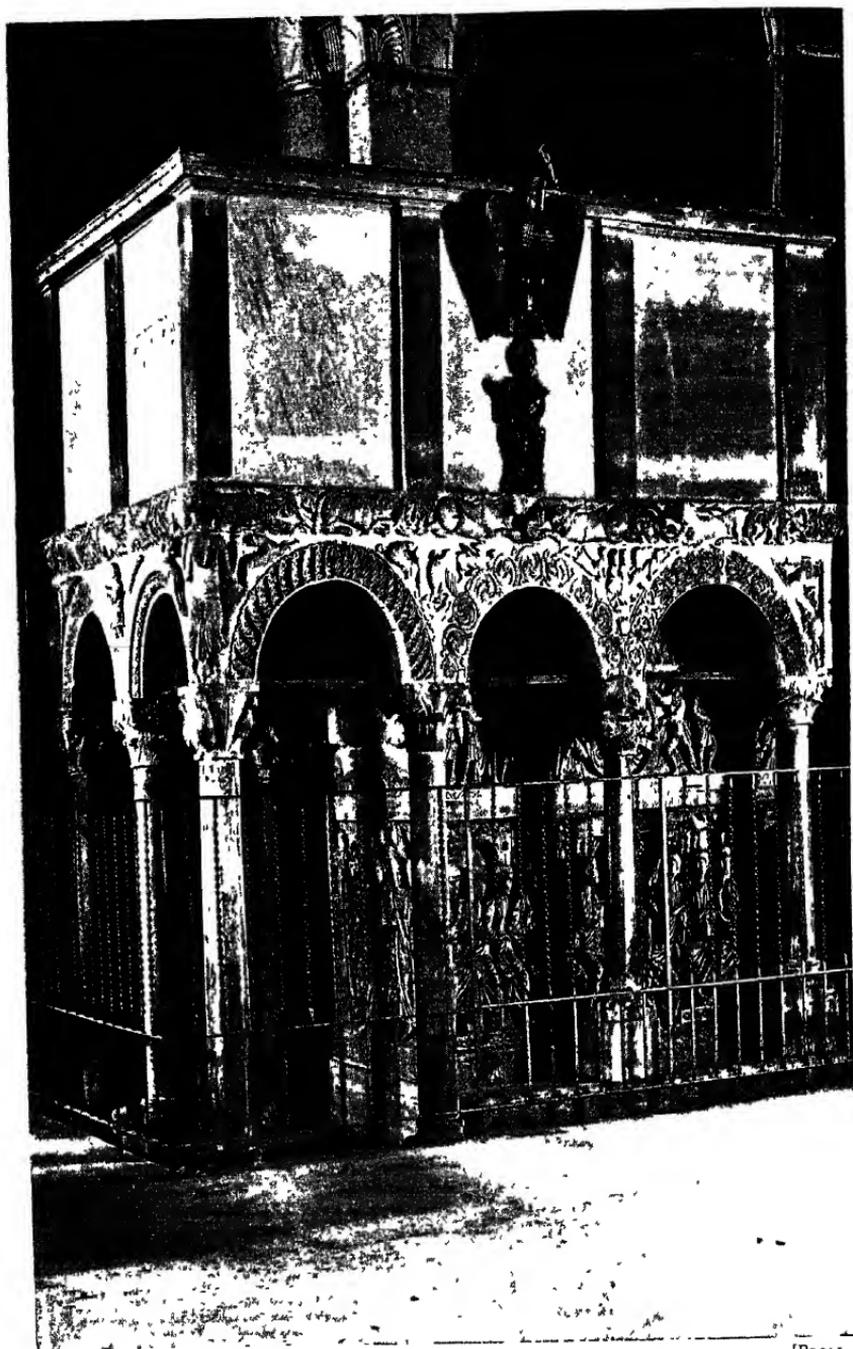


EAST AND WEST THROUGH
FIFTEEN CENTURIES



[BROGI

TOMB OF STILICHO

Placed under the pulpit in the cathedral of Milan, now the church of St. Ambrose

EAST AND WEST THROUGH FIFTEEN CENTURIES

BEING
A GENERAL HISTORY FROM ~~B.C.~~
TO A.D. 1453

By
BR-GENL. G. F. YOUNG, C.B.
AUTHOR OF "THE MEDICI"

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

IN FOUR VOLUMES

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PART IV

Destruction of the western half of the Roman Empire

(A.D. 395-476)

NOTE.—In this second volume a change in the subject from East to West, or vice versâ, is ordinarily marked by a line drawn across part of the page; while further to assist clearness headings to paragraphs are introduced.

CHAPTER XVII

ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS

395 — 410

“Long and dark the story of her wrong.”—*Virgil*.

THE Roman Empire had done its work.¹ In the 4th century it had not only reached the summit of its strength, splendour, and commercial and industrial prosperity, but had also raised mankind to a higher level of civilization and enlightenment than the world had ever before known. We are now to see in the 5th century the swift and appalling overthrow of the most important half of the splendid edifice which in the course of 1150 years Roman energy and genius had erected. The western half of the empire, having to bear almost the whole force of the barbarian flood which in wave after wave now burst upon Rome's wide dominions, went down under the inundation, being in the course of one generation to a large extent broken up, and in little more than two generations after the death of Theodosius the Great coming to an absolute end. The eastern half of the empire, chiefly owing to the unique strength of its capital city, which enabled it to divert this barbarian flood to the westward, survived; but being cut off by the destruction of the western half from the source from which most of its energy had been derived, suffered severely for a time.

The wreck of a world. It is a hard thing to realize. All its conditions of civilization,—its learning in many branches of human knowledge; its great system of law; its time-honoured principles of order and administration; its rich

¹ The rest was to be done by one half of that empire three centuries later as the protector of Europe from a devastating foe (Chap. XXV),

stores of classical literature ; its splendid achievements in architecture ; its things of beauty, statues, paintings, decorations of palaces, artistic vases and works of art of all kinds (things not again to be seen in Europe for eleven long centuries) ; its splendid Baths, with their libraries, sculpture-galleries, and race-courses ; its music, and brightness, and enjoyment, and all that makes up the life of a highly civilized people,—all were about to be destroyed by a raging sea of barbarism which neither cared for these things nor knew their use. And together with these things were also to be destroyed all those who had the power of creating them afresh. Over all Europe and North Africa swept during the next eighty years¹ universal devastation.

Such was the ruin which in the 5th century came upon the western half of the Roman Empire, and in most parts of it during the life of only one generation ; a destruction such as the world has only seen once in the course of all its long history. It is often stated that this destruction came about because the Roman army had become enervated by luxury ; but all the evidence refutes such a contention. The Roman army was as brave, as well trained, and as well led as it had ever been ; nor was it ever defeated when opposed by equal numbers. But it was simply overwhelmed and submerged by the enormous masses of foes that came against it.

That the army maintained by Rome was far too small for the defence of so wide a dominion is evident at a glance if the extent of that dominion is examined, and if the requirements, both along its northern and its eastern frontier, are considered. The organization of the Roman Empire is often praised by civilian writers on the ground that (instead of the millions of armed men now maintained in Europe) Rome contrived to defend and police her vast empire with so comparatively small a force. But that is just what Rome did *not* contrive to do. She long managed, through the bravery and self-sacrifice of her soldiers (who again and again suffered heavy losses through being pitted against superior numbers), to defend her empire with a force far too small for the purpose. But the ignoble

¹ Except in Italy, where this devastation was deferred until about sixty years later, taking place in that country in the middle of the 6th century.

policy which would sacrifice brave men's lives in order to exempt from military service those who wished to live at home at ease received at last its just reward, and Rome's endeavour to defend her empire with such a comparatively small force as she maintained proved the most conspicuous failure on record. Her brave troops were overwhelmed and swept away; when they were gone there were no others to take their place; and her empire, so far as its western half was concerned, was involved in complete destruction.

The Roman Empire was perfectly well able to prevent this result. Possessing much greater military knowledge, and the infinitely superior resources of so wide a dominion, it would, had it called forth those resources, undoubtedly have defeated the Goths and the other northern races who attacked it. But such things can only be done if the whole population are ready to bear the burdens necessary for an effective defence. If they are unwilling to bear them they are only fit for slavery, and must submit to be conquered by races willing to bear such burdens.

The great prosperity of the Roman Empire at the close of the 4th century, and the manner in which the provinces had become overspread in all directions with prosperous cities,¹ had brought it about that the Romans had by this time become almost entirely town-dwellers. A city population in the mass can never equal a country population in qualities of manliness and bravery, even under the best conditions,² and invariably gives proof of the fact by its avoidance of the risks of military service. And when the conditions, instead of being the best, are the worst, by the city population giving itself up to amusement and as much luxury as it can obtain, its determination to avoid the risks and hardships of military service becomes more inveterate. Hence the Romans, far from being ready to bear the burdens necessary for an effectual defence against the dangers which threatened them, were ready to do anything rather than bear those burdens, and in their determination to avoid them refused to believe that such dangers impended, and assured themselves that in all cases the emperor, the troops, and the difficulties of the country would bring to

¹ Vol. I. Chap. XVI, pp. 578-581.

² Though naturally it will never confess this.

naught any attacks that might be made; as had been the case in previous times.

The swiftness with which, in some countries of the empire, this destruction supervened made it the more appalling. While in Italy there was a more lingering death, in Gaul, for instance, the country passed in a single year (407) from the highest state of prosperity and civilization which it had ever known to one which saw the destruction of every principal city from Mainz to Bordeaux, agricultural lands everywhere completely devastated, and men, women, and children slaughtered or made slaves by thousands. Similarly in Spain, a country which had not seen a blow struck in war for a period as long as in England from the reign of Henry VIII to the present time, and which was, like Gaul, covered with prosperous cities, a single year (410) saw its whole population plunged into the same destruction. Its inhabitants had lived so long at ease that they had altogether forgotten what war was like. Not even the oldest inhabitant had ever experienced it, nor his father, grandfather, or great-grandfather. They imagined that to be conquered might mean loss of money or property; they little realized that it would mean death or miseries worse than death. One cannot pity the male population of those countries, for they had brought these things upon themselves by their long ignoble shrinking from the risks and hardships of military service; but great indeed must be our pity for the unhappy women and children whom they thereby delivered up to so terrible a fate.

One thing was destined to survive amidst this general wreck of all things, the Christian Church. The Roman Empire, by maintaining a strong and stable government throughout so many countries, and by bringing mankind to a state of civilization in which they were capable of appreciating the lessons of Christianity, had provided the conditions under which alone the Christian Church could grow and become strong. That Church was now firmly rooted, its organization settled, and its ancient enemy Paganism destroyed; it no longer needed the conditions which had been necessary to its infancy. It had changed the Greeks from spinners of nebulous philosophies, and the Romans from delighted spectators of the cruel carnage of the amphitheatre, to races producing

men of the type of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine; it had changed the Roman emperors from the type of Nero to that of Gratian; it was now ready by its civilizing influence gradually to change the cruel and barbarous Saxons, Franks, Northmen, Allemanni, Visigoths, and Lombards, into the civilized English, French, Normans, Germans, Spaniards, and Italians.

Arcadius and Honorius. Arcadius was eighteen when his father died and he succeeded to the rule of the eastern half of the empire. The two sons of Theodosius the Great between whom the empire was now divided¹ were both of them incapable nonentities. Theodosius had left Rufinus as the minister of Arcadius and the much greater Stilicho as the guide of Honorius, and these two men were the real rulers. Theodosius had also complicated matters a good deal, for having no intention that the empire should be permanently divided, he had left Stilicho as commander-in-chief of the whole army, both of East and West, and had also when dying adjured him to be a faithful guardian to both his sons.

Stilicho. In all the history of the decline and fall of the western half of the empire, upon which we now enter, there is no more noble figure than the commander of the Roman army, Stilicho. By birth a Vandal, but a Roman of Romans in his character and deeds, if all had been like him the western half of the empire would never have fallen before its barbarian foes. By the ignoble set of courtiers who gradually gathered round the feeble Honorius Stilicho was detested, both as being brave while they were cowardly, and as being honest and loyal while they were crafty and self-seeking. The eventual result was that a "Roman" party grew up, antagonistic to all "barbarians." The Roman chroniclers subsequently became the mouth-pieces of this "Roman" party, traducing in every way the character of Stilicho, and by them he has been represented to us as self-seeking and dis-

¹ The division was roughly a line from Vindobona to Pola, thence along the eastern coast of the Adriatic, and thence down the 20th parallel of longitude to the eastern coast of the Gulf of Syrtis, the boundary between the provinces of North Africa and Egypt.

honest. But Stilicho's actions do not tally with this picture ; while it may also be remarked that had he been a man of this character so clear-sighted a ruler as Theodosius would never have placed him in a position of uncontrolled power, and have made him the guardian of his two young sons to whom he was leaving the rule of the empire.

His father was a Vandal chief who had entered the Roman army as the commander of a body of cavalry "auxiliaries" in the time of the emperor Valens, and had been always strongly loyal to the empire.¹ Stilicho, born about 360, entered the army when quite young, his tall figure and stately presence causing even the people in the streets of Constantinople to predict his future advancement, though he was then only a private soldier. He rapidly rose in the army, and when he was only about twenty-four was sent by Theodosius the Great on an embassy to Persia, and on his return thence to Constantinople was married, about 385, to the emperor's niece Serena.² During the next ten years Stilicho rose to high rank in the army, distinguishing himself in various campaigns, and shortly before Theodosius' death was made commander-in-chief of the whole army. Of his great abilities both as a general and an administrator there has never been any question. The Pagan historian Zosimus, uniformly hostile to all connected with the Christian emperors, naturally accuses him on all occasions of treachery and corruption, but mankind in general has declared the very reverse, Stilicho's

¹ The contemporary poet Claudian says that there are no particular deeds recorded of Stilicho's father, adding in his grandiloquent style that it was sufficient honour for any man to be the father of Stilicho. Claudian, who has been called "the last of the Roman poets," though he was the most gifted writer of the age, and though he writes upon all the political events passing around him, only here and there supplies us with any valuable information. He uses the most exaggerated language, assumes the very extreme of poetical licence, is splendidly indifferent as to dates and places, and is an extravagant admirer of Stilicho, whose virtues he belauds in unmeasured terms. It is therefore only in accidental references and allusions that his statements are of value.

² Stilicho was a Christian, but whether he was an Arian Christian or a Catholic is not clear. His marriage to the niece of Theodosius, together with one or two other events of his life, make it appear that he was, nominally at all events, a Catholic.

justice, patience, integrity, freedom from avarice, and unwearied faithfulness to a most undeserving emperor, having received the highest praise, except from those who have been too ready to accept the statements of the "Roman" party. He was thirty-five years old when he was left by Theodosius the practical ruler of the western half of the empire during the minority of the eleven-year-old Honorius, and, as commander-in-chief, the defender of the whole empire against its enemies, internal or external.

Over against Stilicho stands his no less noble antagonist, Alaric, the Visigoth,¹ about four years younger than Stilicho. He was born in the island of Peuke,² in the delta of the Danube, about 364. When he was twelve years old his nation were driven out by the Huns from their forest homes, and sought the protection of the Roman power, and Alaric formed one of the host which in 376 crossed the Danube,³ witnessed as a boy all the atrocious treatment that his nation received from the officials of Valens, and was one of the boy hostages given up to the Romans. Apparently owing to his belonging to the royal family of the Visigoths, the Balti, he was treated differently from the others, being sent to Constantinople and brought up there under the *ægis* of the imperial court, and so was fortunate enough to escape the cruel slaughter which when he was fourteen fell upon the rest of the boy hostages of the Visigoths in other cities.⁴ It is extraordinary to think how different would have been the after history of the Roman Empire⁵ had Alaric shared in this destruction of so many of his boy companions. When he was sixteen, and while he was still being brought up at Constantinople, his nation, under the arrangement made by the emperor Gratian, became *fœderati* of the empire, agreeing to give up acknowledging a king of their own. And it is possible that from his earliest years Alaric, belonging to the royal family of the Visigoths, felt dispossessed of his rights

¹ Ala-Reiks, the all-ruler. The same word appears in the Ostrogoth Theoderic, the Vandal Gaiseric, the Frank Chilperic, the Spanish Roderic, and the English Leofric.

² So called from the forests of pine (*πεύκη*) with which it was covered.

³ Vol. I, Chap. XV, p. 521.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 526.

⁵ See p. 52.

in this respect. From the age of eighteen he served for about twelve years, under the emperor Theodosius, in the contingent furnished by his nation to the Roman army, fighting in various campaigns, and when he was thirty commanded the contingent of Visigoths at the battle of the Frigidus, after which battle he accompanied Theodosius to Milan.

Alaric was no "barbarian"; in religion he was an Arian Christian, he was as well educated as the ordinary Roman noble of his time, and he had had plenty of experience of the life of the court, which he justly despised. He had a sovereign contempt for the degenerate and effeminate inhabitants of the cities; but on various occasions in his contests with the Romans he displayed nobility of character, moderation in victory, a regard for humanity and justice, and also care as far as possible to avoid destroying artistic treasures and glorious monuments of the past. Probably it would not be incorrect to picture Alaric, and his successors the Visigoth kings, as much resembling many of our early English kings of the 8th and 9th centuries. Alaric and Stilicho were almost exactly contemporaries, Alaric, born four years after Stilicho, dying two years after the latter.

The position occupied by Stilicho and Rufinus, as the respective ministers of two incapable and colourless youths, inevitably created dissensions, which were aggravated by the fact that Stilicho commanded the army both of East and West. Moreover, since Stilicho was a brave and capable soldier and administrator, while Rufinus was merely a corrupt and intriguing palace official of more or less contemptible character, there were all the elements for strong discord between the rival courts of Milan and Constantinople. The intrigues and disagreements were incessant. Rufinus declared that Stilicho only sent the worst of the troops for the eastern garrisons; it may very possibly have been true, as Stilicho had in the West to confront the warlike Franks and Allemanni, and could not afford to send the best of the troops to the eastern half of the empire. He however sent back from the West the Gothic contingent, so that the eastern half of the empire could not justly complain that its army had no stiffening of troops composed of the most warlike material.

Revolt of Alaric. But mismanagement, jealousy, and small-mindedness very soon changed these same Goths from a support into a serious national danger. The grounds of complaint were various, but the combined result was that a spirit of discontent and revolt quickly spread among the Goths, who declared that they would no longer be treated by the Romans as a subject race. In addition Alaric, chief of the Visigoths, had a personal grievance of his own. He had been promised by Theodosius (or considered that he had) a high command in the eastern portion of the army, which would have given him the right to command, not merely his own Visigoths (who were "auxiliary" troops), but also the Roman legions in the centre of the line of battle; and this promise had not been fulfilled. Accordingly in Illyricum, in the spring of 395, the Visigoths raised Alaric aloft, standing upon a shield, according to their ancient custom, with loud shouts of *Thiudans* (the King), an act equivalent to revolt from the authority of the emperor.

Marriage of Arcadius. About the same time Rufinus at Constantinople suffered a severe disappointment to his schemes. He had planned to marry his daughter to Arcadius, and then to make the latter raise him to be co-emperor, and three months after the death of Theodosius the Great had made all arrangements for this marriage. Shortly before the time fixed for the marriage, however, Rufinus went on a brief visit to Antioch, in order personally to execute vengeance upon Lucian, the commander of the eastern border,¹ who had shown a disposition to ignore his authority, and whom he caused to be beaten to death with whips loaded with lead.² He was soon punished for this crime. During his absence from Constantinople upon this journey to Antioch the chamberlain Eutropius, who was his enemy, showed to Arcadius a picture of Eudoxia, then seventeen, the beautiful daughter of the deceased Count Bauto, the Frank general who had long faithfully served the empire; she was at that time in Constantinople, living in the house of the widow and sons of one of the victims of Rufinus. She was brought to the palace, the heart of Arcadius was at once captivated by her beauty and cleverness, and on the day which Rufinus had fixed for

¹ Comes Orientis (Count of the East).

² Zosimus, v, 2.

the marriage of his daughter, and while he and she awaited Arcadius at the splendid villa of Rufinus outside the city, Arcadius, starting from the palace in a magnificent procession ostensibly to proceed thither, to the surprise of the crowd stopped the procession at a house in the city, where Arcadius was promptly married to Eudoxia instead of to the daughter of Rufinus (27th April, 395). She immediately established entire sway over Arcadius to the disgust and discomfiture of Rufinus.

The Visigoths
attack Mace-
donia.

In the summer of 395 Alaric, in response to the spirit pervading the Visigoths, led them on a plundering expedition southwards into Macedonia and Thessaly. Rufinus, jealous of Stilicho, seems to have made no effort to oppose them, and, conscious of his unpopularity with all classes, appears to have conceived the idea of playing off Alaric against Stilicho.¹ Upon receiving news of this incursion Stilicho gathered a large army, drawn from both West and East, and including the contingent of the Ostrogoths (who had not taken part with the Visigoths), under their chief Gainas. But when Stilicho had at length brought the Visigoths to bay, and just as a decisive battle was expected, he received letters from Constantinople signed by Arcadius prohibiting the engagement, and ordering him to take back the legions of the West thither, and to send the Eastern portion of the army direct to Constantinople, this senseless order having been extracted from Arcadius by the artifices of Rufinus. It is a strong proof of the loyalty of Stilicho to the sons of Theodosius, and of his upright resolve at all costs to protect the empire from civil war, that though importuned by the troops to disregard this distasteful and ill-advised order, he nevertheless promptly obeyed it. Accordingly the legions of the West set off for Italy, under command of Stilicho, those of the East being ordered by him to march for Constantinople under the command of Gainas. Alaric, being thus left undisturbed, pushed on into

¹ Von Wietersheim urges in partial extenuation of Rufinus' conduct that he was placed in a position of much difficulty owing to the union of both the Eastern and Western armies under Stilicho; which no doubt was to some extent the case.

Greece, capturing Athens, Corinth, and Sparta, without however doing harm to their buildings and art treasures.

But Rufinus had over-reached himself. The Death of Rufinus. deeply disgusted troops of the eastern portion of the army marched through Thessaly and Macedonia planning revenge, but keeping their scheme an army secret.¹ On its arrival at Constantinople the army was reviewed by Arcadius and Rufinus, but to the dismay of the latter the troops slowly encompassed the platform upon which the feeble emperor and his minister stood to watch the review, and enclosing it in a gradually narrowing circle, seized Rufinus, and hacked his body to pieces, and sowed the dismembered limbs over the adjacent fields (27th Nov. 395). Thereupon Gaïnas was appointed commander-in-chief of the eastern portion of the army, and thenceforward shared with Eutropius and the empress Eudoxia the chief sway over Arcadius. A peace was patched up with Alaric, and he was given various empty titles and the rule over Illyricum, whither he led the Visigoths, and ruled that province peacefully for the next four years (396-400), administering Roman law, controlling Roman methods of taxation, and exercising the authority of a Roman governor of a province.

On the 4th April 397 the great Archbishop of Milan, Ambrose, who had so long been the leading Bishop in the Church, died, at the age of fifty-seven. Shortly before his death, Stilicho, anxious that so valuable a life might be spared, summoned the most valued of Ambrose's friends and sent them to his bedside to urge him to pray that he might live, but Ambrose told them he did not fear to die. During the previous year he had received a remarkable deputation from Bohemia, from the queen of the Marcomanni, Fritigil, who had become a Christian, and having heard of the great name of Ambrose wrote entreating him to give her further instruction. Ambrose wrote out for her a catechism, and sent it to her. On hearing in the following year that he was dying, Fritigil travelled all the way from Bohemia to Milan in the hope of speaking to him before he died, but she arrived at Milan too late, and could only kneel weeping at his tomb. He was buried in the crypt of his cathedral (now

¹ "Et fuit arcanum populo." Claudian. In Ruf. ii, 90.

14 ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS

the church of St. Ambrose), where his tomb is still to be seen.¹ In the same year that he died Chrysostom, after being twelve years the chief preacher at Antioch,² was made Pope of Constantinople.

Troubles in North Africa. Stilicho upon returning to the West had in 397 to deal with troubles in North Africa, where Gildo the Moor had raised a serious revolt which threatened to bring a famine upon Italy through the cutting off of the corn supply from North Africa, while Gildo had also put to death the sons of his brother Mascezel, who came to Milan to implore help. Stilicho with characteristic ability soon put down this revolt. He averted the danger of famine by procuring corn in large quantities from Spain and Gaul, and he prepared a small but well-equipped force which he despatched from Pisa with Mascezel to Africa, and which in a few months defeated and slew Gildo and pacified Africa. At the same time Honorius, then fourteen, was married in 398 to Stilicho's daughter Maria, who was still a child.

Eudoxia. At Constantinople in April 398 the empress Eudoxia, then twenty, gave birth to the first of her children, a daughter, Pulcheria, destined to be afterwards very celebrated. Eudoxia, young, handsome, pleasure-loving, and extravagant, was not without good points, though after her quarrel later on with Chrysostom³ (a quarrel in which he was the assailant) the ecclesiastical writers would not admit that she possessed any. She had good abilities and firmness of character, was high-spirited, generous to the poor and to the Church, and though surrounded by much immorality was faithful to her apathetic and weak-charactered husband Arcadius.

The life in the imperial palace at Constantinople at this time was very different from what it had been in the days when Constantine the Great had lived there, engaged perpetually in vast measures for the re-organization of the military and administrative affairs of an entire world. The palace built by him had by this time grown almost into a marble city, occupying, together with its gardens sloping

¹ St. Ambrose is commemorated in the Prayerbook of the Church of England on the 4th April, the day of his death.

² Vol. I, Chap. XVI, p. 561.

³ Pages 28-31.

down to the sea, the whole of the eastern end of the promontory,¹ and Arcadius and Eudoxia were seldom seen outside it, except when the latter, who had much zeal for the Church, took part in some religious function. Arcadius, torpid and apathetic, lived generally in a sort of slumber; his court was given up to frivolity, while the most extravagant magnificence in the adornment and arrangements of the imperial palace, as well as in dress and ceremonial, had become the custom. Contemporary writers have given us two pictures of this strangely assorted pair, the son of Theodosius the Great and the daughter of the brave Count Bauto, on some of the rare occasions when they were seen by the populace. The first is that of Arcadius, taking part in a procession through the crowded streets of Constantinople, sitting aloft in a chariot of gold studded with precious stones, drawn by white mules equipped with harness profusely adorned with gold, his figure clothed in robes of purple silk embroidered with golden dragons, a crowned nonentity.² The other picture is of Eudoxia, beautiful, proud, high-spirited, and spoilt, but generous to the poor, and liked by the people, walking humbly with down-cast eyes by the side of St. Chrysostom in a religious function in 398, dressed in costly robes of purple silk and with a magnificent diadem of precious stones upon her head.

But Eudoxia had troubles enough of her own Extortions of Eutropius. to encounter. The crafty Eutropius, having been instrumental in causing her to become empress, soon forced her to promote his advancement to the position of Arcadius' chief minister, and to obtain for him titles and wealth, and the high-spirited Eudoxia chafed more and more under this bondage. The avarice, luxury, and insolent arrogance of Eutropius daily increased; he seized the property of the citizens, put many of them to death upon unlawful charges, erected statues to himself in all directions, and made Eudoxia obtain for him one exalted title after another, while the people

¹ Regarding the Imperial Palace at Constantinople and the principal buildings surrounding it, see Vol. I, Chap. XIII, pp. 421-423, and Vol. II, Appendix XIX.

² The style in which the nonentity Arcadius mentions the nonentity Honorius in one of the laws promulgated by the former is, "The Lord Honorius Augustus, Brother of my Eternity."

groaned under his extortions and tyranny. In the spring of 399 Eudoxia gave birth to a second daughter, Marina,¹ and soon afterwards, upon Eudoxia's refusing to comply with some further demand, Eutropius, exceeding all bounds in his arrogance, threatened to expel her from the palace. Thereupon Eudoxia, feeling this slavery insupportable, taking her two baby girls in her arms, fled in tears to Arcadius. The latter, roused for once from his apathy by the only thing which throughout life ever moved him, his love for Eudoxia, and, as Philostorgius says, "becoming an emperor for a moment," first banished Eutropius, who was execrated by every soul in Constantinople, and subsequently, upon the necessity for Eutropius' death being insisted upon by Gainas, signed the warrant for his execution, which was promptly carried out.

Beginning of
the fall of the
western half
of the Empire.

Had any prophet arisen at this time announcing the impending ruin of one half of the empire it would have been the eastern half which would have been expected thus to fall. The western half had seen no such harrying of its provinces as had recently taken place in Macedonia and Greece, and it possessed the strongest portion of that army which had in the previous thirty-five years so often gained splendid victories over the northern races. It was however to be the western half of the empire upon which that ruin was to come. Beyond the strong boundary of its long northern frontier (which stretched for 1300 miles) were the Franks, the Allemanni, the Saxons, the Burgundians, the Suevi, the Marcomanni, the Alans, and the Vandals, and these great nations of barbarians were now to burst the barrier which had for so many generations held them back, and, together with the Goths from within the frontier at its eastern end, were during the next forty years to sweep over the whole of the western half of the empire from the Rhine to North Africa.

First invasion
of Italy by the
Visigoths.

In the summer of the year 400 the Roman army facing this immense collection of warlike races on the long frontier from the mouth of the Rhine to Belgrade on the Danube was assailed by two great invasions

¹ Called also Flaccilla.

from different directions simultaneously, one from the front, aimed at Rhætia, and the other from the right flank, aimed at Venetia. The latter invasion made itself felt first. About the end of July 400 Alaric, having at last determined to play the great game upon which his mind had for four years been secretly fixed, set out from Singidunum (Belgrade) with a host which was not merely an army, but a nation, to invade Italy. He was then about thirty-six years old. Being determined to return no more to the East, the Visigoths advanced with all their families and property, including the rich spoils they had collected in Macedonia and Greece. The veteran warriors of the nation, fearing the great name of Rome, whose power the Visigoths had felt for generations, had endeavoured to dissuade Alaric from this enterprise, prophesying that it would end in the complete destruction of the Visigothic nation. But Alaric, not to be daunted even by the elders of his nation, was determined upon nothing less than an advance upon the city of Rome itself. He declared that he had heard a mysterious voice saying to him, "Penetrabis ad Urbem."¹ The Visigoths, notwithstanding all their victories, were aghast at his temerity, but his gallant spirit carried all before it; they said, "Rightly is he called Balta (Bold), for he is indeed the boldest of mankind."

To gauge Alaric's character it is necessary to glance at this enterprise from the point of view of a Visigoth at that time. It is to us almost impossible to realize the powerful influence which the very name of Rome exercised upon the imagination of the world of that age, and even among those who were Romans by birth. The city from which the whole of that vast empire had grown; the city which to the world of that time represented London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg all rolled into one; the city which the great majority of those who bore the Roman name had never seen, but whose power was felt to the utmost limits of the known world; the city whose name had for centuries been spoken by the world with a sort of awe, being felt to be the source of the inspiration of all which had made the Roman Empire what it was. Such considerations caused the name of Rome to be uttered by

¹ "Thou shalt penetrate to the City."

mankind in a tone which has never been used in the case of any other city. As to the idea that Rome could ever be taken by a hostile army it was to mankind at large unthinkable. The outlying provinces of the empire might no doubt be invaded; such things had happened from time to time; even Italy itself might perhaps be penetrated; but that the great Roman power, which had subdued so many powerful rivals, even powers such as Carthage, Greece, and Egypt, and left no rival remaining, could ever be so beaten to its knees that an enemy could attack Rome itself, was to every one in those days unimaginable.

And if this was the appearance which the matter presented to a Roman, far more was it the case as regards the barbarian races. To the latter that distant and unseen capital of the great empire by which they had for generations been confronted, and whose name they had always heard spoken in this tone, had about it everything that to their minds was mysterious and awe-inspiring. We can thus realize something of what were the feelings of the Visigoths when they learnt that their leader was bent upon marching upon Rome, and also of what must have been Alaric's undaunted spirit, as, spurred on by his own daring alone, he set before himself this determination.

Regarding the number of the host which he commanded there is no record. But seeing that when in 376 the Visigoths crossed the Danube into Mœsia¹ their number was computed at 200,000 fighting men and the whole number of persons at a million, and that in the intervening twenty-four years they had almost certainly considerably increased, we may assume that number as the minimum to which Alaric's force amounted.

To transport such a multitude, including women, children, wagons, and property of all kinds, from Singidunum over the Julian Alps was no light undertaking. Alaric had about 500 miles to travel before reaching Italy, and marched by the same road which he had trodden six years before with Theodosius, but encumbered as he was he can only have advanced very slowly. Gradually ascending the valley of the Save, and passing by Siscia and Æmona (Laibach), he

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XV, p. 521.

at length on the 18th November, 400,¹ reached the memorable "Pear Tree" pass, conveyed his immense host over it, descended into the valley of the Frigidus, and traversing the ground where the battle had been fought in which the Goths had suffered so severely, arrived, towards the end of November, within sight of Aquileia, the Metz of the eastern corner of Italy.

Attack by Radagaisus. But this invasion by the Visigoths on the eastern side of Italy was not the only one which the Romans had to confront. Simultaneously with it, from the north, a great mixed host, composed chiefly of Vandals, Alans, and Quadi,² under Radagaisus,³ advancing from the upper course of the Danube, burst upon Rhætia. We know nothing about its total strength, but may judge of it from the fact that Stilicho considered it the more formidable of the two invasions, going in person to oppose it, and devoting to it the larger portion of the troops at his disposal. Alaric was acting in concert with Radagaisus, and it shows something of Alaric's generalship that he had arranged with Radagaisus for this attack upon the Romans from two sides at once, the north and the east, instead of making one joint attack, for it placed Stilicho in a difficult position. Moreover Radagaisus had attacked the weakest part of the frontier line, the chief strength of the Roman army being maintained further to the west, along that portion of the line which faced the Franks and the Allemanni.

Stilicho's dispositions. To meet these two formidable invasions the force which the Roman army of the West could put in the field was small indeed in comparison. The *Notitia Dignitatum* shows that the total strength in the West on paper

¹ See p. 26 (footnote).

² About this time the Quadi become known as the Suevi, by which name they are always spoken of henceforth.

³ The contemporary writers call him "Radagaisus the Goth," but it is hard to fix his nationality; he was certainly not a Visigoth, and it seems almost equally unlikely that he was an Ostrogoth. Possibly the contemporary writers may just at that time have called all invaders Goths. Gibbon insists strongly that he was not a Goth. Dr. Hodgkin thinks he may possibly have been one of the band of Ostrogoths who had remained in their original home near the Black Sea.

did not amount to more than 250,000 men, and it will probably be safer to compute it in actual fact at about 200,000. Out of this total three legions (amounting with their auxiliary troops to 36,000 men) were in Britain, required to defend the northern frontier against the Scots and the southern coast against the Saxons; most of the remaining legions had to be kept on the Rhine, confronting the Franks and the Allemanni; and besides the legion required in Africa a special force had lately been sent to that country. It would seem therefore that the force available to defend Italy cannot have amounted to more than at most 100,000 men, of which a part (perhaps 40,000) were allotted to garrison Milan and a few other cities and to oppose Alaric, and the remaining 60,000 to oppose Radagaisus. But, worst of all, there was no second line of troops or reserves; and this was the most serious weakness of the whole position.

The movements of the campaign which ensued during the years 400-402 are wrapped in the deepest obscurity, the accounts being to the last degree meagre, as well as contradictory; but the following appears to be the general course of this first invasion of Italy by Alaric.¹

Stilicho gave his chief attention to the attack of Radagaisus, evidently considering it the more formidable of the two invasions. Possibly this may have been due to his feeling that the Visigoths, encumbered as they were with women and children, wagons and property, were to a large extent neutralized as a fighting force. He, however, concentrated a force (which may perhaps have amounted to 25,000 men) at Aquileia, to engage the Visigoths upon their emerging from the pass, and appears to have distributed a few troops at other points in Lombardy. Having done this he would seem to have turned all his attention to the arrangements necessary on the northern side of the Alps in Rhætia for opposing the operations of Radagaisus, and to making Milan as strong as possible for the protection of the emperor and the court during his own absence in Rhætia.

Alaric on emerging from the difficulties of the pass over the Julian Alps found himself opposed by the force which Stilicho had placed at Aquileia,

Alaric's first
campaign in
Italy

¹ See p. 26 (footnote).

and a battle took place, towards the end of November,¹ near the banks of the Timavus, a few miles east of Aquileia, in which battle the Romans were beaten,² which was not surprising seeing that they were outnumbered by about ten to one. They probably retreated into Aquileia. Alaric, feeling that Aquileia was too strong for him to attack, passed it by, and moved forward slowly westwards into Venetia. The long time occupied by Alaric after the battle near Aquileia has been a source of difficulty to historians; but in addition to the fact that a host numbering a million persons, accompanied by wagons and *impedimenta* of all kinds, can only advance at a very slow rate of march, there were two other reasons for this slow advance. The first was that Alaric was acting in concert with Radagaisus, and was probably anxious to hear that the latter had actually crossed the Alps and descended into Italy before he himself turned southwards towards Rome. The second reason was the nature of the ground Alaric had to traverse. The whole of the drainage of the southern side of the Alps, from the mountains of Dauphiné on the west (where the Po rises) to the Julian Alps on the east, discharges itself into the Adriatic through this part of Italy, and between Aquileia and Ravenna (the next point where he is heard of) Alaric had to convey his cumbrous host over not less than thirty-two unbridged rivers, including such large rivers as the Piave, the Brenta, the Adige, and the Po. And the generalship of Stilicho, in disregarding Alaric for a time and devoting his chief attention to Radagaisus, even though the Visigoth invasion appeared at first sight the more alarming, is fully shown; for owing to his effective operations against Radagaisus the latter never in this campaign got across the Alps, and the whole of Alaric's plans were thereby upset.

The distance from Aquileia to Ravenna is 200 miles, the

¹ From the Theodosian Code it appears that Honorius paid a short visit to Ravenna about August. This he would not have dared to do at any time after the Visigoths crossed the Pear Tree pass; which helps to corroborate the date of Alaric's reaching there as being November, as stated by Prosper Tiro.

² In Claudian's poem *De Bello Getico* Stilicho urges his soldiers to avenge the defeat by the Timavus (Claudian, *De Bello Getico*, 562-563).

route turning to the south about halfway at Padua, which in the reign of Augustus was the wealthiest city in northern Italy. By the time that Alaric, having crossed about fifteen large rivers, reached Padua, probably towards the end of January 401, there was still no news of Radagaisus having got across the Alps. Alaric therefore gave up waiting for him, and after plundering Padua, turned southwards towards Ravenna, evidently intending to march by the coast road from Ravenna to Ancona and to cross the Apennines by Foligno and Terni to Rome. Taking into consideration the crossing of seventeen more rivers (each of which would take such a host several days to cross), including the Adige and the Po,¹ he probably did not reach the vicinity of Ravenna (protected by a perfect labyrinth of marshes and streams) until April 401. Here he got as far as the bridge of Candidianus,² about three miles from the city, but there his journey southwards ended.

Great was the consternation at the court of Milan when it was learnt that the Visigoths had defeated the Roman force at Aquileia, and were actually in Italy, and advancing through Venetia, and that another huge host was coming over the Alps upon Milan from the north of Rhætia. Honorius (by this time sixteen) and the whole of the nobles of the court made the wildest proposals, chiefly concerned with their own safety, urging that the emperor and the court should fly to Gaul or to Corsica. One man alone kept his head. Stilicho harangued the panic-stricken court, told them not to fear, that Italy had withstood inroads of barbarians before, that he had made Milan strong enough to resist any attack by the Visigoths and had placed troops in other cities around, that the rivers of Lombardy were proving immense obstacles to the Visigoths, and would continue to do so, that he was collecting a strong army north of the Alps to oppose Radagaisus and was about to take command of it himself, and that he would drive back Radagaisus and would then return to dispose of Alaric, ending by reminding them that he was leaving

¹ Stilicho's speech in Claudian's poem specially mentions the difficulties which the rivers of Lombardy were proving to Alaric.

² Jordanes says that he reached the bridge of Candidianus (Jordanes, *De Rebus Geticis*, xxix).

his own wife and child at Milan, and assuring them that there was nothing to be feared while he was absent.

Having thus calmed their fears as far as he could and completed all arrangements for the security of Milan, Stilicho, about the end of December, 400, departed to cross the Alps and drive back the invasion of Radagaisus. He sailed in a small boat up the lake of Como, and in the depth of the winter of 400-401 forced his way over the Alps, apparently in the direction of the Splügen pass.¹ Claudian, in his ornate language, gives a graphic description of this journey of Stilicho's, describing the height of the mountains, the fathomless abysses, the terrible frost, the avalanches, and the hardships of the journey.² To oppose the invasion from the north Stilicho had gathered in Rhætia every available man. He had collected there various legions from the Rhine, risking for a time the danger of denuding the Rhine frontier, had similarly withdrawn from Britain the Twentieth Legion,³ which for centuries had been stationed in that country, sending it to Rhætia, and had also raised in the trans-Alpine provinces a number of fresh troops. We have not a single detail regarding the course of this campaign north of the Alps (which apparently occupied about eleven months, from February 401 to January 402), beyond the one fact that Stilicho entirely defeated the host of Radagaisus and drove them right back across the Danube. This done, he marched back, arriving in March 402 at Milan, bringing with him the greater part of his victorious troops, and fully deserved the applause which he received for having, as Claudian says, "in those Alpine huts redeemed thee, Rome."

Meanwhile Alaric had been experiencing many difficulties, and had made a complete change in his plans. From the first the veterans of the Visigoths had prophesied disaster; and by the time that Alaric reached the vicinity of Ravenna, about April 401, the immense difficulties of the preceding four

¹ There is no question of this journey over the Alps having been made in the depth of the winter, but it has been held to be the winter of 401-402. I have given my reasons for thinking it was the winter of 400-401 (Note F, p. 54).

² Claudian, *De Bello Getico*, 348-362.

³ Corroborated by Hinde's *History of Northumberland*, p. 19. The other two legions were not at this time withdrawn from Britain.

months in conveying the host over the numerous rivers of Lombardy had apparently made this feeling burst out more strongly than ever. The chiefs of the nation assembled and urged Alaric to desist from his enterprise, and to quit Italy, declaring that Rome was protected by the immortal gods. Alaric, burning with wrath, and mentioning the voice which he had heard promising him that he should "penetrate to the City," spoke of how the Alps and the Po had been overcome, and refused to depart from Italy, saying, "In this land I will reign as a conqueror, or be buried after defeat."¹ But whether in consequence of this harangue on the part of the elders of the Visigoths, or owing to Alaric's having by this time realized that it was impossible to convey such a host over the difficult passes of the Apennines, together with food for them during the operation, and that he would never be able to take Rome while thus encumbered with a host of non-combatants, or through his hearing that the dreaded Stilicho had departed from Milan and thinking therefore to capture the emperor, Alaric about the month of April 401 turned back from Ravenna westwards towards Milan, which as the actual capital and the residence of the emperor would if he could capture it be more valuable for his purpose than Rome.

To reach Milan he had again to cross numerous rivers,

¹ Claudian, *De Bello Getico*, 544-547. Claudian makes this harangue of the Visigoth veterans take place a year later, on the morning of the battle of Pollentia; but Claudian is perfectly regardless of dates and places, claiming a very full poetical licence in such matters, and it is certain that these divided counsels took place long before that, and were probably to a large extent the cause of the change of plans at Ravenna. Moreover there would have been no sense in the veterans thus haranguing Alaric at the moment when such a battle was about to begin. Nor was Alaric at the time of the battle of Pollentia directing his course towards Rome, so that there would be no meaning in arguments against it.

It is to be noticed that when recording this speech of Alaric's as to reigning in Italy as a conqueror Claudian is not speaking poetically after the event. On the contrary he had no idea that such a conquest would ever take place, and is taunting Alaric (after the defeat of Pollentia) with the entire failure of all his dreams of taking Rome. Nevertheless six years after Claudian's poem was written (404) Alaric did take Rome, and did "reign as a conqueror" in Italy, and was buried in that land.

including a second crossing of the Po ; and whether he moved by the north or south of the Po he would have to encounter various strong cities, and such troops as Stilicho had allotted for the defence of northern Italy, perhaps including part of the force which had been beaten, but not destroyed, at Aquileia. We have no details of Alaric's movements during the next twelve months, except that there was desultory warfare, unsuccessful attempts to take several cities, and for a time a futile siege of Milan, followed by a move towards Turin. Apparently after various desultory contests, and much plundering of the smaller towns, he reached Milan some time in the autumn, endeavoured fruitlessly for some months to besiege that city, and at length on hearing that Radagaisus had been driven back to the Danube, and that Stilicho was returning, abandoned the siege and moved westwards towards Turin, and thence, crossing the Po for the third time, moved southwards to Pollentia on the Tanaro, about 25 miles south of Turin.

Battle of
Pollentia. Stilicho upon his return from the north wasted no time at Milan. Starting from thence with the victorious troops brought with him from Rhætia, and marching in pursuit of the Visigoths, he on the 6th April 402 attacked Alaric at Pollentia, though with a much inferior force. The battle lasted till nightfall when the Visigoths retreated, the Romans being left in possession of the field, and capturing much valuable spoil and numerous prisoners, including Alaric's own wife and children. On the capacious Gothic wagons captured were heaped piles of valuable plunder carried off by the Visigoths from Greece, massive gold and silver bowls, Grecian women's ornaments, and trinkets of various kinds, while as the result of the victory there were at the same time set free numbers of Greek captives. The Visigoths retreated in good order, and Stilicho wisely, with his inferior force, refrained from driving them to extremities. A treaty was thereupon concluded between Stilicho and Alaric, the latter agreeing to evacuate Italy and receiving back his wife and children. The Visigoths slowly retreated through Venetia, but in passing Verona attempted to seize and plunder that city, whereupon they were again attacked by Stilicho and defeated, after which, about the month of July 402, they re-

crossed the Julian Alps into Illyricum. And so ended Alaric's first invasion of Italy.¹

The Visigoths, as they laboriously conveyed their great wagons, women, children, and what was left of their property over the difficulties of the Julian Alps and descended again into Illyricum, which they had left thinking never to see it again, must have felt a considerable sense of shame at their defeat. For as the result of two years of incessant hardships they had achieved nothing, and had suffered the loss of all the captives and plunder which they had brought with them from Greece. And this notwithstanding that Stilicho had never during the whole campaign had half their number of fighting men. Had the Visigoths been a more excitable race they would almost certainly have murdered Alaric, or at all events deposed him, as a consequence of this complete failure after his refusal to listen when they had urged him not to make the attempt to conquer Italy. That they did not take any action of the kind, but still trusted Alaric, speaks well both for him and for them. As in these days, in travelling from Milan to Bologna or Bologna to Padua, one traverses in all the comfort of a modern railway carriage mile after mile of the great plain of Lombardy, it is impossible not to think of Alaric's marches and countermarches over this same ground during many months, encumbered with his great wagons and host of non-combatants, making each of the rivers so quickly crossed by us an obstacle involving countless difficulties and vexatious delays to him; and the thought enables us to gain some idea of the lofty spirit possessed by this first great Teutonic invader of Italy, who in the midst of so many difficulties, and with all around him discouraging his project, never lost heart, and in the end gained the reward of his steadfast courage, and became the first conqueror of Rome.

Affairs at
Constantinople.

While these important events had been taking place in the West, the court at Constantinople had

¹ For the chronology of Alaric's first campaign in Italy the authorities (with diverse opinions) are Gibbon, Tillemont, Clinton, Pallmann, von Wietersheim, Prof. Bury, and Dr. Hodgkin. I have however ventured to differ from the whole of these authorities as to the chronology of this campaign for the reasons given in Note F, p. 54.

been mainly occupied with minor troubles. The death of Eutropius in November 399 left Arcadius to the guidance of Gaïnas and Eudoxia. But a conflict soon arose between them. On the 3rd April 400 Eudoxia bore a third daughter, Arcadia, and soon afterwards Gaïnas, in order to make his authority supreme, substituted Ostrogoths for the Roman troops throughout the city, and at the same time demanded that a church should be given over to them for the Arian form of worship. Under Eudoxia's influence this was refused; hostility was aroused, the people (sympathizing with Eudoxia) believed the Goths were about to attack the palace, and in July, during the absence of Gaïnas from Constantinople, the populace in a sudden panic, set upon the Goths and massacred them throughout the city. Gaïnas being thereupon declared a public enemy, attempted to take some of the cities in Thrace, but was defeated and driven across the Danube, where in December 400 he was attacked and killed by Uldin the Hun, which left Eudoxia the sole power in the State.

Birth of Theodosius II On the 30th October 401 Eudoxia, now twenty-three, to the great joy of the whole of Constantinople, gave birth to a son, who was named Theodosius, while the occasion was celebrated with great festivities. Marcus, a deacon who just at this time accompanied Porphirius, the Bishop of Gaza, on a journey to Constantinople to present a petition to the emperor, gives an interesting account of their reception on the 20th October by the empress Eudoxia, who received them reclining upon a golden sofa, and to whom they presented their petition, while she in return asked for their prayers in her approaching confinement, and he describes the general delight when ten days afterwards she gave birth to a son, and says that because this boy was "born in the purple"¹ he was proclaimed emperor at his birth. He also relates how at their next visit to the palace, seven days later, the empress came forth from the private apartments bearing

¹ Meaning a son born after his father became emperor. The phrase was given still more emphasis by the apartment in the imperial palace, its walls lined with porphyry and entirely hung with purple, to which it was customary that the empresses should retire for their accouchement. Arcadius himself had not been "born in the purple," being born before his father Theodosius became emperor, and hence the special joy on this occasion, and the unusual honours accorded to this boy.

the child in her arms to be blessed by the Bishop, and told them, in order to secure the grant of their petition, to be present at the cathedral when the boy was baptized and to place their petition in the baby's hands; this being Eudoxia's ruse for securing success for them in a matter to which Arcadius was likely to be opposed; that they did as she had directed them, and were successful. He describes how profusely the city was adorned on the day of the baptism, the houses being hung with silken cloths and garlands of flowers, and the populace being all dressed in white for the occasion. He also relates that Eudoxia was generally known to be favourable to the Church, which emboldened them to make their petition to her, rather than to the emperor; he mentions the uniform kindness which they received from her; and finally when, after remaining in Constantinople until Easter 402, they visited her to take their leave on the 12th April 402, how she gave the Bishop a sum of money equal to £8200 to build a church at Gaza, and to each of their party a sum equal to £57, besides other gifts, and in bidding them adieu said, "Remember always me and my child."¹

Eudoxia and Chrysostom. But it was decidedly hard for Eudoxia that the birth of each of her children was accompanied by a fresh conflict for her, and no sooner was her son born than she was drawn into a contest which became the principal event of the colourless reign of Arcadius. Until now Eudoxia had lived upon good terms with the stern Pope of Constantinople, John Chrysostom. Things however which the 2nd and 3rd centuries regarded with unconcern were not looked upon in the same light in the 5th century. Chrysostom, from the time that he arrived at Constantinople five years before, had with justice severely attacked the luxurious ways of society,²

¹ *Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza, by Mark the Deacon*, translated and annotated by G. F. Hill (1913), pp. 49-65.

