; advice to a cardinal on reforming Roman government, 150 *note*; regarded Rienzi as a poet, 152 and *note*; invites Emperor Charles IV., 154, 155 and *note*; exhorts Popes to return from Avignon, 155 *sq.*; influence of, on Porcaro, 172; on the despoiling of Roman buildings, 195 and *note*, 201-2 and *note*; on the population of Rome, 198 and *note*; on the indifference of the Romans to their monuments, 208 and *note*.
- Petronius, father-in-law of Valens, v., 188.
- Petronius Maximus, *see* Maximus.
- Petronius, P., Diaries of, xii., 168 *note*, 180.
- Petrus de Godis, xii., 174 *note*.
- Petrus Pisanus, his Lives of the Popes, x., 193 *note*.
- Petrus Tudebodus, history of, x., 199 *note*.
- Petulants, corps of, iv., 3 and *note*.
- Peucini, ii., 10.
- Peyssonel, M. de, ii., 31 *note*; xii., 59 *note*.
- Pezaro, Inscription at, ii., 31 *note*.
- Pfeffel, his Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Allemagne, viii., 390 *note*.
- Phadals, occupies Cyzicus, ix., 237 *note*.
- Phalanx, Grecian, i., 17; Macedonian, of Caracalla, 177.
- Phallas, horse of Heraclius, viii., 114.
- Phanagoria, city of, Justinian II. at, viii., 229.
- Phantastic system, invented by the Docetes, viii., 127.
- Pharamond, v., 278 and *note*.
- Pharandzém, wife of Arsaces Tiranus (Arshak), iv., 240 and *note*.
- Pharos, chief of the Heruli, vii., 92; letter to Gelimer, 112 *sq.*
- Pharezdak, poet, viii., 173.
- Pharisees, sect of the, ii., 287.
- Pharos, lighthouse at Constantinople, viii., 254 *note*.
- Phasis, river, ii., 33, 111; vii., 214; fortifications on, 220; Grecian colony of, 236; Heraclius at, viii., 111.
- Phasis, town, ii., 33 *note*.
- Pheasant, a royal bird, xii., 61 and *note*.
- Pheretime of Cyrene, viii., 12 *note*.
- Phidias, transformed into a magician, xii., 209.
- Philadelphia in Asia Minor, siege of, raised by Roger de Flor, xi., 86; in fourteenth century, 113 *note*; capture of, by the Ottomans, 161 and *note*; Frederic Barbarossa at, x., 279.
- Philadelphia, in Syria, fortifications of, ix., 137 and *note*.
- Philagrius, prefect of Egypt, iii., 379.
- Philaretus, governor of Antioch, x., 181.
- Philephus, Francis, sophist, xi., 272 and *note*; Latin ode of, xii., 2 *note*, 48; on siege of Constantinople, 17-18.
- Philemuth, commands the Heruli against Totila, vii., 266.
- Philip, Prætorian prefect, under Gordian III., i., 244, 245 and *note*; reign, 246 *sqq.*; rebellion against, ii., 3; death, *ib.*; protected the Christians, iii., 53.
- Philip II., of Spain, xii., 176 *note*.
- Philip, ambassador of Constantius II., iii., 215, 400; Prætorian prefect, 401.
- Philip I. of France, quarrel with Urban II., x., 196 *sq.*
- Philip Augustus (II.) of France, in the East, x., 306 *sqq.*; institutes fund for Holy Land, 342.
- Philip III. of France, xii., 110 *note*.
- Philip IV. (the Fair) of France, his struggle with Boniface VIII. and Benedict XI., xii., 108.
- Philip of Macedon, his revenue from the gold mines of Thrace, iv., 301.
- Philip Mouskes, Bishop of Tournay, xi., 27 *note*.
- Philip of Swabia, Alexius Angelus visits, x., 341; Boniface of Montferrat at court of, 351 *note*.
- Philip of Tarentum, xi., 38 *note*.
- Philip, Duke of Burgundy, joins Hungarian crusade, xi., 304; tries to organise crusade against Turks, xii., 61 and *note*.
- Philip, King of Germany, befriends the young Alexius, x., 354.

- Philip of Courtenay, xi., 23.  
 Philip of Side, iii., 60, 61 *note*.  
 Philip, son of Baldwin II., xi., 30;  
 betrothed to daughter of Charles  
 of Anjou, 80; allies himself with  
 Charles of Anjou, 81.  
 Philippa, daughter of Raymond of  
 Poitou, viii., 298.  
 Philippicus, *see* Bardanes.  
 Philippopolis, siege of, ii., 12, 13 and  
*note*; captured by the Russians, x.,  
 65 *note*; destroyed by the Bul-  
 garians, xi., 19; taken by Murad  
 Sultan, xi., 106 *note*.  
 Philippus, v., 217 *note*.  
 Philo, ii., 264 *note*; philosophy of, iii.,  
 340 and *note*.  
 Philocrene, battle of, A.D. 1330, xi.,  
 159.  
*Philopatriis*, dialogue, ii., 131, 132 *note*;  
 iii., 8 *note*.  
 Philosophers, Grecian, i., 37; attitude  
 to Christianity, ii., 345 *sq.*; fanat-  
 ism of the neo-platonic, iv., 55;  
 at the court of Julian, iv., 68 *sq.*  
*Philosophumena*, of Hippolytus, dis-  
 covered at Mount Athos, viii., 127  
*note*.  
 Philosophy, divine, of the monks, vi.,  
 157 *sq.*; at Athens, vii., 75, 76;  
 studied by Arabians, ix., 272 *sq.*;  
 in Middle Ages at Constantinople,  
 368 *sqq.*  
 Philostorgius, partial to Gallus, iii., 231  
*note*; Arianism of, 350 *note*; on  
 election of Valentinian, iv., 180  
*note*; on Pulcheria, v., 324 *note*;  
 heresy of, vi., 180 *note*.  
 Philostratus, biographer of Herodes  
 Atticus, i., 57 *note*; Life of Apol-  
 lonius of Tyana, iii., 61 *note*.  
 Philotheus, a Macedonian sectary, vi.,  
 124.  
 Phineus, palace of, iii., 92 and *note*.  
 Phirouz, a Syrian renegade, x., 244.  
 Phlegon, ii., 348 *note*.  
 Phocæa, in fourteenth century, xi., 113  
*note*; Genoese colony at, 221 *sq.*  
 Phocas, a centurion, elected emperor,  
 viii., 78 and *note*; puts Maurice to  
 death, 80-1; character, 82 *sq.*;  
 statue of, 82 *note*.  
 Phocas, *see* Bardas, Constantine, Leo,  
 Nicephorus, Peter.  
 Phœnicia, i., 31; temples of, destroyed,  
 iii., 410.  
 Phœnician inscriptions, vii., 118 *note*.  
 Pholoe, Mount, retreat of Alaric, v.,  
 143.  
 Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople,  
 v., 313 *note*; educates Leo VI.,  
 viii., 262; ix., 368 *sq.*; on conver-  
 sion of the Russians, x., 68; theo-  
 logical disputes of, 330 *note*.  
 Photius, son of Antonina, vii., 168;  
 exile of, 169; arrests the Pope, *ib.*  
*note*; arrests Theodosius at Ephe-  
 sus, 170; captivity of, 171; be-  
 comes a monk, 172.  
 Photius, the Patrician, viii., 171.  
 Phrantzes, *see* Phranza.  
 Phranza, George, Greek historian, on  
 captivity of Bajazet, xi., 207 *sq.*;  
 account of, 250 and *note*; embassy  
 from Constantine Palæologus into  
 Georgia, 323 *sqq.*; great logothete,  
 326; on events of the siege of Con-  
 stantinople, xii., 111 and *note*; num-  
 bers the citizens of Constantinople,  
 18-9 and *note*; fortunes after cap-  
 ture of Constantinople, 47-8; fate  
 of his children, 48 *sq.*; his enmity  
 to Notaras, 53 *note*.  
 Phrygia, settlement of Ostrogoths in,  
 iv., 335; description of, by Clau-  
 dian, v., 299 *note*; rebellion of  
 Tribigild in, 299 *sq.*  
 Physicians amongst the Arabs, ix., 275  
*sq.*  
 Picardy, origin of the name, x., 191  
*note*.  
 Picenum, John the Sanguinary at, vii.,  
 152 *sq.*; famine in, 282 and *note*.  
 Pictures, viii., 311 *sq.*  
 Pierleone, Jordan, xii., 85 *note*.  
 Pierleoni, family of, xi., 75 *note*; their  
 fortress, xii., 200 *note*.  
 Pigmies of Africa, *see* Pygmies.  
 Pilate, Pontius, procurator, iii., 18, 48,  
 49 and *note*.  
*Pilgrim*, the, and the *Paradise*, two  
 galleys of the Latins, x., 375 and  
*note*.  
 Pilgrimages, Christian, iii., 75, 76 and  
*note*.  
 Pilgrinus, missionary in Hungary, x.,  
 49 *note*.  
 Pilpay, fables of, vii., 204 and *note*.

- Pilum*, description of the, i., 16 *sq.* and *note*.
- Pincian Gates, battle of, vii., 146 and *note*.
- Pinna marina, manufacture of silk from, vii., 33 and *note*.
- Pipa, a German princess, ii., 30.
- Piræus, ii., 37, 255 and *note*.
- Pisa, Pandects at, vii., 335 and *note*; merchants of, expelled by the Genoese from the Crimea, xi., 123; Council of, 253.
- Pisani, Venetian admiral, xi., 126.
- Pisidia, prætor of, vii., 65; people of, *ib.* *note*; Manuel Comnenus in, viii., 293.
- Pisko, Julius, on Scanderbeg, xi., 316 *note*.
- Piso, Calpurnius, ii., 50 *sq.*
- Pissumena, mother of Læta, v., 226 *note*.
- Pistis Sophia*, Gnostic work, preserved in Coptic, ii., 277 *note*.
- Pityus, siege of, by the Goths, ii., 33; Abundantius at, v., 295 and *note*; desert of, 317; fortifications of, vii., 219 and *note*.
- Pius II., Pope, *see* Æneas Sylvius.
- Placentia, battle of, ii., 78; Avitus made bishop of, vi., 100, 101; synod of, x., 195.
- Placidia, sister of Honorius, adventures of, v., 258 *sq.*; marries Adolphus, *ib.*; marries Constantius, 335; flies to Constantinople, 336; administration of, 340 *sqq.*; banishes Honoria, vi., 52; death, 78; sepulchre at Ravenna, *ib.* *note*.
- Placidia, younger daughter of Valentinian III., restored by Genseric, vi., 118; marries Olybrius, 138.
- Plague, at Rome, v., 227; under Justinian, vii., 296-300; under Constantine V., viii., 237 *note*.
- Plane-trees, cultivated by the ancients, v., 254 and *note*.
- Planudes, Maximus, xi., 39 *note*.
- Platæa, bulwarks of, restored by Justinian, vii., 61.
- Plato of Studion, viii., 241 *note*; banished, 243 *note*.
- Plato, on Immortality, ii., 285; his Republic, 319 and *note*; system of, before Christ, iii., 339 *sq.*; dialogues, translated into Persian, vii., 202 *sq.* *note*; study revived in Italy, xi., 286.
- Platonists, new, *see* Neo-Platonists.
- Platonists, theology of, i., 37, 38.
- Plautianus, minister of Severus, i., 158.
- Plautilla, Fulvia, daughter of Plautianus, i., 158, 159 and *note*.
- Plebeians, Roman, iii., 119 *sq.*
- Pletho, George Gemistus, xi., 286 *note*, 291 *note*; on state of the Morea, xii., 58 *note*.
- Plinthas, ambassador to the Huns, vi., 3.
- Pliny, the elder, ii., 164; *Hist. Natur.*, 348; on monks, vi., 158 *note*; on use of silk, vii., 32; on the Arabs, ix., 16.
- Pliny, the younger, i., 102, 210; examines the Christians of Bithynia, ii., 301; letters to Trajan, 333 and *note*; edict against the Christians, iii., 10 *note*; proceedings against the Christians, 27, 28; on the augurate, v., 73.
- Plotina, Empress, i., 95.
- Plotinus, the philosopher, i., 244 *note*; ii., 48 and *note*, 198 and *note*; iv., 52.
- Plumbatæ, weapons, ii., 182 *note*.
- Plutarch, his treatise of Isis and Osiris, iii., 314 *note*; his Lives, ix., 277 *note*; on the tribunes, xii., 140 *note*.
- Pocock, on dynasty of the Almondars, ix., 119 *note*; his Description of the East, 153 *note*.
- Podestà, office of, xii., 92 and *note*.
- Poet Laureate, xii., 125, 127.
- Poetovio (Pettau), iii., 233.
- Poggius, his dialogue, *De Varietate Fortunæ*, xi., 206 and *note*; discourse of, from the Capitoline, xii., 182 and *note*, 206 and *note*.
- Poimanenos, battle of, xi., 24.
- Poitiers, battle of, *see* Vouillé.
- Pol, St., Count of, joins fourth crusade, x., 355, 361; Lord of Demotica, xi., 8.
- Pola, iii., 233; Belisarius at, vii., 248.
- Poland, ravaged by the Mongols, xi., 146.
- Polemo, King of Colchos, vii., 219 and *note*.
- Polenta, Roman family of, xii., 205.
- Politian, Angelo, xi., 289.

- Pollentia, battle of, date of, v., 154 *sq.* and *note*; sack of, by Theodor-oric, vi., 98.
- Pollistore, xii., 151 *note*.
- Polovtsi, name of the tribe of Uzi, x., 165 *note*.
- Polybius, on Rome, vi., 288 and *note*, 289.
- Polycarp, martyr, relics of, v., 99 *note*.
- Polyeuctes, Patriarch of Constantinople, dismisses Theophano, viii., 271 and *note*.
- Polyeuctes, Martyr, story of, iii., 44 *note*.
- Polytheism, i., 36 *note*; weakness of, ii., 328; iv., 51; revival of, v., 102 *sq.*
- Pomœrium, Rienzi's confusion with pomarium, xii., 131 *note*.
- Pompeianus, Claudius, i., 111, 122, 126.
- Pompeianus, prefect of Rome, super-stitution of, v., 288 *note*.
- Pompeianus, Ruricius, commandant of Verona, ii., 231; death, 233.
- Pompey the Great, i., 79 and *note*; villa of, vii., 130 *note*; at the Caspian Sea, viii., 54.
- Pompey, nephew of the Emperor Anastasius, vii., 26; death, 28.
- Pomponius Lætus, v., 191 *note*; founded Roman Academy, xi., 291 *note*.
- Pomponius, Mela, i., 4 *note*; on Mauritania, ix., 198 *note*.
- Pomptine marshes, drained by Theodor-oric, vi., 328 *sq.* *note*; vii., 135.
- Ponte Molle, *see* Milvian Bridge.
- Pontifex Maximus, i., 39, 83; title of, adopted by Christian emperors, iii., 413 and *note*.
- Pontiffs, ambition of the Roman, ii., 317; pagan pontiffs established, iii., 81; jurisdiction of, v., 72 and *note*.
- Pontirolo (pons Aureoli), ii., 60 and *note*.
- Pontius, his Life of Cyprian, iii., 37 *note*.
- Pontus, kingdom of, Alani in, ii., 110; Christianity in, 333; Paulicians in, x., 8; kings of, *ib.* *note*.
- Pope, Alexander, Homer's Iliad, i., 37 *note*.
- Popes of Rome, title given to the Roman pontiff, vi., 331; their power, viii., 45 *sq.*; policy and ambition, 324 *sqq.*; regarded as first magistrates in Rome, 334; assisted by the Carolingians, 340; donations of Pepin and Charlemagne to, 344 and *note*; donation of Constantine to, 347 *sq.*; final separation of, from the Eastern empire, 354 *sq.*; transfer the empire to Charlemagne, 356; method of their election, 375 *sq.*; poverty and vices in ninth and tenth centuries, 377; alleged gift of Constantine to, xii., 69; authority of, in Rome, *ib.* *sqq.*; appeals to, 71; election of, 103 *sqq.*; absence from Rome, 106 *sqq.*; final return of Gregory XI., 157 *sq.*; triple crown or tiara of, 158-9 and *notes*; rival popes of the great schism, 162 *sqq.*; absolute dominion of Rome, 175 *sqq.*; their government, 177 *sq.*; care of public buildings, 210 *sq.*
- Popov, N., work on Leo VI., viii., 261 *note*.
- Poppæa, Nero's mistress, intercedes for the Jews, iii., 22, 23.
- Population of Europe, i., 53, 54 and *note*; of Rome, v., 222 *sqq.* *See* under Rome.
- Porcaro, Stephen, his conspiracy at Rome, xii., 172 *sq.*; death, 173.
- Porcelain, Chinese, v., 211 *note*.
- Porcian laws, i., 79.
- Porphyrians, the Arians so called, iii., 365.
- Porphyrio, whale, vii., 58 and *note*.
- Porphyrius Optatianus, *see* Optatianus.
- Porphyrogenitus, meaning of, viii., 264.
- Porphyry, neo-Platonist, ii., 198 and *note*; iv., 52.
- Porphyry of Gaza, v., 318 *note*.
- Portico of the Stoics, vii., 76.
- Porto, city of, vii., 147; Goths evacuate, 152, 252 *note*; colony of Corsicans planted in, by Leo IV., ix., 290; bishops of, their part in imperial coronations, xii., 67 *note*; in twelfth century, 101.
- Portoria, or customs, i., 207.
- Portuguese, in Abyssinia, vii., 231 *note*; viii., 210 *sq.*; in South Persia, xi., 187 *note*.
- Portus, *see* Porto.

- Porus, i., 268 *note*.
- Posides, eunuch of Claudius, iii., 224 *note*.
- Possidius, Life of St. Augustin, v., 350 *note*.
- Posthumian, a Gallic monk, vi., 162 *note*; on monastic institutions, 165 *note*.
- Posthumus, general of Gallienus, ii., 25 and *note*; emperor, 50, 54 *note*; death, 81.
- Posts and post-houses under the empire, i., 64 *sq.* and *note*; post-waggons, iv., 6 *note*.
- Potamius, quæstor, in the Gothic camp, v., 238.
- Potestas, in sense of municipal magistrature, xii., 92 *note*.
- Potidæa, destroyed by the Bulgarians, vii., 184.
- Poullains, or Pullani, children of the Crusaders in Syria, x., 262 *note*.
- Præjecta, niece of Justinian, vii., 259 and *note*.
- Præpositus*, chamberlain, iii., 143.
- Prases*, iii., 128, 135 *note*.
- Præsens, Bruttius, iii., 26 *note*.
- Prætextatus, Archbishop of Rouen, vi., 262 *note*.
- Prætextatus, Proconsul of Achaia, iv., 202, 211 and *note*.
- Prætorian Guards, i., 22; of Augustus, 81; discontent under Pertinax, 129; assassinate Pertinax, 131; description of, 133; number of, *ib.* *note*; claims of, 135; sell the empire, *ib.*; disgraced by Severus, 147; remodelled by him, 158; pay, 175 *note*; murder Ulpian, 198; rebel against Maximus, 240; revolt of, under Maximus, 241; reduced by Diocletian, ii., 182; elevate Maxentius, 211; oppose Maximian, 220; increased by Maxentius, 228; rebel against Constantine, 235; suppressed by him, 238.
- Prætorian prefects, office of, i., 158; civil and military power, iii., 121; four prefects, 122 *sqq.*; of Rome and Constantinople, 124.
- Prætor tutelaris, instituted by Marcus Aurelius, vii., 354 *note*.
- Prætors, Roman, i., 84 *note*.
- Prævalitana, province of, vii., 113 *note*.
- Pragmatic Sanction of Justinian, vii., 281 *note*.
- Prague, university of, founded by Charles IV., viii., 390 *note*; Rienzi at, xii., 151.
- Praxagoras, Life of Constantine, ii., 205 *note*.
- Praxeas, heresy of, iii., 349 and *note*; Fauns of, vii., 142 *note*.
- Praxedis (Eupræcia, Eufrasia, Adalais), wife of Henry IV., of Germany, x., 194 *note*.
- Praxiteles, sculptures of, ii., 40; transformed into a magician, xii., 209.
- Pray, George, on the Hungarians, x., 36 *note*.
- Preaching, freedom of public, iii., 328 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Prefect, Latin title, vi., 245 and *note*.
- Prefects of Rome and Constantinople, vii., 354 *note*; of Rome in middle ages, xii., 75 *note*, 88 *sq.*
- Presbyters, ii., 311.
- Presidents, *see* Prases.
- Presidius, vii., 155.
- Prespa, capital of Samuel the Bulgarian, x., 35 *note*.
- Prester John, story of, viii., 189 and *note*; xi., 130 and *note*.
- Priarius, King of the Alamanni, iv., 307.
- Prideaux, Dr., i., 253 *note*; Life of Mahomet, ix., 53 *note*.
- Priesthoods, pagan, hereditary, iii., 318 *note*; impostures of, v., 88.
- Primate, title of the Bishop of Carthage, vi., 195 *note*.
- Primogeniture, vii., 260.
- Princeps Senatus, i., 77, 127 *note*.
- Principate of Augustus, i., 77 *sqq.*; transformed by Diocletian, ii., 145 *note*.
- Printing in China, vii., 38.
- Prior, chief of militia at Rome, xii., 170.
- Prisca, wife of Diocletian, ii., 243; embraces Christianity, iii., 59.
- Priscian, vii., 80.
- Priscillian, Bishop of Avila, execution of, v., 27 and *note*.
- Priscillianists, persecuted by Maximus, v., 27 *sq.*; tenets of, 28.
- Priscus, accepts the purple from the Goths, ii., 13.
- Priscus, engineer, fortifies Byzantium against Severus, i., 153 and *note*.

- Priscus, general of the Emperor Maurice, defeats the Avars, viii., 75.
- Priscus, Helvidius, i., 172 *note*.
- Priscus, philosopher, iv., 154.
- Priscus, the historian, his mention of Eudocia, v., 329 *note*; concerning Attila, vi., 1 *note*; on the wars of the Huns, 11 *note*; meets a Greek in the camp of Attila, 18; accompanies Maximin to Attila, 24; account of, *ib. note*.
- Priscus, Thræsea, i., 172 and *note*.
- Priulf, Gothic leader, iv., 338, 339 and *note*; death, *ib.*
- Proba, widow of the prefect Petronius, v., 249; flight of, to Africa, *ib.*
- Probole, or Prolatio, iii., 346 *note*.
- Probus, chief of the Anician family, v., 203 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Probus, general of Aurelian, ii., 88; opposes Florianus, 112 and *note*; character of, 113; reign, *ib. sqq.*; victories of, 116 *sqq.*; wall of, 120; triumph of, 125; death, 127.
- Probus, Prætorian prefect, iv., 253 *sq.* and *note*.
- Procession of the Holy Ghost, x., 328 *sq.*; discussion concerning, at Ferrara and Florence, xi., 265.
- Processions of the Greek emperors, ix., 343 *sq.*
- Proclus, the quæstor of Justin, vii., 3; opposes the adoption of Chosroes, 197 and *note*.
- Proclus, proposes to burn the fleet of Vitalian, vii., 49.
- Proclus, St., boy of, viii., 165 *note*.
- Proclus, the Platonist, vii., 78; Life of, *ib. note*.
- Proconnesus, Isle of, iii., 102 and *note*.
- Proconsul, title of, assumed by Augustus, i., 77; of Asia, Greece, Africa, Gaul and Syria, 81; of Asia, Achaia and Africa, under Constantine, iii., 126 and *note*.
- Proconsularis, province of Africa, ceded to the Vandals, v., 354 *note*.
- Procopia, consort of Michael I., viii., 244 *sq.*
- Procopius, father-in-law of Valens, v., 295; father of Anthemius, vi., 122.
- Procopius, kinsman and general of Julian, iv., 120; conducts Julian's funeral, 169; adventures of, v., 186 *sqq.*; death, 192.
- Procopius, the historian, account of testament of Arcadius, v., 319; testimony uncertain, vi., 81 *note*; account of the Vandalic persecution, 190 *note*; on battle of Vouillé, 233 *note*; on Britain, 284 and *note*; character and writings, vii., 7, 8 and *notes*; his Edifices, 8, 56 *note*; Secret History of, 82 *note*; serves under Belisarius, 89 *sqq.*; defence of archery, 92 *sq.*; confession of dishonesty, 128 *note*; chronology of, 132 *note*; corrupt text of, 137 *note*; description of temple of Janus, 143 *note*; mission to Campania, 151 and *note*; on the Slavonians, 182 *note*; estimate of numbers destroyed by the Barbarians, 184 and *note*; on invasion of Syria, 207; on Lazic war, 213 *note*; on troubles in Africa, 235 *note*; escapes from Carthage, 237; on state of Africa, *ib.*; history of the Gothic war, 242 *note*; in Corcyra, 262 *note*; alleged medical skill of, 297; on the plague, *ib.*; on religion, viii., 169; seems to promise an ecclesiastical history, 176.
- Proculians, legal sect of, vii., 324 *sq.*
- Proculus, L., Aradius Valerius, iii., 132 *note*.
- Proculus, prefect, son of Tatian, v., 110 and *note*; death, 110.
- Proculus, revolt of, ii., 125.
- Proculus, Roman lawyer, vii., 325.
- Procurators, iii., 146 *note*.
- Professors, at Athens, vii., 75, 76.
- Profuturus, general of Valens, iv., 302.
- Promotus, master general of the infantry, iv., 302; exiled, v., 109.
- Promotus, president of Noricum, ambassador to Attila, vi., 43 *note*.
- Propertius, vii., 310 and *note*.
- Property, Roman law of, vii., 355 *sq.*
- Prophets, of early church, ii., 310.
- Propontis, or Sea of Marmora, description of, iii., 94.
- Prosper, chronicle of, v., 171.
- Protectores, iii., 150 and *note*; mutiny of, under Jovius, v., 234.
- Proterius, patriarch of Alexandria, murder of, viii., 161-2.



- Protestants, iii., 288; x., 22 *sqq.*
- Protosebastos*, title invented by Alexius Comnenus, ix., 337.
- Protospathaire*, Byzantine officer, ix., 340 and *note*.
- Protostrator*, Byzantine officer, ix., 340.
- Protosymbulos*, name given by Theophanes to the caliph, ix., 203 *note*.
- Protovestiare*, officer of the Byzantine emperors, ix., 339.
- Provinces, Roman, i., 24 *sq.*; government of, 44; division of the Latin and Greek provinces, 48; division of, between emperor and senate, 81; oppressed by Maximin, 222; governors of, under Constantine, iii., 128 *sq.* and *notis*; Seven Provinces, v., 286 and *note*; assembly of the Seven, *ib.* 287 and *note*.
- Provincials (Provençals), x., 218.
- Prudentius, books against Symmachus, v., 78 *note*; against gladiatorial combats, 160 and *note*.
- Prusa, baths at, i., 56 *note*; taken by the Goths, ii., 36; Vetricano banished to, iii., 213; reduced by Andronicus, viii., 304; conquest of, by Orchan, xi., 157. *See* Boursa.
- Prussia, Goths in, ii., 8.
- Prussians invade Britain, vi., 271.
- Prypec, river, ii., 9.
- Psallition*, or the scissors, name given to Alexander the Logothete, vii., 246.
- Psalmody, iii., 397 *sq.*
- Psellus, Michael, instructor of Michael VII., viii., 284; ix., 371 *note*; reviewed study of Plato, xi., 286 *note*.
- Psellus the elder, ix., 371 *note*.
- Psephina, tower (Neblosa, Castellum Pisanum) at Jerusalem, x., 257 *note*.
- Psylli, African tribe, vi., 126 *note*.
- Ptolemais, or Acre, iii., 326 and *note*; taken by Saracens, ix., 168; *see* Acre.
- Ptolemies, library of, v., 85 *note*.
- Ptolemy I., Sôter, ii., 189 *note*.
- Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, clears canal, ix., 187 *note*; navy of, ix., 352 *note*.
- Ptolemy III., Euergetes, inscription of, at Adulis, vii., 37 *note*.
- Ptolemy, Roman senator, viii., 382.
- Pudentius, African subject, vii., 88.
- Pugione*, a, Cleander's title, i., 116 *note*.
- Puis, du, Pierre, xii., 108 *note*, 163 *note*.
- Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius the Younger, Augusta, v., 321, 322; character and administration, *ib.* and *note*; religious opinions of, 322; educates Theodosius, 324; Empress of the East, vi., 37; puts Chrysaphius to death, *ib.*; marries the senator Marcian, *ib.*; death and canonisation, 119 and *note*.
- Pulci, Morgante Maggiore of, xi., 292 *note*.
- Pule Rudbar, or Hyrcanian Rock, viii., 58 and *note*.
- Pullani, or Poullains, x., 262 *note*.
- Punic idiom, i., 47.
- Punishments, capital, revival of, vii., 377 *sq.*
- Punjab, Timour in, xi., 191.
- Pupienus, i., 241 *note*.
- Purim, Jewish feast, iii., 5 *note*.
- Purple chamber of the Byzantine palace, ix., 333.
- Purple colour, Phœnician, vii., 30 and *note*.
- Purple or porphyry, viii., 264.
- Purpurius, iii., 336 *note*.
- Purser, Mr. L. C., i., 87 *note*.
- Pusæus, iv., 126.
- Pydna, vi., 301 *note*.
- Pygmies, v., 237, 238 and *note*.
- Pylades, a dancer, i., 137.
- Pyramids, Egyptian, xii., 188 and *note*.
- Pyramus, river, viii., 108 *note*.
- Pyrrhic dance, i., 14 and *note*.
- Pyrrhus, vii., 140.
- Pyrrhus, the Monothelite, viii., 223.
- Pytheas, of Marseilles, ii., 7 *note*.
- QUADI, subdued by M. Antoninus, i., 99, 301 and *note*; wars with Commodus, 109 *sq.* *note*; receive the Sarmatians, iii., 90; subdued by Constantius, 246 *sq.*; oppressed by Marcellinus, iv., 252; invade Pannonia, *ib.*; appeal to Valentinian, 255.
- Quadriburgium (Schenkenschanz), fortified by Julian, iii., 273 *note*.
- Quadrivium, ix., 371 *note*.
- Quæstiones, vii., 384.
- Quæstors, iii., 145-147 and *notes*.
- Quarto-decimans, *see* Audians.

- Querzy, assemblies at, viii., 338.  
 Quietists, *see* Hesychasts.  
 Quindecimvirs, v., 72.  
 Quinque Gentanei, ii., 160 *note*.  
 Quintianus, Bishop of Rodez, vi., 230  
 and *note*; life of, *ib*.  
 Quintilian brothers, i., 112.  
 Quintilian, the critic, ix., 186 *note*.  
 Quintilius [M. Aurelius Claudius],  
 brother of Claudius, ii., 69, 70 and  
*note*.  
 Quintus Curtius, i., 242 *note*, 268 *note*.  
 Quirites, i., 200 *note*.  
  
 RACCA, palace of Harun al-Rashid at,  
 ix., 280; *see* Nicephorium.  
 Racine, v., 142 *note*.  
 Rački on Slavonian struggles with the  
 Turks, xi., 168 *note*.  
 Radagaisus, or Rhodogast, in league  
 with Alaric, v., 151 *note*; invades  
 Italy, 166; besieges Florence, 168;  
 threatens Rome, 169; his defeat by  
 Stilicho, *ib*.; death, 171, 182.  
 Radbod, King of the Frisons, vi., 187  
*note*.  
 Radiger, King of the Varni, vi., 285.  
 Radulphus Cadomensis on miracle of  
 the Holy Lance, x., 251 *note*.  
 Raga, or Rei, princes of, viii., 57 and  
*note*; ix., 127; x., 158.  
 Ragnachar, dominions of, vi., 213 *note*.  
 Ragusa, i., 28; taken by the Saracens,  
 ix., 285 *note*; treaty of, with Mu-  
 rad Sultan, xi., 166 *note*.  
 Rahdi, the Abbāsīd, ix., 305.  
 Rainulf, count, leader of the Normans,  
 x., 86 and *note*; receives Siponto  
 and Mount Garganus, 90 *note*.  
 Ralph of Coggeshall, x., 310 *note*.  
 Rama, kingdom joined to Hungary, xii.,  
 163 *note*.  
 Rama, submits to Saracens, ix., 168 and  
*note*; Crusaders at, x., 254; battle  
 of, 300 *note*.  
 Ramadan, Mahomedan fast, ix., 48.  
 Rametta, taken by the Saracens, ix., 285  
*note*; battle of, x., 288.  
 Ramlah, *see* Rama.  
 Ramusio, his history of the conquest of  
 Constantinople, x., 385 *note*.  
 Randnitz, xii., 151.  
 Rando, chief of the Alamanni, enters  
 Mentz, v., 216.  
  
 Ranzanus, Peter, on Corvinus, xi., 315  
*note*.  
 Raphael, his picture of the apparition of  
 SS. Peter and Paul to Attila, vi.,  
 74 and *note*; his fresco of the  
 battle of Ostia, x., 289 *note*; find-  
 ing of his coffin, xii., 193 *note*, 212.  
 Rasaphe, or Sergiopolis, tomb of Ser-  
 gius and Bacchus at, viii., 66 and  
*note*.  
 Rashdall, H., on universities in the  
 middle ages, xi., 274 *note*.  
 Ratchis, duke, viii., 8 *note*.  
 Ratiaria, magazine of arms at, v., 147;  
 destroyed by the Huns, vi., 12 and  
*note*.  
 Rationales, iii., 146 *note*, 148 and *notes*.  
 Ravenna, naval station, i., 23; besieged  
 by Maximian, ii., 213; account of,  
 v., 161 and *note*, *sq.* and *notes*; Stil-  
 icho slain at, 188; entered by Ar-  
 daburius and Aspar, 337; arsenal  
 of, restored by Majorian, vi., 111;  
 besieged by Theodoric the Ostro-  
 goth, 311; buildings of Theodoric  
 at, 327 *note*; taken by Belisarius,  
 vii., 161, 163 and *note*; Narses at,  
 267; marshes near, *ib*. *note*; ex-  
 archate of, viii., 23; set on fire by  
 Justinian II., 232 *note*; sedition  
 concerning image worship at, 331  
*sq.*; Greeks expelled from, *ib*.; sub-  
 dued by Astolphus, 336 and  
*note*; mosaics of, given to Charle-  
 magne, 346 *note*; marbles taken  
 from, to Aix la Chapelle, xii., 195  
 and *note*.  
 Ravennika, parliament at, xi., 21 *note*.  
 Raymond, Count of Toulouse, viii.,  
 292; takes part in the first crusade,  
 x., 199, 218; march to Constanti-  
 nople, 225 *sq.*; relation of, to King  
 of France, 231; at Dorylæum, 238;  
 illness of, 240; at Antioch, 247;  
 guardian of the Holy Lance, 249;  
 expedition into Syria, 253; at siege  
 of Jerusalem, 256; saves the garri-  
 son, 257; refuses crown of Jerusa-  
 lem, 258 *note*; death of, *ib*.  
 Raymond, Count of Toulouse, in thir-  
 teenth century, his heresy, xii., 110  
*note*.  
 Raymond, Count of Tripoli, treachery  
 of, x., 299-300.

- Raymond des Agiles, on legend of the Holy Lance, x., 251 *note*.
- Raynal, Abbé, his *Histoire des deux Indes*, iii., 309 *note*; his criticism on Montesquieu, 409.
- Rayy, *see* Ragæ.
- Razis, Arabian physician, xi., 210 *note*.
- Recared, son and successor of Leovigild, conversion of, vi., 204, 265.
- Recharius, King of the Suevi in Spain, message to Theodoric, vi., 97; defeated by Theodoric, 98.
- Recitach, son of Theodoric, son of Triarius, vi., 304 *note*.
- Red Sea, part of Mare Rubrum, ix., 2 *note*.
- Reformation, Protestant character and consequences of, x., 21 *sqq.*
- Reformatores*, council of the Seven, xi., 170 *note*.
- Reggio, conquered by Robert Guiscard, x., 100.
- Regia Potestas, i., 82 *note*.
- Regilianus, Emperor, ii., 50, 54 *note*.
- Reginald of Châtillon, x., 300 and *note*.
- Regnum*, *see* Tiara.
- Rehimene, province of, ii., 175 *note*.
- Reindeer in Germany, i., 276.
- Reinier, brother of Marquis of Montferat, x., 355 *note*.
- Rei, *see* Ragæ.
- Reis Effendi, principal secretary of the sultan, xi., 318.
- Reiske, xi., 290.
- Reland, treatise on the spoils of the temple at Jerusalem, vi., 90 *note*; on Mahomet, ix., 51 *note*; on wars of Mahomet, 64 *note*; on the Holy Land, 157 *note*.
- Relics, worship of, v., 99; trade in, x., 385; xi., 30 *sq.*
- Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, vi., 220 and *note*; epistles of, *ib.*
- Remigius, master of the offices, v., 232.
- Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, his character of Aetius, vi., 42 *note*.
- Renaudot, Abbé, viii., 207 *note*.
- Rennel, Major, his maps and memoirs of Asia, vii., 35 *note*; maps of Hindostan xi., 191 *note*.
- Rennes, subdued by the Britons of Armorica, vi., 275.
- Renuntiatio*, i., 85 *note*.
- Repentance, doctrine of, ii., 300.
- Republic, Roman, name of, confined to the Latin provinces, v., 278.
- Resaina, Persians defeated by Misi-theus, i., 244 *note*.
- Res mancipi*, vii., 358 *note*.
- Restan or Arethusa, iv., 88 *note*.
- Restitutus, sub-deacon, confessor who spoke with tongues, vi., 199.
- Restom, or Rostam, hero, vii., 202 *note*; romance of Restom and Isfendiar, *ib.* *See* Rustan.
- Resurrection of the dead, ii., 296; church of the, on Calvary, iv., 79; Mohammedan belief in, ix., 49 *sq.*
- Retiarius, i., 121.
- Retz, Cardinal de, his description of Conclave of 1665, xii., 105 *note, sq. note*.
- Revenue, total under Augustus, i., 206 and *note*; of the Christian Church, ii., 322, 323.
- Rex, title of, x., 279 *note, sq.*
- Rex Romæ*, xii., 163 *note*.
- Rex versuum*, xii., 125 *note*.
- Rhadagast, v., 166 *note*.
- Rhætia, i., 27; ii., 116; invaded by the Goths, v., 151 and *note*; Alamanni in, vi., 219 *note*.
- Rhazates, general of Chosroes II., viii., 113.
- Rhegium, taken by Totila, vii., 262; Columna Rhagina, viii., 28 and *note*.
- Rheims, taken by the Germans, v., 175; occupied by the Huns, vi., 55 *note*; siege of, by Chlodwig, 216 *note*; baptism of Clovis at, 221 and *note*.
- Rhetoric, study of, encouraged by Valentinian, iv., 199; vii., 75.
- Rhine, freezing of the, i., 275; seven posts of Julian on the, iii., 273 and *note*; fortified by Valentinian I., iv., 217; crossed by the Suevi, Vandals, Alani and Burgundians, v., 174.
- Rhodanus, chamberlain, iv., 198 *note*.
- Rhodes, Isle of, conquered by Chosroes, viii., 91; attacked by Saracens, ix., 171 and *note*; colossus of, *ib.*; reduced by John Vataces, xi., 24; subject to Michael, 72; conquered by the Turks, 160 *sq.*
- Rhodope, ridge of mountains, iv., 301 *note*.

- Rhodosto, Andronicus and John Palæologus at, xi., 177.
- Rhœteum, city of, iii., 96.
- Rhyndacus, river, ii., 36.
- Riada, battle of, x., 46 *note*.
- Rialto, Island of, x., 345.
- Riazan, city of, taken by the Mongols, xi., 146 *note*.
- Ricci, G., vi., 343 *note*.
- Richard I. of England, in the East, x., 303, 306 *sqq.*; treaty with Saladin, 311 *sq.*; conquers Cyprus, 338; his answer to Fulke of Neuilly, 342-3.
- Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity, x., 310 *note*.
- Richard, Count of Aversa, x., 95.
- Richard de St. Germano, x., 315 *note*.
- Richard of Cirencester, i., 6 *note*; v., 283 *note*.
- Richard of Cornwall, candidate for Roman kingdom, viii., 389 *note*.
- Richomer, count of the domestics, v., 302; ambassador to the Gothic camp, 312 *sq.*; retreat of, at Hadrianople, 314.
- Ricimer, Count, family of, vi., 100; destroys Vandal fleet, *ib.*; deposes Avitus, *ib.*; consents to elevation of Majorian, 103; causes his deposition, 113; reigns under name of Severus, 114; negotiations with the Eastern Empire, 118; marries his daughter to Anthemius, 122; defeated at Orleans, 131; resides at Milan, 136; marches to Rome, 137; takes Rome, 140; death, 140, 141.
- Rienzi, Colà di, the Roman tribune, account of, xii., 129 *sqq.*; assumes government of Rome, 132; tribune, 133; laws of, *ib.* *sq.*; taxation of, 134; his Italian policy, 137 *sq.*; follies, 139; knighthood, 141 *sqq.*; coronation of, 143; arrests Colonna and Orsini, 144; fall and flight of, 148 *sqq.*; at Prague and Avignon, 151; senator of Rome, 152; death of, 154; his pyre, 185 *note*; knowledge of Roman antiquities, 208.
- Rimini, council of, iii., 323 and *note*, 360 *sq.* and *note*; confession of, iv., 99; Alaric at, v., 198; conference at, between Jovius and Alaric, 234; British bishops at the Council of, 285 *note*; taken by John the Sanguinary, vii., 153; siege of, by the Goths, 155.
- Rinaldo, hero of Tasso, x., 219 *note*.
- Riothamus, British chieftain, sails up the Loire, vi., 133.
- Ripaille, hermitage of, near Thonon, xi., 271 and *note*.
- Ripuarian Law (Lex Ribuaria), vi., 240 and *note*.
- Ripuarians or Riparii, join Theodoric against the Huns, vi., 58 and *note*; Franks, territory of, vi., 214 *note*.
- Rizzo, Antonio, ship of, sunk by the Turks, xii., 11 and *note*.
- Roads, Roman, i., 63, 64 and *note*.
- Robert of Courtenay, Emperor of Constantinople, xi., 24 *sq.*
- Robert, Count of Flanders, letter of Alexius I. to, x., 182 *note*; in first crusade, 217; march to Constantinople, 225, 230.
- Robert, King of Naples, xii., 195 and *note*.
- Robert, Duke of Normandy, in first crusade, x., 217; march to Constantinople, 225; at siege of Nice, 244; refused crown at Jerusalem, 258 *note*.
- Robert of Paris, ascends the throne of Alexius, x., 231 and *note*.
- Roderic of Toledo, ix., 211 *note*, 216 *note*.
- Roderic the Goth, vi., 265; supplants the sons of Witiza, ix., 209; escapes from battle of Xeres, 214; legend of, 215 *note*.
- Rodocanachi, work of, on Rienzi, xii., 128 *note*.
- Rodosto or Rhædestus, xi., 16.
- Rodugune, vi., 286.
- Roesler, ii., 74 *note*.
- Rogatian, Consular of Tuscany, vi., 108 *note*.
- Rogatians, Donatist sect of, iii., 338.
- Rogatus, father of Paula, v., 201.
- Roger I., Count of Sicily, measures Naples, vii., 134 *note*; introduces silk manufacture into Sicily, ix., 327.
- Roger II., great Count of Sicily, conquers Sicily, x., 105 *sqq.*; reign of, 128 *sqq.*

- Roger de Flor, Catalan chief, account of, xi., 85 *note*; Admiral of Romania, 86 *note*; made Cæsar, 88; death of, *ib.*
- Roger de Loria, Catalan admiral, xi., 84.
- Roger, M., his Carmen Misericabile, xi., 134 *note*.
- Röhricht, his History of Jerusalem, x., 271 *note*.
- Rollo, funeral of, x., 84 *note*.
- Roman Empire, Holy, foundation of, viii., 356; division of the, 888 A.D., 371 *sq.*; transactions of the Western and Eastern empires, 373 *sq.*; electoral college of, 389 *sq. note*; abolition of, xii., 66 *note*; relations of emperors to popes, *ib. sqq.*
- Roman Empire, its decline, author's Preface, i., xxix *sqq.*; in the second century, 1; boundaries under Augustus, 3; military establishment, 11 *sqq.*; naval and military force of, 23; extent of the empire, 34; population, 53 and *note*; union of, 54; number of cities in, 61, 62 and *note*; refinement and luxury, 68; eastern commerce of, 69 *sq.*; felicity and decline of in second century, 71 *sqq.*; condition after the battle of Actium, 75 *sq.*; imperial system, 86; happiest period of, 99; sale of, by the prætorians, 135 *sq.*; civil wars of, 149 *sq.*; attempted division of, by Caracalla and Geta, 169 and *note*; under Severus, 196; finances of, 202 *sqq.*; want of hereditary succession, 216; decline of, 248 *sq.*; limits of, under Philip the Arabian, 248; invasion of the Goths, ii., 8 *sq.*; division of, under Diocletian, 149 and *note*; treaty between Diocletian and Narses, 174 *sqq.*; decline of the arts and letters, 196 *sq.*; disturbances after Diocletian's abdication, 200 *sqq.*; six emperors, 218; under Maximin and Licinius, 223; war between Constantine and Maxentius, 226 *sqq.*; division of, between Constantine and Licinius, 245; treaty of peace after the battle of Mardia, 249; united under Constantine the Great, 260; divided into 116 provinces, iii., 128; division among the sons of Constantine, 195, 196; Christianity the national religion, 308 *sqq.*; treaty of Dura, memorable era in the decline of, 162; division into East and West under Valentinian I., iv., 185; fall of, dates from reign of Valens, 261; Dacia and Macedonia added by Gratian, 323; decay of military discipline and disuse of armour in, v., 69 *sq.*; division of, between Arcadius and Honorius, 107 *sq.*; separate laws for Eastern and Western Empires, 339; Eastern Empire abandoned to the Huns, vi., 19; right of female succession, 53; prophecy of the fall of, 81, 82 and *note*; symptoms of decay in the Western, 82; extinction of the Western, vi., 147 *sq.*; observation on fall of, 287-98; weakness of, under Justinian, vii., 175; regular strength of, *ib.*; decline of, 235; transactions of the Western and Eastern empires, viii., 373 *sq.*; cities of the Western Empire decayed, ix., 322; Revenue of the Eastern Empire, 329; period of ignorance in, 367 *sq.*; revival of Greek learning in, 368; decay of genius in, 372; want of national emulation in, 373 *sq.*; restoration of, at Nicæa, xi., 54; provinces of, in the fourteenth century, 113 *note*.
- Roman Island, ii., 113 *note*.
- Romans, number of, in the Punic war, v., 199 and *note*; in Gaul, under the Merovingians, vi., 261 and *note, sqq.*; language of, 262 *sq.* and *note*; their fondness for the factions of the circus, vii., 19 *sq.*; intercourse with the Greeks, 306; name of, in the empire of Constantinople, ix., 366.
- Romanus I., Lecapenus, commands fleet, viii., 264-5 and *note*; reign, 265; rebellion of his children, 266; compared to Pippin, 272 *note*.
- Romanus II., emperor, viii., 267; children of, 268.
- Romanus III., Argyros, emperor, viii., 276 *sq.*
- Romanus IV., Diogenes, marries Eudo-

- cia, viii., 282; deposed, 283; his wars against the Turks, x., 164; defeated by Alp Arslan, 166; captivity and deliverance of, 168.
- Romanus, son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ix., 346.
- Romanus, Count, in Africa, iv., 231 *sqq.*; chronological difficulties of the history of, 233 *note*.
- Romanus, governor of Bosra, ix., 139.
- Romanus, military duke, ambassador to Attila, vi., 43 *note*.
- Rome, Church of, foundation of, ii., 317 and *note*; statistics of, in third century, 337 and *notes*; under Constantine, iii., 398 *sqq.*; vices under Valentinian, iv., 210; accepts image worship, viii., 324; discipline different from that of the Greek Church, x., 329; quarrel with Greek Church, 330 *sqq.*; corruption of, xi., 252; great schism of, 162 *sqq.*
- Rome, greatness of, i., 35; foreign creeds in, 40; number of citizens, 41, 42; freedom of, *ib. sq.*; monuments at, 54, 55 and *note*; date of its foundation, 248 *note*; threatened by the Alemanni, ii., 28; pestilence in, under Gallienus, 57; fortified by Aurelian, 79; sedition at, under Aurelian, 97; Diocletian and Maximilian, first emperors who did not live in, 179, 180; Diocletian visits Rome, 180, 181; Maxentius resides at, 226; Babylon of the primitive Christians, ii., 291; destruction of, predicted, *ib.*; fire under Nero, iii., 18; prefects of, 126; vicars of, 127 *note*; visit of Constantius to, 242 *sqq.*; council of, 336; appeals to See of Rome sanctioned by the Council of Sardica, 381 *note*; 404 temples at, iv., 78 *note*; inquiry concerning magic at, 192 *sq.*; conversion of, to Christianity, v., 77 *sqq.*; prosperity in the Theodosian age, 93 *sqq.*; description of, 208 *sqq.*; population of, 222 *sq.* and *note*; house rent, 224 and *note*; siege by Alaric, 225 *sqq.*; second siege, 235 *sqq.*; third siege, 241 *sqq.*; pillage and fire of, 243 *sqq.*; restoration of the *Fora* of, 247 *note*; sack of, by troops of Charles V., 251 *sq.*; laws for the relief of, 262; restoration of the city, 262, 263 and *note*; sacked by Genseric, vi., 89 *sq.*; Majorian protects the edifices of, 107 *sq.*; sacked by Ricimer, 139 *sq.*; monasticism in, 160; under Theodoric the Great, 325 *sqq.*; citizens invite Belisarius, vii., 137; siege by Vitiges, 138 *sqq.*; circumference of, 140 and *note*; distress during the siege, 146 *sqq.*; besieged by Totila, 250 *sqq.*; famine in, *ib.*; taken by Totila, 254; by Belisarius, 256 *sq.*; retaken by Totila, 261; by Narses, 271; five sieges of, 271 and *note*; citizens send embassies to Tiberius and Maurice, viii., 26; duchy of, 29; subject to the exarchs, *ib. sq.*; depopulation, 39 *sq.*; preserved by the relics of the apostles, 41 *sq.*; temples of, attacked by Gregory I., 40; republic of, 332-3; territory of the duchy of, 333 and *note*; style of the Roman senate and people revived, 334; attacked by the Lombards, 335; saved by Pepin, 337 *sq.*; separation from the eastern empire, 355 *sq.*; plundered by the Arabs, ix., 286 *sq.*; Constans II. attempts to restore seat of empire to, 364; siege of, by Henry III. of Germany, x., 122; Saracens under Robert Guiscard at, 124; compared with Constantinople, xi., 293; revolutions at, from the eleventh century, xii., 65 *sqq.*; French and German emperors of, 66 *sqq.*; authority of the popes, 69 *sqq.*; St. Bernard's character of the Romans, 77-8 and *note*; restoration of the senate, consuls and tribunes, 84 *sqq.*; of the Capitol, 87; of the prefects of the city, 88 *sq.*; the revolution of A.D. 1191, 92 *note*; first municipal statute of, *ib.*; wars with neighbouring cities, 100 *sqq.*; popes reside at Avignon, 109 *sq.*; nobles and barons of, 114 *sqq.*; coronation of Petrarch at, 126 *sq.*; conspiracy of Rienzi, 132; city under his administration, 133 *sqq.*

- taxation of, 134; population in fourteenth century, 135 *note*, 198 and *note*; in sixteenth century, *ib.*; in eighteenth century, 211 *note*; Pope Gregory XI. returns from Avignon to, 157; state of, during the great schism, 162 *sq.*; last revolt of, 168; last coronation of a German emperor at, 169; statutes and government of, *ib. sqq.*; councils of, 171 *sq.*; conspiracy of Porcario at, 172 *sqq.*; last disorders of the nobles, 174; absolutely ruled by the popes, 175 *sqq.*; taken by Charles V., 176; authorities for its history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, 180 *sq.*; *quartieri* (franchises) of, 179 and *note*; Poggius' description of, 182 *sqq.*; her buildings and ruins, *ib.*; decay of, 186 *sq.*; four causes of destruction, 187 *sqq.*; games at Rome, 204; bull-fight at, *ib. sqq.*; barbarism of the Romans, 208 *sqq.*; restored under Martin V. and his successors, 210 *sqq.*
- Rome, New, *iii.*, 111, *see* Constantinople.
- Rome, topography and buildings:—
- Amphitheatre of Titus, *see* Colosseum.
- Aqueducts, *xii.*, 212.
- Arches of: Antoninus, *xii.*, 199 *note*. Augustus, 184 *note*. Claudius, *ib.* Constantine, 184. Faustina, *ib.* Gallienus, *ib.* Julius Cæsar, 199 *note*. Lentulus, 184 *note*. Severus, 184. Tiberius, *ib. note*. Titus, 184, 199 *note*.
- Arx, *xii.*, 87 *note*.
- Augustus, Mausoleum of, *xii.*, 185 and *note*.
- Basilica Julii, *vii.*, 164 *note*.
- Baths of: Alexander, *xii.*, 184 and *note*. Caracalla, *v.*, 219 *sq.*; *xii.*, 184. Constantine, 184, 209. Decius, 184 *note*. Diocletian, *i.*, 209, 210 and *note*; *xii.*, 184. Nero, 184 *note*. Titus, 184 and *note*. Trajan, 184 *note*. Scipio Africanus, *v.*, 220 *note*.
- Bridges: Milvian, *xii.*, 96. Salarian, inscription on, *vii.*, 265 *note*. Of St. Angelo, *xii.*, 112 *note*.
- Cæcilia Metella, tomb of, *xii.*, 197 *note*, 200 and *note*.
- Campus Martius, *xii.*, 196.
- Capitol, *see* below, under Hills.
- Castles: Torre di Bove, *xii.*, 200 *note*. Of the Brati, 199 *note*. Cartularia, *ib.* Of the Cenci, 200 *note*. Of the Colonna, 185 *note*, 200 *note*. Of the Cosetti, 199 *note*. Of the Frangipani, *ib.* Of the Pierleoni, 75 *note*, 200 *note*. Of the Savelli, 200 *note*. St. Angelo, 116, 185, 200 and *note*.
- Catulus, vaults of, *xii.*, 184.
- Cestius, pyramid of, *xii.*, 184.
- Churches, shape of, *xii.*, 196. St. Angelo, 132. St. George, *ib.* St. John Lateran, *lex regia* in, 130 and *note*, 206. St. Maria in Ara Cœli, 87 *note*, 141 *note*. St. Maria in Turri, 67 *note*. St. Maria Maggiore, 184 *note*, 206. St. Maria sopra Minerva, 193 *note*, 194 *note* (Pantheon). St. Paul, pilgrimage to, a title to absolution, 112. St. Peter, first coronation in, 67 *note*; pilgrimage to, a title to absolution, 112, 197; its defences, 200; "the most glorious" religious structure, 211. St. Stephen (in Piazza di Pietra), 184 *note*.
- Circus Agonalis, *xii.*, 204 and *note*.
- Colosseum or Coliseum, *xii.*, 202 *sqq.*; used as a quarry, 206 *sq.*
- Columns of: Marcus Antoninus, *xii.*, 185 and *note*. Trajan, 184.
- Constantine, church and palace of, *xii.*, 141.
- Crescentius, Tower of, *xii.*, 116.
- Forum olitorium, *xii.*, 87 *note*.
- Gates: Asinarian, Belisarius enters Rome by, *vii.*, 137, 149; opened by Isaurians to Totila, 254. Aurelian, 153 and *note*. Capena, 151 and *note*. Flaminian, opened to Belisarius, 140. Maggiore, 144 *note*. Pincian, 146 and *note*. St. Paul, opened to Goths, 261. Salarian, 140; assaulted by Vitiges, 144; Goths enter by, 149.
- Goths, camps of the, at the gates, *vii.*, 143 *note*.
- Hadrian, Mausoleum of (Castle of St.

- Angelo), vii., 142 and *note*; xii., 116, 185, 200 *sq.* and *note*.
- Hills: Aventine, xii., 132. Capitoline, in Middle Ages, 87 and *note*; fortification of, *ib.*; Poggius on, 183 and *note*; legend of the Capitol, 208 *sq.* and *note*. Palatine, Poggius on, 183. Tarpeian, 87 *note*. Testacean, 204 and *note*.
- Lateran, *see* under Churches and Palaces.
- Leonine city, foundation of, ix., 290 and *note*.
- Library, Palatine, destroyed by Gregory I., viii., 40.
- Meta Romuli, xii., 112 *note*.
- Monasteries, xii., 196 and *note*.
- Navalia, near Monte Testaceo, vii., 262 *note*.
- Navona, xii., 204 *note*.
- Nero's tower, Garden of, xii., 205.
- Obelisks, Egyptian, iii., 245 and *note*; xii., 185 and *note*, 212.
- Palaces: of Constantine, *see* above Constantine. Farnese, xii., 207. Lateran, restored by Calixtus II., 77 *note*; Charles of Anjou in, 94; decay of, 156. Numa, 189 *note*, *sq.* *note*. Pincian, vii., 149 and *note*. Of Severus (Septizonium), defended by nephew of Gregory VII., x., 123; history and remains of, xii., 187 and *note*, 197, 199. Vatican, decay of, 156. Of Sallust, *see* Sallust.
- Pomœrium, xii., 131 *note*.
- Porticus crinorum, xii., 87 *note*.
- Regions of, xii., 199 and *note*.
- Rota porphyretica, xii., 67 *note*.
- St. Laurence, suburb of, xii., 133.
- St. Silvester, convent of, xii., 147 *note*.
- Septizonium, *see* Palace of Severus.
- Stadium, xii., 184 *note*.
- Statues: horses "of Phidias and Praxiteles," xii., 185, 209 and *note*; the Nile, 210-11; of Pompey, 210.
- Tabularium, xii., 87 *note*.
- Temples of: Concord, xii., 197 and *note*. Hercules (dedicated by Evander), 189 *note*. Janus, vii., 143 and *note*; xii., 199 *note*. Jupiter Capitolinus, 87 and *note*. Jupiter Stator, 189 *note*. Minerva, 210. The Moon, 189 *note*. Neptune, 184 *note*. The Pantheon, 184, 193 and *note*, *sq.* and *note*. Peace, viii., 40; xii., 184. Vesta, 189 *note*, *sq.* *note*.
- Theatres of: Balbus, xii., 200 *note*. Marcellus, viii., 40; xii., 75 *note*, 185, 200 and *note*. Pompeius, 185, 200 and *note*.
- Vatican quarter, vii., 146 (and *see* under Palaces).
- Via Flaminia, Narses on the, vii., 268 and *note*.
- Via Latina, vii., 137.
- Vivarium, vii., 144 and *note*.
- Romilda, viii., 95.
- Romuald, Duke of Beneventum, viii., 30 *note*.
- Romulus, Count, ambassador to Attila, vi., 43 *note*; his daughter, mother of Augustulus, vii., 149.
- Romulus, interregnum after, ii., 103, 104.
- Romulus, son of Maxentius, ii., 224 *note*.
- Roncaglia, diet of, viii., 385.
- Roncevalles, battle of, viii., 361.
- Rorico, vi., 234 *note*, *sq.* *note*.
- Rosamund, daughter of Cunimund, King of the Gepidæ, marries Alboin, viii., 7; murders him, 15 *sq.*; flight and death, 17.
- Roselli, Niccolò, xii., 74 *note*.
- Rospigliosi, Italian family, xii., 118 *note*.
- Rossano, held by the Goths, vii., 258 and *note*; seven convents at, xi., 276 *note*.
- Rosweyde, Life of the Fathers, vi., 179 *note*.
- Rotharis, King of the Lombards, vi., 205 *note*; laws of, viii., 32 *note*; concerning witchcraft, 38.
- Rotrud, daughter of Charles the Great, viii., 241 *note*.
- Rouda, island of the Nile at Memphis, ix., 175.
- Roum, Seljukian kingdom of, x., 179 *sq.*; extent of, 236.
- Roumelia, i., 29; Eastern and Western, *ib.* *note*.
- Rousseau, on animal food, iv., 263 *note*; his parallel between Christ and Socrates, viii., 132 *note*.
- Rovere, Jacova di, xii., 205.
- Rowe, Mr., his tragedy of the Royal Convert, vi., 286 *note*.



- Roxolani, Sarmatian tribe, ii., 10, 54 *note*; iv., 288 and *note*.
- Rubies, in the East, x., 152 and *note*; in caliph's treasure at Cairo, 290 *note*.
- Rubruquis, the monk, traveller, iv., 283 *note*; visits the court of the great Khan, xi., 134 *note*, 150 *note*.
- Rudbeck, Olaus, i., 276 *note*, *sq.*
- Rudolph, Emperor, viii., 389 *note*.
- Rudolph, Norman adventurer in Italy, x., 84 *note*.
- Rufinus, minister of Theodosius the Great, v., 51; eye-witness of the destruction of the temple of Serapis, 84 *note*; character and administration, 108 *sqq.*; accuses Tatian and Proculus, 110; prefect of the East, 111; oppresses the East, 112 *sqq.*; death, 123; correspondence with the Goths, 138.
- Rufinus, presbyter of Aquileia, iii., 310 *note*; v., 149 and *note*; on monastic institutions, vi., 165 *note*.
- Ruga, Spurius Carvilius, vii., 349 *note*.
- Rugians, at the battle of Châlons, vi., 61; invade Britain, 271; usurp Gothic throne, vii., 243.
- Rugilas, or Roas, uncle of Attila, vi., 3; death, *ib.*
- Rukn ad-dawla, principality of, ix., 305 *note*.
- Rukn ad Din, prince of the Assassins, xi., 143 *note*.
- Rumili Hissari, *see* Asomaton.
- Rūmiya, city of, vii., 210 *note*.
- Runic characters, i., 279 *note*.
- Ruotgerus, biographer of St. Bruno, viii., 371 *note*.
- Ruric, Scandinavian chief, x., 51 and *note*.
- Ruscianum, *see* Rossano.
- Rusium, battle at, xi., 17.
- Russia, empire of, vi., 293; geography and trade of, x., 53 *sqq.*; conquest of, by the Mongols, xi., 145 *sq.*
- Russians, serve in the Greek navy, ix., 354; their origin, x., 49-50; Greek form of the name, 50 *note*; colony of, in Hungary, *ib.*; extent of their empire, 54 *sq.*; expedition of the, against Constantinople, 57 *sqq.*; their negotiations with the Greek emperor, 61 *sq.*; oppose the union of the Greek and Latin Churches, xi., 299.
- Rustam, general of Yezdegerd, King of Persia, ix., 120; slain by an Arab, 121.
- Rustan, i., 102, 262 *note*; and Asfendiar, Persian heroes, iv., 273. *See* Restom.
- Rusticiana, widow of Boethius, vi., 336; alleviates the famine in Rome, vii., 24.
- Rutherfordius of Verona, ix., 361 *note*.
- Rutilius Namatianus, v., 131 *note*; paganism of, 190, 191 *note*; voyage of, 263 *note*.
- Rutland, Rolando, Orlando, death of, viii., 361 *note*.
- Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, his embassy to the court of Timour, xi., 212 *note*.
- SAADI EFFENDI, synopsis of, xi., 157 *note*.
- Saana, city of, vii., 231 *note*; ix., 8 and *note*; markets of, 10.
- Sabæans, or Homerites, Christianised by Theophilus, iii., 311.
- Sabaria, Severus declared emperor at, i. 144 *note*.
- Sabas, St., monastery of, vi., 158 *note*; vii., 17 *note*; intercedes for people of Palestine, 42 and *note*; courage of, viii., 195 *note*.
- Sabatius, father of Justinian, vii., 1 *note*;
- Sabaton, lake, ii., 222 *note*.
- Sabellianism, iii., 353 and *note*, *sq. note*.
- Sabellius, account of his heresy, iii., 348 *note*.
- Sabians in Arabia, ix., 26; religion of, *ib.*, *sq.* and *note*.
- Sabinian, conducts the war against Sapor, iii., 258.
- Sabinian, general of Anastasius, vi., 219.
- Sabinians, legal sect, vii., 224.
- Sabinus, Flavius, cousin of Domitian, iii., 26 and *note*.
- Sabinus, Praetorian prefect, iii., 80.
- Sabinus, Roman lawyer, vii., 325, 332 *note*.
- Sables of Sweden, vi., 317 and *note*.
- Sabrata, city of, iv., 231; conquered by Saracens, ix., 192 *note*.
- Sacæ, tribe of, ii., 168 *note*.
- Sachau, traveller, ix., 6 *note*.

- Sacrifices, human, of the Suevi, ii., 27; of the Scythians, vi., 6 and *note*; of the Arabians, ix., 24-5 and *note*; public, at Rome suppressed, v., 81.
- Sacriſtical king, v., 73.
- Sad-ad-Din, Ottoman historian, xi., 203 *note*.
- Sadder, i., 254 *note*.
- Sadducees, sect of, ii., 287 and *note*.
- Sade, Abbé de, Life of Petrarch, viii., 391 *note*; xii., 124 *note*; on the exile of Avignon, 110 *note*; on the Colonna, 119 *note*; his descent from Laura, 124 *note*.
- Sade, Hughes de, xii., 124 *note*.
- Saffāh, Al (or Abu-l-Abbās), ix., 260.
- Sagorinus, John, x., 31 *note*, 347 *note*.
- Sagreda, John, his History of the Ottoman monarchs, xii., 63 *note*.
- Sagundinus, Nicolaus, on Mahomet II., xii., 2 *note*.
- Sahib Keran, surname of Timour, xi., 182 *note*.
- Said ibn Ahmad, ix., 270 *note*.
- Said, lieutenant of the caliph Omar, ix., 123 *sq*.
- Saif, Homerite prince, restored by Nushirvan, viii., 51.
- Sain (Shāhin), Persian general, interview with Heraclius, viii., 97, 103 *note*, 107 *note*.
- Saints, worship of, v., 96 *sqg*.
- Sakaliba, *see* Lulun.
- Sala, river, iv., 218 *note*; Charlemagne's camp at, viii., 374.
- Saladine tenth, *see* Tithe.
- Saladin, Sultan, viii., 299; defends Alexandria, x., 292; Grand Vizir of Egypt, 295 and *note*; character of, *ib. sq.*; conquest of Palestine, 297 *sqg.*; treats with Richard I., 310-11; death of, 312; Saladine tenth, *ib.* and *note*; embassy of Isaac Angelus to, 338-9 and *note*.
- Salankamen, battle of, xi., 226 *note*.
- Salban, viii., 106 *note*; taken by Heraclius, 107.
- Salem, son of Ziyād, ix., 131 *note*.
- Salerno, anonymous writer of, viii., 375 *note*; school of, ix., 275 and *note*; subject to Greek emperor, x., 78; siege of, by the Saracens, 81, 84 *note*; by the Normans, 101; medi-
- cal school of, 103 and *note*; Gregory VII. at, xii., 74.
- Salian Franks in Toxandria, iii., 270 and *note*.
- Salians, confraternity of the, v., 73.
- Salic lands, vi., 251 and *note*.
- Salic laws, xi., 239 *note*.
- Salices [Ad], battle of, iv., 304 and *note*.
- Sālih Ayyūb, Sultan, x., 318 *note*; death of, 321 *note*.
- Salimbene, Fra, xii., 121 *note*.
- Salisbury, siege of, vi., 274.
- Salle, town, i., 33.
- Sallust, description of the Moors, vii., 118 *note*; Periplus of, 213 *note*.
- Sallust, officer of Julian, iii., 263 and *note*, iv., 5; Prefect of Gaul, 18 and *note*, 35 *note*.
- Sallust, Palace of, at Rome, destroyed by the Goths, v., 247 and *note*.
- Sallust, Prefect of the East, judge at Chalcedon, iv., 35 and *note*; his advice to Julian, 139; refuses the empire, 156; iv., 180; his embassy to Sapor II., 160; Prefect of the East for the second time and quells revolt of Procopius, 191.
- Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, wife of Alexander Severus, i., 193 and *note*.
- Salmasius, i., 116 *note*; on silk, vii., 32.
- Salona or Sula, *see* Amphissa.
- Salona, residence of Diocletian, ii., 192; description of, 194 *sqg.*; Diocletian's palace at, 195; fleet of Belisarius at, vii., 248; Narses at, 267.
- Salonina, Empress, ii., 30 *note*.
- Saloninus, son of Gallienus, ii., 25, 54 *note*.
- Salt, tax on, at Rome, xii., 134, 148.
- Salva, Castra of, iv., 217 *note*.
- Salvian, on Carthage, v., 356 and *note*.
- Sāmān, a nobleman of Balkh, ix., 303 *note*.
- Sāmānids, Saracen dynasty of, ix., 303 and *note*; fall of, x., 148.
- Samara on the Tigris, iv., 158 and *note*; residence of Motassem, ix., 264 *note*, 295; palace at, 293; name of, 295 and *note*.
- Samarcand, vii., 188 *sq.*; missionaries of, viii., 189; conquered by the Saracens, ix., 133 and *note*; defeat of Moslems by the Turks near, *ib. note*; Seljuk in, x., 157; subdued

- by Malek Shah, 173; taken by Zingis, 138; observatory at, 182 *note*; Timour at, 193; triumph of Timour at, 211.
- Samaritans of Palestine, persecuted by Justinian, viii., 172 *sq.*
- Samiel, hot wind, iv., 165 *note*.
- Samnites, i., 27.
- Samosata, massacre of heretics at, iii., 404; taken by Zimisces, ix., 311; rise of Paulician sect at, x., 3.
- Samothrace, inhabitants of, transported to Constantinople, xii., 55 *note*; Demetrius Palæologus lord of, 58.
- Samoyedes, iv., 275; in Greenland, vi., 318 *note*; xi., 149.
- Sampsiceramus, iv., 88 *note*.
- Samsamah, weapon of Caliph Harun, ix., 280.
- Samuel, son of Shishman, x., 35 *note*.
- Samuel the prophet, ashes of, brought to Constantinople, v., 98.
- Samuka, general of Zingis, xi., 138 *note*.
- Sancho, the Fat, King of Leon, ix., 275 *note*.
- Sanctuary, privilege of, iii., 334 and *note*.
- Sand, used for Mahometan ablutions, ix., 47.
- Sandoval, History of, ix., 220 *note*.
- Sandwich, iv., 227.
- Sangarius, river, vii., 58.
- Sangeles, for Count of St. Gilles, x., 234 *note*.
- Sangiar (Sinjār), Seljukian Sultan of Persia, x., 287.
- Sangiban, King of the Alani, offers to betray Orleans to Attila, vi., 55; at the battle of Chalons, 61.
- Sanjak, vii., 60 and *note*; title given to Scanderbeg, xi., 316.
- Sanut, family of, acquire Duchy of Naxos, xi., 6.
- Sanutus Marinus, History of Jerusalem by, x., 260 *note*.
- Sapaudia, *see* Savoy.
- Saphadin or Ardel, brother of Saladin, *see* Ardel.
- Saphrax, Gothic warrior, iv., 288, *see* Alatheus.
- Sapor I., son of Artaxerxes, accession of, i., 271; Roman wars of, ii., 43 *sqq.*; death, 90 and *note*.
- Sapor II., son of Hormouz, King of Persia, birth of, iii., 196; besieges Nisibis, 198; defeats Chosroes, 199; defeats Constantius, 201; raises siege of Nisibis, 204; expedition to Mesopotamia, 252 *sqq.*; besieges Amida, 255; Singara and Bezabde, 257; attempts Virtha, *ib.*; sends a messenger to Hormisdas, iv., 143; his peace with Jovian, 159 *sq.*; invades Armenia, 239 *sqq.*; death, 242.
- Sapor, lieutenant of Theodosius, v., 19.
- Saracens, Greek and Latin name for the Arabians, described by Ammianus, iii., 200 *note*; in the service of Julian, iv., 122; 290; in the service of Valens, 317 and *note*; pillage a town in Syria, viii., 121; wars with Theophilus, 250; name applied to the Arabians, 250; derivation of name, *ib.* *note*; their caliphs, 114 *sq.*; military force of the, 357 *sqq.* *See* Arabs.
- Saragossa (Cæsar Augusta), city of, taken by Euric, vi., 131; Emir of, asks protection from Charlemagne, viii., 365; mosque at, ix., 219.
- Sarapana, river, vii., 213.
- Sarbaraza (Shahrbaraz), Persian general, viii., 100 *note*, 103 *note*; defeated by Heraclius, 107 and *note*, 109; at Chalcedon, 112.
- Sarbar, *see* Sarbaraza.
- Sardes, Turks driven from, x., 271.
- Sardica (Sophia), Galerius dies at, ii., 222 *note*; Constantius and Vetriciano at, iii., 311 and *note*; Council of, 380 *note*, *sq.* and *note*; ambassadors of Theodosius and Attila meet at, vi., 24 *sq.*; Justinian born at, vii., 1 and *note*.
- Sardinia, Island of, ravaged by the Vandals, vi., 117; bishops exiled into, by Thrasimund, 192 and *note*; surrendered with Corsica to officer of Justinian, vii., 108; Duke of, 110; Arabs and Moors at, ix., 288.
- Sarmatæ, Alani settled in Gaul, vi., 58 and *note*.
- Sarmatian games, ii., 252 *note*.
- Sarmatians, i., 300 and *note*; ii., 10; subdued by Probus, 116; subdued by Emperor Carus, 130; allies of the Goths, 252; account of, iii., 184

- sqg.*; settlements on the Danube, 186; their Gothic wars, 187 *sqg.*; alliance with the Quadi, 190; colony of, in the Roman provinces, *ib.*; crossed the Danube, 237; made into a kingdom by Constantius, 246, 247; alliance with the Quadi against Valentinian, iv., 252 *sqg.*
- Sarmatia, province of, i., 301 *note.*
- Sarnus, or Draco, river, vii., 273 and *note.*
- Sarts, tribe of, vi., 27 *note.*
- Sarukhan, Emir of, subdued by Bajazet, xi., 170.
- Sarūkhān, Turkish chieftain, xi., 160 and *note.*
- Sarus, a Gothic warrior, joins Stilicho, v., 168; pursues Constantine, 179; at Bologna, 188; ability of, 195; destroys a body of Goths, 241; supports Jovinus, 270; death, *ib.*
- Sarus, river, battle at the, Persians defeated by Heraclius, viii., 108 *sq.*
- Sasima, Bishopric of, held by Gregory Nazianzen, v., 15 and *note.*
- Sassan, founder of the Persian dynasty, i., 252 *note.*; house of, vii., 196.
- Sassanides, Persian dynasty of, i., 252 and *note.*
- Sassoferrato, vii., 268 *note.*
- Satala, in Armenia, restored by Justinian, vii., 67.
- Satalia, the ancient Attalia, Louis VII. at, x., 281.
- Sathas, C., on the Historia Patriarchica, xii., 56 *note.*
- Satires, iv., 106 *note.*
- Satrapies, Persian, i., 267 and *note.*
- Saturnalia, at Antioch, iv., 113; of Lipsius, v., 160 *note.*
- Saturninus, Cælius, iii., 132 *note.*
- Saturninus, competitor of Gallienus, tyrant in Pontus, ii., 50, 52.
- Saturninus, consul, v., 295; count of the domestics, assassinated by order of Eudocia, 328.
- Saturninus, Count, daughter of, chosen to marry Attila's secretary, vi., 23.
- Saturninus, general of the cavalry, operations of, against the Goths, iv., 305.
- Saturninus, general of Probus, revolt, ii., 124.
- Saturninus, husband of Theodora's favourite, vii., 16 *note.*
- Satyrs, Greek, iv., 106 *note.*; in Africa, iv., 237 and *note.*
- Saul, general of Stilicho, slain at Polentia, v., 154 *sq.*
- Sauromaces, King of the Iberians, expelled by Sapor, iv., 239.
- Sauzes, son of Amurath I., xi., 176 and *note.*
- Savary, travels in Egypt, ix., 179 *note.*, 191 *note.*
- Save, i., 29 *note.*
- Savelli, Lucas, senator, xii., 102 *note.*, 149.
- Savelli, Roman family, xii., 116 and *note.*, *sq. note.*; member of, murdered at Rome, 174, 205.
- Saverne, iii., 265 and *note.*
- Savigny, on Roman law, vii., 302 *note.*
- Savoy (Sapaadia), first mention of, vi., 45 *note.*; Burgundians settle in, *ib.*
- Saxa Rubra, battle of, ii., 235 *sq.*
- Saxons, ii., 153 *note.*; account of, iv., 220 *sqg.*; settlement in Gaul, 222; join Theodoric against Attila, vi., 58 and *note.*; converted by Roman missionaries in Britain, 182; in Britain, 269 *sqg.*; Saxon heptarchy, 271 *sq.*; tribe of *old Saxons*, *ib.*; invade Italy under Alboin, viii., 10; vanquished by Charlemagne, 366.
- Saxony, ancient, viii., 366 *sq.*
- Scabini, vi., 245 *note.*
- Scævola, Mucius, Roman lawyer, v., 214 *note.*; vii., 320.
- Scævola, Q. Cervidius, master of Papinian, vii., 317 *note.*
- Scaliger, xi., 290.
- Scanderbeg, Prince of Albania, xi., 302; birth and education of, 315 *sq.*; revolt of, from the Turks, 317 *sq.*; date of his birth, *ib. note.*; valour of, 318; Calabrian expedition of, 320 and *note.*; applies to Pope Pius II., *ib.*; death of, at Alessio, *ib.*
- Scanderoon, Gulf of, Heraclius at, viii., 100.
- Scandinavia, i., 274 and *note.*
- Scanzia or Thule, *see* Thule.
- Scaramangion, tunic of the Byzantine Emperors, ix., 336 *note.*
- Scarponna, battle of, iv., 214 *sq.*

- Scatinian law, *see* Law.
- Scaurus, family of, iii., 120 *note*.
- Scepticism of the pagan world, ii., 320.
- Sceptre, Greek (*dicanice*), xi., 66 *note*.
- Schafarik, his *Slawische Alterthümer*, x., 29 *note*.
- Schepss, G., his *Priscillian*, v., 27 *note*.
- Schiltberger, John, on battle of Nicopolis, xi., 171 *note*, 203 *note*.
- Schlumberger, M., on Nicephorus, viii., 269 *note*; *L'épopée byzantine*, 274 *note*.
- Scholæ*, of guards, ii., 185; military, iii., 144; vii., 283 and *note*.
- Scholasticus*, iii., 133 *note*.
- Schultens, *Life of Saladin* by, x., 294 *note*.
- Schultingius, oration of, vii., 331 *note*.
- Schultze, F., on the Renaissance, xi., 286 *note*.
- Schwarzer, on imperial coronations, xii., 67 *note*.
- Science, cultivated by the Greeks, i., 72, 73.
- Scipio, Younger, vii., 361 *note*; at sack of Carthage, xii., 52 *note*.
- Sciri, Scirri, *see* Scyrri.
- Scironian rocks, v., 141 and *note*.
- Sclavonia, Crusaders in, x., 225.
- Sclavonians, *see* Slavonians.
- Sclerena, concubine of Constantine X. (IX.), viii., 279.
- Sclerus, *see* Bardas Sclerus.
- Scodra or Scutari, Crusaders at, x., 225 and *note*.
- Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, iv., 223 *note*.
- Scotland, Crusaders from, x., 235 and *note*; historians of, xii., 176 *note*.
- Scots and Picts, invade Britain, iv., 5 and *note*; 227 *sq.*; description of, 225 *sq.* and *note*.
- Scotta, brother of Onegesius, procures Maximin an interview with Attila, vi., 26.
- Scourge of God, epithet of Attila, vi., 16 and *note*.
- Scribonianus, revolt of, i., 93 *note*.
- Scrinia*, iii., 144 and *note*.
- Scudilo, Tribune, iii., 232.
- Scupi, vii., 60 *note*.
- Scutari, in Bithynia, *see* Chrysopolis.
- Scutari, in Dalmatia, *see* Scodra.
- Scylitzes, continuator of Cedrenus, x., 161 *note*.
- Scyllitan martyrs, ii., 338 *note*.
- Scyros, Isle of, taken by the Venetians, xi., 5 *note*.
- Scyrri, rearguard of Uldin, v., 331 and *note*; vi., 143; defeated by Edecon, 145.
- Scythians, *see* Tatars, name used for Goths, ii., 40 and *note*.
- Scythia or Tartary, trade in furs, i., 69; ii., 253; situation and extent of, iv., 272 *sqq.*
- Scythopolis, vii., 42 *note*.
- Sebastian, Count of Egypt, iii., 391; iv., 120, 165.
- Sebastian, Count, persecuted by Geneseric, vi., 194 and *note*.
- Sebastian, general of Valens, iv., 216; master general of infantry, 310 and *note*; death, 314.
- Sebastian, made emperor by Jovinus, v., 270.
- Sebastian, son-in-law of Boniface, persecuted, vi., 40; seizes Barcelona, *ib.* *note*.
- Sebastocrator, title invented by Alexius Comnenus, ix., 337.
- Sebasto-hypertatos*, title of Leo Sguros of Nauplia, xi., 7 *note*.
- Sebastopolis, fortifications of, vii., 219, 220 and *note*.
- Sebectagi, father of the Sultan Mahmud, x., 148 and *note*.
- Sebzar, village of, birthplace of Timour, xi., 182.
- Second*, the, office of, ix., 338 *note*.
- Secular games, i., 246 and *note*.
- Secundinus, Duke of Osrhoene, iv., 124.
- Secutor*, i., 120.
- Seditiosus*, meaning of, vii., 332 *note*.
- Seez, cruelty of Geoffrey of Anjou at, xii., 73 *note*.
- Sefi, Sheik, fourteenth-century saint, ix., 106 *note*.
- Segelnessa, i., 33.
- Segestan, princes of, i., 262 *note*.
- Segestans, ii., 130; in the army of Sapor, iii., 254 and *note*; assist Yezdegerd, ix., 128.
- Segjah, Arabian prophetess, ix., 112 *note*.
- Segued, Emperor of Abyssinia, viii., 212.
- Seid, *see* also Said.
- Seid Bechar, xi., 225.
- Seids, descendants of Mahomet, xi., 303 *note*.