² The nobility in Constantinople at this time lived in greater luxury than even ten centuries later the nobility in western Europe attained. Their palaces had marble walls, doors of ivory, ceilings inlaid with gold, floors inlaid with mosaic, rich carpets and hangings on the floors and windows, beds of solid silver or plated with gold or silver, tables of gold or silver, and chairs often of ivory. Their dresses were embroidered with gold, their carriages and harness were adorned with gold, and even their servants wore gold ornaments. (*Bury, Later Roman Empire*, I, 198.)

constantly preaching on the subject in the cathedral of St. Sophia, and Eudoxia, who always showed considerable religious zeal, had not allowed this line of action on his part to cause any rupture in the friendly relations between him and herself. But shortly before the time that Eudoxia's son was born Chrysostom began to denounce more strenuously the luxury and frivolity of the court and of the wealthy ladies of Constantinople, and in particular three rich young widows, Marsa, Castricia, and Eugraphia, who were all friends of Eudoxia.¹ These ladies appealed to the empress, and their representations gained still greater weight when in a short time the trenchant sermons of Chrysostom (often preached in Eudoxia's presence as she sat in a prominent place in the gallery) contained severe allusions to Eudoxia herself among others. Whether Eudoxia took any action in support of her friends we are not informed, but it seems probable, as from this time forth a rupture between her and Chrysostom took place, and his language against her no longer took the form of allusions, but changed to violent denunciations of her conduct.

In this well known contest between St. Chrysostom and the empress Eudoxia the whole matter has always been related from the point of view of the Church, which has scouted the idea that the sainted Chrysostom could be in error on any occasion, and has belauded him highly for being ready to defy an emperor, not on a question of doctrine (as others in his position rightly did on some occasions), but over such a matter as the luxury and frivolity of the empress and the court. But that is not the view which will be taken by any man who has had to do with State affairs and matters into which the question of the relative functions of Church and State enter. We must not in this affair be led away by the strong partisanship of the Church writers in favour of the noble, earnest, and fiery-hearted Chrysostom, writers who seem to have forgotten that the State is also a divine institution and that

¹ One thing against which Chrysostom specially inveighed was the ladies' fringes, a new fashion adopted by the fast set at the court in place of the previous custom of wearing a veil entirely hiding the hair. He also denounced Eugraphia's using rouge, on the ground that the money which it cost should be given to the poor.

"the powers that be are ordained of God." Chrysostom was certainly entirely in the right in denouncing powerfully the extravagance, luxury, and frivolity of the court; but he was just as certainly entirely in the wrong (in view of the positions which he and she respectively held) in publicly using the language that he did towards Eudoxia, who was the reigning authority in the State. Chrysostom's noble character gains nothing by endeavouring to defend his speaking of the empress publicly in his sermons as "Jezebel" and "Herodias," a mode of action whereby he made it impossible that he should continue to occupy the position he did if Arcadius was to continue emperor. Chrysostom's fiery temperament led him to exceed all due bounds, and to use language in his sermons which in cooler moments his own wisdom and sense of what was fitting must have caused him to see was an error both in charity and in judgment.

It has been held, Eudoxia having been always a strong supporter of the Church, that Chrysostom was impelled to use the violent language that he did through feeling "a bitter disillusion." Whether this be the case or not, it is plain that Eudoxia had also much cause for bitterness. Chrysostom's language was altogether unmeasured, and no woman in the position of an empress could be expected to endure being compared before the people she ruled to "Herodias" and to "Jezebel," terms moreover which implied charges against Eudoxia's moral character which were untrue, and not to be tolerated by her either as an empress or as a woman. Added to this, since in Constantinople no quarrel was ever long without having theological questions imported into it, a petty religious dispute after a time added its quota to the bitterness on either side, owing to Eudoxia taking up the cause of certain bishops in Asia Minor whom Chrysostom had deposed without giving them a fair hearing, acting in the matter as accuser, witness, and judge.

Nevertheless Eudoxia showed considerable patience and forbearance. For she bore with this constant public denunciation of herself for two whole years. At last, however, in July 403 she took the step which was inevitable from the first if Arcadius and she were to continue to be the rulers of the empire, and made Arcadius banish Chrysostom from Con-

stantinople. After a time, however, she relented, and Chrysostom was recalled to his see. But a few months later, in June 404, a handsome silver statue of Eudoxia ¹ was erected in her honour by Simplicius, the Prefect of the city, in the Augusteum, the open space between St. Sophia and the imperial palace, and on this occasion certain bygone ceremonies customary in Pagan times at the erection of statues, accompanied by various festivities and merriment, caused so much noise as to interrupt the services in the cathedral. This roused the hot indignation of Chrysostom, and drew forth a violent sermon from him in which Eudoxia was once more stigmatized as "Jezebel", and alluded to with the words, "Again Herodias dances"; whereupon Chrysostom was a second time banished. Whether by accident or design on the night that he left Constantinople the cathedral of St. Sophia caught fire, and was entirely burnt. Less than four months later, on the 6th October 404, Eudoxia died at the age of twenty-six in giving birth to a dead child. Arcadius was inconsolable, and mourned her loss deeply. Thenceforth he passed into the hands of the capable Anthemius, who became his minister and wielded the whole power.

Removal of
western capital
to Ravenna.

Having defeated and driven out of Italy both Radagaisus and Alaric, Stilicho in December 402 removed the emperor Honorius and the court of the West from Milan to the safer situation of Ravenna, which city, surrounded on all sides by almost impassable marshes, was secure from any attack except by sea. And Ravenna thenceforth became for the next 350 years the capital of Italy. This removal to Ravenna occupied the chief attention during 403, and in 404 Honorius (by this time twenty), with his young wife Maria, Stilicho, and the latter's wife Serena, Honorius' cousin, paid a visit to Rome, where there took place great festivities in honour of Honorius for the defeat of Rome's enemies. The ancient games were revived, together with a combat of gladiators in the Colosseum, the last which ever

¹ This silver statue was placed upon a lofty pedestal of porphyry, and was much admired. Part of the porphyry pedestal was discovered in 1848 in making some excavations near the spot, and is now preserved in Constantinople.

took place. In the midst of it a monk from North Africa, Telemachus, who had travelled from thence with this special intention, strode into the arena, and denounced the combat as un-Christian and against the edict of Constantine. He was then and there stoned to death by the enraged populace. He died, but not in vain. For this terrible scene caused it to be thereupon ruled that Constantine's edict, prohibiting gladiatorial combats, should in future be applicable to Rome no less than other cities. And they never took place again.

But these festivities at Rome, in triumph at the defeat of Rome's enemies, were premature. Under many influences, but chiefly under that of having upon the throne a useless and effeminate nonentity, and of the example thereby given to all whose nature prompted them to shirk the hardships of war, the might of Rome had considerably declined. Only thirty years had elapsed since Valentinian, when the Quadi dared to ravage a Roman province, had marched into their country, devastated it from end to end, slain immense numbers of them, and brought the Quadi to absolute submission; and only twenty-six years since Gratian, when the Allemanni ventured to cross the Rhine and plunder the adjacent district, had driven them back over the river, slain their king and three-fourths of their force, and marched as a conqueror through their country. But ten years of effeminacy in high places had wrought a great change in all this, as Stilicho knew, and as all men were soon to be taught in the sternest fashion. And these festivities at Rome in 404 were the last of this kind which that city was to see for many long centuries.

Second invasion by Radagaisus. In the spring of 405 another great invasion of barbarians, again led by Radagaisus, and composed of a mixed host of Vandals, Alans, Suevi, and other tribes, amounting according to some accounts to 400,000 men, burst over the northern frontier of Italy like some huge tidal wave, overwhelming and sweeping away the Roman troops guarding it, who appear to have been completely swallowed up by the advancing flood, for we hear of no battle in defence of the passes over the Alps. Radagaisus is said to have been by far the most savage of all the enemies of Rome; he was fanatically devoted to the heathen gods of his ancestors, and swore to propitiate them with the blood of all who bore

the Roman name. Pouring down into Lombardy, through which they marched in several divisions, and ignoring on the one hand Stilicho, who was collecting troops at Pavia, and on the other hand the timid court at Ravenna, shut up behind its marshes, this great host swept on towards Florence, bound for Rome, and committing terrible atrocities on their way.

Honorius, now twenty-two, showed himself in this crisis truly a notable contrast to all his predecessors since the time of Constantine the Great. Not to mention great soldiers like Constantine, Valentinian I, or his own father Theodosius I, at his age his predecessors Gratian, Julian, and the sons of Constantine had been leading armies against such barbarians, and winning victories over them. But Honorius, when he should at such a time have been at the head of his army, helping to defend his throne and empire (if only by the encouragement of his presence), remained carefully shut up behind the walls of Ravenna, and occupied with the only matter in which throughout life he is recorded to have taken any interest—the rearing of chickens. His example was contagious, and around him there naturally gathered courtiers of a like effeminate and pusillanimous spirit.

Radagaisus' host reached further than the Visigoths had done, but were brought to bay in the Apennines. Animated by a leader named Ambrose, Florence, then occupying the height of Fiesole, and covering the passage over the Arno, blocked their way, and caused them to halt for a short time, thus giving Stilicho an opportunity to come up with the troops that he had collected. Stilicho, having too weak a force to fight such a host, managed, assisted by the hilly nature of the country, while avoiding a battle to construct with much strategical skill a system of entrenchments around them, gradually enclosing them in the mountains, and by cutting off their supplies at last forced them by famine to surrender. Radagaisus tried to steal away, but was caught, and put to death; those of his followers who had not died of starvation were sold as slaves; and thus the great invading host melted away, and again Rome was saved. Stilicho obtained greater honour than ever, being almost worshipped by the people, who recognized in him their sole preserver from intolerable miseries.

Secret animosity against Stilicho.
 Meanwhile, however, Stilicho, now at the height of his glory, was beginning to suffer the usual troubles of a successful general, troubles from which even one whose successes have been gained as a defender of his country is not immune. In five years he had successfully dealt the barbarian foes of Rome three signal blows. He had repelled and thrust back the first invasion of Vandals, Alans, and Suevi under Radagaisus, he had driven the Visigoths with ignominy out of Italy, and he had completely defeated the second invasion under Radagaisus, destroying both him and the whole of his great host. But his successes had begun to bring upon him the animosity which a man in his position seldom escapes. All the despicable and cowardly spirits who had been panic-struck upon hearing that the Visigoths had entered Italy, who had urged flight to Corsica or Gaul, and whose fears Stilicho had (possibly even with some contempt) tried to calm; all the ignoble souls who, afraid of military service, had cowered behind the walls of Milan and Ravenna while he was risking his life in their defence; and all those whose mean spirit made them jealous of any other man who gained honour, even though that honour was gained by defending them, were beginning the usual methods of such men, and, consumed with envy and malice against one whose conduct brought their own into such strong contrast, were beginning to search for means by which to bring Stilicho to ruin. They began insidiously to whisper into the ears of the feeble Honorius during Stilicho's absence in the field everything which they could devise to undermine his character and influence. They hinted that he was usurping the power of the emperor and making him a nonentity; which since Honorius *was* by nature an entire nonentity was a charge easily brought. They insinuated suggestions that Stilicho was acting a double part in regard to Alaric, and was secretly in league with the latter. They who had not been present at any of the engagements dared to insinuate that the might of Rome could easily have destroyed the Visigoths, and that it was by treacherous collusion on the part of Stilicho with Alaric that the latter had so often escaped destruction. By steadily dropping veiled hints of this kind, they began to lay a train which they had good reason to hope would in time destroy Stilicho.

Invasion of Gaul by the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi. In the ruin which was befalling the western half of the empire there had thus far been no actual dismemberment. The empire had sustained three formidable invasions in five years (400-405), but though suffering grievous ravages had successfully driven out the invaders. Now, however, there was to come the disruption of various provinces. Towards the end of the year 406 another still greater invasion, which was a migration of whole nations, took place, this time coming upon Gaul, Constantine's model province. The Vandals, the Alans, and the Suevi, accompanied by all their families, crossed the Rhine in a vast host near Mainz, and, again like a huge tidal wave, overwhelmed, engulfed, and swallowed up the Roman legions on the Rhine frontier, of whom no more is heard, and poured over the whole of Gaul, destroying during the year 407 Trèves (the capital of the western prefecture), Mainz, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, Châlons, Troyes, Paris, Orléans, Tours, Poitiers, Limoges, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Narbonne, and numerous smaller cities. Almost simultaneously there occurred a similar migration of the Allemanni, who, crossing the Rhine higher up, spread over the districts east of the Moselle, destroying Worms, Spiers, Strassburg, and other cities. Limenius, the Prefect of Gaul, and Chariobaudes, the commander-in-chief, escaped with their lives to Italy. And thereupon Gaul, the most flourishing and civilized province of the empire, passes out of view, remaining henceforth in barbarian hands.¹ The devastation wrought, and the atrocities committed, were terrible; none had ever seen anything similar; but there survived few to chronicle them, and a dark cloud settled down over Gaul. At the same time a usurper named Constantine seized the rule in Britain, and taking with him the two legions quartered there crossed into Gaul to increase the miseries of that unhappy country by endeavouring to seize a portion of it for himself.² After various contests with the barbarians, and a defeat in southern Gaul from the general Sarus, he attempted to penetrate into Spain, but failing in that endeavour

¹ Though part of it was recovered for a time during the years 428-437 (see Chap. XVIII, pp. 73 and 85).

² This is the real abandonment of Britain. It left that country without any regular troops to oppose the Scots in the north and the Saxons in the south.

retired again to Gaul and established himself for a time at Arles.¹

Death of
Arcadius

In the eastern half of the empire Arcadius, from the time of Eudoxia's death in 404, remained even more of a nonentity than ever. The banished Chrysostom was not recalled, nor was it justly to be expected. Arcadius, weak and colourless though he was, displayed in his solitary characteristic a more worthy nature than did his brother Honorius. For while the sole characteristic of Honorius was his interest in the rearing of fowls, that of Arcadius was his great affection for his wife Eudoxia. It was therefore not to be expected that Chrysostom, after his vehement diatribes against the deceased Eudoxia, could be reinstated. Chrysostom suffered the hardships of a rough banishment for three years, at the end of which, worn out by the harsh treatment of his guards and the inclement climate of the mountains of the Caucasus, he died at Comana in Pontus in September 407, at the age of fifty-six. In this latter year Alaric, who since being driven out of Italy in 402 had remained in Illyricum, made an expedition into Epirus, but after a short time, hearing of the fresh troubles in the West, he returned thence, and began to prepare for another attempt to invade Italy and take Rome. Soon afterwards, on the 1st May 408, Arcadius died, at the age of thirty-one. He left four children, the eldest his daughter Pulcheria aged ten, and the youngest his son Theodosius, aged seven. The latter succeeded his father with the title of Theodosius II, public affairs continuing to be conducted for some years by the capable minister Anthemius.

Two peculiar documents connected with the last years of

¹ It will thus be seen that the common idea that the Roman Empire withdrew its legions from Britain is incorrect. Stilicho, being of opinion that Britain could spare one legion, had in 400 summoned the Twentieth legion to him for his campaign in Rhetia, leaving the other two legions, the Second and the Sixth (representing with their auxiliaries about 24,000 men), to garrison Britain. These two legions were never withdrawn by the imperial authority at all; they were carried off from Britain to Gaul in 407 by a usurper who desired to seize a portion of Gaul for himself, and who was attacked and partially defeated by an imperial general.

Arcadius have been brought to light by Cardinal Baronius. From his place of banishment during the years 404-407 Chrysostom addressed a letter in triplicate to the three most important Bishops of the West at that time, the Bishop of Rome, the Bishop of Milan, and the Bishop of Aquileia, describing the manner in which he had been driven from his see of Constantinople, and entreating them to bring their influence to bear upon the two emperors, Arcadius and Honorius, to obtain the assembly of a General Council to enquire into the whole affair. The original letters in Greek are addressed to these three Bishops; but the copy addressed to the Bishop of Rome has been tampered with, apparently during the Middle Ages, the singular being everywhere substituted for the plural, so as to make it appear that the appeal was solely addressed to the Bishop of Rome. In response to this application nothing appears to have taken place. But a second document, drawn up in Latin, exists, which contains a regular act of excommunication of the emperor Arcadius for his treatment of Chrysostom. This on being examined has been shown to be a forgery of the Middle Ages, the language being of that period and not of the 5th century; in this forgery the Empress Eudoxia is included in the excommunication, through ignorance on the part of the Medieval forger that at the time when the document purports to be written she was dead.

Cabal to de-
stroy Stilicho. In 408 the despicable court nobles at Ravenna, who if they had no heart for fighting to defend their country could nevertheless destroy a brave man, at length succeeded in their schemes to put an end to the only general that the empire possessed, one who had three times saved Rome, even though so heavily handicapped by the character and example of its emperor. Honorius, now twenty-four, whose child-wife Maria had died in 406, had lately been married to Stilicho's second daughter Thermantia; but even this did not protect Stilicho, whose enemies at the court now succeeded in gaining an assistant exactly suited to their purpose. Olympius, a cunning Greek, had, through Stilicho's patronage, obtained an appointment at the court, and by judicious sycophancy and much unctuous pretence of religion, had ere long

wormed himself into the position of chancellor to Honorius. Even Zosimus says of him that "under an appearance of Christian piety he concealed a great deal of rascality." Allying himself with the treacherous court nobles, and also with a party among the clergy who disapproved of the marriage of the sister of the late empress to Honorius, and who had also imbibed a notion that Stilicho's son Eucherius was at heart a Pagan and anxious to reintroduce that religion, Olympius entered upon a course of steadily whispering away the character of his benefactor Stilicho. In addition to the former accusations¹ it was now insinuated to Honorius that Stilicho was conducting a fresh series of negotiations with Alaric, their object being, while sending Alaric to retake Gaul, himself to take possession of the eastern half of the empire as the nominal guardian of the boy Theodosius II. It was also declared that Stilicho meditated at the same time placing his son Eucherius upon the throne of the west in place of Honorius. Besides the jealous court nobles and the ecclesiastics who had allied themselves with Olympius, a third party who were also inimical to Stilicho and his wife Serena were the Pagans in Rome, to whom Stilicho was obnoxious in consequence of his having stripped off the massive gold plates from the doors of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus to provide pay for the troops, and Serena in consequence of her taking the necklace from the statue of the goddess Rhea in 389.²

It is exceedingly difficult to trace out the truth in the midst of this labyrinth of falsehoods employed for the undermining of Stilicho, because almost our only authorities are Zosimus, who is the mouthpiece of the bitterly antagonistic Pagan party, and Orosius, an excessively narrow-minded and ignorant Spanish ecclesiastic to whom Stilicho is odious, and who represents the clerical party who had adopted the insane idea that Eucherius was to become the means of reintroducing Paganism. Hence the only course is to look at Stilicho's acknowledged deeds. The charge that he was meditating treachery against Honorius is belied by every act of his life, and was singularly base when made against one who by a mere push of one hand could at any time after the death of Theodosius the Great have taken the throne of the western half of the empire from

¹ Page 34.

² Vol. I, Chap. XVI, p. 565.

its feeble and effeminate occupant, and have ruled that empire well, and possibly have saved it from destruction. If Stilicho had any fault it was of a very different nature, and was that of a too great faithfulness to one whose occupation of the throne at such a time was a calamity to the empire, and whom Stilicho must for at least eight years, from the time of Alaric's first advance in 400, have been daily tempted to eject. As regards the charges in connection with Alaric all that one can see is that Stilicho had the respect for Alaric which a strong man in the midst of a crowd of incapable men feels for the only other strong man in his vicinity. Whether Stilicho had contemplated making friends with Alaric and assisting him to be the power behind the throne in the East as he himself was in the West (or vice versa), one cannot say, but it seems possible; and if so was probably the best way in which he could carry out his promise to Theodosius. For the only chance for the empire was that a strong man should be either on the throne or practically on the throne. The charge that Stilicho contemplated putting his son Eucherius on the throne, or that the latter desired to re-establish Paganism, was never anything more than an absurdity.

Amidst the general avoidance of military service by the town-dwelling and degenerate Romans of Italy Stilicho had been forced to enlist brave men wherever he could get them, and consequently to draw recruits largely from the barbarian races along the northern frontier, enrolling all such men, as usual, in "auxiliary" corps. But his action in this respect gave the usual umbrage to the Roman legionaries, who found themselves often outstripped in the race for promotion by their Teuton fellow-soldiers. Moreover the four successive invasions in six years, and the example of Honorius and his court, had considerably demoralized the army, while Stilicho's strict discipline was an additional cause of discontent. In the spring of 408, while Honorius and Stilicho were at Rome, consulting with the Senate on the serious state of affairs, a mutiny took place among the troops at Ravenna and Bologna. Stilicho, leaving his wife Serena at Rome, proceeded to Ravenna to calm the mutiny there, while Honorius proceeded to Bologna, whither he soon summoned Stilicho to his assistance. Stilicho on reaching Bologna

Murder at
Pavia of eight
high officials.

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pacified the agitation among the troops and recommended the ringleaders to mercy. From thence Honorius proceeded to Pavia, where the legions were thoroughly disaffected against Stilicho, who remained at Bologna. Honorius took with him to Pavia Olympius, who seized the opportunity to spread a calumnious report that Stilicho intended to kill the boy Theodosius II and to put his own son Eucherius on the eastern throne. By this and similar artifices the mutinous troops at Pavia were roused by Olympius to frenzy. They rushed through the city eager to put to death all whom Olympius pointed out to them as friends of Stilicho, and, thus directed, promptly murdered Limenius, the fugitive Prefect of Gaul, Chariobaudes, who had been commander-in-chief in Gaul, Naemorius, the commander of the emperor's guards, Petronius, the Minister of Finance, Salvius, the Quæstor, and even Longinianus, the Prefect of Italy, with two other officers of high rank, the whole of these eight victims belonging to the very highest class of imperial Officers of State, several of them being killed in Honorius' own presence and while imploring him vainly for mercy. Shouting for vengeance upon all friends of Stilicho the excited troops at the same time massacred a large number of the private citizens of Pavia.

Murder of Stilicho. The best evidence of Stilicho's loyalty is given by his conduct when the news of this massacre of his friends, instigated by Olympius and authorized by Honorius, reached him at Bologna. He forthwith summoned all the generals of Teutonic race, commanding the various corps of barbarian "auxiliaries," and all strongly devoted to him. They urged that he should at once march at their head against the mutinous legions at Pavia. But Stilicho would not do this, even to avenge the death of his friends and to save himself, because the emperor being in the hands of those legions this would be tantamount to civil war. Upon his remaining firm to this resolution all the Teuton generals separated themselves from him. Thereupon Stilicho rode off at once to Ravenna, where shortly after his arrival came a letter signed by Honorius under pressure from Olympius ordering Stilicho's arrest. He took refuge in a church, but surrendered on receiving a solemn promise that the emperor's orders were that his life should not be touched. No sooner had he surrendered

than a second letter arrived ordering his execution. The Teuton troops, who were devoted to him, and still surrounded him, implored him to allow them to resist the order, in which case his life would have been saved, as they were too strong to have been overcome by the legions at Pavia. But this he utterly forbade, being determined to preserve the empire from civil war, and without making any resistance offered his neck to the sword of the executioner, who struck off his head (23rd August 408). Thus did Honorius, at a time when the empire sorely needed all its military strength, take the life of the only general that Rome possessed. Needless to say, the religious pamphleteer Orosius praises this murder of Stilicho as having delivered the Church from dangers which only existed in his own diseased imagination. Even Zosimus says, "So died the man who was more moderate than any others who bore rule at that time." Others, especially those who in modern times have looked at the immediate results of Stilicho's death, have said, "This man remained faithful to his emperor, and was the great defence of Rome."¹

Milan, the former capital, where his revered sovereign Theodosius, to whose dying request Stilicho had been so faithful, had died, and where this brave champion of Rome had put courage into the trembling court and protected it against the hosts of Radagaisus, was obviously the only fitting place for Stilicho to be buried. For Ravenna represented all which had been most evilly disposed towards him. Honorius seems to have had at all events sufficient decency of feeling to respect Stilicho's remains. His body was borne by faithful adherents to Milan, and was there buried in the cathedral (now the church of St. Ambrose), where his handsome tomb is still to be seen, occupying a square enclosure underneath the pulpit.² Vandal by birth, but "the noblest Roman of them all," he well deserved the finest tomb in the cathedral, and around it might well be inscribed the words, "The faithful defender of Rome."

¹ Hodgkin, *Invaders of Italy*, Vol. I, p. 329 (first edition).

² Plate LIX. (Frontispiece). The work on the tomb is either of the 5th or the 6th century. The tomb may have been erected by his daughter Thermantia, but was most probably erected at the imperial restoration in the 6th century.

But Olympius had not yet filled up the cup of his iniquities. The chamberlain Deuterius and the secretary Peter, friends of Stilicho, were beaten to death because they refused to make any revelations against him. Cruel tortures were inflicted by Olympius' orders, in the name of Honorius, on all Stilicho's servants and surviving friends, but failed to elicit from them in a single case the confession so much desired by Olympius that Stilicho had nourished treasonable designs. Nevertheless an edict was promulgated that all who had held any office under him should forfeit the whole of their property. Stilicho's son Eucherius was put to death; his daughter the empress Thermantia was sent back to her mother Serena at Rome; his brother-in-law Bathanarius, general of the forces in Libya, was executed, his office being given to Heraclian, the executioner who had struck off Stilicho's head, and finally the Roman legionaries were despatched to execute a truly noble revenge for Stilicho's policy of enlisting Teuton auxiliaries. The wives and children of the latter were, under an arrangement made by Stilicho, living in various cities of northern Italy, as hostages for the fidelity of these troops. The Roman legionaries proceeded to every city where these wives and children of the Teuton auxiliaries were living, and suddenly rushing in, massacred them all. The natural consequence was that these auxiliaries, to the number of 30,000 men, at once went off, mad for revenge, to Alaric, who was at Æmona beyond the Julian Alps, and implored him to lead them to Italy to destroy all of Roman blood.

History is ever showing that no evil in a ruler is so great as weakness, and that it produces greater miseries upon those over whom he is set than even the harshest tyranny or the greatest immorality; and the widespread miseries which were brought upon the population of so many countries through the weak incapacity of Honorius are only another example of the fact. But even if it were possible to forgive the despicable Honorius for all the evils which he wrought by his weakness, his cowardice, and his pernicious example, greater in baseness than all these was his ungrateful turning against and taking the life of the man who had from first to last been a conspicuous example of faithfulness to him, and surrendering himself to the whispered calumnies of such vermin as Olympius, and

Massacre of
families of the
Teuton troops

his employers the cowardly and jealous courtiers of Rome and Ravenna. They ere long received a just reward.

Throughout the history of the 5th and the first quarter of the 6th century, there is one point upon which we have ever to be on our guard in groping our way through a period in which we have no first-class, or even second-class, historian among the few contemporary writers. It is a point which confronts us in the case of all such characters as Stilicho, Alaric, Ataulf, and Theodoric, as well as in connection with the deeds of the northern races in general during this period. The northern races were the conquerors, but could not write; the Romans were the conquered, but could wield the pen. It was an age when the feelings of the conquered were rabidly bitter against those who had conquered them, and when the pen was their only weapon against the sword. The subtlety of a race of writers who for generations had studied the mendacious science of Rhetoric enabled most of these Roman writers of the 5th and 6th centuries to describe all matters much to the disadvantage of the "barbarians." Nor has their subtlety even yet lost its effect; for modern writers, belonging to northern races unversed in such artifices, have in many cases taken these writings in good faith, and thus often done injustice to those of northern race in cases where the two parties, the Roman and the "barbarian," were brought into collision. We require therefore during this period in the West ¹ to be continually on our guard (to a much greater extent than modern writers have usually been) against surrendering ourselves blindly to these Roman authorities of the time, and whenever men of northern race are in question must judge those concerned as far as possible by their deeds rather than by the colour given to them by the Roman writers of the 5th and 6th centuries.

The first occasion where we meet with this difficulty ² is

¹ And to some extent also in the East.

² On this first occasion religious animosity only contributed a small part to the bitterness mentioned, but in the subsequent occasions where we meet with the same difficulty the bitterness of the conquered was still further increased by religious animosity due to the fact that the northern conquerors were Arians while the Roman writers were either Catholics or Pagans.

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in the case of the character and deeds of Stilicho, the Vandal. As one of northern race, and one moreover who enlisted others of northern race in considerable numbers into the army, he was obnoxious to the Roman writers. We find therefore numerous charges against him of aiming at the throne, of intriguing with Alaric, of wrongly, and without any right, keeping the majority of the forces in the West,¹ of interfering in unauthorized ways in the affairs of the eastern portion of the empire, and so on. We may, of course, accept the picture of Stilicho drawn by these writers, and judge him accordingly. On the other hand we may decline to be thus led, and may look instead at his deeds, deeds which go far to contradict every one of these accusations. Above all as regards the chief of them, viz. the category of various statements all made with the object of showing that he treacherously aimed at the imperial throne, we may prefer to regard the fact that Stilicho, to whom all the strongest and most manly portion of the army were devoted, and the only general of the time, needed not to enter upon any intrigues to gain the throne, but could, as has been said, at any moment between 395 and 408, with a mere push of one hand, have taken the throne from its feeble occupant and his effeminate crew of supporters, and yet never did so; and also to regard his conduct when in the summer of 408 a large body of his friends were most treacherously massacred at Pavia, and he was strongly importuned by the whole of the generals of Teutonic race to march at their head against the cowardly troops who had perpetrated this massacre and the no less cowardly emperor who had encouraged them in the act, on which occasion Stilicho in refusing to do so practically surrendered his life in order to adhere to the principles of loyalty which had guided all his actions during these thirteen years.

Upon hearing of Stilicho's death Alaric at the head of the Visigoths forthwith advanced upon Italy from Æmona, now sure that he would at last "penetrate to the City." Profiting by his experience of six years before he advanced this time with only fighting men, leaving the families of the Visigoths in Illyricum. He crossed

¹ These writers ignoring the fact that he was Commander-in-chief over the whole of the forces both of East and West.

the "Pear Tree" pass, and passing Aquileia, marched westwards unopposed to Cremona, laying waste the country and plundering the smaller towns and villages, but paying no attention to the walled cities. Crossing the Po at Cremona, he turned south-east towards Rimini, passing contemptuously by Ravenna, where the emperor and the court lay shivering with fear at the approach of the dreaded Goths. There was no Stilicho now to organize any resistance to the invasion; the city populations everywhere copied their emperor's example and cowered behind their walls, too selfish and short-sighted to realize that their own turn would follow. From Rimini the Visigoths, still unopposed, crossed the Apennines into the valley of the Tiber, and following the course of that river emerged into the Campagna, and stood at last with "Great Rome" before them (October 408). It must have been a wonderful moment, but there was no chronicler to record for us what they felt. Their march had been singularly rapid; within two months after the murder of Stilicho the Goths stood before Rome; it was a prompt reply to that dastardly crime.

Within the city were many persons of high rank, including the princess Galla Placidia, the emperor's sister, now fourteen,¹ Serena, the widow of Stilicho, Laeta, the widow of Gratian,² the members of the Senate, Pompeianus, the Prefect of Rome, Innocent I, the Pope of the western patriarchate,³ and many others, but a guiding head was nowhere to be found, and all was terror and helplessness. The splendid buildings erected by Augustus, Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian, untouched as yet by any spoiler's hand, looked down on a degenerate and panic-stricken crowd who had lost every particle of the manly spirit of their ancestors. Coward hearts when in fear take refuge in cruel deeds, and the only method which the helpless Senate could devise to cause Alaric to desist from blockading the city was to put to death Stilicho's widow, Serena, who

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XVI, p. 569.

² Vol. I, Chap. XV, p. 553. During the miseries of the siege Laeta and her mother behaved in the most noblehearted manner, giving away all that they possessed to relieve the distress of the poorer citizens.

³ Innocent I had succeeded Anastasius, the successor of Siricius, in 402.

it was suggested might treacherously open the gates of the city, and by whose death the ancient gods might be propitiated, since she had offended them by taking the necklace from the neck of the statue of Rhea, the mother of the gods, nineteen years before.¹ She was therefore strangled as a specially appropriate method of execution; but, as even the Pagan Zosimus sarcastically remarks, this did not cause Alaric to desist. Moreover within the city were about 40,000 slaves, of both sexes, of Gothic or other barbarian race, who, captured at various times, had been made slaves by the Romans, and Alaric's heart burnt within him at the thought of these captives belonging to his own or other northern races thus degraded by the degenerate dwellers in Rome, as also at the remembrance of the recently slaughtered wives and children of the Teuton auxiliaries, and neither he nor those auxiliaries were disposed to show Rome any mercy.

But the terrible sack of the city which its inhabitants dreaded, and upon which Alaric's troops were bent, was postponed for yet a little longer. Alaric stopped all supplies from entering Rome, and ere long famine and pestilence did their usual work. When the city had become "one vast sepulchre, its streets and open spaces covered with decaying corpses," and when its million inhabitants had nothing left to subsist upon, the Senate despatched envoys to treat for terms. They came riding out to Alaric's camp with an assumption of much dignity and importance. Alaric knew their unmanly and crafty type well, one which he had often seen in Constantinople and Milan; and he evidently took pleasure in thinking how with a few plain words he would quickly bring down their pompous assumption of the offended majesty of Rome. Being conducted to his presence they adopted a very lofty tone. "The Roman people were prepared to make peace on moderate terms, but were yet more prepared for war. The defenders of the city were numerous. They had arms in their hands, and from long practice in their use had no reason to dread the result of battle." Such a speech made to Alaric, who

¹ Zosimus says that the Senate obtained the concurrence of the princess Galla Placidia to this cruel and unjust execution of her first cousin and guardian Serena; but it is not believable, especially as Galla Placidia was at this time a girl of only fourteen.

knew what the Roman people's "practice in the use of arms" was like, merely provoked from him a loud laugh, and his reply was short, "The thicker the grass the easier mown." The effect upon the ambassadors was like that upon a bladder full of air when suddenly pricked; they almost shrivelled up, and abandoning all talk about fighting, proceeded to enquire as to the "moderate terms" which would be demanded. But the answer made them feel considerably worse, "All your gold, all your silver, all your property, and all your slaves of barbarian race." In terror they said, "But what then will you leave to us?" "Your lives," grimly replied Alaric. The ambassadors departed in despair, a crestfallen cavalcade, to return to the city and impart this grievous news to the Senate. Subsequently, however, Alaric agreed to accept a somewhat less heavy ransom,¹ and on its being paid, he for this time spared the city, to the disgust, and almost mutiny, of the Visigoths. Though the ransom involved stripping all the precious metals from the temples of the gods,² the melting down of all statues composed of gold or silver, and the impoverishment of all the wealthy citizens, the amount was paid; the 40,000 barbarian captives were surrendered; a treaty was drawn up constituting Alaric "the permanent champion of Rome"; and all being concluded Alaric withdrew his army into Tuscany, thus ending the first of his three sieges of Rome.

Innocent I. Innocent I (402-417), who was at this time Pope of Rome,³ was the first holder of this new title (created twenty-one years before he gained it by the Second General Council in 381) who adopted that tone of exaltation

¹ He accepted a ransom amounting in our present money to about £400,000, together with various commodities, and the release of all captives of northern race.

² The very thing which when Stilicho had done it to provide for their defence had so enraged the Romans (p. 38) they now had to do in order to buy off a stern foe. It was the kind of lesson that a people unaccustomed to war invariably need, and which they always receive, though nine times out of ten too late.

³ He was the fourth Bishop of Rome who bore the title of Pope, the three Bishops preceding him since that title was created having been Damasus I (died 384), Siricius (died 398) and Anastasius I (died 402).

of his office which was afterwards carried to greater lengths by Leo the Great.¹ The death in 397 of the great Archbishop of Milan, St. Ambrose, felt by all men to be the leading Bishop of his time in the Church, had created a gap which Innocent endeavoured to fill; though his efforts resolved themselves into writing in a lofty and imperious tone which, however much it has impressed later ages with an idea of his importance, does not appear, unsupported as it was by any theological or administrative capacity, to have had much weight with his contemporaries. How much part he had taken in the intrigues against Stilicho, in which an influential section of the ecclesiastical party had joined, it is impossible to say, but he can scarcely have altogether set his face against them.

The utter incapacity of the court of Ravenna assisted Innocent I in his adoption of a tone in writing which attributed to his office a more exalted position than he was justified in assuming, and he appears to have ignored as far as he could the fact that when creating this new office the Second General Council had carefully hedged it round with provisions intended to prevent anything of this nature.² In one of his letters he declares that all the churches of the West owe obedience to the see of Rome, "which has been planted by St. Peter and his successors," and are bound to follow its usages. And in writing to Bishops in Gaul and Spain he adopts an imperious style and a lofty tone of condescension intended to inculcate the same idea. Of course there was nothing absolutely irregular in this attitude so long as he did not attempt overtly to interfere with the independence of the Bishops concerned, and any one of the five Popes might without irregularity have adopted a similar style of language towards the dioceses within their respective patriarchates to that which Innocent used towards those in his patriarchate. But such a style and tone had not been usual, and it is easy to see that if constantly adopted it would tend towards the unpardonable offence of breaking down that independence of Bishops which had ever been held as an inviolable axiom of the Church's constitution, and which had been reiterated only twenty-one years before by the Second General Council at the very time

¹ Chap. XIX, pp. 108-110.

² Vol. I, Chap. XV, p. 537.

that it gave to the see of Rome a patriarchal jurisdiction. Much of this language however on Innocent's part was simply an ordinary Italian device for gaining higher consideration than custom awards.¹ There was little in such language against which those concerned could protest, and they therefore met it in the only way possible, viz. by passing it by in silence.

While however Innocent I adopts this imperious tone in his correspondence, we find no deeds recorded of him during the fifteen years (402-417) that he held the office of Pope of Rome which manifest any ability. The time was a highly eventful one in Italy, yet he made no mark in the public affairs of those eventful years. He was not noted in any way as a theologian, and he can scarcely have been a man of any ability in other respects ; for if he had possessed even a particle of the capacity of such a man as St. Ambrose (first the capable Prefect of Liguria and then the no less capable Archbishop of Milan) he would assuredly have managed to breathe some degree of virility into the feeble authorities at Rome and Ravenna in his time.

Rapid disappearance of army in the West. It is strange how rapidly at this period the Roman army in the West disappears. After the operations in Tuscany in 405 and those in southern Gaul in 406 no more is heard of it. When in 408 the Visigoths for the second time advance through Italy to attack Rome no army bars their way. In the thirteen years from the time of the death of Theodosius the Great an army of 250,000 men, comprising the best fighting troops of the whole empire and many notable Roman legions with long and glorious traditions who could inscribe on their standards a long list of victories, many of them gained only a few years before, simply vanishes. There is no longer a field army. Henceforth the Goths make their attacks against the cities, but of the army, which from the mouth of the Rhine to Belgrade had stood in defence of the Roman dominions, and which had it still existed would have opposed these foes in the field, no

¹ The use of lofty titles, the assumption of exalted claims to deference, the exaction of an extravagant style of address, and similar methods have ever been a favourite device in Italy employed with this object.

50 HONORIUS AND THEODOSIUS II

vestige remains.¹ It had been wiped out of existence by the mass of enemies which came against it.

Second and
third sieges
of Rome.

The treaty made by the Senate with Alaric had given temporary relief to Rome. But the incapable Honorius, unable to recognize any danger which did not touch his sacred person, declined to ratify the treaty. Thereupon Alaric in 409 again invested Rome. Hadrian's mausoleum was made by the Senate into a fortress, and an embassy was sent to Ravenna imploring Honorius to realize the miserable condition of Rome, and agree to Alaric's terms. By this time a cabal among the nobles had treated Olympius in the same way that he had treated Stilicho, and he had fled for his life,² being succeeded by a similar character, named Jovius. Eventually a treaty was arranged with Jovius by Alaric at Rimini, and the latter for a second time withdrew his army from Rome.

But with a stupidity almost sublime Honorius declined to ratify this treaty also, and objected to any military rank³ being given to Alaric (who was king of the Visigoths and had for four years administered a Roman province) as being a "barbarian." Still Alaric, though duped and insulted, held off his Visigoths, and even reduced his terms, causing all men to wonder at his moderation. Honorius sent to Dalmatia, where there was a body of 6000 troops, ordering them to come to the deliverance of Rome. They were attacked on their march by Alaric, and all but one hundred of them were slain. A second embassy was sent by the citizens of Rome to Honorius, the Pope of Rome, Innocent I, accompanying it. But the incapable court at Ravenna would agree to nothing. At length Alaric, "pale with rage," broke off all further negotiations, and for the third time besieged Rome. But yet again the city escaped. Disgusted with Honorius, the Senate, in combination with Alaric, set up a puppet emperor, Attalus, who concluded the desired treaty; and again Alaric with-

¹ Except a few scattered remnants in Italy, such as the troops who mutinied at Pavia, and the small body sent for from Dalmatia; but in Britain, Gaul, Rhætia, Noricum, and Spain not even such remnants of the army are to be seen.

² Eventually Olympius was seized in Dalmatia, his ears were cut off, and he was then beaten to death with clubs.

³ Page 47.

drew his army. Finding, however, after a short time that Attalus was quite useless, Alaric sent for him to Rimini, deposed him, and again requested from Honorius a solid and durable treaty. Being again refused, Alaric, early in August 410, once more marched southwards, this time determined in deadly earnest to take Rome by assault. And the doomed city no longer escaped.

Fall of Rome. There was no more sitting down before the city to reduce it by famine. The Goths proceeded at once to the assault, and Rome was taken on the 24th August, 410. The Goths broke into the city near the Salarian gate, at the eastern end of the Pincian hill, close to the gardens of Sallust. We need not delay over the horrors that ensued; the slaughter of the wives and children of the 30,000 Teuton auxiliaries two years before was fully avenged; before the assault Alaric had given strict orders that the churches should be left uninjured and the right of asylum in them be respected, and these orders were obeyed; but with this exception all the pandemonium of evil which a city taken by assault has ever suffered the inhabitants of Rome suffered. After this had raged for six days and nights the Goths departed, laden with captives and spoil. They did little harm to the ancient buildings of Rome, their time being occupied in seeking for plunder; destruction of that kind was left to be carried out by later conquerors.

Death of Alaric. Alaric's great achievement was over. He had taken Rome at last. That which all men had said he would never be able to do, and had ridiculed him for attempting, he had accomplished in the face of all difficulties. The dream of so many years, the work of so many campaigns, the object of so many plans, since the time that he was a young and capable soldier on the staff of Theodosius the Great at Constantinople, had at last been achieved. It was, though he knew it not, his life's work. He did not survive the fall of Rome three months. Marching still further south into Calabria, he began collecting ships at Reggio, intending to cross into North Africa. The first of the barbarian conquerors of Rome, he had swept from the Black Sea to the Straits of Messina, but there his course was ended, and the further movements of the Visigoths were to be under another leader. A

storm wrecked his fleet, and while waiting to collect another he was attacked by fever, and after a few days' illness "Ala-Reiks," the all-ruler, the ruthless, but not ungenerous, foe of the empire, who would have spared Rome even at the very last if he had been fairly treated, was dead (Nov. 410). He died at Cosenza in Calabria, on the river Busento, about ninety miles north of Reggio. He was then only forty-six; yet he had broken the power of Rome, and as a great changer of the course of the world's history he has been held to be equalled only by three other men, Mahomed, Columbus, and Napoleon.

The Visigoths, in their wandering existence, could not erect over Alaric a great column like that of Trajan, or a mausoleum like that of Hadrian, but they were determined that nevertheless he should have a unique tomb, and one which no ignoble Roman hand should afterwards desecrate when they had moved to other lands. They therefore set their Roman captives to work to turn the course of the river Busento from its channel, and in the dry bed of the river they dug Alaric's grave. There they buried him, and with him his share of the most costly spoils of Rome. Then they made their Roman captives turn back the river to its original channel; and this having been done, and all traces removed, they ensured that the secret of Alaric's grave should be kept by putting all the captives to death. And there, with the silent waters of the Busento flowing over him, sleeps Alaric, the Visigoth's king, the conqueror of Rome.

Effect of
the news
upon mankind

It is impossible to depict what the news of the fall of Rome was to mankind at large. Rome, "great Rome," the centre of the universe, captured by barbarians,—sacked,—plundered. It seemed a wreck which involved the wreck of all else. Two great writers of the time have left us a record of the impression it produced upon them. St. Jerome, hearing the appalling news in Palestine; says he "sat long silent, filled with a terrible grief," and was "filled with so great a consternation that I well-nigh forgot my own name." He writes, "The frame of the world is falling in ruins. That renowned city, the head of the Roman world, is destroyed. What can be safe if Rome can fall?" St. Augustine, hearing the news in North Africa, writes, "The great city of Rome has been overthrown with the crash of

a mighty slaughter." And it inspired him to write one of the great books of the world, his celebrated *De Civitate Dei* (The City of God), the full title of which is, "Though the greatest city of the world has fallen, the City of God abideth for ever"; while the thought running through it is that of a grand unseen City of God slowly rising, stone by stone, out of the wrecks of kingdoms and empires. But to mankind at large the fall of Rome produced a shivering horror, as though at the desecration of something infinitely sacred, and a feeling that nothing mattered now that that which had ever been the centre of all things was destroyed.

But in the midst of this general horror felt by a whole world one person remained unmoved. Of the feeble and ignoble son of Theodosius the Great who occupied the throne of the West it is related that when an excited chamberlain rushed into the imperial apartments of the palace at Ravenna announcing that Rome had perished, Honorius was seized with the greatest consternation, saying that it was not an hour since she was feeding out of his hand, but recovered when it was explained to him that it was not his favourite hen named "Rome," but merely the city of Rome, which had been destroyed. Even if the story be not true, its mere invention shows the popular estimate of his character.

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NOTE F

CHRONOLOGY OF ALARIC'S FIRST CAMPAIGN IN ITALY

The chronology of the operations during the years 400-402 is most obscure and conflicting. Gibbon, Tillemont, and Clinton place the date of the battle of Pollentia as 6th April, 403; but Pallmann, von Wietersheim, Prof. Bury, and Dr. Hodgkin place it as 6th April, 402. I have followed these latter authorities in placing this battle on the 6th April, 402, but I have differed from all of them in regard to Stilicho's crossing of the Alps to oppose Radagaisus, and have placed it in the winter of 400-401, and not in that of 401-402, as stated by all these authorities. For it seems to me plainly impossible that the whole of Stilicho's campaign in Rhætia, including his journey thither, raising of special corps, contest with Radagaisus, driving the latter back to the Danube, return with his troops to Milan, and march thence to Pollentia could all have taken place in so short a time as the three months between December 401 and 6th April 402.

Again it would appear that Alaric's crossing of the "Pear Tree" pass cannot have been on 18th November 401 (as held by von Wietersheim and Prof. Bury), but must have been on 18th November 400, the date given by the almost contemporary writer Prosper. This latter date gives time for the subsequent operations of Alaric, which the date 18th November 401 does not. For it is impossible that Alaric's battle by the Timavus, march through Venetia and thence to Ravenna (crossing all the rivers of Lombardy), march thence to Milan (again crossing the Po and other rivers), siege of that city, and march thence to Pollentia could all have taken place, especially in the case of a host numbering a million persons, in the period of four and a half months between 18th November 401 and 6th April 402. Again since Alaric started from Singidunum about July 400, had only some 500 miles to traverse to the "Pear Tree" pass, and was unopposed en route, this operation could not have occupied sixteen months, as is implied by the date 18th November 401; whereas the date 18th November 400 given by Prosper would correctly allow about four months for this march. Moreover Alaric was already in Italy, and the rivers were proving obstacles to him, when Stilicho addressed the court at Milan before starting for the north. Von Wietersheim and others apparently followed the *Anonymus Cuspiniani*¹ which gives the date in question as 18th November 401; but the time necessary for Alaric's subsequent operations up to the battle of Pollentia shows that the date given by Prosper (18th Nov. 400) is the correct one.

¹ See Note G, p. 139.

CHAPTER XVIII

HONORIUS, GALLA PLACIDIA, VALENTINIAN III, THEODOSIUS II, AND PULCHERIA

410—450

WHILE the Visigoths had been occupied in the manner detailed in the preceding chapter, the Vandals, the Vandals, Alans, Alans, and the Suevi, having in the three years and Suevi invade Spain, 406-409 destroyed or eaten up nearly everything and Franks, in Gaul, early in 410 poured over the Pyrenees into Allemani, and the flourishing province of Spain, in almost the Burgundians seize Gaul. the whole of which country unbroken peace had reigned for nearly 400 years, ravaging it in a similar way, and rich and prosperous Spain is stated to have thereupon become "the prey of four plagues—the sword, and famine, and pestilence, and the noisome beast." And in the next year (411) another great wave, consisting of the Franks, the Allemani, and the Burgundians, followed them into Gaul, sweeping over all the northern portion of that afflicted country, while its southern portion was the prey of various petty usurpers who fought together incessantly. To the Romans there only remained Arles (regained in 411 from the usurper Constantine) with the surrounding district at the lower end of the Rhone valley.

Saxons and Jutes invade Britain. Not long after the Franks, Allemani, and Burgundians seized upon northern Gaul the Saxons and Jutes began a similar destruction in Britain, though in this case that destruction was more prolonged. Britain had, like Gaul, been thoroughly Romanized. Though there was in 407 a departure of the two remaining legions who had for so long been quartered in that country, there was no "departure of the Romans from Britain" in the sense usually supposed. As a result of 400 years' occupation of

the country by the Roman power its population, though they might be styled "Britons," were in the beginning of the 5th century Roman citizens as civilized as those in any other part of the empire,¹ and the inhabitants of its towns were as luxurious (and as little ready to defend themselves) as those of Cologne, Paris, Orléans, or Bordeaux. It is a population such as this which speaks in the probably legendary document called the "Groans of the Britons,"²—a non-military Roman population bereft of the military protection to which it had been accustomed. But in Britain the towns were less numerous than in Gaul, and the country population still retained a considerable proportion of those manly qualities for which they had always been noted, and they made a long and stubborn fight for several generations, though continually forced further and further to the west. Owing to this cause, and to Britain being an island, the destruction took longer than in Gaul, the operations of the Saxons and Jutes (followed later on by the Angles) being carried out by successive invasions extending over many years.³ But the result was the same, and the devastation wrought was even greater than that wrought in Gaul. Roman Britain practically vanished. The towns and villages were burnt; their inhabitants were slaughtered or carried off into an abhorred slavery; country houses and farms disappeared; wild birds built their nests where formerly had been prosperous cities; forests quickly overspread the country; and except for the solid Roman roads there was nothing left but "the scattered débris of a ruined world."

The Visigoths return northwards. In Italy the Visigoths upon Alaric's death raised upon the shield as their king his brother-in-law Ataulf. He abandoned the idea of conveying the

¹ See Vol. I. Chaps. XV. pp. 499–500, and XVI. p. 580.

² Sent, it is said, to the Roman general Aëtius at Arles, in 446.

³ From the fact that the evidence of coins shows that the town of Silchester (near Reading) was destroyed or abandoned about 420, and that in 441 a Gaulish chronicler notes that "the Britons, hitherto suffering from various disasters and vicissitudes, have succumbed to the Saxons," it would appear that the first invasion of Saxons took place about 415, and that by 440 they had conquered all the south-eastern part of the island. But the struggle continued in the rest of the island for at least two generations longer (see Chap. XX, p. 162).

Visigoths from the south of Italy across the sea to North Africa, and led them back again from Calabria northwards, with the ultimate intention of penetrating westwards into Gaul and Spain. But for two years (410–412) he loitered still in Italy, devastating that country, and showing himself in no hurry to depart westwards, owing to a reason which throughout the next five years had a strong influence over the policy and movements of the Visigoths.

The princess
Galla Placidia. For there now comes upon the scene one who played the chief part in the history of the western portion of the empire for the next forty years, the capable daughter of Theodosius the Great, Galla Placidia, who in 410 reached the age of sixteen, and who presents such a remarkable contrast to her two feeble and incapable half-brothers, Arcadius and Honorius. It has once before been noticed how often character and ability depend upon the mother rather than upon the father; ¹ and of this Galla Placidia and her two half-brothers furnish yet another example. The two sons of the capable Theodosius the Great by his first wife, the colourless Flaccilla, were both of them incapable nonentities. Whereas his daughter by his second wife, Galla, was as full of strength of character, energy, and ability as her two half-brothers were lacking in those qualities.