- Seifeddowlat, caliph, ix., 311.
- Sejanus, i., 179 *note*.
- Selden, ii., 265 *note*.
- Seleucia, i., 264 *sq.*; taken by Carus, ii., 131; Julian at, iv., 137.
- Seleucia, in Cilicia, besieged by the Isaurians, iii., 237.
- Seleucia, in Isauria, council of bishops at, iii., 371.
- Seleucus, Mount, battle of, iii., 221 and *note*.
- Seleucus Nicator, i., 261 *note*; era of, *ib.*
- Selgæ, battle at, Tribigild defeated at, v., 300 and *note*.
- Selim I., Sultan, conquers Egypt, x., 323 and *note*; (alleged) treatment of Greek Church, xii., 56 and *note*.
- Selina, salt pits of, xi., 318.
- Seljuk, x., 154; founder of the Seljukian dynasty, 156 and *note, sq.*
- Seljukians, dynasty of, x., 156 *sq.*; probably Christian, 157 *note*; invade the empire, 161; division of empire of, 176; revival of, xi., 170.
- Seljuks of Kirman, x., 176 *note*.
- Selsey, near Chichester, given to Wilfrid of Sussex, vi., 281.
- Selymbria, residence of Andronicus and John Palæologus, xi., 177; besieged by the Turks, xii., 17.
- Sematsien, History of China, iv., 274 *note*.
- Semi-Arians, iv., 203.
- Semiramis, iii., 223 *note*.
- Semlin, Crusaders at, x., 211 *note*.
- Semno, chief of the Lygii, ii., 118.
- Semnonese, ii., 27.
- Sempronian laws, i., 79.
- Senaar, ruins of, viii., 209.
- Senate of Rome, reformed by Augustus, i., 76; under the empire, 85; attempt of, after death of Caligula, 91; jurisdiction of, 126 and *note*; condemns Julianus, 146; oppressed by Severus, 154; opposes Macrinus, 179; women excluded from, 192; restored by Alexander Severus, 196; declares against Maximin, 227; elects Maximus and Balbinus emperors, 230; repulses the Alamanni, ii., 29; not admitted to military offices, *ib.*; under Tacitus, 108 *sq.*; under Diocletian and Maximian, 181 *sqq.*; senate of Constantinople, iv., 41; majority of Roman senators remained Pagans, v., 75 and *note*; debate concerning worship of Jove or Christ, 78 and *note*; armed ten legions, 168 *note*; Stilicho refers the demands of Alaric to the, 184 *sq.*; filled with new families from the colonies, 201 *note*; condemns Serena, 225, 226; conduct to Alaric, 228 *sq.*; refuses to allow Pagan sacrifices, 228; convened by Attalus, 237; condemns Avitus to death, vi., 100 *sq.*; elects Libius Severus, 114; supports Anthemius, 140; epistle to Zeno on transfer of seat of empire to the East, 147 *sq.*; deputies of, invite Justinian's lieutenant to enter Rome, vii., 137; extinction of, 272; decrees of, 310; office of President of the Senate of Constantinople, viii., 272 *note*; authority of, eradicated by Leo the Philosopher, ix., 350-1; revival of, in twelfth century, xii., 84 *sqq.*; no senate between eighth and twelfth centuries, 84 *note*; election of, 90 *sq.*
- Senator, title of, in middle age, xii., 84 *note*; office of, 90 *sq.*; Charles of Anjou elected, 94; Rienzi, 152; Forensis, 169.
- Senatorial tax (*foliis*), ii., 230 and *note*.
- Senators, Roman, i., 43 *note*, 121 *note*; in Theodosian age, v., 200 *sqq.*
- Seneca, Quæst. Natur., ii., 348; on the luxury of Rome, v., 206 and *note*; vi., 150 *note*; on Corsica, 192 and *note*; on comets, vii., 291 and *note*.
- Seniors or Lords, vi., 251.
- Sens, Decentius at, iii., 221; Julian at, 264; monasteries at, vi., 285 *note*; Abderame at, ix., 253.
- Sentinum, battle of, vii., 269 *note*.
- Septem or Ceuta, taken by Roman tribune, vii., 108 and *note*; besieged by the Visigoths, 121 *sq.*; attacked by the Saracens, ix., 208 and *note*, 211.
- Septetus*, interpretation of the word, viii., 329 *note*.
- Septimania, retained by the Visigoths, vi., 235; invaded by Gontran, 263 *sq.*; invaded by Saracens, ix., 219.

- Septizonium of Severus, *see* under Rome.  
 Sepulchres of the Gauls, *see* Busta Gallorum.  
 Sepulveda, xii., 152 *note*.  
 Sequani, lands of the, taken by the Germans, vi., 248.  
 Seraglio, iii., 100.  
 Serai, city and palace of, xi., 149 and *note*.  
 Serapeum, at Alexandria, *see* Serapis.  
 Serapion, deacon of Chrysostom, v., 312.  
 Serapion, friend of Julian, ix., 140 *note*.  
 Serapion, saint of the Nitrian desert, viii., 130; teaches Cyril of Alexandria, 136.  
 Serapis, i., 170 *note*, 174; temple of, iii., 92; description of the temple of, at Alexandria, v., 84 *sq.*; its destruction, 87 *sq.*  
*Serratuli*, provincial troops of the Turks, xii., 18 *note*.  
 Serbi, tribe of, viii., 72 *note*.  
 Serena, niece of Theodosius, marries Stilicho, v., 119 and *note*; intercession of, concerning Alaric, 184; paganism of, 190 and *note*.  
 Serendib, *see* Taprobana.  
 Seres or Sinae, vii., 34 *note*.  
 Sergievich, x., 57 *note*.  
 Sergiopolis, *see* Rasaphe.  
 Sergius IV., Duke of Naples, x., 86 *note*.  
 Sergius and Bacchus, saints and martyrs, viii., 66 and *note*.  
 Sergius, the interpreter, iii., 196 *note*; vii., 201 *note*.  
 Sergius the Paulician, x., 4 *note*; pilgrimage of, 10 and *note*.  
 Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, condemned by Third Council, viii., 180 *note*.  
 Sergius I., Pope, viii., 232 *note*.  
 Sergius, nephew of Solomon the eunuch, vii., 238 and *note*, 240.  
 Serica, vii., 33.  
 Seriphus, Isle of, i., 104 and *note*.  
 Serjabil, friend of Caled, ix., 138.  
 Serjeants, horsemen who were not knights, x., 263, 362 and *note*.  
 Seronatus, prefect of Gaul, execution of, vi., 136.  
 Serranus, friend of Sidonius Apollinaris, vi., 85 *note*.  
 Serres, city of, taken by the Servians, xi., 110 *note*.  
 Servatius, St., of Tongres, vi., 55.  
 Servetus, martyrdom of, x., 23 and *note*.  
 Servia, rebellion of, A.D. 1040, viii., 277 *note*; dominant position of, in fourteenth century, xi., 110 *note*; code of laws of Stephen Dushan, *ib.*; expedition of Cantacuzene into, 116.  
 Servians, overthrown by the Bulgarians, x., 33 and *note*; settlement of, in Constantinople, xii., 55 *note*.  
*Servitudes*, term in Roman law, vii., 359 and *note*.  
 Servius, civil law of Rome made by, vii., 303.  
 Sesostris, long wall of, ix., 16 and *note*.  
 Sestus, iii., 95; fortifications of, vii., 62.  
 Severa, wife of Valentinian I., iv., 256, 257 and *note*.  
 Severianus, ii., 241.  
 Severinus, St., his prophetic speech to Odoacer, vi., 146; Life of, by Eugippius, *ib.* *note*; his bones laid in monastery of Misenum, 150; death, 151 *note*.  
 Severus, Alexander, i., 182 *note*; made Cæsar, 189; reign, 190 *sq.*; character, 201; murdered, 218; victory over Artaxerxes, 267; leniency to the Christians, iii., 50, 51; religious syncretism, v., 51 *sq.*; private worship of, viii., 310 *note*.  
 Severus, Bishop of Hermopolis Magna, Arabic history of, viii., 137 *note*.  
 Severus, Bishop of Minorca, v., 103 *note*.  
 Severus, blind man, miraculously cured, v., 35 and *note*.  
 Severus, general of cavalry under Julian, iii., 265.  
 Severus, Jacobite historian, ix., 179 *note*.  
 Severus, Libius, elected emperor by Ricimer, vi., 114; death, *ib.*  
 Severus, officer of Galerius, made Cæsar, ii., 203 and *note*; Augustus, 208; defeat and death, 212 and *note*.  
 Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, Monophysite, viii., 194; Life of, *ib.* *note*.  
 Severus, philosopher, consul under Anthemius, vi., 124.  
 Severus, Septimius, i., 126 *note*; commands in Pannonia, 143; declared emperor, *ib.*; marches to Rome, 144; rapid march, 146 and *note*; disgraces the prætorians, *ib.*; em-

- peror, *ib.*; defeats Niger and Albinus, 149; reign, 149 *sqq.*; expedition to Britain, 165 *sqq.*; assumed the name *Pertinax*, 164 *note*; death, 167; promoted Maximin, 217; his treatment of the Christians, iii., 50, 51.
- Severus, Sulpicius, ii., 291 *note*; v., 26 *note*; Dialogues and Life of St. Martin by, vi., 179 *note*.
- Seville in fourth century, v., 271; siege of, vi., 202; taken by Musa, ix., 217-8; legion of Emesa at, 224; Christianity abolished in, 232.
- Sfetigrade, siege of, xi., 302 *note*, 319; site of, *ib. note*.
- Shaba, the great Khan, invades Persia, viii., 57.
- Shafei, sect of, x., 297.
- Shāhin, *see* Sain.
- Shahmanism, ancient religion of, xi., 299 *note*.
- Shah, Mansūr, Prince of Fars, xi., 186.
- Shah Nameh, or book of Kings, vii., 201 *note*.
- Shāhraplakan, Persian general, viii., 110 *note*.
- Shahrbarāz, *see* Sarbaraza.
- Shajar-ad-Durr, Queen of Egypt, x., 321 *note*.
- Shamer, Arabian chief, ix., 104.
- Sharokh, son of Timour, xi., 217.
- Shah Abbas, i., 262 *note*; plants colony at Ispahan, ix., 229.
- Shah Allum, xi., 181 *note*, 217 *note*.
- Shaw, Dr., account of the Berbers, ix., 207 *note*.
- Shawer, leader of a faction in Egypt, x., 290 and *note*; death of, 293.
- Shaybān, Khan of the Kirghiz Kazaks, xi., 187 *note*.
- Shebdiz, horse of Chosroes, viii., 93.
- Sheibani Khan, conquers Siberia, xi., 149.
- Sheikhs, Arabian, ix., 14.
- Shelun, or Zarus, descendant of Moko, and conqueror of Tartary, v., 164 and *note*.
- Sherefeddin, Ali, his history of Timour, xi., 180 *note*, 204 *sq. note*; his account of Bajazet, 208.
- Sherif al-Edrissi, Arabian scholar, x., 108 *note*.
- Sherif*, used by Zonaras for ambassador, x., 158 *note*.
- Sheroe, daughter of Chosroes, viii., 67 *note*.
- Sherzhour, city of, Heraclius at, viii., 115.
- Shiites, sect of Mahometans, ix., 94; burial ground of, near tomb of Ali, 100.
- Shiracouh, Emir of Nouredin, x., 291 and *note*; second invasion of Egypt by, *ib.*; governs Egypt, 293.
- Shishman of Bulgaria, xi., 166 *note*; revolts against the Ottomans, 168 *note*.
- Shishman of Trnovo, kingdom of, x., 34 *note*.
- Siam, i., 268 *note*.
- Siasset Nameh, or book of government by Nizam, x., 175 *note*.
- Siberia, description of, iv., 275; conquered by Sheibani Khan, xi., 149.
- Sibyline books, consulted by Aurelian, ii., 79 *sq.*; by Constantine, 304; burnt by Stilicho, v., 190.
- Sibyls, Christian, ii., 347.
- Sicamber, name applied by Remigius to Clovis, vi., 221 *note*.
- Sichem [Neopolis], taken by Saracens, ix., 168.
- Sichem, or Naplous, temples at, iii., 78 *note*; position of, viii., 172 *note*; grove of Tano near, x., 256; cut down by Crusaders, *ib.*
- Sicily, ii., 54; conquered by the Vandals, vi., 85, 130; ceded to Theodorice, 311; regained by Belisarius, vii., 127 *sqq.*; plundered by Totila, 262 *sq.*; reduced by Artaban, 264; partly recovered by Maniaces, viii., 277 *note*; conquered by the Arabs, ix., 284 *sqq.*; Roger the Norman introduces silk into, 327; Normans serve in, x., 87; princes of, legates of holy see, 108; Roger II., King of, 127; under William the Bad, 140; under William the Good, 142; subdued by Henry VI., 144; by Charles of Anjou, xi., 79 *sqq.*; Sicilian Vespers, 83 and *note*; falls under the House of Aragon, 84 *sq.*
- Sicininus, Basilica of, iv., 210 and *note*.



- Sickel, W., on imperial coronations, xii., 67 *note*.
- Sicorius Probus, ii., 174.
- Siculi, tribe of the Huns, x., 49 *note*.
- Siculus, Peter, historian, x., 2 *note*, 7 *note*.
- Sidon, manufacturers of, vii., 29; taken by Saracens, ix., 168; Emir of, helps Crusaders, x., 254; lord of, in court of peers, 266; lordship of, *ib.* *note*; lost by the Franks, 324.
- Sidonius Apollinaris, on taxation, iii., 161; on Saxon pirates, iv., 222 *note*; on human sacrifices, 223 *note*; proposed history of Attila, vi., 53; on Emperor Maximus, 85 *note*; account of Avitus, 92 *note*, *sq.* *note*, 99; of the country life of the Gallic nobles, 93 *note*; of Theodoric, 94 and *note*, *sqq.*; panegyric on Majorian, 102 and *note*; on Anthemius, 122 and *note*, *sq.* and *note*; on trial of Arvandus, 132 *note*, 134 *sq.*; on Seronatus, 136 *note*; on Basilus, 152 and *note*; epistles of, 187 *note*; ambassador to Euric, 211.
- Siebenbürgen, *see* Transylvania.
- Sienpi, tribe of Tatars, iv., 281 and *note*; power of, 284; style themselves "Topa," v., 164.
- Siffin, plain of, battle of rival caliphs on, ix., 98; site of, *ib.* *note*.
- Sigambrians, short hair of, vi., 48 *note*.
- Sigan, capital of China, iv., 280; Yezid dies at, ix., 131.
- Siganfu, inscription of. *See* Singanfu.
- Sigebut, despoils the daughter of Eba of her estate, ix., 223.
- Sigelgaita, *see* Gaita.
- Sigibert, King of Austrasia, vi., 201.
- Sigibert, King of the Ripuarian Franks, vi., 218 *note*.
- Sigismund, emperor, protects the synod of Constance, xi., 255, 257; xii., 165.
- Sigismund, King of the Burgundians, vi., 227 *sq.*; flight and death, 228.
- Sigismund, King of Hungary, war with Bajazet, xi., 171 *sq.*
- Signia, the Conti counts of, xii., 116.
- Sigonius, on Roman law, vii., 383 *note*; on Pope Gregory I., viii., 49 *note*; de Regno Italiæ, x., 75 *note*.
- Silentiary, office of, vii., 227 *note*.
- Silenus, character of, in Cæsars of Julian, iv., 107; in sixth eclogue of Virgil, *ib.* *note*.
- Silingi, in Bætica, v., 273; exterminated by Wallia, 276.
- Silistria, battle of, x., 67 *note*.
- Silius Italicus, i., 47 *note*.
- Silk, trade in, i., 69; manufacture of, in China, vii., 31 *sqq.*; importation from China, 33; in Greece, 36 *sq.*; ix., 326; in Spain, Sicily and Italy, *ib.* and 327.
- Silko, King of Nubia, conversion of, viii., 208 and *note*; receives envoy from Justinian, *ib.*
- Silures, British tribe, i., 26; vi., 276.
- Silvanus, *see* Constantine, teacher of the Paulicians.
- Silver, i., 70 and *note*.
- Silvester I., St., Pope, baptises Constantine the Great, viii., 347; legend of his healing Constantine, xii., 142 and *note*.
- Silvester II. (Gerbert), Pope, his epitaph on Boethius, vi., 341 *note*.
- Simeon, King of Bulgaria, x., 32 and *note*; besieges Constantinople, 33.
- Simeon, Greek minister, x., 9.
- Simeon Metaphrastes, ix., 317 and *note*.
- Simeon Stylites, the Syrian hermit, vi., 177 *sq.*
- Simeon, teacher of the Paulicians, x., 4 *note*; causes death of Sylvanus, 9.
- Simeons, Nestorian sect, revolt of, viii., 199.
- Simocatta, *see* Theophylactus.
- Simon de Montfort in fourth crusade, x., 343.
- Simon the Magician, viii., 152.
- Simony, iii., 56 *note*.
- Simplicius, Bishop of Rome, iii., 322 and *note*; his ecclesiastical distribution of Rome, vi., 139 *note*.
- Simplicius, last of the philosophers, vii., 81.
- Sindbal, leader of Heruli, vii., 279; death of, 281.
- Singanfu, inscription of, viii., 190 *note*.
- Singara, site of, ii., 175 *note*; battle of, iii., 200; taken by Sapor, 256; ceded by Jovian to the Persians, iv., 161.
- Singeric, brother of Sarus, Gothic king, v., 274.

- Singidunum, destroyed by the Huns, vi., 12. *See* Belgrade.
- Singing, tramontane, viii., 45 and *note*.
- Sinistus, high priest of the Burgundians, iv., 218.
- Sinjar, Seljuk Sultan, x., 176 *note*.
- Sinope, aqueduct at, i., 56 *note*; under David Comnenus, xi., 11 *note*; taken by Turks, *ib.* and xii., 59 *sq.*; inhabitants of, sent to Constantinople, 55 *note*.
- Sintha, ii., 176.
- Sion, Mount, iv., 74.
- Sipahis, xi., 200.
- Sira or Schirn, wife of Chosroes, viii., 66-7 and *note*; flight of, 116.
- Sirmium, ii., 68, 127; residence of the emperors at, 194; Julian enters, iv., 21; Arians at, 203; held by Mesalla against the Quadi, 253; Valentinian enters, 254; Imperial court, 323; destroyed by the Huns, vi., 12; subdued by Theodoric, 321 and *note*; siege of, by the Avars, viii., 70 *sq.*
- Sirmond, on Aetius, vi., 72 *note*.
- Siroes or Kabad, son of Chosroes and Sira, viii., 117; embassy to the Romans, 119.
- Sisaurane, fortress of, vii., 211.
- Siscia, town of, taken by Magnentius, iii., 214.
- Sisebut, Gothic king of Spain, persecutes the Jews, vi., 206 *sq.*
- Sisenand, King of Spain, v., 261 *note*.
- Sisinnius, Bishop of Constantinople, viii., 140.
- Sisman, *see* Shishman.
- Sitifi, in Africa, Theodosius at, iv., 236; reconquered for Justinian by Solomon, vii., 120.
- Sitones, i., 286.
- Sittas, Duke of Armenia, vii., 10 *note*, 89 *note*.
- Sixtus IV., Pope, alarmed by Turkish invasion of Apulia, xii., 63; disturbed state of Rome under, 174.
- Sixtus V., Pope, places obelisk of Constantine near St. John Lateran, iii., 245 *note*; economy of, xii., 175 *note*; places statues of SS. Peter and Paul on columns of Trajan and Antonine, 178 *note*; character of, 178 *sq.*; uses the ruins of the Septizonium, xii., 187 *note*, 197; munificence of, 212.
- Slaves, among the Romans, i., 49 *sqq.*; enter the army, iii., 140; join army of Alaric, v., 230; under the Merovingians, vi., 253 and *notes sq.*; state under conquerors of Rome, 253 *sqq.*; under Justinian, vii., 339 *sq.*
- Slaves, *see* Slavonians.
- Slavonians, origin of, vii., 181; inroads of, 182 *sq.*; account of, by Procopius, *ib.* *note*; in Illyricum and Thrace, 184 *sq.*, 282; under Charlemagne, viii., 366; in Greece, ix., 323 *note*, 324; names of Slaves, x., 29 and *note*.
- Slavonic legends, vii., 1 *note*.
- Sleepers, Seven, legend of the, v., 358 and *note*, 359 *sqq.*
- Smallpox, ix., 30 *note*.
- Smaragdus, first exarch of Ravenna, vii., 280; viii., 11 *note*.
- Smith, Adam, xii., 177 *note*.
- Smyrna, i., 62 *note*, 63 and *note*; restored to the empire, x., 271; besieged by the Turks and defended by the Rhodian knights, xi., 163 and *note*; taken by the Mongols, 203.
- Soæmias, mother of Elagabalus, i., 182, 192.
- Soatra, x., 274 *note*.
- Socotora, Christianity in, viii., 189.
- Socrates, demon of, ix., 84 and *note*.
- Socrates, ecclesiastical historian, iii., 349 *note*; on Chrysostom, v., 311 *note*; on Pulcheria, 324 *note*.
- Soderini, Roman family of, xii., 185 *note*.
- Soffarides (Saffarids), dynasty of, ix., 303.
- Sogdiana, province of China, ii., 167 and *note*; plains of, iv., 282 and *note*; vii., 33.
- Sogdoites, tributaries of the Turks, vii., 192 *sq.*
- Soissons, vase of, vi., 213 *note*; city and diocese of, under Syagrius, 214 and *note*; taken by Clovis, 215; arsenals of, *ib.* and *note*; church of St. Drausus at, x., 232 *note*; Crusaders' parliament at, 351.
- Solicinium, Mount, iv., 216.

- Solidus*, or Constantinian *aureus*, iii., 160 *note*; Gallic, vi., 106 *note*.
- Soliman, brother of the caliph Walid, besieges Constantinople, ix., 242 *sq.*; death, 244.
- Soliman, Shah of Carizme, death of, xi., 156.
- Soliman, son of Bajazet, xi., 202; submits to Timour, 209; character and death, 219.
- Soliman, son of Cutulmish, conquers Asia Minor, x., 178; his new kingdom of Roum, 179; threatens Constantinople, 181; conquers Jerusalem, *ib.* *sq.*; tempts the Crusaders into plain of Nice, 212; kingdom of, invaded by the crusaders, 236 *sq.*; called Kilidge Arslan, *ib.* and *note*.
- Soliman, son of Orchan, xi., 165-6; death, 166.
- Soliman, the Magnificent, Ottoman Sultan, alleged treatment of Greek Church, xii., 56 *note*.
- Solomon, King of the Jews, book of Wisdom of, iii., 341 and *note*; his sacrifices, iv., 78; not author of Ecclesiastes, vii., 115 *note*.
- Solomon, the eunuch, commands in Africa, vii., 119 and *note sq.*; conquers the Moors, 120; conspiracy against, 237; death of, 242 and *note*.
- Solon, tables of, vii., 306.
- Sondis, Mount, vi., 306 and *note*.
- Song, Chinese dynasty, xi., 141.
- Sonna, Mahometan oral law, ix., 43 *sq.*
- Sonnenwald, sacred wood of the Suevi, ii., 27.
- Sonnites, orthodox Mahometans, ix., 95.
- Sontius, river, Odoacer at the, vi., 309.
- Sopater, the Philosopher, iii., 378 *note*, iv., 68 *note*.
- Sophene, ii., 175.
- Sophia, Basil II. at, x., 35 *note*; taken by the Turks, xi., 166 *note*. *See* Sardica.
- Sophia, Empress, vii., 10 *note*; relieves the citizens of Constantinople of debt, viii., 3 *sq.*; recalls Narses, 11-12; her treatment by Tiberius, 21 *sq.*
- Sophia, St., church of, at Constantinople, account of, *see* Constantinople.
- Sophian, lieutenant of Moawiyah, ix., 238 and *note*.
- Sophonria, Roman matron, ii., 225 *note*.
- Sophonius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, treats with Omar, ix., 61 *sq.* and *note*.
- Sophys, reign of, in Tauris, viii., 105; claimed descent from Mahomet, ix., 106 and *note*.
- Sora, Lombard fortress, viii., 341 *note*.
- Sorbonne, faculty of the, xii., 163.
- Sortes Sanctorum, mode of divination, vi., 231 and *note*.
- Sosibius, iv., 90 *note*.
- Soubahs, rebellion of, in Hindostan, xi., 191.
- Soul, immortality of the, belief of ancient Germans concerning, i., 295; attitude of the pagans towards the doctrine of, ii., 284 *sqq.*; pre-existence of, 285 and *note*; Jewish views of, 287 *sq.*; material, of universe, iii., 341 and *note*; metaphysics of, viii., 126 and *note*; views of origin of, *ib.* *note*.
- Sovon or So-on, Chinese patriot, v., 276 *sq.* *note*.
- Sozomen, iv., 95 *note*; on Chrysostom, v., 311 *note*; on Pulcheria, 324 *note*.
- Sozopetra, besieged by the Emperor Theophilus, ix., 291.
- Sozopolis, frontier city in Thrace, xi., 113 *note*.
- Spado*, iii., 223 *note*.
- Spain, provinces of, i., 24; division of, by Augustus, *ib.*; wealth of, 205; under Constantius, ii., 150 and *note*, 207 and *note*; Christianity in, 339; subdued by Constantine, v., 180 *sq.*; account of, for first four centuries, 271, 272; cities of, *ib.*; barbarians in, 273; Goths in, 274; conquest of and restoration of, by the Goths, 275; Vandals and Suevi driven into Galicia, 276; Visigoths in, converted from Arianism, vi., 200; legislative assemblies of, 266 *sqq.*; civil war in, vii., 121; under Charlemagne, viii., 365; Arabs in, ix., 223; agriculture in, 224; religious toleration in, 226

- sq.*; revolt under the Abbassides, 262 *sq.*, 301.  
 Spalatro (Salona), ii., 194 *sqq.*  
 Spanheim, E., his *Orbis Romanus*, i., 41 *note*; his *de Usu Numismatum*, ii., 183 *note*; his version of Julian, iv., 106 *note*.  
 Spanheim, F., his *Historia Imaginum restituta*, viii., 318 *note*.  
 Spaniards, in the sixteenth century, v., 251; in Italy, xii., 177.  
 Sparta, destroyed by Alaric, v., 141; Mahomet II. at, xii., 58.  
 Spartianus, i., 136 *note*, 139 *note*, 141 *note*, 142 *note*.  
*Spectabiles*, title of, iii., 114.  
 Spectacles, Roman, ii., 135 *sq.*  
 Spelman, ii., 170 *note*.  
*Sphæristerium* or tennis court, viii., 268.  
 Spice country, i., 2 *note*.  
 Spires, destroyed, iii., 260; by the Germans, v., 175; massacre of the Jews at, x., 210.  
 Spoleto, buildings of Theodoric at, vi., 327; taken by Belisarius, vii., 152; betrayed to the Goths by Herodian, 259; Duke of, pillages Ravenna, viii., 26; Duke of, assists Leo III., 358; baths of, xii., 196 *note*.  
 Spondanus, on the schism of Constantinople, xi., 296 *note*; on Hungarian crusade, 305; on Corvinus, 315 *note*; on union of Greek and Latin Churches, xii., 21 *note*; on death of Constantine Palæologus, 44 *note*; his annals, 62 *note*.  
*Sportulæ* or *Sportellæ*, v., 213 *note*.  
 Squillace, retreat of Cassiodorus, vi., 324.  
 Squirrels (or dormice, *glires*), eaten by the Romans, v., 213 and *note*.  
 Stagira, Alexius Angelus at, x., 341.  
 Stagirus, friend of St. Chrysostom, vi., 174 *note*.  
 Stamboul, iii., 112 *note*.  
 Statius, epistle of, vii., 133 *note*; his failure at Capitoline contest, xii., 125 *note*.  
 Statues, destruction of, at Constantinople, x., 382 *sqq.*  
 Stature, Roman military, iii., 140 and *note*.  
 Stauracius, Emperor of Constantinople, viii., 242.
- Stefaneschi, Martin [not Ursini], xii., 136.  
 Stein, L., on Theodore Gaza, xi., 286 *note*.  
*Stephanephorus*, magistrate of the Chersonites, iii., 188 *note*.  
 Stephanie of Hebron, x., 300 *note*.  
 Stephanites and Ichnelates, vii., 203 *note*.  
 Stephen III., Pope, mission of, to Lombardy, viii., 337-8.  
 Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres, in first crusade, x., 217; march to Constantinople, 226; letter of, 230; deserts at Antioch, 247.  
 Stephen Dushan, despot of Servia, receives Cantacuzene, xi., 109; account of, 110 *note*; laws of, *ib.*  
 Stephen, Earl of Albemarle, at battle of Antioch, x., 234 *note*.  
 Stephen, freedman of Domitilla, iii., 27.  
 Stephen of Edessa, Greek physician of Kobad, vii., 202 *note*.  
 Stephen of Hungary, embassy of, to Pope Sylvester, x., 72 *note*, *sq.* *note*; protects pilgrims, 187.  
 Stephen, St., first martyr, body of, removed to Mount Sion, v., 100 and *note*; Abbey of, near Constantinople, x., 358; Tower of, on Sea of Marmora, stormed by the Turks, xii., 17 *note*.  
 Stephen, son of Romanus I., viii., 265.  
 Stephen the Savage, favourite of Justinian II., viii., 231.  
 Stephen Urosh III. of Servia, xi., 110 *note*.  
 Stephens, Robert, error in text of Greek Testament, vi., 198 *note*; xi., 290.  
*Stigmata* of the Crusaders, x., 209 *note*.  
 Stilicho, general of the West, v., 63; account of, 117 *sqq.*; marries Serena, 119; guardian of the sons of Theodosius, 120; marches to Thessalonica, 122; his property confiscated, 125; brings corn from Gaul to supply Rome, 129; expedition to Greece against Alaric, 142 *sqq.*; defeats the barbarians in Rhætia, 151 and *note*; battle of Pollentia, 154; takes part in the triumph of Honorius at Rome, 159; opposes Radagaisus, 169 *sqq.*; treaty with Alaric, 182; adventures

- 183 *sqq.*; death, 189 and *note*; his memory persecuted, 189 and *notes*.  
 Stipulations, vii., 366.  
 St. Marc, on Charlemagne, viii., 346 *note*.  
 Stobæus, commonplace book of, ix., 370, *sq. note*.  
 Stoic philosophy, i., 37.  
 Stoics, maxims of the, vii., 386.  
 Stonehenge, vi., 270 *note*.  
 Stoza, a private soldier, insurrection of, vii., 238 and *notes*.  
 Stradiots, Albanian cavalry, xi., 320 *note*.  
 Strasburg, destroyed, iii., 260; battle of, 267 *sqq.*; destroyed by the Germans, v., 175.  
 Strata, Roman road from Auranitis to Babylonia, vii., 206.  
*Strategikon*, authorship of the, vii., 182 *note*.  
 Strategius, Arian Christian, iii., 334 *note*.  
 Stratopedarch, Byzantine officer, ix., 340.  
 Strigonium, *see* Gran.  
 Stritter, John Gotthelf, x., 26 *note*.  
 Strymon, river, iii., 250.  
 Stubbs, Bishop, on Franks in Palestine, x., 263 *note*; on kingdom of Jerusalem, 298 *note*; on the *Itinerarium Reg. Ric.*, 310 *note*.  
 Studion, fort of, xii., 17 *note*.  
 Studites, *see* Damascenus and Theodore.  
 Stuhr, F., on Councils of Pisa and Constance, xi., 253 *note*.  
 Stukely, Dr., ii., 155 *note*.  
 Sturgeons of the Don, xi., 122 and *note*.  
 Stutias, *see* Stoza.  
 Stylianus Zautzes, minister of Leo VI., viii., 261 *note*.  
 Suanians, tribe of, vii., 218.  
 Suarés, Joseph Maria, xii., 203 *note*.  
 Sub-deacons (Rectores), jurisdiction of, viii., 46.  
*Subregulus*, epithet of Charles Martel, viii., 337 *note*.  
 Subuktigin, *see* Sebectagi.  
 Suburbicarian Churches, iii., 329 *note*.  
 Subutai, general of Zingis, xi., 138 *note*, 147 *note*.  
 Successianus, ii., 33.  
 Succi, Pass of, iv., 21, 22 and *note*, 24; fortified by Frigeridus, 310 *note*; betrayed by Maurus, 318.  
 Sueno, Prince, death of, x., 215 *note*.  
 Suerid, Gothic leader, iv., 298.  
 Suetonius, account of the Christians under Nero, iii., 20.  
 Suevi, origin of, ii., 27; assume the name of Alamanni, *ib.*; in Italy, 28; in Gaul, *ib.*; in Galicia, 143; vi., 97; defeated by Theodoric near Astorga, 98; hold Galicia, 131; conversion of, 182, 203 and *note, sq.*  
 Sufetula (Sbeitla), Gregory the Prefect at, ix., 193 *note*; taken by Sarcens, 195 and *note, sq. note*.  
 Suger, Abbé, x., 282 *note*.  
 Suicide, under the Romans, vii., 387.  
 Suidas, Lexicon of, v., 293 *note*; ix., 370 *sq. note*.  
 Suintila, King of the Visigoths, vii., 122 *note*.  
 Suiones, i., 286.  
 Sujerass, river, vii., 241 *note*.  
 Sulaymān, *see* also Soliman.  
 Sulaymān, caliph, conquests of, ix., 132 *note*; *see* Soliman.  
 Sullecte, receives Belisarius, vii., 98 and *note*.  
 Sulpicianus, i., 135 *sq.*  
 Sulpicius, Alexander, historian, v., 59 *note*.  
 Sulpicius Severus, *see* Severus.  
 Sulpicius, Servius, Roman lawyer, vii., 320 *sq.*  
 Sultan, title of, x., 148 and *note*.  
 Sumium, province of, ii., 174 *note*.  
 Sumnat, pagoda of, x., 150.  
 Sun, worship of, at Rome, i., 187; by the Persians, 256; temple of the, at Emesa, 182, 186; at Rome, ii., 96 and *note*; represented the *Logos*, iv., 55.  
 Sunday, iii., 281 and *note*.  
 Sunnites, *see* Sonnites.  
 Sunno, Frankish prince, v., 174.  
 Super-indictions, iii., 155.  
 Superstition, ii., 78, 330; v., 96; its fluctuations, xii., 106 *note*; modern decline of, 191 *note*.  
 Surat, Magian religion among the exiles at, ix., 229.  
 Surenas, Persian general, iv., 126; flight of, 140; in the camp of Julian, 160.

- Surgut on the Sangar, camp of Orthogrul, xi., 156.
- Surmar (Suomar), King of the Alamanni, iii., 272.
- Surnames, uncertainty of, in Later Empire, ii., 105 *note*; multiplication of, v., 209 *note*; viii., 278 *sq.*
- Sus, river of Western Africa, ix., 199.
- Susa, in Italy, ii., 230.
- Susanna, St., Church of, at Rome, on the site of Sallust's Palace, v., 247 *note*.
- Susneus, *see* Segued.
- Sutri, camp of Barbarossa at, xii., 96 and *note*.
- Sviatopolk, or Svatopluk, x., 43 *note*.
- Swabia, duchy of, viii., 389 *note*.
- Swatoslaus, King of Russia, reign of, x., 62 *sq.* and *note*; paganism of, 69.
- Sweden, population of, in fifteenth century, xii., 62 *note*.
- Swedes, engaged in herring fishery on coast of England, xi., 148 *note*.
- Swinburne, Travels in Spain, ix., 219 *note*.
- Swiss Cantons, ii., 24, 25.
- Switzerland, idolatry in, vii., 277 *note*.
- Sword (Roman), *see* Arms; of Aristotle, ii., 129; of Mars, discovered by Attila, vi., 5 *sq.* and *note*; of God (Caled), ix., 79.
- Syagrius, son of Ægidius, King of the Franks, reigns over Soissons, vi., 214; extent of his kingdom, *ib. note*; defeat of, by Clovis and flight, 214.
- Syagrius, son of Timasius, v., 296.
- Sybarius, attempt of Belisarius to relieve, vii., 258 and *note*.
- Sybillia, sister of Baldwin IV. of Jerusalem, x., 299; marries Guy de Lusignan, *ib.*, 301.
- Syene in Egypt, ii., 162.
- Sylla, the dictator, his legislation, vii., 377 and *note*.
- Syllanus, consul, i., 227.
- Sylvania, sister of Rufinus, v., 124 *note*.
- Sylvanus, advocate, iv., 167.
- Sylvanus, general of Constantius in Gaul, iii., 215; assumes the purple, 242; assassination of, *ib.*
- Sylverius, Pope, vii., 135 *note*; exile of, 149 *sq.*, 246 and *note*.
- Sylvester, *see* Silvester.
- Sylvia, mother of Gregory the Great, viii., 42.
- Symbatios, brother of Basil I., viii., 256 *note*.
- Symbatios, story of, vii., 287 *note*.
- Symmachus, iii., 412; iv., 223, and *note*; solicits restoration of Altar of Victory, v., 75 and *note, sqq.* and *notes*; exile of, 78; warns the Roman Senate of scarcity of corn, 129 and *note*; vi., 341 *note*.
- Symmachus, father-in-law of Boethius, vi., 336; death, 342; family of, *ib. note*, vii., 124.
- Symmachus, Pope, elected by Theodoric, vi., 331; lives of, *ib. note*.
- Symonds, J. A., on the revival of learning in Italy, xi., 275 *note*.
- Syncellus, ii., 85 *note*.
- Syncellus, Theodore, on discovery of the Virgin's raiment, viii., 96 *note*, 111 *note*.
- Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, iii., 326 and *note*; opinions of, 327 *note*; on the Roman republic, iv., 336 *note*; v., 145 and *note, sq.*; on St. Antony, vi., 158 *note*.
- Synods, provincial, ii., 313; annual, iii., 329; extraordinary, convened only by the emperor, 330; canons of Nice concerning, *ib. note. See* Councils.
- Syracuse, sacked by the Franks, ii., 123; Belisarius at, vii., 129; description of, *ib. note*; plundered by the Saracens, ix., 284 *note*; delivered by the Greeks, 285; siege of, *ib.* and *note*; Castel Maniaci at, x., 88 *note*.
- Syria, province of, i., 31; desert of, *ib.*; invasion of Sapor, ii., 44 *sq.*; Christian churches of, 331; invasion of Chosroes Nushirvan, vii., 90; subdued by Chosroes II., viii., 8 *sq.*; governed by Moawiyah, ix., 100-1; Saracens in, 135 *sq.*; history of conquest of, *ib. note*; climate of, 153 *sq.*; expedition of Nicephorus Phocas, 310; Seljukian dynasty in, x., 176 *sq.*; invaded by the Seljuks, 189; invasion of Timour, xi., 196 *sq.*
- Syriac tongue, i., 48, 49 and *note*; used in the eastern provinces of Ar-

- menia, v., 332 *note*; viii., 183 and *note*.  
 Syrian and Cilician gates, viii., 100 *note*.  
 Syrians, established in Gaul, vi., 236 *note*.  
 Syrians, or Oriental Christians, x., 269.  
 Syrianus, Duke of Egypt, iii., 389 *note*.  
 Syropulus, Sylvester, his history of the union of the Latin and Greek Churches, xi., 259; his name, *ib. note*.  
 Szegedin, peace of, xi., 307; violated, *ib.*  
 Szeklers, x., 49 *note*.  
 TABARI, on banishment of the Jews from Chaibar, ix., 71 *note*; his general history, 117 *note*; account of the death of Rustam, 122 *note*.  
 Tabaristân, conquered by the Saracens, ix., 132 *note*.  
 Tabenne, island in the Nile, monastery on, vi., 159; position of, *ib. note*.  
 Tabenne, trumpet of the Egyptian monks, iii., 394.  
 Table of Solomon, in the Gothic treasury, v., 261 and *note*.  
 Tables, astronomical, of the Arabians, ix., 274 *note*.  
 Tables (*trictrac*), game of, v., 213, 214 and *note*.  
 Tabraca, harbour of, v., 133 and *note*.  
 Tabuc, Mahomet's expedition of, ix., 80 and *note*.  
 Tacitus, Emperor, i., 102; account of, ii., 105; reign, 106 *sqq.*  
 Tacitus, the historian, account of the Stoics, i., 98; his episodes, 250; Germania, 273; revolt of Civilis, 298; account of the Christians under Nero, ii., 336 and *note*, iii., 21, 22; *Life of Agricola, ib.*; on Gaul, vi., 209 *sq.*  
*Tactics* of Leo and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ix., 315 *sqq.* and *notes*, 356 and *note*; x., 40 and *note*.  
 Tadjics, tribe of, vi., 27 *note*.  
 Tadmîr, name of Murcia and Carthage, ix., 219.  
 Tadmor, *see* Palmyra.  
 Tæni, Arabic tribe, iv., 151 *note*.  
 Taghlak Timur, Chagatay Sultan, xi., 183 *note*.  
 Tagina, battle of, vii., 268 *sq.*; bishopric of, *ib. note*; date of, 270.  
 Taherites (Tâhirids), dynasty of, ix., 302 and *note*.  
 Taher (Tâhir), founder of Taherite dynasty, ix., 302 *note*.  
 Tâhir, son of Amr, ix., 302 *note*.  
 Tai, tribe of, ix., 102.  
 Taifalæ, Gothic tribe, iii., 239; ally themselves to Fritigern, iv., 306 and *note*.  
 Taitsong, Emperor of China, ix., 130.  
 Taiz, town of, i., 262 *note*.  
 Talba, bishopric of, viii., 164 *note*.  
 Talents, i., 205 and *note*; Attic, xii., 14 *note*.  
 Talmis, Inscription of, viii., 208 *note*.  
 Tamerlane, *see* Timour.  
 Tamsapor, satrap, iii., 249.  
 Tana, or Azoph, merchants of, send deputation to Timour, xi., 189-90; sack of, 190 *note*.  
 Tanais, river, battle on, between Huns and Alani, iv., 286.  
 Tancred, King of Sicily, x., 144.  
 Tancred, cousin of Bohemond, joins first crusade, x., 219 *note*; at Constantinople, 231; parentage of, 238 *note*; at Antioch, 247; lenity of, at siege of Jerusalem, 257; defends Antioch, 272.  
 Tancred de Hauteville, x., 97, 99.  
 Tang, Chinese dynasty of the, ix., 130 and *note*.  
 Tangier, Saracens advance to, ix., 198.  
 Tanjou, chief of the Huns, iv., 275 *sqq.*  
 Taormina, *see* Tauromenium.  
 Taor, village of, vii., 60 *note*.  
 Taprobana (Ceylon), i., 69 and *note*, 113 *note*; iv., 108 and *note*; vii., 361 and *note*; Christianity in, viii., 188.  
 Tarachus, iii., 83 *note*.  
 Taragai, father of Timour, xi., 182 *note*.  
 Taranton, city in territory of the Huns, viii., 106 *note*.  
 Tarantula, bite of, x., 107 *note*.  
 Tarantus, nickname of Caracalla, i., 163 *note*.  
 Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, viii., 241 *note*; crowns Nicephorus, 243; acknowledges his supremacy, *ib. note*, 351; presides at seventh general council, *ib.*

- Tarcalissæus, *see* Zeno.
- Tarentum, assaulted by Anastasius, vi., 319; taken by Totila, 262; Constantins II. at, viii., 224.
- Targetius, ambassador of the Avars, viii., 4.
- Targeteers, domestic guards, iv., 182.
- Tarif, Saracen chief in Spain, ix., 211.
- Tarik, lieutenant of Musa, at Gibraltar, ix., 212 and *note*; his treatment of Jews, 215, 221 *sq.*; ill-treated by Mūsā, 218.
- Tarkhan, Prince of Fargana, ix., 129-30.
- Tarquin, posthumous punishments invented by, vii., 386 and *note*.
- Tarquitius, iv., 150 *note*.
- Tarraco, ii., 224 *note*.
- Tarragona, province of, i., 24; city of, *ib.*; sacked by the Goths, ii., 26; in fourth century, v., 271.
- Tarsus, in Cilicia, taken by Sapor, ii., 45, 112; Julian at, iv., 115; burial of Julian at, 169 *sq.*; King of Armenia at, 243; reduced by the Saracens, ix., 170; siege of, 309; taken by crusaders, x., 241; restored to the empire, 273.
- Tartartopa, or Tartar gates, vii., 72 *note*.
- Tartary, *see* Scythia.
- Tasillo, Duke of Bavaria, viii., 366.
- Tasso, vii., 265 *note*; account of Rinaldo, x., 219 *note*; sacred grove of, near Sichem, 256 and *note*.
- Tatars, or Tartars, description of, iv., 261, 262 *sqq.*; manners of, 262 and *note*; diet, 263 and *note sq.*; habitations, 265 *sq.*; emigrations of, 266, 267 and *note*; exercises, 268; government, 269 *sqq.* and *notes*; compared to the Huns of Attila, vi., 14; origin of, xi., 130 *note*; under Zingis, *ib.* *sqq.*
- Tatian, prefect of the East, imprisonment and exile of, v., 110 and *note, sq.*
- Tatullus, of Petovio, accompanies embassy to Attila, vi., 43 *note*; father of Orestes, 143.
- Tauresium, village of, Justinian born at, vii., 1 *note, 59 sq. note.*
- Tauri, ii., 31.
- Tauris, or Gandzaca, residence of Tiri-  
dates, ii., 177; Heraclius at, viii., 105 and *note*.
- Taurobolia, feast of, iii., 61 *note*.
- Tauromenium, capture of, by Saracens, ix., 286 and *note*.
- Taurus, brazen statue in the square of, x., 62 and *note*.
- Taurus, philosopher, vii., 342 *note*.
- Taurus, Prætorian prefect of Italy, iii., 371; flight of, iv., 22; banished, 36 and *note*.
- Tavernier, viii., 103 *note*; description of Kerman, x., 177 *note*.
- Taxation, Romans were exempted from, i., 203; provincial taxation, *ib.*; under Augustus, 206 *sqq.*; under Trajan and the Antonines, 211; under Alexander Severus, 212; under Diocletian, 188; under Galerius, 210 *sq.*; under Constantine the Great, iii., 154 *sqq.*; landtax, 157 *sq.*; on trade and industry, 164; reduced by Valens, iv., 201; laws of Majorian concerning, vi., 105; under Justinian, vii., 42 *sqq.* *See* Tribute.
- Tayef, siege of, by Mahomet, ix., 75 and *note*; submits to Mahomet, 77.
- Taylor, Mr. Isaac, i., 279 *note*.
- Tcheremisses, religion of the, xi., 299 *note*.
- Tebeste, modern Tibesh, battle of, vii., 241 and *note, sq. and note.*
- Tecbir, Arabian war cry, ix., 152 and *note*.
- Tecrit, taken by Timour, iii., 257 and *note*.
- Tedardi, on siege of Constantinople, xii., 18 *note*.
- Teffis, Heraclius at, viii., 111.
- Teias, Gothic commander, vii., 267; defeat and death of, 273.
- Tekkur, title of Greek princes of Constantinople, xi., 210 *note*.
- Tekûa, rivulet near Jerusalem, x., 255 *note*.
- Teleki, on the Hunyadys, xi., 313 *note*.
- Telemachus, St., v., 160 and *note*.
- Telenissa, mountain of, vi., 178.
- Telha, Arabian chief, revolts against Ali, ix., 97; death, 98.
- Tell Mannas, village of, taken by Raymond of Toulouse, x., 253 *note*.
- Tempe, vale of, vii., 61 *sq. and note.*



- Templars, knights, foundation of, x., 263 *note*.
- Temple of Elagabalus, i., 186.
- Temple of Solomon, *see* Jerusalem.
- Temple, Sir William, ix., 186 *note*; on the Saracens, 263 *note*; on Timour, xi., 222 *note*; on Scanderbeg and Huniades, 315 *note*.
- Temples, pagan, destroyed, iii., 410 *sq.*; in the provinces, v., 80 *sqq.*; Marcellus leads an army to destroy, 83.
- Templeman, Dr. (Survey of the Globe), i., 34 *note*.
- Temugin, *see* Zingis.
- Tencteri, ii., 27.
- Tenedos, isle of, John Palæologus at, xi., 117.
- Teneriff, Mount, i., 33 *note*.
- Tephricæ, foundation of, x., 12 and *note*.
- Terbelis, the Bulgarian, besieges Constantinople, viii., 230; made Cæsar by Justinian II., x., 34 *note*.
- Teredon, city of Assyria, iv., 127 *note*.
- Terek, battle of the river, xi., 188 *note*.
- Terracina, inscription at, vi., 329 *note*; viii., 333 and *note*.
- Terrasson, on Roman Jurisprudence, vii., 304 *note*.
- Tertullian, De Coronâ, ii., 284 *note*; on the last judgment, 294; his apology, 339 and *note*; Montanist opinions of, iii., 13 *note*; describes the edicts of Tiberius and M. Antoninus, 48, 346 and *note*; opposes the Patripasians, 353 *note*.
- Tertullus, Prefect of Rome, iv., 23.
- Tervingi, oppose Claudius, ii., 65 *note*.  
*See* Thervingi.
- Tessera (dice), v., 214 and *note*.
- Testament, Greek New, text of, vi., 198; published by Erasmus, *ib.* *note*; text concerning the three witnesses included in, *ib.*
- Testaments, law of, vii., 362 *sqq.*
- Tetricus, ii., 65; reigned in Gaul, 50 *sq.*; defeated by Aurelian, 71; reign, 82 and *note*; at Rome, 94 *sq.*; reinstated, 95.
- Teuciri, name applied to Turks, xii., 45 *note*.
- Teutonic knights, ii., 7 *note*; vi., 293.
- Thabor, Mount, discussion concerning Divine Light of, xi., 118.
- Thacea, battle of, vii., 238 and *note*.
- Thadeus de Roma, xii., 83 *note*.
- Thais, King of Yemen, iii., 197.
- Tha'labites, vii., 205 *note*.
- Thaman, *see* Othman.
- Thamar, Queen of Iberia, xi., 11 *note*.
- Thamud, tribe of, ix., 23, 56; caverns of, 56 *note*.
- Thanet, isle of, vi., 270.
- Thapsacus, fords of, iii., 253; iv., 122 *note*.
- Theatres, performances in, v., 222.
- Thebæan legion, iii., 163 *note*; at Hadrianople, 233 *note*.
- Thebais, deserts of, Western bishops banished to, iii., 388 *note*; monks of, 393.
- Thebarma, or Ormia, city of, viii., 106 and *note*.
- Thebes (in Bœotia), taken by Roger of Sicily, x., 133; under Otto de la Roche, xi., 90; under the Accaioli, 92.
- Thebes (in Egypt), kings of, i., 141 *note*; walls of, iii., 102 and *note*.
- Thecla, sister of the Emperor Michael, viii., 258 *note*.
- Theft, Roman law concerning, vii., 376, 379.
- Thegan, biographer of Lewis the Pious, viii., 370 *note*.
- Theiss, or Tibiscus, river, iii., 186; Roman embassy to Attila crosses the, vi., 28.
- Themes, ix., 243 and *note*, 320 *sq.*
- Themistius, his fourth oration, iii., 242 *note*; iv., 3 *note*; epistle of Julian to, 28 *note*; his address to Jovian, 177 and *note*; oration, A.D. 374, 206 *note*; speech to Valens, 251 *note*; oration on Theodosius, 337 *note*.
- Theobald, Duke of Spoleto, x., 82 and *note*.
- Theobald of Champagne, x., 343.
- Theoctiste, daughter of Emperor Maurice, viii., 83 *note*.
- Theodatus (Theodahad), reigns in Italy, vi., 315 *note*; coin of, 322 *note*; vii., 126 *sq.*; negotiates with Justinian, 127 *sq.*; abdication of, 131 *sq.*; revolts against Justinian, 132 *sqq.*; death, 136.

- Theodebald, King of the Franks, vii., 275 and *note*.
- Theodebert, King of Austrasia, vi., 285 and *note*; invades Italy, vii., 158; death, 160.
- Theodelinda, *see* Theudelinda.
- Theodemir, Gothic prince, vi., 299 and *note*, 39.
- Theodolphus, Bishop of Orleans, viii., 357 *note*.
- Theodora, account of, vii., 10 *sqq.*; belongs to the blue faction, *ib.*; wife of Justinian, 13; her virtues, 16 *sq.*; death, 18; firmness of, during the Nika riot, 27; conspires against John of Cappadocia, 47; negotiations with Italian court, vii., 127 *sq.*; makes Vigilius pope, 149; friendship with Antonina, 168; accuses her enemies of crime, 382; Monophysitism of, viii., 173-4.
- Theodora Angela, wife of Conrad of Montferrat, x., 355 *note*.
- Theodora, daughter of Constantine IX. [VIII.], viii., 276; empress, 278.
- Theodora, daughter of John Cantacuzene, marries Orchan, xi., 163-4.
- Theodora, niece of Manuel Comnenus, viii., 293.
- Theodora, Petraleipha, wife of Michael II. of Epirus, xi., 58 *note*.
- Theodora, *senatrix*, xii., 84 *note*.
- Theodora, sister of Marozia, viii., 377.
- Theodora, widow of Baldwin III. of Jerusalem, viii., 299.
- Theodora, wife of Constantius, ii., 149 *note*, 209.
- Theodora, wife of Emperor Theophilus, viii., 252 *note*, 39.; restorer of images, 253; regency of, *ib.*; opposes Bardas, 258; establishes images, 351; persecutes the Paulicians, x., 11.
- Theodora, wife of Justinian II., viii., 229.
- Theodore II., son of John Vataces, xi., 33.
- Theodore Angelus, despot of Epirus, xi., 12 *note*, 22; Emperor of Thessalonica, 24, 33 *note*.
- Theodore Gaza, xi., 284 and *note*; on Aristotle and Theophrastus, 286.
- Theodore Lascaris I., x., 364; Emperor of Nicæa, xi., 10 and *note*; character, 54 and *note*.
- Theodore Lascaris II., reign of, xi., 57 *sq.*; writings of, 58 *note*.
- Theodore, monk of Tarsus, made Primate of Britain, viii., 182 *note*.
- Theodore of Mopsuestia, viii., 175-6 and *note*.
- Theodore of Studion, viii., 241 *note*; banished, 243 *note*; iconoclast, 351 *note*.
- Theodore Palæologus, son of the elder Andronicus, xi., 97 *note*.
- Theodore, tortured under Emperor Theophilus, viii., 353 *note*.
- Theodoret, iv., 92 *note*, 94 *note*; sacred legend of, vi., 179.
- Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus, v., 82, 83; epistles of, 357 *note*; restored, viii., 175.
- Theodoric I., son of Alaric, King of the Visigoths, vi., 44 and *note*; besieges Arles, *ib.*; account of, 46, 47; daughters of, married to the Kings of the Suevi and Vandals, *ib.*; allies himself with the Romans, 57 and *note*, 59.; death, 62.
- Theodoric II., King of Visigoths, vi., 58; acquires Narbonne, vi., 131.
- Theodoric, son of Clovis, vi., 66 *note*; conquers Auvergne, vi., 255.
- Theodoric, son of Triarius, vi., 304 *note*; attacks Theodoric, 306.
- Theodoric the Ostrogoth, account of, by Sidonius, vi., 94 *sqq.*; expedition to Spain, 97 *sq.*; defeats the Suevi, 98; sacks Pollentia and Astorga, *ib.*; defeated by Majorian, 109; allies himself with Rome, 114; marries sister of Clovis, 218; protects the Alamanni, *ib. note*; consul, 235; birth and education, 299 *sq.*; subdues the Sarmatians, 301; serves Zeno, 304; attacked by Theodoric, son of Triarius, 306; at Constantinople, 307; his march into Italy, 308 *sq.*; territory of, 311; reign, 313 *sqq.*; foreign policy of, 316 *sq.*; his defensive wars, 318 *sqq.*; civil government of, 321; Latin edict of, *ib. note*; coins of, 322; visit to Rome, 325; resides at Ravenna, 327; and Verona, *ib.*; religious toleration of, 329 *sqq.*; vices of his

- government, 331 *sq.*; persecutes the Catholics, 333; sends Pope John to Constantinople, 334; imprisons Boethius, 339; puts him and Symmachus to death, 340 *sq.*; death, 342; monument of, 343 and *note*; date of his marriage, vii., 124 *note*; acts of, ratified by Justinian, 281; buildings of Rome under, xii., 192.
- Theodoricus de Niem, xii., 159 *note*.
- Theodoropolis, or Dristra, *see* Dristra.
- Theodorus, a person executed by Theodosius I., iv., 194 *note*.
- Theodorus (a youth mentioned by Rufinus), iv., 92 *note*.
- Theodorus, brother of Heraclius, viii., 111.
- Theodorus, Mallius, consul, v., 293 and *note*.
- Theodosian Code, valid in Gaul under the Merovingians, vi., 261; law of the clergy, 262. *See* Code.
- Theodosiopolis, v., 332 and *note*; conflagration of, vii., 70; won from the Saracens by Constantine V., viii., 237 *note*.
- Theodosius I. (the Great), iii., 167 *note*; his succession foretold by magic, iv., 194 and *note*; defeats the Sarmatians, 253, 254; Emperor of the East, 321 *sqq.*; birth and character, 324 *sqq.*; treaty with Duke of Mœsia, 324 and *note*; conducts Gothic war, 326 *sqq.*; illness of, 329 and *note*; entertains Athanaric, 331; Maximus, v., 9; baptism and religious opinions of, 10 *sqq.*; enters Constantinople, 18; religious policy of, 24 *sqq.*; edicts of, against heretics, 24 *sq.*; visits Thessalonica, 39; marries Galla, 40; enters Rome, 43; virtues of, *ib.*, *sqq.*; faults of, 45, 46; statue of, broken at Antioch, 47; pardons the Antiochians, 49; massacre at Thessalonica, 51; restores Valentinian, 57; defeated by Arbogastes, 64; divides the empire between his sons Arcadius and Honorius, 67; attitude towards paganism, 80 *sqq.*; jewels of, 121 and *note*; family of, in Spain, 181; descendants of, at Constantinople, vi., 141 and *note*; pillar of, removed by Justinian, vii., 290.
- Theodosius II. (the Younger), receives the relics of Chrysostom, v., 317 and *note*; Caesar and Augustus, 318; education of, 324; character, 326 and *note*; marries Eudocia, 327; campaign in Persia, 329 *sq.*; in Italy, 337; gives Western Empire to Valentinian III., 339; first Novel of, 340 *note*; negotiations with the Huns, vi., 19 *sq.* and *notes*; treaty with Attila, 36; death, *ib.*, 37 and *note*; takes part in the Nestorian controversy, viii., 148 *sq.*; subscribes an edict against Nestorius, 151-2.
- Theodosius III., Emperor of Constantinople, viii., 233 *sq.*; retires, ix., 243.
- Theodosius the deacon, brother of Constantians II., viii., 224-5; ix., 308.
- Theodosius, deacon of Syracuse, ix., 285 and *note*; poem on conquest of Crete, 308 *note*.
- Theodosius, father of Theodosius I., in Britain, iv., 229 *sqq.*; in Africa, 234 *sqq.*; death, 236.
- Theodosius, lover of Antonina, vii., 168; flight of, 169; retires to Ephesus, *ib.*; return and death, 171.
- Theodosius, Patriarch of Alexandria, viii., 203; orthodoxy of, 205 *sq.*
- Theodosius, son of the Emperor Maurice, viii., 78; goes to Persia, 79; death, 83.
- Theodosius, opposes the usurper Constantine, v., 180 and *note*.
- Theodote, wife of Constantine VI., viii., 241 *note*.
- Theodotus, philosopher, Life of, by Tribonian, vii., 327.
- Theodotus, President of the Council of Hierapolis, iv., 24 and *note*.
- Theognostos, his History of Sicily, ix., 284 *note*.
- Theon, father of Hypatia, viii., 139 and *note*.
- Theonas, St., church of, at Alexandria, iii., 390, 391.
- Theophanes, *Continuation of*, ix., 314.
- Theophanes, the chronicler, i., 231 *note*; iii., 295 *note*; vii., 234 *note*;

- ix., 314 *note*; on Constantine VI., viii., 241 and *note*; ix., 117 *note*.
- Theophanes, tortured under Emperor Theophilus, viii., 353 *note*.
- Theophania, widow of the younger Romanus, ix., 309.
- Theophano, daughter of Romanus II., wife of Otto II., viii., 268 and *note*; ix., 348.
- Theophano, wife of Leo V., viii., 247.
- Theophano, wife of Romanus II., viii., 268; marries Nicephorus II., 270; conspires against him, 271; dismissed by John Zimisceus, *ib. note*.
- Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria, iii., 326 *note*; destroyed the temple of Serapis, v., 86; persecutes Chrysostom, 312 *sq.*; escape of, 314; his book against Chrysostom, 317 *note*.
- Theophilus, author of Justiniani Vita, vii., 1 *note*, 5 *note*.
- Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, ii., 296; iii., 227 *note*.
- Theophilus, consular of Syria, death, iii., 229.
- Theophilus, Maronite of Mount Libanus, ix., 277 *note*.
- Theophilus, missionary to the Sabæans, iii., 311 and *note*.
- Theophilus, son of Michael the Stammerer, Emperor of Constantinople, viii., 249 *sqq.*; iconoclasm of, 353; war of, with Motassem, ix., 291 *sqq.*; his embassy to Lewis, x., 50; walls of, xii., 20 *note*.
- Theophilus, the jurist, vii., 314, 338; ix., 365 *note*.
- Theophobus, Sassanid prince, viii., 251.
- Theophrastus, Dialogue, date of composition of the, vi., 199 *note*.
- Theophrastus, disciples of, vii., 74; exile of, 78 *note*; account of the Romans, 306 *note*; study of, by Theodore Gaza, xi., 286.
- Theophylactus, father-in-law of Alberic, xii., 84 *note*.
- Theophylactus Simocatta, vii., 190 *note*; viii., 7 *note*; on speech of Justin, 20 *note*; on Hormuz, 56 *note*; History of Maurice, 75 *note*.
- Theopolis, vii., 208; *see* Antioch.
- Theopolis, village or castle of, v., 284 *note*.
- Theopompus, ix., 371.
- Theotocos, title of the Virgin, viii., 142 *note*.
- Therapeion, fort of, taken by the Turks, xii., 17 *note*.
- Therapeutæ, ii., 335 and *note*; studied philosophy, iii., 340 *note*; Christianity of, vi., 156 *note*.
- Therianos, on revival of learning in Italy, xi., 275 *note*.
- Thermæ, *see* under Rome, Baths of.
- Thermantia, niece of Theodosius, v., 119 *note*.
- Thermantia, wife of Honorius, divorce of, v., 189.
- Thermopylæ, Straits of, fortified by Justinian, vii., 61.
- Thervingi, *see* under Goths.
- Theseus, Duke of Athens, character in Shakespeare, Boccaccio, and Chaucer, xi., 90 *note*.
- Thessalonica, siege of, ii., 66; headquarters of Theodosius, iv., 328; revolt at, v., 50 *sqq.*; massacre at, 51, 52; magazine of arms at, 147; captured by Saracens A.D. 904, viii., 261 *note*; sacked by the Sicilians, 304; play on the name, ix., 171 *note*; Bulgarian siege of, xi., 20; kingdom united to Nice, 33 and *note*; Cantacuzene at, 109; importance of, in the empire, 113 *note*; John Palæologus at, 116; under Andronicus Palæologus, 251; conquest of, by Amurath II., 302 and *note*.
- Thessaly, province of, ceded to the Bulgarians, x., 28; Wallachian, in fourteenth century, xi., 113 *note*.
- Theudechildis, sister of Theodebert, vi., 285 and *note*.
- Theudelinda, daughter of Garibald, King of Bavaria, converts the Lombards, vi., 205; marries Autharis, viii., 35-6.
- Theudes, King of the Goths in Spain, expedition of, to Africa, vii., 121; death, *ib.* and *note*; kinsman of Hildibald, vii., 243.
- Theudibert of Metz, vii., 261 *note*.
- Theurgy of the Platonists, iv., 55.
- Theveste, *see* Tebeste.
- Thibaut, Count of Champagne, general

- of the confederate Crusaders, x., 351; death, *ib.*
- Thibet, kingdom of, destroyed by Cublai Khan, xi., 142.
- Thilsaphata, iv., 165 and *note*.
- Thilutha, fortress of, iv., 126.
- Thomas, a Greek noble, ix., 145 *sq.*; exile of, 148.
- Thomas, apostle, apocryphal gospel of, ix., 40 *note*.
- Thomas of Stromoncourt, territory of, in Greece, xi., 7 *note*.
- Thomas, Patriarch of Antioch, x., 15 *note*.
- Thomas, St., Christians of, in India, viii., 191 *sq.*
- Thomas, St., Manichæan, Indian missionary, viii., 191 and *note*.
- Thomas the Slavonian, officer of Leo V., viii., 246 and *note*; rebels against Michael II., 248 *sq.* and *note*.
- Thomassin, on Monasticism, vi., 156 *note*; on the Roman Cardinals, vii., 44 *note*.
- Thor, cave of, ix., 58.
- Thoros, Armenian prince, x., 241 and *note*.
- Thous, Malek Shah at, x., 172.
- Thrace, Province of, i., 29; invaded by the Goths, ii., 68; settlement of Bastarnæ in, 122; of Sarmatians, iii., 190; invaded by the Visigoths, iv., 248; Goths settled in, 292; gold mines of, 301 and *note*; given to Theodosius, 323; settlement of the Goths in, 335; ravaged by the Huns, vi., 13.
- Thrasea, i., 102.
- Thrasimund, King of the African Vandals, persecutes the Catholics, vi., 189; exiles the bishops, 191 *sq.*; marries sister of Theodoric, vii., 122.
- Three Chapters, dispute concerning, viii., 174 *note*.
- Thuasne, L., on Bellini and Mohammed II., xii., 3 *note*.
- Thucydides, on the plague at Athens, vii., 297 and *note*.
- Thule, vi., 317 and *note*; name of England, x., 53; colony from, serve in Greek army, 115, 273 *note*.
- Thundering Legion, story of the, iii., 50 and *note*.
- Thuringia, under the rule of Attila, vi., 7; boundaries of the kingdom of, 216 *note*.
- Thuringians, at the battle of Châlons, vi., 61; cruelty of, to the Franks, 65 and *note*.
- Thuroczius, historian of Hungary, xi., 134 *note*.
- Thyatira, church of, ii., 332; battle of, iv., 192 and *note*.
- Thysrus, church of St., v., 323 *note*.
- Thysdrus, city of, i., 223 and *note*.
- Tiara, crown of the Popes, xii., 158 *note*.
- Tiber, river, inundations of, xii., 189 *sq.*
- Tiberias, residence of the Jewish patriarch, iv., 74 and *note*; Mūsā at, ix., 222; siege and battle of, x., 299 *sq.*
- Tiberius I., i., 40 and *note*, 92 *note*; adoption by Augustus, 93, 103; character, 101; places camp of the prætorians in Rome, 133, 134; reduces the excise, 208 *note*; alleged edict in favour of the Christians, iii., 49.
- Tiberius II., sends embassy to the Turks, vii., 195; reign, viii., 19 *sqq.*; virtues of, 21 *sq.*; selects Maurice for the empire, 24; relieves Rome, 26; truce with Persia, 52-3.
- Tiberius III., *see* Apsimar.
- Tiberius, brother of Constantine Pogonatus, made Augustus by him, viii., 226.
- Tiberius, son of Justinian II., viii., 232.
- Tibet, Buddhists of, form friendship with the Saracens, ix., 133 *note*.
- Tibur, or Tivoli, town of, ii., 95; Totila at, vii., 247; war of, with Rome, xii., 85 *note*; subdued by Rome, 101 and *note*.
- Ticinum, or Pavia, Stilicho at, v., 168; siege of, by Alboin, viii., 13.
- Tigranocerta, ii., 176 *note*.
- Tigranes, i., 268 *note*.
- Tigris, Julian crosses the, iv., 137; navigation of the, 145 *sq. note*.
- Til, or Tula, river, vii., 190 and *note*.
- Tillemont, M. de, i., 162 *note*, 234 *note*; life of Chrysostom, v., 308 *note*;

- of St. Augustin, 351 *note*; shocked at certain Popes, viii., 164 *note*; Gibbon "takes leave for ever of," 167 *note*.
- Timasius, master-general, v., 53 *note*; attempts of, to reform the legions, 63; defeats the Goths in Thessaly, 295; character, *ib.* and *note*; exile and death, 296 and *note*.
- Timavus, described by Virgil, i., 235 *note*.
- Timolauus, ii., 86 *note*.
- Timosthenes, Greek historian, vii., 216 *note*.
- Timotheus of Gaza, tragedy of, vii., 39 *note*.
- Timothy, St., body of, brought to Constantinople, v., 98.
- Timothy the Cat, a monk, Patriarch of Alexandria, viii., 162 and *note*.
- Timour or Tamerlane, iv., 270 *note*; massacres of, vi., 16 *note*; histories concerning, xi., 180 and *note*; derivation of name Timour, 181 *note*; account of, 182 *sqq.* and *notes*; reign and wars, 185 *sqq.*; conquers Persia, *ib.*; Turkestan, 187; invasion of Syria, 196 *sq.*; sacks Aleppo, 197; invades Anatolia, 200 *sq.*; his conquests, 209 *sq.*; enters China, 213; death, *ib.*; character, *ib.* *sq.*; his Institutions, 216 *sq.*
- Tingi or Tangier, i., 32; ix., 198.
- Tingitana (Mauritania), i., 32.
- Tipasa, maritime colony of Mauritania, miracle at, vi., 198 *sq.* and *notes*.
- Tiraboschi, on restoration of Greek learning in Italy, xi., 275 *note*, 289 *note*.
- Tiranus, King of Armenia, imprisoned by Sapor, iv., 239 and *note*.
- Tiridates, son of Chosroes, King of Armenia, ii., 164 *sqq.*; educated at Rome, *ib.*; invasion of Assyria, 168; defeated by Narses, *ib.*; restored, 176; converted to Christianity, iii., 198; death, *ib.*
- Tithes, *see* Tythes.
- Titles of Augustus, i., 89; and surnames of the Roman nobles, v., 209; of the imperial family of Byzantium, ix., 336.
- Titus, i., 93.
- Tivoli, *see* Tibur.
- Tobolskoi, residence of the Mongol Khans, xi., 149.
- Toctamish, Khan of Kipzak, xi., 188 and *note*; flight and death, 189.
- Togrul Beg, King of the Turkmans, x., 156; reign and character, 157 *sqq.*
- Togrul, chief of the Karaits, xi., 130 *note*.
- Tokay, vi., 28 and *note*.
- Tolbiac, battle of, vi., 217 and *note*.
- Toledo, Council of, vi., 204; eighth Council of, *ib.* *note*, 206; Tarik at, ix., 215 and *note*.
- Toleration, in the Roman Empire, popular, i., 35 *sq.*; philosophical, 37; official, 39; in the provinces, 40; at Rome, *ib.*; of paganism, iii., 409 *sqq.*
- Tollenburg, name for Pragg, x., 211 *note*.
- Tollius, vii., 117 *note*.
- Toncat, diet of, vi., 30 *note*.
- Tongouses and Samoyedes, iv., 275.
- Tongres, destroyed by the Germans, iii., 260; Julian at, 270; pillaged by the Huns, vi., 55; subdued by Clovis, 216; confounded with Thuringia, *ib.* *note*.
- Tonkin, kingdom of, conquered by Cublai, xi., 142.
- Tonsure, vi., 168 and *note*; ix., 136 *note*.
- Topa, name assumed by the Siempi, v., 164.
- Toparch of Gothia, notes of the Greek, x., 70 *note*.
- Topirus, siege of, by the Slavonians, vii., 185 and *note*.
- Torismund, King of the Visigoths, vi., 58; in the battle of Châlons, 59 *sqq.*; declared king, 65; put to death by his brother Theodoric, vi., 94 and *note*.
- Torjok, Subutai the Mongol general at, xi., 146 *note*.
- Torr, Mr. C., on Rhodes, ix., 171 *note*.
- Tortona, sedition in the Roman camp at, vi., 113.
- Torture, use of, iii., 151, 152 and *notes*.
- Tosti, L., History of the Council of Constance, xi., 253 *note*.
- Totila, King of the Goths in Italy, vii., 244; his name, *ib.* *note*; reduces Naples, 245; character of, 247; besieges Rome, 250 *sqq.*; takes

- Rome, 254; orations of, 255; recovered by Belisarius, 257; enters Rome a second time, 261; in Sicily, 262; attacks coast of Greece, *ib.*; battle of Tagina, 268; death, 271; did not injure buildings of Rome, xii., 193.
- Tott, Baron de, on defence of the Dardanelles, ix., 238 *note*; xii., 15 *note*; on Turkish navy, 30 *note*.
- Toucush, brother of the Sultan Malek Shah, x., 189.
- Toulouse, residence of the Gothic kings, v., 278; attacked by Litorius, vi., 45; Saracens at, ix., 252; Inquisition of, x., 19 *sq. note*.
- Toulun, conqueror of Tartary, *see* Shelun.
- Toulunides (Tūlūnids), dynasty of, ix., 303 and *note*.
- Touran, kingdom of the Turks, vii., 196.
- Touran (Tūrān) Shah, Sultan of Egypt, x., 321.
- Tournament, x., 222.
- Tournay, taken by the Germans, v., 175; by the Franks, vi., 49.
- Tournefort, iii., 91 *note*; vii., 66 *note*; viii., 103 *note*; on Heraclea, ix., 281 *note*; his map of the Bosphorus, xii., 7 *note*.
- Tours, second Council of, vi., 275 *note*; Abderame at, ix., 253; battle of, 256.
- Toushi [Jūjī], son of Zingis Khan, xi., 140 and *note*; sons of, 187 *note*.
- Towns, walled, origin of, x., 43 *sq.*
- Toxandria, in Brabant, Franks in, iii., 260 and *note*.
- Toxotius, husband of Paula, v., 201 and *note*.
- Toxus, Hungarian ruler, x., 44 *note*.
- Tozer, H. F., on Greek-speaking population of Italy, xi., 276 *note*; on Plethon, 286 *note*.
- Trade, foreign, of the Romans, i., 69.
- Traditio, term in Roman law, vii., 357 *note*.
- Traditors, iii., 71, 337.
- Tradonicus, Peter, Doge of Venice, x., 345 *note*.
- Tragutium, *see* Trail.
- Trajan, Emperor, i., 6; annexes Dacia, *ib. sq.*; his eastern conquests, *ib.*; enters Persian Gulf, *ib.*; military spirit, 15; forum and pillar of, 59; revived the consular oath, 84 *note*; adopted by Nerva, 95; refuses the censorship, ii., 14 *note*; arch of, spoiled by Constantine, 238; conduct to the Christians, iii., 28; in Julian's Cæsars, iv., 107; his bridge over the Danube, vii., 59 and *note*; constructs canal in Egypt, ix., 187 *note*.
- Trajan, Count, in Armenia, iv., 241; causes Para (Pap) to be murdered, 244; general of Valens, 302.
- Tralles, in Asia Minor, population of, xi., 86 *note*.
- Trani, *see* Troina.
- Transmigration, *see* Souls.
- Transoxiana, conquered by Zingis, xi., 138.
- Transubstantiation, x., 313.
- Transylvania, occupied by the Mongols, xi., 149 *note*.
- Trapezus, *see* Trebizond.
- Trascalisseus, *see* Zeno.
- Trau, ii., 195 and *note*.
- Treason, law of, by Arcadius, v., 297 and *note, sq. and note*; Roman law of, vii., 372.
- Treasures, Gothic, at Narbonne, v., 260 and *note*.
- Trebatius, vii., 322 and *note*, 334 *note*.
- Trebellianus, Emperor, revolt of, in Isauria, ii., 50, 56.
- Trebizond (Trapezus), taken by the Goths, ii., 33 *sq.*; buildings of Justinian at, vii., 66; gold mines of, 215; sovereigns of, viii., 306; independent of the Turks in eleventh century, xi., 10-12; dukedom and empire of, xi., 11-12 and *notes*; inhabitants of, sent to Constantinople, xii., 55 *note*; falls under the Turks, 59 *sq.*; population of, 59 *note*.
- Trent, Council of, ii., 291 *note*.
- Trèves, ii., 160 and *note*; amphitheatre at, 224; Decentius at, iii., 220; destroyed by the Germans, 260; Athanasius at, 378; Valentinian at, v., 217; pillaged by the Franks, v., 278; vi., 50; massacre of the Jews at, x., 210.
- Trevoux, i., 152 *note*.
- Triaditza (Sophia), viii., 283 *note*.