Galla Placidia, the daughter of an emperor, the sister of an emperor, the wife of an emperor, the mother of an emperor, and for one year the queen of the Visigoths, had an eventful life. Brought up as a child by her father's niece Serena, she was captured at the age of sixteen by Alaric at his third siege of Rome, as a part of the terms under which he spared the city and agreed to Attalus being set up as a puppet emperor; and thenceforth for five years she followed the fortunes of the Visigoths, by whom she was treated with the deference and courtesy due to the emperor's sister, but was carried about in their wanderings as a valuable hostage, whereby to extract terms from the undecided and incapable Honorius as the price of her surrender.

Ataulf. But not long after Ataulf became king of the Visigoths a less strong desire began to be manifested to restore Galla Placidia, on any terms, to her brother the

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XIV, pp. 463–464.

emperor. Ataulf, like Alaric, was no ignorant and uncouth barbarian. He was as well educated as a Roman noble, and his handsome figure, ability, and courteous manners made him conspicuous among the Visigoths. He had fallen in love with the beautiful and highborn girl who was his captive, and she with him, and henceforth Ataulf's endeavour was to bring such pressure to bear as to induce the emperor to consent to his marriage with his sister, Galla Placidia. With this hope Ataulf kept the Visigoths lingering in Italy, while prosecuting interminable negotiations. But all his efforts were fruitless, Honorius treating with contempt so preposterous an idea as that the daughter of the Caesars should be married to a barbarian prince, even though he were king of the Visigoths. Moreover Ataulf had a powerful rival at court. Honorius had now passed under the dominion of a new adviser, Constantius, and the latter was also a suitor for the hand of the emperor's sister. Constantius, though rough and unprepossessing, was a good soldier who had served in various campaigns under Theodosius the Great, and had in 411 attacked and taken prisoner the usurper Constantine at Arles, and sent him to Italy, where he was put to death. Constantius is described by the contemporary writer Olympiodorus as slouching and clumsy in his movements, with a broad head set upon a thick neck, and eyes having a downcast, scowling look, and a glance betokening him to be a gloomy tyrant, but jovial on occasion, and making himself agreeable at his banquets. With none of the charms of character and person possessed by Ataulf, he had nevertheless set his heart on gaining Galla Placidia for his wife, and she dreaded above all things being forced into such a marriage.

The Visigoths leave Italy. Hence whenever the envoys on either side met to discuss terms of peace between Rome and the Visigoths, the point chiefly insisted upon by the envoys of Honorius, and as carefully evaded by the envoys of Ataulf, was the restitution of Galla Placidia. At length after two years had been thus consumed, whether because Galla Placidia, who was by this time eighteen, dreaded that some turn in the political wheel might cause her to be captured by Constantius and therefore desired to be removed further from his orbit, or because Ataulf saw opportunities in Gaul for doing services

to Honorius which might win the desired consent, or because Ataulf was unable to induce the Visigoths to delay their westward march any longer, in 412 the Visigoths departed from Italy and crossed the mountains into Gaul, never again to return over the Alps. They carried with them Galla Placidia, delighted to put the Alps between herself and the dreaded Constantius, and to be still the captive of her handsome and courteous Visigoth lover.

Ataulf's policy as to merging Gothia into Romania. In 413 Heraclian, the governor of Africa, the executioner of Stilicho, revolted, landed in Italy with a large force, and advanced as far as Umbria, but was defeated by Constantius, fled back to Africa, and was seized and put to death at Carthage. Meanwhile Ataulf in Gaul was endeavouring to attain his object by entering into engagements to conduct operations against various petty usurpers on behalf of the emperor, in accordance with which he attacked and slew several of them. But Honorius failed to keep his side of the engagement in regard to the supplies he had promised, while also showing no more inclination than heretofore to consent to Ataulf's marriage with his sister, and Ataulf at length felt that to rely upon Honorius in that or any other matter was hopeless. Throughout these years 411-413. Ataulf strove long and earnestly to be friends with Rome. A speech often on his lips was:—"I have found by experience that my Goths are too savage to render any obedience to laws, but I have also found that without laws a State can never be a State; I have therefore chosen the glory of seeking to restore and to increase by Gothic strength the name of Rome. Wherefore I avoid war and strive for peace." His idea was in fact to merge *Gothia* into *Romania*, to the benefit of both. He was fully ready to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperor, and sought only to be accepted as a Patrician of Rome. But Honorius, blind to the fact that such an infusion of northern blood was just what the effete empire needed, was imbued only with one idea (originally implanted by Olympius, and encouraged by Constantius)—that of refusing to admit "barbarians" within the sacred Roman precincts. And he opposed a stolid wall of stupidity to all Ataulf's endeavours to attain a *modus vivendi* on the principle enunciated in his speech.

Ataulf in thus reasoning had arrived from his point of view at the same result which those who were wisest among the Romans had in former times reached from the Roman point of view. In the beginning of the 5th century there were two policies open to Rome. One was that of merging the Goths, together with any other individuals of northern race who so desired,¹ into the Roman nation. The other policy was to adopt a theory of "Rome for the Romans," to look upon all northerners as "barbarians," and to refuse to admit them within the charmed circle of Roman citizens. This latter course almost invariably commended itself to the Roman literary men; and through them has been to a large extent admired by modern writers and historians, who constantly deplore any departure from it in favour of the opposite course. But the former of these two policies was in reality (though none saw this) simply a carrying out of the same policy which had made Rome great. Had Rome remained always confined to the petty State which comprised her dominion in the time of King Tarquin,² looking upon all outside its limits as "barbarians," and declining to accept them on terms of equality, she would never have become "great Rome." But she was for many centuries ruled by men fitted to direct a great State, and under their guidance she was wise enough to adopt a different course, and to absorb race after race into "Romans," instilling into them her principles of law, order, and civilization, and in return gathering their strength into herself.³ But each step in this process required large-mindedness. This ancient policy of Rome had again begun to be pursued as regards the Goths by Gratian and Theodosius,⁴ but after the time of the latter it was brought to an abrupt end by stupidity, and was altogether departed from by the circle of incapable advisers who obtained the ear of the feeble Honorius. These

¹ Such men for instance, as Merobaudes, a Frank, Stilicho, a Vandal, Bauto, a Frank, Saul, an Alan, and others.

² B.C. 535.

³ Vol. I, Chap. XVI, p. 569.

⁴ It is very noticeable how much more civilized the Visigoths were than any of the other barbarian enemies of Rome. Which shows that this close contact with Rome as *fœderati* had already begun to produce an effect, and that the process of absorption had proceeded to some extent when it was abruptly stopped.

advisers adopted the opposite policy, refused to treat Alaric and the Visigoths on any terms of equality, declined to admit "barbarians," even as auxiliary troops, into the army, called that line of action by the name (invented by Olympius) of "Stilichonism," and, rigidly adhering to this narrow-minded course, completed the ruin of the western half of the empire.

At length at the end of the year 413 Ataulf, finding all his endeavours useless, and exasperated by similar treatment to that which had exasperated Alaric, abandoned any further attempt to become reconciled with Honorius, declared war, captured Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Narbonne, and in January 414 married Galla Placidia (by this time twenty) at Narbonne, without troubling himself any further about the consent of the emperor. He must have felt bitterly the wasted four years consumed in useless negotiations, and would have done so still more had he known that he was only to live a year and a half longer to enjoy happiness with his beautiful young bride.

Marriage of Ataulf and Galla Placidia. The marriage at Narbonne was carried out with great ceremony. In the principal hall of the palace a throne was set up, upon which Galla Placidia sat, dressed in royal robes. Ataulf entered, no longer clad in furs and armed with the Gothic battle-axe as a king of the Visigoths, but dressed in a white woollen tunic as a patrician of Rome in order to do honour to the bride. The ceremony was apparently performed by the Arian Bishop of the Visigoths, Sigisarius, and Galla Placidia ceased to be Ataulf's captive, and became the honoured queen of the Visigoths. The most gorgeous presents were bestowed by Ataulf upon his bride. Fifty youths, henceforth to be her slaves, dressed in costliest garments of silk from Asia, knelt before her, each holding two very large plates, one filled with priceless jewels and the other with gold. These presents were part of the spoils captured in Rome, but probably Galla Placidia did not value them any the less on that account. Thus was the daughter of the Caesars united to the *Thiudans* of the Visigoth nation. And rejected though the theory might be in the political sphere, in this case at all events *Gothia* was merged in *Romania*,

As a consequence of this action on Ataulf's part Constantius advanced against him, invaded southern Gaul, blockaded its ports with a fleet, and cutting off all supplies, after a time made Narbonne untenable, whereupon Ataulf resolved to retire into Spain. Evacuating southern Gaul, after terrible devastation, he in the winter of 414-415 crossed the Pyrenees and took possession of the province of Tarraconensis, early in 415 establishing his capital at Barcelona, where immediately afterwards Galla Placidia gave birth to a son. They named the child Theodosius after Galla Placidia's father. The birth of this child made Ataulf and Galla Placidia more anxious than ever to make peace with Honorius, with a view to the boy being recognized by his childless uncle as the rightful heir to the imperial throne of the West. But Constantius opposed the whole weight of his influence against this just request of Galla Placidia made to her brother. And soon afterwards, to the great grief of Ataulf and Galla Placidia, the child Theodosius died. He was buried at Barcelona in a silver coffin with great lamentations.

But less than a month later Galla Placidia, in
Death of
Ataulf. September 415, had to suffer a much greater grief. Going round his stables one morning Ataulf, for love of whom she had suffered so much, was stabbed in the back by a treacherous groom. Being carried into the palace in a dying state he had only time to whisper with his last breath to his brother, "If possible live in friendship with Rome, and restore Placidia to the emperor." Then he died. But instead of Ataulf's brother, the man chosen as his successor was Sigerich, who had instigated the murder of Ataulf probably with that object. He savagely tore the two sons of Ataulf by a previous marriage out of the arms of the Bishop, and killed them. He dared not kill Galla Placidia, but he subjected her to numerous insults, and took pleasure in making this daughter of an emperor walk in front of his horse from the gate of Barcelona for twelve miles. But Galla Placidia was too deeply plunged in grief to care what indignities he made her suffer; she had truly and deeply loved Ataulf, whose manly character and courteous behaviour to her during all the four years of their wanderings in Italy and Gaul, while he was endeavouring to obtain sanction to their marriage, she had greatly admired;

and she endured all the insults of his murderer with a brave and defiant spirit which nothing could subdue.

Galla Placidia
restored to
the emperor

A week after the murder of Ataulf his murderer Sigerich was himself slain. The Visigoths being then in great straits for want of food, his successor, Wallia, agreed to sell Galla Placidia to the emperor for 600,000 measures of wheat, which in the devastated condition of Spain, ravaged in succession by Vandals, Suevi, Alans, and Visigoths, were worth the price even of an emperor's sister. Galla Placidia, callous as she felt in consequence of the two bereavements she had suffered within the space of a month to all that might happen around her, nevertheless could not but dread the fate which might be in store for her in being thus surrendered to the charge of her feeble brother. But she was a prisoner, and with no friend now that Ataulf was gone, and she had to submit. Thus ended Galla Placidia's five years' connection with the Visigoths, whose fortunes henceforth lay far apart from that of her who had for one happy year and a half been their queen. She was conveyed to the northern side of the Pyrenees, where she was surrendered, and whither to her disgust came Constantius with much pomp to receive her and escort her back to Italy. She must have performed the journey with a more than usually heavy heart, bereaved at the age of twenty-one of her baby son, bereaved of her beloved Ataulf, and foreseeing that every kind of force would be employed to compel her to marry the coarse and brutal tyrant whom she had always detested, and to whose opposition she owed the refusal to acknowledge her child as his uncle's heir, but who was now with unconcealed triumph escorting her back to Ravenna, gloating over her beauty, and confident that he would soon make her his wife.

Administration
of Anthemius. In the eastern half of the empire since the death of Arcadius in 408 matters had been pursuing a tranquil course under the government of the capable and upright minister Anthemius in the name of the seven-year-old boy Theodosius II. Anthemius ruled for six years (408-414) with great success. The best relations were maintained with Persia, a satisfactory commercial treaty with that country

was executed, military affairs were placed upon a sound footing, the raids made by the Isaurians upon the surrounding districts were put down, an incursion of the tribes on the Danube was repelled, the fleet on that river was increased, the fortifications of the cities of Illyricum were restored, and the corn-supply of Constantinople was reorganized. But the chief work for which Anthemius has obtained renown was the construction at Constantinople of the great outer wall (the Theodosian Wall) to enclose the portion of the city which had grown up outside the wall of Constantine. It was finished in 413 (when the boy Theodosius was twelve years old), and still exists, the monument of the genius and energy of Anthemius. The latter also deserves high honour in two respects. He made no attempt to seize the throne for himself, though the feeble character of the boy in his charge gave him every opportunity of doing so; and he did his duty to the empire in bringing up the young Theodosius to be an honest and well-dispositioned man, instead of allowing him to grow up like another Commodus. Unfortunately Theodosius possessed neither abilities nor force of character, and after the death of Anthemius when Theodosius was thirteen the government during the whole of the next twenty years of the latter's reign was administered in his name by his sister Pulcheria, three years older than himself, who, besides the high spirit of her mother Eudoxia, inherited much of the ability of her grandfather Theodosius the Great.

Pulcheria
empress at
sixteen.

In the year 414, upon the death of Anthemius, Pulcheria, then sixteen, was invested by the Senate with the title and authority of *Augusta*, and began to reign over the eastern half of the empire as the guardian of her feeble brother. She at once set herself to reform the corruption and frivolity of the court, for inveighing against which Chrysostom had been banished from the see of Constantinople. She must have had a very strong character, for there were no half-measures, and a complete revolution in the atmosphere of the court took place. Those who cordially disliked the change from the former pleasant state of affairs at the court which had prevailed during the time of Arcadius and Eudoxia declared that Pulcheria "led the life of an imperial nun," and with her two sisters, Marina and Arcadia,

“turned the Imperial palace into a kind of convent.”¹ However this may be, frequent religious services, visiting the sick and poor, and other works of charity occupied a large part of their life. Nevertheless Pulcheria found time to administer efficiently the affairs of the empire, nor do we hear of any one who obtained a dominant influence over her, or upon whose advice in particular she leaned.

Riot in Alexandria and murder of Hypatia. In the spring of 415, at the time that her young aunt Galla Placidia at Barcelona was rejoicing at the birth of a son who she hoped would eventually succeed to the throne of the West, Pulcheria had her first experience of the difficulties of a ruler, being called upon to deal with a serious conflict at Alexandria. After various riots between the Christians and the Jews at that city, Cyril, the Pope of Alexandria, instigated his followers to expel the Jews. The Prefect, Orestes, intervened, was attacked by the fanatical monks, and stoned. One of the monks was seized and put to death, whereupon Cyril treated him as a martyr. The monks believed that Orestes was influenced by the talented Hypatia, the celebrated mathematician and lecturer on philosophy; they attacked her in the street, pulled her out of her chariot, dragged her into the church of the Caesarium, stripped her, and tore her to pieces or scraped her to death (March 415).² This cruel outrage is not, perhaps, to be laid directly to Cyril's charge, but he was indirectly responsible in having originally roused the conflict, and in failing to exercise control over the fanatical monks. After the perpetration of this crime both parties appealed to Constantinople. It was a difficult case for a girl of seventeen, especially one who held strong views on Church matters, and who also did not wish to increase the antagonism always ready to burst forth between the rival patriarchates of Constantinople and Alexandria. Pulcheria did not inflict any personal punishment upon individuals, which perhaps in the circumstances was impossible, but she issued stringent orders curtailing the independence of the monks, prohibited them from appearing at public spectacles

¹ Pulcheria and her two sisters took a vow of chastity, which was written in diamonds and gold on the wall of the cathedral.

² The whole history of this conflict and its tragic ending is graphically told in Charles Kingsley's well-known book *Hypatia*.

or in the law-courts, and brought them to a large extent under the control of the Prefect; and Cyril's arrogance received a rebuff.

Galla Placidia
married to
Constantius.

Galla Placidia on returning to the imperial court of the West at Ravenna found her position as intolerable as she had anticipated. Her brother Honorius soon began to press her by every means in his power to marry Constantius, and repulsive as the latter was to her she found it increasingly difficult to withstand the pressure brought to bear upon her. For a long time she held out, but at length was forced to give a reluctant consent, and in January 417, at the age of twenty-three, was with the utmost unwillingness married to Constantius at Ravenna, with very magnificent ceremonies. In the following year she bore a daughter, Honoria, and in 419 a son, Valentinian.

Successes of
the Visigoths.

Meanwhile in Spain, the Visigoths had been gaining important successes. During the years 416-419 they gradually drove the Vandals and the Suevi into the southern and western parts of Spain, and so thoroughly defeated the Alans that the remnants of that race merged themselves into the Vandals. And in 419 the Visigoths gained increased power through the formal grant to them by the emperor (besides their territory in Spain) of the southwestern part of Gaul, whence they then ejected various petty usurpers, making Toulouse their capital. Thus after many wanderings the Visigoths had at last obtained a fixed country, being the first of the northern races to do so, and this settlement of the Visigoths marks the beginning of a compromise between the empire and the Teuton races. A constitution was granted by the emperor to the provinces of southern Gaul, their representatives being ordered to assemble once a year at Arles. Representative government, however, did not find favour among those concerned and the constitution became a dead letter.

Theodosius
married to
Eudocia.

In 421, when the empress Pulcheria was twenty-three and her brother Theodosius II twenty, Pulcheria thought it time he was married, and began to look for a suitable wife for him. She did not desire one with a masterful disposition who would be likely to cause

dissensions by endeavouring to establish a rival power to her own; but neither did she want him to have a frivolous or foolish wife. After a time she found just the kind of girl she sought in Athenais, the daughter of the Athenian sophist Leontius. Athenais, golden-haired and a great beauty, had a sweet and docile disposition, and was also highly cultured and endowed with much literary ability. She became a Christian, at her baptism (at which Pulcheria stood her sponsor) took the name of Eudocia, and in June was married to Theodosius. She was seven years older than Theodosius, and four years older than Pulcheria, but she did not attempt to interfere with the rule of the latter, nor to instigate Theodosius to do so.

In the West in the same year (421) Constantius, who had ruled Honorius for ten years, was raised by the latter to the dignity of *Augustus*, and Galla Placidia to that of *Augusta*; and a few months later Constantius died. Honorius then becoming, first ridiculously affectionate towards his sister, and then ridiculously jealous of her, she in 422 departed from Ravenna with her two children to Constantinople, to the court of her nephew Theodosius. There were thus gathered in the imperial palace which had been built by Constantine the Great, and had since been greatly enlarged, three empresses, an emperor, and his two other sisters, all of them still quite young, Galla Placidia and Eudocia being both twenty-eight, Pulcheria twenty-four, Marina twenty-three, Arcadia twenty-two, and Theodosius twenty-one. But Galla Placidia, who at sixteen had seen the siege of Rome and become the captive of Alaric, at eighteen had been carried away into Gaul, at twenty had been married to Ataulf, become the queen of the Visigoths, and accompanied them into Spain, at twenty-one had lost her baby-son, seen her husband murdered, and been cruelly treated by his successor, at twenty-three had been married at Ravenna to Constantius, and had now with her two little children travelled to the eastern capital, had had wide experiences indeed as compared with those of the five others in this group of young people who at this time formed the imperial family. Hostilities had in the previous year broken out with the Persians, but towards the end of 422 were brought to an end by a victory gained by the Roman

army in Mesopotamia, and a peace for a hundred years was made between the empire and Persia; whereupon the talented empress Eudocia wrote in Greek an epic poem celebrating this victory and its result. Her feeble-minded young husband Theodosius, though taking little part in public affairs, took much interest in games and sport, and about this time introduced at Constantinople the Tartar game of polo (learnt from the Huns, by whom it was called *tzukan*), and laid out a polo-ground near the palace.

Death of
Honorius.

The year after Galla Placidia thus took refuge at Constantinople her weak and incapable half-brother Honorius died at Ravenna on the 15th August 423, at the age of thirty-nine. It shows how great originally was the power and stability of the empire which largely through his incapacity had been brought to ruin, that even twenty-eight years of the rule of a Honorius did not suffice to end it, and that we find the barbarian races established in Gaul and Spain, although in reality entirely independent, still nominally recognizing the supremacy of the emperor.

Galla Placidia
empress in
the West.

By the death of Honorius Galla Placidia's son, Valentinian III, succeeded to the throne of the western portion of the empire. Upon Honorius' death his minister, Joannes, unlawfully supported by the general Aëtius, seized the throne at Ravenna, and established himself at Aquileia. Aëtius, who in his youth had been a hostage among the Huns and had acquired much influence with them, departed to raise a force of Huns to assist the usurper. But Galla Placidia arrived with an army lent to her by Pulcheria and commanded by the capable Aspar, and by the promptness of her action and the ability of her general was completely successful, Aëtius coming up with a large force, composed of Huns and other barbarians, just three days too late, to find that Joannes had been defeated and put to death at Aquileia, and that Galla Placidia was in possession of Ravenna. Valentinian III being a child of four years old his mother, who already had the title of *Augusta*, was invested with the rule as regent, and for the rest of her life she governed the western portion of the empire. Thus at this period both the eastern and western portions of the empire were ruled by women, Pulcheria in the East, and

Galla Placidia in the West, and in both cases with much ability.¹

Galla Placidia was now twenty-nine, and she reigned over the western portion of the empire for twenty-seven years (423-450), for the first seventeen years as regent, and for the last ten years of her life, with no less power, as the representative of an indolent and incapable son, who only inherited the throne in right of his relationship to her. The task which had devolved upon her was one in which no amount of ability could do more than stave off for a time the inevitable end. Galla Placidia's reign is practically almost the end of the dying western empire, which was now slowly bleeding to death, and past recovery. Britain, Gaul, Spain, Rhætia, Noricum, and all the other territories north of the Alps were gone. There remained only Italy, with North Africa, its great granary, and the districts in the south-eastern corner of Gaul surrounding Arles and Narbonne. The city of Rome had recovered the effects of Alaric's three sieges, and its population was even increasing; but Ravenna remained the capital.

It says much regarding the character of Galla Placidia, a young widow of twenty-nine, noted for her beauty, that in a profligate age she lived throughout all the years that followed without any scandal being ever attached to her name. It is strange that, with a still considerable dominion to administer, and two children to bring up, she did not marry again. But it is evident that the tragic loss of Ataulf, her faithful lover for four years and husband for only one, followed by the hated marriage with his detested rival into which she was cruelly forced, had given her a distaste for any further marriage.

¹ It is growing the fashion to enunciate a theory that in regard to this period historians have unduly magnified the importance of women in the conduct of public affairs, to ascribe this to a so-called "feminism" on the part of the contemporary historians, and, in pursuance of this theory, to speak of Theodosius II and Valentinian III as the authors of the measures taken, and to drop Pulcheria and Galla Placidia out of sight. Not only, however, do various impossibilities result from this course (as, for instance, when important measures are attributed to a boy of four years old), but also it would appear that we have no right on a point of this nature to throw over *en bloc* the whole of the contemporary historians in pursuit of a purely modern theory which is entirely unsupported by any facts.

She had known a real man in her youth in the case of her first husband Ataulf, and had seen other real men during her five years with the Visigoths, and after that experience she was not likely to be attracted by the feeble specimens of mankind around her, the degenerate nobles of Ravenna and Rome. Instead, she turned her chief energies to adorning and benefiting Ravenna. And with Ravenna the name of Galla Placidia will ever be bound up. It was her residence during the whole of her reign; some of its principal churches were erected, and some of its finest mosaics put up, by her; and it also possesses the gorgeously decorated mausoleum which she built, and which contains her tomb.

Ravenna. Nowhere in all the world is the spirit and mental atmosphere of the long-past 5th century to be felt except in Ravenna. In all other cities the memorials of the Middle Ages, or of the Renaissance period, have overlaid those of that distant time. But Ravenna has no history after the 6th century; while as the tide of the world's great events flowed away from that city it left, written in Ravenna's imperishable mosaics, memorials all of which are either of the time of Galla Placidia in the 5th century, or of Theodoric and Justinian in the 6th century. Entering this long ago capital of the dying western empire we seem to step straight back into the age of Galla Placidia. As we tread its half-deserted streets, and realize that this was the city which at the beginning of the reign of Honorius was the capital of an empire extending from Scotland to Dalmatia, the city which in the life of one generation saw that empire gradually shrink and shrink, its boundaries ever becoming less distant, until there was nothing left, the city which saw the execution of Stilicho, trembled at the thunder of the march of the Visigoths, stood aghast at the fall of Rome, gazed at Galla Placidia brought back from Spain a sorrowing young widow, looked on at her magnificent marriage to Constantius, and witnessed her troubled reign, Ravenna, with its vivid memorials of a time so distant,¹ produces an impression such as no other city can produce. And as we

¹ Including buildings six hundred years older than the oldest parts of Westminster Abbey, their walls covered with mosaic pictures which have not been touched since they were placed there by hands that have been dead for fourteen hundred years.

stand in the midst of these memorials, with the stiff and solemn mosaic figures of the men and women of the 5th and 6th centuries, and of the saints they desired to honour, gazing down upon us from their walls in calm aloofness, we can with little difficulty bridge over the long centuries, and stand again in that Ravenna which Galla Placidia knew.

Aëtius,
Boniface,
and Felix.

Galla Placidia's difficulties in ruling what remained of the western half of the empire were increased by the fierce rivalry between the three chief men whom she had to employ in carrying on her government, Aëtius, Boniface, and Felix. Aëtius had taken part against her at the time of Honorius' death, but was pardoned by her, and sent to conduct affairs in the south-eastern corner of Gaul. Boniface, the heroic, loyal-hearted soldier, and the strong friend of St. Augustine, was her governor in North Africa; he had been her steadfast supporter at the time of the death of Honorius, and was the most reliable of her officers. Her minister Felix was a mere intriguing court official.

In 427 Felix contrived to drive Boniface into rebellion. By lying to the empress regarding Boniface, and to the latter regarding the empress, he succeeded in causing Boniface to be summoned to Ravenna to reply to certain charges invented against him, and in inducing him to refuse to obey the order. A force was then sent against Boniface, and a civil war began, in the course of which in 428 both parties invited the Vandals from Spain to their assistance.¹

The Vandals
invade North
Africa.

Twenty years had now passed since Spain had been invaded by the barbarians, and during that time the struggles between the Visigoths, the Suevi, and the Vandals had rendered that country utterly desolate. The Vandals were therefore only too eager to leave it for the rich and fertile province of North Africa,² the most wealthy and civilized portion of the Roman dominions, crowded with

¹ Procopius and Jordanes state that the Vandals were invited into North Africa by Boniface. But the contemporary writer, Prosper Tiro, says distinctly that the aid of the Vandals was invoked by both sides in the conflict.

² The province of North Africa extended from Tingis (Tangiers) on the west to the eastern end of the Gulf of Syrtis, being separated from the province of Egypt by the Libyan desert.

prosperous cities, splendid Roman buildings, and all the results of both commercial and agricultural prosperity during 450 years of Roman rule. Accordingly on being thus invited, the Vandals, leaving Spain to the Visigoths and the Suevi, finally quitted that country, and in the spring of 429, under their king Gaiseric, crossed the straits into North Africa, and proceeded to devastate its western portion, Mauretania.

Meanwhile some friends of Boniface at Rome, feeling sure, from what they knew of his character and his conduct in the past, that he had been in some way deceived, visited him at Carthage, and were shown the letters he had received, and in the explanation that followed the whole of Felix's treachery was unmasked. Boniface upon this being disclosed to him promptly stopped the civil war, and appealed in the greatest distress of mind to Galla Placidia, and she forgave him. He then endeavoured to bribe the Vandals to depart from Africa, but the latter, revelling in the plunder and devastation of so rich a country, had no intention of quitting it, and laughed at his proposals. Boniface then attacked them in Mauretania, but was defeated; whereupon the Vandals overran almost all the rest of North Africa.

Death of St
Augustine Boniface, driven back before this avalanche of barbarism, was in 430 besieged in Hippo, which endured a long and severe siege. There the great Augustine, who had been that city's Bishop for thirty-five years, and since the death of Ambrose had been looked upon as the leading Bishop in the whole Church, lay dying; ¹ and in the third month of the siege, while the Vandal hosts surrounded the city and while its inhabitants were suffering the greatest misery, he breathed his last at the age of seventy-six (28th August 430).² Soon afterwards at Ravenna Felix was mur-

¹ He had the seven penitential psalms copied out and affixed to the wall of his room so that he could see them as he lay, and for ten days before his death ordered that except when the doctor visited him or his meals were brought no one should enter his room, in order that all his thoughts might be given to prayer.

² The chief matter which engaged the later years of St. Augustine was the controversy raised by Pelagius, a native of Britain, a man of much learning and of strict life, but who, preaching novel doctrines regarding original sin, raised a considerable controversy in the West, and especially in North Africa, where his views were strenuously opposed by St. Augustine. See p. 77 (footnote).

dered in a military revolt apparently caused by Aëtius. The latter, though not so noble a character as Boniface, was a more successful soldier. During the years 428-430, while matters had been proceeding so disastrously in Africa, he had gained considerable successes in Gaul, driving the Franks northwards and reconquering a large part of the centre of Gaul, and in 430 had conducted a successful campaign against the Allemanni in Rhætia. In consequence of these successes Aëtius had attained a position of great importance at the western court.

Devastation of North Africa. ¹ Meanwhile the devastation which the Vandals were creating in North Africa was appalling; by the end of the year 430, out of all the numerous flourishing cities of North Africa,¹ there remained only three that had not been sacked and were still held by the Romans, Hippo, Constantine (Cirta), and Carthage. It is all one vast record of burnings, massacres, and ravaging, of cities and churches destroyed, fruit trees torn up, and the whole country laid waste, five million persons being said to have perished. But this destruction of the cities of North Africa was looked upon by some as not wholly disastrous. The universal avoidance by their inhabitants of the risks and hardships of military service had worked its usual results of luxury and profligacy, this latter in particular having grown to such an extent that many of the deepest thinkers of the time considered that the astounding vices of these cities could be purged in no other way, and that from this point of view even the terrible slaughter and destruction wrought by the Vandals was scarcely to be deplored.

Inauguration of the Theodosian Code. While in the West Galla Placidia was endeavouring to carry on as satisfactorily as the circumstances permitted the government of the remnant of an empire in which no vitality remained, and to cope with the storm in North Africa, in the East her niece Pulcheria was laying the foundations of much subsequent renown by the wise manner in which she continued to guide the affairs of the eastern portion of the empire in the name of her incapable brother Theodosius II. And in the year 429 Pulcheria, now

¹ See pp. 80-82.

thirty-one, inaugurated a work which has obtained lasting celebrity, by deputing a selected body of legal experts to codify the whole of the laws which had been enacted since the beginning of the reign of Constantine the Great (in other words, the laws of the Roman Empire since its adoption of Christianity), a compilation which when published received the name of the *Theodosian Code*. This immense code, containing in a shorter form all the laws enacted from the time of the establishment of Christianity up to Pulcheria's own time, is an invaluable mine from which the chief portion of our knowledge regarding the social and political condition of the empire during the period from Constantine the Great to Theodosius II is derived. It was drawn up with great care, and took nine years to complete.¹

Need for
another
General
Council. But a matter more pressing than codes of law had begun to involve the eastern portion of the empire in a struggle which, though of a different nature, rivalled that in which the western portion of the empire was engaged in North Africa. Fifty years had passed since Gratian and Theodosius I had assembled the Second General Council, and another had now become urgently required. The necessity for the assembly of these General Councils is not always understood. During the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries the Church was going through a long conflict in defence of that Catholic faith which had been enunciated at Nicæa ; during that period she was being continually attacked from one side or another, and thus was forced to meet foe after foe in defence of her ancient faith. It was an attack of this kind which the Church had now to meet, the controversy which it had occasioned threatening to tear the Church in two. Both Galla Placidia and Pulcheria were strong Catholics, and by the latter especially all matters which might cause disunion in the Church were very closely watched. Though the empire had become divided this did not cause any similar division in the Catholic Church, which remained governed by the same constitution as heretofore, though the slaughter carried out in many countries of the West had caused the death of many Bishops, especially in

¹ See p. 86.

those countries seized by Pagan enemies.¹

The Nestorian
heresy. This new attack came from a very high quarter, namely, from no less a person than the Pope of Constantinople himself, Nestorius. And it must have required great courage on Pulcheria's part to take the action she did in those circumstances. Nestorius is reported to have been a man of blameless life, great learning, and much eloquence, but (as in the case of Arius) "full of vanity and love of popularity." He had been called from his monastery and made Pope of Constantinople in 428. He was a bitter persecutor of Arianism, but this led him into an opposite error to that of Arius. Whereas Arius had denied Christ's Divinity, the heresy of Nestorius taught that in Christ there were two distinct persons, the Person of God and the person of a man, the former being united some time after birth to the latter. The Catholics pointed out that this was opposed to the doctrine taught "from the first" that in Christ there is but one Person, that of God, and that this Divine Person took the manhood into God. In the severe controversy which the view propounded by Nestorius raised the highest dignitaries in the Church were ranged on opposite sides. The see of Jerusalem was at this time vacant; but of the remaining four Popes, two, Constantinople and Antioch, were ranged on one side, and two, Alexandria and Rome, were ranged (in opposition to Nestorius) on the other side. Clearly a General Council was required.²

Pulcheria's difficulties were considerably increased by the attitude in matters of religion of her brother Theodosius II, now thirty years old, and nominally ruling the empire. Theodosius, like his father Arcadius, was a religious man and took much interest in the affairs of the Church, and though he was only slightly less incapable than his father, from time to time took up strong opinions in matters of religion. But while Pulcheria was a strong Catholic, her brother Theodosius was,

¹ The Visigoths, the Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians were Arian Christians, but the Franks, the Allemanni, and the Saxons were Pagans.

² Some writers state that Nestorius himself desired it; though his conduct when it was assembled appears somewhat to disagree with this statement.

as might be expected, vague and heterodox in his religious opinions, and always ready to embrace vehemently any new theories which might be put forward. At this time he had taken up the views of Nestorius, and had become a strong partisan in his favour, and an ardent Nestorian. However this did not daunt Pulcheria, and early in 431, when she was thirty-three, in view of the dimensions to which this controversy had grown she issued the necessary orders¹ for the assembly of the *Third General Council*. It was characteristic of Theodosius II that subsequently when that Council condemned the Nestorian opinions he changed for a time to the Catholic side, until a new heresy arose, that of Eutyches,² when he became as ardent an Eutychian as he had previously been an ardent Nestorian.

Third General Council. Pulcheria appointed Ephesus as the city where the Council was to assemble. That city, situated at the eastern end of a beautiful valley watered by the river Cayster, had at that time a population of about six hundred thousand inhabitants, was crowded with splendid buildings, and was the centre of the trade of Asia Minor.³ The Council assembled on the 22nd June 431, and was attended by about 200 Bishops. It sat in the church which tradition declared to be that where the Blessed Virgin Mary had been buried. Cyril, Pope of Alexandria, presided. Though the distressed circumstances of the western portion of the empire caused the number of Bishops from the West to be greatly exceeded by those from the East, a sufficient number of the former were present to make the Council fairly representative. Augustine of Hippo had been summoned as one of them, news of his death in the previous August during the Vandal invasion of North Africa not having been received when the orders for the assembly of the Council were issued, Hippo being still closely besieged. His absence from this Council was a great loss; as, with the most exalted dignitaries in the Church ranged on opposite sides, feeling ran very high, and Augustine, revered as he was by the whole Church, would undoubtedly

¹ In the joint names of her brother and Valentinian III.

² Page 89.

³ It is now, after centuries of Turkish rule, a mere collection of mud huts.

have been able greatly to moderate the angry passions of the rival parties.

Nestorius, though holding so high an office, was not allowed a seat among the Bishops forming the Council, but was allotted a place in the body of the Church, as one whose opinions were to be discussed. In these circumstances he refused to appear, and beat the messengers who came to tell him that the Council was waiting for his arrival. The deliberations only lasted one whole day. The Council, without a single dissentient voice, condemned the teaching of Nestorius as a heresy and not the faith which had been held "from the first," and a sentence deposing Nestorius from his office of Pope of Constantinople was pronounced.¹ The result when announced late in the evening of the 22nd June to the multitude who had waited anxiously for hours outside was received with loud acclamations, torches and incense were burnt in front of the Bishops as they proceeded to their respective lodgings, and the whole city of Ephesus was promptly illuminated.²

Nevertheless the party of Nestorius, knowing they had the countenance of Theodosius II, raised violent tumults throughout the East. A large body of the adherents of Nestorius under the leadership of John, Pope of Antioch (who was involved in the same condemnation), arrived at Ephesus, obtained the assistance of some of the imperial troops, and attacked the churches, which had to be fortified against them. At first Theodosius II, being wholly on the side of Nestorius, refused to acknowledge the deposition of the latter, and the

¹ This Third General Council formally applied to the Blessed Virgin Mary the title of *Theotokos*, not with a view to any special honour to her more than had always been given, but as a special safeguard against the error of Nestorianism. Bishop Westcott considers the term a valuable one if used in the full sense of the Greek word as employed by the Council (signifying "Mother of Him who in the unity of His Person was God"), but misleading if translated, as in the Latin, "Mother of God." Canon Bright says, "The importance of the title consists in this that it is a condensed expression of the Personal Divinity of Christ." This helps to demonstrate the higher value of the Greek language as compared with Latin. In regard to the special honour afterwards paid to the Blessed Virgin Mary, this did not begin until the 9th century.

² The Third General Council also rejected as erroneous the teaching of Pelagius (p. 72).

conflict being extended to Constantinople continued for about four months, when Theodosius abandoned the cause of Nestorius, banished him to Antioch, and allowed Maximian, who had been chosen by the Catholics as his successor, to be installed. Nestorianism in subsequent centuries, though it gradually died away within the empire, became widely adopted in Persia, and spread from thence over all the eastern countries from the Euphrates as far as China and from Tartary to Ceylon, and is said to have had in the 11th century as many adherents as all the other denominations of Christians put together. It has however now almost entirely died out, though this form of Christianity still lingers in some parts of Persia.¹

Course of the
war in North
Africa and
death of
Boniface.

In the West the contest in North Africa still continued, and in the summer of 431, while the General Council regarding Nestorianism was being assembled, Pulcheria, in response to an appeal from Galla Placidia, despatched a force from Constantinople under Aspar to assist the western portion of the empire in its conflict in Africa. The Vandals, after besieging Hippo for fourteen months, and having by their devastation of the whole surrounding country turned it into a desert, were in the autumn of 431 forced by famine to raise the siege. Thereupon Boniface, reinforced by the troops sent from Constantinople, again fought the Vandals, but was once more defeated, with the

¹ Professor Loofs of Halle in a recent course of learned lectures on Nestorius given at the University of London maintains that the condemnation of the opinions of Nestorius was mainly due to enmity on the part of Cyril, that the newer light thrown by the recently discovered writings of Nestorius shows that he was misunderstood, and that his only fault was a lack of knowledge and a failure to express himself clearly. But these writings, though they may be new to our age, were laid before the Third General Council, and therefore have no new light to give, since it was upon them that the Third General Council ruled that this teaching was a heresy; and that decision is final and conclusive. To re-open the discussion of each heresy of the 4th and 5th centuries and decide afresh would not only be a stupendous task, but also the decision when arrived at would not have the weight of one given by a General Council formed of men who were living at the time, and who had infinitely more information on the subject under discussion than any one could have in these days.

result that two of the remaining cities, Hippo and Cirta, were captured by them ; and finally in 432 the Romans practically abandoned the struggle, though they still retained Carthage. Boniface proceeded to Italy, where on his arrival Galla Placidia confirmed her forgiveness and treated him with much honour, thereby arousing the jealous wrath of Aëtius. The latter took to arms, and a battle ensued between the two great rivals near Rimini, in which Boniface was victorious, but was wounded, and to Galla Placidia's deep regret died from the effects three months later (432). Galla Placidia banished Aëtius for a time, but in 433 he returned, and as he was the only able man about her she was forced to reinstate him, and thenceforth he remained her chief minister, being for the next twenty years the main prop and stay of the western portion of the empire, though to a proud woman like Galla Placidia his domineering spirit must have been a perpetual source of irritation.

The Vandal conquest of North Africa completed. In 435 Gaiseric concluded a peace with Rome, but only kept it temporarily ; in 437 he ravaged the coasts of Sicily, and in 439 advanced upon Carthage and took it, thereby completing his conquest of North Africa, the last province of the western half of the empire (except Italy and the portion of Gaul recovered by Aëtius) being thus lost to Rome. In Africa the Vandals, though committing enormous destruction, did not blot out the Roman inhabitants, but made them a subject population as tillers of the soil, and required them to bear the whole burden of the taxation, which brought them to a condition of the utmost degradation ; while the fact that their Vandal masters were Arians, and added religious persecution to tyranny, made the lot of the despised Romans still more grievous.

Wealth and prosperity of North Africa when lost by Rome. The wealth and prosperity to which North Africa, the last province torn from Rome by her barbarian foes, had attained at the time that it was thus conquered by the Vandals has until recently been little realized. Some idea however of the prosperity of North Africa in the 4th century and beginning of the 5th century may be obtained by looking at the traces of that prosperity which still exist even after so many centuries of destruction, not only in the 5th century by the Vandals, but also to an

infinitely greater extent in the 8th and subsequent centuries by the Mahomedans. For North Africa may almost be described as strewn with the ruins of Roman cities, both in the valleys, and also upon the high and once fertile plateaux. In a single day's drive the traveller may pass through twenty such ruined cities.¹ The soil being rich and the climate warm the only requirement for fertility was water ; and during three centuries the Romans had by degrees constructed an elaborate system to meet this want. Every stream that descended from the mountains (and now runs to waste in the sands) was made to distribute water far and wide by means of aqueducts and water-channels, and it is chiefly the ruin of these, after North Africa was conquered by the Mahomedans in the beginning of the 8th century, which has changed the most fertile province of the Roman empire into a treeless waste. North Africa after providing for all its own wants exported in the 4th century sufficient corn to feed the whole of Italy, and the corn grown on these lands was so luxuriant that there is on record an ear of corn sent to the emperor which contained 400 grains.

The splendour of these cities of North Africa at the time when that province was invaded by the Vandals is remarkably demonstrated by their still existing remains ; everywhere are to be seen the ruins of temples, churches, theatres, Baths, triumphal Arches, amphitheatres, race-courses, aqueducts, and reservoirs. The time when North Africa made its chief advance in prosperity was in the 3rd and 4th centuries, especially during the reign in the 3rd century of the emperor Septimius Severus, who belonged to this province. Among the most notable of these remains are the following. At Thysdrus (now El Djem) is an amphitheatre nearly as large as that at Verona and in excellent preservation. Thysdrus in the 4th century was an important city with a population of 100,000 people ; it has now entirely disappeared, nothing remaining except its amphitheatre. The amphitheatre at Carthage was still larger, and was two stories higher than the Colosseum at Rome. Besides these two, the remains of at least twelve

¹ The buildings constructed in the 3rd and 4th centuries are easily distinguished from those built in the 6th and 7th centuries by their entirely different character and mode of construction.

other amphitheatres still exist in North Africa.¹ Timgad (now Thamugadi), which might almost be called an African Pompeii, situated on a plateau 3500 ft. high, possesses, besides the ruins of eleven sets of Baths, an Arch of Septimius Severus (the most perfect of all the numerous triumphal arches in North Africa), a Basilica, a Capitol (with columns 44 ft. high), a Theatre (one of the most complete in North Africa), and a temple of the Lares, while the mosaics on walls and pavements rival in number and splendour even those at Ravenna.

Again at Lambæsis there is the most perfect existing example of a great Roman "camp" of the first class, 550 yards long by 450 yards broad, with on one side of it a splendid triumphal arch, the gateway of the Pretorium. Thugga possesses ruins of the beautiful temple of Dea Cœlestis, a Capitol, a Forum, a Theatre, an Arch of Septimius Severus, the temple called "the Rose of the Winds," and several other temples, together with various ruined houses with beautiful mosaic floors. At Tipasa are the ruins of a fine Cathedral of the 4th century (with nave and triple aisles and numerous sarcophagi), of another church with the sarcophagi of nine Bishops, and of the interesting "Basilica of St. Salsa," the Pagan patron saint of the town. At Tebessa, besides the interesting Basilica (the most remarkable early Christian ruin in North Africa, covering an area of 213 yards by 115 yards), and the no less interesting temple of Minerva, there is a specially rare form of triumphal Arch, with entrances on all four sides. No example of such a four-sided arch, the most costly kind of triumphal arch, now remains in Europe, but two remain in North Africa, the other being at Tripoli. That at Tebessa was built by the empress Julia Domna² in memory of her husband Septimius Severus in 214; it is a vaulted arch, with a graceful little shrine on the top of it, and with inscriptions to Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, and Caracalla.

¹ When we consider the great labour and expense of erecting an amphitheatre, and that (unlike a triumphal arch or a temple) its erection involved a general effort of the whole community, such buildings are especially strong evidence of the wealth of the community concerned. The amphitheatres, triumphal arches, and temples were mostly constructed in the 3rd century, the churches and mosaics mostly in the 4th century.

² Vol. I. Chap. VIII, p. 282.

But the signs of great wealth are not confined to the cities. In all directions are to be traced the remains of extensive country-houses, and though these themselves have disappeared, their sites can be traced, with the remains of their fountains, marble stands for flowers in the courtyards, and, above all, the mosaics which decorated their walls and floors. At Oudna are the ruins of the *Palace of the Laberii*, a fine example of a nobleman's house in the 4th century, with a large peristyle in the centre, and numerous mosaics. North Africa could be called the land of mosaics, and many of these are remarkable. One mosaic pavement from a country-house at Hadrumetum (Susa), representing the Triumph of Neptune, is superior to that from the Baths of Caracalla now in the Lateran Museum at Rome. It measures 70 ft. by 54 ft., showing that the halls in these country-houses were of considerable size. At Oued Athmenia, thirty-eight miles west of Constantine, was discovered in 1878 a very large set of Baths, which at first from their size were supposed to be those of a small town, but proved to belong to an immense country-house, the villa of Pompeianus. These Baths on being excavated were found to be adorned inside with very fine mosaics,¹ giving a highly interesting picture of the country life of a Roman noble family in the 4th century. Most of

¹ The mosaics in this set of Baths show first a picture of the house itself, with the owner's name, Pompeianus, written over it, the house having the character of an Elizabethan mansion, two stories high, with a lofty tower and projecting wings, and at the sides porches opening into a garden behind; also a picture of the walled-in garden, with stiffly laid-out flowerbeds; and in another picture the stables, with the owner's six favourite horses, the name of each horse being written over it and also a few words of affection which show that some of these horses were used for racing and others as hunters. Another compartment shows a more elaborate garden, with three summer-houses, and a palm-tree with a lady sitting under it in an armchair holding a fan, and by her side an attendant holding a parasol over her head, and her pet dog attached by a string. Another compartment of these mosaics shows the park belonging to the house (with an inscription over it to that effect), and three deer being chased by two dogs, the park being surrounded with a high deer-fence. Finally another compartment shows the owner, Pompeianus, proceeding to start for a hunting party, with huntsmen, horses, and hounds, the names, not only of each huntsman, but of each horse and each dog, being written over them.

the mosaics of these country-houses depict outdoor life, hunting scenes, bathing, fishing, and farming, and show vividly the life of the people.¹

These numerous and widespread remains show to what a high degree of prosperity the province of North Africa had attained at the time when it was overthrown by the Vandals early in the 5th century. And however much the Roman writers of the 4th century may complain of a crushing taxation, and however much the laws of the Theodosian Code may show as to the existence of a severe fiscal bondage pressing personally upon the *curiales*,² the great opulence of the numerous cities seized by the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi in Gaul in 407, in Spain in 410, and in North Africa in 430, with the evidence as to the prosperous condition of the people furnished by the numerous ruins of temples, theatres, Baths, race-courses, amphitheatres, and aqueducts, and by the details of the life of the people shown in mosaic pictures of the time, affords tangible proof of the high state of prosperity which had been attained at the close of the 4th century, and that the general taxation cannot have been of so crushing a character as contemporary writers have maintained.

The Huns. During a space of thirty years one formidable foe after another had come with overwhelming force upon the Roman Empire. But there now began to menace that empire an enemy more to be dreaded than even the most formidable of those which had hitherto attacked it, the terrible Huns. Hideous, looked upon as half-demons, cruel with a

¹ One large mosaic, from a country-house at Tabarka, shows the house itself, standing in a rose-garden, with olive trees beneath which pheasants, partridges, and pigeons are feeding, and below it a lake with swans, geese, and ducks swimming about; in another compartment are shown the stables, with horses tied up, and around the outside olive trees, vines, and sheep feeding. A mosaic found at Capsa shows a race-course, the chariots racing, and the rows of spectators. Another found at Thugga shows a victorious charioteer and his horses, the names of the horses being written over their heads. Another represents the racing stables of a wealthy nobleman.

² Hereditary members of the civic corporations. The laws in question inflicted upon them a personal monetary liability which was most unfair and crushing to this particular class of the community.

cruelty which made all other barbarian races seem humane by comparison, the Huns had hung like a huge thunder-cloud over the northern frontier for a generation. Following in the track of the migration from Central Asia of the Vandals, Goths, and other Aryan races, and far exceeding them both in numbers and ferocity, the Huns had in half a century driven all these other races before them until they had made themselves omnipotent from the borders of China to the Baltic. Differing from the Aryan races in their atrocious character, this Turanian race differed from them no less in appearance, and there could not be a greater contrast than that between the tall, handsome, fairhaired, long-bearded Goth or Vandal, and the short, misshapen, dark-skinned, and repulsive Hun. Ammianus Marcellinus in the previous century, describing the Huns, represents them as never inhabiting houses, and as almost living upon horseback, stating that their shoes were so clumsy that they could not walk comfortably. He says:—"On this account the Huns are not well adapted for fighting on foot; but on the other hand they are almost welded to their horses, which are small and hardy, though of ugly shape. . . . On horseback every man of that nation lives night and day; on horseback he buys and sells; on horseback he takes his food and drink; and when night comes he leans forward upon the narrow neck of his horse, and there falls asleep." ¹

In 433 Rua, king of the Huns, died, and was succeeded by his two nephews, Attila and Bleda, as joint rulers of the Huns, though from the first Bleda was obliterated by Attila. In the same year Attila demanded from Theodosius II the surrender of two children of the royal family of the Huns who had fled and taken refuge in the Roman dominions. Upon their being given up to him he at once crucified them. Their only crime had been flight from his authority.

^{Attila} The extent of Attila's dominion was enormous; besides his own race of the Huns, all the northern races along the Danube and the Rhine acknowledged his sway; on his left his dominions touched China, on his right

¹ The historian Priscus, who as a young man accompanied an embassy to Attila in 433, relates that as the envoys of Attila remained sitting upon their horses the members of the Roman embassy did the same, so as not to occupy a position of inferiority.

he held Denmark, in his front he threatened every country from Persia to Gaul. In appearance Attila was of the usual Tartar type, short, broad-shouldered, with a flat nose and small beadlike eyes; he walked with a haughty step, darting his fierce glances from side to side, and seeking always to inspire fear. He made no attempt to call forth sentiments of loyalty or affection, but ruled by fear alone; when in wrath he was like an embodied volcano, his eyes becoming like points of fire. No one in all history has imbued millions of mankind with such an amount of terror as this hideous little Tartar. The amount of vital force and sheer animal magnetism which he must have possessed is amazing; for he had no mental attainments with which to supplement his qualities of character. All attempts to escape from his sovereignty he punished with the most cruel kinds of death, and demands for the surrender of fugitives for punishment at first formed the chief part of his negotiations with the Roman power; and these demands, with the haughty terms in which they were couched, soon became a source of constant difficulty to the court at Constantinople, where the name of Attila began to be spoken with ever increasing awe and apprehension.

Honorio. In the western portion of the empire during the last fifteen years of Galla Placidia's life events were few. With the loss of Africa Italy settled down into a condition of impotence which was only very partially relieved by several successes gained in Gaul by Aëtius, who in the years 435-437 defeated an attack of the Burgundians upon central Gaul and drove back the Visigoths from Narbonne. Two years after the loss of Africa Galla Placidia was much troubled in regard to her daughter Gratia Justa Honorio, who in 434, at the age of sixteen, was discovered by her in an intrigue with a court chamberlain. Galla Placidia thereupon sent her away to the charge of Pulcheria at Constantinople, where Honorio, having disgraced her family, was kept by Pulcheria in a sort of semi-conventual seclusion and austerity which she greatly resented. After about a year she endeavoured to extricate herself from this bondage in a remarkable manner. Taking advantage of one of Attila's embassies to Constantinople regarding the surrender of fugitives, and

despairing of getting free from her incarceration in any other way, Honoria contrived to send a letter and a ring to the young king of the dreaded Huns, offering herself and her dowry to him if he would make her his wife. Attila had no objection to placing her name among those of his countless wives, but for a long time took no further action in the matter and some thirteen years passed before he made a formal demand for her.¹

Valentinian III. But Galla Placidia, disappointed in her daughter, was no less disappointed in her son. She had the mortification of seeing Valentinian III as he grew out of boyhood displaying a disposition which he evidently inherited from his father, the coarse and brutal Constantius. He grew up brutal and vicious, and without any ability. In 437 when he was eighteen she sent him to Constantinople, where he was married to his cousin Eudoxia, and brought her to Ravenna; and in 440, at the age of twenty-one, he was invested with the rule of the State, his mother resigning her regency. But Valentinian, being indolent as well as vicious, left all matters still to be managed by his mother.

Completion
of the
Theodosian
Code.

In the eastern portion of the empire Pulcheria in 435, after having for twenty years controlled all affairs, was driven by a palace intrigue to retire from the court, and her place as guide to Theodosius II was taken by a minister named Cyrus, chosen through the influence of the empress Eudocia, who herself cared little for conducting public affairs. In 437 Theodosius and Eudocia gave their only child Eudoxia in marriage to Valentinian III. And in 438 the celebrated *Theodosian Code*² was at length completed and published, containing all the Roman laws enacted from 312 to 437. It was promulgated on the 15th February 438 with a long and magniloquent preamble in

¹ This episode of Honoria's appeal to Attila is rejected by those modern writers who enunciate the theory of "feminism" (p. 69), but the fact is distinctly asserted by all the contemporary authorities, and there appear to be no grounds for rejecting their testimony. Moreover Attila subsequently based upon it a demand to be given half the territories of Valentinian III as Honoria's dowry (Chap. XIX, p. 99).

² Page 74.

the names of both Theodosius II and Valentinian III, detailing its objects and the benefits it conferred upon the inhabitants of the empire, stated that it was applicable to both East and West, and gave the names of its chief compilers.¹

Incapacity of Theodosius II. The retirement of Pulcheria from the control of public affairs produced the results which were to be expected in the case of one so incapable as Theodosius, and began a period of fifteen years (435-450) marked by ever increasing misgovernment, corruption, ignominy, and civil and religious discord, for the first six years under the minister Cyrus and then for nine years (441-450) under his infamous successor the eunuch Chrysaphius. Theodosius, entirely ruled by one or other of these advisers, gave greater and greater examples of his incapacity, the administration sinking to a lower depth than it had attained even in the reign of Arcadius. In 443 the empress Eudocia, who prided herself upon her Greek descent and culture, and whose literary talents were of a high order,² finding the atmosphere of the court so uncongenial to her, or possibly in consequence of some intrigue of Chrysaphius to get rid of her, retired to Jerusalem, where she spent the remaining eighteen years of her life, occupied in literary pursuits, and taking part occasionally in the burning religious controversies of the time. Soon afterwards Pulcheria returned to the court, but her sway over her feeble brother had waned, and the latter for the remaining years of his life was entirely under the dominion of the eunuch Chrysaphius, for whom no depth of baseness was too great, and whose incapacity, flagrant corruption, and unscrupulous methods brought increasing trouble upon the empire.

The Hungeld. It was not long before Attila discovered the weakness and incapacity of Theodosius II and his ministers, and proceeded to work upon it. From the

¹ These it stated to be the Prefect Antiochus, the Quæstor Maximin, and Martyrius, Sperantius, Apollodorus, Theodorus, Epigenes, and Procopius.

² On one occasion she delighted the citizens of Antioch by delivering an oration to the Senate in the purest Greek and in the most admirable manner. Besides the epic poem written by her in 422 to celebrate the victory over the Persians, she wrote various other poems and a poetical paraphrase of part of the Old Testament, which are still extant.

year 435 to demands for the surrender of fugitives he began to add demands on various pretexts for the payment of money, and finding on each occasion the timidity and incompetence of the administration at Constantinople more clearly displayed, the tone of his communications became more and more insolent. His demands for money became during the years 435-441 increasingly frequent, and in 442, declaring that his just claims had not been fully satisfied, he proceeded to ravage Thrace and Illyricum. Theodosius and Chrysaphius, to whom no humiliation brought any shame, thereupon induced Attila to retire by an agreement, made in 443, to pay him an annual tribute (euphemistically called a subsidy), fixed at 2100 lbs. of gold,¹ and called the *Hungeld*. This ignominious tribute naturally helped to increase Attila's power and arrogance, as well as his utter contempt for Theodosius II and Chrysaphius, but for the next two years he made no further attack. In 445, however, Attila murdered his brother Bleda, becoming sole king of the Huns, and thereupon began to prepare for a more extended invasion of the Roman dominions, which he saw were, under their existing ruler, completely at his mercy.

Accordingly in 447 Attila proceeded to make a regular invasion of the eastern half of the empire. Chrysaphius and Theodosius II thought only of their own safety, and no arrangements were made to oppose the advance of this demoniac horde of savagery. The Huns in their terrible course swept over Mœsia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, advancing as far south as Thermopylæ, devastating, ravaging, and destroying. Seventy cities in turn were sacked, most of their inhabitants being slaughtered, except the younger women who were carried off into an abhorred slavery. The horror of the Greek women and girls at becoming the property of the demoniac Huns caused many to commit suicide. Then the Huns retired back again to the Danube, laden with captives and spoil. This was followed by embassy after embassy sent by Attila to Constantinople, each making some further humiliating demand. At length in 449 Chrysaphius, whose only idea for the defence of the empire was the assassination of Attila, laid a scheme for this purpose. But the plot was

¹ Equal to £86,100 sterling.

revealed to Attila, who thereupon sent a most insulting message to the emperor, demanding the prompt surrender to his vengeance of the author of the plot, his minister Chrysaphius. This demand was staved off by a further profuse payment of money, accompanied by abject lying on the part of Chrysaphius with the view of exculpating himself in Attila's eyes, and for the time Attila pretended to be pacified.

The Eutychnian heresy Meanwhile during these years 447-449 Theodosius II had been led by Chrysaphius into serious troubles and disgraceful contests on the score of religion. In the year 447 a fresh controversy was aroused by Eutyches, the abbot of a monastery near Ephesus, revered for his holy life, but as Leo the Great said of him "very imprudent and exceedingly unskilled in theology." Eutyches, opposing the heresy of Nestorius,¹ fell into the opposite error, and (failing to see that the tenet of two "natures" did not imply that of two "persons") taught that in Christ there was only one nature, that the Godhead and the manhood were not distinct, but were united in one nature neither wholly God nor wholly man. The Catholics pointed out that this overturned the belief taught "from the first" that Christ was perfect God and perfect man, and a heated controversy ensued. Chrysaphius (to be allied with whom was sufficient to bring dishonour upon any party) adopted the tenets of Eutyches, and warmly took up his cause, and Theodosius II did the same, forthwith becoming as strong a Eutychnian as he had previously been a Nestorian. And wherever Chrysaphius was concerned discreditable methods were a certainty.

The justly venerated Flavian, who in 447 had become Pope of Constantinople, strove hard to prevent this new dissension, urging a friend of Eutyches to visit him, and "by kind and gentle persuasion to show him the way of truth," and endeavouring in every way to allay the stormy passions which were being aroused. But his efforts were fruitless, and at length he was forced to excommunicate Eutyches and all the monks of his monastery. Eutyches appealed to Theodosius II and Chrysaphius, but their advocacy of this unsound teaching only increased the turmoil. The conflict spread throughout the East, the cause of Eutyches, backed by Chrysa-

¹ Page 75.

phius in various unscrupulous ways, being also warmly taken up by Dioscurus, Pope of Alexandria, a personal enemy of Flavian.

The *Latrocinium*. At length in August 449 a local Council was held on the subject at Ephesus, which Council has obtained in history the name of the "*Latrocinium*" (the den of robbers). The doors of the church were surrounded by Chrysaphius with armed soldiers, only the adherents of Eutyches were allowed a hearing, the proceedings were in the highest degree irregular and tumultuous (cries of "Burn him," "Stab him," and "Cut him in two," resounding on all sides), and finally at a preconcerted signal from the tyrannical Dioscurus the armed guards rushed in, the fierce Egyptian monks in their lawless fanaticism proceeded to deeds of violence, and a disgraceful scene ensued. The Bishops who had dared to side with Flavian were knocked down, beaten with clubs, and amidst a storm of curses were loaded with fetters. The deservedly revered Flavian, who throughout three years had shown a noble example to all men in the midst of such a controversy, was knocked down, and beaten, while as he lay on the floor of the church some kicked him, others trampled upon him, and the abbot Barsumas standing over him cried "Stab him"; after which he was removed as a prisoner to a small adjacent village, where three days afterwards he died from the injuries he had received. When the proceedings at this so-called council were told in Rome by a deacon who escaped from it to Pope Leo the Great he exclaimed, "It was no council; it was a *Latrocinium*, a den of robbers," and posterity has recognized the justness of the name.

Death of Theodosius II. The Eutychians having thus triumphed, and being supported by Theodosius II and Chrysaphius, assumed the whole power in the Church, deposing the Catholic Bishops,¹ and excommunicating all who refused to adopt Eutychianism; while imperial decrees issued by Theodosius II and Chrysaphius placed the deposed Bishops under the ban of the empire, commanding that no one should assist

¹ Among these was the celebrated Theodoret of Cyrillus, who had been Bishop of that see for twenty-six years, and who upon being thus deposed wrote that in the whole 800 parishes of his diocese no one had anything to say against him. Cyrillus was situated between Antioch and the Euphrates.

them or supply them with food, and ordering that their writings should be burnt. These arbitrary proceedings had their natural consequence in producing a state of the greatest turmoil and confusion in the Church. But this humiliating reign of Eutychianism only lasted for a year. Happily both for the empire and the Church in July 450 Theodosius II, who during the nine years that he had been under the guidance of Chrysaphius had shown a degree of incapacity scarcely less, and more noxious, than that of his father Arcadius, and had brought down both the State and the Church to the lowest depths of humiliation, was killed by a fall from his horse while hunting, and the reign of confusion and misrule ended.

Theodosius II, with no inclinations towards crime or immorality, and with uniform good intentions, by his feeble character and entire want of even the most ordinary common-sense, had by the time that he died produced a condition of things in both State and Church which was intolerable. National humiliation in regard to foreign affairs, the utmost degree of corruption and oppression in the administration, and universal turmoil in the Church made the condition of the empire deplorable. Theodosius was by turns a Nestorian, a Catholic, and a Eutychian, and in each case was as ardent a partisan as though he occupied a private position. And it was his fluctuations in regard to religion, and his mischievous partisanship now of one side and now of another, which were the main cause of the tumultuous state of the empire at this time in matters of religion.¹

¹ The incapable Theodosius II has given his name to no less than two works of great importance, the "Theodosian Wall" and the "Theodosian Code." Some have argued that "the builder of the Theodosian Wall and the promulgator of the Theodosian Code" cannot have been the weakling that Theodosius has always been represented. But the Theodosian Wall was not built by him, but by the minister Anthemius when Theodosius was only seven years old; and the credit for the Theodosian Code is due, not to the person in whose name (conjointly with that of another emperor) it was promulgated, but to the person who instituted the drawing up of this important code of law, viz. the empress Pulcheria, who inaugurated this great work in 429. The results to the government of the country after Theodosius II in 435 was deprived, or deprived himself, of the guidance of his sister amply prove the correctness of all which historians have said regarding his incapacity.

Pulcheria proclaimed empress in her own right. Upon the death of Theodosius II his sister Pulcheria, by this time fifty-two, was at once chosen by the Senate as his successor and proclaimed empress in her own right. Pulcheria¹ had only three more years to live, but in those three years she brought back both the State and the Church from the corrupt and degraded condition into which they had been sunk, and established both of them upon a sound footing which was permanently maintained after her death. Her first act showed her wisdom. Though she had already had twenty years' experience in ruling during the years 414 to 434, and though she had in her early years vowed not to marry, she knew that the rule of a woman in her own sole name would not be agreeable to the people. Therefore for the good of the State, and notwithstanding her vow of thirty-five years before, she went through a form of marriage with Marcian, a brave and honest soldier who commanded her troops, gave him the title of emperor, and crowned him with her own hands. He continued to command the army, while she administered all other affairs; and this arrangement proved in every way satisfactory.

The strength of the new government was proved at once. For Attila, on demanding the usual payment of the Hungeld, to his astonishment and wrath was met by a firm refusal on the part of Pulcheria and Marcian to pay any longer this humiliating tribute. Attila's rage was immense, but Constantinople was too strong to be attacked, military arrangements had been made to defend the provinces, and even if he overcame all opposition the Balkan provinces, swept bare by his recent invasion, offered small temptation to the Huns. Attila therefore, nourishing his vengeance, turned his attention to the West.²

Pulcheria inaugurated her reign by beginning at once a complete reform in the administration. The detestable Chrysaphius, who by his misrule, corruption, and general villainy had in nine years undone all the good effects of Pulcheria's rule from 414 to 434, and brought down the eastern portion of the empire to complete degradation, was banished

¹ Pulcheria's sister Arcadia had died in 444, and her sister Marina in 449.

² Chap. XIX, p. 99.

to a distant island, where some time afterwards he was put to death, a just punishment for his many crimes. The sale of offices was stopped; all the other corrupt methods of Chrysaphius were abolished; taxation was reduced, and arrears of taxation were remitted, while the owners of lands who by bribery had obtained exemption from taxation were made to pay their due share; the universal corruption in the administration of justice was put down, and various other reforms were carried out, the general effect of all these reforms being to make the new government immensely popular. Lastly Pulcheria also took in hand the question of the injustice and strife taking place in the Church under the domination of the Eutychians and in consequence of the still unsettled Eutychian controversy, and issued orders for the assembly in the following autumn of the *Fourth General Council*, appointing Nicæa as the place for its assembly, afterwards changed to Chalcedon on the eastern shore of the Bosphorus.¹

Last years of
Galla Placidia. Galla Placidia was forty-six when in 440 she resigned the regency of the western portion of the empire, though still left by her son to conduct public affairs on his behalf. Disheartened at the ruin to Italy caused by the loss of Africa, as well as at the treachery through which that loss had been brought about, disappointed in the characters of her son and her daughter, and with no man among those around her whose character she could fail to despise as she compared it with that of Ataulf who had so deservedly won her admiration in her earlier years, or with that of Boniface who had perished just when she had hoped for his support, she left public affairs more and more in the hands of the minister Aëtius, and devoted her chief energies during the remaining ten years of her life to religious matters. During these ten years (440-450) the disturbances both in Church and State continually taking place in the eastern portion of the empire, through the errors into which her nephew Theodosius II was led by Chrysaphius, naturally caused unrest also in religious matters in Italy. The echoes of the conflict over Nestorianism had scarcely died away; there had succeeded the ravaging of Thrace and Illyricum by Attila in 442, the

¹ Chap. XIX, p. 103 .

payment of the shameful tribute of the Hungeld, and the ravaging of Macedonia and Greece in 447; and there followed in the latter year the new conflict raised by the heresy of Eutyches, warmly supported by the Pope of Alexandria, and culminating in 449 with the disgraceful episode of the Latrocinium, through which for a short time Eutychianism became dominant.

Galla Placidia, always a strong Catholic, and never varying from that faith in the midst of these controversies of the time, set herself in these later years of her life to build churches and assist the Church generally. At Rome she rebuilt the church of St. Lawrence (founded by Constantine) which had fallen into ruin, and she also greatly enlarged and adorned the church of St. Paul, which had been founded by her father Theodosius the Great.¹ In Pagan times triumphal Arches had been the principal mode in which the Pagan emperors recorded their renown. And when in the 5th century fine churches came to be built, a Christian imitation of that practice (though not with a view to giving renown to individuals) grew into fashion, a splendidly decorated Arch between the nave and the transept being made a prominent feature in those churches, while the origin of the idea is shown by the name "triumphal arch" being given in such cases. Galla Placidia in enlarging the church built by her father followed this practice, and the grand triumphal Arch built by her in 440, and covered with mosaics, forms the chief feature of this church of St. Paul, and is the finest example of one of these 5th century triumphal arches.²

At Ravenna Galla Placidia built, near her palace, the church of the Holy Cross; also the church of St. John the Evangelist, which commemorates by a bas-relief an escape from shipwreck

¹ Vol. I, Chap. IV, p. 172, and Chap. XVI, p. 565.

² The whole of the rest of this church was destroyed by fire in 1823, but Galla Placidia's triumphal Arch, with its splendid 5th century mosaics, was the one portion saved, and forms the chief feature of the present church. It separates the nave from the transept; on the side towards the nave it is adorned with mosaics representing the scene spoken of in the Book of Revelations of Christ being adored by the four-and-twenty elders and the four allegorical beasts; and on the side towards the transept with mosaics representing Christ between St. Peter and St. Paul.

which she had on her voyage when returning from Constantinople to Ravenna; also the church of St. John the Baptist, the church of St. Agatha, and her own mausoleum. She also promulgated various enactments on religious matters, including laws for the suppression of heresy, of astrologers, and of necromancy, for the banishment of all heretics from Ravenna, and for the better discipline of the clergy, and was likewise active in works of charity. Galla Placidia also built at Ravenna the palace of the Laurelwood (*Lauretum*),¹ but no trace of this palace now remains.

The Flaminian During the time of Galla Placidia, as also during
Way. that of her brother Honorius and her son Valentinian III, Italy had practically two capitals, Ravenna and Rome. The two cities were only 230 miles apart; they were joined by the great road from Rome to the north, the celebrated Flaminian Way,² the most used and the best kept of all the Roman roads; and during the time of Honorius, Galla Placidia, and Valentinian III there was constant intercourse, political, military, and social between these two cities. Along the Flaminian Way (from Rome through Narni, Spoleto, Foligno, Nucera, Fano, and Rimini to Ravenna) there passed at this period an unceasing stream of travellers of all classes. Bodies of cavalry or infantry, military officers employed at the court, ministers of state on political affairs, officials occupied on various duties, senators going to interview the emperor, merchants proceeding on business to one or other of the two capitals, ladies going to enjoy for a season the festivities of the court or returning from thence, and numberless other persons whom business or pleasure called for a time either to Rome or Ravenna, thronged this great road on all occasions. And when at times the emperor and the court moved from one to the other of these two capitals this concourse was largely augmented, while on such occasions its varied character was increased by magnificent equipages, including the gold carriages and gold riding saddles used by the ladies of the court which five years after Galla Placidia's death were captured in Rome by the Vandals.³

¹ Chap. XX, p. 153.

² Constructed by the Consul Flaminius in the time of the Roman Republic.

³ Chap. XIX, p. 121.

Death of Galla Placidia. At this period the city of Rome had recovered most of its former grandeur and prosperity. No permanent harm had been done to the city through its capture in 410 by Alaric, all the splendid buildings which had been erected by Augustus, Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Septimius Severus, Diocletian, Constantine, and other emperors were still intact, and it is interesting to realize that Hadrian's magnificent Villa at Tivoli, where all that was most beautiful in art or nature was gathered together, was undoubtedly often the residence of Galla Placidia in the summer during her visits to Rome. The invasion of North Africa by the Vandals in 429 had contributed to this increase in the prosperity of Rome, as upon that invasion taking place many of the wealthiest citizens in that country had promptly removed from thence to Rome. The contemporary writer Olympiodorus speaks of the great luxury and splendour in which at this period many of the nobles in Rome lived, stating that their palaces were "almost like towns and contained temples, baths, fountains, and even race-courses," that many of these nobles received revenues equal to £160,000 a year, besides corn, wine, and other produce, and that even those of the second rank enjoyed revenues equal to £60,000 a year. Thus Rome could boast of quite as many attractions as Ravenna, and during the last few years of her life Galla Placidia and her son and daughter-in-law often resided in the Palace of the Caesars on the Palatine hill for many months at a time. And there on the 27th November 450 Galla Placidia at length died, at the age of fifty-six, four months after her nephew Theodosius II. Her body was embalmed and carried to Ravenna to be buried in accordance with her own directions in the magnificent mausoleum which she had built.

Her mausoleum. This mausoleum¹ is outwardly a plain brick building in the shape of a cross; all its decoration is reserved for the inside, which is a mass of mosaic ornamentation, both walls and roof being entirely covered with pictures in mosaic. The roof of the dome represents a sky of deepest blue, spangled with golden stars, with in the centre a jewelled cross. In the arches and round the walls are the figures of Apostles and Prophets, Christ as the Good Shepherd,

¹ Plate LX.

the burning of the heretical books of the Nestorians,¹ stags drinking at a pool in a forest, and various other representations. The subjects were certainly chosen by Galla Placidia herself, who no doubt frequently inspected the work while it was in progress, while these mosaic pictures are as fresh as when placed there under her eyes.

The mausoleum contains three sarcophagi, all three being of considerable height, the person being buried therein sitting in state, not lying down. On either side are those of her brother Honorius and of her second husband Constantius (her son Valentinian III being afterwards buried in the same sarcophagus), and in the centre, under the eastern wall of the mausoleum, is the sarcophagus of Galla Placidia herself.² These three sarcophagi are the only tombs of any of the long line of Roman emperors, either in East or West, which still remain in existence. Of Augustus and his successors of the Julian family no tomb survives; of Trajan we have only his column, and of Hadrian only a mausoleum long since despoiled of all its contents and turned into a fortress; of Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, Heraclius, Leo III, and their successors, all interred in the last resting-place of the emperors, the great church of the Twelve Apostles built by Constantine in New Rome, not a vestige either of their tombs or of the church in which they were placed remains, all having been destroyed by the Turkish Sultans. But Ravenna, thanks to Galla Placidia, still keeps the tombs of the last three emperors of the western half of the Roman Empire, the son, the daughter, and the grandson of Theodosius the Great.

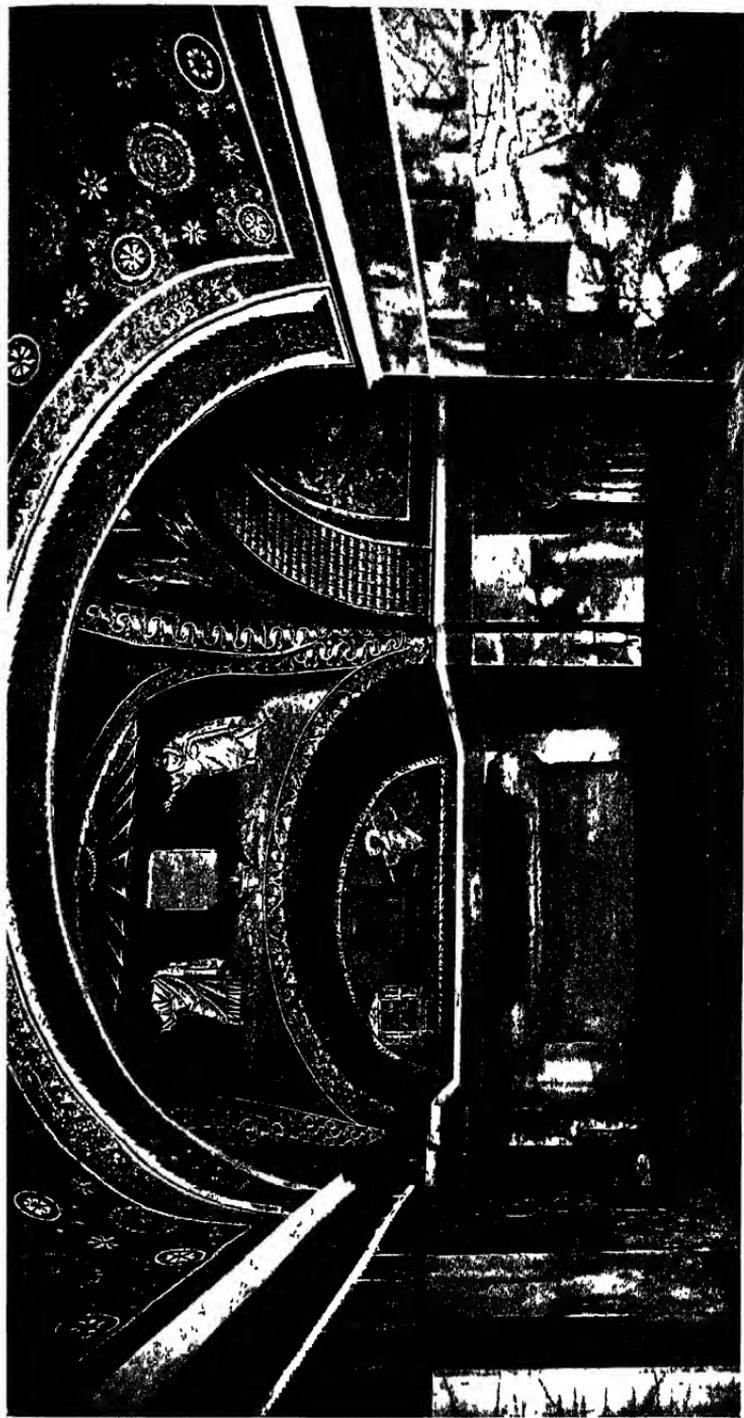
It is remarkable how much difference, as regards bringing before us a personality, a building erected by the person sometimes makes compared with cases where there is no such memorial. We seem to know Galla Placidia so much better than her capable niece Pulcheria just because we can stand in the mausoleum which she built, can look at the sarcophagi of her brother and her husband resting in the places where she put them, can gaze at the interesting mosaic pictures which

¹ The sect recently condemned by the Third General Council, and rigorously ejected by Galla Placidia from Ravenna.

² Galla Placidia's unhappy daughter Honoria is also buried in this mausoleum.

she planned, and can see the tomb in which her body was placed in the special manner she had ordered, even though we can no longer see her sitting therein clad in her imperial robes, as she sat for many centuries.

Her sarcophagus is the largest of the three in the mausoleum. It is made of semi-transparent alabaster, and the top was originally covered with plates of silver. In this sarcophagus Galla Placidia's body after being embalmed was placed as ordered by her, sitting upright in a chair of cypress-wood, and arrayed in her imperial robes, just as she had sat in the hall of the palace at Narbonne on the day of her marriage to Ataulf when she was twenty. And there it remained undisturbed for eleven centuries, and was one of the sights of Ravenna, being visible through a small hole covered with thin alabaster at the back of the sarcophagus, until in 1577 some children, playing one day in the mausoleum, thrust a lighted candle through the hole in order to see her better; with the result that they set fire to the robes of the dead empress, and in a few moments all that remained of Galla Placidia was reduced to ashes.



[A. V. N. A. R. I.]

INTERIOR OF GALLA PLACIDIA'S MAUSOLEUM AT RAVENNA.

Showing her sarcophagus, and the mosaic decoration of the walls and roof. The sarcophagus is of this unusual shape in order that she might be buried in it sitting in her chair of state, clad in her imperial robes. It is made of semi-transparent alabaster. Her body remained thus sitting in its chair for 1127 years.

CHAPTER XIX

WEST—VALENTINIAN III, AND END OF WESTERN HALF OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

EAST—PULCHERIA, MARCIAN, AND LEO I

451 — 476

THE year 451, the year after Galla Placidia died, was one of terrible importance to Europe. Attila, on being refused further payment of the *Hungeld*,¹ and having resolved to exact retribution in the West, began by demanding the surrender of his "wife,"² the princess Honoria, from her brother Valentinian III, together with half the western portion of the empire as her dowry, and upon this being refused prepared for war. He did not however, as yet, attack Italy, but aimed his attack further to the west, at Gaul. That country was at this time divided between seven races. Northern Gaul, down to a line drawn roughly from Amiens to Strassburg, was held by the Franks; the *Allemanni* occupied the districts on the upper Rhine; the Romans, as the result of the conquests of *Aëtius*, held Provence and a large part of central Gaul; the *Burgundians* occupied what is now Savoy; the territory west of Paris was held by the Saxons, and that to the south of them down to the Loire by the *Armoricans*; and lastly, from the Loire to the Pyrenees was the territory of the *Visigoths*, their eastern boundary being a line running roughly from near Orléans to Toulouse. The cities sacked by the Vandals, Suevi, Alans, and *Burgundians* forty-five years before had more or less recovered, and were again populous.

¹ Chap. XVIII, p. 92.

² Chap. XVIII, p. 86.

Invasion of
Gaul by
the Huns.

Early in 451 Attila's huge host, variously estimated at from half a million to a million fighting men, with allies from some of the Teutonic tribes subject to him, began to roll westwards from their headquarters in Dacia. Sweeping across northern Europe, they crossed the Rhine, and fell like an avalanche upon Gaul. The awful horrors and widespread destruction endured by Gaul in this invasion by the Huns defy description; they far surpassed all former experiences of the kind, and were never forgotten through all the subsequent ages: no human voice comes out of the chaos to relate the sufferings endured, but the terrible impression permanently made, and handed down for generations afterwards, is eloquent. City after city was, we are told, "effracta" (broken to pieces); Strassburg, Mainz, Cologne,¹ Metz, Trèves, Tongres, Arras, Tournay, Cambrai, Amiens, Beauvais, and Rheims were, one after another, first sacked and then destroyed. At length the devastating flood was arrested at Orléans.

Aëtius, though now over sixty, had made strenuous efforts to collect an army capable of opposing the Huns, and had by this time succeeded in inducing the Visigoths, under their brave king Theodoric, together with a few contingents from some of the other races in Gaul, to unite with the empire for this object, and the combined forces of the allies occupied Orléans just in time before the Huns reached it. Attila thereupon retired towards Troyes, followed by the allied army, and took up a position a few miles from that city. And on the Mauriac Plain, near Troyes,² was fought another of the decisive battles of the world, the great battle which decided

¹ It is to this invasion that the story of the massacre of St. Ursula and the 11,000 virgins at Cologne belongs.

² It is almost impossible to locate the battlefield exactly, from the fact that owing to the immense numbers engaged the battle spread over a great extent of country. Apparently it was fought over a wide tract extending south-west, west, and north-west of Troyes, from the road between Sens and Troyes round to as far north as the river Aube, or even further. In fact so far did the battle extend that in former times it was even called the battle of Châlons, though it evidently took place nearer Troyes, and is now called the battle of the Mauriac Plain.

whether Europe was for the future to be Teuton or Tartar, Aryan or Turanian.¹

Great battle
of the
Mauriac Plain. Though the Huns had the preponderance of numbers, the forces on both sides were immense. On the one side was the vast host of the Huns, with the tribes held subject by them; on the other was the Roman army (largely recruited from southern Gaul), with the Visigoths, and contingents from several of the races of northern Gaul, these latter being furious at the atrocities which had been perpetrated by the inhuman Huns. Most of the Roman portion of the allied army, under Aëtius, occupied rising ground, but the Visigoths, under their king Theodoric, were in the open plain. The Huns, living as a race perpetually on horseback and specially famous as archers, never fought on foot except when taking cities, and almost the whole of Attila's host were mounted. On the other hand the Visigoths, and the greater part of the Roman army, fought on foot.² It was a very different kind of battle from those of Constantine's time; no tactics were employed on either side, and it was simply a case of sheer sledge-hammer fighting throughout a long day. Through the mists of time the fierce struggle between Hun and Goth on that tremendous battle-field has always occupied pre-eminence for its ferocity and determination. Neither side would give way. Attila, like a burning flame, with blazing eyes and hoarse guttural shouts

¹ This is the opinion which has always been held. It is, however, now sometimes declared that even had the Huns been victorious it would not have subjected Europe to the Tartar race, that the invasion of the Huns was a mere passing phase, and consequently that the battle of the Mauriac Plain had not the importance which all previous generations have believed. It would probably be necessary to actually see the Hunnish host, and also the districts of Gaul and Italy after they were quitted by them, before a really reliable opinion on the point could be formed. But failing this, the older view appears to have the greater weight; especially as the newer one fails to indicate from whence any further defenders of Europe were likely to arise (see also pp. 116-117). Professor Bury is of opinion that it was "the cause of chaos against cosmos," and that if the Huns had won this great battle "western Europe might have been converted into a spiritual waste unspeakably more lost and degraded than Turkey at the present day."

² The Saxons and Franks *always* fought on foot, the Goths sometimes on horseback, but not on this occasion.

of command, hurled his Huns in furious charges time after time upon the allies, and especially upon the Visigoths, who were without any advantage of position. From the vivid pictures of the Huns given by writers of that century we can almost see the rush of that terrible cavalry; demoniac horsemen with flattened noses and small fierce eyes, who appeared as if horse and man were one, and whose ferocity had filled all the world with dread. But in the end the battle showed that the Hun was no match for the Goth. Modern battles have in some cases seen as great numbers engaged, but not that fierce hand-to-hand fighting which produced such immense losses; at the end of the long day of desperate combat the number of the slain in the two armies reached the enormous total of 340,000 men. At nightfall the Huns, their strength exhausted, drew off from the wide battlefield strewn with acres upon acres of slain Romans, Goths, and Huns.¹ But the victors were in too shattered a condition to pursue; while the Visigoths, upon whom the heaviest portion of the fighting had fallen, had also to mourn the loss of their king, the brave warrior Theodoric. Attila with his beaten, but not destroyed, army, sullenly retired northwards, and recrossed the Rhine. The power of the Huns was broken, and Europe was saved from the horrible fate which would have been its lot if the victory had been the opposite way. But Gaul as far south as Orléans was left like a city of the dead.²

The Fourth
General
Council.

This same year 451, which in the spring witnessed this decisive victory of the races of Aryan origin over their Turanian foes, in the autumn witnessed another decisive action, no less important to posterity, in

¹ For many generations afterwards legends in that part of the country declared that the spirits of the fallen warriors were to be seen and heard continuing to battle in the air.

² In 1842 there was unearthed on the site of one part of the battle of the Mauriac Plain a skeleton having a collar of gold round the neck, a gold armlet, gold clasps, a richly ornamented sword, a similarly ornamented dagger, and a gold signet ring, the inscription on which in its touch of nature links our modern age at once with the dead warrior, since it bore the Gothic word *HEVA* (wife), which skeleton is believed by Professor Peigné Delacourt to be that of Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, who is known to have been buried on the battlefield. It is now in the museum at Troyes.

a different field, viz. the final victory in the long contest which had been fought for four generations by the Catholics in defence of the faith laid down at Nicæa.

On the 1st September 451 the *Fourth General Council*, in accordance with the orders which had been issued,¹ gathered at Nicæa. But as it was particularly desired by the majority of the Bishops that the emperor Marcian should be present to restrain the violence of the Eutychians, and as Marcian wrote that urgent affairs of State compelled him to remain at the capital, the place of assembly was changed at his request to Chalcedon, on the eastern shore of the Bosphorus, in order that he might be present; and there on the 8th October 451 the Council assembled. This Council was the largest of all the General Councils, and, except that of Nicæa, the most important. It was attended by 630 Bishops, and was presided over by Anatolius, Pope of Constantinople, who had succeeded the murdered Flavian. The Council sat in the church of St. Euphemia the martyr,² situated outside the city of Chalcedon, upon a height overlooking the sea³; behind rose mountains clothed with forests, and in front, across the narrow waters of the Bosphorus, was the splendid panorama of the city of Constantinople.

After all, the emperor Marcian was only able to be present at the final sitting of the Council, but he sent several officers as his representatives who maintained order. Dioscurus, Pope of Alexandria, and the abbot Barsumas, owing to their conduct at the *Latrocinium*, were made to sit in the body of the church, as persons whose deeds were under trial. A full enquiry was first made into the atrocious proceedings at the *Latrocinium*, which were severely condemned; Dioscurus was proved guilty, not only of the most outrageous and tyrannical conduct on that occasion, but also of flagrant crimes at Alexandria; he was condemned by the Council to be deprived of all his offices, and was banished by the emperor to Gangra in Paphlagonia, the abbot Barsumas (looked upon as practically the murderer of Flavian) being also banished.

¹ Chap. XVIII, p. 93.

² Vol. I., Chap. XII, p. 383.

³ The church was entered through a large atrium (or court) surrounded by a colonnade. Under the dome of the church was the highly venerated tomb of the martyred St. Euphemia, enclosed in a silver shrine, near which was a large mosaic picture of her martyrdom.

The Council then proceeded to consider the main point brought before it, viz. the doctrine taught by Eutyches. On this point there was never any doubt, now that the voice of the whole Church could be heard. The Council ruled that the doctrine propounded by Eutyches was not that which had been held and taught "from the first," and therefore condemned it as a heresy, defining the Catholic faith on the point to be that in Christ there were two whole and perfect natures combined in one Person. And to guard all in the future against such teaching as that of Eutyches the Council drew up an important definition of the Catholic faith on the subject, which stated that faith to be:—"That Christ is perfect alike in Godhead and in manhood; very God and very man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting; of one essence with the Father as touching His Godhead, and of one essence with us as touching His manhood; . . . to be acknowledged in two natures, without confusion, change, division, or separation, the difference of natures being in no wise taken away by reason of their union, but rather the properties of each nature being preserved and concurring in one Person; . . . not separated into two persons, but one and the same Son and only begotten, God the Word." This definition met equally the Nestorian heresy on the one hand and the Eutychian¹ heresy on the other. The statement of the true faith on this deep mystery, as thus carefully defined by the Fourth General Council, has remained from that day to this the authoritative utterance of the whole Church upon this long-controverted question.²

The Catholics had thus withstood successfully four grand attacks in 126 years upon the faith taught "from the first."³

¹ The Eutychian heresy is often called by the name Monophysite (signifying "one nature").

² It will be noticed that the definition laid down by this Council to protect posterity against errors on this deep mystery was incorporated in the "Athanasian Creed." That creed was not written by Athanasius, but was fitly called by his name, he having been the most renowned defender of this belief in defence of which the Catholics had struggled for four generations until thus at length victorious.

³ At Nicæa in 325 (Arian attack), at Constantinople in 381 (Appollinarian), at Ephesus in 431 (Nestorian), and at Chalcedon in 451 (Eutychian).

But though the faith which they had so long and strenuously defended had now been finally victorious over the various attacks made upon it, another 150 years were to pass before it would be accepted throughout the whole of the nations of Europe. For twenty-five years after the assembly of this General Council, through the conquest by the Goths of the last country belonging to the western portion of the empire, the Arian religion professed by them became dominant throughout the West; while in the East the Eutychian (or Monophysite) heresy for several generations flourished widely, especially in Syria, Armenia,¹ Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Abyssinia, in some of which countries it still survives. The Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, however, were on a very different plane from Arianism. For they merely partially differed from the Catholic faith; whereas Arianism struck at the very foundation of Christianity, the Divinity of Christ.²

The four General Councils in which these successive attacks had been met and overcome are the four principal General Councils, the Fifth and Sixth (both of them subsidiary to the Fourth) being of less importance from a doctrinal point of view, though of much importance historically. And of these four principal General Councils, while one was convened by Constantine, and one by Gratian and Theodosius, two were convened by the latter's capable granddaughter Pulcheria, the only sovereign who ever convened two General Councils.

Importance in the Church not dependent upon the see held. The Fourth General Council, in drawing up its important definition of the true faith which for ever closed this long controversy, was very largely assisted by the sound and clear theology contained in the comprehensive letter (called "the Tome") which was written to the Council on the subject by Leo, Bishop of Rome, and Pope of the western patriarchate. Up to this time the see of Rome had not taken a leading part in the history

¹ The case of Armenia is very peculiar, having been caused through the paucity of the Armenian language. The Armenian Church refused to accept the decision of the Fourth General Council, and (remaining Eutychian) separated from the Catholic Church, owing to a misunderstanding caused by their language having only one word for "nature" and "person."

² See Vol. I, Chap. XIII, p. 412 (footnote).

of the Church. During all the first five centuries, since Bishops were never "translated" from one see to another, each of the Bishops who in turn had been universally acknowledged at different times as the leading Bishop in the Church did not hold this position by reason of the see he occupied, but solely by reason of his own personal character and ability. Thus at one time it is Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who holds this position; at another time it is Hosius, Bishop of Cordova; at another, Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria; at another, Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers; at another, Ambrose, Bishop of Milan; and at another, Augustine, Bishop of Hippo.¹ In all these cases it was the man himself, not his see, which gave him the importance accorded to him by the Church. And this helped to emphasize the axiom as to the equality of all sees in rank.

It had so happened that up to this time none of the men who possessed characters of this leading description had held the see of Rome. The result had been that that see had not played a leading part in the Councils of the Church; while in the 5th century, owing to the conquests of the Goths and other northern races, the area in the West which still professed the Catholic religion had shrunk to such small dimensions that the patriarchal see of the West necessarily came to occupy a very subordinate position in the Church as compared with

¹ The cases of Ambrose and Augustine are particularly noticeable, because both of them lived after the time when in 381 the Second General Council had given the title and status of Pope to the Bishops holding the sees of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople, while both of them belonged to the western patriarchate, that of Rome. Ambrose died in 397, and during all the last thirteen years of his life, while he was making so great a name as the leading Bishop of the Church, the Bishop who held the see of Rome and the new title of Pope of the western patriarchate was a man of so little weight in the Church that his very name is almost unknown, Siricius. The case of Augustine is still more marked. Dying in 430 he had for thirty-three years (from the time of the death of Ambrose) been everywhere acknowledged as the leading Bishop of the Church, while the five Bishops who during that period held the see of Rome and the title of Pope of the western patriarchate—Anastasius I, Innocent I, Zosimus, Boniface I, and Cœlestine I—were men of no weight in the Church, and with the exception of Innocent I their names are almost unknown.

great and important Apostolic sees such as Antioch, Alexandria and Ephesus, or such as that of the imperial capital Constantinople, all of which, in importance, weight, and the number of dioceses represented by them, so very largely exceeded that of Rome. But at the time when the Fourth General Council was held this became changed; the see of Rome was now held by one who was a conspicuously able man, and who on this occasion gave the first prominent evidence of his ability; with the result that the Council in drawing up its definition of the Catholic faith followed to a large extent the clear theology which he enunciated.

Precedence
of Rome
declared not
on religious
grounds.

But the Fourth General Council while accepting Leo's views on theology declined altogether to accept his views on another subject. That General Council, among various other matters brought before it, was called upon to give a decision on the same point which had been before the Second General Council, viz. the relative precedence of the sees of Constantinople and Rome. In regard to this the Council decided, and laid down in its twenty-eighth canon, that precedence should be given to Rome over Constantinople, but stated the reason still more explicitly than even the Second General Council had done,¹ the words being, "because it is the elder Imperial city." Leo, with a desire to magnify his see, objected to this canon, and maintained that the precedence of Rome over Constantinople should be declared to be because the see of Rome had been founded by St. Peter. But he failed entirely to carry his point. Antioch and Alexandria, both claiming on far more assured grounds to have been founded by St. Peter, and Ephesus claiming to have been founded by St. John, all repudiated Leo's assumption; their view was adopted by the whole Church, which stood by the canon passed by the General Council, and declined to admit that Rome had any claim to honour on the ground of any special connection with St. Peter. And Leo had to submit, at all events outwardly, since to do otherwise would not only be to disobey the deliberate decision of a General Council, but would at once have had the result of cutting off both himself and his see from the whole of the rest of the Church.

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XV, p. 537.

Leo
the Great. Leo, justly called the Great, a man who in any age would have been conspicuous, was by far the most able man of this time when the western portion of the empire was approaching its end, and when no other virile character among the Romans was to be seen. We know absolutely nothing about his birth or education. Born about 395, he was in 430 Archdeacon of the Church at Rome, and in 440 at the age of forty-five was chosen as Bishop of Rome and Pope of the western patriarchate by the unanimous voice of the people of Rome. It is remarkable, especially in the case of a man of such pronounced character, that though he must often have come in contact with the empress Galla Placidia during the years 440-450 we hear nothing whatever about him in connection with her during all those ten years.

Leo was an example of the Roman character at its best, having all the virtues of that race, and none of its vices. Lofty in sentiment, pure in life, learned, practical, stern, and of unbending will, Leo, though perhaps wanting in sympathy and forbearance, was essentially a type of that Roman race which was born to rule the world. What Augustus, Constantine, and Valentinian I had been in their sphere, Leo, more exalted in character and more deeply learned, was in his, and like them typified in himself that Roman spirit summed up in Virgil's words regarding the special mission of the Roman race.¹ His chief fame was gained as a theologian, in which respect he showed invariably the plain, strong, practical theology of the western mind, free from all subtleties. But his character as a man, and as a leader of men, was no less deserving of honour; and in the year which followed Attila's invasion of Gaul he gave a conspicuous proof of his qualities in this latter respect.

But although Leo was all this, yet he, by giving way to the temptation natural to a man of his character unduly to exalt his see, laid the seeds of lasting harm to the Christian Church, seeds destined in time to produce a disunion which he would have been the last to desire. Other equally great, or greater, Bishops before him (such as Cyprian, Hosius, Athanasius, Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose, and Augustine) had resisted a temptation which comes to all men of dominant character and

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XIII, p. 397.

ability. Leo succumbed to it. And he found a weapon ready to his hand through the destruction of the western half of the empire, which left the great name of Rome (carrying with it the idea of a supremacy) available to be utilized in Church matters in a manner similar to that in which it had heretofore been used in secular matters.

Not that Leo was himself able to formulate a claim on behalf of the see of Rome to supremacy in the Church. The other four patriarchates, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, and especially the first three with their much greater power and importance in the Church than the depressed western patriarchate, whose area had now been reduced to only Italy and a part of Gaul, would have treated such a claim with contempt, and with a resistance which would at once have forced him to withdraw it. Nevertheless Leo undoubtedly had formed the idea of converting his position as Pope of the western patriarchate into a dominance of some kind altogether opposed to the express ruling of the Second General Council when it created this office of Pope. His conduct towards Hilary, Metropolitan of Arles,¹ was a glaring example of his efforts in this direction. Moreover, adopting a favourite Italian device, he would in letters and documents speak as though such a position of supremacy was his, and was accorded to him by others, even though it was not accorded at all, but would do so in such a way as made it difficult for an objector to lay hold of anything sufficiently definite to which to raise objection; while subsequent ages reading his assumptions would take them as being generally acknowledged.

It seems possible that these methods on Leo's part may have had much to do with his having been treated with such marked coldness by the empress Galla Placidia; especially as the Metropolitan see of Ravenna looked with extreme suspicion upon anything indicating a tendency on the part of the see of Rome to exalt itself over that of Ravenna, the capital. As noted, we hear nothing at all about him in connection with her, though at the time of her death he had been Bishop of Rome and head (at all events nominally) of the

¹ See p. 110.

western patriarchate of the Church¹ for ten years. And this is rendered all the more remarkable because Galla Placidia was at that period almost entirely occupied in matters concerning the Church, was often in Rome at this time, and was so particularly strong in her religious opinions, and strenuously engaged at this very time in promulgating enactments to suppress heresy and to reform abuses among the clergy.² It would certainly appear that Leo kept himself and his pretensions on behalf of his see very much in the background until the empress Galla Placidia was dead, knowing that he would find in her too formidable an opponent to such pretensions.

Hilary of Arles. Another man at this period very notable was the saintly Hilary, Metropolitan Bishop of Arles.³ He and Leo were recognized as the two greatest men in the western portion of the Church at this time. But they were very opposite characters; for Hilary was beloved, whereas Leo was only admired. Hilary, who was about six years younger than Leo, had in every way an attractive character; he was a powerful preacher, a beautiful writer, a man of very simple life, and one who was beloved for his nobility of disposition, his hatred of oppression, and his fearlessness in rebuking it. He belonged to a noble family, and had been Bishop of Arles for eleven years when Leo became Bishop of Rome. In 444 Leo, in his desire to aggrandise his see, treated Hilary disgracefully. He intervened on behalf of a priest who had been deposed by a local Council presided over by Hilary, and, quite unlawfully, sent an order that he was to be reinstated. Hilary, anxious to avoid a controversy, thereupon travelled personally to Rome, and in very temperate terms pointed out to Leo that he was exceeding his jurisdiction, referring him to the canons of the Second General Council which had carefully laid down that the Metropolitan who held the office of Pope was expressly prohibited from interfering in the affairs of the provinces of other Metro-

¹ Shrunken though that patriarchate had become through the conquests of the barbarian races, all either Arians or Pagans.

² Chap. XVIII, pp. 91 95.

³ St. Hilary of Arles was on account of his character elected to that important see when he was only twenty-nine years old.

politans.¹ But Leo would not listen to him, and when Hilary, after protesting before a local Council at Rome against this uncanonical procedure, left Rome (eluding the guards whom Leo had most unrighteously placed over him), Leo issued an order depriving him of his Metropolitan jurisdiction over the see of Vienne, one of the sees of Hilary's province of Arles. Hilary returned to Arles, and Leo's order being manifestly *ultra vires* became a dead letter, Hilary's manful assertion of the independence of Metropolitans being thus vindicated. And when some years later Hilary died, Leo himself spoke of him as "a man of holy memory."

Invasion of
Italy by the
Huns.

In the spring of 452 Attila, breathing vengeance, and bent upon wiping out his defeat at the Mauriac Plain, started from Pannonia, where he had spent the winter, intent this time upon invading Italy and teaching these haughty and luxurious Romans a lesson; the Huns (clothed in dirty rags and living always in the open) by levelling every city with the ground should teach the luxurious populations of Europe to live as the Huns did. Crossing the Pear Tree pass the human torrent poured down the valley of the Frigidus, and surrounding Aquileia proceeded to besiege the Metz of Italy. Aquileia (the city of the North Wind) stood at the head of the Adriatic, being distant four miles from the sea, with which it was joined by the navigable river Aquilo. On account of both its strategic and commercial importance it was the rival of Milan and Ravenna, while in ecclesiastical affairs its Metropolitan held sway over the whole of Venetia and the greater part of Illyricum. In the whole 600 years of its history, though often attacked, it had never been taken by assault, and successive emperors had continually increased the fortifications of this "Virgin fortress of Italy."

Aëtius had placed all the troops at his disposal to defend this great frontier city, and the rest of Italy was necessarily left to defend itself as best it might. A long siege followed, Aquileia making a stubborn defence; but Attila was determined to take it, and also to terrorize all Italy by the fate he would inflict upon it. When at last all hope was gone those women who were wise, after first killing their children,

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XV, p. 537.

committed suicide, like the noble lady Digna.¹ At length the city fell, and the fate of its inhabitants, given up to all the passions of a horde of half-demon Tartars, struck terror into mankind. Not a building or a living thing was left; and so complete was the destruction that Jordanes, writing a century later, states that in his time scarcely a vestige of this great city remained.