- Tribes, assembly of the, at Rome, vii., 309.
- Tribigild, the Ostrogoth, rebellion of, v., 300 *sqq.*; allies himself with Gainas, 301; dictates terms of peace, 301, 302.
- Tribonian, minister of Justinian, on treason, v., 297 *note*; vii., 26, 46; account of, 327 *sq.*; chooses foreign lawyers, 331 *sq.*; error of, concerning the Julian laws, 379 *note*.
- Tribuli, engines used in the siege of Rome, vii., 257 and *note*.
- Tribunes, i., 82 *sq. note*; in middle ages, xii., 84; tribune, title of Rienzi, 133.
- Tribunicia Potestas, i., 82 *note, sq. note*.
- Tribute, i., 203 *sqq.*; ii., 18, 19 and *note*; reduced after the invasion of the Goths into Italy, v., 262.
- Tricesimæ (Kellen), fortified by Julian, iii., 273 *note*.
- Trigetius, ambassador to Attila, vi., 72.
- Tringuemale, harbour of, vi., 36.
- Trinity, controversy concerning the, iii., 338; Platonic doctrine of, *ib. sq.*; controversy at Alexandria, 344 *sqq.*, 351; decision of the Council of Nice, 354; of Constantinople, v., 20 *sq.*; texts interpolated in Gospel of St. John, vi., 196 and *notes, sq. and notes*.
- Tripod, in memory of defeat of Xerxes, iii., 105 and *note*.
- Tripoli (Syrian), conquered by the Saracens, ix., 191 *note, sqq.*; attacked by Zimisces, 311; taken by Roger of Sicily, x., 131 *sq.*; emir of, helps Crusaders, 254; taken by Baldwin I., 261 and *note*; county of, 262; count of, in court of peers, 266; belongs to descendants of Count of St. Giles, 258 *note*; escapes from Saladin, 301; lost by the Franks, 324.
- Tripoli, federation of, iv., 231 and *note*; loyal to Justinian, vii., 108; duke of, 110; under Saladin, x., 296.
- Trisagion, hymn, viii., 165 *sq.*
- Tristram, Sir, romance of, vi., 275 *note*.
- Tritheism, iii., 352 *sq. note*.
- Triumph, the last at Rome, ii., 177 *sq.*
- Trovo, inscription of Omortag at, x., 32 *note*; cathedral of, inscription of Asen, King of Bulgaria, xi., 26 *note*.
- Troas, aqueduct of Herodes Atticus at, i., 57.
- Troina, battle of, x., 88; fortress of, 106; siege of, 107.
- Trowsers (*braccæ*), ii., 94 *note*.
- Troy, iii., 96.
- Troyes, ii., 159; threatened by the Huns and saved by St. Lupus, vi., 54, 55.
- Truce, annual, of the Arabs, ix., 18 and *note*.
- Truce of God (*Treuga Dei*), i., 295; x., 198 and *note*.
- Truli, name given to Goths in Spain, v., 276 *note*.
- Trumpet, Barbarian, iv., 298 and *note*; Roman, vii., 145 *note*.
- Tryphon, Jewish writer, viii., 124 *note*.
- Tsepho, grandson of Esau, iii., 5 *note*.
- Tubero, Roman lawyer, vii., 334 *note*.
- Tudela, Benjamin of, ix. 329-30 and *note*.
- Tuka Timur, Khan of Great Bulgaria, xi., 187 *note*; house of, 190 *note*.
- Tuli, son of Zingis Khan, xi., 140.
- Tülünids, *see* Toulunides.
- Tumen, King of the Turks, vii., 187 *note*.
- Tunis, Latin Christians at, ix., 232; taken by Roger of Sicily, x., 131; siege of, by Louis IX., 322.
- Turcilingi, vi., 143.
- Turin, battle of, ii., 230, 231; Attila at (?), vi., 68; siege of, vi., 296 *note*.
- Turisund, King of the Gepidæ, viii., 6.
- Turkestan, expedition of Alp Arslan into, x., 170 *sq.*; conquered by Malek Shah, 173; by Timour, xi., 187.
- Turks, origin and description of, vii., 185 *sqq.*; religion and laws of, 188; conquests of, *ib. sqq.*; embassy to Constantinople, 191 *sq.*; conquests of, in the East, viii., 287; earliest inscription of the, ix., 133 *note*; in Bagdad, 295; in Persia, x., 147 *sqq.*; manners and emigration of, 153 *sqq.*; called Turkman, 158 *note*; invade the empire, 161 *sq.*; Gelalæan era of, 175 and *note*; conquest of Asia Minor, 178 *sq.*; take Jerusalem, 182; in Egypt, 251 *sq.*; seat of government at Iconium, 273



- and *note*; conquest of Egypt, 289 *sqq.* For Ottoman Turks, *see* Ottomans.
- Turks or Magyars, *see* Magyars.
- Turpilio, general of Honorius, v., 195.
- Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims, x., 196 and *note*.
- Tertullian, vii., 313 *sq.*
- Tuscans, produced the first *Haruspices*, v., 81 *note*.
- Tuscany, marquises of, Roman See in subjection to, viii., 377.
- Tusculum, counts of, hold the See of Rome in subjection, viii., 377; their titles, xii., 84 *note*; Clement III. gives to the Romans, 90 *note*; overthrown, 101; battle of, 101-2; partly belonged to the Colonna, 118.
- Tutela*, in Roman law, vii., 354.
- Twelve Tables, laws of the, vii., 305 *sqq.*; severity of, 371.
- Tyana, siege of, ii., 87, 112; Jovian at, iv., 178; taken by the Saracens, viii., 231 *note*; ix., 243.
- Type* of Constans, viii., 179.
- Tyrant, in sense of *usurper*, ii., 50.
- Tyrants, the Thirty, ii., 49 *sqq.*; of Britain, v., 284 and *note*.
- Tyre, council of, iii., 376; recovered by Afdal, x., 252 and *note*; emir of, helps Crusaders, 254; taken by the Franks, 261 and *note*; besieged by Richard I., 304; lost by the Franks, 324.
- Tythes, ii., 319; instituted by Charlemagne, viii., 362 and *note*; Saladine tenth, x., 312-3 and *note*.
- Tzangra*, crossbow, x., 239 *note*.
- Tzechi, tribe of, viii., 72 and *note*; x., 277 *note*.
- Tzetzes, Isaac, ix., 370 *note*.
- Tzetzes, John, vii., 49 and *note*; *Chiliads* of, 288 *note*; ix., 370; other works of, *ib. note*; on death of Mourzoufle, xi., 9 *note*.
- Tzympe, fortress of, taken by the Ottomans, xi., 165 *note*.
- UBERTINUS Pusculus, xii., 23 *note*.
- Ubii of Cologne, i., 281 *note*.
- Ugernum, near Arles, assembly at, declares Avitus emperor, vi., 94 and *note*.
- Ugri, or Hungarians, x., 39 *sq.*
- Ukraine, Goths in, ii., 31.
- Uldin, King of the Huns, defeats Gainas the Goth, v., 307; his rearguard extirpated, 331.
- Uljai-Tu, Khan of Persia, xi., 155 *note*.
- Ulphilas, apostle of the Goths, account of, vi., 180 *sq.*; his translation of the Scriptures, *ib. note*; Arianism of, 186 *note*.
- Ulphilas, lieutenant of Constantius, v., 268.
- Ulpian, head of Mamæa's council, i., 160, 194; on the duties of a proconsul, iii., 128 *note*; vii., 310; a jurist, 320; authority of, 326; fragments of, 334 *note*.
- Ulpiana, vii., 60 *note*.
- Ulpian Crinitus, ii., 70 and *note*.
- Ulubad, battle of, xi., 219 *note*.
- Ulugh Beg, founds observatory at Samarcand, xi., 182 *note*.
- Ulysses, ship of, at Corcyra, vii., 262 *note*.
- Umbrians, i., 26.
- Unitarians, ix., 38.
- Universal History, Modern, on Mahomet and the Caliphs, ix., 110 *note*.
- Universities, European, xi., 275.
- Upravda*, translation of name Justinianus, vii., 1 *note*.
- Upsala, temple of, i., 287 *note*, ii., 5 and *note*; Codex Argenteus at, vi., 181 *note*.
- Uraias, nephew of Vitiges, vii., 154, 243.
- Uranus, sophist, at court of Nushirvan, vii., 202.
- Urban II., Pope, x., 192; at Council of Placentia, 193 *sq.*
- Urban IV., Pope, letter of, viii., 389 *note*; protects Baldwin of Courtenay, xi., 73.
- Urban V., Pope, xi., 239 and *note*; addressed by Petrarch, xii., 155 and *note, sq. note*; returns to Rome, 157; death foretold by St. Bridget, *ib.*; introduces conservators, 170 *note*.
- Urban VI., Pope, xii., 159; supported by Rome, England, etc., 161; cruelty, *ib.*, 162.
- Urban VIII., Pope, removes roof of portico of Pantheon, xii., 193 *note*.
- Urban or Orban, Hungarian, makes

- cannon for Mahomet, xii., 14 and *note*.
- Urbicus, river, battle on the banks of, Theodoric defeats Rechiarius, vi., 98.
- Urbino (Urbs Vetus), taken by Belisarius, vii., 157 and *note*; duchy of, united to Ferrara, xii., 175.
- Uregundi, *see* Burgundians.
- Urosh V., King of Servia, marches to deliver Hadrianople, xi., 166 *note*.
- Ursacius, Bishop of Illyricum, professes Arianism, iii., 362; epistles of, 382 *note*.
- Ursacius, master of the offices, iv., 213 and *note*.
- Ursel of Baliol, commands the Normans in the service of Romanus, x., 165 and *note*.
- Ursel, rebellion of, viii., 286.
- Ursicinus, in Gaul, iii., 242; in Mesopotamia, 258; disgrace, *ib.*
- Ursini, Roman family, xii., 120 *sq.*; splendour of, 177, 205.
- Ursini, Bartoldo, stoned, xii., 150.
- Ursini, Martin, execution of, xii., 136 [*see* Stefaneschi].
- Ursini, Savella, xii., 205.
- Ursinus, contention of, with Damasus, iv., 210.
- Ursula, St., v., 7 *note*.
- Ursulus, the treasurer, death, iv., 36.
- Urtupa, battle of, xi., 188 *note*.
- Usipetes, ii., 27.
- Uspenski, T., on Barlaam, xi., 276 *note*.
- Usucapio, term in Roman law, vii., 357 *note, sq. note*.
- Usufruct, vii., 359 and *note*.
- Usury, vii., 369 *sq.*
- Usus, term in Roman law, vii., 359.
- Utica, honorary colony, i., 46 *note*; iv., 232; battle of, ix., 204.
- Utturgurians, vii., 180 *note*.
- Utus, river, Romans defeated by Attila, vi., 13.
- Uzbeks or Usbec Tartars, iv., 263 *note*; vi., 27 *note*; xi., 183 *note*; invade Persia and Transoxiana, 217.
- Uzi, tribe of, x., 165 and *note*.
- VABALLATHUS (or Balbatus), ii., 86 *note*.
- Vacasora, subdued by the Saracens, ix., 220.
- Vacca, Flaminius, xii., 194 *note*.
- Vaccaricia, battle of, x., 85 *note*.
- Vacsa or law of Zingis, xi., 214 *note*.
- Vadomair, a prince of the Alamanni, iv., 14 and *note*; epistle of, to Constantius, 23 *note*; son of, murdered, 215; commands with Count Trajan in Armenia, 241.
- Vagabanta, battle of, iv., 241.
- Valarsaces, date of, ii., 166 *note*; King of Armenia, v., 233 *note*.
- Valdrada, wife of Lothaire II., ix., 347.
- Valencia, worship of Christ abolished in, ix., 232.
- Valens, Arian Bishop of Mursa, iii., 216 *note*; influences Constantius, 368.
- Valens, Augustus, iv., 184; Emperor of the East, *ib.*; character, 196 *sq.*; administration, 198 *sq.*; adopts the Arian heresy, 202, 203; assists the Iberians, 241; Gothic war, 247 *sqq.*; resides at Antioch, 290 *sq.*; settles the Visigoths in Thrace, 292; at Constantinople, 309; defeated at the battle of Hadrianople, 312 *sq.*; death, 314.
- Valens, Bishop of Illyricum, professes Arianism, iii., 362; epistles of, 382 *note*.
- Valens, general of the Dalmatian legions, escapes, v., 232; in the Gothic camp, 238; deserts to Attalus, *ib.*
- Valens, made Cæsar by Licinius, ii., 247; death, 248.
- Valens, usurper in Achaia, ii., 50 *sq.*
- Valentia, city of, Constantine besieged in, v., 179; destroyed by the Goths, 270, 271; colony of Alani at, vi., 43 and *note*; reduced by Abd al-Aziz, 82.
- Valentia, province in Britain, iv., 230 and *note*.
- Valentin, general, despatched to the East by Heraclius, viii., 222-3.
- Valentin, guard of Justinian, vii., 191.
- Valentinian I., law against deserters, iii., 141 *note*; character, iv., 181 *sq.*; divides the empire, 185; cruelty of, 196 *sq.*; bears of, 198; administration, 198 *sq.*; institutes *defensors*, 200; religious toleration, 201; edict against the clergy, 207 and *note*; war with the Alamanni, 214 *sqq.*; invades Germany, 219; sends

- Palladius to Africa, 232; war with the Sarmatians, 251 *sqq.*; enters Sirmium, 253; death, 256 and *note*.
- Valentinian II., Emperor, iv., 258; rules in Italy, Africa and Western Illyricum, v., 10; expelled by Maximus, 38; restored by Theodosius, 57; character, 58; death, 60.
- Valentinian III., Emperor of the West, edict of, concerning the annual consumption of Rome, v., 219, 339 and *note*; reduces the tribute of Numidia and Mauritania, 354 *note*; flight to Rome, vi., 72; peace with Attila, 73; puts Aetius to death, 78 *sq.*
- Valentinians, sect of the, ii., 277; persecuted, iii., 333; iv., 98; theory on the nature of Christ, viii., 131 *note*.
- Valentola, surrendered by Theodemir to the Saracens, ix., 220.
- Valeria, daughter of Diocletian, ii., 149 *note*; fate of, 243 *sq.*; embraces Christianity, iii., 59.
- Valeria, province of, ii., 222 *note*; governed by Marcellinus, iv., 251 and *note*.
- Valerian, brings army to the relief of Rome, vii., 150.
- Valerian, censor, ii., 21; Emperor, 22 and *note*; associates Gallienus, 23; wall of, 37 *note*; expedition to the East, 42, 43; capture of, 44, 47; conduct towards the Christians, iii., 55.
- Valerianus, P. Licinius Cornelius, son of Gallienus, ii., 23 *note*; death, 25 *note*.
- Valerius Flaccus, on the Oppian law, vii., 347 *note*.
- Valerius, name assumed by Diocletian, ii., 144 *note*.
- Valet, title of, x., 351 *note*.
- Valla, Laurentius, grammarian, vii., 332 *note*; viii., 349 and *note*; Latin interpreter, xi., 280.
- Valle, della, Roman family of, xii., 205.
- Valle, Pietro della, iv., 136 *note*; vii., 222 *note*; on ruins of Assyria, ix., 125 *note*.
- Vallio, Count, death, v., 8 *note*.
- Valturio, Robert, his *de Re Militari*, xii., 2 *note*.
- Valvassors, order of, at Rome, viii., 384 and *note*; or *bannerets*, in diocese of Coutances, x., 97.
- Vámbery, A., History of Bokhārā, ix., 132 *note*.
- Van Dale, *de Consecratione Principum*, i., 87 *note*.
- Vandale, physician, iv., 90 *note*.
- Vandals, in Germany, i., 301 *note*, ii., 7, 8 and *note*, 74 *note*; settle in Britain, 122; ally themselves with the Sarmatians, iii., 187; invade Italy, v., 165; defeated by the Franks, 174; in Gaul and Spain, 273; defeated by Wallia, 276, 277; take Seville and Carthage, 343; in Africa, 343 *sqq.*; maritime power, vi., 84; plunder Rome, 89 *sqq.* and *notes*; on the coasts of the Mediterranean, 117; their conversion, 182; persecute the African Christians, 188 *sqq.*; number of, under Gelimer, vii., 99 *sq.*; fate of, 109 *sqq.*; become extinct in Africa, 115; revolt of, in Africa, 236; complete disappearance of, 242; effect of their capture on the buildings of Rome, xii., 192.
- Vannes, diocese of, subdued by the Britons of Armorica, vi., 275.
- Vapincum, iii., 221 *note*.
- Varanes, general of Honorius, v., 195.
- Varanes, or Bahram, usurper, exploits of, viii., 57 *sq.*; rebellion of, 59 *sqq.*; interviews with Chosroes, 61 *note*; death of, 65.
- Varanes, or Bahram, King of Persia (Varahran II.), ii., 130 and *note*.
- Varanes, son of Yezdegerd, King of Persia, persecutes the Christians, v., 330; ruin of the Armenian kingdom under, 333 *note*.
- Varangians, in the Byzantine service, ix., 340; x., 51; name of, *ib. note*; acclamations of, ix., 344 *note*; serve under Alexius Comnenus, x., 115; composed of Danes and English, 364 and *note*; serve under the Emperors of Nicæa, xi., 63, 65.
- Varchonites, *see* Ogars.
- Varna, battle of, xi., 309 *sq.*
- Varni, or Varini, vi., 285.
- Varro, on fall of Rome, vi., 81 and *note*; on comets, vii., 292 and *note*.

- Varronian, Count, father of Jovian, iv., 157.
- Varronian, infant son of Jovian, iv., 179.
- Varus, Alfenus, Roman lawyer, v., 279 *note*.
- Varus, i., 3 *note*, 25 *note*.
- Vasinobroncæ, iv., 246 *note*.
- Vataces, John Ducas, Emperor of Nice, xi., 24; besieges Constantinople, 26; conquests, 33; death, *ib.*; administration, 55 *sqq.*; treasures of, 63 and *note*; interview with the Sultan of Iconium, xi., 154; his account of the Mongol invasion, 232.
- Vatari, village of, vii., 237 *note*.
- Vatican, library of the, xi., 289.
- Vatican, suburb, *see* Rome.
- Vaucluse, retreat of Petrarch, xi., 124 and *note*.
- Vayvods, or Hungarian chiefs, x., 38; xi., 313. *Cp.* Voivode.
- Veccus, Johannes, Patriarch of Constantinople, xi., 76 and *note*.
- Vedastus, St., Life of, vi., 218 *note*.
- Vegetius, his description of Roman legions, i., 19 *note*; v., 70 and *note*.
- Veii, siege of, i., 203; position of, *ib.* *note*, ii., 179 *note*.
- Velleda, German prophetess, i., 292.
- Velleius, Paterculus, i., 142 *note*.
- Venaissin, county, ceded to the Popes, xii., 110 and *note*.
- Venantius, consul, viii., 162.
- Venedi, ii., 9 *sq.* and *note*; subdued by Hermanric, iv., 246.
- Venerianus, ii., 37 *note*.
- Venetians, recover Ravenna, viii., 336; alliance with Alexius Comnenus, x., 125; war with Emperor Manuel, 138; commerce, 347; government, *ib.*; treaty with the Crusaders, 348 *sqq.*; treachery of, to Crusaders, 350 *note*; territory after conquest of Constantinople, xi., 5; settlements in Constantinople, *ib.*; war with the Genoese, 125; treaty with Cantacuzene, *ib.*; their defeat, 126; use of gunpowder by, xi., 231. *See* Venice.
- Veneti, i., 26 and *note*.
- Venice, or Venetia, foundation of the republic of, vi., 69 *sqq.*; history of, by Maffei, *ib.* *note*; infant dominion of, viii., 29; ally of Lombardy, 385; trade of, with Egypt and Palestine, x., 184 *note*; History of, 344 *sqq.*; bronze horses of Constantinople taken to, xi., 384 *note*; her monopoly of trade with the East, xi., 146 *note*; John Palæologus at, 260; knowledge of Turkish political affairs at, xii., 63 *note*; holds aloof from factions of Italy, 198.
- Venti, Emperor of China, memorial to, iv., 277 *note*, *sq.* *note*.
- Venus, chapel of, at Jerusalem, iv., 75.
- Venusia, in Lucania, iii., 70; Robert Guiscard buried at, x., 127 and *note*.
- Veratius, vii., 371.
- Verdun, massacre of the Jews at, x., 210.
- Vergerius, pupil of Chrysoloras, xi., 283 *note*.
- Verina, widow of Leo, vi., 141; claims the empire, 302 *sq.*
- Verinianus, opposes Constantine the tyrant, v., 180 and *note*.
- Verona, amphitheatre at, i., 56; splendour of, 61; siege of, ii., 231 *sq.* and *note*; defeat of the Goths near, v., 158; destroyed by Attila, vi., 68; battle of, 310; palace of Theodororic at, 327 and *note*; chapel of St. Stephen at, destroyed by Theodororic, 333; Teias at, vii., 267; Lombards in, viii., 13.
- Veronica, or image of Christ, viii., 315.
- Verres, tyrant of Sicily, vii., 377.
- Versinicia, battle of, x., 32 *note*.
- Versus politici*, ix., 373 and *note*.
- Vertæ, an unknown nation, in the army of Sapor, iii., 254 and *note*.
- Vertot, Abbé de, xii., 27 *note*.
- Verus, Ælius, i., 96.
- Verus the Younger, i., 97.
- Ves, Russian tribe, x., 54 *note*.
- Vespasian, i., 55, 84 *note*, 93 *sq.* and *note*; discovery of his *lex de imperio*, xii., 130 and *note*.
- Vespasiana, alleged province in Scotland, i., 6 *note*.
- Vestals, i., 145; v., 72 and *note*.

- Veterans, lands bestowed on, iii., 140 and *note*.
- Vetranio, governor of Illyricum, assumes the purple, iii., 208 and *note*; deposed and exiled by Constantius, 213.
- Vettius, celebrated Roman augur, vi., 82 *note*.
- Vexin, Count of, title of King of France, x., 281 *note*.
- Vézelay, Parliament of, St. Bernard at, x., 285.
- Via *Cæsaris*, suburb of Ravenna, v., 163 *note*.
- Vicars or vice-prefects, iii., 127 and *note*.
- Vicennalia, festival of the, ii., 177, 178 and *note*.
- Vicenza, destroyed by Attila, vi., 68.
- Victor, African bishop, his history of the African persecution, vi., 199.
- Victor, Aurelius, iii., 206 *note*; prefect of the city, iv., 2 *note*.
- Victor (Flavius), son of Maximus, death of, v., 42 and *note*.
- Victor, the Sarmatian, Julian's general of infantry, iv., 124; at Maogamalcha, 131; wounded, 140; general of Valens against the Goths, iv., 249; with Arintheus arranges peace with the Goths, 250; retreat of, at Hadrianople, 314.
- Victor Vitensis, History of the Vandalic persecution, v., 350 *note*; vi., 190 *note*.
- Victor (the Younger), historian, iii., 170 *note*, 225 *note*.
- Victoria, mother of Victorinus, ii., 50, 82 and *note*.
- Victorianus, proconsul and martyr, vi., 194 *note*.
- Victorinus, associate of Posthumus, ii., 50; death, 81 and *note*.
- Victors, veteran band of the, in Britain, iv., 229.
- Victory, statue and altar of, v., 74 and *note*; banished by Gratian, 75; restorations solicited by Symmachus, *ib.*
- Victovali, i., 301 *note*.
- Victus Helena, town of, Clodion defeated by Aetius at, vi., 50 and *note*.
- Vienna (Vienne), iv., 6; Julian at, 13; Valentinian II. at, v., 59; Constantine besieged in, 179; taken by Clovis, vi., 226.
- Vienna, Theodoric born at, vi., 299.
- Viennensis, one of the Seven Provinces, v., 286 *note*.
- Vigenna, or Vienne, river, vi., 232.
- Vigilantia, mother of Justinian, vii., 1 *note*, 14.
- Vigilantius (presbyter), v., 98 *note*.
- Vigilantius, general of Honorius, v., 195.
- Vigilius, deacon, made Pope, vii., 149; accused of exile of Sylverius, 246 *note*; sends Sicilian corn to Rome, 250 and *note*; apostacy of, viii., 176.
- Vigilius, interpreter sent with embassy to Attila, vi., 24; interview with Attila, 30; his conspiracy against Attila, 34.
- Vigilius of Thapsus, dialogue of, vi., 196 and *note*.
- Vignoles, M. des, on date of fire in Nero's reign, xii., 188 *note*.
- Viliaris, a Gothic warrior, vii., 244 *note*.
- Villages, in Russia and Poland, vii., 181 *note*; authorities upon, *ib.*
- Villains, or serfs, in Syria, x., 270.
- Villani, John, on the revolution of A.D. 1328 at Rome, xii., 106 *note*.
- Villani, Matthew, history of, xi., 117 *note*.
- Villas, of the Merovingians, vi., 250 and *note*.
- Villehardouin, Geoffrey de, joins fourth crusade, x., 343; origin of name of, *ib.* *note*; compared to Nicetas, 379; Marshal of Romania, xi., 8; retreats before the Bulgarians, 16.
- Villehardouin, William, Prince of Achaia, captivity of, xi., 34 and *note*.
- Viminacium, i., 164 *note*; destroyed by the Huns, vi., 11.
- Vindonissa, battle of, ii., 159; ruins of, vi., 217 and *note*.
- Vine, cultivation of the, i., 66, 67 and *note*.
- Virgil, fourth eclogue of, iii., 304 and *note*; sixth eclogue of, iv., 107 *note*; ninth eclogue of, v., 279 and *note*; mention of silk by, vii., 31; mentions suicides, 387 and *note*; as a magician, xii., 209 *note*.

- Virtha, or Tecrit, Arabian fortress, besieged by Sapor, iii., 257 and *note*.
- Visandus, Gothic standard-bearer, vii., 139.
- Visconti, sovereignty of, in Milan, viii., 391.
- Visigoths, *see* under Goths.
- Vistula, settlement of Goths on, ii., 7.
- Vitalian, Gothic chief, death of, vii., 4; family of, *ib. note*.
- Vitalian, nephew of Anastasius, revolt of, viii., 167.
- Vitalianus, Prætorian prefect, i., 220 *note*, 228.
- Vitalius, general of Justinian, vii., 244 *note*.
- Vitaxæ, or satraps, i., 261.
- Vitellius, emperor, i., 94, 101 *note*.
- Viterbo, viii., 333 and *note*; battle of, xii., 102 and *note*; a retreat of popes, 107.
- Vitiges, general of Theodatus, King of Italy, vii., 136; besieges Rome, 138 *sq.*; six camps at Rome, 143 and *note*; besieges Rimini, 155; flies to Ravenna, *ib.*; accepts Belisarius as King of the Goths, 164; taken prisoner, *ib.*; senator and patrician at Constantinople, 165 and *note*; embassy of, to Persia, 206.
- Vitruvius, the architect, v., 223 and *note*.
- Vitry, James de, x., 261 *note*.
- Vivarium at Rome, *see* Rome.
- Vivonne, Clovis attacks the Visigoths near, vi., 233 *note*.
- Vizir, office of, revived, ix., 203 *note*; Turkish office of, xi., 158.
- Vlachia, Great, x., 338 *note*.
- Vlacho-Bulgarian kingdom, x., 338 *note*.
- Vladimir, metropolis, taken by the Mongols, xi., 146 *note*.
- Vladimir, *see* Wolodomir.
- Voconian law, vii., 361 and *note*, 365.
- Voguls, Siberian people, x., 39 *note*.
- Voigt, G., on Æneas Sylvius, xii., 62 *note*.
- Voigt, Johannes, on Pope Hildebrand, x., 122 *note*.
- Voivode, xi., 93.
- Volaterranus, Jac., Diary of, xii., 180.
- Volaterra, Raphael de, translates works of Procopius, vii., 8 *note*.
- Volney, traveller in Egypt, ix., 179 *note*, 191 *note*.
- Volocean marshes, ii., 222 *note*.
- Vologesia, iv., 127 *note*.
- Voltaire, i., 33 *note*; his Zadig, ix., 19 *note*; on Mahomet, 73 *note*; on siege of Damascus, 140 *note*; on division of the Saracen Empire, 263 *note*; on Alexius Comnenus, x., 227 *note*; on Amurath II., xi., 302 *note*; xii., 38 *note*; Turcophil prejudices, 56 *note*.
- Volusianus, son of Gallus, ii., 20 and *note*.
- Volusius, wealthy Roman senator, v., 206 *note*.
- Vopiscus, ii., 103 *note*.
- Vortigern, British prince, vi., 269 *sq.*, 276.
- Vortimer, son of Vortigern, vi., 276.
- Vouillé, battle of, Clovis defeats the Goths at, vi., 233; position of, and site of the battle, *ib. note*.
- Vou-ti, Emperor of China, ii., 167 and *note*; iv., 279 and *note*.
- Vsevlad of Kiev, x., 194 *note*.
- Vulcanus, Bonaventura, author of Latin version of Agathias, vii., 8 *note*.
- Vultures, twelve, of Romulus, vi., 81.
- WACKIDY (Al Wākidi), history of the conquest of Syria ascribed to, ix., 135 *note*; history of conquest of Mesopotamia, 170 *note*; history of conquest of Egypt, 173 *note*.
- Waimar of Salerno, x., 90 *note*; receives Capua, 91 *note*.
- Waitz, G., on imperial coronations, xii., 67 *note*.
- Wakusa, battle of (Yermuk), ix., 157 *note*.
- Walachians, ii., 74 *note*; origin of, x., 28 and *note*; share in second Bulgarian kingdom, 338 and *note*; rebel against the Turks, xi., 168 *note*; claim Hunyady, 313 *note*. *See* Vlachia.
- Wladimir I., of Russia, *see* Wolodomir.
- Walimir, Prince of the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, friend of Attila, vi., 8; brother of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, vi., 299 and *note*, *sq.*
- Walamirs, Gothic tribe, fight for the Emperor Zeno, vi., 304.

- Wales, Britons retreat to, vi., 275; marches of, 288; music in, *ib.*, sq. *note*.
- Walid, caliph, marries granddaughter of Yezdegerd, ix., 131 *note*; conquers Transoxiana, 132 and *note*; annexes Spain, 210; death of, 222, 241.
- Wall, Roman, in Britain, i., 5; of Aurelian, ii., 80; of Probus, 120; of China, iv., 277; of Rome, under Honorius, v., 223; of Justinian in Thracian Chersonese, vii., 61 sq.; of Anastasius, 62.
- Wallia, King of the Goths, allies himself with Rome, v., 275; death, vi., 44.
- Wallus, or Cambricus, vi., 281 *note*.
- Walter de Brienne, Duke of Athens, xi., 91; death, *ib.*
- Walter de Poissy, uncle of Walter the Penniless, x., 209 *note*.
- Walter the Penniless, x., 209; in Asia Minor, 212.
- Walther, on Roman law, vii., 302 *note*.
- Wangkhan, *see* Prester John.
- War, rights of, vii., 162 *note*.
- Warburton on Julian, iv., 78 *note*.
- Warna, *see* Varna.
- Warnefrid, Paul, on the Lombards, vii., 178 *note*; viii., 28 *note*; on defeat of the Saracens, ix., 256 *note*.
- Waters, Prince of the, Persian title, vii., 200 and *note*.
- Watson, Dr., ix., 247 *note*.
- Waywode, *see* Voivode.
- Wei-lio, Chinese document, vii., 32 *note*.
- Wellhausen, on fall of Mecca, ix., 74 *note*.
- Wells, in Persia, vii., 200 *note*.
- Weltin, vision of, viii., 360 *note*.
- Wends or Slavonians, vii., 117 *note*.
- Wenzel, son of Charles IV., viii., 392 *note*.
- Werdan, general of Heraclius, ix., 142 and *note*.
- Wharton, Thomas, History of English Poetry, vi., 278 *note*.
- Wheat, price of, iii., 17 *note*; fixed by Julian, iv., 112.
- Whitaker, i., 166 *note*; his History of Manchester, iv., 226 *note*; vi., 268 *note*; on English language, 279 *note*.
- White and black, meaning of, in Turkish language, xi., 168 *note*.
- White Horde, xi., 187 *note*.
- White Huns, iv., 282 sqq.
- White, Mr., Arabic professor at Oxford, ix., 254 *note*; institutions of Timour translated by, xi., 181 *note*.
- Wibald of Corvei, Abbot, x., 281 *note*.
- Wibert, his Life of Leo IX., x., 93 *note*.
- Widimir, brother of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, vi., 299 sq. and *note*.
- Wilfrid, Anglo-Saxon bishop, vi., 281 and *note*; at the Lateran synod, viii., 182 *note*.
- William I., King of Sicily (the Bad), x., 140 sq.
- William II., of Sicily (the Good), x., 139, 142.
- William, Count of Apulia, x., 88, 90; divides the conquests with Rainulf and Waimar, 90 *note*; death, 129.
- William of Malmesbury, on first crusade, x., 234 *note*.
- William of Nogaret, xii., 108.
- William of Tyre, error of, x., 182 *note*; knowledge of antiquity of, 240 *note*.
- William, Viscount of Melun, flight of, at Antioch, x., 247.
- Wimpfen, ii., 120.
- Winchester, Roman, Gynæceum at, iii., 148 *note*.
- Windmills, introduced into Europe by the Crusaders, xi., 40 *note*.
- Wine, public distribution of, at Rome, v., 219; scarcity of, *ib.* and *note*.
- Wingfield, Sir Robert, ambassador of Henry VIII., xii., 166 *note*.
- Wisdom of Solomon, published by the Alexandrian Jews, iii., 340 and *note*.
- Wisumar, Vandal King of the Goths, iii., 89, 90.
- Witchcraft and Witches, iv., 193; in Lombard code of laws, viii., 37-8.
- Withicab, son of Vadomair, murder of, iv., 215.
- Withimer, King of the Goths, war against the Huns and Alani, iv., 288.
- Witikind (Widukind), Saxon chief, viii., 372 and *note*.
- Witikind (Widukind), Saxon monk, vi., 269 *note*.
- Witiza, King of the Goths in Spain, vi., 265; ix., 209.

- Woden, god of war, vi., 272.
- Wolodimir, Grand Duke of Russia, viii., 268; sends auxiliaries against Phocas, 274 *note*; ix., 349; baptism of, x., 70; marries Princess Anne, *ib.*; date of, *ib.* *note*.
- Wolodimir, province of, *see* Moscow.
- Women, position among Romans, i., 192; among the Germans, 291 *sq.*; among the Mahometans, ix., 52 *sq.*; how regarded legally, vii., 346.
- Woodward, W. H., xi., 275 *note*.
- World, date of creation of, ii., 289 and *note*; conflagration of, 292 *sq.*
- Worms, destroyed, iii., 260; murders at, in tenth century, x., 203 *note*; massacre of the Jews at, 210.
- Worship, public, solid foundation of religion, v., 95.
- Wotton's Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning, ix., 186 *note*; 275 *note*.
- XENAIAS, or Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug, exile and death of, viii., 195 and *note*.
- Xenophon, on eunuchs, iii., 224 *note*; *Cyropædia* and *Anabasis*, iv., 163 *note*; on Syrian and Cilician gates, viii., 100 *note*.
- Xeres, battle of, ix., 213 and *note*.
- Xerxes, Bridge of Boats, iii., 95 and *note*; vii., 174 *note*.
- Ximenes, Cardinal, publishes the Greek testament, vi., 198 *note*.
- Ximenes, Roderic, his *Historia Arabum*, ix., 250 *note*.
- Xiphilin, Patriarch of Constantinople, viii., 283.
- Xivrey, Berger de, on Emperor Manuel, xi., 249 *note*.
- YAROSLAV, *see* Jaroslaus and Ieroslaus.
- Yatreb, *see* Medina.
- Yeletz, taken by Timour, xi., 189.
- Yelutchousay, Chinese mandarin, vi., 14 and *note*.
- Yemanah, Arabian city, and province of, ix., 112 and *note*.
- Yemen, or Arabia Felix, conquered by Nushirvan, viii., 51 *sq.*; kingdom of, ix., 5 and *note*; cities in, 8; subjugation of, by the Abyssinians, Persians, Egyptians, and Turks, 10 and *note*; subdued by Moāwiya, 99; subdued by Saladin, x., 295.
- Yen King, *see* Peking.
- Yermuk, battle of the, ix., 156 *sqq.*
- Yezdegerd I., v., 319.
- Yezdegerd III., last King of Persia, ix., 120; era of, *ib.* *notes*; defeated by the Arabs at Jalula, 126; at Rayy, *ib.* *note*; takes refuge with the Prince of Fargana, 129-30; slain by the Turks, 131; children of, *ib.* *note*; vii., 201.
- Yezd, Magian Pontiff near, ix., 229-30.
- Yezid I., Caliph, son of Moāwiya, ix., 101; spares family of Ali, 104; at siege of Constantinople, 238.
- Yezid II., Caliph, iconoclastic edict of, viii., 316 *note*.
- Yezid, favourite of Sulaymān, ix., 223 *note*.
- Yezid, son of Walid, ix., 131 *note*.
- Yolande, daughter of John of Brienne, wife of Frederic II., x., 315 and *note*.
- Yolande, sister of Baldwin and Henry, wife of Peter of Courtenay, xi., 22.
- Youkinna, chief of Aleppo, ix., 163, 165.
- Yuen, Mongol dynasty of, xi., 152.
- Yule, Colonel, his translation of Marco Polo, xi., 134 *note*; on China, 141 *note*.
- ZAB, lesser, viii., 115.
- Zabatus, or great Zab, river, iv., 162 *note*; Heraclius at, viii., 115; defeat of Caliph Mervan on the banks of, ix., 260.
- Zabdas, general of Zenobia, ii., 87.
- Zabdicene, province of, ceded to the empire, ii., 176 and *note*.
- Zabergan, leader of the Bulgarian cavalry, vii., 282; threatens Constantinople, 283; retires, 285.
- Zablestan, reduced by Nushirvan, vii., 230.
- Zacagni, viii., 28 *note*.
- Zachariah, Patriarch of Jerusalem, taken by Chosroes to Persia, viii., 90.
- Zachariah, prophet, vii., 172.
- Zacharias, Bishop of Mytilene, viii., 153 *note*.
- Zacharias, the Paulician, x., 4 *note*.
- Zachary, Pope, viii., 341.
- Zadenghel, viii., 212.