This done, the Huns poured over Venetia and Lombardy, blotting out city after city in like manner, the fugitives from these cities flying to the lagoons and islands where 120 years later Venice was to be born.² The flourishing city of Concordia, built by Augustus, thirty-one miles from Aquileia, suffered a like fate; so did Altinum; so did Patavium (in after ages to rise from its ashes as Padua); the Huns, knowing no other art, were masters in the art of destruction, and the thoroughness with which they carried out the extinction of Aquileia, Concordia, Altinum, and Patavium is remarkably evidenced by the almost entire absence of any Roman remains of these cities. Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Pavia, and Milan, though their buildings were not destroyed, each suffered all the horrors of a sack. The writer Suidas relates that in the principal hall of the imperial palace at Milan, the palace where Constantine the Great had signed his edict for the establishment of Christianity, and where Theodosius the Great had died, Attila saw a large picture covering part of the wall of the hall, entitled "The Triumph of Rome over the Barbarians," representing the two emperors of East and West, seated on their gold thrones while vanquished Scythians crouched in submission before them; and that, in grim humour, he thereupon ordered

¹ Digna, a lady of high birth noted for her beauty and virtue, had a house situated upon the walls of the city, with near it a high tower which overlooked the waters of the Natiso. When she saw that the city was about to be captured by these "filthiest of foes" (*sordidissimis hostibus*), she ascended her tower, and covering her head in the old Roman fashion, plunged into the stream below (*Historia Miscella*, Bk. XIV).

² Tradition has always asserted that it was the fugitives from this invasion by Attila who formed the first settlements in the islands of the lagunes which were the origin of Venice, although that origin cannot be traced back further than the Lombard invasion in 568 (Chap. XXII).

a rival picture to be painted on the opposite wall, entitled "The Triumph of Attila over the Romans," representing himself sitting upon a throne while the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III, carrying sacks filled with gold, bowed low before him and poured out the gold pieces at his feet.

Meanwhile in Rome, where Valentinian III had established himself in preference to Ravenna, paralysis seemed to have supervened. The awful name of Attila struck terror into every heart, and the knowledge that the latter's next move would be upon Rome, to repeat there the story of Aquileia, made all think only of flight. Aëtius, now sixty-two years old, having no more troops to put in the field, and paralysed by the news of the destruction wrought upon northern Italy, seems to have lost all courage. He remained in Rome, meditating flight from Italy and urging Valentinian III to accompany him. In this crisis one man alone showed any fortitude. Leo, Bishop of Rome, Metropolitan of the Roman ecclesiastical province, and Pope of the western patriarchate, undeterred by the fate which had befallen the Metropolitan of Aquileia at Attila's hands, volunteered to conduct an embassy to the dreaded tyrant to induce him to spare Rome. His offer was readily accepted; and Leo set out upon his journey northwards to face the terrible Tartar conqueror at whose name all Italy trembled. Seeing that he was accompanied by men all of whom grew pale at the thought of what lay before them, it was an enterprise which must have required much courage.

Having carried terror and destruction through northern Italy and finished slaughtering the inhabitants of Milan, Attila quitted that city and started southwards towards Rome, with the avowed intention of treating the imperial city in the same way that he had treated Aquileia. But that same strange awe which the Visigoths had felt at the name of Rome now appeared to seize even upon Attila, and on reaching the Mincio he became for the first time irresolute. Savage and ruthless, he was yet superstitious, and he remembered Alaric's death so soon after taking Rome. And while he thus hesitated there appeared before him, at the crossing of the Mincio, near Governolo, an opponent unlike any whom he had met with in any of his campaigns.

Meeting
of Attila
and Leo.

Strange indeed is the contrast between the two men who thus met by the banks of the Mincio. Attila, hideous in appearance, without education, uncouth, blood-stained and terrible, abjectly feared even by his followers, a barbarian of barbarians; and Leo, noble in appearance, highly cultured, full of intellectual power, calm, dignified, and resolute, a Roman of the Romans. Two personalities more opposed there could not be; they had but one quality in common—courage. Raphael, in a great picture on the walls of the Vatican, has depicted for us his conception of this meeting between these two antagonists so signally different; and his view of it is not likely to be improved upon. What took place at the interview, or what arguments Leo used, we do not know. But the result we know. To the amazement of his followers, Attila, the fierce and indomitable, yielded, and instead of advancing upon Rome, promised to quit Italy and return to Pannonia. The contemporary writer Prosper Tiro says that Attila “insisted still on this point above all, that Honoria, the sister of the emperor, and daughter of the Augusta Placidia, should be sent to him with the portion of the royal wealth which was her due; and he threatened that unless this was done he would lay upon Italy a far heavier punishment than any which it had yet borne.” Possibly this was mere *braggadocio* on Attila’s part, but in any case Attila died in the following year without Honoria having been delivered up to him.¹

Prosper Tiro² (who was living in Rome at the time) says quite simply and naturally that this repulse of Attila was due to the influence of Leo’s powerful personality. But the ecclesiastical writers of a later age improved upon this by adding the legend of an apparition of St. Peter and St. Paul in the sky threatening Attila not to dare to advance upon Rome, with other similar matter intended to enhance the glory of the Church; and this legend is incorporated in Raphael’s picture. On the other hand modern historians, revolting from the legendary halo which has been hung round this

¹ This is the last that we hear of Honoria. Of her ultimate fate nothing is known, except that she died at Ravenna and is buried there in the mausoleum of her mother Galla Placidia.

² See Note G, p. 139.

episode and the general character which has been given to it in Church literature, have sought to deny that Attila's turning back had any connection with Leo; they have said that the heathen Attila is not likely "to have been impressed by the thunders of the Church," and have suggested that Attila probably retreated owing to sickness among the Huns, or to failure of supplies, or through fear that the eastern emperor Marcian might send troops to assist Italy.¹

But there is not the slightest reason to adopt so untenable a position. Attila, who had so recently swept all before him from Mœsia to Thermopylæ without finding any army which dared to oppose him, would have laughed at the idea that he need fear any troops likely to be sent against him from Constantinople; and still less have we any authority to attribute his retirement to sickness, or to famine. Nor is there any need in a revolt from the subsequent accretions to the history to reject the history itself. Leo the Great was too sensible, and too much a man of the world, to have ever thought of making an impression upon Attila by employing "the thunders of the Church"; Attila, the profound heathen, would not even have understood to what he was alluding. Leo conquered Attila through the power which a strong personality is able to exert. He no doubt detected at once that Attila, notwithstanding all his fierce terrorism and brutality, had a nature intensely subject to superstition, and worked upon this. The superstitious awe which would be called forth in such a nature when Leo in impressive tones, and with all the dignity which he was able to assume, bade him "Remember Alaric" and how the result of the latter's attacking Rome had been that he died within three months, was quite sufficient to produce the result that Attila inwardly quailed, and though blustering outwardly gave up the project of advancing upon Rome and ordered his host to turn again northwards. And there is in fact no need even for the testimony of Prosper Tiro to prove that the view hitherto held is the correct one. The circumstances of the case, and the entire absence of any other cause sufficient to account for Attila's action, amply prove that Attila's retreat was due to one sole cause, viz. the powerful influence of Leo's force of character.

¹ *The Cambridge Medieval History*, I, 417.

Death of Attila. The two strangely matched antagonists parted, and Attila led back his invading host, through the desolated Venetia, over the Pear Tree pass, and back to his temporary home in Pannonia. And there in the following year (453) Attila, the scourge of Europe, died. Having taken a beautiful girl, Ildico, to add to his many wives, he drank deep at the wedding feast, and in the morning was found dead on his nuptial couch (placed high at one end of his banqueting hall), with blood flowing from his mouth, and by his side Ildico, frightened, and silently weeping under her veil. Jordanes says there was no foul play, and that Attila died a drunkard's death. The Huns erected a lofty tent in the midst of the Hungarian plain, and laid his body in it, and round it a chosen band of horsemen circled and manœuvred for hours chanting a wild dirge. There followed the funeral feast (*Strava*), and the burial. Attila's body was enclosed in three coffins, the first of gold, the second of silver, and the third of iron, and was buried in a grave dug by captives, the place of burial being unknown to this day, being kept secret by the slaughter of all those who had dug the grave. His vast empire thereupon broke up, his numerous sons fighting together over it; and in these contests, happily for Europe, the Huns exterminated themselves. The few survivors drifted back into Scythia, the Ostrogoths, long held subject by the Huns, remaining in Pannonia.

Impression produced by exploits of Attila. The exploits of Attila¹ have made an indelible impression upon three great races of mankind; which also helps to show that the menace of the Huns to Europe was plainly no mere passing phase. To the Latin race Attila the Hun became in the Middle Ages the source of innumerable legends, which represented him as the great scourge of the 5th century, the terror of the world, and even traced his descent from Nimrod. To the Scandinavian race Attila became the principal hero of their favourite *sagas*, being reproduced in Atli, who plots and slays to obtain the buried treasure of Sigurd (typifying that dowry of Honoria's

¹ Attila's great name was gained by his personal magnetism, cruelty, and power of inspiring terror, not by any special military ability. He was defeated on the only occasion when he met with anything like equal numbers.

which Attila struggled so hard to gain), and who finally discusses with the wife who has murdered him (Ildico) the reason of her crime. But above all to the Teutonic race Attila has furnished a mine of inspiration in the *Nibelungen Lied*; though after six centuries the real Attila had become metamorphosed into a genial and hospitable reveller. Ildico (a diminutive of the name Hilde) lives again in Kriemhilde, the young widow of Siegfried, the Burgundian princess at whose request Attila invites her kindred, the Nibelungs, to Hunland. In his hall the Huns fight the Nibelungs until the floor is deep in the blood of slaughtered heroes, while Kriemhilde "reaps the reward of hoarded vengeance" for the murder of her girlhood's love, Siegfried.¹ Nor has the impression made by Attila been confined to those Latin, Scandinavian, and Teutonic races who during his lifetime lived in awe of his name. The Magyars, when in the 9th century they established themselves in Dacia and gave that country its modern name of Hungary, fashioned for themselves a pedigree by which they traced their descent from Attila, the scourge of Europe, not at that time foreseeing that their own noble deeds would thereafter make such a pedigree quite unnecessary.

Death of
the empress
Pulcheria.

In the same year (453) that the death of Attila occurred the empress Pulcheria died at Constantinople at the age of fifty-five, having been the leading spirit in the eastern portion of the empire for forty years. She left all her property to the poor, a bequest which was faithfully carried out by her husband Marcian. After her death Marcian continued to reign in his own right for four years until his death, adhering to the methods of government which had been so ably inaugurated by her,² and had been carried on by them both conjointly.

The theory that the contemporary authorities of the 5th century were imbued with a so-called "feminism," and have

¹ In Wagner's *Nibelungen Ring* Siegfried appears, but not Kriemhilde, as Wagner in the *Nibelungen Ring* wove together the *Nibelungenlied* and the still more original northern saga the *Edda*, taking from the *Nibelungenlied* the saga of the Nibelungenring (the Treasure in the Rhine), and from the *Edda* the prophetic mention of the *Götterdämmerung* (the Twilight of the Gods).

² Chap. XVIII, p. 93.

unduly magnified the part in public affairs taken by women in that century,¹ is one which would appear singularly difficult to maintain in the case of Pulcheria. For in opposition to that theory in her case there are the undoubted facts, (i) that in 414 she, a girl of sixteen, was deliberately created *Augusta* and invested with the rule of the eastern portion of the empire on behalf of a brother who was only three years younger than herself, (ii) that she thereupon carried out a remarkable reform in the court, no minister's name being mentioned as urging this step upon her, (iii) that during the years 414 to 422, at a time when her brother was between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one, large reforms in the administration were carried out of which her brother was quite incapable of being the author, while no one else but Pulcheria has ever been named as the author of those reforms, (iv) that during the years 422 to 434 while she was at her brother's right hand² the administration was maintained at a high level, (v) that during the next fifteen years (435-450) while she remained out of power the condition of the empire and its administration sank to the lowest depth of national humiliation and misrule, and (vi) that upon her becoming empress in her own right in 450 a second and wholly satisfactory reform took place, raising the empire from the condition to which it had sunk, and restoring the administration to complete efficiency. These facts thoroughly support the assertions of the 5th century writers which depict Pulcheria as during twenty years the *de facto* ruler of the empire, and contradict the theory in question as far as she is concerned.

The empress Pulcheria, whether owing to prejudice against her on account of her strict religious views, or from whatever cause, has received little or no honour from historians. Yet her record is a remarkable one. Invested as an orphan at the age of sixteen with the rule of an empire without any

¹ Chap. XVIII, p. 69 (footnote).

² There is no record apparently of Theodosius II upon attaining the age of twenty or twenty-one taking over the nominal rule of the eastern portion of the empire from his sister, as there is in the corresponding case in the West of Valentinian III and his mother. Whether this indicates that Pulcheria was so thoroughly recognized as the *de facto* ruler that this was not thought necessary it is impossible to say, but it would appear that this was the case.

relations to guide her, and at once carrying out a complete reform in the social atmosphere of the court; for the next twenty years by her own personal ability controlling all affairs so satisfactorily that the administration under her guidance presented a marked contrast to its effete and corrupt condition in the reign of her father Arcadius; during that time inaugurating the Theodosian Code and assembling the Third General Council; then for fifteen years forced to remain without control over the government, while in other hands misrule brought the empire to the most deplorable condition; and then returning to power as empress in her own right, assembling the Fourth General Council, and again raising the administration to such a state of efficiency that it was recalled forty years afterwards on account of its satisfactory character,¹ Pulcheria demonstrated powers which few women have surpassed. Moreover her private character corresponded with her ability. She was not only notable as a strong adherent of the Catholic cause, and as the only one of all the rulers of the Roman Empire who ever had the distinction of assembling more than one General Council of the Church, but she was also no less notable in presenting the rare spectacle in that age of a woman in her position who sincerely acted up to the religion she professed. Though she lived in a scandal-loving age, and surrounded by political intrigues, she yet occupied an exalted position for forty years without any scandal, crime, or oppression being ever attributed to her. These considerations show how much Pulcheria accomplished between the age of sixteen when she was invested with the rule of the empire and that of fifty-five when she died universally honoured as its deliverer from a state of intolerable oppression and misgovernment. In view therefore of what she achieved in public affairs, and of her own private character, Pulcheria certainly deserves a high place among the rulers of the Roman Empire.

Death of
Aëtius and of
Valentinian III.

In September 454 the worthless Valentinian III, who had taken no part in the defence of his throne either during the struggle in Gaul or that in Italy, being suddenly enraged by the domineering spirit of Aëtius

¹ See Chap. XX, p. 153.

while they were seated together in the palace at Rome, drew his sword and killed him. Six months later, in March 455, the death of Aëtius was avenged, Valentinian being himself murdered by two of the followers of Aëtius in the Campus Martius at Rome as he stood watching the games. He died at the age of thirty-six, leaving two daughters, but no son, and with him the line of Theodosius the Great ended.

The dying western half of the empire was now in its last throes. The sixty years covered by the reigns of Honorius and Valentinian III had seen it reduced from an empire covering nearly all Europe and North Africa to little more than Italy alone, and its final end was now very near.¹

Upon the death of Valentinian III, Maximus, a senator of sixty who had held various offices, was chosen emperor by the Senate. His character being a compound of feebleness and harshness, he in a short reign of two months effectually disgusted the citizens of Rome. The widowed empress Eudoxia, now thirty-four, the daughter of Theodosius II and Eudocia, had sincerely loved Valentinian, but regardless of her grief at his death, Maximus forced her to marry him within a week or two of Valentinian's death, at the same time compelling the elder of her two daughters to marry his son. Eudoxia, horrified and enraged at this treatment, and knowing that no help could be expected from Constantinople now that her aunt Pulcheria was dead, appealed to Gaiseric, king of the Vandals, imploring him to come from Africa and take Rome, and Gaiseric, eager for the plunder of Rome, and glad to have such a pretext, at once promised his aid.² Fitting out a fleet he landed at Ostia at the end of May. As soon as it was heard in Rome that the Vandals had entered the Tiber the troops and people together burst into the imperial Palace of the Caesars on the Palatine hill, where Maximus sat trembling with fear, meditating

Capture of
Rome by the
Vandals.

¹ Page 127.

² Those writers of the present day who maintain the theory of "feminism" reject the idea that Eudoxia sent this invitation to Gaiseric. But the fact is asserted by all the contemporary writers, not only Roman but Byzantine, and we have no right to throw over their testimony on such a point in order to establish a modern theory which has no historical basis.

flight, and tore him to pieces, after an ignominious reign of seventy days (31st May 455).

As the Vandals approached the city Leo the Great went out to intercede with Gaiseric, as he had with Attila; but he only gained a promise that there should be no slaughter of the people and no destruction of the buildings. The Vandals entered Rome on the 2nd June, and for fourteen days carried out a ruthless plunder of everything valuable, loading all at their leisure in their galleys, which they brought up the Tiber for this purpose. They carried off all the gold and silver from the imperial palace, the ornaments and plate from the churches, the gilded bronze plates from the roof of the Temple of Jupiter (gilded by the emperor Domitian at a cost stated at £2,400,000), all the statues they could find, the gold vessels taken by Titus from the Temple at Jerusalem, and "countless other treasures, including golden saddles, golden carriages for the ladies of the court, hundreds of thousands of talents of silver, and all kinds of ornaments inlaid with precious stones," all of which were found by the general Belisarius at his capture of Carthage, the Vandal capital, eighty years later. And with this booty the Vandals also carried off as captives to Carthage all the nobles and wealthiest Romans, numbering many thousands, together with the sorrowful empress Eudoxia and her two daughters.

The sufferings of this mass of captives were very great; many of them, accustomed to the luxuries of a Roman palace, and transferred from thence to the miseries, first of a Vandal slave-ship and then of a Vandal prison, died in consequence of the treatment they received. The Bishop of Carthage, Deogratias, himself an object of persecution from the Arian Vandals, did his utmost to alleviate these sufferings, turning churches into hospitals, and selling the vessels of the churches to provide money wherewith to protect families from being broken up in the sale of these captives as slaves. But the number that he could thus protect was very small, while he himself soon afterwards died. These Romans of the noblest families were sold in thousands, wives being torn from husbands, and children from parents, and distributed throughout North Africa as slaves either to Vandals or to rich Moors;

¹ Chap. XXI, p. 208.

and many a Kabyle robber of the Atlas mountains at the present day may have in his veins the blood of the Fabii, the Anicii, the Camilli, or others of the noblest Roman families. Gaiseric forced the empress Eudoxia to give her elder daughter, Eudoxia, to his son Huneric in marriage, but kept the empress and her younger daughter, Placidia, as prisoners.

It is often considered unjust that the name of Vandal, rather than that of any other of the barbarian races, should have become used as typical of ruthless destruction, especially in view of the fact that the Vandals spared the buildings of Rome. But those who first singled out the name of this race in particular and applied it in this way do not appear to have done so incorrectly. For the Vandals led the van in the destruction of Europe, being the first ravagers in Gaul, the first in Spain, the first in North Africa, and the first to really pillage Rome.¹ And seeing that this race was thus the first to lay a destroying hand upon three such flourishing countries in succession, it is evident that they must have gained the giant's share of the spoil from the Rhine to Carthage. The amount of plunder which the Vandals captured between their first entry into Gaul at the end of 406 and their pillage of Rome in 455 must have far exceeded the booty ever seized by any other race of conquerors.

Death of
Marcian. Meanwhile in the eastern portion of the empire the emperor Marcian had abstained from rendering any assistance to the western portion against the Vandals in consequence it is said of a promise made to the latter by him some twenty-four years before as a private soldier when taken prisoner by them in North Africa.² He contented himself with asking Gaiseric to refrain from war against Italy and to release the empress Eudoxia, to which request Gaiseric paid no attention. Marcian died in 457, at the age of sixty-five; whereupon Leo, an able officer of the army,³ was chosen emperor by the Senate, chiefly through

¹ The Vandals having their ships were able to plunder Rome on a scale far in excess of anything that was possible to the Visigoths under Alaric in 410; and Rome never recovered from this pillage.

² Chap. XVIII, p. 79.

³ His family came originally from Dacia, and were settled in Thrace.

the influence of the general Aspar, who as a barbarian and an Arian was himself ineligible. And since no member of the imperial family remained to perform the ceremony, Leo was crowned by the Pope of Constantinople, Anatolius. This was the first occasion on which an emperor was crowned by an ecclesiastical authority, instead of by a preceding emperor or some member of the imperial family, and the practice thus instituted became a precedent henceforth followed whenever an emperor had not been raised to that rank by a predecessor before his death, and when no member of the imperial family (male or female) existed to perform the ceremony.

The emperor Leo I. Leo I, who reigned for seventeen years, proved an able and energetic emperor, but he was for a long time prevented from opposing the increasing power of the Vandals by the influence of Aspar (then about seventy years old), to whom he owed his throne, and who steadily withstood any hostile measures being taken against them. However, in 461 Leo I obtained the release of the empress Eudoxia and her younger daughter by payment of a large ransom to Gaiseric, and upon being liberated they took refuge in Constantinople. Leo I's chief work was the change which he inaugurated in the constitution of the army, a change which, begun by him and carried on by his successors, gradually abolished a serious danger which threatened the State throughout the 5th century. This was owing to the fact that the bulk and flower of the army had come to consist almost entirely of Teutons, a condition of things which besides being a permanent menace to the throne, enhanced greatly the undue influence which at this time had been gained by the Alan general, Aspar. Leo I determined to change this by recruiting a large portion of the troops from the subjects of the empire, and for this purpose chose the hardy race of Isaurian mountaineers, who occupied the wild regions of Mount Taurus, and lived almost like an independent people. Leo steadily pursued this course, displaying the utmost firmness and courage in carrying it out, notwithstanding that it involved him in a perpetual contest with the "Kingmaker" Aspar who had placed him upon the throne.¹

¹ Professor Bury considers that Leo I merits the title "Great" for this work, performed in the face of such difficulty.

At length in 468 Leo I felt himself strong enough to cope with the Vandals, who devastated all the coasts of the Mediterranean. He assembled a huge Armada, consisting of 100,000 men and a fleet of 1100 vessels, and placed it under command of Basiliscus, the brother of his wife Verina. The plan formed was to attack the Vandals from three directions, the main body being directed upon Carthage, another portion, consisting of the whole of the cavalry and forming nearly half the army, advancing overland through Palestine and Egypt, and the fleet attacking the Vandal fleet in the Mediterranean. This Armada was equipped on a grand scale, and high hopes were entertained of its success. But the portion of the army sent by land to reach North Africa through Palestine and Egypt failed to effect a junction with the rest. This (though ascribed to treachery on the part of Basiliscus) was not surprising in the case of an operation so exceptionally difficult, and in days when no means of communication between widely separated portions of an army existed. And owing to this and other misfortunes, and especially to one half of the fleet being surprised by night at Cape Bon and destroyed by fire, the expedition ended in failure, and Leo I was compelled to make peace once more with Gaiseric. An immense amount of money had been spent upon this expedition, and its failure produced a state of bankruptcy in the imperial treasury which lasted for the next ten years.

Leo I was experiencing at this time much trouble in carrying out his endeavour to reduce the Teutonic influence at the capital, headed by Aspar. Having no son, but only two daughters, Ariadne and Leontia, in order to counteract the dominating Teuton influence Leo in 468 married his daughter Ariadne to the Isaurian chief Tarasicodissa, who took the name of Zeno. Rightly or wrongly the failure of the expedition against the Vandals was attributed to Aspar, the Vandals' friend, it being declared that he had induced Basiliscus, the commander of the expedition, to betray his country. There followed a three years' struggle between Aspar and Zeno for the supreme power, during which Aspar made an attempt, which very nearly succeeded, to have Zeno assassinated. At length in 471 matters came to

Great Armada
sent against
the Vandals.

Murder of
Aspar and his
two sons.

a climax by Aspar attempting to remove from the emperor the support of the Isaurians by tampering with the Isaurian troops in Constantinople. The plot was revealed to Zeno, and by him to the emperor, who resolved once for all to end the Teuton supremacy, and accordingly Aspar (then about eighty-five years old) and his two elder sons were treacherously murdered in the imperial palace.¹ It was a crime of great ingratitude on the part of Leo I, but Aspar brought it upon himself by making Leo's position impossible, and Aspar's death a necessity if an end was to be put to what was practically a state of civil war.

Death of Leo I. Leo I reiterated more strongly the law which had previously been passed by Constantine, by Theodosius, and by Arcadius prohibiting all spectacles in the theatre, amphitheatre, or circus on Sundays. One of his last acts was to surrender amicably to the Arab chief Amru the island of Jotaba at the northern end of the Red Sea. Leo I died on the 3rd February, 474, at the age of sixty-three, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Zeno, nominally on behalf of his and Ariadne's son Leo II, a child of five, who however died soon afterwards.

Eight puppet emperors in the West. The western portion of the empire received its death-blow by the capture of Rome in 455 and the carrying off by the Vandals of the whole of the Roman nobility to North Africa. There followed twenty years of a dying agony, during most of which time the real authority was wielded by Count Ricimer, a Sueve,² who put up and pulled down one puppet emperor after another until his own death in 472. Eight puppet emperors in succession occupied the throne, of whom it will suffice to mention their names, viz. Avitus (455); Marjorian (457); Severus (461); Anthemius (467); Olybrius (472); Glycerius (472); Nepos (472); and Romulus Augustulus (475). During this period of the last years of the western half of the empire Leo the Great, after being for twenty-one years Bishop of Rome and Pope

¹ The life of the youngest son, Hermanric, was saved by Zeno, who warned him not to be present.

² See Chap. XX, p. 148 (footnote).

of a patriarchate which was rapidly dwindling to scarcely more than the city of Rome, one portion of his patriarchate after another being taken by the Arian barbarians, died at Rome in 461. He had been the only man of first-rate ability and intellect in an age when, except for himself, all greatness had vanished, and this naturally much enhanced his reputation. Besides the prominent part which he took in connection with the Fourth General Council,¹ one special memorial of the practical character of his theology remains in the Prayer-book of the Church of England. For the large majority of the Collects in that Prayer-book were written by him. This is the more interesting because the Collect is a purely Western feature; the concise language which puts so much into so few words, the seeking always to make the belief held produce a practical outcome in the life, and the absence of all ornate phrases, being all in strong contrast to the Eastern style of prayers. And the Church of England owes a debt of gratitude to Leo the Great for these models of short prayers, full of deepest meaning, yet such as can be understood by every child.

The Visigoths. While the remnant of the western half of Rome's empire was thus dying away the Visigoths had strengthened themselves greatly in southern Gaul and Spain. After the death of their king Theodoric at the battle of the Mauriac Plain in 451, his three sons fought together. In 453 his eldest son Thorismund, who succeeded him, was slain by his brother Theodoric II. He in 456 took nearly all the rest of Spain from the Suevi, driving them into Portugal, but in 466 was in his turn slain by his brother Euric. The latter reigned over the Visigoths for eighteen years with vigour and wisdom, publishing a regular code of laws for his dominions, and making himself the most powerful sovereign west of the Alps. In 476, upon the western portion of the Roman Empire coming to an end, he seized Arles and the rest of the Roman possessions in the south-eastern corner of Gaul, and died at Arles in 484.

The Vandals. The capture of Rome in 455, with so much valuable plunder and so many important prisoners, added to the Vandals' previous conquests, made them the

¹ Page 105.

leading power in the Mediterranean. The Vandal fleet ruled all the coasts of that sea, captured Sicily from the feeble occupant of the throne of Ravenna, and cutting off all supplies from Italy speedily created a famine in that country. The Vandals were the first of the northern races to appreciate and develop sea power, and they may justly be recognized as the earliest of all the maritime powers of western Europe. Gaiseric died in 477, leaving the nation that he had so ably led for nearly fifty years the most prosperous and powerful of all the races who had helped to destroy the western half of Rome's empire.

Romulus Augustulus. The last of the eight puppet emperors, Romulus Augustulus, was a boy of fourteen, placed on the throne in 475. The remarkable coincidence that this last emperor of Rome should have borne the same name as the city's first founder was a pure accident. His name of Romulus was given him after that of his mother's father, a count in Noricum; while his surname of Augustulus was probably a term of endearment given him by the troops. In 476, after Romulus Augustulus had been about nine months on the throne, Odoacer, a barbarian, belonging either to the Gothic tribe of the Rugii, or of the Sciri, was chosen as their king by the portions of those Gothic tribes which had established themselves in northern Italy, and who now demanded to be given one-third of that country, a request which was refused. Odoacer forthwith sacked and burnt Pavia and Piacenza, and then advanced on Ravenna. He took it on the 4th September, 476, and in the imperial palace found the handsome purple-clad boy-emperor, who pleaded for the lives of himself and his mother. Odoacer, pitying his youth and attracted by his demeanour, spared his life, and sent him to live on a pension in a villa near Naples. Thereupon the Senate of Rome submitted to Odoacer, signified to the court of Constantinople that there was no longer an emperor of the West, and sent the imperial insignia to Constantinople.

Thus ended the western half of the Roman Empire; not ending by a great dramatic event such as that which a thousand years later brought the eastern half of that empire to its close, but falling like the gentle fluttering to the ground of some last leaf of autumn, as the result of a decay which had

been steadily progressing ever since, eighty years before, the emperor Theodosius the Great had breathed his last. It had been a gradual process, not a single overwhelming conquest. Gaul had been lost in 407, Spain in 410, Britain about 415, Rhætia and Noricum in 420, North Africa in 432, and finally Italy in 476.

Nor must the continuity of all history be forgotten. These invasions were separate, not animated by a united purpose. So that each as it occurred may have seemed to the country concerned not different from others which had taken place in former times, and so perhaps likely to be only temporary. Moreover the world did not in a moment abandon ideas which had been rooted for centuries. The fiction that the empire was indivisible, and therefore that on the final disappearance of an emperor of the West all who ruled in Gaul, Spain, Italy, or Africa did so as lieutenants of the emperor at Constantinople, was not only maintained by the latter, but was also to some extent felt by those rulers themselves. Euric in Spain, Gaiseric in Africa, and Odoacer in Italy could not see into the future and realize the birth of sovereign nations in a new order of things of which they were themselves a part. But nevertheless the truth was expressed by Count Marcellinus ¹ in his words:—"The western empire of the Roman race with this Augustulus perished; henceforth it was held by the kings of the Goths."

And so the most important half of the great empire created and maintained by Roman ability, courage, and energy during forty generations is no more. And over its whole extent now sweeps that mighty ocean which has submerged it. The Franks take Gaul; the Saxons, Britain; the Visigoths, Spain; the Vandals, North Africa; the Burgundians, Burgundy; the Allemanni, Rugians, Heruli, and other tribes, Rhætia and Noricum; and the Ostrogoths (succeeding Odoacer) Italy. And all these countries, which in the reign of Theodosius the Great had been flourishing at the very height of civilization and prosperity, sank into barbarism and degradation, though in Italy the process was not finally completed

¹ See Note G, p. 139.

until that country passed under the sway of the Lombards.

And terrible indeed to all these countries was the result. Law and order, learning and literature, palaces and villas, libraries and sculpture-galleries, Baths, theatres, and race-courses, the achievements of architecture and the triumphs of art were blended in one vast destruction. It was not merely that all that tends to the beauty, enjoyment, and refinement of life was destroyed; it was that all that makes the higher life of man, the life of the intellect, was swept away. The barbarian races despised reading and writing,¹ knew nothing of the uses of law, and cared nothing for the achievements of architecture or art except for the pleasure of destroying them. Henceforth, also, with the universal destruction of the Roman Baths, hitherto a prominent feature of every town,² all the West became a territory of the great unwashed; and to the cleanly Romans this failure of their conquerors to make use of the bath added its quota to the indignity of this barbarian conquest. Over all Europe and North Africa life as the Roman world understood it,—the life of the Forum, the Baths, and the Circus,—was gone for ever. The Roman, if he survived at all, did so henceforth only upon the sufferance of his Teuton master, and his life was a grinding and unintellectual servitude. Had the Atlantic Ocean gradually risen and swept over Europe and North Africa it would not have created a greater destruction of all to which the Roman world, not in one country, but in every country, had for centuries been accustomed. Some meagre vestiges of it remained for a time in Italy under the rule of the Ostrogoths, but when the latter were succeeded by the Lombards there also the last remnant of Roman life finally passed away.

While life as the Roman world understood it thus became extinct, a certain degree of fusion between conquerors and

¹ Their views on the subject were of the kind shown by the couplet expressing the sentiments of one of their Medieval descendants:—

“Thanks to St. Bothan, son of mine
Save Gawain, ne'er could pen a line.”

² After the general destruction in the 5th century the Roman Baths were never resuscitated. Before that destruction the very smallest town had its set of finely built Baths, while great cities had several, the most remarkable instance being that of Timgad in North Africa, which had no less than eleven.

conquered after a time took place in Gaul and Spain, but not in Britain, Rhætia, Noricum, Italy, or North Africa. In Gaul and Spain (chiefly owing to the long contact of the Visigoths with the Roman Empire) a certain fusion between the Teuton and the Roman by degrees occurred, thus at length partly realizing the bygone dream of Ataulf.¹ But it was a fusion in which the Roman was reduced to a position of complete degradation; while in Britain, Rhætia, Noricum, Italy, and North Africa no such fusion occurred.

We know now that out of all this ruin would in the end arise a better Europe. But for the time the process was awful in its widespread reign of terror, agony, and despair. Those selfish and effeminate inhabitants of the cities, who had thought to leave their defence to others, now bitterly expiated their error in a general reign of bloodshed and outrage, destruction and death; while Italy, which suffered least at the first, suffered worst of all at the last. A night of horror settled down over Europe from end to end. The only employment that the conquerors cared for was fighting, and their only enjoyments were those of man in his animal state. "To the life of civilization succeeded the feasting of hogs."

No description could give any idea of the destruction. Throughout entire districts the former population completely disappeared. Whole tracts of country lapsed back into primeval forest. Britain became called "The island of ghosts." As for the sufferings endured, there were none left to record them. But the wreck of all things was sufficiently explicit, and told its own tale. All in the West, from Britain to the Adriatic and from the Rhine to the African desert, became one great ruin. And in the devastated lands, traversed and re-traversed by Vandal and Visigoth, Frank and Hun, Alan and Sueve, Burgundian and Lombard, both conquerors and conquered were often in sore straits for food. Procopius, writing about sixty years later of that which in the 4th century had been the flourishing Roman province of Britain (with luxurious country-houses, busy towns, a large export trade in corn, a British mint, and every accessory of civilization), calls it, "a serpent-haunted wilderness, the country of the dead."

¹ Chap. XVIII, p. 59.

As to what was felt by the generation upon whom this doom fell we only obtain the most dim glimpses. The Roman world sank into its grave in a silence which is full of pathos. Its sufferings were too deep for words. The "agony of regret" felt by those who looked back upon Rome's mighty past and now viewed this hideous scene of universal destruction, ignominy, and death found little opportunity for expression. The descendants of the great Roman aristocracy—families with splendid traditions and of immemorial antiquity—were for the most part slaves to the Vandals in Africa, or ground under the heel of some other northern race. Those few of them who in one way or another had contrived to avoid such a fate, purchasing by flattery the favour of some barbarian king, suffered in mute silence, turning away from thoughts of the past of their country as too full of pain. On every side were to be seen the ruins of great works raised by Roman hands in the past as memorials of glorious deeds, and on every side perpetual reminders of the present misery. The two or three voices which come to us from that generation speak only of suffering and terror. The country is described as "smoking like one great funeral pyre." Its fairest cities "have been given up to fire and sword." No place is safe from the fury of the barbarians, "castles on apparently inaccessible rocks, lonely hermitages buried in woods, churches guarded by sacred relics," are alike subject to their violence. Into slavery have been driven "the priest with his people, the mother with her child, and the master with his servants." On all sides is nothing but war, devastation, and misery, and peace seems departed from the world for ever.

This great overthrow of civilization by barbarism need not have taken place. The male population of the Roman empire was more numerous, and the wealth and other military resources of that empire infinitely greater, than those of the barbarian races, while it possessed also the prestige of centuries of conquest, and the military knowledge gained in numberless campaigns in every variety of country and circumstances. But there was one fact which in its operation was sufficient to overbalance all this. Nor can any one study the military position of the empire, and the existing conditions

in the case of each of the attacks which came upon it between the years 400 and 455, without seeing that the true cause of this overthrow was not that which has always been maintained, viz. degeneracy of the Roman army, but that its cause is to be found in quite another direction.

First let us glance at the military position. For centuries the chief object of dread had been Persia; consequently a large force had always to be maintained upon the eastern frontier. Obviously therefore the eastern portion of the army, having to defend two important frontiers, that towards Persia, and that along the lower course of the Danube, could spare no men to assist the western half of the empire, and the latter must depend upon its own resources. The numerical strength, on paper, of the western portion of the army at the beginning of the 5th century was, as previously noted, 250,000 men.¹ An error constantly made by the civil government of a country which has had a long and glorious career is to expect that its troops shall on all occasions be able to overcome enemies far more numerous than themselves. But it is a stupid, a selfish, and a shortsighted view. When the enemy is as brave, as well armed, as inured to war, and as well commanded, there is no reason whatever why 100,000 men, because they bear the name of Romans or any other name, should be able to vanquish 150,000 men opposed to them, and still less why they should be able to vanquish an enemy quadruple their own number. Yet a glance at the Roman forces and their enemies in these invasions will show that the former were on every occasion outnumbered by something like ten to one, their enemies also being as brave, as well armed, and as inured to war as themselves.

Moreover the whole force of the Romans, owing to this paucity in numbers, was massed on its front line; there was no second line of troops, no reserves, no arrangements for filling up the losses in a great engagement. Hence when this line was overwhelmed the enemy were at liberty to spread unopposed over the provinces behind it, as they did in Gaul, in Spain, in Italy, and in Africa. There is no evidence that the Roman troops were less courageous, less well trained, or less well commanded, than heretofore; they did not fly before

¹ Chap. XVII, pp. 19-20.

the immense mass of enemies which came against them; they were not beaten, they were overwhelmed, submerged, and blotted out.¹ It was not (as generally supposed) any defect in the Roman army, as such, which produced the overthrow, but its utter paucity in numbers for the task assigned to it. We have therefore to seek elsewhere for the reason of an unpreparedness to meet a long-threatened invasion which appears at first sight unpardonable, and the more so since it must have been palpable to every man with any military knowledge.

Apart from a supposed degeneracy in the army, other reasons which have been adduced by different modern writers for this fall of the western half of the empire before its foes are the effects of slavery,² crushing taxation, and pauperization of the people. But these, though possibly each may have contributed a certain share, were only secondary causes; the real cause lay deeper. When a nation in arms, as the Goths, the Vandals, the Franks, the Allemanni, and all the other barbarian races were, threatens to attack another nation, the latter must also become a nation in arms, or go under. There is no alternative. It was not necessary that every man should be withdrawn from civil occupations and become a soldier; but it was necessary that every man from the age of 18 to 30 and physically fit should do so, leaving civil occupations to be performed by the men over the latter age, who should also have been enrolled as a reserve in case of the last extremity.³ Had the Romans (with a total population

¹ Chap. XVII, pp. 32, 35 and 49.

² The number of slaves maintained by the wealthy Roman families was enormous. Some families are said to have possessed as many as 10,000, mostly employed upon their country estates. Gibbon makes a rough guess that in the 1st century the total number throughout the empire was probably sixty millions. It requires to be remembered that these slaves were not men and women of an inferior race, and bore no analogy to the negro slaves of later times. They were in many cases of as good blood as those who owned them, being either prisoners captured in war or the descendants of such prisoners, or Romans who, owing to poverty, had sold themselves into slavery. The parents of the emperor Diocletian were both of them slaves.

³ In the early days of the Roman Republic every well-to-do citizen between the ages of 17 and 45 was liable to military service in the legions; but this had become a dead letter even before the time of Augustus, and been succeeded by voluntary enlistment.

throughout Britain, Gaul, Spain, Rhætia, Noricum, Italy, Sicily, and North Africa more numerous than that of their enemies) ¹ adopted this course, they would not only never have been defeated by the barbarians, but also the vices (bred of luxury, idleness, and a city life) which rendered such a cleansing of Europe necessary would have been annihilated, while at the same time the steady diminution in population which was taking place as the result of those vices would have been stopped.

For there was another evil which had its part in this failure to meet the enemies of the empire in sufficient force. Not only must a nation thus threatened become a nation in arms, but it must also carefully keep its cradles filled.² It has been calculated by experts that with anything less than an average of four children per adult man a race will gradually die out. Any number less than this will not suffice to meet the ordinary losses by disease or accident and to carry on the race. Owing to the well-known effects of luxury, idleness, and a city life the Roman Empire had long been displaying a steady diminution in its birthrate.³ And this had its part in the matter, combining with the general distaste for military service to prevent the empire from being in a state of preparedness to meet this long-threatened invasion.

It has previously been remarked that a city population in the mass can never equal a country population in qualities of manliness and bravery, and invariably gives proof of the fact by its avoidance of the risks of military service. Such effects take long to permeate a whole race, but slowly and

¹ It may be computed that, exclusive of slaves, the Roman inhabitants of the western half of the empire at the end of the 4th century numbered not less than 20,000,000 men, besides women and children.

² Any nation can do this which really tries. Liberal assistance from the State for each child born (illegitimate children included), the bearing by the State of the cost of maintaining and educating all children wherever it is necessary, and above all the strict removal of any slur upon illegitimacy on the part of the State, will always produce the desired effect if the nation is in earnest on the subject.

³ Pliny in his writings speaks of "the hideous class who preferred the rewards of childlessness." Emperors had endeavoured to cope with the matter, but had only done so in a half-hearted way, not providing proper inducements to overcome the evil.

surely do so in time. The constant erection of Baths, Fora, aqueducts, amphitheatres, and race-courses, the special privileges accorded to the dwellers in many of the towns,¹ the regular provision for the city populace in several of the chief cities of "Panem et Circenses,"² and various legislative measures all tending to increase the attractions of the cities, produced the result that the city populations tended ever to increase and the agricultural population to decrease, this tendency operating to such a degree that in course of time large tracts of land fell out of cultivation. Thus the seeds of the decay which took place after the death of Theodosius the Great were planted long before in the fact that the Romans had given themselves up more and more to a city life, with its result of an inveterate avoidance of military service. With this constant increase taking place in the proportion of the nation imbued with dislike to military service it was no wonder that the Romans stood in a defenceless condition before the powerful foes who came upon them.

To meet such an enemy as attacked the western half of the empire at the beginning of the 5th century, not a mere 250,000 men, but at least three millions of men were necessary; a force not excessive for the western half of the empire to provide, embracing as it did the extent of eight modern kingdoms, and having a total male population of certainly not less than twenty millions. Had Rome, in view of the great danger which menaced the empire, abolished at a stroke the whole list of laws (filling the longest chapter in the Theodosian Code) which piled a grinding fiscal oppression upon the *curiales*³ (laws which even directly forbade the latter to enlist as soldiers to escape this bondage), had she stopped the free distribution of bread in the chief cities, had she removed from her laws all the other special inducements given to a man *not* to be a soldier, and had she, instead of such laws, called out every available man of suitable age, she would have been able easily to provide properly for her military defence, supposing always

¹ See Vol. I, p. 560, as to the punishment proposed to be meted out in 387 to Antioch, by taking away its privileges and "reducing it to the rank of a village."

² Bread and games.

³ See Chap. XVIII, p. 83.

that the bulk of her citizens still possessed the manliness of spirit to be ready to endure the risks of military service.

But that spirit was not there. In the first place how was it possible for measures of this kind to be taken with a being like Honorius upon the throne? And in the second place, whereas in the days when the Romans had gained their exalted name it had been an honour to be a Roman soldier, and Rome's nobility had commanded Rome's armies, that spirit had wholly fled; for several, perhaps many, generations the Romans had been occupied in killing it. Crowding into the cities, and giving themselves up, from the highest to the lowest, to as much pleasure and luxury as each could obtain for himself, the Roman race so determinedly shrank from military service that more than half of even the comparatively limited number of troops that were maintained had to be recruited from races beyond Rome's frontiers. Nor was this spirit confined to any one class. *Out of the whole body of Roman nobles, in a space of fifty-five years (400-455), at a time when the empire was being assailed on every side, not a single one of these nobles is found as a general or a commander of a body of troops in any of the contests with Rome's enemies during the whole of that long period.* No fact could be more damning, or could show more clearly the disease from which the nation suffered. While their country was engaged in a life and death struggle the descendants of the Fabii, the Camilli, the Anicii, the Cornelii, and other families with glorious traditions, preferred their luxurious palaces in Ravenna or Rome,¹ with their private race-courses, baths, and other amusements, to the kind of hardships and risks such as in the past a long line of noble Romans had been accustomed to endure in defence of Rome's dominions, and such as scarcely more than one generation back a young emperor like Gratian had been brought up to endure.² Spending their days in luxurious amusement, and in helping to form part of such a court as that which gathered round Honorius, they left the command of the brigades and divisions of the army to non-Romans. And as were the leaders of Roman society, so, naturally, were those of lower degree; no Roman at this period undertook military service who could possibly obtain a subsistence in any other way.

¹ Chap. XVIII, p. 96.

² Vol. I, Chap. XV, p. 505.

When at length the long-threatened invasion burst upon the empire the Roman army did as much as any army could do; for practically that army as a whole died in defence of the frontier which it was ordered to defend. Behind it there then remained only the city populations. The latter, cowardly, untrained to arms, and undesirous of being trained, upon the victorious barbarians spreading over the provinces shut themselves up in the fortified cities, trusting that they would be secure behind their walls. And the barbarians at their leisure devoured them. In whole provinces the very name of Roman disappeared; where any survived they were made slaves by the conquerors. And though in one province, Italy, this result was partially deferred for a time, owing to the magnanimous treatment of the Romans by the Ostrogoths, it supervened there also when that country was finally conquered by the Lombards.

The lesson therefore which this great overthrow of civilization by barbarism has to teach is that a wide empire surrounded by powerful neighbours who train all their male population to arms has neither any chance of existing, nor any *right* to exist, unless all its citizens are ready to be trained to arms in its defence. And that if they deliberately evade the natural duty of every man to defend his home, his wife, and his children, and adopt the ignoble policy of maintaining a certain number of men to fight for the remainder, that course works in time effects which recoil upon its authors, and they reap in the end a terrible punishment.¹

It must have seemed, and we know did seem, as if the whole civilization of the western world was utterly and finally destroyed. But it was only buried, not destroyed. And in the fulness of time, when nine long centuries had passed, there was to spring up, out of the very grave of that old Rome,²

¹ The remarks in pp. 133-137 were written more than a year before the war now raging in Europe began. The strong parallel to the case of England in many particulars (except as regards the conduct of the Roman nobles) is self-evident.

² The Renaissance, or re-birth, was in every case—in that of law, of literature, of architecture, of sculpture, and of painting—brought about by a discovery of the old Roman ideas on that subject, and their re-issue in a new dress.

like some rare and beautiful flower sprouting up from a heap of ruins, a new and better civilization, reborn out of that of the past, and gathering all its strength from the civilization and culture of that Roman empire which was overthrown by the Goths, the Vandals, the Alans, the Allemanni, the Saxons, and the Franks.

NOTE G.

For the period from the death of Theodosius the Great (395) to the fall of the western half of the Roman empire (476) the chief authorities are :—

The Theodosian Code (see Note D, Vol. I, p. 589).

Priscus. A Roman, born in Thrace about 400. Accompanied one of the embassies to Attila. Wrote a history of the events from 433 to 474, chiefly in connection with Attila. Only a few portions of his history remain, the most important being his account of Attila and his court and the reception of the Roman embassy.

Prosper Tiro. A native of Aquitaine, and an ecclesiastic of the Church at Rome. Lived from about 400 to about 460, and wrote a series of chronicles of the events of the time which contain many valuable details.

Apollinaris Sidonius. A nobleman of Lyons, subsequently created a bishop. Lived from 430 to 488. His copious letters and poems give various details regarding the social life of the time.

Anonymus Cuspiniani. A valuable chronicle by an anonymous writer which relates passing events and their dates between the years 378–403 and 455–493, the portion between 403 and 455 being lost.

Victor Vitensis. A Bishop in North Africa. Wrote in 479 a history of the religious persecution carried out by the Vandals in the 5th century in North Africa.

Olympiodorus } Contemporary chroniclers of the 5th century.
Philostorgius } Though their works have perished abstracts of them, made by Photius in the 9th century, remain.

Anonymus Valesii. A chronicle written in the 6th century by an anonymous Roman writer, the chief source of our information regarding Theodoric the Great. It displays strong bias against Theodoric, and is apparently written by an ecclesiastic in Ravenna in the reign of Justinian, generally supposed to have been Maximianus, Archbishop of Ravenna in Justinian's reign.

Jordanes. An Ostrogoth monk, said to have become a Bishop. Wrote, about 552, a history entitled *De Rebus Geticis* (Concerning the affairs of the Goths), describing the events of the 5th century from the Gothic point of view. In writing this history Jordanes epitomized the, now lost, history written by Cassiodorus, the minister of Theodoric the Great.

Marcellinus, Count of Illyricum. One of the ministers of the emperor Justinian. Wrote a chronicle of the events from the accession of Theodosius the Great down to 534.

Procopius. The celebrated historian of the wars and other deeds of Justinian's reign. Counsellor and legal adviser of the general Belisarius. Lived from 500 to 565. His chief books are the history of the Persian war, the history of the Vandal war, the history of the Italian war, and his book *The Edifices* recording the various buildings erected by Justinian. While these books all refer to the 6th century, the first seven chapters of his book on the Vandal war relate events of the 5th century connected with the Vandals.

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PART V

The age of Theodoric the Great, the Emperor Justinian, Chosroes I, and Gregory the Great, and the affairs of the western nations in the sixth century.

A.D. 476—604

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CHAPTER XX

WEST—ODOACER, THE FRANKS, BRITAIN, THE OSTROGOTHS, AND THEODORIC THE GREAT

EAST—THE EMPERORS ZENO, ANASTASIUS I, AND JUSTIN I

476—526.

“The tumult of the time disconsolate
To inarticulate murmurs dies away,
While the eternal ages watch and wait.”

THERE now ensues over western Europe for more than two and a half centuries a period of darkness and turmoil, the battling between the northern races over the territories they had wrested from the Roman power. During this period we have only the most obscure records, the general confusion hiding from us all but the main outlines, and this paucity of records itself showing how little opportunity the conditions of the time gave for the writing of history, most of those who could have written it having either been killed or else being prevented from literary labours by the harsh conditions of their life.

As regards Britain, Gaul, and Spain all is dark for Odoacer. a time, and our attention becomes turned chiefly to Italy. There Odoacer,¹ chosen as their king by the Herulians, Scyri, Rugians and other portions of Gothic tribes in Italy, set up a firm kingdom, making Ravenna his capital, and on the whole governing well. In Italy the Roman population for a generation or two fared better than in other parts

¹ This is the form of his name which has been in use for centuries. And though “Odovacar” is more correct, nevertheless the name appears as “Odoacer” in many of the documents of the time, and it seems best to adhere to this the best known form of his name.

of what had been the western half of Rome's empire, for a long time not being reduced to that condition of slavery to which they were subjected in other countries. The Goths were the dominant race, a third of the lands of Italy were apportioned to them, they paid no taxes, and they alone were allowed to carry arms; the Romans had to accustom themselves to the position of a subject race, to bear the whole burden of the cost of government, and to endure numerous humiliations. But Odoacer employed Romans in various offices of the State to manage affairs with which the Goths, with their scorn for writing, were unable to deal; and though he put to death Count Bracila, Jordanes says, "in order to strike terror into the Romans" (in other words to make them realize that they were now a conquered race), and though the Roman writers naturally accuse Odoacer of tyranny, this accusation does not appear to have had any further basis than the general fact that the Romans in Italy were made to feel that they were now servants and not masters, and had to bear all that such a position involved. In any case their lot was far preferable to that of Romans in any other country of the West, and also far preferable to that of the Roman nobles, nearly all of whom were pining away their lives as slaves in Africa. Above all, central and southern Italy never had to experience any of those awful scenes of wholesale slaughter, outrage, and destruction of cities which had been the lot of Britain, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and northern Italy at the hands of their barbarian conquerors. And the generally temperate character of Odoacer's rule of Italy is to be inferred from the undisturbed state of that country during the thirteen years that he reigned over it.

We need not follow the various academical discussions which have been pursued as to what was Odoacer's correct title and position. The plain fact was that he was the absolute ruler of Italy. It was an age of transition, and the northern races had not as yet any knowledge of the great future which was before them as sovereign nations who were to found a new order of things in Europe. The world took a long time before it unlearned the lesson of so many centuries, and ceased to regard the Roman Empire as the sole source of all power; and Odoacer, though entirely independent, felt this as others

did. By the court at Constantinople the fiction was maintained that the Roman Empire still existed in the West, and that all who ruled in Gaul, Spain, or Italy were merely the lieutenants of the emperor Zeno, to whom the government of the whole empire had reverted upon the abdication of Romulus Augustulus. The emperor therefore styled Odoacer as "Patrician," but his own Goths, having no belief in fictions, called him plainly "King"; and such he undoubtedly was, ruling Italy as an entirely independent sovereign. He did not call himself King of Italy, which was not a form of title in use among the Teutonic races until long afterwards; their king was king of themselves, not of any particular land; and just as Alaric was King of the Visigoths, Gaiseric, King of the Vandals, Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, and Clovis, King of the Franks, so did Odoacer call himself "King of the Gothic people," meaning those Goths who had established themselves in Italy.

Although the above fiction was maintained for a time by the emperors ruling at Constantinople, it will obviously no longer be correct to speak of an eastern half of the Roman Empire (the western half of that empire having disappeared), and it therefore becomes necessary, from the time of the emperor Zeno onwards, to use the name *Later Roman Empire*¹ to designate that which had been the eastern half of Constantine's empire.

In 487, after Odoacer had reigned uneventfully over Italy and its two dependencies Rhætia and Noricum² for eleven years, the emperor Zeno stirred up an insurrection against him in the latter country. Odoacer defeated his opponents in Noricum, but soon afterwards there came against him the formidable invasion of the Ostrogoths, involving him in a four years war (489-493), which ended in the loss of his kingdom and his life.

¹ See Preface, pp. xi-xii.

² Noricum, extending from the Danube to the Venetian Alps and from Salzburg to Vienna, in later ages the Archduchy of Austria, was a province which from the 2nd to the 5th century was more often harried and reduced to desolation and misery by barbarous foes than perhaps any other part of the empire.

Zeno.

Meanwhile in the east the emperor Zeno, who had come to the throne in 474,¹ had proved a very unsatisfactory successor to his father-in-law, the capable Leo I.² He was not brave, he was an Isaurian, he was unorthodox in matters of religion, and he attempted to please both the religious parties, with the usual result; for which reasons he has found no favour with the ecclesiastical writers of his day, who have declared him to have been suspicious, incapable, and tyrannical. Two and a half centuries later Isauria was to furnish one of the greatest emperors who ever sat on the throne of Constantinople; but matters were far otherwise in the case of Zeno. There is no doubt that he was, whether justly or unjustly, highly unpopular. As a consequence he was the sport of constant rebellions, these being in most cases stirred up by Leo's widow, Verina.

The empress Verina, who during the lifetime of her husband Leo I had remained for about seventeen years in almost complete obscurity, after his death, when she was apparently about forty-six, showed during the next ten years a strong personality, much intelligence, and a masterful disposition. Verina had viewed with extreme disfavour the marriage of her daughter Ariadne to the Isaurian Zeno, and his exaltation to the throne; and this feeling on her part was in accord with that of the majority of the people of Constantinople. Moreover Verina now had a lover, Patricius, and desired to set him upon the throne in place of the man whom her late husband had chosen as his successor. She therefore stirred up a revolution, with the result that before Zeno had been two years emperor he was forced to fly to Isauria. The Senate thereupon, to Verina's intense mortification, gave the throne to her brother Basiliscus, who shortly afterwards caused Patricius to be assassinated. The enraged empress promptly employed her great wealth to buy back the allegiance of all to Zeno. Civil war followed for about eighteen months, together with riots in Constantinople, in the course of which one of the many conflagrations in that city took place, which occasioned an irreparable national loss through the entire

¹ Chap. XIX, p. 125.

² For list of the emperors from Arcadius onwards, and dates of their respective reigns, see Appendix XI.

destruction of the great library, the *Basilike*, founded by the emperor Julian, which contained 120,000 invaluable books.¹ It was a loss which had far-reaching results in reducing culture for a long period, and its effect in that direction is noticeable during at least a century.

In 477 Zeno, largely through Verina's assistance, regained his throne. But ere long Zeno discovered, or thought he discovered, a plot against him on her part; Verina had to fly for her life to St. Sophia; and Basiliscus and his wife Zenonis were seized and banished.² But Zeno's defects of character, and his endeavours to please both parties in religion (chiefly by means of a creed which he promulgated called the *Henotikon*,³ which only added to the religious conflict), caused him to be soon occupied in coping with further rebellions. Suspecting, perhaps unjustly, that his restless mother-in-law Verina, whose influence with the people and clergy was very great, was the real cause of these troubles, Zeno by a ruse contrived to place her in confinement in a castle in Isauria. There Verina, driven by this treatment again into rebellion, in 484 intrigued with Illus, the commander-in-chief, and his confederate the patrician Leontius, and eventually herself crowned Leontius as emperor. Zeno, however, despatched an army against them, and Verina, Illus, and Leontius fled to the Papirian castle in Isauria. There the last scene in Verina's adventurous ten years of widowhood took place. The castle stood a long siege of nearly four years; Verina died, at the age of fifty-six, before the siege was over; and upon the castle being taken in 488 Illus and Leontius were put to death.

Zeno, weak and suspicious, but not naturally tyrannical, has probably been more severely condemned by the ecclesiastical chroniclers of his day than he deserves. He at all events, in the face of many difficulties, did one good work for the empire by continuing the policy of Leo I, and gradually creat-

¹ See Vol. I, Chap. XIV, p. 477.

² One report states that they were sent to Cappadocia and there shut up in a tower and starved to death.

³ The *Henotikon*, composed by Zeno assisted by Acacius, Pope of Constantinople, pretended to concur with the doctrine enunciated by the Fourth General Council while diligently avoiding the word "nature," in order to please the Monophysites. It turned both the religious parties against Zeno.

ing an army composed of troops drawn from races subject to the emperor in place of the Teutons, who were mercenaries and a constant source of danger. This policy, however, led to frequent contests between the Isaurians and the Teutons (chiefly represented by the Ostrogoths), contests in which Thrace was repeatedly ravaged. At length in 488, in order to bring these contests to an end by getting rid of the Ostrogoths altogether, Zeno instigated their king, Theodoric, to march against Italy and attack Odoacer.

The Ostrogoths had had a very different career from their cousins the Visigoths. Long held subject by the Huns, and even forced by the latter to fight against the Visigoths at the battle of the Mauriac Plain in 451, they had broken free from this yoke when the great dispersal of the Huns took place after Attila's death, and had remained in Pannonia (nominally as *foederati* of the Roman Empire), under three brothers belonging to the royal race, the Amals, Walamir, Widimir, and Thiudamir. The latter's son Theodoric, born in 454, the year after Attila's death, had been brought up from the age of seven to that of seventeen at the court of Constantinople, as a hostage for his father's loyalty. During these years the Ostrogoths were chiefly engaged in warring with the remnant of the Suevi,¹ or Suavi (who have given their name to Suabia), contests in which the Ostrogoths were in the end victorious. The two elder brothers were killed in these wars, Theodoric's father Thiudamir becoming sole king of the Ostrogoths. In 471, the young Theodoric was allowed by the emperor Leo I to rejoin his father, and in 474, when Theodoric was twenty, his father Thiudamir died, and Theodoric succeeded him as king of the Ostrogoths; shortly after which the Ostrogoths, for some reason unknown, but probably in search of a country better able to afford them a subsistence, migrated from Pannonia to the lower course of the Danube and the district now known as the Dobrudscha.

¹ Only one half of the Suevi, or Suavi, accompanied the Vandals into Gaul and from thence into Spain, eventually settling in Portugal. The other half remained in their ancestral home in the Black Forest, afterwards Suabia, destined to be made memorable in the Middle Ages as the home of the great family of the Hohenstaufen emperors,

Theodoric, brought up in Constantinople, but proud of his Amal blood, was for long torn between two conflicting aims. At one time he would feel a desire for the prizes which his ten years' residence at the capital as a youth had made him value—a high place in the State, the command of the gorgeously dressed household troops, the title of *Illustris*, and to stand beside the emperor when embassies from far countries bowed before him. At other times he would remember that he was an Amal, sprung from the gods, the descendant of a long line of kings, the ruler of a race with a glorious history, a race who were suffering from perpetual hunger and could find no land which had not been swept almost bare by former invasions, a noble race who adored him as the descendant of their beloved Amals, and looked to him to relieve their many grievances, and who much disliked his tendency to hanker after the life of the capital; and he would feel at times that to be king of such a race was worth more than all the honours which the emperor could confer. Theodoric, twenty years old, handsome, brave, already noted in arms, and admired at the court, loved the empire and the life of Constantinople; but how to combine this latter with his kingship over a race who hated the life of cities, and whose only amusement was fighting, was a problem which appeared insoluble, and he for a long time vacillated between these two conflicting aims.

From the time that upon the death of his father he became king of the Ostrogoths Theodoric for fourteen years, during the reign of the emperor Zeno, lived a life of the strangest alternations; sometimes endeavouring to obtain a subsistence for his half starving people by leading them in raids upon provinces already often ravaged before; sometimes assisting the emperor against insurgents, residing at court, and receiving high Roman titles; sometimes engaged in contests with a rival of the same name, then joining the latter in war against the emperor, again received into favour, made commander of the household troops, and wearing the dress of Consul; and finally in 486 again in revolt, ravaging Thrace and Macedonia, in 487 threatening to attack Constantinople and marching up to its gates, and in 488 once more reconciled to the emperor.

At last in the autumn of the year 488, when he was thirty-four, the vacillations which had so long marked his course were ended. Theodoric, to his honour, abandoned for ever the life of the capital, threw in his lot with his yellow-haired barbarians, and prepared to march at their head to conquer Italy, there to set up a kingdom of his own in a land where they should no longer feel the pangs of hunger. The emperor Zeno was only too ready to agree, even if he had not himself suggested the scheme, as Procopius asserts; ¹ in any case it is certain that Zeno was glad to get rid of the Ostrogoths, and Theodoric was able to declare that it was with the emperor's approval that he advanced upon Italy to overthrow Odoacer.

The Ostrogoths
advance
against Italy Like the first invasion of Italy by Alaric this one by Theodoric was also a migration of an entire nation, for the Ostrogoths were going to return no more to the east. And though their number was not more than a quarter that of the host which Alaric had led, Theodoric's difficulties were sufficiently great. The great wagons of the Ostrogoths, filled with women, children, and every kind of property, were, says a contemporary writer, "like houses"; and Theodoric had 800 miles to traverse before even reaching the Pear Tree pass. Moreover Pannonia (through which he must march) had been occupied when the Ostrogoths quitted it fourteen years before by the Gepidæ, and their attitude was hostile. Theodoric started with his host from Sistova, in Lower Mœsia, about October 488, but after traversing 300 miles of his route was confronted near Singidunum (Belgrade) by the Gepidæ, who barred his progress. A furious battle ensued, which Theodoric won, while he was also fortunate enough to capture the store-wagons of the Gepidæ, which provided the Ostrogoths with sorely needed supplies. Apparently this battle was followed by other combats with the Gepidæ, and whether owing to this cause, or because the season was too far advanced to attempt the passage over the pass, making it necessary to halt in Pannonia until the winter was over, a long delay ensued. About May 489 Theodoric started again, and slowly advancing up the valley of the Save, by

¹ Jordanes says that it was Theodoric's own proposal, and that the emperor merely agreed to it.

the road by which Theodosius, Alaric, Attila, and so many others had marched, reached the Pear Tree pass and conveyed his cumbrous host over it, and in August 489 descended into the valley of the Frigidus.

Meanwhile Odoacer, now fifty-six years old, had Battle of the Isonzo. not been idle. He had collected a large army, perhaps not inferior in numbers to that of Theodoric,¹ composed of various nationalities, and had strongly entrenched himself on the Isonzo where that river is joined by the Frigidus. He had every advantage over Theodoric, encumbered as the latter was with his long line of wagons, containing his supplies and his host of non-combatants requiring to be protected during the battle, those non-combatants including Theodoric's own sister, and mother. But age had dulled Odoacer's energy, and neither on this occasion nor in the subsequent contests did he show the same qualities of vigour and resolution by which he had won his throne. One advantage Theodoric had which must have been no small one; the Ostrogoths fought in the presence of their women, and moreover for the sake of the latter they dared not be beaten; circumstances which were calculated to inspire them with the most desperate courage. And just as Theodoric's sister Amalafriada and his mother Erelieva came to him before the battle to encourage him, and to read, they said, in his beloved face the omens of victory, so was it no doubt in the case of many of his followers. Of the battle itself, fought on the 28th August 489, we have no details, further than that the Ostrogoths carried all before them by their tremendous dash; they forded the Isonzo, stormed the entrenchments, and entirely overthrew their opponents, gaining a complete victory.

Odoacer fled to Verona, where he again entrenched Battles of Verona and the Adda. himself. Theodoric advanced through Venetia, and a second battle was fought at Verona on the 30th September. Theodoric again won, and Odoacer fled to Ravenna. Theodoric then advanced to Milan, which opened its gates, and a body of Odoacer's troops which garrisoned it, with their commander, Tufa, deserted to the cause of Theodoric.

¹ Theodoric had not more than 50,000 fighting men, some authorities say only 40,000, the total number of the Ostrogoths being about 250,000 men, women and children.

But Tufa was a double-dyed traitor. Theodoric, reposing entire confidence in him, despatched him with some of the chiefs of the Ostrogoths to besiege Ravenna; but on arrival before Ravenna Tufa again changed sides, rejoined Odoacer, and with the utmost baseness betrayed into his hands the Ostrogoth chiefs who were with him; whereupon the latter were slain by Odoacer. This cowardly murder of his friends greatly enraged Theodoric, who three years later took a no less cowardly vengeance. Theodoric then moved to Pavia, where he placed all his non-combatants, as being a more secure place than Milan, Pavia being protected by the Po and the Ticino, and there he spent the winter. Early in 490 he fought a third battle with Odoacer on the river Adda, ten miles east of Milan, and again Theodoric won. Odoacer then retired to Ravenna, and there fought a stubbornly contested siege for three years.

Anastasius I. While in the west Theodoric was thus fighting to gain Italy, in the east the emperor Zeno, after an inglorious reign of seventeen years, died in 491, at the age of sixty. He had desired to leave the throne to his brother Longinus, a man of infamous character, and though he had not dared to appoint Longinus as his successor by giving him the title of *Caesar*, had made him commander-in-chief, in the hope that the political power of the Isaurians, backed by the large body of Isaurian troops in the capital, would secure the succession to Longinus. But it is evident that these views were not shared by the empress Ariadne, at this time forty-five years of age, who had much of her father Leo I's ability. Upon Zeno's death Longinus attempted to seize the throne, and his Isaurian troops, who had long been prepared for this event, raised a riot and set fire to the city. But the attempt was put down by the empress Ariadne and the minister Urbicius, and the precedent acted upon in the case of Pulcheria in 450 was followed, Ariadne being called upon to choose a successor to the throne. She chose Anastasius, a tall, good-looking officer of the Imperial Bodyguard, sixty-one years old, and of noble character, crowned him herself, and married him. It was a thoroughly good choice. Anastasius was greeted by the populace on his accession with the words "Reign

as you have lived," and "Reign like Marcian," and in his subsequent reign of twenty-seven years, did not disappoint these aspirations. Longinus was exiled to the Thebaid, where eight years later he died.¹

Capture of
Ravenna,
and murder
of Odoacer.

Theodoric found the siege of Ravenna exceedingly difficult. After a time he took Rimini, built a fleet there, and attacked Ravenna from the sea. Odoacer made a desperate sortie by night and attacked the camp of the Ostrogoths at the pine forest (the Pineta) on the sea-coast, but was defeated and driven back into Ravenna. At last in 493, after enduring a siege of three years, and when all the inhabitants of the city were dying of famine, Ravenna surrendered. Theodoric entered Classis (its port), and there met Odoacer, and a formal treaty was drawn up between them, the Archbishop of Ravenna acting as mediator, by which treaty not only was Odoacer's life to be safe, but he was even to have a portion of Italy. After ten days had been spent in frequent interviews regarding the terms of the treaty, Theodoric as a conclusion to the compact invited his fallen rival to a banquet at the "Palace of the Laurel-grove" (built by the empress Galla Placidia), at the south-east corner of the city. Suddenly in the midst of the banquet Odoacer, now sixty years old, was treacherously attacked; two of Theodoric's followers in pretended friendship seized his hands, and while he cried "Where is God," Theodoric raising his sword clove his body at one stroke down to the waist, saying "This is what thou didst to my friends," thus killing with his own hands his defenceless guest. This dastardly assassination of Odoacer is the great blot on the otherwise noble character of Theodoric.

The Franks. The Franks in northern Gaul after the terrible devastation of their territory by Attila in 451, which left few surviving, had gradually regained their strength

¹ The story that Longinus with his family were shut up in a tower and starved to death is considered by historians to be a fiction. And as regards his family, at all events, it is known that his wife Valeria and his daughter Longina retired to Bithynia, and lived there upon charity.

by fresh additions from those of their nation east of the Rhine, and in 476 when Odoacer gained Italy occupied the whole of northern Gaul, their principal neighbours being the Visigoths to the south-west and the Burgundians to the south-east. The Franks in northern Gaul were at this time divided into several sections, the two chief of which were the Salian Franks and the Ripuarian Franks, the former occupying the north-western part of Gaul and the latter the districts bordering on the Rhine. Merovech,¹ king of the Salian Franks, fixed his capital at Tournai.

In 481 Childeric,² who had succeeded his father Merovech as king of the Salian Franks, died, and was succeeded by his son Clovis (or Clodwig)³ then sixteen. Clovis soon began a career of conquest, and in 486, when he was twenty-one, extended his dominions by the overthrow of the neighbouring Frank kingdom of Soissons. A fierce and blood-thirsty butcher, he slaughtered without mercy all of his own kinsmen who might be dangerous to his rule, and largely by this means gradually subdued the Ripuarian Franks, and brought all the sections of the Franks in northern Gaul under his authority, while in 492 he severely defeated the Allemanni. In 493 (the year when Theodoric conquered Italy) Clovis, then twenty-eight, married Clotilda, the orphan daughter of Hilparik, the late king of the Burgundians, a marriage destined to have notable consequences. The Burgundians (unlike the Franks) were Christians, though like the Vandals, Visigoths, and Ostrogoths they were of the Arian faith. But Caretene, the mother

¹ Merovech gave his name to the Merovingian dynasty, founded by his grandson Clovis, which reigned for 260 years. He fought against Attila at the battle of the Mauriac³ Plain. A special custom of the Merovingian family was carefully arranged long hair descending to the shoulders. It was considered a mark of the royal race, and they only were permitted to adopt it.

² In 1653 Childeric's tomb was discovered at Tournai. The Franks were accustomed to bury their dead warriors wearing all their arms and ornaments as if for a military review; and in this tomb, besides a gold ring bearing the name "Childerici Regis," with upon it the figure of a long-haired warrior, were found arms, jewels, gold coins of the reign of the emperor Zeno, and the remains of a purple robe ornamented with gold bees.

³ In old German, Clodwig; in modern German, Ludwig; in modern French, Louis.

of Clotilda, was a Catholic, and Clotilda, though brought up in an Arian Court, was of her mother's religion.

Depressed state of Catholic faith. For 170 years the Catholics had had to wage a long conflict with successive foes in defence of the faith pronounced at Nicæa. It had triumphed for a short time at the end of the 4th century, in the reign of Gratian and Theodosius,¹ but in the West had soon been again brought under the domination of its chief enemy through the conquests of the northern races who (except the Pagan Franks and Saxons), were all of them Arians, and who from the beginning of the 5th century had been steadily overspreading the West. These conquests had the result that by the end of the 5th century throughout Europe and North Africa Arianism had become the dominant faith; the Catholics, where they existed at all, were in subjection to their Arian masters, the monarch and the court (except where they were Pagans) being everywhere Arians.² At the same time in the East the Catholics were in a scarcely less depressed condition, being vigorously persecuted by an emperor who had adopted Eutychnianism³ and was endeavouring in every way to stamp out the Catholic faith. Thus at the end of the 5th century that faith was at its lowest ebb. Now, however, the tide at last turned, that turn of the tide being originated by this marriage of Clovis to Clotilda, from whence there followed three years later the conversion from Paganism to Christianity of Clovis, king of the Franks, an event which had widespread and lasting results to western Europe, though at the time it must have appeared a matter of comparatively small importance.

Conversion of Clovis and his knights to Christianity. We are not told anything about the character of Clotilda, but it is evident that she must have had a sincere belief in her religion, and qualities which gave her a strong influence with her fierce young husband.

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XV, p. 535.

² The Catholics were differently treated in different countries; under the Pagan Franks and Saxons they had small chance of life; by the Vandals they were cruelly persecuted, many suffering martyrdom; by the Visigoths they were tolerated, but had to endure many humiliations, their churches being shut up, and their churchyards desecrated; by the Ostrogoths they were well treated.

³ See p. 161.

For in 496, three years after this marriage, Clovis being engaged in a fiercely contested battle with the Allemanni at Tolbiacum, near Strassburg, and his defeat being imminent, appealed to "the God of Clotilda" to deliver him from his predicament, vowing that if he was saved from defeat he would adopt "the religion of Clotilda." He won the battle, and kept his vow, at the same time ordering all his knights to follow his example; and on Christmas Day 496 Clovis, with 3000 of his knights, was baptized in the cathedral at Rheims into the Catholic faith. He was at that time the only Catholic sovereign in the world, either in the west or east, the Franks thus becoming the one nation throughout Europe professing the Catholic faith in the midst of the prevailing Arianism.

Rapid extension of the Franks.

This event had large results subsequently; for the Franks increased rapidly in power and influence.

Clovis kept on extending his dominions; in 500 he severely defeated the Burgundians; between 502 and 504 he drove the Allemanni out of their territory by the Main and the Neckar into Rhætia, annexing the district known afterwards in the Middle Ages as Franconia; in 507 he attacked the Visigoths, totally defeated them at the battle of Vouillé, near Poitiers, with his own hand killing their king Alaric II, took the whole of their territory of Aquitaine, and left them only a narrow strip of the southern part of Gaul on the northern side of the Pyrenees, and by the time that he died in 511 the Franks had gained nearly the whole of Gaul except Burgundy, and had become the leading nation in the West. It is in consequence of the above event in 496, and its results in the next generation,¹ that from thenceforward, right down to modern times, the French kings were always addressed by the titles of "Most Christian King" and "Eldest son of the Church." Clovis was the maker of "France," and was the founder of its first dynasty, the Merovingian dynasty; while from his reign also dates the ancient code of France, the Salic Law. He had four sons, Thiudaric, Chlodimir, Childebert, and Chlotochar, and numerous grandsons, so that the dynasty became firmly established. Clovis died at Paris in 511 at the age of forty-five, and was buried there in the Basilica of the

¹ Chap. XXIII, pp. 359-360.

Holy Apostles, which had been built by him and Clotilda, who survived him for many years.

Until comparatively recent years it was customary to imagine that from the time of the death of the emperor Theodosius the Great the eastern half of the empire was subject to a steady decay for centuries until, long after the western half, it also came eventually to an end. But in recent years this misconception has been gradually dispelled,¹ and it has been shown that the eastern half of the empire² (though at a low ebb during the earlier part of the 5th century) had many most glorious periods during the centuries which follow, its decay not beginning until about eight centuries after the western half of the empire ended. The misconception noted was largely caused by the depreciatory way in which it was customary in the last generation to write and speak of the Later Roman Empire, even applying to it the term "Lower Empire," and freely attributing to its rulers and people cowardice and a want of all the elements of greatness.³ This view, however obtained, certainly cannot have been gathered from any knowledge of the history of the Later Roman Empire. Cowardice, in particular, was certainly not the chief characteristic of an age which produced emperors such as Leo I, Justin I, Tiberius II, Maurice, Heraclius, Constans II, Constantine IV, and Leo III, not to mention many others of equal courage and manliness who succeeded them; while as regards the people whom they ruled Professor Oman has well remarked:—"If military virtue was wanting

¹ Chiefly through the writings of Finlay and Professors Freeman, Bryce, Oman, and Bury.

² Which we must now call the *Later Roman Empire*, see p. 145.

³ Thus Mr. Lecky, in his *History of European Morals*, speaking of this empire, calls it "the most base and despicable form that civilization ever assumed," saying that "there has been no other enduring civilization so absolutely destitute of all the elements of greatness." Regarding which picture of the Later Roman Empire Prof. Oman, after saying that it cannot have been arrived at from a study of the evidence bearing on the life of the persons thus accused, and that it is hard to see whence such a view can have been derived, remarks that it "sounds like a cheap echo of the second-hand historians of fifty years ago, whose staple commodity was Gibbon-and-water."

to the East Roman armies, how came the Ostrogoth and Vandal to be conquered, the Persian and the Hun to be driven off; how, above all, was the desperate struggle against the fanatical Saracen protracted for four hundred years, till at last the Caliphate broke up? ”¹

The above misconception regarding the Later Roman Empire was no doubt much assisted by the feeble characters and degenerate reigns, during the first half of the 5th century, of the first two successors of Theodosius the Great, Arcadius and his son Theodosius II; but even during the 5th century the reigns of Marcian and Leo I afforded a counterpoise to them, while there now began at the end of that century the twenty-seven years' reign of an emperor who was worthy to be compared with some of the best emperors of the preceding centuries.

Anastasius I. Anastasius I upon his accession in 491 as the successor of Zeno² at once gave evidence of his fitness for the position by remissions of taxation, by putting down informers, by abolishing the sale of offices, and by other reforms which were greatly needed after the unscrupulous methods of Zeno. Called by some “the tender-hearted Anastasius,” he has been deservedly praised for his good disposition, high character, and wise administration, though at times his dislike of severity rendered him unable to cope fully with the stormy elements by which he was surrounded. The two chief difficulties which confronted him on his accession were the powerful position in all political affairs which under Zeno had been gained by the more or less barbarous Isaurians, and the religious difficulties caused by Anastasius having adopted the Eutychian form of belief.

Expulsion of the Isaurian officials. Upon coming to the throne, as the only means by which peace could be obtained, Anastasius expelled the Isaurians from Constantinople;³ whereupon they raised a revolt, headed by Longinines, Count of Isauria, Longinus of Cardala, Athenodorus, and others of the high officials who being Isaurians had been expelled, and difficult

¹ Oman, *The Byzantine Empire*, Chap. XI, p. 154.

² Page 152.

³ Largely by the able assistance of his brother-in-law Secundinus, the husband of Anastasius' sister Caesaria.

operations were necessary in their mountainous country lasting nearly five years (492-497) before the Isaurians, after severe losses and the death of most of their leaders, were finally subdued. Upon their submission Anastasius settled a large proportion of this tribe in Thrace, and thenceforth this hardy race of mountaineers, their day of political power over, became the backbone of the army, supplying its best material.

Recovery of Jotaba. In 498 bands of Saracens and Arabs invaded the eastern provinces. They were defeated by Romanus, the Count of Palestine, and the operations were crowned by the recovery of the island of Jotaba in the Red Sea, given up by Leo I, which island had special importance from being the centre of the Red Sea trade.

Attack upon Illyricum. The departure of the Ostrogoths from Illyricum in 488 had left that province more or less open to the attacks of the savage Bulgarians, and in 499 these foes inflicted a serious defeat at the Tzurta upon the Roman army stationed in Illyricum, commanded by Aristus, but were eventually driven out.

War with Persia. In 502 a war began with Persia, the Persian king, Kobad, (or Kawad) ¹ being moved to attack the empire, thereby breaking the hundred years' peace made in 422 which had for eighty years been kept by various Persian monarchs.² The war continued with varying success for four years, but at length the empire was victorious, and Kobad in 506 again made peace. Anastasius granted large remissions of taxation throughout Mesopotamia, which had suffered most from the war, and restored its fortifications.

The Long Wall. But Anastasius' chief work of this kind was the celebrated Long Wall, constructed in 507, a wall

¹ Kobad succeeded to the Persian throne in 487. His reign is notable for the earliest teaching of socialism. It was put forward by a reformer named Mazdak, who taught that all men were by nature equal; that the existing conditions were therefore contrary to nature and unjustifiable; that acts to overthrow this unnatural and unjustifiable condition of things were lawful; and that community of property and of wives was a necessary deduction. Kobad took up these doctrines, and as a result the people turned him off his throne, and imprisoned him. After a time he was restored, and in 502 determined upon war with the Roman Empire.

² For Persian kings of the Sassanian dynasty from 380 to 628, see Note K, p. 323.

and a canal 50 miles long, from the Sea of Marmora to the Black Sea, at a distance of 35 miles from the capital, making Constantinople practically into an island. This great work became an important feature in the defence of Constantinople in later ages.

Reorganiza-
tion of the
army.

Anastasius I also carried out a sound reorganization of the army. He completed the scheme inaugurated by Leo I of making the empire, instead of trusting to Teutons for its military strength, rely upon an army mainly recruited from men who were "Romans." It must be borne in mind that throughout all the 977 years which followed the ending of the western half of the empire that which had been the eastern half of the empire (henceforth known as the Later Roman Empire) insisted strongly on its just claim to represent and carry on the traditions of the Roman Empire. Constantinople, the capital of the empire, was still (as named by Constantine) "New Rome," its emperor was still the Roman emperor, and the inhabitants of this Later Roman Empire throughout their documents and inscriptions habitually, and justly, called themselves "Romans," even though those documents and inscriptions might be written in the Greek language. Because the empire had lost its western provinces this could not deprive its capital and its eastern provinces of the name they had always possessed. For his chief recruiting grounds within the empire Anastasius chose, as his predecessors Leo I and Zeno had done, the mountainous districts of southern Asia Minor, inhabited for the most part by the Isaurians, and also Armenia and other adjacent districts on the eastern frontier; but he increased the proportion of troops thus recruited from races belonging to the empire to about three-fifths of the army, reducing the barbarian "auxiliary" troops (chiefly composed of Huns, Heruli, Gepidæ, and other tribes beyond the Danube) to not more than two-fifths of the total strength. The troops recruited within the empire were chiefly infantry, the "auxiliary" troops being entirely cavalry.

Disturbances
on account of
religion.

In regard to the religious question Anastasius was not equally successful. Though by nature tolerant and opposed to conflicts, the intolerant atmosphere by which he was surrounded gradually forced him into being

a partisan, and becoming as he grew older increasingly bigoted in his Eutychianism, he involved himself in frequent disturbances through his persecution of the Catholic religion. Serious riots due to this cause again and again took place, in the course of which he unjustly deposed and exiled the Pope of Constantinople, Macedonius, and acted in a similar manner at Antioch, while the discontent aroused by these proceedings at length culminated in 513 in an armed rebellion, headed by the ambitious Vitalianus, which lasted for three years (513-515), and was only put down after several battles had been fought.

Generally successful character of his reign. In other respects, however, Anastasius ruled with great success. His reorganization of the army, his abolition of the political power of the uncultured Isaurians, who were highly distasteful to the rest of the population, his recovery of the important Red Sea trading centre of Jotaba, his construction of the Long Wall to provide greater safety for the capital, and his successful conclusion of the war with Persia, brought him much popularity, and this was increased by his highly successful administration of civil affairs. He abolished the harsh and unpopular tax called the *chrysargyron*, (a tax on receipts, which fell heavily on the poor), burning all the documents relating to it so that it could not be renewed, and substituted a land tax; he annulled the unfair system by which the *curiales* had been made responsible for the municipal taxes; he prohibited fights in the arena between men and wild beasts; and he administered financial affairs so successfully that while he considerably lightened the burdens of the people he left at his death an immense sum in the Treasury.

Death of Anastasius I. In 515 the empress Ariadne, who had taken an important part in imperial affairs for more than forty years, died at the age of seventy. Anastasius I did not long survive her. In 518 he also died, at the age of eighty-eight, after a successful reign of twenty-seven years. From every point the results attained by him were equally satisfactory. He left to his successor a sum in the Treasury equal to fourteen millions sterling, an efficient army of more than 200,000 men, a contented people, and an unbroken frontier from Singidunum on the Danube to Circesium on the Euphrates.

Justin I Upon the death of Anastasius I, Justin, commander of the Imperial Guards, who had gained the final victory over the rebellion in 515, was chosen emperor by the Senate and the troops. His chief recommendation perhaps in the eyes of the people was that he was a Catholic. He forthwith proscribed all Eutychian and Nestorian tendencies, thereby putting an end to the religious conflicts which had disturbed the empire during the later years of Anastasius I. Originally a peasant of Macedonia,¹ Justin was an able soldier, but he had no aptitude for the affairs of government, while he was nearly seventy years old, and during his reign of nine years (518-527) he left the chief power to be exercised by his capable nephew Justinian.

Britan. While the Franks had been making themselves masters of Gaul, the Vandals establishing their rule in North Africa, the Visigoths settling down in Spain, and the Ostrogoths setting up their kingdom in Italy, thick mists for a long time obscure Britain. All that we can gather is that in that country much more vigorous struggles took place than in any of the other countries of the West, lasting for nearly a hundred years, between the thoroughly Romanized population of Britain and their various barbarian assailants, the former being Christians, and the latter all of them Pagans. Between the years 440 and 500 the Jutes under Hengist and Horsa, the Saxons under Ælle, the Saxons again under Cedric, and about the year 500 the Angles, all coming from the countries situated near the mouths of the Rhine and the Elbe, in successive waves and in considerable strength invaded Britain, slaughtering its inhabitants, destroying villas, towns, churches, and all evidences of Roman civilization, and driving the scattered survivors further and further westward.² By the beginning of the sixth century the Jutes had

¹ He was of Latin race.

² It was shortly before this destruction began in Britain that St. Patrick, a Christian noble belonging to Valentinian I's province of Valentia (the district between the Solway and the Clyde), after being seized by pirates and carried to Gaul, was sent in 432 to Ireland, where after a time he converted the king of Leinster, and became Ireland's first Bishop, establishing his see at Armagh.

established themselves in Kent (the only county of England which has retained its British name), the Saxons had pushed on and occupied all the central and southern part of Britain, and the Angles had taken possession of its eastern coast from the mouth of the Forth to that of the Thames, the survivors of Roman Britain having been driven back into Somerset, Devonshire, Cornwall, and Wales, whence they still maintained an unending struggle with these foes.

Arthur. It is to this period (that is to say, a time contemporaneous with the rule of Theodoric the Great in Italy), that the history of the noble king Arthur, prince of the Silures, in southern Wales, and elected king of the Britons, belongs, and regarding whom we have only the vaguest records. He is described as a civilized Christian king fighting against savage Pagan enemies, and is said to have defeated in twelve successive battles the Angles to the east and the Saxons to the south, and in 520 at the battle of Mount Badon to have so thoroughly beaten the latter that Wales, Somerset, Devonshire, and Cornwall (these three counties being called by the Saxons West Wales) were protected from further molestation by these foes for many years, Arthur thus preserving the most revered shrine and church in Britain, Avallon (Glastonbury), from the destruction which fell upon all the other churches in Britain to the east of Somersetshire. The name Glastonbury¹ is of much more recent origin, being merely the name given to it by the Saxons, when about 200 years later they gained possession of it. Its proper, British, name is Avallon, meaning the Island of Apples (called in Latin by the Romanized Britons, Avalonia), water-channels and marshes then extending from the Bristol Channel up to this island. And there according to tradition Arthur, killed in his last great battle in the west, was buried.² For six hundred years after-

¹ Signifying the town of the Glæstings.

² The long established tradition that King Arthur was buried at the shrine of Glastonbury was in the 12th century corroborated. The Abbot Henry de Blois, according to Giraldus Cambrensis and others, causing search to be made, discovered at a depth of 16 feet a massive oak coffin with the inscription, "Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex Arthurus in insula Avalonia" (Here lies buried the renowned king Arthur in the island of Avallon).

wards the exploits of Arthur were preserved by the Welsh bards, though owing to the hostility of the Saxons, whose territory intervened, those exploits remained unknown to the rest of the world until, in the 11th century, the Norman conquerors of Britain eagerly sought out and embellished the memory of a prince who had triumphed over their Saxon antagonists.

Division of dioceses. The Britons being Christians, and two out of their three ecclesiastical dioceses, York and London, being destroyed (together with every living Christian in the east, south, and centre of Britain), upon being thus driven into the West by their Pagan enemies divided their remaining diocese of Caerleon-on-Usk (Isca Silurum),¹ the western diocese, into five dioceses, Llandaff, Bangor, St. David's, St. Asaph, and the diocese of Cornwall, the latter absorbed in the 11th century into that of Exeter. The four of these dioceses which still remain, the four Welsh dioceses, all date from the first half of the sixth century, and are the four oldest of all the dioceses of the Church of England, those of York and London only dating from the time when they were re-established about a century later when the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles became gradually converted to Christianity.

Change in the Romanized Britons. This long and unsuccessful struggle wrought a great change in the Romanized Britons. Driven out of the lowlands, and thereby losing their towns and all the conditions of town-life, forced to occupy a hill country where Roman civilization had never taken root, and occupying a region where the Celtic element had never become altogether extinct, and was now perhaps augmented by fresh immigrations from Ireland, they gradually lost their Roman customs, speech, and manners, and became merged with the Celts, though still retaining their Christianity, their Church organization, and their customs in matters of religion, and were in this condition when at the end of the 6th century they were brought in contact with the Christian mission sent from Rome by Pope Gregory the Great to convert their Pagan foes the Jutes.²

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XIII, p. 398 (footnote).

² Chap. XXIII, p. 372.

Theodoric's enlightened rule. The kingdom of the Ostrogoths, which Theodoric at the age of thirty-nine, upon taking Ravenna in 493, set up in Italy (comprising at the first Italy, Rhætia, and Noricum), lasted for forty-two years, of which Theodoric reigned for the first thirty-three (493-526). His capital was Ravenna, but he also resided at times in Rome, and also for long periods at Verona, from whence to watch affairs in Rhætia and Noricum, and thus has obtained in the Northern *sagas* the name Dietrich of Bern (Verona), under which name he appears in the *Nibelungen Lied*.

Theodoric's rule over this kingdom was by far the most enlightened of all which the northern races established over the different portions of the Roman Empire which were seized by them. In his administration he showed a sense of justice and toleration very unusual among the races which had destroyed the western half of the empire; he did not because he was a Goth think it necessary to enslave and trample upon the Romans, or because he was an Arian in religion feel it incumbent upon him to persecute the Catholics. He ruled with even-handed justice, protecting the Roman population from destruction, endeavouring to treat Goths and Romans alike so far as the circumstances permitted, and doing the same in matters of religion as regards Arians and Catholics. It is true that before his time Roman emperors, such as Constantine the Great and Valentinian I in regard to religion, and in political matters Theodosius the Great in his treatment of the Goths themselves, had exhibited a similar spirit; but Theodoric was the only ruler among the northern races of his time who did so. Undoubtedly this attitude on Theodoric's part was largely due to his previous history; half his life had been spent amidst associations and surroundings very different from those of a barbarian ruler; the years during which he had taken part in the life of the capital and of the court had taught him much, while also causing him to admire many of the methods and customs of the Romans, and to desire to carry out some of them in his new kingdom. At the same time he had to exercise discretion, to avoid carrying such views to an extreme which would disgust his Ostrogoths and alienate them from himself, and to maintain a wise equipoise between these two points of view, the Gothic and the Roman; though

whether he always did full justice to the Ostrogoths in the matter is doubtful.

When we hear that Theodoric could neither read nor write, and made his signature by placing on the paper a gold plate with the first five letters of his name cut in it and inking over these apertures, we are apt to imagine that he was an ignorant and uncivilized barbarian. But that would be an entire mistake, one due to the change which has taken place in *ourselves* during the course of fourteen hundred years. The Ostrogoths, and all the other Teutonic races in Theodoric's time, considered the art of reading and writing one unfit for a warrior, and only suitable to monks and clergy, or to races inferior to themselves in courage and manliness. For an Ostrogoth, and above all an Amal, to be able to read and write would have been an indignity in the eyes of every Ostrogoth. And in view of the fact that Theodoric had been brought up as a boy from the age of seven at the imperial court, had shared in all the life of the capital during many years, had commanded the household troops, and had even held the office of Consul, it is quite evident that his not being able to read or write was not due to want of ability or indolence, but that he deliberately declined to learn these accomplishments in order to be in accord with the sentiment of his nation.

But there were other directions in which Theodoric took a different line, and would seem not to have sufficiently regarded the feelings of the Ostrogoths. For he departed altogether from the Gothic ideal, not only in his system of government, but also in his personal arrangements. The Gothic ideal of a king was that of one freely elected to that office by his comrades and equals, and accustomed to be always accessible to them, and to meet them from time to time in the *Folcmote*, or council of the nation, there to receive their approval, or disapproval, of his actions. But instead of this, Theodoric adopted at Ravenna the style and customs of the imperial court; his laws were published as edicts after the manner of the Roman emperors; no meeting of the *Folcmote* of the Ostrogoths was ever called; *silentiarii* guarded the doors of the presence chamber; and Theodoric wore the diadem and the purple robes of an emperor, and only summoned his warriors to his presence on stated occasions. That the Ostrogoths

should have endured conduct of this kind, which must have given them constant offence, shows how much they must have valued Theodoric for his qualities in other respects.

His principles of government. But their Amal king had qualities far beyond those which his faithful Ostrogoths could appreciate. For Theodoric set before himself the aim of achieving that which had been the dream of Ataulf, the merging of *Gothia* into *Romania* to the benefit of both, of instilling into the Goths the Roman principles of law, order, and civilization, Rome in return becoming invigorated by their strength. And this ideal of Ataulf's Theodoric, during the thirty-three years that he reigned in Italy, made to some extent a reality, so far as that could be done in one generation. He did not seek to fuse the Romans and Goths together, but he made such a fusion possible in after generations, publishing separate laws for each of them, treating both races with equal justice, and showing that he would not permit the victorious Goths to tyrannize over the defeated Romans. Such principles were a new departure, and had they been continued in subsequent generations Italy would have been spared long centuries of misery. Even as it was, the short-lived kingdom of the Ostrogoths gave Italy a respite before her final ruin.

Theodoric from the first carried out these principles in his scheme of government; the Goths retained their own rights, their own laws, and their own officials, and provided the fighting element; the Romans continued to be governed as they had been in the past, and numerous Roman officials assisted Theodoric in the civil administration. But from a Gothic point of view both the court and the administration were altogether far too Roman in character; Faustus, the Prætorian Prefect, Liberius, Theodoric's chief minister for seven years, Cassiodorus, the successor of Liberius, Senarius, Agapatus, and Eugenetes, were all prominent Romans who were entrusted with high offices by Theodoric, while the latter's court was entirely Roman, and here Theodoric did not maintain the equipoise which the Goths certainly had a right to expect from their king. It is evident that the Goths did not always fail to evince dissatisfaction, for on one occasion we hear of a conspiracy among them against him. About the year 500 Theodoric promulgated the celebrated "Edict of

Theodoric," containing in 154 sections his principal laws, all of them very sound but all entirely Roman in character, and without a trace in them of Gothic ideas on the subjects concerned. It seems probable that it was the publication of this Romanizing edict which caused the conspiracy among the Goths headed by Count Odoin. The Roman writers give us no details about this conspiracy, except that it was discovered (apparently while Theodoric was at Rome in 500), and that Count Odoin was beheaded in the Sessorian Palace at Rome.

Our information regarding details of Theodoric's reign, except what may be gathered from the writings of Jordanes,¹ is both meagre and one-sided, coming almost entirely either from the curt record by an anonymous writer whose work is styled the *Anonymus Valesii*, who looks at all matters in Italy from the Byzantine point of view and shows a strong bias against Theodoric,² or from the twelve books of copious letters of the minister Cassiodorus, who wraps up everything in clouds of ornate language, hypocritical sentiment, and fulsome flattery, avoiding all unpleasant subjects. It was one unfortunate result of Theodoric's inability to read or write that we obtain our whole picture of him and his mental attitude from Roman pens accustomed to clothe the simplest matter in masses of courtly verbiage. As a consequence of the ruler not being able to read the document which he signed, the brief commands and rough strong sentences of the Ostrogothic king are converted by the flowery Cassiodorus into edicts, or letters to foreign rulers, couched in the grandiloquent language, and conveying the bombastic sentiments which commended themselves to Cassiodorus, thereby completely hiding from us the real Theodoric.

Much, however, may be learnt of a man's character by looking at the kind of men who are his closest friends. Theodoric's two chief friends were Artemidorus, a Greek nobleman, and Tulum, an Ostrogoth. Artemidorus, one of the nobles of Constantinople, distantly related to the

¹ See Note G, p. 139.

² He writes as an ecclesiastic and an inhabitant of Ravenna, and is generally supposed to have been Maximianus, Archbishop of Ravenna in the reign of Justinian.

imperial family, and about the same age as Theodoric, was strongly attracted by the latter when they were both young men at the imperial court, the first occasion when they met being upon Artemidorus being sent by the emperor on an embassy to Theodoric, then in rebellion against him, to persuade him to return to his allegiance. It might almost be said that from the first moment that Artemidorus' eyes rested upon the young Ostrogoth king he loved him, and a friendship between them began which lasted unbroken throughout life. For Theodoric's sake Artemidorus abandoned all the splendid career which was open to him at the imperial court, accompanied him through all his campaigns, and throughout all the years that followed was ever his closest friend at Ravenna, or Verona, or Pavia, or wherever Theodoric might be residing. Artemidorus desired no exalted office, and had no wish to be burdened with the cares of State; all he desired was to be near Theodoric. He had the artistic, pleasure-loving, Greek temperament, and found sufficient occupation in managing the great chariot-races at Ravenna. At length after he had been sixteen years at Ravenna, Theodoric in 509 persuaded him to become Prefect of that city. Subsequently (possibly when the first symptoms of the seditious feeling in Rome began to appear) Theodoric induced him for his sake to become Prefect of Rome, where Artemidorus, while discharging efficiently the duties of that office, maintained a watch over the Senate. And there is no doubt that by having on the spot this one absolutely reliable friend who was devoted to him, Theodoric obtained full information of the feeling in Rome, and was enabled to feel the pulse of the Romans.¹

Tulum. Theodoric's other chief friend, Count Tulum, belonging to one of the noblest Gothic families, as a youth began his career as a private soldier, being one of those selected to guard Theodoric's antechamber in the palace at Ravenna, and soon developed a sort of hero-worship for him. After a

¹ A good example of Cassiodorus' style, and of the way in which it obscures the real Theodoric, is given in his "Variæ," III, 22, in which Cassiodorus' letter represents Theodoric as inviting Artemidorus back to his side "in order that you who have spent a large portion of your life with Us may be satisfied by the sweetness of Our presence"; words calculated to kill even the most devoted attachment.

time he was promoted, and in 504 was sent on the campaign undertaken in that year against the Gepidæ in Pannonia. There he showed so many military qualities, and such a genius for the art of war, that he was advanced to high rank, and ere long became Theodoric's chief military adviser. Tulum gained further renown in 510 in the campaign in Gaul, where he was several times wounded, and in 523 he commanded the army sent against the Burgundians, again winning much honour. He was married to a princess of the Amals, and became as intimate a personal friend of Theodoric as Artemidorus. Unlike the sycophantic Romans at the court, Tulum would often strenuously uphold against Theodoric a policy which he felt was best for the latter's interests, and Theodoric had the greatest regard for him and valued him exceedingly. It is also an indication of Theodoric's character that he inspired much devotion among not a few Romans,¹ men who in the stormy time during the last three years of his reign, when Romans and Goths were arrayed on opposite sides, remained faithful to him though they were Romans, and knowing that there were other Romans who were acting treacherously towards their Gothic king, stood firmly by him and denounced them.

Boethius. Another man who, though not a close personal friend like Artemidorus and Tulum, was on terms of great intimacy with Theodoric was Anicius Manlius Boethius, scholar, philosopher, poet, statesman, mathematician, mechanician, the greatest genius of his time, and the last learned man among the Romans. He translated Pythagoras for the theory of music, Ptolemy for astronomy, Nichomachus for arithmetic, Euclid for geometry, and was specially noted for his commentaries on the treatises of Aristotle.² On all occasions when Theodoric desired advice on any mechanical, mathematical, or artistic subject, whether to test the fineness of the coinage, to construct a water-clock, or to select a skilful musician, it was to Boethius that he applied, and the latter stood high in his favour. Boethius married Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus, the head of the Senate, was chosen Consul at the

¹ Such as Cyprian, his brother Opilio, the young Roman noble Decoratus, and others.

² See also p. 175.

age of thirty in 510, and about the year 522 was advanced by Theodoric to the important and confidential post of Master of the Offices.

Distortion of Gothic names. Theodoric's name of "Thiuda-Reik" (people-ruler) has been corrupted by the Greek writers of the period into the form "Theodoric," thus turning it into one similar to such Greek names as Theodorus, Theodotus, Theodosius, Theodoret, and Theodora, which all have their root in the Greek word "Theos" (God); whereas Theodoric's name is properly Thiudaric, similar to such other Gothic names as Thiudamir, Thiudahad, Thiudabert, Thiudabald, Thiudamund, Thiudagotha, and Thiudalinda, which all have their root in the Gothic word "Thiuda" (people), and have all been distorted to the form "Theo" by the Greek writers. In the case of Theodoric it seems best to use the form by which he has so long been known in history, but in the case of the other names quoted to use their more correct form; especially as such distortions as Theudebert and Theudebald are neither Greek nor Gothic, and lose their interesting Gothic derivation without any reason. A curious fact in connection with this subject is that the title of the Goths for their king should be *Thiudans*, which being likewise derived from *Thiuda* seems like the anticipation of a time when these northern races would learn to speak of the sovereignty of the people. It accords with the general sentiment of a race who looked upon their king as one of themselves, and expected him to assemble them from time to time to give their approval of his actions.

There is also a further reason why it is desirable to preserve the Gothic form of all these names. For the interest which attaches to the Gothic word "Thiuda" (the people) is enhanced by the fact that the present name of the German race, "Deutsch," is itself only the modern form of "Thiuda." Gradually this latter word changed into the general name adopted by the German races from the time of Theodoric to the 10th century, viz. "Teutonen" (Teutons); but about the beginning of the 10th century the form "Deutsch" came into use as more correct, both words being derived from "Thiuda." Ludwig I, king of Bavaria in the early part of the 19th century, was so anxious that the origin of the

name should not be forgotten that he always wrote it "Teutsch," instead of "Deutsch."¹

Theodoric's
matrimonial
alliances.