- Zagan, Pasha, at siege of Constantinople, xii., 18 *note*.
- Zagarola, fief of the Colonna, xii., 117.
- Zagatai, son of Zingis, xi., 140 and *note*.
- Zagatais, defeat Toctamish, xi., 189.
- Zaid, *see* Zeid.
- Zaleucus, laws of, vii., 306 and *note*.
- Zalzuts, x., 157 *note*.
- Zama, battle of, ii., 126 *note*.
- Zama, Saracen leader, death of, ix., 252.
- Zames, vii., 266 *note*.
- Zamma, brother of Firmus, iv., 233.
- Zamolxis, ii., 74.
- Zamorin, grants privileges to Christians of St. Thomas, viii., 192.
- Zampea, attendant of the Empress Anne, xi., 236 and *note*.
- Zani, Peter, Doge of Venice, xi., 6 *note*.
- Zani, tribe of, vii., 66; sent by Justinian against the Persians, 223.
- Zano, brother of Gelimer, vii., 105 *sqq.*; death, 108.
- Zante or Zacynthus, massacre at, by Genseric, vi., 118; taken by Venetians, xi., 5 *note*.
- Zanubi, poet laureate, xii., 155 *note*.
- Zapharan, Jacobite monastery, near Merdin, viii., 106.
- Zara, siege of, x., 353 and *note*.
- Zarabai, office of the, ix., 338 *note*.
- Zarathustra, *see* Zoroaster.
- Zathus, King of Lazica, vii., 220.
- Zayrids, *see* Zeirides.
- Zcalots, sect of the, iii., 4 *note*, 23.
- Zebars at Rome, ii., 136 *note*.
- Zehra, city of, near Cordova, ix., 267.
- Zeid, slave of Mahomet, ix., 42 *note*, 54; standard bearer at Muta, 78.
- Zeincb, wife of Mahomet, ix., 86 *note*.
- Zeineddin (Zayn ad-Din) Cadhi, x., 287.
- Zeirides, Saracen dynasty in Africa, x., 131.
- Zeitn Burnou, near the Golden Gate, xii., 30 *note*.
- Zelator *Italiae*, title, xii., 140.
- Zemlin, *see* Semlin.
- Zemzem, holy well of Mecca, ix., 9, 24.
- Zend language, i., 253 *note*.
- Zendavesta, or Bible of the Ghebers, i., 253, 258.
- Zendecan, battle of, x., 156.
- Zenghi, Governor of Aleppo, x., 288.
- Zenia or Zenastan, Armenian name for China, ii., 166 *note*.
- Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, ii., 50, 53, 65; defeated by Aurelian, 71; character and reign, 83 *sqq.*; protects Paul of Samosata, iii., 58.
- Zenobius, ii., 95 *note*.
- Zeno, Emperor, restored, vi., 148; husband of Ariadne, 302; vii., 64; Henoticon of, viii., 162 and *note*.
- Zeno, Bishop of Maiuma, iv., 95 *note*.
- Zeno, orator, vii., 51.
- Zephaniah, prophecy of, iv., 319.
- Zeugma, passage of the Euphrates, iv., 119 *note*.
- Zeuxippus, baths of, iii., 105, 106 and *note*.
- Zhebu, the chagan of the Khazars, viii., 111 *note*.
- Zichida, xi., 303 *note*.
- Ziebel, Prince of the Chozars, viii., 112.
- Zimisce, John, the Armenian, viii., 268 *note*; Typikon of, 269 *note*, *sq.*; account of, 270 *sqq.*; eastern conquests, ix., 309 *sqq.*; settles the Paulicians in Thrace, x., 15 and *note*; conquers Eastern Bulgaria, 35 *note*; his name, 65 *note*; takes Marcianopolis, 66; triumph of, 67-8.
- Zingis Khan, iv., 261 *note*, 270 and *note*; vi., 5 and *note*; slays the Chinese, 14 *sq.*; account of, xi., 129 *sqq.*; birth and race, *ib.* and *note*; etymology of name Zingis, 130 *note*; laws of, 131 *sq.* and *note*; religion of, 131 *sq.*; invades China, 135 *sq.*; conquers Carizme, Transoxiana, and Persia, 137 *sq.*; his strategical ability, *ib.* *note*; return and death of, 139; children and successors of, 140 *sq.*
- Zizais, chief of the Sarmatians, iii., 249.
- Zobeide, wife of Harun Al-Rashid, viii., 105 *note*.
- Zobeir, Arabian chief, supported by insurgents of Kūfa, ix., 96 and *note*; revolts against Ali, 97; death, 98; kills Gregory the Prefect, 194 *sqq.*
- Zoe Carbonupsina, wife of Emperor Leo VI., viii., 263 and *note*; regency of, 264.
- Zoe, daughter of Constantine IX. (VIII.), viii., 276; empress, 278.

- Zoe, second wife of Leo VI., viii., 261 *note*, 263 and *note*.
- Zoltan, son of Arpad, Hungarian ruler, x., 44 *note*; Hungarian form of "Sultan," 148 *note*.
- Zonaras, i., 232 *note*; on Anna Comnena, ix., 371 *note*.
- Zoroaster or Zarathustra, i., 253 and *note*; system of, 254 *sqq.*; ii., 277; vii., 196 *note*; writings of, ix., 227; religion confounded with that of the Hindoos, *ib. note*, 229.
- Zosimus, on taxation, iii., 164, 165; accuses Constantine, 280; on epistles of Julian, iv., 23 *note*; prejudiced, 310 *note*; description of his style, 326; lack of judgment, 336; v., 40; fanaticism of, 95 and *note*; account of Britain, 282; on revolt of Tribigild and Gainas, 299 *note*; on the monks, vi., 172.
- Zostē *patricia*, maid of honour at Byzantine Court, ix., 338 *note*.
- Zoticus, i., 188 *note*.
- Zoupans, or Lords of Croatia, x., 30.
- Zuheir, Saracen governor of Africa, ix., 200.
- Zurich, city of, xii., 80 and *note*.
- Zwinglius, ii., 293 *note*.
- Zygomala, Theodosius, on siege of Constantinople, xii., 6 *note*.



# INDEX

## PART II. TO APPENDICES

- ABASGIA, ix., 405.  
 Abbadān, town, iv., 343.  
 Abbāsids, the, their influence on historiography, viii., 415.  
 Abd al-Malik, building at Jerusalem, iv., 342; coinage of, ix., 399.  
 Abd ar-Rahmān (historian), ix., 397.  
 Ablavius, ii., 350.  
 Abraha, King, vii., 402 and *note*.  
 Abraham, Armenian monk, xii., 216.  
 Abramós, in Yemen, vii., 401.  
 Abulfaragius, *see* Bar-Hebræus.  
 Abū-l-Fidā, geography of, iv., 343; life and works of, ix., 397.  
 Abū Shāma, *see* Abd ar-Rahmān.  
 Abyssinia, in fourth to sixth centuries A.D., vii., 400 *sqq.*  
 Achaia, province, i., 315.  
 Acciajoli, the (Nicholas; Angelo; Nerio I.; Antonio; Nerio II.), xi., 331-3.  
 Acland, A. H. D., ii., 350.  
 Acre, Saracen siege of, ix., 397.  
 Acropolites, George, ix., 383-4.  
*Acts of Archelaus*, x., 390.  
 Adad, King, vii., 401 and *note*.  
 Adam de Montaldo, xii., 216.  
 Adamek, viii., 396 *note*.  
 Adelperga, friend of Paul the Deacon, viii., 413.  
 Adoptionism, doctrine of, x., 390.  
 Adoration of Emperors, iii., 423.  
 Adrunutzion, ix., 406.  
*Adscriptitii*, viii., 436.  
 Aegean sea, theme of, ix., 401; seals of, 402.  
 Aegina, xi., 334.  
 Aegyptus, province, i., 316.  
 Aelana, vii., 393.  
 Aelius Lampridius, writer of *Hist. Aug.*, i., 307 *sqq.*  
 Aelius Spartianus, writer of *Historia Augusta*, i., 306 *sqq.*  
 Aemilianus, tyrant, ii., 353.  
*Aerarium* of Rome, iii., 422.  
 Aetius, in Merobaudes, iv., 351; relations to Boniface, 376.  
 Africa, wars in (sixth century), vii., 403; exarchs of, 404; præf. præfects and magg. mill., *ib.*  
 Africa, Diocese of, iii., 431.  
 Africa, province of, i., 316; iii., 431.  
 Agapetus of Synnada, iv., 341.  
 Agathangelus, i., 320; sources of, iii., 441.  
 Agathias, i., 320-1; vi., 353.  
*Agentes in rebus*, iii., 435.  
 Agnellus, iv., 353.  
 Agriculture, code relating to (eighth century), viii., 437 *sq.*  
 Aizan, King, vii., 400.  
*ἀκρόπολις ὑμῶν*, viii., 398.  
 Alamanni, ii., 356.  
 Alania, ix., 405.  
 Alans, in Gaul, iv., 348; ix., 404.  
 Alaric, Stilicho's campaigns against, v., 365-7; in Greece, 367; in Italy, 368-9; "penetrabis ad urbem," 368.  
 Ajnadain, battle of, ix., 377.  
 Albanians, in the Peloponnesus, ix., 409.  
 Albano, Bogomils of, x., 390.  
 Albert of Aachen, ix., 392.  
 Aleppo, college of, ix., 397.  
 Alexander of Alexandria, ii., 366.  
 Alexandria, Libraries of, v., 365 *sq.*; date of capitulation, ix., 380.  
 Alexius Comnenus, viii., 408.  
 Ali, Caliph, coinage of, ix., 391.  
 Allectus, iv., 355.  
*Aluēlengyon*, viii., 436.  
 Alpes, maritimæ, Cottia, Poenina, i., 315.  
 Alphabets, Slavonic, x., 397.  
 Al-Mamūn, iv., 342.  
*Altan depter*, Mongol annals, xi., 328.  
 Altziagiri, the, vii., 396.  
 Amalfi, xi., 332.

- Amatus of Salerno, ix., 388 *sq.*  
 Ambrose the Norman, ix., 393.  
 Amélineau, vi., 364.  
 Amorgos, xi., 336.  
 Ammianus Marcellinus, his works, ii., 362 *sq.*; list of Gallic and Egyptian provinces, iii., 424 *sq.*, 429.  
 Ammon, bishop, vi., 364.  
 Amyris, of Filelfo, xii., 217.  
 Anaea, xi., 335.  
 Ἀνάκλημα τῆς κωνσταντινῆς πόλεως, xii., 217.  
 Anaphe, xi., 335.  
 Anastasius I., Emperor, vi., 352; coinage of, vii., 394.  
 Anastasius, Martyr, Life of, viii., 398.  
 Anastasius of Mount Sinai, viii., 399.  
 Andan, *see* Adad.  
 Andronicus I., Emperor, ix., 384.  
 Andros, xi., 334.  
 Angers, Annals of, vi., 362.  
 An-hsi (Parthia), vii., 393.  
 Anianus, ii., 368; viii., 418.  
 Anna Comnena, her Alexiad, viii., 408 *sq.*  
*Annales Barenenses*, ix., 389.  
*Annales Beneventani*, ix., 389.  
*Annals of Han dynasty*, iv., 357.  
*Annals of Ravenna*, iv., 353.  
*Annona Jæderatica*, iii., 433.  
 Anonymous Chronographer of A.D. 354, i., 310, 320.  
 Anonymous Continuator of Dion, i., 306; ii., 357; viii., 395 *note*, 410.  
 Anonymous Dirge on Constantinople, xi., 329.  
 Anonymous Monodia on Theodore Palæologus, ii., 360.  
 Anonymous Scribe of King Béla, x., 398.  
 Anonymus Cuspiniani, *see* Chronicon Cusp.  
 Anonymus, on Constantine the Great and Helen, iii., 446.  
 Anonymus Valesii, the first fragment, iii., 360; second fragment, origin of, iv., 353; nature of, vi., 358.  
 Ansaldo, L., ix., 393.  
 Antae, subdued by Avars, viii., 420.  
 Antala, vi., 360; vii., 403.  
 Anthony, St., vii., 364.  
 Antioch, ii., 351; Zenobia driven from, 354; mentioned in Chinese books, vii., 393; Radulph's account of capture of, ix., 392.  
 Antiparos, xi., 335.  
 Antoninus Pius, Titus, Edict of, concerning Christians, iii., 417.  
 Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, rescript ascribed to, iii., 417; Christian persecution of, 420; mentioned in Chinese books, vii., 393.  
 Anzitene, viii., 423.  
 Aosta, viii., 421.  
 Aphthartodocetism, viii., 427.  
 Apollonius, *Acts of*, iii., 420.  
 Apronianus, father of Dion Cassius, i., 305.  
 Aquitania, province, i., 314.  
 Arabia, province of, i., 312, 316; in fourth century, iii., 426; gold in, ix., 375.  
 Arbogast, iv., 357.  
 Arbo rius, iv., 347.  
 Arcadia, province, iii., 424 *sq.*  
 Arcadius, Emperor, v., 377.  
 Archer and Kingsford, *Hist. of Crusades*, ix., 398.  
 Ardashir II., iv., 357; v., 374.  
 Arentans, the, ix., 405.  
 Areobindus, vi., 360.  
 Arethas, King of Axum, vii., 402.  
 Arethas, *Martyrdom of*, vii., 401 and *note*.  
 Arians, in the Martyrologium, iv., 342.  
 Arichis, Duke of Beneventum, viii., 413.  
 Aristakes, Catholicus of Armenia, iii., 442.  
 Aristotle, Psellus on, viii., 406.  
 Arius, Letters of, ii., 366.  
 Armenia, history and historians of, in fourth century, iii., 441 *sqq.*; church of, 443; division of, between the Empire and Persia, v., 374; later historians of, ix., 398; account of, by Constantine Porph., 405.  
 Armenia minor, iii., 427.  
 Armenia, the Roman provinces of, under Justinian, viii., 422 *sq.*; under Maurice, 423.  
 Armoric, defeated by Aetius, iv., 351.  
 Army, Roman, i., 313; under Diocletian and Constantine, iii., 432 *sqq.*; size of, third to sixth centuries, 433.  
 Arnold, C. F., iii., 420.  
 Arnold, W. T., iii., 420.  
 Arosa, i., 312.

- Arsaces*, title, iii., 442.  
*Arsacius*, dragon slayer, iv., 341.  
*Aršak*, King, iii., 442.  
*Artemius*, Life of, *see* *Vita Artemii*.  
*Arverni*, vi., 357.  
*Arzanene*, viii., 423.  
*Aschbach I.*, iv., 355.  
*Asena*, vii., 398.  
*Asia*, province, i., 315.  
*Asmus*, J., ii., 361, 366.  
*Assessor*, vi., 348.  
*Assises of Jerusalem*, x., 403 *sq.*  
*Aštišat*, iii., 442.  
*Astypalæa*, xi., 336.  
*Asylum*, right of, viii., 434.  
*Ataulf*, iv., 348.  
*Atecotti*, the, iv., 357.  
*Atelkuzu*, x., 400.  
*Athanasius*, Patriarch, writings a source of *Socrates*, ii., 366.  
*Athanasius*, præt. pref. of *Africa*, vi., 360.  
*Athenais*, vii., 405.  
*Athens*, iv., 346; *Goths at*, v., 367; under *Acciajoli*, xi., 332.  
*Attalates*, *Michael*, his history, viii., 407.  
*Attalus*, tyrant, iv., 348.  
*Aubé*, B., iii., 420.  
*Augusta Praetoria*, viii., 421.  
*Augustine*, St., iv., 354; *De Civitate*, *ib.*  
*Auler*, A., vi., 353.  
*Aurelian*, Emperor, war with *Zenobia*, ii., 354.  
*Aurelian*, præt. pref. ("*Osiris*"), iv., 345; v., 376 *sq.*  
*Aurelius*, M., *see* *Antoninus*, M. *Aurelius*.  
*Aureolus*, tyrant, ii., 353.  
*Ausonius*, *Decimus Magnus*, iv., 347.  
*Auxentius of Mopsuestia*, iv., 342.  
*Auxilia*, i., 313; iii., 432; palatina, 433.  
*Avars*, the, iv., 358; press on the *Sabiri*, vii., 396; their conquests and empire in *Europe*, viii., 419 *sq.*; their empire broken up, x., 391.  
*Axumites*, the, in fourth to sixth centuries, vii., 400 *sqq.*
- BABYLON*, captured, ix., 380.  
*Bacurius*, iv., 355.  
*Baetica*, province, i., 314.  
*Bagaudæ*, iv., 351.  
*Bahā ad-Dīn*, ix., 396.  
*Bahrām IV.*, iv., 357.  
*Bahrām V.*, iv., 357.  
*Bührens*, i., 309.  
*Baian*, viii., 421.  
*Baian*, *see* *Paganos*.  
*Baidar*, xi., 337.  
*Baldric*, Archbishop of *Dol*, ix., 391.  
*Baldwin IV.*, ix., 394.  
*Baldwin III.*, x., 404.  
*Balearic Islands*, vi., 361.  
*Balista*, general, ii., 352; tyrant, *ib.*  
*Banduri*, his edition of the *Anonymous*, ix., 383.  
*Barbaro*, *Nicolò*, journal of, xii., 215.  
*Barbaria*, vi., 358.  
*Barbarus* of *Scaliger*, iv., 353.  
*Baret*, E., ii., 362.  
*Bar-Hebræus* (*Abū-l-Faraj*), viii., 418 *sq.*  
*Barlaam* of *Calabria*, ix., 384.  
*Barlow*, J. W., ix., 398.  
*Baronius*, Cardinal, viii., 441.  
*Basil I.* restores laws of *Justinian*, viii., 430 *sq.*; land legislation of, 437; naval improvements of, ix., 406.  
*Basil II.*, land legislation of, viii., 436, 438-9 *note*.  
*Basilica*, collection of laws, viii., 430.  
*Basiliscus*, tyrant, vi., 346 and *note*.  
*Basina*, vi., 362.  
*Bassus*, *Pomponius*, corrector *Italix*, ii., 355.  
*Bastarnæ*, the, iii., 440.  
*Batiffol*, P., ii., 366.  
*Baur*, on the early episcopate, ii., 368.  
*Baybars*, Sultan, ix., 397.  
*Bede*, Venerable, vi., 365; *History of*, viii., 413.  
*Bedjan*; *Acta Martyrum*, iv., 341.  
*Belgica*, province, i., 314.  
*Belisarius*, vi., 348, 350.  
*Belser*, J., iii., 420.  
*Benedict* of *Peterborough*, ix., 394.  
*Benjamin*, C., vi., 363.  
*Berezin*, J. N., xi., 328.  
*Berge*, De la, i., 312.  
*Bernard* the *Treasurer*, ix., 394.  
*Bessel*, on *Claudian*, iv., 349.  
*Bessarabia*, x., 396.  
*Bestuzhev-Rūmin*, ix., 387; x., 402.  
*Bethman*, L., viii., 414.  
*Bezmér*, *Bulgarian King*, x., 391.  
*Bieliaiev*, D. T., iii., 421; on "*De Ceremoniis*," ix., 382.

- Bilādhurī, Al-, viii., 417.  
 Bilāmi, Mohammad, viii., 417.  
 Binding, C., iv., 355.  
 Birt, Th., iv., 348 *sq.*; on Radagaisus' invasions, v., 369 *sq.*  
 Bithynia, province, i., 315.  
 Blasiis, G. de, ix., 398.  
 Blemmydes, Nicephorus, ix., 385.  
 Blemmyes, the, vii., 402.  
 Böcking, ed. of Not. Dign., iii., 425.  
 Bogomils, x., 389 *sq.*  
 Bohadin, *see* Bahā ad-Dīn.  
 Boissier, G., ii., 361.  
 Boniface, Count, relations to Aetius, v., 374 *sqq.*  
*Book of the Conquest* [of Morea], ix., 386.  
 Boor, C. de, on the Anon. Contin. of Dion, ii., 357; on Eastern bishops, iii., 446; on Eunapius, iv., 345; on John of Antioch, vi., 356; on George Monachus, x., 388.  
 Blatno, Methodius at, x., 397.  
 Bizya in Thrace, Abbot Maximus at, viii., 399.  
 Boccaccio, xi., 332.  
 Bolgary, village of, x., 392.  
 Boleslaw the Chaste, xi., 337.  
 Bologna, law school at, viii., 431.  
 Boniface of Montferrat, ix., 395.  
 Bonwetsch, x., 398.  
 Bordeaux, iv., 347.  
 Borghesi, i., 320.  
 Boris and Gleb, ix., 387.  
 Boris, Bulgarian prince, conversion of, x., 398.  
 Borries, E. von, ii., 364.  
 Bose, A., iv., 347.  
 Bosphorus (Crimean), vii., 397; ix., 405.  
 Bostra, in Arabia, i., 312.  
 Bouillon, Godfrey of, x., 404.  
 Bourbon, House of, Gibbon's reference to, vi., 366.  
 Brandt, i., 310; on the de Mort. Persec., ii., 357 *sq.*  
 Braun, H., vi., 351.  
 Breslau, Mongols at, xi., 337.  
 Bretschneider, vii., 392; xi., 329.  
 Brieger, on Constantine's religion, iii., 443 *sq.*  
 Britain, conquest of, i., 311; colonies of, 312; Hadrian in, *ib.*; militia in, 313; province, 315; diocese of, iii., 429; Saxon conquest of, iv., 352; Scots in, 355-6; Carausius II. in, v., 371; tyrants in, 371 *sq.*; Saxon conquest of, vi., 365.  
 Broadribb and Besant, History of Constantinople, xii., 217.  
 Broglie, A. de, iii., 421.  
 Brooks, E. W., vi., 355; ix., 380.  
 Brückner, M., vi., 348, 351.  
 Bryce, Jas., vi., 363.  
 Brythons, the, iv., 356.  
 Bucellarian theme, ix., 401.  
 Buchon, J. A., ix., 386; x., 333.  
 Büdinger, i., 308; ii., 363.  
 Bulgaria, Black, ix., 405.  
 Bulgaria, White, Paulicianism in, ix., 389, 391; list of princes of, 393; extension of, north of Danube, 395 *sq.*; conversion of, 397.  
 Bulgarians, were they Kotrigurs? vii., 395; relation to Avar empire, viii., 420; early history of, x., 391 *sqq.*  
 Burckhardt, J., ii., 367, 369; iii., 443.  
 Burdigala, iv., 348.  
 Burgundians, ii., 356.  
 Bury, J. B., on a passage in Ammianus, ii., 363; on position of Hebdomon, iii., 422; on Praxagoras, 436 *sq.*; on a passage in Chron. Pasch., 438 *note*; on *Vita Artemii*, 439; on battle of Singara, 440; on Stilicho's designs, v., 366; on Radagaisus, v., 369 *sq.*; on the Nika riot, vii., 390; on an oracle in Procopius, 395; on origin of Turks, 398 *sq.*; viii., 419, 429; on themes, ix., 400, 403; on early Bulgarian kings, x., 394; on Omortag's inscription, *ib.* *sq.*  
 Butyras, J., viii., 398.  
 Byzantios, Sk. D., iii., 421.  
 CAESIA, battle of, ix., 378.  
 Cæcilius Firmianus, L., ii., 359.  
 Cæsarea (in Cappadocia), *see* of Armenian Church dependent on, iii., 442.  
 Cæsarius ("Typhos"), v., 377.  
 Cafaro of Genoa, ix., 393.  
 Cagliari, seals of, ix., 403.  
 Calchi, xi., 336.  
 Callistus Andronicus, Monody of, xii., 217.  
 Camalodunum, i., 312.  
 Cananus, John, xi., 328.

- Candia, xi., 336, *see* Crete.  
 Candidus, historian, vi., 346.  
 Cantacusino, Spandugino, on siege of Constantinople, xii., 217.  
 Canterbury, mentioned by Constantine Porph., iii., 439.  
 Capito, the Lycian, vi., 346.  
 Capitolinus, *see* Julius Capitolinus.  
 Cappadocia, province, i., 315; theme of, ix., 403.  
 Capture of Constantinople, anonymous Greek poem, xii., 215.  
 Caracalla, law of citizenship of, vii., 405.  
 Carausius I., tyrant, iv., 355.  
 Carausius II., tyrant, v., 371 *sq.*  
 Carcasan, vii., 403.  
 Caria, province of, ix., 400.  
 Carpathos, xi., 336.  
 Carpi, the, iii., 440.  
 Carpoetrans, Gnostic sect, ii., 367.  
 Carrière, A., i., 320; iii., 441.  
 Carystos, xi., 335.  
 Casanova, M., ix., 375.  
 Cassino, Monte, Paul the Deacon at, viii., 413.  
 Cassiodorus, Gothic History of, ii., 350; career and works, vi., 358 *sq.*  
 Castinus, v., 376.  
 Castricia, v., 377 *note*.  
 Cassius Dio Cocceianus, notice of, i., 305; on Hadrian, 313.  
 Catacombs, the, iii., 417-8.  
 Catalan Grand Company, ix., 396; xi., 332.  
 Catherine of Valois, Empress of Romania, xi., 331.  
 Catholic Patriarch, title of chief of the Nestorians, viii., 426.  
 Cecaumenos, his Strategikon, viii., 407.  
 Cedrenus, George, Candidus a source of, vi., 346; synopsis of, viii., 410.  
 Cefalonia, xi., 333.  
 Celsus, tyrant, ii., 354.  
 Censorship of Augustus, i., 318.  
 Ceos, xi., 334.  
 Cephallenia, theme of, ix., 401; seals of, 402 *note*; *see* Cefalonia.  
 Cerealis, Petillius, i., 311.  
 Cerealis, Governor of Cyrenaica, iv., 345.  
 Cerigo, ix., 334.  
 Cerigotto, ix., 334.  
 Ceuleneer, A. de, i., 311.  
 Chachanov, A. S., vi., 354 *note*.  
 Chalatzianz, on Zenob., iii., 441 *sq.*  
 Chalcondyles, Laonicus, xi., 327.  
 Chaleb, King of Axum, vi., 401.  
 Châlons, battle of, where fought, vi., 345 *sq.*  
 Champollion-Figeac, *ed.* of Amatus, ix., 388.  
 Charles the Great, receives Paul the Deacon, viii., 413; receives keys of St. Peter, 444.  
 Charles Martel, keys of St. Peter sent to, viii., 444.  
 Charsianon, theme of, ix., 403.  
 Chazaria, ix., 404.  
 Chazars, mission to the, x., 397.  
 Chelidromi, xi., 335.  
 Chenoboscium, vi., 364.  
 Cherson, vii., 397; "duke" of, 398; ix., 406; mission of Constantine at, x., 397.  
 Chersonites, their relations with the Patzinaks, ix., 404.  
 Chesney, General, iii., 440.  
 Childeric, vi., 362.  
 China, commerce of, with Roman Empire, vii., 392 *sq.*  
 Chinese Annals, iv., 357 *sq.*; xi., 329.  
 Chinese inscription, *see* Si-ngan-fu.  
 Chios, xi., 335.  
 Chlodwig, vi., 362 *sq.*  
 Chlotachar I., vi., 362.  
 Chosroes I., viii., 398.  
 Chosroes II., viii., 398.  
 Chosrov I., of Armenia, iii., 442.  
 Chosrov II., of Armenia, iii., 442.  
 Chosrov of Persarmenia, v., 374.  
 Christ, W., ii., 362.  
 Christians, number of, in empire in third century A.D., ii., 369; persecutions of, in first and second centuries, iii., 418 *sqq.*; under Diocletian, 420; under Constantine, 444 *sq.*  
*Chronica Gallica*, iv., 352 *sq.*; vi., 362.  
*Chronica Italica*, iv., 353; vi., 360 *sq.*  
 Chronicle of Constantinople, iv., 353; vi., 360.  
 Chronicle of A.D. 354, *see* Anonymous.  
 Chronicle of Cassiodorus, i., 310; vi., 359.  
 Chronicle of Edessa, vi., 356.  
*Chronicon Alexandrinum*, *see* Eutychius.  
*Chronicon Cuspiniani*, i., 310; iv., 352.



- Chronicon Imperiale* (Gibbon's "Prosper Tiro"), iv., 352.
- Chronicon breve Nortmannicum*, ix., 389.
- Chronicon Paschale*, relation to Idatius, ii., 365; on a passage in (p. 532, ed. Bonn), iii., 438 *note*; account of, viii., 398.
- Chronicon Piihoeanum* = *Chronicon Imperiale*.
- Chronicon Terrae Sanctae*, ix., 394.
- Chronographer of A.D. 354, i., 310, 320.
- Chronology of 238 A.D., i., 320; world eras, ii., 368.
- Chrysostom, John, Palladius on, iv., 345.
- Chwolsohn, on Sabianism, ix., 375.
- Cibyrrhaet theme, ix., 401; shipbuilding in, 408.
- Cilicia, province, i., 315.
- Cimolos, xi., 335.
- Cinnamus, John, historian, viii., 409.
- Cipolla, C., vi., 358.
- Circus factions, vii., 389 *sq.*
- Clary, Robert de, his works, ix., 395.
- Claudian, poet, iv., 348 *sq.*; on Radagaisus, v., 369 *sq.*
- Claudian, brother of Maximus the philosopher, iv., 348.
- Clement, St., of Bulgaria, Life of, x., 389.
- Clement I., Pope, remains of, discovered, x., 397.
- Clement V., Pope, ix., 398.
- Clement of Drenoviza, x., 398.
- Clinton, i., 311, 320; viii., 419.
- Clisurarchies*, ix., 403.
- Code of Justinian, Greek form of, viii., 430.
- Codinus, George, works of, ix., 383.
- Cohen, i., 318; ii., 353.
- Cohortes, iii., 432.
- Coinage, under Constantine, iii., 435; Saracen, ix., 399.
- Coloni*, viii., 436.
- Colonies, definition of, i., 316 *sq.*
- Comet of A.D. 531, vii., 405.
- Comitatenses*, iii., 432 *sq.*
- Comites*, iii., 424; of Domestics, 434.
- Commerce, condition of, in eighth century, viii., 440.
- Comparetti, D., vi., 353.
- Concubinage, law concerning, viii., 431.
- Consiliarius*, vi., 348.
- Consilium* of Hadrian, iii., 424.
- Consistorium*, iii., 424.
- Constans I., his share in the empire, iii., 438 *sq.*
- Constantia, sister of Constantine I., iii., 436.
- Constantine I., the Great, letter against Arius, ii., 366; forum of, iii., 421; his organisation of the empire, 422 *sq.*; military reforms, 432 *sqq.*; treatment of Fausta and Crispus, 435 *sq.*; divisions of empire under, 436 *sq.*; religion of, 443 *sqq.*; churches of, at Jerusalem, iii., 342; land legislation under, viii., 436 *sq.*
- Constantine II., share in the empire, iii., 438 *sq.*
- Constantine VII. (Porphyrogenitus), on the partition of A.D. 338, iii., 439; viii., 401 *note*; suggests history of Genesis, 404; organises continuation of Theophanes, 405; law of, concerning inheritance, 433; novel of, 438 *note*; De Ceremoniis, ix., 382; treatise of, on themes, 402; on administration, 403; on the Dnieper rapids, x., 402 *sq.*
- Constantine IX., founds a university, viii., 406; founds law school at Constantinople, 431; drives the Paulicians out of Armenia, x., 390.
- Constantine, apostle of the Slavs, *see* Cyril.
- Constantine, Bishop of Nacolia, viii., 443.
- Constantine Kaballinos, viii., 400.
- Constantine, son of Emperor Manuel, xi., 327.
- Constantine, tyrant in Britain and Gaul, his career, v., 371 *sq.*
- Constantinople, topography of (especially Augusteum and Forum of Constantine), iii., 421 *sq.*; great Palace of, *ib.*; Forum Bovis, *ib.*; Forum Tauri, *ib.*; Forum Amastrianorum, *ib.*; Chalkoprateia, *ib.*; Senate house in the Augusteum, *ib.*; the Mesè, *ib.*; Hippodrome, *ib.*; Milestone, *ib.*; Golden Gate, *ib.*; the Zeuxippus, *ib.*; Churches of S. Sophia, S. Constantine, S. Mary of the Forum, the Theotokos, *ib.*; site of the Hebdomon, *ib.*; Palace of Lausus, v., 367; names of buildings burned in Nika riot,

- vii., 391; fire in reign of Leo I., vi., 346; St. Sophia injured, 350 *note*; demes of, vii., 389 *sq.*; siege of, in A.D. 626, viii., 397; synod of, in A.D. 680, *ib.*; in A.D. 920, 432; siege of, by Saracens, 397; Bulgarian siege of, A.D. 815, 403; university at, founded by Constantine IX., 406; law school at, 431; the Phiale at, ix., 406; degeneration of people of, xii., 215.
- Constantius I., Chlorus, German campaigns of, ii., 356; in Britain, iii., 429 *note*; share in the empire, 436; legend concerning, 446.
- Constantius II., share in the empire, iii., 437 *sq.*
- Constitution of Roman Empire, i., 317 *sq.*
- Consularis, vir*, i., 318.
- Continuator of Dion, anonymous, i., 306.
- Continuator, Havniensis, of Prosper, *see* Prosper.
- Conybeare, F. C., on the Paulicians, x., 390.
- Corfu, xi., 333.
- Corinth, bishop at, ii., 369; under Nicholas Acciajoli, xi., 332.
- Corippus, vi., 360 *sq.*; vii., 403 *sq.*
- Cornet, E., xii., 215.
- Corrector Italia*, ii., 355 *sq.*
- Corsica, province, i., 314; territorial rights of the Church in, viii., 443-4.
- Cosmas, Sicilian monk, viii., 399.
- Council of Arles (A.D. 316), date of, iii., 446.
- Council of Orleans (A.D. 511), vi., 362.
- Cracow, taken by Mongols, xi., 337.
- Credit, defective system of, viii., 439 *sq.*
- Crete, province of, i., 316; expeditions to, in tenth century, ix., 407; Venetian, xi., 335.
- Crimea, Onogurs, Kotrigurs, Goths in, vii., 396-7.
- Criminal law, viii., 433.
- Crispus, son of Constantine, taught by Lactantius, ii., 358.
- Critobulus of Imbros, his history of Mohammed II., xi., 328.
- Crivellucci, A., on Eusebius, ii., 360.
- Croatians, ix., 405.
- Cross, finding of true, iv., 341.
- Cruithnig (= Scots), iv., 356.
- Crum (or Crumn), x., 395.
- Crusade, Fourth, ix., 395.
- Cumans, revolt of the, xi., 338.
- Cumont, F., ii., 361; vi., 346.
- Cunimund, viii., 413.
- Cuq, E., iii., 425.
- Cura*, viii., 433.
- Cusina, vii., 403 *sq.*
- Cyclades, province of, ix., 400.
- Cyprus, province of, i., 315; ix., 400; account of, by Constantine Porph., 406; Assizes of, x., 404.
- Cyrene, iv., 345.
- Cyriac of Gantzac (Guiragos), ix., 398.
- Cyriades, i., 351 *sq.*; a tyrant, 352.
- Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius, Lives of, ix., 387; mission of, to the Slavs, x., 397 *sqq.*
- Cyrillic alphabet, x., 397.
- Cythera, *see* Cerigo.
- Cythnos, xi., 334.
- Czwalina, L., iii., 425.
- DACIA, of Trajan, and Ripensis, i., 312; militia in, 313; three divisions of, 315.
- Dacia, diocese of, iii., 425, 428.
- Dacian war, first, of Trajan, i., 312.
- Dacicus, title of Trajan, i., 312.
- Dahmen, ix., 443 *note*.
- Dahn, F., ii., 349; iv., 355; on Procopius, vi., 348 *sqq.*, 363.
- Dalmatia, province, i., 315; designs of Alaric on, v., 366; annexed to East Illyricum, *ib.*; strategos of, ix., 402; account of, by Constantine Porph., 405.
- Dalmatius, *see* Delmatius.
- Damascus, capture of, ix., 378.
- Damasus, Pope, iii., 417.
- Damian, King of Homerites, vii., 401.
- Daras, vi., 357; vii., 403.
- Darmarios, Greek copyist, viii., 404 *note*.
- Darmesteter, J., i., 322.
- Débidour, A., vi., 353.
- De Boor, Professor C., viii., 404.
- Decebalus, i., 312.
- Decius, Emperor, founder (?) of Protectores, iii., 434.
- Degrees of relationship, laws concerning, viii., 431.
- Delacourt, Peigné, viii., 431.
- Delarc, O., ix., 388, 398.

- Delmatius, his share in division of empire, A.D. 335, iii., 438.
- Delos, xi., 334.
- Demes of Constantinople, vii., 389 *sq.*
- Democrats of Blues and Greens, vii., 390.
- Dessau, i., 309.
- Destunis, G. S., iii., 422; xi., 328.
- Dethier, A., xii., 217.
- Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, ix., 395 *sq.*
- Dexippus, used by Zosimus, ii., 365.
- Dhû-Novas, vii., 401.
- Diadem, imperial, iii., 423.
- Diamond mine of Soumelpour, i., 317.
- Diataxis, viii., 407 *note.*
- Dicalidones, the, iv., 356.
- Diehl, C., vi., 363; ix., 400, 403.
- Dierauer, i., 312.
- Digisene, viii., 423.
- Dînr*, ix., 399.
- Dindorf, text of Dion Cassius, i., 305.
- Dioceses of Asturia and Gallaecia (216 A.D.), i., 316; introduced by Diocletian, iii., 425; list of, *ib. sqq.*
- Dioclea, ix., 405.
- Diocletian, German campaigns of, ii., 356; tariff, monetary reforms of, *ib.*; persecutions of, iii., 420; organisation of empire by, 422 *sq.*; dioceses instituted by, 424 *sq.*; military organisation, 432; division of empire A.D. 293, 436 *sq.*
- Dion Cassius, *see* Cassius Dio; Anon. continuator of, *see* Anonymus.
- Dionysius of Alexandria, letter of, iii., 442.
- Dionysius Exiguus, vi., 365.
- Dionysius of Tellmahrê, viii., 418 and *note*; chronicle of, 396.
- Dirhem*, Saracen coin, ix., 399.
- Diptunes, Cæsar, Tib. Jul., vii., 398 *note.*
- Divorce, laws of the Church concerning, viii., 432.
- Dizabul, vii., 399 *sq.*
- Dnieper, waterfalls of the, x., 402 *sq.*
- Dodu, G., ix., 398; x., 403.
- Döllinger, viii., 444; x., 389.
- Domestici*, iii., 434 *sq.*; counts of, 434.
- D'Ohsson, Mouradja, on Ottoman Empire, xi., 331.
- Dolphin, Zorzi, xii., 217.
- Dominus*, imperial title, iii., 423.
- Domitian, persecution of Christians, iii., 419.
- Domitilla, iii., 419.
- Donatists, and Constantine the Great, iii., 446.
- Donatus, *De mortibus* dedicated to, i., 311; ii., 358.
- Dorotheus, his translation of the Digest, viii., 430.
- Dos* (dowry), viii., 431.
- Douglas, R. K., Life of Jinghiz Khân, xi., 330.
- Dovin, viii., 423; council of, 398.
- Dragoviči, x., 390.
- Dräseke, J., ii., 361.
- Drexler, i., 321.
- Drungarius*, ix., 407.
- Ducas, historian, xi., 327.
- Ducas, Michael, xi., 327.
- Ducatus Romæ*, viii., 444.
- Ducenarii*, members of council, iii., 425; protectors, 434.
- Duchesne, Abbé, iii., 446; vii., 402 *sq.*; his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, viii., 411; on letters of Gregory II., 441; on rise of papal power, 444.
- Dudley, the, viii., 420.
- Dulaurier, ix., 398.
- Dunaan, *see* Dhû-Novas.
- Duncker, A., i., 311.
- Dürr, J., i., 313.
- Duruy, i., 311.
- EBERT, ii., 357.
- Eburacum (York), i., 312.
- Ecdicius, vi., 357.
- Eckhardt, H., vi., 353 *sq.*
- Eckhel, i., 318, 320; ii., 353.
- Eclipse of the sun, noticed by Theophanes, viii., 429.
- Ecloga, viii., 430; criminal law of, 434.
- Edessa, ii., 351; inundation of, vi., 350; history of, by Josua, 356; account of, by Fulcher of Chartres, ix., 391.
- Egypt, diocese of, iii., 425, 426; persecution in, iv., 354 *sq.*; monasticism in, vi., 363 *sq.*; occupation by Nicetas, viii., 423; conquest of, ix., 379 *sq.*; relations with Venice, ix., 395.
- Eichel, J., vi., 353.
- Ekkehard of Aura, ix., 392.
- Ektag, vii., 399.
- Ektel, vii., 399.

- Ekthesis Chronike*, xi., 328.  
 Elba, island, viii., 421.  
 Elesbaas, vii., 401.  
 Eleusis, Goths at, v., 367.  
 Elias and Ross, their translation of Mirza-Haidar, xi., 329.  
 Emesa, Zenobia defeated at, ii., 354.  
 Encratites, Gnostic sect, ii., 367.  
 Engel, x., 396.  
 Ennodius, vi., 358.  
*Epanagoge*, viii., 431.  
 Ephraem Syrus, ii., 366.  
 Epiphanius of Cyprus, ix., 382.  
 Epiphanius, Bishop of Ticinum, vi., 358.  
 Epiphanius, collaborator in *Hist. Tripart.*, vi., 359.  
 Epirus, i., 315.  
 Episcopate, origin of, ii., 368 sq.  
 Eras of the world (Roman, Antiochene, etc.), ii., 368; Roman or Byzantine, viii., 397.  
 Ernoul, ix., 394.  
 Esegel, Bulgarian tribe of, x., 400.  
 Esimphaeus, vii., 401.  
 Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius, v., 377 sq.  
 Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III., iv., 351 sq., v., 366.  
 Eugippius, vi., 358.  
 Eumenius of Augustodunum, i., 309.  
 Eunapius, ii., 364 sq.; iii., 439; mutilated edit. of, iv., 345.  
 Eupaterios, Duke of Cherson, vii., 398 and note.  
 Euphemius, revolt of, viii., 405.  
 Euphrates, course of, iv., 343.  
 Eusebius of Caesarea, his works, ii., 359; a source of Socrates, 366; on edict of Antoninus, iii., 417; on conversion of Armenia, 442; on religion of Constantine, 445.  
 Eusebius, Bishop of Rome, iii., 417 sq.  
 Eustathius of Antioch, ii., 366.  
 Eustathius of Epiphania, vi., 347.  
 Eustathius of Thessalonica, ix., 383 sq.  
 Eutharic Cillica, vi., 359.  
 Eutropius, historian, i., 310; in the *Hist. Misc.*, iv., 353 sq.; Greek transl. of, vi., 346; History of, edited by Paul the Deacon, viii., 413.  
 Eutropius, eunuch, v., 377.  
 Eutychanus, on Julian's Persian war, ii., 365.  
 Eutychiu, Alexandrine chronicle of, iii., 439; viii., 418.  
 Evagrius, vi., 346 sq., 355 sq.; vii., 389; account of, viii., 396.  
 Evans, A. J., v., 371.  
 Ewald, Paul, on letters of Pope Gregory, viii., 412.  
*Exarchs*, of Italy and Africa, vii., 404.  
 Excerpts, of Theodorus Lector, viii., 401-2.  
*Excubitores*, iii., 433.  
 Executors, testamentary, viii., 433.  
*Expeditio contra Turcos*, ix., 390.  
 Ezerites, ix., 406.  
 FALCANDUS, Hugo, History of, ix., 389.  
 Falco, ix., 389.  
 Falconi, Nicolas, ix., 398.  
 Fallmerayer, on the Hellenes, x., 391 note.  
*Fasti Vindobonenses*, iv., 353.  
 Fausta, ii., 360, 365; iii., 435 sqq.  
 Faustus of Byzantium, i., 320; character of his work and sources, iii., 441 sqq.  
 Fertig, on Ennodius, vi., 358.  
 Festus (Rufus), i., 310; ii., 357; a passage in (*Brev.*, 27), iii., 440.  
 Fihl, battle of, ix., 379.  
 Finlay, G., on Justinian's coinage, vii., 394; on the Acciajoli, xi., 331 sq.; *History of Greece*, xii., 217.  
*Fiscus*, i., 319.  
 Flavius Clemens, iii., 419.  
 Flavius Vopiscus, writer of *Hist. Aug.*, i., 306 sqq.  
 Florence, Acciajoli at, xi., 331; San Lorenzo, 332 note.  
*Fæderati*, in army, iii., 433.  
 Förster, R., on Libanius, ii., 362.  
 Fortrenn, iv., 356.  
 Frähn, C. M., x., 392 note.  
 Fredegarius, viii., 414.  
 Freeman, E. A., on tyrant Constantine, v., 371 sq.; on Aetius and Boniface, 374 sq.; on Saxon conquest of Britain, vi., 366.  
 Frexenses, the, vii., 403.  
 Frick, C., ii., 366.  
 Friedländer, i., 311; ii., 369.  
 Friedrich, viii., 444; x., 388.  
 Frigeridus, *see* Renatus.  
 Fritigern, iv., 359.

- Froehner, i., 312.  
 Frontinus, i., 312.  
 Frumentius, apostle of Ethiopians, iv., 355.  
 Fulcher of Chartres, account of, ix., 391.  
 Fulco, account of the First Crusade, ix., 391 *sq.*  
 Fu-lin, vii., 393.  
*Futhorc*, the, vi., 365.
- GAISERIC, iv., 351.  
 Galatia, province, i., 315.  
 Galicia, Avars in, viii., 421.  
 Galla Placidia, iv., 351.  
 Gallia Narbonenses, province, i., 314.  
 Galliae, Diocese of, iii., 425, 429.  
 Gallienus, Emperor, prevents senators from serving in army, iii., 434.  
 Gardner, Miss A., ii., 361.  
 Gardthausen, ii., 364.  
 Gasmul, ix., 385.  
 Gattulus, the, of Lesbos, send Ducas to the sultan, xi., 327.  
 Gaudentius, iv., 351.  
 Gauderic, Bishop of Velletri, x., 397 *note*.  
 Gaul, Diocese of, *see* Galliae; provinces under Diocletian, iii., 429.  
 Gedeonov, x., 402.  
 Gelasius, Pope, iii., 341.  
 Gelzer, H., on Sextus Julius Africanus, ii., 359; on Armenian History, iii., 441 *sqq.*; on Eastern bishops, 446; on John of Antioch, vi., 356 and *note*; on demes, vii., 390; on Michael Syrus, viii., 418; sketch of Byzantine history, 419; on George Cyprius, 423.  
 Gemoll, A., i., 309.  
 Gems, trade in, vii., 393.  
 Genesis, Joseph, Imperial History of, viii., 404.  
 Gennadius, Continuator of Jerom De V. Ill., vi., 360.  
 Gennadius, exarch of Africa, vii., 404.  
 Genunians, iv., 356.  
 Geoffrey Malaterra, ix., 389.  
 George the Cypriote, viii., 422.  
 George the Monk, chronicle of, viii., 403; ix., 387; x., 387 *sq.*  
 George Pisides, on Persian wars of Heraclius, viii., 397.  
 George, St., identity of, iv., 341 *sq.*
- George the syncellus, his chronicle, viii., 401.  
 Geougen, iv., 358; vii., 399.  
 Gepids, the, viii., 420.  
 Germania Secunda, incorporation of, ii., 356.  
 Germanica, superior and inferior, provinces, i., 314.  
 Germanus, Patriarch, Life of, viii., 403, 442.  
 Gesoriacum, taken by Constantius, ii., 356.  
*Gesta Francorum*, author of, ix., 390.  
*Gesta Henrici II. et Ricardi I.*, ix., 394.  
*Gelica* of Jordanes, ii., 349.  
 Gfrörer, viii., 419; ix., 406.  
 Giesebrecht, ix., 389.  
 Gieseler, x., 387.  
 Gildas, vi., 366.  
 Gilo of Toucy, ix., 392.  
 Ginzel, J. A., x., 398.  
 Glagolitic alphabet, x., 397.  
 Glevum, i., 312.  
 Gleye, C. E., v., 375 *note*; vi., 355.  
 Glubokovski, N., ii., 367.  
 Glycas, Michael, viii., 411.  
 Glyceria, St., island, John Zonaras at, viii., 410.  
 Gnosticism, theories on origin of, ii., 367.  
 Goeje, Professor de, viii., 416, 444; ix., 376.  
 Goetz, L. K., x., 398.  
 Gold, in Arabia, ix., 375.  
 Gordas, x., 401, *see* Grod.  
 Görres, F., on date of De Mort. Pers., ii., 358; on persecutions of third century, iii., 420; on Vita Artemii, 436; on Younger Licinius, *ib.*; on St. George, iv., 341 *sq.*  
 Gothic alphabet, vi., 365.  
 Gothic Weihnachtspiel, ix., 382 *note*.  
 Goths, origin of, ii., 349; history of, *ib.*, *sq.*; division of, 351; pacification of, by Theodosius, iv., 359; under Alaric, v., 365; in Greece, 367; of the Crimea, vii., 396; Tetraxite, 397.  
 Gran, capture of, by Mongols, xi., 337.  
 Gratian, Emperor, iv., 346 *sq.*  
 Greek fire, ix., 406, 408 *sq.*  
 Greek language supersedes Latin, viii., 430.

- Green, J. R., vi., 366.  
 Gregoras, Niccphorus, *see* Nicephorus.  
 Gregorovius, F., v., 367; viii., 419; ix., 398 *sq.*  
 Gregory the Great, Pope, Letters of, viii., 412, 444.  
 Gregory II., Letters of, viii., 440; policy of, 443.  
 Gregory, Illuminator, Life of, iii., 441; Apocalypse of, *ib.*; consecration of, 442.  
 Gregory Magistros, x., 390.  
 Gregory Nazianzen, his will, vii., 405.  
 Gregory Nyssen, on theological subtleties in Constantinople, v., 363; on relics, 365.  
 Gregory, presbyter, Bulgarian (tenth century), vi., 354.  
 Gregory of Tours, vi., 362 *sq.*; *Historia Francorum* of, viii., 413.  
 Grosvenor, E. A., iii., 422.  
 Grod, King, vii., 397.  
 Grützmacher, on Pachomius, vi., 364.  
 Guest, Origines Celticæ, vi., 366.  
 Guibert, Abbot of Nogent, ix., 391.  
 Guiragos Gandsaketsi, xi., 330; *see* Cyriac.  
 Guldenpenning, A., ii., 366-7; iv., 345, 355, 376.  
 Gundlach, W., vi., 353.  
 Gutschmid, A. von, i., 321; emendation in Ammianus, ii., 363; on Agathangelos, iii., 441.  
 Guyard, S., iv., 343.  
 Gwatkin, Mr. H. M., ii., 366.  
 Gyaros, xi., 334.  
 Gycia, ix., 406.  
*Hadith*, viii., 414.  
 Hadrian, Emperor, policy of, i., 312; rescript concerning the Christians, iii., 418 *sq.*  
 Hadrian II., Pope, ordains Cyril and Methodius, x., 397.  
 Hadrianus, Rufinus Synesius, iv., 348.  
 Hagenmeyer, H., ix., 391.  
 Haidar, Mirza, xi., 329.  
 Haithon, Armenian Prince, visits Mongolia, xi., 330.  
 Haithon, Monk of Prémontzé, xi., 330.  
 Haitum, ix., 398.  
 Halcomb, Mr., on Synesius, iv., 345.  
 Hallier, L., vi., 356.  
 Hamât, in Syria, ix., 398.  
 Hamilton, F. J., vi., 357.  
 Hanan Jesus, Patriarch, viii., 426.  
 Hannibalianus, share in the empire A.D. 335, iii., 438.  
 Hardy, E. G., i., 314; iii., 418.  
 Harmonius, son of Taurus, v., 376.  
 Harnack, Ad., ii., 367; iii., 417; vi., 364.  
 Harris, J. Rendel, iv., 341.  
 Hartmann, M., on Byzantine rule in Italy, viii., 419.  
 Haruspices, under Constantine, iii., 445.  
 Hatch, Dr., on the Episcopate, iii., 369.  
 Hatzidakês, G. N., x., 410.  
 Haury, J., vi., 348 *sq.*, 351; vii., 389.  
 Haverfield, F., iv., 356.  
 Haythonus, *see* Haitum.  
 Hebdomon, site of, near Constantinople, iii., 422.  
 Hecker, on Julian, ii., 364.  
 Hefele, on the Iconoclastic edicts of Leo, viii., 442.  
 Hegel, C., viii., 419.  
 Heimbach, W. E., viii., 435.  
 Heinemann, L. von, ix., 398.  
 Heinrich, A., vi., 356.  
 Heisenberg, A., on Acropolites, ix., 384; ed. of Blemmydes, 385.  
 Helena, St., iv., 341.  
 Helenopontus, viii., 423.  
 Heliopolis, old customs at, vii., 405; battle of, ix., 380.  
 Hellas, theme of, ix., 401 *sq.*  
 Heraclius, Emperor, his race with Nicetas, viii., 423 *sq.*; confused with Heraclonas, ix., 380; his alliance with the Bulgarians, x., 391.  
 Hergenrother, J., on Photius, ix., 381.  
 Herodian, his history, i., 306.  
 Herodotus, imitated by Procopius, vi., 351.  
 Hertz, on Ammianus, ii., 364.  
 Hertzberg, H., vi., 362.  
 Hertzberg, G. F., viii., 419.  
 Herzog, i., 318.  
 Heskell, A., ix., 389.  
 Hesperius, iv., 347.  
 Hesychius Illustris, historian, vi., 347.  
 Hesychius of Jerusalem, ii., 367.  
 Heydenreich, on legends of Constantine the Great, iii., 446.  
 Hilarion, Palestinian monk, vi., 365.  
 Hilgenfeld, on Gnosticism, ii., 367.  
 Hille, G., iv., 353 *note*.

- Hillger, F., ix., 389.  
 Hippolytus of Rome, World Chronicle of, ii., 359; Liber Generationis of, viii., 413-4.  
 Hirsch, F., viii., 404; ix., 388.  
 Hirschfeld, O., i., 318.  
 Hirth, F., vii., 392.  
 Hispania citerior or Tarraconensis, i., 314.  
 Hissellum, Inscription of, iii., 443.  
*Historia Augusta*, account of, i., 306 *sqq.*  
*Historia Belli Sacri*, ix., 390.  
*Historia Miscella*, iv., 353 *sq.*; viii., 413.  
 Hiung-Nu, the, iv., 357; vii., 398.  
 Hodgkin, Mr., ii., 349 *sq.*, 363; on Notit. Dign., iii., 425; on Salvian, iv., 354 *sqq.*, 369; on Radagaisus' invasions, v., 369; on Boniface and Aetius, 374 *sq.*; on Maximus and Valentinian, *ib.*; on Cassiodorus, vi., 359, 362; on Gregory the Great, viii., 413; on letters of Gregory II., 441.  
 Hoeck, i., 311.  
 Hofner, i., 311.  
 Holdér, O., iv., 341.  
 Holder-Egger, O., iv., 352 *note.*  
 Honorias, province, iii., 424, 427; viii., 423.  
 Honorius, Emperor, cause of death, iv., 353.  
 Hopf, K., viii., 419; x., 391 *note.*; xi., 333, 336; xii., 217.  
 Hormizd III., iv., 357.  
 Howorth, Sir H., on the Huns, iv., 357 *sq.*; on the Avars, viii., 421 *note.*  
 Hubert, M. H., viii., 429.  
 Hugo of Burgundy, ix., 405.  
 Hundertmark, i., 311.  
 Huneric, iv., 351.  
 Hunfalvy, x., 396.  
 Hungarians, relations with the Patznaks, ix., 404; account of, by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 405; early history of, x., 398 *sqq.*  
 Hungary, Avars in, viii., 419 *sq.*; invasion of, by Subutai, xi., 337.  
 Huns, the, origin of, iv., 357 *sq.*  
 Hunziker, on Diocletian's persecution, iii., 420.  
 Hutton, Rev. W. H., on Aphthartodocetism of Justinian, viii., 427.  
 Hydatius, *see* Idatius.  
 Hypatia, iv., 345 *note.*
- IAUDAS, vii., 404.  
 Ibelin, John, x., 404.  
 Iberians (Caucasians), ix., 405.  
 Ibn Abd-al-Hakam, viii., 417.  
 Ibn al-Athir, ix., 397.  
 Ibn Foslan, Arabic traveller, x., 392.  
 Ibn Hishâm, viii., 415 *sq.*  
 Ibn Ishâk, viii., 415 *sq.*  
 Ibn Khallikân, ix., 397.  
 Ibn Khordadbeh, ix., 403.  
 Ibn Kutaiba, viii., 417.  
 Ibn Mukaffa, viii., 417.  
 Ibn Rusta, x., 398.  
 Ibn Sad, viii., 415.  
 Ibn Serapion, iv., 343.  
 Icaria, xi., 336.  
 Iconoclastic Synod, viii., 429.  
 Idatius, Fasti of, ii., 365 *sq.*  
 Ifsidaia, vii., 403.  
 Ifland, J., iv., 355, 359.  
 Ignatius, Deacon, his life of Nicephorus, viii., 400; by Nicetas Paphlagon, 403.  
 Illyricum, Diocese, iii., 428, 436, 440; part of, annexed to Prefecture of Illyricum, v., 366.  
 Illyricum, Prefecture, iii., 436, 438 *sqq.*; Stilicho's designs on, v., 365 *sq.*  
 Illyricum, province, i., 315.  
 Ilovaiski, x., 402.  
 Imâd ad-Dîn, ix., 396.  
 Image worship, defended by John of Damascus, viii., 399.  
*Imperator*, title of, ii., 352; iii., 423.  
 Imperial titles, iii., 423.  
 Incertus Auctor, *see* Anonymus.  
 Ingenuus, tyrant, ii., 353.  
 Inheritance, law of, viii., 433.  
 Interest, rates of, viii., 439 *sq.*  
 Ireland, Scots of, iv., 355 *sq.*  
 Irene, suggests history of Alexius to Bryennius, viii., 408.  
 Isidorus of Seville, iv., 353; vi., 362.  
 Isiki, vii., 399.  
 Isperich, Bulgarian King, x., 391 *sq.*, 395.  
 Italy, its divisions and political geography *c.* 600 A.D., viii., 421 *sq.*; exarchs of, vii., 404; Bulgarians in, x., 392.  
 Italy, Diocese of, iii., 430.

- Ithaca, xi., 333.  
*Itinerarium regis Ricardi*, ix., 393.
- JACOBI, R., on Paul Diaconus, viii., 414.  
 Jagič, V., x., 398.  
 Jalāl ad-Dīn, ix., 397 sq.  
 Jazyges, the, iii., 440.  
 Jazygia, Avars in, viii., 421.  
 Jeep, L., ii., 366; iii., 438; iv., 350.  
 Jerome, St., reference to De Mort. Pers., ii., 358; chronicle of, 366; iv., 352; disputes with Rufinus, 355.  
 Jerusalem, Churches of Constantine at, iv., 342; Church of St. Sophia, *ib.*; Mosque of Omar, *ib.*; Dome of the rock, *ib.*; date of capture of, ix., 379; Assises of, x., 403 sq.  
*Jed*, books of, ii., 368.  
 Jireček, C., on ethnology of the Sarmatians, iii., 440; on the Bogomils, x., 389; on the Bulgarians, 393, 395.  
 John Anagnostes, xi., 328.  
 John of Antioch (Salmas. and Constant. Excerpts), on Boniface and Aetius, v., 375 sq.; identity of (?), vi., 356.  
 John of Biclarum, vi., 361 sq.  
 John Cameniates, on capture of Thessalonica, viii., 405-6.  
 John of Cappadocia, vi., 347, 349 *note*, 352 *note*.  
 John Comnenus, viii., 408 and *note*; capital punishment under, 435.  
 John of Damascus, viii., 399; date of his Orations on Image Worship, 442.  
 John Diacrinomenos, vi., 347.  
 John of Ephesus, viii., 395.  
 John of Epiphania, viii., 395 sq.  
 John of Jerusalem, viii., 399.  
 John the Lydian, vi., 347 sq.  
 John Malalas, vi., 354 sqq.; his notice of Axum, vii., 402.  
 John Mag. Mil., hero of the *Johannid*, vi., 360; vii., 403 sq.  
 John the Monk, relation to the Vita Artemii, iii., 435, 439.  
 John of Nikiu, viii., 418.  
 John Psaltes, vii., 401.  
 John Rogatinus, vii., 404.  
 John Sikeliotes, vi., 356; viii., 409 *note*.  
 John of Sirmium, viii., 395.  
 John, tyrant in fourth century, iv., 351.
- John, sent by Justinian as bishop to Yemen, vii., 402.  
 Joppa, ix., 393.  
 Jordanes, ii., 349.  
 Jortin, *Remarks on Eccl. Hist.*, v., 363.  
 Josua Stylites, vi., 356.  
 Jovian, Emperor, v., 367.  
 Jugria, x., 399.  
 Julian, the emperor, his works, ii., 361; his reference to Jesus in letter to the Alexandrians, 363; v., 367.  
 Julius Capitolinus, writer of Hist. Aug., i., 306 sqq.  
 Julleville, Petit de, ii., 361.  
 Jullian, L., iii., 425.  
 Jung, i., 312; v., 366.  
 Junghans, G. W., vi., 362.  
*Jus Italicum*, i., 319.  
*Jus Latinum*, history of, i., 316.  
 Justi, i., 321.  
 Justin I., in the Secret History, vi., 349; vii., 389; embassy to Hira, 401; embassy to Axum, 402.  
 Justinian I., Scholae under, iii., 433; traffic in offices under, 435; his Church of St. Sophia at Jerusalem, iv., 342; treatment by Procopius, vi., 348 sqq.; date of death, 360; position under Justin, vii., 389; at Nika riot, 391; his dealings with the Kotrigurs, etc., 396 sq.; his rearrangement of the Armenian provinces, viii., 422 sq.; his heresy, 427 sq.; legal works of, 430; navy of, ix., 406.  
 Juvaini, account of, xi., 329.  
 Jüzjāni, xi., 329.
- KABARS, ix., 405; x., 399.  
 Kaidu, xi., 337.  
 Kainites, Gnostic sect, ii., 368.  
 Kalligas, P., vii., 392.  
 Kamāl ad-Dīn, ix., 397.  
 Kanalites, ix., 405.  
 Kan-Ying, vii., 392.  
 Karabacek, J., Prof., ix., 376.  
 Kaufmann, on Sarmatian wars, iv., 359.  
 Kazachia, ix., 405.  
 Kecharitomene, monastery of, viii., 408.  
 Kehr, viii., 443 *note*.  
 Keim, Th., iii., 418.  
 Keller, R., iv., 355; v., 366.  
 Kellett, F. W., on Gregory the Great, viii., 412.



- Kertsch, x., 400.  
 Kéza, Simon de, x., 398.  
 Khudai-nama, the, viii., 417.  
 Kiepert, H., viii., 422 *note*.  
 Kiev, x., 401.  
 Király, i., 312.  
 Kirchner, on Procopius, vi., 353.  
 Kirpitschnikow, A., iii., 446.  
 Klaproth, on the Hiung-Nu, iv., 358.  
 Klein, i., 311; on Raymond of Agiles, ix., 391.  
 Klimek, ii., 361.  
 Kobad, King, iv., 357.  
 Kocel, x., 397.  
 Koch, on Julian, ii., 361.  
 Koch, J., iv., 350.  
 Köpke, R., iv., 355; vi., 363.  
 Koran, the, viii., 414.  
 Kormisoš, x., 394.  
 Kostoboks, the, iii., 440.  
 Kotragoi, the, vii., 395 *sq.*  
 Kotragos, vii., 396.  
 Kotrigurs, vii., 395 *sqq.*; viii., 420; x., 391.  
 Krashennnikov, M., vi., 353; vii., 389.  
 Kraus, F. X., ii., 367.  
 Kreutzer, i., 306.  
 Krumbacher, K., vi., 354 *note*, 356 *note*; on Cinnamus, viii., 409; on Glycas, 411; on Chalcondyles, xi., 328 *note*.  
 Krusch, B., viii., 414.  
 Kugler, B. von, ix., 392, 398.  
 Kulakovski, vii., 397.  
 Kunik, E., x., 402.  
 Kurt, Bulgarian king, x., 391 *sq.*, 396.  
 Kutan, chief of the Cumans, xi., 338.  
 Kuun, Géza, x., 400 *note, sq.*  
 Kuvrat, vii., 396; *see* Kurt.
- LABARUM**, the, iii., 444 *sq.*  
 Lactantius, and authorship of the *De Mort. Pers.*, i., 311; ii., 357 *sqq.*  
 Laelianus, *see* Lollianus.  
 Lagobardia, theme of, ix., 402.  
 Laguantan, the, vii., 403.  
 La Jonquière, *Hist. of Ottoman Empire*, xi., 331.  
 Lampridius, *see* Aelius Lampridius.  
 Land, tenure of, etc., viii., 435 *sqq.*  
 Landulfus Sagax, iv., 354.  
 Lane-Poole, S., viii., 416; on the Sabians, ix., 376; on Saracen coins, ix., 399; on Ottoman Turks, xi., 331.
- Langlois, V., iii., 442.  
 Laribus, vii., 403.  
 Latin language, disuse of, viii., 430.  
 Latyshev, V., vii., 397 *sq.*  
 Lau, G. T., on Gregory the Great, viii., 413.  
 Lausus, chamberlain, iv., 345.  
 Law, development of, in eastern provinces from Constantine to Justinian, vii., 405; degeneration of, *ib.*; Græco-Roman, viii., 430.  
 Lazi, federates of empire, iii., 433.  
 Lazica, Abbot Maximus dies at, viii., 399.  
 Lebedia, Hungarians in, x., 399.  
 Le Blant, E., iii., 421.  
*Legatus legionis*, i., 313.  
 Leger, L., ix., 388 *sq.*  
 Legion, size of, in fourth century, iii., 432.  
 Lemnos, xi., 335.  
 Leo I., Emperor, iii., 433.  
 Leo III., Emperor, legislation of, viii., 429; agricultural code of, 437; correspondence with Pope Gregory, 441; Iconoclastic Edicts of, *ib. sq.*; on navy, ix., 408.  
 Leo VI., Emperor, laws of, on marriage, viii., 432; novel of, 433; tactics of, ix., 381; relations with Taron, 405.  
 Leo Diaconus, his history, viii., 406.  
 Leo Grammaticus, chronicle of, viii., 404.  
 Leo, Librarian of Monte Cassino, ix., 389.  
 Leontius of Byzantium, vii., 389.  
 Leontius, Bishop of Casarea, iii., 442.  
 Leontocomis, theme of, ix., 403.  
 Leovigild, vi., 361.  
 Lesbos, xi., 335.  
 Lesghians, the, iv., 357.  
 Le Strange, G., iv., 343; ix., 398.  
 Leucas, *see* Santa Maura.  
 Lewva (league), vi., 345.  
 Lewis, T. H., iv., 342.  
 Libanius, the works of, ii., 361-2; iv., 343.  
*Liber Pontificalis*, viii., 411.  
*Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna, iv., 353.  
 Library, Ulpian, i., 309.  
*Libri lintei*, i., 309.  
 Lichudes, funeral oration of Psellus on, viii., 407.

- Licinius, Emperor, iii., 437 *sq.*; iv., 445.
- Licinius the Younger, iii., 436.
- Liebermann, F., ix., 393.
- Liegnitz, battle of, xi., 337.
- Lieutenants of Emperor, i., 318.
- Lightfoot, Bishop, ii., 369.
- Limes germanicus*, ii., 355.
- Limitanei*, iii., 432.
- Lindum, i., 312.
- Lingenthal Zachariä von, viii., 435, 440; ix., 381.
- Litus Saxonicum*, vi., 366.
- Livadia, xi., 333.
- Loewe, G., vi., 360 *note*.
- Logothete, the, *see* Symeon Magister.
- Löhrer, J., i., 320.
- Lollianus, tyrant, ii., 352 *sq.*
- Lombards, the, chronology of their conquests, viii., 422 *sq.*
- Lombardy, theme of, ix., 405, *see* Longibardia.
- Löning, E., iii., 368.
- Longibardia, theme of, ix., 402.
- Lucius, on monasticism, vi., 364.
- Lucius, Martyr (second century), iii., 419.
- Lucius, Patriarch of Alexandria (fourth century), iv., 354 *sq.*
- Ludwig, F., iv., 355.
- Luetjohann, C., vi., 358.
- Lugdunensis, province, i., 314.
- Lupus protospatharius, ix., 389.
- Lusitania, province, i., 314.
- Lycandos, theme of, ix., 403.
- Lycaonia, province, iii., 427.
- Lycia, province, i., 313; iii., 427.
- Lyons, council of, ix., 384.
- MACEDONIA, diocese of, iii., 425, 428.
- Macedonia, province, i., 315; iii., 428.
- Macedonia, theme of, ix., 402.
- Macrianus, father of tyrants, ii., 352; his son, *ib. sq.*
- Madäini, al-, viii., 417.
- Madvig, i., 318.
- Maeatae, the, iv., 356.
- Magister memoriae*, i., 310.
- Magister officiorum*, origin of, iii., 424.
- Magnus of Carthae, ii., 365.
- Magyar, origin of name, x., 401. For Magyars, *see* Hungarians.
- Mahmüd II. of Hamäh, ix., 397.
- Mahon, Lord, vi., 363.
- Mainotes, ix., 406.
- Majo Chancellor, policy of, ix., 390.
- Majus Imperium*, i., 319.
- Makin, al- (Elmacin), viii., 418.
- Malchus, vi., 346 *sq.*
- Mallet, Mr. E., on Procopius, vi., 353.
- Malta, xi., 332.
- Mamertinus, Claudius, ii., 362.
- Manasses, Constantine, his History of the World, viii., 411.
- Mandæan, Semitic dialect, ix., 375.
- Mangold on monasticism, vi., 364.
- Manso, J. C., vi., 362.
- Mansür, al- (caliph), viii., 415.
- Mansür (Sämanid), viii., 417.
- Mansür, father of John of Damascus, viii., 399.
- Manuel Comnenus, history of, by Cinnamus, viii., 409; funeral oration by, ix., 383.
- Manzikert, ix., 405.
- Maphrian*, viii., 419.
- Mar Apas Catina, iii., 443.
- Mar Izdbuzid, viii., 426.
- Marcellinus, *see* Ammianus.
- Marcellinus, Bishop of Rome, iii., 418.
- Marcellinus, Count, chronology of, vi., 360.
- Marcellus, Bishop of Rome, iii., 418.
- Marcion, ii., 367.
- Marziali, H., x., 398 *note*.
- Mardaites, ix., 406.
- Margat, capture of, by Crusaders, ix., 393.
- Mariades, name of Cyriades, ii., 351.
- Marius of Avenicum, iv., 353; viii., 362.
- Marius, tyrant, ii., 353.
- Marmarides, the, vii., 403.
- Maron the Stylite, viii., 395.
- Marquardt, i., 311, 313 *sq.*
- Marr, N., iii., 443.
- Marriage, law of Justinian concerning, viii., 431; second marriages, 432.
- Marta, battle of, vi., 403.
- Martin, the Abbé, vi., 356.
- Martin, Pope, speech of, in Lateran Council A.D. 549, viii., 412.
- Marzbän*, v., 374.
- Mas Latrîe, M. de, ed. of Ernoul and Bernard, ix., 394; xi., 336.
- Mason, Rev. J., iii., 420.
- Masrûg, King, vii., 402.

- Massilia, Gallic chronicle written at, iv., 352.
- Masūdi, viii., 417.
- Matthew of Edessa, ix., 398.
- Mauretania provinces, i., 316.
- Maurica, battle of (Châlons), where situated, vi., 345 sq.
- Maurice, Emperor, vi., 354; vii., 390, 404; viii., 423; *Strategicon* of, viii., 418.
- Maxentius, relations to the Church, iii., 418.
- Maximian, Emperor, German campaigns of, ii., 356 sq.; military reforms of, iii., 432.
- Maximian, Archbishop of Ravenna, iv., 353; vi., 358.
- Maximus, Emperor, v., 374 sq.
- Maximus of Saragossa, iv., 353 sq.; vi., 362.
- Maximus, Abbot, account of, viii., 399.
- Mayer on monasticism, vi., 364.
- Mazzuchelli, vi., 360.
- Melber, J., edition of Diodorf's Dion Cassius, i., 305.
- Meleda, island, vi., 363.
- Meletius, priest of Balkh, viii., 426.
- Melngi, ix., 406.
- Mellobaudes, comes domesticorum, iv., 356.
- Mellobaudes, trib. armaturarum, iv., 357.
- Melos, *see* Milos.
- Menander, protector, vi., 354; history of, viii., 395.
- Mendelssohn, L., ii., 365; v., 365.
- Merivale, i., 313.
- Merobaudes, minister of Gratian, iv., 356 sq.
- Merobaudes, poet, iv., 350.
- Meruzanes, iii., 443.
- Mery-on-Seine, vi., 345.
- Mesa, inscription of, vi., 368.
- Mesopotamia, province, i., 316; geography of, iv., 342 sq.; province under Maurice, viii., 423.
- Mesrop, iii., 442 *note*.
- Métayer system, viii., 437.
- Methodius, Patriarch, viii., 403.
- Methodius of Patara, ix., 387.
- Methodius, apostle of the Slavs, ix., 387; x., 396 sq.
- Meyer, P., ii., 357, 360.
- Michael III., Emperor, x., 397.
- Michael Akominatos, viii., 409.
- Michael Cerularius, Patriarch, viii., 407.
- Michael Glycas, *see* Glycas.
- Michael, Hugo, ii., 364.
- Michael of Melitene ("the Syrian"), viii., 418 sq.
- Michael the Syncellus, *Symbolum Fidei* of, ix., 387.
- Michael the Janissary, xii., 216.
- Michaud, Bibliothèque of the Crusades, ix., 396; History of the Crusades, 398.
- Miconos, xi., 334.
- Mijatovich, on Constantine, last Greek Emperor, xii., 218.
- Milan, edict of, iii., 445.
- Milos, xi., 335.
- Mirza Haidar, account of, xi., 329.
- Mispoulet, i., 318.
- Mitteis, L., vii., 405.
- Modares, General, iv., 359.
- Moesia, provinces of, i., 315; Alanic settlement of, ii., 349; provinces in third and fourth centuries, iii., 428.
- Mœsiarum Diocesis, iii., 425, 428.
- Mohammad, the Prophet, sources for his life, viii., 416 sq.; his treaty with the Koreish, ix., 376; with Prince of Aila, *ib.*
- Mohammad II., Sultan, history of, by Critobulus, xi., 328.
- Mokaukas, George, ix., 377.
- Mombritius, *Sanctuarium* of, iv., 341.
- Mommsen, i., 310 sq., 313 sq., 318; ii., 350, 355; on attitude of empire to Christianity, iii., 418 sqq.; on list of Verona, 424; on Polemius Silvius, 424-5; on the military organisation under Diocletian and Constantine, 432 sq.; on the Protectores and Domestici, 434 sq.; on Prosper and other chronicles in his *Chronica Minora*, iv., 352 sq.; on Cassiodorus, vi., 358 sq.; on Marcellinus, Victor Tonn. and other chroniclers, 361 sq.
- Monasticism, origin of, vi., 363 sqq.; in eighth and ninth centuries, viii., 402.
- Moncada, ix., 396.
- Monferratus, edition of *Ecloga*, viii., 435.
- Mongols, origin of, xi., 331; invade Europe, *ib.*

- Monod, G., vi., 362.  
 Monophysites, viii., 395.  
 Monothelitism, viii., 399.  
 Moors, wars with (sixth century), vii., 403.  
 Moravia, ix., 405; conversion of, x., 398.  
 Mordtmann, Dr., on topography of Constantinople, iii., 422; xii., 217.  
*Morea, Chronicle of*, ix., 385; derivation of name, 410.  
 Mortreuil, viii., 435.  
 Moses of Chorene, i., 320; ii., 441 *sq.*  
 Muager, x., 401.  
 Mücke, J. F., ii., 361.  
 Muir, W., viii., 416, 419; ix., 379.  
 Mukan, vii., 399 *sq.*  
 Mukaukis, *see* Mokaukas.  
 Müllenhoff, ii., 349.  
 Müller, C., i., 306, 308.  
 Mundir, Al., vii., 401.  
 Mundus, oracle concerning, vii., 395.  
*Municipia*, definition of, i., 317.  
 Muntaner, Ramon, ix., 396.  
 Muralt, E., viii., 419.  
 Mursa, Ingenuus defeated at, ii., 353.  
 Musheg, Armenian Prince, viii., 398.  
 Mutilation, use of, as punishment, viii., 434.  
 Muzuron, viii., 423.  
 Myconos, *see* Miconos.  
 Myos Hormos, vii., 393.  
 NAHR AL-MALIK, Canal, iv., 343.  
 Nakshi Rustan, inscriptions at, ii., 351.  
 Namfio, xi., 335.  
 Narbo Martius, iv., 351.  
*Narratio*, concerning Emperors of Theodosian and Valentinian houses, iv., 353.  
 Narses, *see* Nerses.  
 Narses of Lampron, St., ix., 398.  
 Nausa, xi., 335.  
 Navigation Code of Leo III., viii., 430.  
 Navy, Roman, i., 314; Byzantine, ix., 406 *sqq.*  
 Naxos, xi., 335.  
 Nazarius, panegyrist, i., 310; ii., 362.  
 Negroponete, xi., 335.  
 Nennius, vi., 366.  
 Nerses, Armenian Catholicus, iii., 442 *sq.*  
 Neshri, *World-view of*, xii., 217.  
 Nestle, E., iv., 341.  
*Nestor, chronicle of*, ix., 386; Life of Boris and Gleb, 387.  
 Nestorians, *Catholic Patriarch of*, viii., 426.  
 Neumann, C., on the Philopatris, ii., 357; on the Byzantine Empire, viii., 407; on Byzantine navy, ix., 406.  
 Neumann, C. J., ii., 361; iii., 418.  
 Newton, Sir I., on comet of 531 A.D., vii., 405.  
 Ney, on Claudian, iv., 350.  
 Nicephorus I., Emperor, fiscal laws of, viii., 435-6.  
 Nicephorus II., Emperor, Novels of, viii., 438 *note*; ix., 381.  
 Nicephorus Bryennius, viii., 408.  
 Nicephorus Callistus (Xanthopoulos), vi., 346.  
 Nicephorus Gregoras, account of, ix., 384.  
 Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, viii., 400; Life of, by Ignatius, 401 *sq.*; x., 392.  
 Nicetas, his race with Heraclius, viii., 323.  
 Nicetas, Akominatus, viii., 409.  
 Nicetas, David Paphlagon, his Life of Ignatius, viii., 403.  
 Nicetas, Abbot of Medikion, viii., 403.  
 Nicetius, Bishop of Trèves, his letter to Justinian, viii., 427.  
 Nicolaites, Gnostic sect, ii., 368.  
 Nicolas, Pope, *Responses of*, x., 392; death of, 397.  
 Nicomedia, persecutions at, ii., 357.  
 Nicopolis, theme of, ix., 401.  
 Niculitzas, viii., 407.  
 Niebuhr, i., 317; edits Merobaudes, iv., 351.  
 Nieri, A., iv., 345.  
 Nika sedition, vi., 352, 357; vii., 391 *sq.*  
 Nikaria, xi., 336.  
*Nimbus of Emperors*, iii., 423.  
 Nio, xi., 335.  
 Nisibis, viii., 423; battle of A.D. 541, vii., 403.  
 Nisyros, xi., 336.  
 Nobadae, the, vii., 403.  
 Nola, churches at, iv., 347.  
 Noldeke, Th., i., 321; iv., 357; viii., 414 *sq.*  
*Nomophylax*, viii., 431.  
 Nonnosus, vii., 401.