While Theodoric's rival Clovis was surrounded with sons and grandsons, Theodoric had no son. He however arranged a scheme of matrimonial alliances through his sisters and daughters which was exceedingly widespread. He gave his widowed sister Amalafriada in marriage to Thrasamund, king of the Vandals, and his other sister Amalaberga to Hermanfred, king of the Thuringians, while he himself about the year 500 married as his second wife Audefleda, the sister of Clovis, king of the Franks; he also gave his eldest daughter Arevagni, to Alaric II, king of the Visigoths, who was killed at the battle of Vouillé in 507, and his second daughter, Thiudagotha, to Sigismund, the eldest son of Gundobad, king of the Burgundians. Theodoric thus allied himself with the Franks, the Visigoths, the Vandals, the Burgundians, and the Thuringians, leaving no important nation in any part of the West with which he was not connected. Upon the influence of his sister Amalafriada he specially relied for maintaining good relations with the powerful kingdom of the Vandals; when in 500 she was married to Thrasamund she came to Carthage with a retinue of 1000 distinguished Goths as her body-guard and 5000 slaves capable of bearing arms. Finally Theodoric determined that his third and favourite daughter, Amalasantha, his only child by Audefleda, should marry an Amal, to be his successor as king of the Ostrogoths; and accordingly when she grew up she was married about the year 515 to Eutharic, a direct descendant of the great Hermanric.²

Though the emperor still affected to regard himself as the sovereign lord over Italy, and Theodoric merely as his lieutenant, the latter maintained peace with the emperor Anastasius I throughout almost the whole of the latter's reign, this attitude between them being broken on only one occasion. In 508 Munlo, a captain of robbers, being attacked by the Roman army in Illyricum, obtained the assistance of an Ostrogothic force, and at Horrea Margi gained a victory over the Romans.

¹ This form "Teutsch" is that used in the great national monument, the "Befreiungshalle" (Hall of Liberation), erected in 1842 at Kelheim.

² Vol. I, Chap. XV, p. 501.

In retaliation Anastasius sent the fleet to raid the coasts of Italy, which hindered Theodoric from supporting the Visigoths against the Franks. Shortly afterwards Theodoric again made peace with the emperor.

^{His}
^{dominions.} Theodoric continually added to his dominions. In 504 he attacked his old enemies the Gepidæ, and took Pannonia. When Clovis after driving the Allemanni out of Gaul proposed to pursue and annihilate them, Theodoric intervened on their behalf, warned Clovis to desist, and took the Allemanni under his protection. In 510 his general, Count Ibbas, defeated the Franks and Burgundians at Arles and took Provence. And in 523, in alliance with the Franks, Theodoric took a large part of Dauphiné from the Burgundians. At the end of his reign his dominions included Italy, Sicily, Rhætia, Noricum, Pannonia, a great part of Illyricum, Provence, part of Dauphiné, and a portion of Germany as far north as Ulm, while the Burgundians, the Allemanni, and the Visigoths all looked to him as their strong protector from the Franks.

^{Troubles of}
^{last three}
^{years of}
^{his reign.} But Theodoric's sun, which had shone with such splendour for thirty years, was destined to set in deepest gloom. During the last three years of his reign he was forced, by circumstances which were in no way his fault, into a position in which it was impossible for him to continue to act upon the principles which had formed the chief glory of his reign, and was compelled by the Romans themselves to side with the Ostrogoths against the Romans. As so often the case, it was religion which brought about these grave political results.

During the long reign of the emperor Anastasius I the relations between Theodoric and the emperor had remained almost uninterruptedly peaceful. But the accession of Justin I as emperor in 518 created a change in matters connected with religion which soon began to have political effects, and seriously to affect Theodoric's position with regard to his own subjects. Justin as a strong Catholic began cordial relations with the Roman Church, by whom his zeal for Catholicism, and his suppression of Eutychianism, Nestorianism, and other heresies in the east, was much applauded. But the closer Justin I drew to the Catholics in Italy the worse

grew his relations with Italy's Arian king, and an antagonistic feeling began to grow up between the Arians and the Catholics in Italy.

While matters were in this state in regard to religion, it came to Theodoric's knowledge that a treasonable correspondence was taking place between certain members of the Senate of Rome and the emperor Justin I. The details of this affair, the most important of Theodoric's reign, are wrapped in the greatest obscurity, being carefully hidden from us by the Roman writers, who say as little as possible about it, and suppressing all else relate only those aspects of it unfavourable to Theodoric. As far as can be gathered it appears that towards the middle of the year 523, while the court was at Verona, the senator Albinus was openly denounced before Theodoric in the Council by Cyprian, Reporter of the High Court of Justice,¹ and was declared by him to be carrying on treasonable intrigues with Constantinople; and that thereupon Boethius, the Master of the Offices, took the part of Albinus, declared the accusation to be false, and said "If Albinus has written to Constantinople he has done so with my concurrence and that of the whole Senate." Apparently Boethius, who, capable as he was in other respects, was a passionate and unwise man in public affairs, considered that he stood so high in position that it would be sufficient to clear Albinus if he threw his shield over him, and that none would venture to assert that he himself could be guilty in a similar

¹ Cyprian, who was forced by his integrity to Theodoric to become the accuser of Albinus and Boethius, was a Roman of high birth. In his capacity of Reporter to the High Court of Justice he had the duty of stating the cases of litigants, first from that of one side and then from that of the other. The fairness with which he did this, bringing out the strong points of either side in turn, was often applauded by the suitors themselves. Theodoric, when tired of sitting in his court, would often mount his horse, and, bidding Cyprian accompany him, ride through the vast pine-wood of Ravenna, and as they rode Cyprian would make even the dullest case interesting by the manner in which he related it. He appears to have been absolutely faithful to Theodoric, and so well known to be so that after the latter's death he was on this account promoted to still higher office by Theodoric's daughter Amalasantha; and instead of being, as the *Anonymus Valesii* states, "urged by cupidity," was specially praised as being "devoid of cupidity."

way. Nevertheless Cyprian was not daunted, and appears to have responded by declaring that Boethius himself was equally guilty. A short enquiry into the charge was held, the result of which was that Theodoric consigned both Albinus and Boethius to prison at Pavia, pending the result of a full trial by the Senate. About two months after they had been thus imprisoned the Pope of Rome, Hormisdas, died on the 5th August 523, and as his successor John I was elected Bishop of Rome and Pope of the western patriarchate.

The fate of Boethius has attained special notoriety owing to the high estimation in which his literary works¹ were held in the Middle Ages. During his imprisonment he added to them by writing his world-renowned book *The Consolation of Philosophy*, the most popular work on philosophy in the Middle Ages; ² a large part of it is taken up with an endeavour (by very unconvincing arguments) to prove his innocence, and with virulent traducing of the characters of all his accusers. Shortly before the denunciation at Verona took place Boethius published a work against Arianism, entitled *De Trinitate*; and though the religious question has no direct reference to this trial upon a charge of treason, it is easy to see that this book was an unwise one for a high official of Theodoric to bring out in the circumstances of the time. While, however, the case was not one of Arian versus Catholic, neither could it be called one of Goth versus Roman. All the accusers of Boethius were Romans. Moreover although the Roman writers have made it appear as though Boethius was put to death by an arbitrary order of Theodoric, and upon the evidence of a few false witnesses,³ it was by the Senate that Boethius was condemned to death, and after a full trial of the

¹ Page 170.

² It was translated into English by King Alfred in the 9th century, and again by Chaucer in the 14th century, and the list of the various editions and translations of it fills fifty pages of the catalogue of the Library of the British Museum.

³ Thus the *Anonymus Valesii* (writing of the event about twenty years afterwards, when Ravenna had come under the rule of a Catholic emperor) says: "But the King laid snares for the Romans, and sought how he might slay them; he put more confidence in the false witnesses than in the Senators"; every word of which sentence is directly contradicted by Theodoric's various actions in this matter.

case ; a Senate no doubt who trembled before the king's frown, and were almost as subservient to his will in such matters as the Parliament of England were to the commands of a Henry VIII ; but a Senate nevertheless who in this case must have felt an almost insuperable reluctance to condemn to death one of their own number for an offence in which they themselves had joined. It would seem that they can only have passed sentence of death against Boethius (himself a senator, a Patrician, and the son-in-law of the leading member of their body) because the evidence against him was too overwhelming to be ignored.

Nor does Boethius' own defence of his conduct as given in his work, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, induce in us a conviction of his innocence of the treason with which he was charged. After loading with often manifestly unjust abuse the Romans who were his accusers, he with supreme want of logic first states that they were "thirsting for the blood of the Senate,"¹ then accuses the whole Senate of being guilty of the same offence with which he is charged, and then while declaring his innocence claims the protection of the Senate on the ground that to screen them he had suppressed documents which would have proved them guilty. Dr. Hodgkin, in the exhaustive analysis that he has made of this notable State trial,² sums up the character of Boethius, so far as it can be judged from his own writings and those of contemporaries, thus :—"Brilliant as a man of letters, unrivalled as a man of science, irreproachable as long as he remained in the seclusion of his library ; but utterly unfit for affairs ; passionate and ungenerous ; incapable of recognising the fact that there might be other points of view besides his own ; persuaded that every one who wounded his vanity must be a scoundrel, or at best a buffoon :—in short, an impracticable colleague, and with all his honourable aspirations, an unscrupulous enemy."

Theodoric evidently observed the maxim which had been laid down by Theodosius the Great³ as to allowing a long time to elapse between a sentence and its execution, in order to

¹ Yet they were Senators themselves.

² Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, Vol. III, pp. 517-553 (Edition 1885),

³ Vol. I, Chap. XVI, p. 567.

avoid executions in the heat of passion. The *Anonymus Valesii*¹ (the chief source of information in regard to this affair) relates the matter in such a way as to give the idea that Boethius was put to death (i) without due trial, (ii) by Theodoric's sole fiat, and (iii) forthwith, saying "Then were Albinus and Boethius taken into custody at the baptistery of the church at Ticinum (Pavia). But the king called for Eusebius, Prefect of the City of Ticinum, and passed sentence against Boethius unheard; and soon after sent and ordered him to be killed on the Calventian property." Whereas, instead of any such summary proceeding, the case was tried by the Senate, the sentence was passed by them, and Boethius was in prison for nearly a whole year² while the fullest enquiry was being made, and during which time he wrote his important book *The Consolation of Philosophy*. This gives a measure of the degree of reliability to be placed upon the *Anonymus Valesii*. Eventually the sentence of death was carried out, and Boethius was executed either at Pavia or Calvenzano about the middle of 524. The *Anonymus Valesii* says that he was put to death with great barbarity; but as it adds various episodes such as that thereupon a woman gave birth to four dragons which promptly flew away into the sea, we may consider the story of torture not proved. Regarding the fate of Albinus we are told nothing; and as the anxiety of the Roman writers to magnify everything in the affair which will tell against Theodoric is manifest in every line, we may be certain that if Albinus, as well as Boethius, had been put to death they would have mentioned it. It would therefore appear that Theodoric pardoned Albinus, possibly as being the less important offender of the two.

Religious
animosity. Meanwhile, however, the emperor Justin I had taken a step which largely increased Theodoric's difficulties. While the Ostrogoth king's natural wrath was

¹ If the *Anonymus Valesii* was written, as generally supposed, by Maximianus, Archbishop of Ravenna, then it was written from twenty to thirty years after these events, and at a time when Italy had been reconquered by the emperor Justinian; which accounts for its strong bias in favour of the Catholic, and Byzantine, view of the whole of the events of 523-526.

² From the middle of 523, to the middle of 524.

rising at the revelations which the enquiry into the conduct of Albinus and Boethius had brought out as regards the treasonable attitude of many members of the Senate, and while he was feeling natural indignation at the ingratitude of that body after his thirty years' magnanimous treatment of the conquered Romans, Justin I, who had hitherto left the Arians in his dominions alone, in the spring of 524 extended his proscription of heretics also to them, deprived them of their churches, and began persecuting them in every way. With this course Pope John I and the Roman senators sympathised as Catholics, thus increasing the antagonistic feeling between the Arians and the Catholics in Italy. Theodoric was placed in a difficult position. It had been his chief glory to have made no distinction between Ostrogoths and Romans, Arians and Catholics; but the action of Justin I, while highly insulting to Theodoric as ruler of Italy, threatened to increase still further the hostile feeling in Rome by adding religious animosity to political sedition. His wrath also was roused at this ungrateful return for his impartial tolerance; the Visigoths had persecuted the Catholics in Spain and Gaul; the Vandals had torn out the tongues of Catholic bishops and tortured Catholics to death throughout North Africa; he alone had protected them and treated them with absolute equality. And yet all seemed of no avail; his subjects were being taught to despise the religion of their ruler; his faithful Goths were being treated with contempt by those whom they had conquered; and he saw a chasm beginning to yawn between Romans and Goths over this question which threatened to undo his whole life-work.

By this time the knowledge which he had gained of the treasonable attitude of the senators of Rome and the Catholic party generally, joined to his indignation at the way in which his co-religionists were being treated by Justin I, and his own subjects incited to revolt from his authority and to despise his religion, had caused Theodoric to become thoroughly incensed, and he determined to send an embassy to Justin I to speak in his name with great plainness, and to threaten that unless the emperor restored their churches to the Arians throughout his dominions "the sword of Theodoric should ravage the whole of Italy."

Embassy to Justin I. It was a difficult embassy to select; if he sent Arians with such a message their lives would scarcely be safe, while if he sent Catholics there was small hope of any satisfactory result. Theodoric chose four men, all of them Romans of high rank, three of whom had held the office of Consul, Theodorus, Importunus, and Agapetus, while the fourth, a second Agapetus, held the rank of patrician. But with a man such as Justin I this alone would not be likely to attain the desired object, and Theodoric judged that nothing short of the embassy being led by the head of the Catholic community in Italy would suffice. He therefore sent for Pope John I to Ravenna and told him that it was his wish that he should proceed on this mission. The Pope, old and infirm, implored the king not to send him on such an embassy, saying that he would not be able to speak in this manner to the emperor. But Theodoric was obdurate. He has been loudly condemned for this; his action has been declared by the Roman writers to have been only due to "anger," and he has been represented (not only by the Roman contemporary writers but also by modern historians) as both tyrannical and foolish in insisting that the Pope should proceed on this mission.¹ But apparently he has been judged quite unjustly. He no doubt felt that the only thing likely to move Justin I would be an appeal to him on behalf of the Catholics in Italy to save them from the vengeance which would certainly come upon them unless Theodoric's demand were acceded to, and that such an appeal would only have weight with Justin I if made by the Pope of Rome himself.²

Accordingly a ship was prepared, and in the spring of 525 the mission was despatched to Constantinople. There Pope John I was highly honoured by the emperor, the Roman writers telling us fabulous stories of the reverence paid to him. The mission remained many months at Constantinople, and the *Anonymus Valesii* says that the emperor

¹ Even Dr. Hodgkin takes this view.

² On every other ground than this Theodoric's sending the Pope of Rome on such an errand would have been an act as foolish and incomprehensible as this proceeding has often been declared. But Theodoric was no fool; this is the only reason he can have had, and from this point of view his action becomes thoroughly comprehensible.

“promised the Pope that he would comply with all his demands, except that converts who had embraced the Catholic faith could by no means be restored to the Arians”; which of course no one would expect, nor can the Pope ever have asked it. Certain modern historians, such as Baronius, anxious to clear the Pope from the stain of advocating religious toleration, have denied this result of the mission, saying, “Why then the rage of Theodoric on the Pope’s return if he had done, with one unimportant exception, all that he was ordered to do?” But it is palpable that Theodoric’s anger was due to quite another reason, viz. that during the ten or twelve months that the mission remained at Constantinople its members threw out hints to the emperor, and entered into negotiations with him, which were inconsistent with their duty as loyal subjects of Theodoric; a risk which Theodoric had been obliged to run since he could not send Ostrogoths and Arians.

Treason of the
Senate, and
execution of
Symmachus. Having despatched this mission to Constantinople Theodoric then took up the question of what was to be done regarding the Senate, which body had been clearly shown by the revelations brought out by the trial of Boethius, together with the further information since received, to be largely permeated with the same treasonable sentiments, merely watching for an opportunity to give them practical effect, and probably secretly awaiting the result of any private negotiations which might take place between the members of the mission and the emperor Justin I. Theodoric evidently knew that there was much sedition of this kind going on, but it was difficult to decide what action to take to suppress it. In a somewhat similar case the emperor Septimius Severus had put to death nearly half the Senate,¹ but Theodoric would not act thus. He appears at length to have determined that, short of executing a number of the members, the only course was to strike fear into the Senate by singling out for execution the head of that body, Symmachus, which would not be unjust, since the trial of Boethius had furnished ample proofs that Symmachus was at least as guilty of treasonable correspondence with

¹ Vol. I, Chap. VIII, p. 282. Aurelian had done the same,

Constantinople as all the rest, while he was a strong Catholic, and the chief upholder of that cause among the laity of Rome. This course Theodoric carried out. About the middle of 525 Symmachus was summoned to Ravenna, and after an enquiry before the council was consigned to prison, and shortly afterwards executed.

Death of Pope John I. In the spring of 526 the mission returned from Constantinople. Theodoric, then seventy-two, broken in health, and disgusted at the treasonable intrigues of the senators and the Catholic party in Rome, and feeling that all that he had striven after for so many years had been ruined by their ungrateful conduct towards him, was in no mood to receive the mission in a friendly spirit. Though informed by them that the emperor had promised to accede to the demands made as regards the restoration of their churches to the Arians,¹ Theodoric evidently knew that treasonable negotiations with the emperor had been carried on, not merely by the Pope, but by the whole of the members of the mission while in Constantinople. For upon their arrival he at once consigned Pope John I, Theodorus, Importunus, and Agapetus² to prison, where on the 25th May 526 Pope John I, worn out through age and the hardships of the journey, died. He at once became a martyr in the eyes of every Catholic. We do not hear that the other members of the mission suffered death, and as had they done so the fact would certainly have been made use of by the Roman party still further to blacken Theodoric's name, we may presume that they were merely kept in prison.

Death of Theodoric. This death of the Pope in prison, in the circumstances, intensified the seditious feeling against Theodoric among the Catholic party at Rome. Whether the emperor Justin I merely gave the promise to the mission as a blind we do not know, the Roman writers carefully avoiding any mention of this point, but it appears by the sequel that it must have been so, as he failed altogether to carry it out. Theodoric had sworn that if the emperor did not restore their churches to the Arians he would ravage the whole of

¹ A promise which though many months had elapsed the emperor had not yet carried out.

² Agapetus the patrician had died on the journey to Constantinople.

Italy; he did not carry out this threat, but after a time, seeing that he had been tricked by an empty promise, he determined to let the Catholics in Italy see that he was in earnest, and make them realize that the Ostrogoths had conquered Italy, and that if the Catholics would not live at peace with their Arian conquerors they must suffer results similar to those which they were making the co-religionists of the Ostrogoths suffer in the east. Accordingly he issued an edict ordering that on the 26th August all the Catholics in Italy were to be ejected from their churches. But on the day fixed for this edict to be carried out Theodoric was suddenly seized in the midst of a banquet by fever and a violent shivering fit, was carried to his bed, and four days later expired at the age of seventy-two (30th August 526). His son-in-law Eutharic being already dead, Theodoric was succeeded by his capable daughter Amalasantha,¹ as regent for her young son Athalaric.

False colour
given by
the Roman
writers to
these events.

It requires to be borne in mind that regarding these events of the last three years of Theodoric's life all our information comes from Roman sources which are strongly biased against him, and chiefly from the *Anonymus Valesii*,² which in many of the details is manifestly unjust to Theodoric, and often contradictory and illogical. We have therefore to be on our guard against accepting too implicitly the colour which the Roman writers have given to these events, more especially in regard to statements of want of evidence against the accused, of failure to give the case a proper trial, of having "laid snares for the Romans and sought how he might slay them, putting confidence in false witnesses," and hints at subsequent remorse

¹ Chap. XXI, p. 215.

² From Cassiodorus we get no information on this subject. The general character of Cassiodorus' writings may be judged from the fact that in all his copious letters this courtly chronicler avoids making any mention of the deaths of Boethius and Symmachus at all. This does not seem to be from any such motive as a desire to avoid alluding to anything which might tell against Theodoric, but rather from his inveterate determination to paint everything in glowing colours, and a disinclination to refer to events which would show that the excellent relations between the two races hitherto maintained had not been preserved to the end.

on Theodoric's part.¹ It is certain that Artemidorus or Count Tulum could have told a very different story about the events of these three years. Throughout the events of the years 523-526 it is constantly evident that Theodoric had much more information than is allowed by the writers to transpire, and it is highly probable that such friends as Artemidorus and Tulum² supplied him with proofs which were overwhelming as to the sedition which was taking place; and anything which such men as Artemidorus or Tulum reported Theodoric would know that he could trust. Lastly, the Roman writers have depicted the deaths of Boethius and Symmachus, and the imprisonment of the Pope, as though Theodoric's actions were all one wild burst of Gothic *berserker* rage, frequently inserting the words, "being angry," "in a fury," and "in his wrath," suppressing all dates, and speaking as though these events took place in quick succession; whereas a whole year elapsed between the death of Boethius and that of Symmachus, and another year between the death of the latter and that of the Pope.

In consequence of this colour which has been given to the events of these three years by the Roman writers of the time an extraordinary amount of injustice has uniformly been done by historians to Theodoric the Great. While full credit has been given to him for his impartial and tolerant rule over Italy for thirty years, he has been spoken of in a tone of constant apology for the actions of the last three years of his life,³ and held to have largely marred his otherwise brilliant record by his conduct during

Injustice
consequently
done to
Theodoric.

¹ To this latter category belongs the story related by Procopius that Theodoric became ill through having had placed before him at the banquet a large fish's head which assumed the appearance of the head of Symmachus, and curled its lips and rolled its eyes fiercely at Theodoric; that the latter on his death-bed related this to his physician: and that he bewailed with tears his injustice in putting to death Boethius and Symmachus. This is the kind of story invariably related in those times where it is desired to prove that injustice has been done.

² We have no record when Artemidorus died; Tulum survived Theodoric.

³ This is the case even in regard to Dr. Hodgkin in his *Italy and her Invaders* where dealing with these events.

those years, developing tyranny, intolerance, and injustice. This is entirely due to the matter having been looked at through Roman spectacles.

If however, freeing ourselves from the bias of the Catholic and Roman writers, we look simply at the circumstances and at Theodoric's action therein, we shall see that he acted throughout these years not only as no other sovereign of that age would have done, but also in a way which fully maintained the same character which he had demonstrated during all the rest of his reign. After having for thirty years treated the Arian Goths and the Catholic Romans with uniform impartiality, both as regards religion and politics, he found the Senate of Rome, in conjunction with the Pope and the Catholic party, ignobly intriguing against him with the Catholic emperor at Constantinople. Faced with these conditions, instead of bringing a large number of the Romans to execution for the treason of which they were guilty (as evidently he might justly have done), he scorned to put to death the lesser men, and contented himself with bringing to trial and execution the two chief men implicated, Boethius, the Master of the Offices, and Symmachus, the head of the Senate. He then, instead of making the Romans feel the power of the Gothic sword, sent an embassy to the emperor, endeavouring to obtain a remedy for the antagonistic state of affairs in religion by peaceful means. The members of this embassy having made use of their opportunity to carry on the same treasonable intrigues, it was no tyrannical measure on his part that on their return (instead of putting any of them to death) he consigned them to prison. Lastly, when all other attempts failed, and when the same state of things was continued in matters of religion, it was not an injustice to order that the Catholics should be deprived of their churches, and to make them feel that either they must consent to live at peace with the Arians, or else must suffer the same treatment as they were dealing out to the Arians in the eastern empire. It was imperative that Theodoric should make them feel that he, and not they, ruled the country; and to deprive them of their churches was better than carrying fire and sword through Italy.

It is hard to see what more temperate measures Theodoric

could have adopted than he did if he intended to retain his throne ; for if the treasonable intrigues of the Senate and the Catholic party with Constantinople were not checked he might expect in no long time to find an army from Constantinople entering Italy to attack him. It may safely be said that any sovereign in the Middle Ages placed in the same circumstances would have brought a large number of men to the block. Theodoric took the course which we should have expected from his whole previous history. He endeavoured to overawe the seditious members of the Senate by putting to death the two leading men ; and he endeavoured to put an end to the rising antagonism in religion by trying to get the emperor to exercise the same tolerance towards the Arians that he himself was exercising towards the Catholics. It is of course arguable that the mission headed by the Pope was a mistake, and that it could never have succeeded in attaining the object in view ; but if it was a mistake it was a noble one, for it was an endeavour to use peaceful means, even by a course which presented little hope of success, rather than wield the power of the sword. For the only other alternative would have been to return to the position which existed at the moment when the Ostrogoths conquered Italy, to put to death all the senators who had been guilty of treason, and to treat the Romans in the same way as they had been treated in every other country, reducing them to the position of a conquered race, depriving the Catholics of their churches, and ejecting the Pope from Rome and the other Bishops from their sees. And the Romans would have had no just ground of complaint had Theodoric acted thus when he found that after all his tolerant treatment of them for thirty years they were entering into negotiations against both his authority and his religion. That Theodoric did not adopt this course, even when roused to anger by the manner in which he and the Ostrogoths were being treated by the race whom they had conquered, redounds greatly to his honour. Yet no word of praise to him for this has ever been uttered, and this is not the view which has been taken of his conduct.

The Romans showed themselves in fact not fitted for Theodoric's enlightened policy of toleration. The Senate acted a mean and ignoble part all through ; they should have felt

that the manner in which Theodoric upon conquering the country had treated the Romans bound them to be strictly loyal to him ; instead of which they took the first opportunity of intriguing with a foreign power against one who from first to last had treated their race in a way that no other conqueror of the age would have dreamt of doing. Its only result was to induce them to forget that the Ostrogoths had conquered Italy, and that it was solely due to Theodoric's magnanimity that they were not occupying the same position of subjection to which their race had been reduced everywhere else ; and they failed entirely to show any of that gratitude to him which such exceptional treatment would have called forth in a nobler race. And in thus failing they showed their degeneracy as plainly as they had previously shown it in the shrinking from military service which had caused them to be conquered.

Character of Theodoric. Theodoric the Great was a man far in advance of his time. A successful warrior in the field, he was no less successful as an administrator in a new and untried position, and from every point of view was the most remarkable man that the Teutonic races in that age produced. That a man who throughout his life could never read a book or document, and all whose information had to be gathered by word of mouth and by observation of mankind, should have been capable of being all that Theodoric was is wonderful. For it was not even as though he had others before him to imitate. Those who had preceded him as kings of various northern races—Hermanric, Alaric, Ataulf, Wallia, Gaiseric, Euric, Clovis, and others—had possessed no such power to evolve and put in practice broad-minded principles of government which only later ages learnt to appreciate. And the highest honour is due to the first king of Teutonic race who learnt that the art of ruling is something more than successfully wielding the sword, and who carried out in a tolerant spirit an even-handed justice which gave many blessings to the country he had conquered.

His statue on roof of the palace.

Upon the roof of the Palace of Ravenna¹ Theodoric erected a remarkable group of statuary, visible to the ships at sea, consisting of an equestrian statue

¹ Regarding the Palace of Ravenna, see Chap. XXII, pp. 272-273.

of himself, wearing a coat of mail and armed with shield and spear, sitting upon a horse of gilded bronze, with two female figures standing beside him representing Rome and Ravenna. We have evidence that this group remained intact until the year 800, when the statues of Theodoric and his horse were removed from the roof of the Palace by Charles the Great (best known as Charlemagne), who carried them off to Aix-la-Chapelle, declaring that he had seen nothing like them in his whole realm.

We are not left entirely without visible memorials of Theodoric the Great. Whereas none of the other northern races of his time—the Visigoths, the Vandals, the Burgundians, the Allemanni, the Saxons, or the Franks,—have left any architectural memorials of themselves, there still exist at Ravenna two buildings ¹ erected by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, namely, his Mausoleum, and the church of St. Apollinare Nuovo.

His Mausoleum. The Mausoleum of Theodoric ² was built by himself. It will be seen that it is the earliest Gothic building in Europe, and Theodoric's interment in a permanent tomb, instead of with a burial such as that given to Alaric, to Attila, and to Theodoric the Visigoth, serves to mark the change in ideas which had come over the wandering Goths. The mausoleum (situated about half a mile outside the northern wall of the city) is a circular building, placed upon a ten-sided substructure with arches, and crowned with a flat dome consisting of a huge single block of Istrian rock, 36 feet in diameter, and said to weigh 470 tons; and how this could have been placed in its position with the engineering appliances then available is a problem. In its style this mausoleum accords with the main feature of Theodoric's rule, blending *Gothia* with *Romania*; Gothic in its rough strength and massiveness, Roman, both in the fact that it should be built at all, and in its striving to copy to some extent the mausoleum of Hadrian, it stands a fitting memorial to Theodoric the Great. Here the Ostrogothic king of Italy who had taught all mankind the spirit in which to rule two races of rival

¹ See Chap. XXII, p. 273, footnote (2).

² Plate LXI.

religious opinions was laid to rest in a porphyry sarcophagus, clad in golden armour and with his jewelled sword by his side, by his daughter Amalasantha, the sarcophagus, supported by four marble columns, being placed upon the roof of the dome, surrounded by brazen statues of the twelve Apostles.

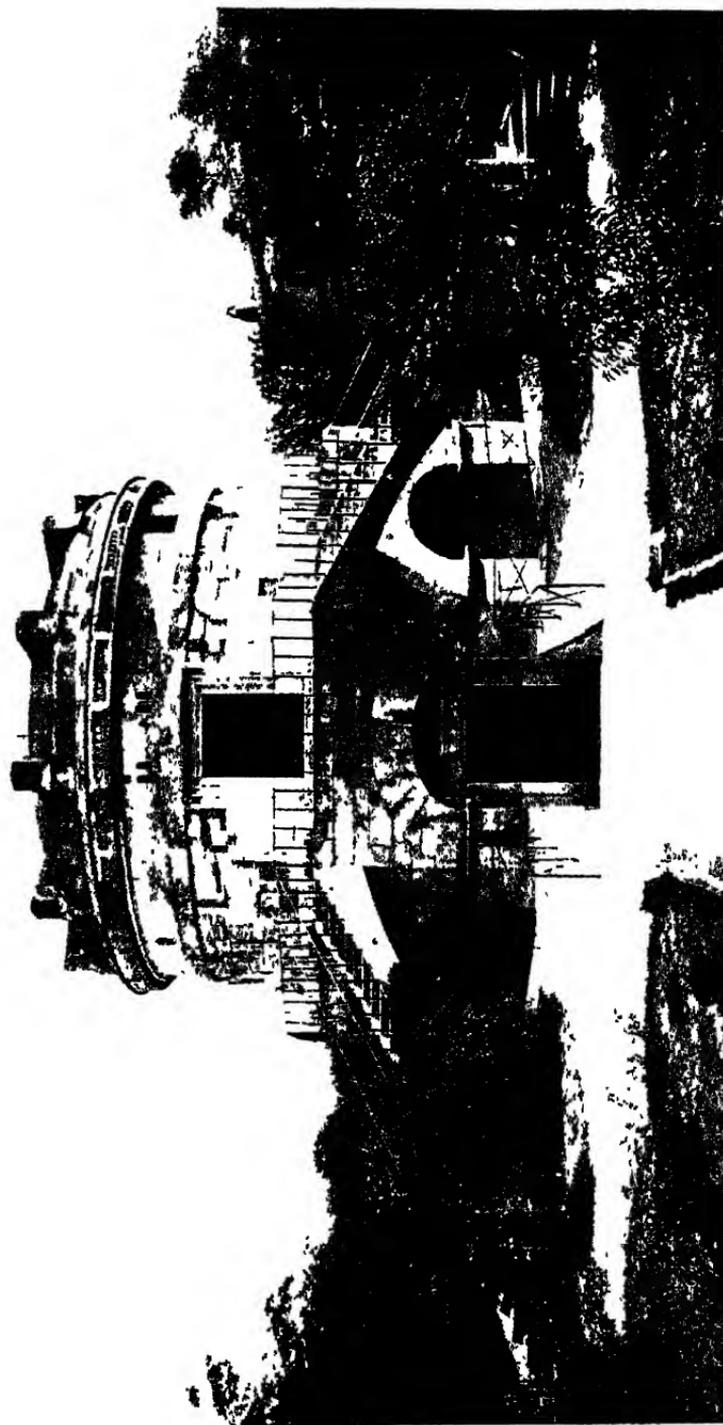
Unworthy
treatment
of his
remains.

But the mausoleum which he had hoped should receive the bones of a long dynasty became simply his own tomb, and then ceased even to contain his own remains. Fourteen years after Theodoric's death Ravenna passed again under the sway of the empire, Italy became ruled by a Catholic sovereign, and to the dishonour of the Catholics the remains of the great Arian king who had ruled the Romans with such magnanimous impartiality were cast forth with ignominy from their tomb.¹ Not a spark of his own magnanimity was displayed by his ignoble subjects the Romans; and the Catholic Church, casting forth his body from its tomb, pursued his memory for centuries with a bitterness which has survived even to later times,² not seeing that this treatment of the memory of a man whom every noble sentiment should have caused them to honour for his laudable toleration of their religion in an age when toleration was unknown anywhere else displayed their own degenerate and ignoble spirit.

The disposal of the remains of the great Ostrogoth king, (carefully hidden by those who had perpetrated this revenge because they were conscious of its despicable character)

¹ At what time this occurred is not known, further than that when 300 years later Agnellus wrote his history of the Bishops of Ravenna the tomb had long been empty, Agnellus stating that the body had been cast forth from it, though where it had been deposited remained a mystery. All that we know is that it must have taken place while Ravenna was held by the Catholics (540-750), for their successors the Lombards would have honoured Theodoric's remains.

² Pope Gregory the Great, in his *Dialogues*, gives credit to a statement that in a vision an Italian monk had been witness to the damnation of Theodoric, his soul being carried off by demons and plunged into the volcano of Lipari, then believed to be one of the mouths of hell. It may well be that it was upon the, firmly believed, report of this vision that the body of Theodoric was cast forth from its tomb. Cardinal Baronius also endorses the statement of this fabulous vision.



[A118ARI

MAUSOLEUM OF THEODORIC THE GREAT AT RAVENNA.
The sarcophagus was placed upon the roof, under a stone canopy.

continued for thirteen centuries a mystery. But in the year 1854 a party of workmen excavating a canal about a hundred yards from the mausoleum of Theodoric came upon a skeleton in gold armour, with a gold helmet adorned with large jewels, and with a sword the gold hilt of which was also ornamented with large jewels; and there can be little doubt that this was the missing body of Theodoric the Great.¹

Church
built by
him.

The church which Theodoric erected at Ravenna,² now known as St. Apollinare Nuovo, was built as the Arian cathedral, and was dedicated to St. Martin.³ Up to the 9th century it bore an inscription under the windows of the apse stating that it was built from its foundations by Theodoric. But only a portion of the church as it now exists was constructed by Theodoric. Fourteen years after his death Ravenna was taken by the emperor Justinian's general Belisarius; soon afterwards the church was converted into a Catholic church; and it is on account of the remains which it possesses of that period of the 6th century that it is chiefly interesting.⁴ In the 9th century large alterations were made to it, its name at the same time being changed to that of St.

¹ Unfortunately the workmen who discovered it had time to steal the whole of this treasure, and only some parts of the armour were subsequently recovered, which are now in the museum at Ravenna.

² Two other churches which still exist in Ravenna were also built in Theodoric's time. One of these was the Arian Baptistery; it is now the church of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin; its original pavement now lies 7 feet below the present pavement. The other church is that of S^{to}. Spirito, stated to have been built for the Arian bishop. Neither of these churches preserves more than very scanty remains of the original structure.

³ St. Martin was the favourite saint of the Franks, and apparently, also of Theodoric the Great, perhaps on account of his wife Audefleda, the Frank princess. St. Martin of Tours, a Roman soldier who, abandoning the world, originated monastic institutions in Gaul by founding monasteries at Poitiers and Tours, lived about 360. He earned the title of "the Apostle of Gaul," and his name became highly venerated in that country. An interesting corroboration of the fact that Christianity was planted in Britain from Gaul is shown by St. Martin, highly revered as "the Apostle of Gaul," being also highly revered in Britain. He is commemorated in the Prayerbook of the Church of England on the 11th November.

⁴ See Chap. XXII, pp. 277-280.

Apollinare Nuovo. It is one of the finest and most notable churches in Ravenna, and among many other interesting features still possesses its round 6th century bell-tower. Its chief glory is its magnificent series of mosaics; as however these were not put up by the Arians, but by the Catholics on its becoming a Catholic church, it will be best to leave these mosaics, the most remarkable in Ravenna, to be described when we reach the time to which they belong in the reign of the emperor Justinian, upon whom the attention of nearly the whole world now became concentrated.

CHAPTER XXI

JUSTINIAN

(FIRST SEVENTEEN YEARS OF HIS REIGN.)

527 — 544

THE long and in many respects glorious reign of the emperor Justinian (527-565), crowded with events demanding attention by their number, variety, and importance, has been extolled by the writers of many centuries. And though Justinian might have achieved fame more justly had he restrained his tendency to prefer that which was showy to that which was sound and solid, nevertheless he effected certain things possessing this latter character, and for the sake of which his name will always rightly be renowned. He drew up a Code of the Roman law which has ever since been celebrated, and has become the basis of the legal systems of Europe; he built a cathedral which was the wonder of the age, and has lasted for more than thirteen centuries; and he regained North Africa and Italy for the empire, though from want of sound administration he failed to give these conquests permanency.

Justinian. Justinian, born like his uncle in Macedonia, at the village of Tauresium, and belonging to the Latin race, was perhaps the most remarkable man who ever reigned over the Later Roman Empire. He was forty-four when in 527 he succeeded his uncle Justin I, having practically controlled most of the affairs of that empire during the greater part of his uncle's nine years' reign. Wise, studious, abstemious and plain in life, a great legislator, fond of theology, philosophy, architecture, and music, and a giant in capacity for work, Justinian was in many respects fitted for the position, but he was conspicuously wanting in any talent for sound financial administration, as well as in the military qualities which had distinguished so many of his greatest predecessors. Some have thought it strange that he has escaped being

accorded the title of "Great," but the instinct of mankind was undoubtedly right in feeling that, notwithstanding his achievements, there was that in Justinian's character which made him fall short of greatness.¹

His marriage. His first act was a startling one. Some three years before Justin I died, Justinian, then forty-one, the grave student and scholar, who Gibbon says, "never was young," fell in love with the famous public dancer Theodora, then about twenty-two years old, and to the astonishment and scandal of the whole court, and to the positive horror of his aunt, the empress Euphemia, announced his intention of marrying Theodora. The empress Euphemia for a time successfully opposed his doing so, but upon her death a year later Justinian forced his aged uncle Justin I to annul the laws which prevented a senator from making such a marriage, and not only married Theodora, but upon his uncle's death associated her with himself in the government of the empire, and gave her an authority equal to his own.

His elusive character. Justinian is a somewhat elusive character. We hear much about his achievements, we see the largeness of his ideas revealed in his works, and we are shown by his selection of Tribonian as his adviser in matters of law, of Belisarius and Narses as his generals, and of Anthemius of Tralles as his chief architect, that he must have been a strong judge of character, but of the man himself we find it difficult to form a clear idea.² Not only however do his actions show

¹ The chief authority for the events of the reign of Justinian is Procopius of Cæsarea, for many years the secretary, legal adviser, and friend of Belisarius, and his companion in his wars. Procopius as a writer occupies a position almost unique. After a long period of inferior authorities we have in him a regular historian. He may be compared with Ammianus Marcellinus of two centuries earlier. Moreover Procopius is a remarkably well-balanced writer, manly, straightforward, and deservedly praised for his freedom on the one hand from sycophancy, and on the other from malevolent detraction, except in his book *De Ædificiis*, in which he descends to much revolting adulation of the emperor. His principal works are his three histories of the Persian war, the Vandal war, and the Gothic war, and his *De Ædificiis* on the numerous buildings erected by Justinian throughout the empire.

² Regarding one chief reason for this, see comparison between him and the emperor Heraclius, Chap. XXIV, p. 402, footnote.

us much, but also we can gain much light as to *his* character by studying that of Theodora, the beautiful woman with whom he is indissolubly associated, and whom he thus married to the disgust of the whole imperial family and court.

This prominent action of Justinian's life has afforded material for sneers at him on the part of some writers, who ridicule a man who at his age could become "infatuated" by a woman of such antecedents, while it has been a cause of universal wonder even among those writers who do not take this tone. But apparently there is no real ground for such wonder. The more one reads about Theodora, both before and after her marriage, the more it is borne in upon one that however much in love with her Justinian may have been, this cannot have been the reason for his marrying her; and that he was actuated by another reason, and was determined to have her for his wife because he perceived her unusual mental gifts and force of character. If so, Theodora in her subsequent life fully justified his choice on that ground; thus affording yet another proof of Justinian's gift in judging character.

The Secret History. Our view of the characters and deeds of Justinian and Theodora will chiefly depend upon the estimation in which we may hold the book entitled the *Secret History* (*Arcana Historia*), also called *The Anecdotes*. This foul and venomous book was discovered in the 17th century in the Vatican by Alemannus, who edited it with a commentary, and believed it to have been written by the celebrated historian Procopius. Professor Bury, however, after a thorough and scholarly examination of it sums up against its being the work of Procopius; ¹ thus agreeing with Ranke, who held that Procopius was not its author, but that the writer of it had obtained a diary of events perhaps written by Procopius, and had incorporated into it all the calumnies he could invent about the emperor and the empress. It may also be noted that if it were proved to be the work of Procopius it would not only stultify much of his other writings, but also would deprive him of all the honour which he has received as an unusually temperate and well-balanced writer, remarkably free both from the sycophancy and the virulent animosity

¹ Bury, *The Later Roman Empire*, Vol. I, pp. 359-364.

common in his age. Alemannus, Dahn, and Gibbon accepted the book as veracious, and the work of Procopius, while Gibbon's picture of the empress Theodora¹ (which through him has become the conventional one) was drawn entirely from this source. But the more scholarly examination to which the *Secret History*² has in later years been subjected by M. Debidour, Mr. Mallet, Professor Bury and others has caused it to be completely discredited, chiefly owing to its internal discrepancies.

Regarding these discrepancies Mr. Mallet, after mentioning others, says:—"But the most striking inconsistency of all is to be found in the account of Theodora's elevation. If the judgement of *The Anecdotes* is to count for anything, we must believe that at the time of her marriage to Justinian, Theodora was, by common consent, the most profligate woman of her age. *The Anecdotes* inform us that Justinian was equally remarkable for the self-restraint and the austerity of his life. The time of his marriage was a time when he was bent upon conciliating all parties, so as to secure the succession to the throne. He had reached an age when he might well be supposed to have outgrown the passions of youth. His ambitious, calculating temperament would be the least likely to imperil substantial advantages by an act of the grossest imprudence. And yet the writer of *The Anecdotes* tells us that Justinian chose this time to deliberately select for his bride the most infamous woman in Constantinople."³ On the same point

¹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, V, 42-47 (Edition 1862).

² Milman calls it "the basest and most disgraceful work in literature." It paints Justinian as a combination between a demon and an ass; while in its foul and malignant statements and narratives regarding Theodora, the wife of Justinian, and Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, it could scarcely be surpassed by anything which would nowadays be written in the lowest slums of Paris or London. It was evidently written by a violent enemy of both Justinian and Theodora, who to guard his own life was forced to remain secret, and with that object gave it as far as he could an appearance of being written by Procopius, the chief historian of the day, but who was so little possessed of the talents of that writer that he could not preserve the falsehoods he was relating from glaring inconsistencies.

³ Mallet, *The Empress Theodora*, Essay in the English Historical Review, Jan., 1887

of its inconsistencies Professor Bury says:—"Throughout the work Justinian is spoken of as deceased, a King of a past age; in the last words of the last chapter his death is referred to as an event in the future."¹ And speaking of the book generally he says that in contradistinction to the general high praise which the reign of Justinian has received from mankind, the writer of the *Secret History* paints everything in the blackest colours, declaring that all was fraud and oppression, under "the demon Justinian."

Notwithstanding the credit which has hitherto been given to the *Secret History* by various authorities, the general sense of mankind has always refused to treat it (except to a very small extent) as a veracious record so far as Justinian was concerned;² but it has, illogically, not done the same as regards Theodora. Now, however, that the veracity of the *Secret History* has become thus completely repudiated, the characters and deeds of both Justinian and Theodora must be regarded solely according to what may be demonstrated by other evidence, excepting only where true facts have evidently formed the foundation upon which the writer of the *Secret History* has built his venomous fabrications.³

Blue and Green factions. Theodora's extraction was of the lowest description, her father (who at his death left his three young daughters and their mother destitute) having been the keeper of the wild beasts of the amphitheatre for the Green faction. At this time the Blue and Green factions of the circus had come to occupy a most important place in political affairs.⁴ Every citizen belonged in politics to one or other of these two factions, and throughout the empire the Blues and the Greens

¹ Bury, *The Later Roman Empire*, I, 360.

² See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, V, 248-249, where even Gibbon gives a very different character to Justinian from that given by the *Secret History*.

³ Ranke long ago pointed out that underlying the statements of the *Secret History* there are here and there true facts which its writer has used, adding and interweaving into them "fabrications revealing the most acrid venom and the grossest superstition."

⁴ Originally (in the times of Caligula and Nero) there had been four parties in the circus, distinguished by the colours red, white, green, and blue, but the red and white had since become merged respectively in the green and blue.

carried on the bitterest rivalry, often ending in pitched battles. Moreover to political rivalry there had in the time of Justinian been added religious animosity, the Blues having become identified with orthodoxy in religion, and the Greens with unorthodoxy, and it was of the highest importance to an orthodox emperor like Justinian to have the support of the Blue faction. Theodora being an Eutychian in religion, the Greens looked upon her as belonging to their faction, though after her marriage she often supported the Blues.

Theodora. The empress Theodora, who was a highly popular dancer on the stage at Constantinople,¹ and whom Justinian on beginning his reign raised to so high an eminence, is one of the most remarkable women in history. As regards her appearance, she is admitted even by the writer of the *Secret History* to have been most beautiful, while Procopius declares it impossible to describe her comeliness in words or to depict it by art. She is said to have had a delicate red-and-white complexion, with brightly glancing eyes which betokened her keen intellect, the only fault in her appearance being that she was rather small in stature. Whatever she had been before her marriage she gave no opportunity for scandal during the twenty-two years of her life which followed it. She became at once omnipotent. All classes—dignitaries of the Church, ministers of State, officers of the army, consuls, senators, and officials of every description—bowed before the haughty *Augusta*, who maintained a degree of ceremony far exceeding that customary with Justinian. In fact Theodora seemed to take a delight in offering in every way a contrast to her husband; he was a Catholic in religion, she a Monophysite;² he was austere in his habits, she carried

¹ She is stated to have been a dancer from her earliest years at Cyrene, Alexandria, and other principal cities of the East, with everywhere a most immoral record. It must, however, be remembered that we know nothing about Theodora's previous life except through the statements of the *Secret History*, a record avowedly written by an enemy. Still, of the fact of her being a dancer there is no doubt; and that in those days implied, *ipso facto*, a life of immorality.

² I.e. Eutychian. By this time the term "Monophysite" had become more generally used for the form of belief put forward by Eutyches and condemned by the Fourth General Council,

luxury to the highest point; he seldom slept more than four hours, she prolonged her sleep till late in the day and then spent hours over her toilet; he was easy of access, she surrounded herself with every circumstance of unapproachable magnificence.

Nevertheless on more than one occasion Theodora saved her husband's throne by her courage and strength of character; she was noted for her charities, for her endeavours to reclaim abandoned women, and for her sympathy with all who were oppressed (which is in marked contrast to the picture drawn of her in the *Secret History* as a tigress, thirsting for human blood); and it is probable that her chief iniquity in the eyes of those who have abused her most virulently was the fact that she was a Monophysite, and that had she belonged to the orthodox party in religion we should never have heard one word of all the accusations made against her character as a girl. The contemporary writer John the Lydian, who as an official in the department of the Prætorian Prefect had daily opportunities of observing her, speaks of her in the highest terms,¹ and says that she was "superior in intelligence, and always awake in sympathy for the oppressed"; while the temperate and unsycophantic writer Procopius, who also knew her well, says that she "could not withstand the supplications of the unhappy."

Pictures
of Justinian
and
Theodora. Two most interesting representations of Justinian and Theodora are given us in two large mosaics in the church of St. Vitalis at Ravenna, put up during the reign of Justinian, the figures being life-size, with a gold back-ground. It is, of course, only in the present day that it has become possible to produce a real likeness of a person's face in mosaic; so that these Ravenna mosaics can scarcely be spoken of as portraits. But though, therefore, these mosaics give us no real likeness of the beautiful Theodora or of the manly features of Justinian, still they give us a highly valuable picture of the general appearance of this notable emperor and his no less notable empress. Justinian² stands surrounded by officials representing the three estates

¹ Especially when he describes how she informed Justinian of the misdeeds of his minister John of Cappadocia.

² Plate LXII.