- Norberg, his edition of the *Sidra Rabba*, ix., 375.
- Noricum, province, i., 315; vi., 358.
- Northcote and Brownlow, Messrs., on the Catacombs, iii., 417.
- Novara, Philip of, x., 404.
- Novgorod, x., 401.
- Notitia Dignitatum*, iii., 425 sqq.
- Notitia Galliarum*, iii., 425, 429.
- Notur, vii., 398.
- Novels of Justinian*, viii., 430; of Macedonian and other emperors, 430-439 *passim*.
- Numidia, province, i., 316; iii., 431; Numidia miliciana, *ib.*
- Nūr ad-Din, ix., 396.
- OBRs, the, viii., 420.
- Odenathus, tyrant, ii., 352.
- Odovacar, his grant to Pierius, vi., 363.
- Oedesius, iv., 355.
- Ohnesorge, W., ii., 360; iii., 425 sq., 430.
- Oltarzhovski, Father, vi., 365.
- Olympia, Goths at, v., 367.
- Olympias, wife of Arsak, iii., 442.
- Olympiodorus, ii., 365 sq.; iv., 346.
- Oman, C. W., viii., 419; ix., 381, 398.
- Omar, mosque of, iv., 342.
- Omortag, inscription of, x., 394.
- Onglos or Oglos, x., 392 *note*.
- Ophites, Gnostic sect, ii., 368.
- Opitz, Th., i., 310.
- Optatus, value of his work, iii., 446.
- Optimatōn, theme, ix., 402 sq.
- Oracles, in Procopius, vii., 394 sq.
- Orcades, the, iii., 429 *note*, 439.
- Orchon inscriptions, the, vii., 398 and *note*.
- Orelli-Henzen, i., 318.
- Oribasius, memoirs of, ii., 365.
- Origen, *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, iv., 355.
- Orosius, iv., 354; a passage of, v., 364.
- Orphans, guardianship of, viii., 433.
- Orzianine, viii., 423.
- Ozniensis, John, x., 389.
- PACATUS, Drepanius, iv., 347.
- Pachomius, Abbot, vi., 363 sq.
- Pachymeres, George, account of, ix., 384.
- Paganoi, ix., 404.
- Pagans, of Asia Minor, viii., 395.
- Paganus (Baian), Bulgarian prince, x., 394.
- Prænius, translator of Eutropius, i., 310.
- Palaemon, monk, vi., 364.
- Palæologus, Theodore, *Monodia* on, ii., 360.
- Palaia, ix., 387.
- Palatini* (troops), iii., 433 sq.
- Palchus, vi., 346.
- Palestine, monasticism in, vi., 365.
- Palladius of Hellenopolis, iv., 345; vi., 363 sq.
- Pallmann, R., iv., 355; v., 368, 369.
- Palma, Cornelius, i., 312.
- Palmyra, surrender and destruction of, ii., 354.
- Pamprepius, vi., 346.
- Panchenko, B., vi., 348, 351 sq.; vii., 389.
- Panciroli, iii., 425.
- Panegyrici Latini, i., 309.
- Pannonia, Diocese of, iii., 428.
- Pannonia, provinces of, i., 315.
- Panodorus, ii., 368.
- Pap, King, iii., 442 sq.
- Papagia, ix., 405.
- Papadimitriu, xi., 328.
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A., ii., 361.
- Papencordt, F., iv., 355.
- Paphlagonia, provinces of, viii., 423; theme of, ix., 401.
- Papianilla, vi., 357.
- Pardessus, on silk trade, vii., 392.
- Paris, P., ix., 394.
- Parker, E. H., iv., 358; vii., 398 sq.
- Paros, xi., 335.
- Parthey, iii., 446.
- Parthia, vii., 393.
- Partsch, J., vi., 360; vii., 404.
- Paschal Chronicle*, see *Chronicon Paschale*.
- Paspaté, A. G., on Palace of Constantinople, iii., 422; xii., 218.
- Passau, See of, x., 397.
- Patkanian, on Sebæos, viii., 398.
- Patmos, xi., 334.
- Patrae, ix., 405.
- Patria* of Constantinople, ix., 383.
- Patria potestas*, viii., 432 sq.
- Patrimonium of St. Peter, viii., 443.
- Patzinaks, ix., 404 sq.; x., 400.
- Patzig, E., vi., 355 sq.; viii., 411.

- Pauliani, followers of Paul of Samosata, x., 390.
- Paulician heresy, x., 387 sq.
- Paulinus of Nola, iv., 347 sq.
- Paulinus of Pella, iv., 347 sq.
- Paulinus of Périgueux, iv., 347 sq.
- Paulinus, author of V. Ambrosii, iv., 347, 352.
- Paulus Diaconus, in Hist. Misc., iv., 354; Lombard history of, viii., 413.
- Paulus of Samosata, x., 390.
- Paxo, xi., 334.
- Pears, Mr., his Fall of Constantinople, ix., 395.
- Peasant proprietors, viii., 435 sqq.
- Pelham, H. F., i., 318.
- Peloponnesus, theme of, ix., 401 sq. *note*; horse tribute in, 406; Slavs in, 409.
- Pentapolis, the maritime and the inland (in Italy), viii., 421.
- Peratic* demes, vii., 390.
- Pērōz, iv., 357.
- Persarmenia, v., 374.
- Persecutions, early, of Christians, iii., 418 sqq.
- Persia, lists of kings of, iv., 357; viii., 424.
- Peter, Abbot, on the Paulicians, x., 387 sq.
- Peter the Deacon, ix., 388.
- Peter the Patrician, *see* Anonymous Continuer of Dion, ix., 382.
- Peter, H., his edition of Hist. Aug., i., 308 sq.
- Petra in Arabia, i., 312.
- Pfützner, i., 313.
- Phbdū, monastery, vi., 364.
- Philip Sidetes, ii., 367.
- Philippi, *episcopi* at, ii., 369.
- Philippson, Dr. A., ix., 409.
- Philopatris*, the, date of, ii., 357.
- Philostorgius, ii., 366; used in Vit. Artemii, iii., 439.
- Philotheus, protospatharius, ix., 382; *Cletorologion* of, 402.
- Phlegon on Roman Feasts, ii., 365.
- Phocaea, Ducas at, xi., 327.
- Pholegandros, xi., 334.
- Photius, Patriarch, ix., 380; x., 387; treatise of, 388; friend of Cyril, x., 397.
- Phrantzes, George, account of, xi., 327.
- Piadha, xi., 332.
- Pichlmayer, F., i., 310.
- Pictones, iv., 355 sq.
- Picts, the, iv., 355 sq.
- Pierius, grant of Odovacar to, vi., 363.
- Pippin, King, viii., 443; donation of, *ib.*
- Pisa, xi., 332.
- Piscopia, xi., 336.
- Piso, tyrant, ii., 353.
- Pistis Sophia*, the, ii., 368.
- Placidus (Valentinian III.), iv., 351.
- Plato, Abbot, Life of, by Theodore Studites, viii., 402 sq.
- Plato, philosopher, opinion of Psellus concerning, viii., 406; imitated by Gregoras, ix., 385.
- Plew, J., i., 308.
- Plummer, A., vi., 365.
- Pogodin, ix., 387; x., 402; xii., 218.
- Poland, invasion of, by Mongols, xi., 337.
- Polemus Sylvius, iii., 425 sqq.
- Political* demes, vii., 390.
- Pollentia, battle of, in Prudentius, iv., 350; Stilicho at, v., 365; date of, 369.
- Pollio, *see* Trebellius P.
- Polycandro, xi., 334.
- Polycarp, martyrdom of, iii., 420.
- Polydeukes, Julius, viii., 404 *note*.
- Pomptine marshes, vi., 368.
- Pontiff, Augustus as supreme, i., 319.
- Pontus Polemoniacus, viii., 422 sq.
- Popov, A., x., 393.
- Porta Rusciae, Subutai at, xi., 337.
- Postumus, tyrant, ii., 352 sq.
- Praefectus, morum*, i., 318; *praetorio*, 319; transformation of Prætorian Prefecture, iii., 423.
- Praepositus* of Council, iii., 423.
- Prætextatus, proconsul of Achaëa, v., 367.
- Praxagoras, ii., 360; quoted, iii., 436 sq.
- Prefect, Prætorian, *see* *Praefectus*.
- Prefectures, divisions of empire, instituted by Constantine, iii., 422.
- Preger, Th., ix., 383.
- Preuss, i., 311.
- Prince of the Senate, i., 318.
- Princeps*, i., 318; *P. senatus, ib.*
- Priscian, panegyrist, vi., 347.
- Priscus, historian, iv., 346; v. 375; vi., 346.
- Probatas, usurper, ii., 354.
- Probus and limes germanicus, ii., 355.

- Prochiron*, legal handbook, viii., 430.  
 Procopius of Cæsarea, legendary stories in, v., 374 sq.; life and works, vi., 348 sqq.; style, 351; Secret History, *ib. sq.*; oracles in, vii., 394 sq.  
 Procopius of Edessa, vi., 348.  
 Procopius of Gaza, vi., 347.  
*Procuratores*, i., 318.  
 Prosper Tiro (Gibbon's Prosper), iv., 352; vi., 359; Gibbon's Prosper Tiro, iv., 352; continuation of Prosper, 353.  
*Protectores*, origin of, iii., 434 sq.  
 Provinces of Roman Empire, i., 314 sq.  
 Prudentius, iv., 350 sq.  
 Psellus, Constantine, account of, viii., 406; renaissance spirit of, 408.  
*Pseudo-comitatenses*, iii., 432.  
 Pseudo-Dionysius, viii., 399.  
 Pseudo-Symeon, viii., 404, 410.  
 Ptolemæus, martyr (second century), iii., 419-420.  
 Ptolemais (Cyrenaic), iv., 345.  
 Pyrrhus, patriarch, viii., 399.  
 Pytheas of Massilia, ii., 349.
- Quæstor sacri palatii*, iii., 423.  
 Quietus, tyrant, ii., 352.  
*Quinque Provinciae*, iii., 424.
- РАЧКИ, x., 389.  
 Radagaisus, v., 365; chronology of his invasions, 369 sq.  
 Radulph of Caen in Palestine, ix., 392.  
 Raetia, militia in, i., 313; province, 315; invaded by Radagaisus, iv., 369 sq.  
 Ralph of Coggeshall, chronicle of ix., 393.  
 Rambaud, A., vii., 390; ix., 383, 403.  
 Ramon Muntaner, ix., 396.  
 Ramsay, W. M., iii., 418, 446.  
 Ranke, L. von, on Eusebius, ii., 359; on Zosimus, 365; iii., 439; *Weltgeschichte*, ii., 367; on division of empire A.D. 335 and 337, iii., 438; on Constantine's attitude to Christianity, 444; on Procopius, vi., 353; on Maukaukas, viii., 376-7.  
 Rashid ad-Din, account of, xi., 328.  
 Ratchis, Lombard king, viii., 413.  
*Rationales*, iii., 424.  
 Ratislav, Moravian king, x., 397.  
 Ravenna, San Vitale vi., 358.
- Rawlinson, G., i., 321; vi., 363.  
 Raymond of Agüles, ix., 390.  
 Reccared, King, vi., 361.  
 Recinarius, vii., 403.  
 Regillianus or Regalianus, tyrant, ii., 353.  
 Reinaud on relations of China with Roman Empire, vii., 392; his extracts of Arabic historians, ix., 396 sq.  
 Reinhardt, on Julian, ii., 361.  
 Reinkens on Procopius, vi., 353.  
 Relics, worship of, v., 364.  
 Remusat, Abel, iv., 357.  
 Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, vi., 362.  
 Rendall, W., ii., 361.  
 Rent of land, viii., 437.  
*Res privata*, i., 319.  
 Réville, M., on the Episcopate, ii., 369 sq.  
 Revillout, on the Serapeans, vi., 364.  
*Rhodian code*, viii., 440.  
 Rhodes, province of, ix., 400; island, rulers of (after 1204), xi., 336.  
 Rhÿs, Prof. J., iv., 355 sq.  
 Riant, ed. of *Annales Genuenses*, ix., 393, 395.  
 Richard of Cirencester, i., 312.  
 Richard of London, Canon of the Holy Trinity, ix., 393.  
 Riccherio, Christoforo, xii., 216.  
 Richter, H., work on the "Westromisches Reich," ii., 369; iv., 355.  
 Richthofen, F. von, vii., 393.  
*Ripa Gothica*, iii., 438.  
 Robert the Monk, of Rheims, his translation of the Gesta, ix., 391.  
 Robert of Flanders, Count, ix., 391.  
 Rode, on Julian, ii., 361.  
 Roger de Flor, ix., 396.  
 Rohde, E., ii., 357.  
 Röhricht, History of Crusades, ix., 398; ed. of Regesta Regn. Hierosol., 394-5.  
 Roman Empire, periods of, viii., 427.  
 Romanus I., land legislation of, viii., 436, 438 sq.; ix., 403, 406.  
 Romanus II., novel of, viii., 438 note.  
 Romanus III., land legislation of, viii., 436.  
 Romanus, Governor of Africa (fourth century), iv., 356.  
 Rome, walls of, restored, v., 365; Theodosius I. at, 363.

- Romuald, Archbishop of Salerno, ix, 390.
- Roncière, C. de la, ix., 406.
- Rose, A., vi., 363.
- Rosenstein, on Stilicho, iv., 355.
- Rossi, iii., 417.
- Rothkegel, F., i., 309.
- Roumanians, the, x., 396.
- Roxolani, the, iii., 440.
- Rubió y Lluçh, ix., 396.
- Rufinus, source of Socrates, ii., 366; source of *Chronica Gallica*, iv., 352; his life and work, 354 *sq.*; on monasticism, vi., 363 *sq.*
- Rufius Festus Avenius, ii., 357.
- Rufus Festus, *see* Festus.
- Ruotsi, x., 402.
- Russians, relations with the Patzinaks, ix., 404; origin of Russian states, x., 401 *sq.*
- SABAS, St., monastery of, viii., 399.
- Sabians, ix., 375.
- Sabinos, x., 394.
- Sabinus, C. Suetrius, corrector Italiae, i., 355.
- Sabinus of Heraclea, his Acts of Councils, ii., 366.
- Sabiri, the, vii., 396; viii., 419.
- Saccudion, Monastery of, viii., 402.
- Sackur, viii., 444.
- Sacy, Sylvestre de, xii., 217.
- Sad ad-Din, Ottoman historian, xii., 217.
- Šafarik, on Sarmatian peoples, iii., 440; on Avars, viii., 419 *note*.
- Saladin, ix., 396; x., 404.
- Salamis, Island, xi., 334.
- Sallet, von, i., 354.
- Salt, sold by the Bulgarians, x., 395.
- Salvian, iv., 354.
- Samaria, Gnosticism originated in (?), ii., 367.
- Sambulpur, i., 317.
- Samo, Slavonic realm of, viii., 414.
- Samos, theme of, ix., 401; Island, xi., 335.
- Samosata, i., 351.
- Samuel of Ani, ix., 398.
- Sanaturkes, vii., 402.
- Sandichl, vii., 396.
- Sangarius, Bridge of the, vi., 349.
- Santa Maura, xi., 334.
- Santorin, xi., 335.
- Sapor II., iv., 357.
- Sapor III., iv., 357.
- Saraceno, Agnes, xi., 333 *note*.
- Saragurs, the, vii., 397 *note*.
- Sardica, iii., 442.
- Sardinia, province, i., 314; ix., 403.
- Sarkel, ix., 405.
- Sarmatians, not Slavs, iii., 440; Sarmatian War of A.D. 378, iv., 358-9.
- Sarmezigetusa, capital of Dacia, i., 312.
- Sarrasa, Peter, xi., 333.
- Sarrazin V., on Theodore Lector, ii., 366; vi., 347.
- Sarus, general, v., 371.
- Sarwey, O. von, ii., 356.
- Sathas, C., his *Bibliotheca Græca*, viii., 407.
- Saturninus, tyrant, ii., 353.
- Sauerbrei, P., on Zonaras, viii., 410.
- Saxon shore, vi., 366.
- Scala, R. von, vii., 392.
- Scarpanto, xi., 336.
- Schafarik, *see* Safarik.
- Schaube, viii., 444.
- Scheftlein, J., vi., 353.
- Schenk, K., viii., 442 *note*.
- Schlosser, F. C., viii., 419.
- Schlumberger, M. G., ix., 395, 403, 409.
- Scholæ, of guards, iii., 433.
- Schiller, i., 311 *sq.*; on Constantine's religion, iii., 444 *sq.*
- Schmidt, Dr. John, ix., 386.
- Schmidt, W. A., vii., 392.
- Schmidt, L., viii., 413 *note*.
- Schneiderwirth, i., 321.
- Schröter, F., ix., 389.
- Schulz, A., vi., 353.
- Schulz, C. F., v., 367.
- Schultze, V., ii., 360 *sq.*, 367; iii., 444 *sq.*
- Schwarz, on Julian, ii., 361 *sq.*
- Schwarze, on African Church, iii., 420.
- Schwarzlose, viii., 442 and *note*.
- Sciathos, xi., 335.
- Scili, *Acts of Martyrs of*, iii., 420.
- Scopelos, xi., 335.
- Scots, the, iv., 355.
- Scriptores post Theophanem, viii., 405.
- Scylitzes, John, continuator of Theophanes, viii., 409.
- Scyllace, vi., 358.
- Scyros, xi., 335.
- Scythia, province of, ix., 400.
- Sebæos, viii., 398, 423.



- Sebastea, clisurarch of, ix., 401.  
 Secundus, Lombard historian, viii., 413 sq.  
 Seeck, O., i., 320; on De Mort. Pers., ii., 358; on Eusebius, 359; his *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 367; ed. of *Notitia Dig.*, iii., 424 sq.; on Crispus and Fausta, 435 sq.; on younger Licinius, *ib.*; on Constantine's religion, 444; on Constantine's attitude to Donatists, 446; ed. of Symmachus, iv., 347; on battle of Verona, v., 368; on *Egyptians* of Synesius, 376 sq.  
 Segusia, *see* Susa.  
 Seger, J., on Nicephorus Bryennius, viii., 408.  
 Seleucia, theme of, ix., 383; clisurarch of, 403.  
 Semenov, A., vii., 397 *note*.  
 Semulpur or Semah, i., 317.  
 Sepp, on the Dome of the Rock, iv., 342 sq.  
 Septem provinciae, iii., 424, 429.  
 Serapis, ascetic cult of, vi., 364.  
 Serbs, ix., 405.  
 Serdica, *see* Sardica.  
 Serfene, xi., 334.  
 Serfs, viii., 436.  
 Sergius, Patriarch, viii., 397; composer of the *Standing Hymn*, 398.  
 Seriphos, xi., 334.  
 Servia, ix., 405.  
 Sethites, Gnostic sect, ii., 368.  
 Seuffert, O., iii., 445.  
 Severinus, St., vi., 358.  
 Severus, Septimius, principate of, i., 319; constitution of, *ib.*; wears military *sagum* in Rome, iii., 423.  
 Severus, *see* Sulpicius Severus.  
 Seville, attacked by the Rūs, x., 401 *note*.  
*Sexagenarii*, iii., 424.  
 Sextus, Aurelius Victor, i., 310.  
 Sextus, Julius Africanus, ii., 359.  
 Shāh-nāma, viii., 417.  
 Shapūr, ii., 351.  
*Shepherd of Hermas*, x., 390.  
 Shestakov, S., vi., 346, 355.  
 Sicilia, province, i., 314.  
 Sicilian chronicle, viii., 405.  
 Sickel, viii., 444.  
 Sidonius, Apollinaris, founds Church of St. George, iv., 342; account of works, vi., 357.  
 Sievers, R., ii., 361.  
 Sifanto, xi., 334.  
 Sigisvult, v., 376.  
 Sigriane, monastery near, viii., 401.  
 Silk, trade in, vii., 393.  
 Silzibul, vii., 400.  
 Sikeliotes, John, *see* John.  
 Sikeliotes, Peter, x., 387 sq.  
 Sikino, xi., 334.  
 Simeon, Beth Arsam, vii., 401.  
 Simon the Magian, ii., 367.  
 Si-ngan-fu, inscription of, viii., 424 sqq.  
 Singara, date of battle of, iii., 440.  
 Siouffi, M., ix., 376.  
 Siphnos, xi., 334.  
 Sirmoudus, discovers Merobaudes, iv., 350.  
 Slavs, Sarmatians wrongly identified with, iii., 440; settlements of, in the provinces, viii., 430; their influence on land tenure, 437; of Peloponnesus, 443; ix., 409 sq.; conversion of, x., 396 sq.; alphabet of, 397.  
*Small Questions of Mary*, treatise of, ii., 368.  
 Smith, Dict. of Antiq., i., 314, 318.  
 Socrates, Eccl. History of, ii., 366.  
 Solomon, African wars of, vi., 360; position in Africa, vii., 404.  
 Sophanene, province, iii., 426; viii., 422.  
 Sophene, viii., 423.  
 Sotiriadis, G., vi., 355.  
 Soteriupolis, ix., 405.  
 Soumelpour, mine of, identity of, i., 317.  
 Sozomen, ii., 366; on monasticism, vi., 363 sq.  
 Spain, how assigned in divisions of empire in third and fourth centuries, iii., 436 sq.; ix., 405.  
 Spain, diocese of, iii., 431.  
 Sparta, Phrantzes Prefect of, xi., 327.  
 Spartian, *see* Aelius Spartianus.  
 Sphendoplok, ix., 405.  
 Sprenger, Life of Mohamammad, viii., 416.  
 Sreznevski, ix., 387 *note*; xii., 216, 217.  
 Srkulj, ix., 387 and *note*.  
 Ssanang Ssetsen, Mongol prince, xi., 331.  
 Stampali, xi., 336.

- Stassulevich, J., xii., 217.  
 Stephen, Deacon of St. Sophia, viii., 402.  
 Stephen II., Pope, viii., 429; letter of, 444 *note*.  
 Stephen, St., the Younger, viii., 402.  
 Stephens, W. R. W., iv., 355.  
 Stewart, Major Charles, xi., 329.  
 Stilicho, in inscriptions, v., 364 *sq.*; his expeditions to Greece and Illyricum, *ib.*; his policy and relations to Alaric, 365 *sqq.*; against Radagaisus, 369 *sq.*; measures against Constantine, 372.  
 St. Martin V., iii., 441 *sq.*  
 Stones, precious, trade in, vii., 393.  
 Strakosch-Grassmann, on the Mongols, xi., 338.  
 Streit, L., ix., 395.  
 Strzygowski, J., on Tyche, iv., 445.  
 Strymon, theme of, ix., 402 *note*.  
 Stubbs, Bishop, x., 404.  
 Subutai, invades Hungary, xi., 337.  
 Sudhaus, ii., 364.  
 Suhomlinov, ix., 387 *note*.  
 Sulpicius Severus, on a passage (in 2, 29), iii., 420; chronicle falsely ascribed to, iv., 352 *note*.  
 Susa (Italy), viii., 421.  
 Svatopluk, x., 397.  
 Sweden, Finnish name for, x., 402.  
 Sybel, H. von, ix., 391, 398.  
 Symeon Magister, chronicle of, viii., 404.  
 Symeon Metaphrastes, viii., 404.  
 Symmachus, Q. Aurelius, iv., 346.  
 Syncellus, George, ii., 368.  
 Synesius of Cyrene, iv., 345; the *Egyptian* of, interpretation of, v., 376 *sq.*  
*Synopsis Sathas*, viii., 410.  
 Syra, xi., 334.  
 Syracuse, estates of Pierius at, vi., 363; siege of, by Saracens, viii., 405.  
 Syria (and S. Palæstina), province, i.; 315 *sq.*; division of Syria, 316; mention of, in Chinese sources, vii., 393.  
 Syro-Roman Code of Law, vii., 405.  
 TABARI, al-, viii., 415 *sq.*  
 Tabennisi, vi., 364.  
 Tābiūn, the, viii., 415.  
 Tafel, L. F., ix., 383.  
 Taman, Goths in, vii., 397.  
 Tancred, ix., 392.  
 Tanfani, L., xi., 333.  
 Tapur, vii., 399.  
 Tarasius, *Life* of, viii., 403.  
 Tarasius, Patriarch, ix., 380.  
 Tardu, vii., 399.  
 Tarikhi Ali Osman, xii., 217.  
 Taron, ix., 405.  
 Tarraconensis, i., 314, 316.  
 Ta-ts'in, vii., 392 *sq.*; viii., 425 *sqq.*  
 Taugast, vii., 400.  
 Taurus (præt. pref. third century), a protector Aug., iii., 434.  
 Taurus, Palladius Rutilius (præt. pref. fourth century), v., 376.  
 Tavernier, Ball's translation of, i., 317.  
 Tedardi, Jacques, on capture of Constantinople, xii., 215.  
 Telec, x., 393.  
 Tênos, *see* Tinos.  
 Tephrice, Peter Sikeliotēs at, x., 389.  
 Terbuniatēs, ix., 405.  
 Ter-Mikelian on Armenian Church, iii., 441.  
 Ter-Mkrttschian, Karapet, x., 388.  
 Tessier, M. J., ix., 395.  
 Tetraxite Goths, vii., 398.  
 Tetricus, tyrant, ii., 353 *sq.*  
 Teuffel, W. S., i., 318; vi., 353 *sq.*  
 Thackeray, F. St. J., iv., 350.  
 Thalassius, son-in-law of Ausonius, iv., 347.  
 Thebes, xi., 333.  
 Themes, ix., 383, 400 *sq.*  
 Themistius, works of, ii., 362; iv., 344  
 Theodora, wife of Justinian I., her character, vi., 353; her influence, viii., 395; life of, 403.  
 Theodora, wife of Theophilus, related to Photius, ix., 380.  
 Theodore of Cyzicus, chronicle of, viii., 411.  
 Theodore Daphnopates, viii., 405.  
 Theodore Graptus, life of, viii., 402.  
 Theodore of Heraclea, dragon-slayer, iv., 342.  
 Theodore Lascaris, ix., 384 *note*.  
 Theodore Lector, vi., 347; excerpts from, viii., 402.  
 Theodore Metochites, learning of, ix., 384 *sq.*  
 Theodore, secretary, viii., 397.  
 Theodore of Studion, works of, viii., 402; *Life* of, *ib.*; his *Life of Plato*, 403.

- Theodoret, ii., 366 *sq.*  
 Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, vi., 358; table of marriage alliances of his family, 367; his draining of Pomptine marshes, 568.  
 Theodoropolis, capture of, ix., 382.  
 Theodorus, *see* Theodore.  
 Theodosiopolis, its siege by Mermeroes, vii., 403; theme of, ix., 402.  
 Theodosius I., extent of his share of empire, iii., 439 *sq.*; Symmachus' panegyric, iv., 346; Gothic wars of, 359; visit to Rome, v., 363.  
 Theodosius, count (executed A.D. 396), iv., 356.  
 Theodosius of Militene, viii., 404.  
 Theodosius, a monk, on capture of Syracuse by the Saracens, viii., 405.  
 Theodosius of Peshtcherski, ix., 387.  
 Theognostos, grammarian, viii., 405.  
 Theophanes of Byzantium, viii., 395.  
 Theophanes, his *Chronography*, viii., 401; lives of, 402; chronological difficulties in, 429; an emendation in, 442 *note*; ix., 378; ix., 405; on Bulgarians, x., 392.  
 Theophilus, his paraphrase of the Institutes, viii., 430.  
 Theophylactus Simocatta, vi., 354; viii., 395; account of, 396.  
 Thera, xi., 335.  
 Therasia, xi., 335.  
 Therma, xi., 334.  
 Thessalonica, Church of St. George at, iv., 342; capture of, by Cretan pirates, viii., 405-6; Norman siege of, ix., 383.  
 Theudebert (Merovingian), vi., 362.  
 Thomsen, V., vii., 398 *note*; x., 402.  
 Thracia, province, i., 315; use of the name, iii., 437; theme of, ix., 401 *sq. note*.  
 Θρηῖνος, on the capture of Constantinople, xii., 217.  
 Thucydides, imitated by Procopius, vi., 349 *sq.*; imitated by Critobulus, xi., 328.  
 Thumb, A., ix., 410.  
 Tigris, course of, iv., 343.  
 Tillemont, i., 320.  
 Timotheus, *Catholic Patriarch*, viii., 426.  
 Timur, campaign of, in Asia Minor, xi., 328; memoirs of, 329.  
 Tinos, xi., 334.  
 Tiran, King of Armenia, iii., 442.  
 Tiridates, *see* Trdat.  
 Titles, purchase of, viii., 440.  
 Titus, Emperor, on Jews and Christians, iii., 419.  
 Toktu, x., 394.  
 Tortosa, capture of, ix., 393.  
 Toulouse, doctrines of Bogomils at, x., 390.  
 Trajan, conquests of, i., 312; policy in regard to Christians, iii., 419.  
 Transylvania, ruled by Crum, x., 395.  
 Trdat, King of Armenia, iii., 441 *sq.*  
 Trebellianus, tyrant, ii., 353.  
 Trebellius Pollio, writer in *Hist. Aug.*, i., 306 *sqq.*  
 Tresves, Francesco de, on capture of Constantinople, xii., 215.  
*Tribunus militum Augusti*, i., 313.  
 Tripolis, capture of, ix., 393.  
 Trivet, Nicholas, ix., 393.  
 Troyes, relation to battle of Chalons, vi., 345.  
*Trustees*, viii., 433.  
 Tudebod of Sivrai, ix., 390.  
 Tumen, vii., 399.  
 Turks, the origin of, vii., 398 *sqq.*  
 Turxanth, vii., 399.  
 Tusculo Ubertino, hexameter books of, xii., 215.  
*Tutela*, viii., 433.  
 Tyche of Constantinople, cult of, iii., 443, 445.  
 Tyrants, the thirty, ii., 351 *sqq.*  
 Tzakones, ix., 410.  
 Tzimisces, John, a letter of, ix., 398.  
 UCHTANES of Edessa, ix., 398 *note*.  
 Ulfilas, alphabet of, vi., 365.  
 Ulpia Trajana, i., 312.  
 Umar, x., 394.  
 Unger on chronology of Syncellus, ii., 368.  
 Uranius, his letter to Pacatus, iv., 347.  
 Usener, H., vi., 359.  
 Usenski, Th., vii., 390; ix., 381.  
 Utigurs, *see* Uturgurs.  
 Uturgurs, vii., 395 *sq.*; viii., 419; x., 391.  
 Uzes, ix., 404.  
 VAHRAM of Edessa, ix., 398.  
 Valaršapat, iii., 441 *sq.*

- Valens, Emperor, his share of the empire, iii., 439; persecutes, iv., 354.  
 Valens, tyrant, ii., 353.  
 Valentinian I., his dominion, iii., 439; Symmachus on, iv., 346.  
 Valentinian II., his dominion, iii., 439.  
 Valentinian III., iv., 350; v., 376.  
 Valeria, Illyric province, iii., 428.  
 Valeria, Italian province, iii., 429 and *note*.  
 Valerian, Emperor, defeat of, ii., 351.  
 Vámbéry, A., iv., 358.  
 Varangians, x., 401.  
 Várhely, name of Sarmizegetusa, i., 312.  
 Vasates, the, iv., 348.  
 Vasilievski, B., on Tetraxite and Crimean Goths, vii., 398; viii., 407.  
 Veligosti, Slav settlement at, ix., 409.  
 Venice, ix., 395; founding of, described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 405; navy, 408.  
 Verina, Empress, vi., 346.  
 Verona, battle of, iv., 350; date of, v., 368 *sq.*  
*Verona, List of*, iii., 424 *sqq.*  
 Verturiones, the, iv., 356.  
 Verulamium, i., 312.  
*Vexillatio*, iii., 432.  
*Vicarius a sacris consiliis*, iii., 423.  
 Victor Tonnennensis, vi., 361; vii., 389.  
 Victor, *see* Sextus Aurelius V.  
 Victor, the Younger, Epitome, ii., 364 *sq.*; a passage in (41, 20), iii., 438.  
 Victorina or Victoria, mother of Victorinus, ii., 353.  
 Victorinus, tyrant, ii., 353.  
 Victorius, *Paschale* of, vi., 359.  
 Victory, Altar of, in Roman senate house, iv., 346, 350.  
 Vinech, x., 393.  
 Viennensis, Diocesis, iii., 424, 429.  
 Villehardouin, ix., 395.  
*Vita Artemii*, iii., 436; source of Philostorgius, 439.  
*Vita Euthymii*, viii., 406.  
*Vita Stephani Junioris*, viii., 441, 442 *note*.  
 Vitalian, vii., 389.  
 Vlasto, E. H., xii., 218.  
 Vogel, i., 311; v., 358.  
 Vogeler, A., viii., 413 *note*.  
 Vogt, on Claudian, iv., 350; on Stilicho, 355.  
 Vogüe, de, ii., 352.  
 Volkmann, R., iv., 345.  
 Vopiscus, *see* Flavius V.  
 Vortigern, vi., 365.  
 Vram Šapuh, king, iii., 441.  
 Vulcacius Gallicanus, writer in Hist. Aug., i., 306 *sqq.*  
 Vulcano (Vurcano, Ithome), xi., 332.  
 WAGENER, C., ii., 357.  
 Wahballath, son of Zenobia, ii., 354.  
 Wākidi, viii., 415 *sqq.*  
 Walachia, Avar rule in, viii., 420.  
 Waterfalls of the Dnieper, x., 402 *sq.*  
 Weil, H., viii., 415 *sq.*  
 Weingarten, on monasticism, vi., 364.  
 Weise, J., viii., 419.  
 Wellhausen, on Mohammad, viii., 416.  
 Wiegand, on battle of Strassburg, ii., 361.  
 Wilcken, on circus factions, vii., 390.  
 Wilken, F., on Abulfeda, ix., 397; on Crusades, 398.  
 Willems, i., 318.  
 William of Apulia, his poem, ix., 388.  
 William of Tyre, ix., 394.  
 Wilmanns, i., 318.  
 Wilson, Sir C., iv., 342 *sq.*  
 Wirth, A., vi., 354.  
 Wisbaum, W., on Gregory the Great, viii., 413.  
 Wolflin, i., 310.  
 Wolfsgruber, C., on Gregory the Great, viii., 413.  
 Wollschack, Th., on Gregory the Great, viii., 413.  
 Wotke, on finding of Cross, iv., 341.  
 Wright, W., vi., 356; his Syriac Literature, viii., 419.  
 Wüstenfeld, his Arabic historiography, viii., 414.  
 Wylie, Mr., translator of Chinese annals, iv., 357.  
 XENOPOL, i., 312.  
 Xiphilin, his abridgment of Dion Cassius, i., 305; friend of Psellus, viii., 406; director of law school at Constantinople, 431.  
 YAKSUM, vii., 402.  
 Ye-lü Ch'u ts'ai, minister of Chingiz, xi., 330.  
 Yermük, battle of the, ix., 377.

- Yezdegerd I., iv., 357.  
 Yezdegerd II., iv., 357; v., 374.  
 Yüan Shi, xi., 329.  
 Yüan ch'ao pi shi, Secret History of the  
   Mongol dynasty, xi., 330.  
 Yüan shi lei pien, Hist. of the Mongols,  
   xi., 330.
- ZABERGAN**, vii., 390, 395.  
 Zacharias of Mytilene, vi., 356 *sq.*  
 Zachlums, ix., 405.  
 Zacynthus, *see* Zante.  
 Zangemeister, C., iv., 354.  
 Zante, xi., 333.  
 Zend Avesta, i., 321 *sq.*  
 Zeno, Emperor, vi., 346 *sq.*, 358.  
 Zenob of Glak, iii., 441 *sq.*  
 Zenobia, tyrant, ii., 352, 354.  
 Zeugma, bridge, vii., 393.
- Zeuss**, Die Deutschen und die Nach-  
   barstämme, iv., 355.  
 Zia, xi., 334.  
 Zichia, ix., 405.  
 Zigabenos, Euthymius, monk, x., 387.  
 Zimmer, H., vi., 366.  
 Zöckler, on St. George, iv., 341.  
 Zonaras, epitome of Dion Cassius, i.,  
   305, 306; sources of, iii., 438; Can-  
   didus, a source of, vi., 346; account  
   of his work, viii., 410.  
 Zorzi Dolphin, xii., 217.  
 Zosimus, on history of tyrants, ii., 354;  
   his history, 365; tendency in  
   favour of Magnentius, iii., 439; on  
   Stilicho, v., 365; on invasion of  
   Radagaisus, 369 *sq.*  
 Zotenberg, viii., 417 *sq.*  
 Zuhri, al-, viii., 415.

347