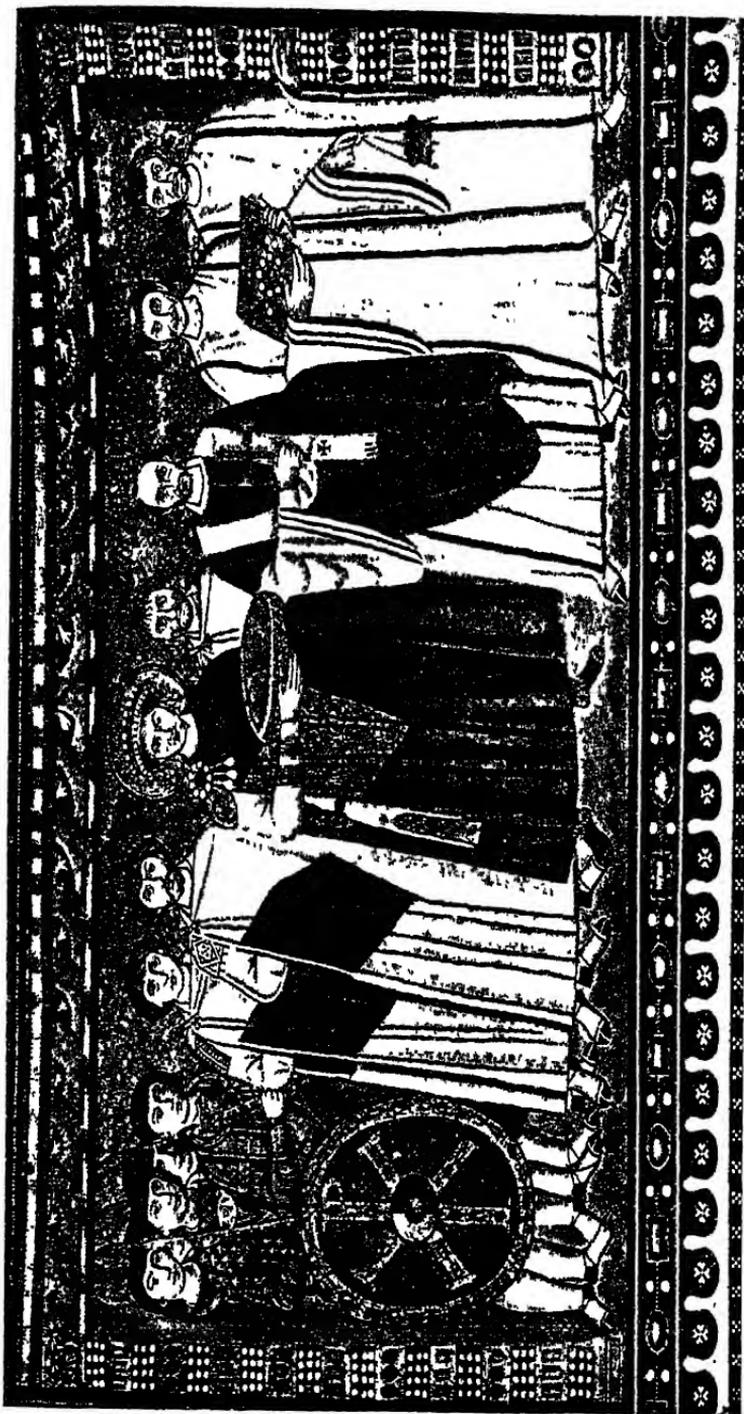
of the empire,—the civil government, the Church, and the army,—the Church being represented by Maximianus, the Archbishop of Ravenna (whose name is written over his head), with two other ecclesiastics, one holding the book of the Gospels and the other a censer; the figures representing the army bear in front of them a large shield emblazoned with Constantine's celebrated "Labarum." It is noticeable that in Justinian's time the imperial crown, which in Constantine's time had been a single fillet of gold adorned with precious stones, had grown into a double crown. Theodora,¹ surrounded by her ladies in waiting, with her chamberlain and another domestic, is about to enter a church (symbolized by a cleansing fountain in front of the door), and carries in her hands the offering she is going to present. Her crown is loftier and more magnificent than Justinian's; her hair, her neck, and her shoulders are entirely covered with jewels; and on the lower part of her dress is an embroidered design, representing the Magi bringing their gifts to the infant Christ, the same subject which is introduced into the large mosaic in the church of St. Apollinare Nuovo, and the treatment of it being similar. It is evident that Theodora was sensitive regarding her one defect, her small stature. For the artist, knowing this, has made her taller than her ladies, and even than the man beside her. Except the ruined mosaic showing Constantine IV and his brothers,² these are the only pictures now existing anywhere in the world of any of the emperors or empresses of the Later Roman Empire.³

The Code, Pandects, and Institutes. Justinian was above all else a law-giver, and his first great work, begun by him in the first year of his reign, was the codifying of the whole system of Roman law, for which purpose he appointed a commission of nine officials under the celebrated lawyer Tribonian. The work was completed with extraordinary rapidity, Justinian himself taking part in it, and resulted (529) in the great *Code of Justinian*, in twelve books, which has remained celebrated ever since. But this work by no means exhausted Justinian's

¹ Plate LXIII.

² Chap. XXII, p. 282.

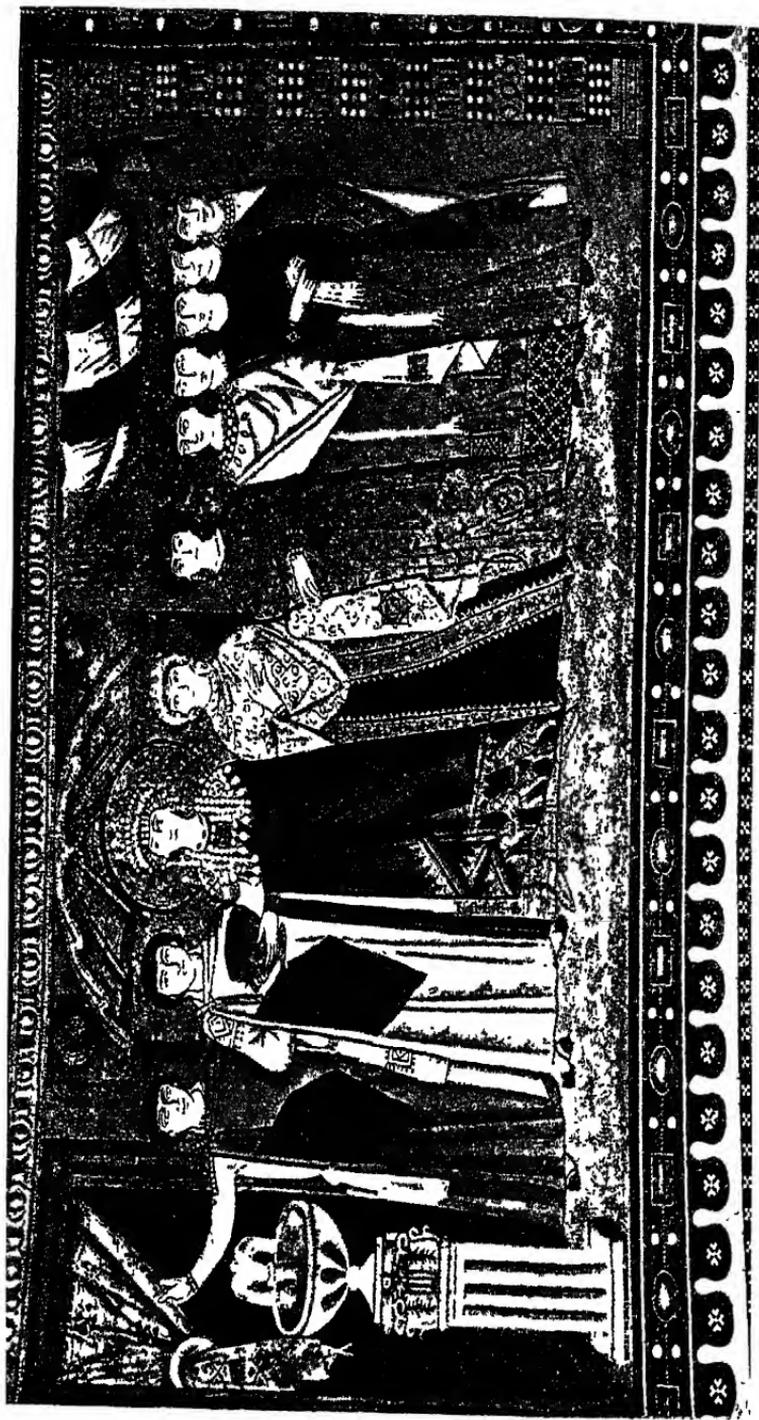
³ Unless we include the picture in Florence of the last emperor but one, John Paleologus, at his visit to that city in 1439.



JUSTINIAN.

JUSTINIAN AND HIS CHIEF OFFICERS
Mosaic in the church of St. Vitale's, Ravenna

The picture shows that by his time the simple shalden worn by Constantine had grown into a crown.



[MOSAIC]

THEODORA AND HER LADIES IN WAITING

Mosaic in the church of St Vitale's, Ravenna

Her crown is much more magnificent than that of Justinian, and the whole of her dress is covered with jewels

legal energy. It was followed by one still more immense, the *Digest of Common Law* (533), generally known as the *Pandects*, which extended to fifty books and was destined to have a powerful effect upon Europe in the 12th century. There followed yet a third great work, the far-famed *Institutes of Justinian* (534), containing in four books the general principles of law, regarding which it has been said, "The far-reaching relations in time of such a book as this are vividly apprehended when we remember that it is upon this treatise that our own eighteenth century Blackstone rests."¹

It is impossible to exaggerate the boon which this great work, represented by the *Code*, the *Pandects*, and the *Institutes*, conferred upon mankind. The Roman law was the production of many generations of a race trained to government. But at a time when the whole of the West had sunk into barbarism a highly complicated system of law might in the centuries to follow have become buried in oblivion had not Justinian thus stripped it of antiquated complexity and thereby made it capable of continued life, without any breach of connection with the past. The result was that when, six centuries later, the western nations had grown able to appreciate a sound system of law, a copy of Justinian's *Pandects* captured at the taking of Amalfi created almost a revolution in the manners of the West, and had a large share in bringing about the Renaissance.²

The above labours in the domain of law, carried on by Justinian simultaneously with many other activities, truly represented an immense tale of work produced in the seven years 527-534. While thus occupied, Justinian in 529 finally closed the moribund university of Athens, the last home of that Greek philosophy from the bosom of which in Pagan times had come many prominent leaders of Christianity.

Latin declared
the official
language. The *Code*, the *Pandects*, and the *Institutes* were all written in Latin, which Justinian in promulgating them declared to be the proper official language of the Roman government, its senate, and its tribunals, and of the imperial court. Nevertheless the Later Roman Empire found it difficult to adhere to this principle. Even in Justinian's

¹ Hodgkin.

² Vol. IV, Chap. XXXVIII.

time, though Latin remained the official language and that affected by the court, while Greek was merely the language of the people, Greek was more commonly in use, even at the court, than Latin, that language not being understood by the subordinate officials and soldiers. And within fifty years after Justinian's death Greek had gradually ousted Latin altogether.¹

Among all the many matters to which Justinian devoted his immense energy—law, administration, architecture, theology, art, and music—the one thing in which he took no interest was the affairs of the army. And yet he had formed vast plans of reconquering the countries of the West which had been lost, a project which would require a powerful army, thoroughly equipped, well trained, recruited from the best material, and backed up by sound arrangements for replacing heavy losses. Only by unremitting attention to these matters by the emperor himself could such a project be expected to be carried out successfully.

Almost simultaneously with the beginning of Justinian's reign the Persian monarch, the restless, though now aged, Kobad,² once more attacked the empire, and a fresh Persian war began. To this war was sent, as commandant of the fortress of Dara, a young officer, Belisarius, born in Thrace and at this time twenty-two, who was to become the greatest general of his age. By some he has been compared to Napoleon, and he possessed many qualities justifying the comparison; and had Belisarius been in the independent position which Napoleon occupied he would probably have gained as great successes in war. While at Dara Belisarius appointed as his secretary and legal adviser the man who for many years was his constant friend and companion in all his campaigns, Procopius of Cæsarea, who became the celebrated historian. During three years the operations on the Persian frontier were indecisive, but in 530 the Persians suddenly attacked Dara with an army of 40,000 men. Belisarius had only about half that number, but nevertheless in a two days' battle which ensued he, by his skilful tactics and the discipline which he taught his half-trained troops to observe,

¹ See Chap. XXIV, p. 448.

² Chap. XX, p. 159.

gained a complete victory.¹ In the campaign of the following year (531) Belisarius, though he suffered a defeat at Callinicum (through no fault on his part), by his able tactics with a much inferior force caused the Persians, who were advancing with the intention of attacking Antioch, to retreat from Syria, still further increasing his reputation; and soon afterwards upon the death of Kobad a satisfactory peace was made. Meanwhile Justinian, much impressed with the military talents displayed by Belisarius, had recalled him to Constantinople, with a view to placing him in command of an expedition against the Vandal kingdom in North Africa. But the scheme was suddenly interrupted by a formidable insurrection at Constantinople, which for a time threw all other matters into the shade.

The Nika
insurrection. The "Nika" insurrection, which arose in January 532, and very nearly brought Justinian's reign to an end in its sixth year, began by a quarrel between the Greens and Blues at the races in the Hippodrome, but soon assumed a more serious aspect owing to the two factions, though mortal enemies, fraternizing against the Quæstor, Tribonian, and the Prætorian Prefect, John of Cappadocia, the latter a man of iron will with a vicious disposition, who was Justinian's chief instrument for the collection of the taxes, and was abhorred by the people. The insurgents adopted as their party cry the word "Nika" (victory), and it has given the name to this insurrection, which raged for six days, and destroyed a large portion of Constantinople.

Justinian at first tried to pacify the people by appointing two other ministers in place of those to whom they objected; but without avail. When other endeavours had failed the troops were called out, but their efforts only increased the fury of the insurgents. Deaf to all remonstrances they set fire to one important building after another, the flames spread to the churches, and for five days fire raged over all the centre part of the city. The palace of the Prætorian Prefect, the Senate-house, the Baths of Zeuxippus,² the Baths of Alexander,

¹ Procopius was an eye-witness of this battle of Dara, and gives a full account of it.

² With all their invaluable time-honoured masterpieces of Greek art (Vol. I, p. 422).

the cathedral of St. Sophia, the church of St. Irene,¹ the church of St. Theodore, and others, the library called the Octagon, and the hospital for the sick and aged poor,² were all reduced to ashes. On the fifth day Justinian endeavoured to allay the tumult by a humiliating surrender, and ascending by the winding stair (*cochlias*) which led from the Palace to his seat in the Hippodrome (the *Kathisma* ³), from thence appealed to the populace to desist, saying that the fault had been entirely his own, and promising a general amnesty. But he was only greeted with, "O ass, thou art swearing falsely." Finding his efforts useless, Justinian returned to the Palace, where most of the nobles were assembled, and angrily ordered Hypatius and Pompeius, the two nephews of the emperor Anastasius I, to quit the Palace, which they did.

On the following morning, the 19th January, the mob swarmed around the house of Hypatius, and notwithstanding the impassioned tears of his wife Mary (a woman of noble character), who entreated them not to lead her husband to certain death, carried the unwilling Hypatius to the Augusteum, and there proclaimed him emperor, crowning him with his wife's necklace. Had his adherents at once forced their way into the Palace, Justinian's reign would probably have promptly ended. They, however, flocked into the Hippodrome, there to debate what should be their next step.

Upon hearing of this final action of the insurgents Justinian's spirit gave way. A council of all his ministers was hastily assembled in the Palace, and their united opinion was that, every means having been tried to quell the insurrection without avail, and a rival emperor having been proclaimed by the

¹ The church of St. Irene, ἡ μεγάλη και παλαια (the great and ancient), built by Constantine the Great, and the largest of the churches in Constantinople except St. Sophia, was the Court church. When the first church of St. Sophia was burnt down in 404 St. Irene was used as the cathedral for eleven years while the second St. Sophia was being built. The church of St. Irene again rose from its ashes after the Nika riot, and was for long centuries the scene of many grand pageants, and of many fierce struggles. This church, so rich in historical interest, is now a Turkish armoury.

² This is probably the earliest hospital on record. Its poor and feeble occupants all perished in the flames.

³ See Appendix XIX.

insurgents, who held the whole city in their hands, the only course was flight. John of Cappadocia, Justinian's principal minister, and even Belisarius, agreed with this view, and Justinian was beginning to give orders for departure by the sea-gate, where the ships were moored, when a sudden interruption changed the whole course of events. The empress Theodora (at this time twenty-eight), suddenly rising, violently disagreed with the proposed flight. Raising her voice, and speaking in a most impressive manner, she said :—¹

“ The present occasion is, I think, too grave to have regard to the principle that it is not meet for a woman to speak among men. Those whose dearest interests are in the presence of extreme danger are justified in thinking only of the wisest course of action. In my opinion in the present circumstances nature is an undesirable tutor, even if its guidance bring us safety. It is impossible for a man, when he has come into the world, not to die ; but for one who has reigned, to live as a royal fugitive is an intolerable thought. Never may I exist without this purple robe ; and never may I live to see the day when those who meet me shall not address me as ‘ Empress.’² If you wish, O Emperor, to save yourself, there is no difficulty. There behold the sea ; here behold the ships. But reflect whether, when once you have escaped to a place of security, you will not every day wish you were dead. For myself I agree with the ancient saying, ‘ The imperial purple is a fair winding-sheet.’ ”³

The effect of such a speech, in such an assembly, from the lips of her whom a French writer has called “ that devilry of genius,” and with all the power of diction and gesture which long acquaintance with the stage had given Theodora, may perhaps be imagined. Her courage and resolution prevailed. The idea of flight was abandoned, and Belisarius was ordered to attack with all his force the rebellious mob which had set up a rival emperor, while the Grand Chamberlain, the eunuch

¹ This speech is recorded by Procopius. Regarding it Profr. Bury says : “ I have no doubt that these words were spoken by Theodora, and that Procopius, if he was not present himself, heard them from Belisarius.”

² “ *Despoina*.” The emperor was addressed as “ *Despota*.”

³ This speech may have been delivered either in the smaller Council Hall or in the Banqueting Hall (see plan, Appendix XIX). From either of them Theodora would have been able to see the ships and the sea as she spoke.

Narses, was sent out into the city with a large sum of money, to endeavour to bribe the leaders of the Blue faction to return to their allegiance to Justinian.

Belisarius, on receiving orders again to attack the insurgents, and hearing that they were all gathered in the Hippodrome, saw at once his only chance of victory. Bringing the troops rapidly out of the Palace by a back-entrance, he seized all the four gates of the Hippodrome, into which his troops instantly rushed, slaughtering every one before them; panic seized the mob, a general massacre ensued of all, whether high or low, Blue or Green, who chanced to be in the Hippodrome, and the insurrection was at an end. Hypatius and Pompeius were put to death, and their property was confiscated; but when a day or two later Justinian learnt of the unwilling part which Hypatius had played in the matter, he restored their property to their relatives.

It is estimated that not less than 35,000 persons, from first to last, perished in this serious insurrection. But though the victory had been achieved by a ruthless and indiscriminate sacrifice of life, the State gained largely in stability. Such insurrections had been frequent during the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius I, but after this terrible lesson it was many years before Constantinople was again plunged into such tumults. Justinian at once set about rebuilding the destroyed churches and public buildings, thereby giving employment to an immense number of the poorest of the people, and at the same time much increasing the beauty of the city.

Proposal to
attack the
Vandal
kingdom.

This insurrection having been subdued, and repair of the destruction caused by it having been inaugurated, Justinian returned to his scheme of attacking the Vandal kingdom, to the throne of which Gelimer, a great-grandson of Gaiseric, had lately succeeded. To make an attack upon so powerful a kingdom would naturally require a great effort, and in regard to this point Justinian had before him the experience of the attempt made sixty-four years earlier by the emperor Leo I. Nevertheless Justinian seems to have formed the project without any idea of the conditions involved, though it was one likely to tax the military resources of the empire to the utmost.

The imperial army in the time of Justinian, as organized by Anastasius I, had a total strength of about 200,000 men. It was composed of the heavily armed infantry who had taken the place of the Roman legions of former days, of "auxiliary" mounted corps recruited from districts within the empire, and of other "auxiliary" mounted troops belonging to various nationalities not included within the empire. Speaking roughly it may be said that in Justinian's time, as in that of Anastasius I, about three-fifths of the army was composed of troops recruited within the empire and two-fifths of troops from beyond its borders. Cavalry had by this time come to be considered the most important arm, and at least two-thirds of the army were mounted troops, and of excellent quality. Specially noted were the heavy regiments of mailed cavalry, or cuirassiers (*cataphracti*), armed with lance, sword, and bow and arrows,¹ a class of troops whose armament was originally copied by the empire from the Persians in the time of Constantius.

The proposed war was universally unpopular, both with civilians and with the army, the disastrous failure of Leo I's great Armada in 468, and the immense loss of men, money, and ships then experienced, causing all to look with dread upon another attempt of the kind. Even Justinian's chief minister, John of Cappadocia, was of the same opinion, and did his utmost to dissuade him from the attempt, warning the emperor that failure would involve the ruin of the empire, while success would bring no gain, since even if he conquered North Africa he would never be able to hold it so long as the Ostrogoths possessed Italy and Sicily. But Justinian was determined upon the enterprise; he appointed Belisarius to the command, and proceeded to collect troops and ships for the invasion of North Africa.

But Justinian's preparations were on a very different scale to those of the emperor Leo I. The latter was a soldier, and having himself seen war, and knowing what such an enterprise as this involved, had despatched against the Vandals an army of 100,000 men and a fleet of

¹ See p. 219,

1100 ships.¹ Justinian on the other hand, having no such knowledge, expected Belisarius to conquer the most powerful kingdom of the West with a force of only 8000 infantry and 5000 cavalry, conveyed in 500 ships, most of them small, while all the arrangements were mismanaged, being left to his minister, John of Cappadocia, whose chief aim in the matter was to enrich himself. And it shows how great was Belisarius' loyalty to Justinian, and how strong his courage and confidence in himself, that with all men around him taking the most gloomy view of the attempt, he was willing to undertake such a task with so totally inadequate a force.

Departure of expedition. The expedition sailed from Constantinople about the 21st June 533, its departure being witnessed from the gardens of the Palace by the emperor and the whole court. Belisarius, at this time twenty-seven, while in Constantinople had married Antonina, a widow twenty-two years ² older than himself, with two grown-up children, and noted for her wisdom and common-sense. Belisarius relied much upon her judgment, and she accompanied him on this expedition, as did also his counsellor and friend Procopius, whose account of this campaign is the best of his books, and who tells us that he, like all others, had great dread as to the probable fate of the enterprise. Their first point was Sicily, where a resting-place was promised to the expedition by the Ostrogoth queen, Amalasantha.

Force badly equipped No attempt had been made by Justinian and his ministers to make up for paucity in numbers by perfection in other respects, and the expedition was in every way badly equipped. John of Cappadocia had stolen the money allotted for supplying the ships with biscuit, and had supplied instead a cheaper kind of bread which proved rotten and produced much sickness; the supply of water was insufficient,³ the troops suffering greatly from thirst; the ships

¹ On that occasion the cavalry, consisting of nearly half the force, had been sent by land; but that plan was not one to be repeated (see Chap. XIX, p. 124.)

² So stated by Procopius. Some writers think he may have exaggerated her age by a year or two.

³ Except on the general's ship, where Antonina, foreseeing such a result as probable, had hidden a private supply for their party in water-jars which she had sealed and covered over with sand.

were ill-found, and took two months to reach Sicily; while no arrangements had been made to supply Belisarius with any information as to the best places for landing in Africa, the disposition and approximate strength of the Vandal army, or the situation of the powerful Vandal fleet. We are given no information as to how one detail, the conveyance of 5000 horses on the ships, was managed. With ships such as those of the 6th century the conveyance of so many horses must have been the most difficult part of the whole operation; and especially in view of the large amount of water required for them during a two months' voyage, and the fact that on this occasion the supply of water was so scanty.¹ But the genius of Belisarius overcame all difficulties, while it was his good fortune that he arrived in North Africa at a time when the Vandal fleet was absent on an expedition sent to subdue a rebellion in Sardinia; and about the beginning of September Belisarius landed his army in safety on the coast of Africa at Caputvada,² about 130 miles from Carthage.

Battle of
Ad Decimum. The campaign which followed was short and decisive. Gelimer was even unaware that such an attack was imminent, and was entirely unprepared for it. Belisarius wisely gave him as little time as possible, and marched at once upon Carthage. The first battle between them was fought on the 13th September at Ad Decimum, amidst hilly ground about ten miles from Carthage. Gelimer, with at least four times the force, had divided his army into three divisions, of which one, under his brother Ammatas, was to attack Belisarius' army in front while on its march, the second, under his nephew Gibamund, to move through the hills and attack it in flank, and the third, under Gelimer himself, to make a wide détour and fall upon its rear. The plan was formidable enough, but its success depended entirely upon the three attacks being delivered simultaneously; and this in an age before watches were invented was difficult to secure. As usual, the two turning movements took longer to carry out than had been expected, and Ammatas delivered

¹ Nevertheless we do not hear of any great loss of horses during the voyage, and Belisarius made large use of his cavalry within a week of landing in Africa,

² Now Ras Kapoodia.

his attack before either of the other two divisions had reached their stations. The result was that the three attacks were beaten in detail, Ammatas being killed, and the Vandals being completely defeated, chiefly owing to Belisarius' generalship in having arranged a large part of his cavalry as a screen, which gave him timely information of all the enemy's movements. Gelimer fled to Bulla Regia, where the immense treasures of the Vandal kingdom, collected during a hundred years' rule over the rich province of North Africa, were kept, and began collecting there a fresh army, while he despatched orders to his brother Tzazo, commanding the expedition sent to Sardinia, to return at once, to bring him the needed reinforcement.

Occupation of Carthage. On the 15th September Belisarius entered Carthage, and installed himself in the luxurious palace of the Vandal kings, finding there the greater part of the rich spoil carried off from Rome in 455, of which Procopius gives full details.¹ Belisarius had previously warned his army on pain of death that they were scrupulously to respect the lives and property of the citizens of Carthage "whom they had come to deliver from the yoke of the barbarians," and his orders were strictly obeyed. Procopius says that never did a victorious army march into a captured city in such an orderly manner, that all classes pursued their ordinary avocations, and that it was difficult to imagine that they were in a conquered city. The Arians were ejected from the cathedral of Carthage, which was once more restored to Catholic worship; and Belisarius entertained all his officers at a great banquet in the palace, the viands being served in the gold and silver plate of the Vandal kings.

Carthage. Carthage, which from this time forth for the next 165 years was destined to play a prominent part in the history of the Later Roman Empire, had enjoyed, from the time that it was re-founded by Augustus in the first year of his reign, a highly prosperous existence for five and a half centuries, its capture by Gaiseric in 439, when it became the capital of the Vandal kingdom, not having caused any serious damage to the city. It occupied a splendid site, being placed

¹ Chap. XIX, p. 121.

on a low range of hills sloping down to the seashore, with a fine harbour, and in close proximity to two of the most fertile valleys in North Africa. The city was supplied with water by an aqueduct sixty miles long which brought an immense volume of water from the south-western hills to a large series of reservoirs,¹ from whence it was distributed through the whole city by leaden pipes. The imperial palace (occupied by the emperor's representative, the Prefect²), which had been made by Gaiseric the palace of the Vandal kings, stood on the Byrsa (or castle hill) in the centre of the city, about 700 yards from the seashore, and commanded a splendid view over the whole city, harbour, and sea. A little further along the low range, north-east of the castle hill, stood the Roman Theatre, with beyond it the Odeon (or covered theatre), and close beyond this were the city walls. The principal Baths stood at the foot of the line of hills, near the sea-shore, being supplied with water by a subterranean conduit from the reservoirs on the slope of the hills to the west of the city, near the Amphitheatre. Near these Baths was one of the chief features of Carthage, the splendid "Roman Stairs," a set of marble steps ascending from the quays to the principal square, the Platea Nova. A little to the north of these Stairs was the Carcer Castrensis, the prison in which Vivia Perpetua and those martyred with her in 203 were confined. One great change however had come over Carthage since Vivia Perpetua's day. Carthage had become a Christian city. The great Amphitheatre in which she and many others had been martyred, still standing outside the city walls to the west, was no longer used. The many Pagan temples had disappeared, and their place had been taken by various fine churches. The cathedral (dedicated to St. Cyprian, martyred in this same city 55 years after Vivia Perpetua) stood just outside the northern walls, being in length 71 yards and in

¹ Many miles of this aqueduct are still to be seen, stretching across the undulating plain near Tunis. The reservoirs are very extensive; one set of them has 17 compartments, each 100 feet long, opening into one another to allow the sediment to sink, and with sluice-gates for cleaning purposes, the whole building being 147 yards by 44 yards.

² His title was not changed to the Greek form Exarch until fifty years after this time,

breadth 50 yards, and having ten aisles.¹ About 600 yards to the north of it was another very large church, the Basilica Majorum, built over the grave in which, according to an existing inscription, the remains of Vivia Perpetua and Felicitas were buried, which church during the Vandal period was the Arian cathedral.² The general magnificence of the buildings of the city is shown by the fact that after it was destroyed in 698 it formed a quarry for centuries, its splendid columns of differently coloured marbles being sufficiently valuable to be transported to Kairowan, to Cordova in Spain, to Palermo in Sicily, and to Amalfi and Pisa in Italy. There is no city in the present day which if destroyed would furnish a similar quarry for costly building materials.

Battle of Tricameron. But though Belisarius had captured Carthage he had by no means yet conquered North Africa, the greater part of the Vandal army not having yet been encountered. Why Belisarius remained at this juncture for three months at Carthage, busied in repairing its ruined walls, is not apparent. During this time Tzazo with the force from Sardinia rejoined Gelimer, whose army now enormously outnumbered that of Belisarius.³ Thus reinforced Gelimer advanced and encamped at Tricameron, about 20 miles from Carthage, and in the middle of December 533 Belisarius marched out to attack him. Gelimer had placed all the Vandal women in the centre of his camp, in order that their cries might instigate his troops to fight more fiercely in their defence; but this only made the eventual defeat more crushing. In this battle of Tricameron Belisarius gained the victory chiefly through the splendid charges made by his cavalry; twice they were beaten back, but on the third

¹ The site of the cathedral of Carthage, a cathedral which saw so many remarkable episodes from the 4th to the 7th century, until it was destroyed by the Mahomedans in 698, has in recent years been excavated. The whole area covered by it, including both its older and its later portions, is immense. At one side of it are the remains of a fine circular baptistery, built of marble.

² The site of this church was excavated in 1907, when in the *Confessio* was found the inscription noted. In the cemetery surrounding the church many Bishops' tombs have been discovered.

³ Gelimer in his speech to his army said it was "ten times larger," but he may have been exaggerating.

occasion, in the midst of a fierce hand-to-hand contest, Tzazo was killed, which appeared to strike panic into the Vandals. Gelimer in grief at his brother's death fled precipitately from the field, and the Vandals forthwith scattered in all directions, leaving their camp, treasure, wives and children to become the property of the victors.

Surrender of
Gelimer. The capture of this splendid prize utterly demoralized the troops of Belisarius, who, in marked contrast to their behaviour at the taking of Carthage, promptly dissolved into a disorderly and barbarous mob. Finding themselves suddenly the captors of treasure, jewels, gold ornaments, the gold armour worn by the Vandal officers, and crowds of handsome Vandal women and girls, they had no thought but to convey their spoil as quickly as possible back into Carthage, and the army as an army practically for the time broke up, thronging back into Carthage laden with their captives and plunder. Next morning Belisarius managed to win back to obedience a few of his own bodyguard, and through them at length regained control over the rest of the army. He then sent officers to Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic islands, Septem, and other towns in North Africa, and soon brought all the territory of the Vandals to obedience to the emperor. Gelimer, with his nephews, cousins, and some of the Vandal nobles, had fled to the mountains of Mauretania, where after miserably enduring the hardships of such an existence for three months, they finally surrendered in March 534, and were brought as prisoners to Carthage, pending their being shipped to Constantinople. Thus in nine months after leaving the capital had Belisarius with his scanty and ill-equipped force triumphed over all difficulties and re-conquered for the empire the richest province of its former dominions.

But Belisarius had to experience the usual trouble of a successful general, viz. the envious machinations of those less capable than himself and jealous of his glory. Some of those under his command contrived to send messages to Justinian that Belisarius was puffed up by his conquest and aimed at making himself emperor; and Justinian, not possessing the nobility of character which would have refused to credit such a charge against a man who he should have known was in-

capable of such conduct, was ready to believe the charge. Belisarius was fortunate enough to hear of the accusation which had been made, and even to obtain a copy of one of the letters written to the emperor; ¹ so that when he received a letter from Justinian saying, "The Vandal captives are to be sent to Constantinople: choose whether you will accompany them or remain at Carthage," he knew that his only course was to accompany the captives to the capital, and thereby show that the charge had no foundation. He accordingly returned to Constantinople about the month of June 534, bringing with him the Vandal king Gelimer and other prisoners, and the spoil taken from Rome by Gaiseric eighty years previously.

Roman triumph accorded to Belisarius. Upon the arrival of Belisarius at Constantinople Justinian saw that his suspicions against him had

been undeserved, and the conqueror of North Africa was accorded a Roman triumph (the first ever seen in Constantinople), an honour which for many hundred years had not been granted to any but an emperor, and was great indeed when conferred upon a commander who was still only twenty-eight years old. The long procession included the gold carriages, gold saddles, gold and silver plate, and other rich spoils carried off by the Vandals from Rome, and troops of the noble-looking Vandal captives, while in front of Belisarius marched the Vandal king and his nephews, the last representatives of the proud Asding race. Gelimer was granted a large estate in Galatia, and retired to pass there the rest of his days in peace. The Vandal warriors captured were enrolled in five regiments of cavalry, receiving the name of "Justinian's Vandals," and were sent to garrison various cities in Syria.

Causes of the rapid overthrow of the Vandals The causes of this rapid overthrow of the powerful Vandal kingdom have often been debated, but in reality that defeat was entirely due to two causes.

The first of these was the extremely fortunate circumstance of the fleet (with a considerable portion of the army) of the Vandals chancing to be absent at the time when Belisarius made his invasion. Not only was the Vandal fleet, which had been the chief agent in the defeat of the Armada of Leo I,

¹ He appears to have made no effort to punish the writer of it, which, if the case, redounds still further to his honour.

altogether superior to the puny fleet of Belisarius (which only included about ninety war vessels, mostly of small size), but also to such an extent was it dreaded by the troops of Belisarius that they openly told him during the halt in Sicily that if they were attacked by the Vandal fleet they would seek safety in flight. The second, and ultimate, cause of the overthrow of the Vandals was the great luxury into which they had fallen since their occupation of North Africa. Gaining possession of that exceedingly rich country, surrounded on all sides by evidences of the luxury of their predecessors, having a subject population to work for them, no longer called upon to fight against any of the other northern races, and possessing the lion's share of the spoil of Europe, they had degenerated into a degree of luxury scarcely less than that of the Romans in the time of Honorius. It was no wonder therefore that when pitted against a commander like Belisarius, who wielded a strict discipline and was able to mould even the most indifferent fighting material into efficient soldiers, the indolent and pleasure-loving Vandals were easily overcome, and that the Vandal kingdom, originally so powerful, collapsed in only three months before an enemy greatly inferior both in number and resources.

Arrangements for the rule of North Africa. Upon this conquest being completed the government of North Africa was vested in a Prefect (fifty years later changed to the Greek title *Exarch*),¹ who resided at Carthage, with under him, as rulers of the different sections of the province, six *dukes* (duces). The province was divided into six sub-provinces, viz. Leptis Magna (capital Tripoli), Byzacena (capital Capsa), Mauretania Sitifensis (Constantine), Mauretania Cæsariensis (Cæsarea), Mauretania Tingitana (Septem), and Sardinia (Coralis). Special forces were enrolled and placed under these officers for the defence of the province, and the erection of innumerable fortresses was begun.² The Prefect of North Africa was an official of the highest class, with the title of *excellētissimus*, and received an annual salary equal to £4,500.

Change in Justinian's position. In Justinian's career nothing is more remarkable than the change wrought in his position by the suppression of the "Nika" insurrection. The

¹ Chap. XXIII, p. 356 (footnote).

² Page 242.

manner in which that insurrection ended, owing to Theodora's resolute courage, vastly strengthened Justinian's position. From that time forward his authority became absolute. Justinian was in fact a much more despotic sovereign than even Constantine had been. Agathias¹ says: "Of those who reigned at Byzantium he was the first absolute sovereign (*αὐτοκράτωρ*) in deed as well as in name,"² and he has been considered by historians the most perfect representative of absolute power that the world has known. He not only looked upon himself, but was looked upon by all, as the supreme head of all things, in the army, in the civil government, in legal affairs, and in the Church. No Pope or Patriarch dared to dream of asserting an equal authority in the Church to that of the emperor. Nor would such a theory as Pope Leo the Great perhaps had entertained,³ regarding a supremacy on the part of the (exceedingly depressed) see of Rome over other portions of the Church, have been listened to for an instant by the strongly Catholic emperor Justinian. This effect upon Justinian's position wrought by the victory over the "Nika" insurrection has been considered so important that some historians have even proposed to make that victory an era, as the dividing line between "Roman" and "Byzantine" history, considering it as having begun that absolutism on the part of the emperor by which "Byzantine history" is generally characterized.

¹ The historian Agathias (536-578) was a lawyer in Constantinople, who the year after Justinian's death began a history in continuation of that of Procopius, but owing to his death at the age of 42 only carried it as far as the year 559. Notwithstanding an affected style he by no means deserves the sneer which Gibbon has cast at him, as he writes with resolve to record the truth without partiality, and has received high praise from Niebuhr who considers him a much more reliable writer than even Procopius. Agathias complains of being unable to devote his whole time to history, being obliged to pursue law for his daily bread, saying: "Writing history is the greatest and noblest of all achievements, but with me it has to be a mere side-pursuit and accessory of my life." From Agathias we learn that in his time the suburb of Pera (now forming the busiest portion of Constantinople) was a quiet country retreat, to which he retired from time to time to enjoy the beauty of the woods and listen to the songs of the goldfinches.

² Agathias V, 14.

³ Chap. XIX, p. 109.

Amalasintha. During the seven years (527-534) that Justinian had been thus growing in power Amalasintha,¹ the brave and capable daughter of Theodoric the Great, who at his death had succeeded to the rule over the kingdom of the Ostrogoths on behalf of her ten-year-old son Athalaric, had been experiencing various troubles. Amalasintha was a woman of great strength of character, with rare intellectual gifts, and besides her own Gothic language could speak both Latin and Greek fluently. Pure in life, with a high spirit, and a remarkable power of appreciating Roman culture, she had grown up in the palace of Ravenna almost like an inhabitant of another world from that in which those of her nation lived. Her strength of character and her undoubted ability fitted her to rule, but her intellectual attainments and love of culture made her obnoxious to the Goths, who not only resented being governed by a woman, but also her endeavours to bring up her son, the young king, with some degree of education. The Goths objected to her teaching him to read and write, which they considered unfitted him to be a warrior, and urged that his time ought to be spent in practising the use of arms.

At length matters came to a climax upon Amalasintha whipping her son Athalaric for some act of meanness or disobedience. A deputation of the Gothic chiefs thereupon waited upon Amalasintha, complained that her son was being brought up on entirely wrong principles for one who was to be king of the Ostrogoths, and soon afterwards carried off Athalaric from her control, and surrounded him with a band of young companions who were supposed to make a man of him and teach him manly exercises, but who instead taught him to drink and lead a licentious life; and by the time he was sixteen his health was ruined.

Thuidahad. Meanwhile the disaffection of the Goths towards Amalasintha continued, while her troubles were increased by the constant complaints brought to her of the actions of her avaricious and cowardly cousin, the hated Thuidahad,² the son of her aunt Amalafriada, and the nearest

¹ Chap. XX, p. 182.

² Usually styled Theodahad, the Greek corruption of the Gothic form of his name (see Chap. XX, p. 171).

male heir to Theodoric after Athalaric. Thiudahad in the time of Theodoric had been granted large estates in Tuscany, and by a continued course of ousting the proprietors of adjacent lands (though twice punished by Theodoric for this conduct) had gradually extended his patrimony over the greater part of Tuscany and even into the Roman Campagna. He was both hated and despised by the people, and complaints against his proceedings were incessant. Amalasantha forced him to restore some of the lands he had stolen from the people, and as a consequence he nourished against her the bitterest resentment, and was ever ready to combine with those of the Goths who were most disaffected towards her. Placed in the midst of these various troubles Amalasantha, feeling that eventually she might probably be driven from Italy, opened negotiations with the emperor Justinian,¹ and he expressed willingness in such an event to offer her an asylum.

In 534 Athalaric, at the age of eighteen, died from drunkenness and evil living. Thereby Amalasantha's position, hitherto that of Regent, became seriously altered, her only other child being a daughter, Matasantha, and the only male relative of Theodoric now being Thiudahad. Apparently, however, the Goths, much as they disliked Amalasantha, both disliked and despised Thiudahad so intensely that they elected Amalasantha as queen in her own right, Thiudahad being only allowed to be nominally associated with her in the kingship.² In accordance with the terms of this arrangement Thiudahad bound himself by a most solemn oath to leave Amalasantha in possession of the whole power, he himself remaining only nominally king, though in official documents the two appeared as joint sovereigns.

Murder of Amalasantha. But whether urged on by his ambitious wife Gudelina, or by some of the Gothic nobles who disagreed with the compact, Thiudahad soon proved a traitor. In April 535 a revolt against Amalasantha instigated by him

¹ Her action in 533, in allowing the expedition against the Vandals to rest in Sicily, was a part of this policy.

² This is the view taken by Dahn. Other authorities take various views regarding this somewhat obscure transaction, but agree that, whether Amalasantha was elected to the position or assumed it, she and Thiudahad were recognized as joint sovereigns.

took place in the palace of Ravenna, her principal adherents were slain, and she was seized and hurried away to the uninhabited little islet of Marta in the lake of Bolsena, where she was imprisoned. As soon as the news reached the emperor he despatched a letter to her (which he made as public as possible) by his ambassador Peter, assuring her that he would protect her. But Amalasantha was already no more. The cowardly nature of Thiudahad was easily worked upon by those who had taken part in the revolt to believe that his own safety demanded her death, and within a month after her incarceration Thiudahad despatched assassins from Ravenna to the lake of Bolsena, who crossed to the island, and murdered the unhappy daughter of Theodoric in her bath. So perished the unfortunate queen of the Ostrogoths, Amalasantha, a woman in every way in advance of her time, who was placed in a false position by being called upon to rule a race who would obey none but a warrior.

Expedition against Italy. This dastardly crime sealed the fate, not only of the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, but also of the Ostrogoths as a nation; for in the eighteen years' war which followed that race was exterminated. Justinian, perhaps mindful of the words of John of Cappadocia,¹ had ever since gaining North Africa been looking out for an opportunity of intervening in the affairs of Italy; and this murder of Amalasantha gave him the pretext he desired. A "truceless war" was declared against the Ostrogoths, and Belisarius received orders to take command of an expedition to avenge the murder of the emperor's "ally," and to conquer Italy, arrangements being forthwith made to prepare an expedition for that purpose.

The expedition for the conquest of Italy was on an even more inadequate scale than that sent against North Africa. Irrespective of a small force which was despatched by land against the Goths in Dalmatia, and effected nothing, the Roman army sent to conquer Italy consisted of less than 9000 men. Its composition is of importance. It included 3000 regular infantry (the Roman legionaries), 3000 Isaurians (the best fighting material in the empire), 2000 "foederati" (irregulars, of various nationalities not subject to, but acknow-

¹ Page 205.

ledging the supremacy of, the emperor), and 500 mercenary troops, consisting of 200 Huns and 300 Moors, making a total of 8500 men. As the "fœderati," the Huns, and the Moors were almost entirely mounted troops, we may say that Belisarius' army consisted roughly of 6000 infantry and 2500 cavalry.

It has previously been noted¹ that the Roman Empire was right in enrolling in its army as "Romans" men of all nationalities which from time to time became a part of the empire, and the Later Roman Empire was evidently still pursuing the same course. So that it is a mistake to consider, e.g. the Isaurians, as non-Romans. The races inhabiting the provinces of Illyricum, Dacia south of the Danube, Mœsia, Thrace, and Isauria were the best fighting blood in the empire, and therefore we should expect in the case of a government so sensible as that of the Roman Empire to find men of these races forming the bulk of the Roman army, and rightly called Roman soldiers.² The Roman literary men having no military instincts affected (as they had always done) to look down contemptuously upon all men of a different race from themselves, and so in their writings are always found speaking of any officers or men of the army who belonged to these races by terms such as "the Isaurian," "the Goth," and so on, as though to imply that they were of some meaner origin than Romans. But we shall be altogether in error if (as is generally done) we follow the Roman literary men in this particular, and fail to consider all men as Roman soldiers who were inhabitants of Roman provinces, were subject to the Roman government, and were enlisted in the Roman army.³

Belisarius'
study of his
profession.

Belisarius was in the habit of relying much upon his cavalry, which had done splendid service for him in North Africa. And Procopius informs us that when after the series of victories which Belisarius gained against the Ostrogoths in Italy wonder was expressed at the

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XIII, p. 400.

² Just as in the British army we do not fail to consider as British soldiers the men of our Highland regiments, even though their ancestors formerly fought against England.

³ See also Chap. XXIV, p. 448-449.

means by which such results were achieved with so small a force, Belisarius explained that at the beginning of the war he studied what were the differences between the two armies, in order that later on he might not see his small army overwhelmed by the superior numbers of their opponents; that he noted the chief difference to be that the Romans and their Hunnish allies were all good archers on horseback, whereas the archers of the Goths were infantry and their cavalry fought only with javelins and swords; that he made full use of this difference by avoiding as far as possible a hand-to-hand encounter with the enemy's cavalry, with the result that the latter, being unable to reply to a discharge of arrows from a distance, were soon thrown into confusion, and cut to pieces, after which the Gothic infantry, though able to reply to a volley of arrows from a distance, could be overthrown by the charges of his cavalry; ¹ and that he attributed his victories to having noted this difference in the first engagement and ever afterwards thus made use of what he had observed. Belisarius in giving this explanation showed his modesty; for it was his own intrepidity, tactful common-sense, equanimity, and marvellous resourcefulness, which chiefly gained his victories; never did a war depend so entirely upon one man. But perhaps nothing better demonstrates what a fine soldier Belisarius was than his deliberately setting himself at the beginning of the war to study the two armies in order to see on what points they differed, and then detecting how to make use of what his observation had taught him. Such methods were rare in the 6th century, even if they are not so still.²

Suppression
of revolt in
North Africa.

The expedition sailed from Constantinople about August 535, Belisarius being accompanied as before by his wife Antonina and his secretary and adviser Procopius. He first attacked Sicily. Town after town opened its gates without a struggle, Palermo alone making any resist-

¹ One might almost imagine that Belisarius had studied some highly up-to-date work of these days upon the employment of fire by cavalry. It is also to be noted that Belisarius nevertheless did not turn his cavalry into mounted infantry. The whole matter demonstrates his great genius as a commander.

² Belisarius' procedure is a lesson that, instead of slavishly copying tactics which have been successful in the case of other armies, tactics should be adapted to the nationality of the troops.

ance. After a short siege Belisarius took it, and by December 535 the whole island was subject to the emperor. But just as Belisarius was preparing to cross the straits into Italy, he suddenly received news of a serious revolt in North Africa. Embarking at once at Syracuse with only 100 men of his bodyguard in the ship which had brought the news, he landed at Carthage, round which city the mutineers were encamped, managed to get through their lines during the night into the city, gained over about 2000 men to his authority, with them pursued the mutineers (who at once upon the news of his arrival had fled) for about fifty miles to the river Bagradas, and there completely defeated them, taking a quantity of spoil. He then installed Antonina's son-in-law Ildiger temporarily as governor at Carthage, re-embarked, and returned promptly to Syracuse, arriving there in April 536. Thence he transported his army across from Messina to Reggio, and in May 536 stood at last on Italian soil ready to enter upon the war against the Ostrogoths, who in contemptuous derision at his small force said of it, "They are but a few Greeklings."¹

Capture of
Naples. Belisarius advanced without encountering any opposition until he reached Naples, where he had to enter upon the first of his many sieges in Italy. Thiudahad, always a coward, left Naples to its fate, and occupied himself in sending proposals to Justinian to sell his kingdom for a sum of money upon which he might retire to live as a private individual. But though left without assistance from him the garrison and citizens of Naples made a stout defence, and after nearly two months had been consumed in fruitless assaults in which he had lost many men, Belisarius towards the end of July was about to raise the siege, when by the fortunate discovery of a way through a ruined aqueduct he was able by night to introduce a force into the city, and Naples was captured. Belisarius, remaining only a short time at Naples, proceeded to advance towards Rome; whereupon the Ostro-

¹ Whence we may see how erroneous it is to call Belisarius' army "Greeks," as is often done. The Goths used that name as the most opprobrious one they could apply; and nothing aroused the indignation of the subjects of the Later Roman Empire more than to call them Greeks, in view of the fact that they claimed (and with justice) that they, and they alone, had a right to the name of Romans.

goths assembled a "Folcmote" outside Rome, deposed and slew Thiudahad for his proposals to sell the kingdom, and elected Witigis, an elderly warrior of some renown, as their king (Aug. 536).

Witigis. Witigis was a man utterly destitute of genius, and at once showed his incapacity by retiring from Rome (leaving a garrison of only 4000 men to defend it), and removing his large army, which immensely outnumbered that of Belisarius, to Ravenna, declaring that he would from thence be better able to cope with the Franks, who were attacking the Ostrogoths' dominions in Provence. On arrival at Ravenna Witigis divorced his wife (of about his own age), and forced the young daughter of Amalasantha, Matasantha, then seventeen, to marry him, though she made no secret of her detestation of such a marriage. Witigis' next step was to buy off the opposition of the Franks by ceding to them the Ostrogothic territories in Gaul, and paying them a sum of 133,000 *aurei* (£80,000). Meanwhile Belisarius was slowly advancing northwards by the Latin Way, receiving as he did so the submission of all the chief towns of southern Italy.¹ And shortly afterwards any anticipations of difficulty in taking Rome which Belisarius may have had were set at rest by the arrival of a deputation from Pope Silverius and the citizens of Rome informing him that the city desired again to be subject to the emperor.

Rome occupied. In the depressed condition into which the western patriarchate of the Church had fallen owing to the dominance of Arianism, the Church at Rome had since the death of Leo the Great, seventy-five years before, produced no man of the smallest note, its Bishops being installed or removed according to the (generally venal) authority of whoever wielded power in Rome at the time. Following John I (who brought himself into conflict with Theodoric) there had been a succession of Bishops of Rome of this character, and Silverius had six months before been appointed by the mere will of an Arian king, Thiudahad, on receipt by the latter of

¹ Passing halfway to Rome the height of Monte Cassino, where at this time Benedict of Nursia, regardless of war's tumults, was occupied in founding the far-famed monastery destined to become the leader of all the monasteries of the West.

a bribe, and was himself deposed in the following year by Belisarius. He appears to have been a man of gentle character who was bullied and coerced by the rougher natures around him according to their will. Nevertheless he was, by virtue of his office, Pope of the western patriarchate, even though his jurisdiction was practically bounded by the city of Rome. The citizens, hoping that the dominion of the Ostrogoths was at an end, besought him to convey a message from them to Belisarius inviting the latter to enter the city, and Belisarius lost no time in complying. He entered Rome unopposed on the 10th December 536, the Gothic force marching out by the Flaminian Gate on the north as the imperial army, scarcely larger in numbers, entered by the Asinarian Gate on the south.¹ Belisarius (whose force, owing to the losses at Naples, and the garrisons which he had been obliged to leave in several of the cities of southern Italy, now numbered only about 5000 men) took up his abode on the Pincian hill, and at once set about preparing for that defence of Rome during possibly a long siege which he knew lay before him, repairing the walls built with so much skill 260 years earlier by Aurelian,² and collecting from the surrounding country and from Sicily a great store of corn.

It was the last time that Imperial Rome—the old imperial Rome of Italy as distinguished from the new imperial Rome by the Bosphorus, the Rome created by Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Severus, and Caracalla—was to be seen by mankind. Up to this time the city had practically suffered no damage by the vicissitudes through which it had passed since the reign of Theodosius the Great. Rome when it was entered by Belisarius was the Rome that mankind had known for centuries. The Forum, the Tabularium, the Fora built by Augustus, Vespasian,

Last view
of Imperial
Rome.

¹ This gate, situated close to the Lateran Palace, then occupied by the Popes of Rome, still stands.

² It has been pointed out by Dr. Hodgkin that Aurelian in constructing these walls, with their remarkable covered way carried all along the inside of the wall and their towers at every 100 to 300 feet, must have contemplated a defence of the city by an entire army, and not merely by a comparatively small garrison of a few thousand men (*Italy and her Invaders*, IV, 103).

and Nerva, the Pantheon and Baths of Agrippa, the temples of Jupiter, Minerva, Vesta, Saturn, Concord, Mars Ultor, Vespasian, and Antoninus and Faustina, the Arch of Drusus, the Theatre of Marcellus, the Portico of Octavia, the Mausoleum of Augustus, the Arch of Claudius, the eleven Aqueducts, the Colosseum, the Baths of Nero, the Baths of Titus, the Arch of Titus, the splendid group of buildings erected by Trajan (including his Forum, Basilica, Temple, Column, and Libraries), the temple of Venus and Rome, the Mausoleum of Hadrian, the Column of Marcus Aurelius, the Arch of Septimius Severus (though without its bronze horses and chariot), the Septizonium, the Baths of Caracalla, and on the Palatine hill the great group of palaces built by Tiberius, Caligula, Domitian, Hadrian, and Septimius Severus, together with the huge Baths of Diocletian (twice the size even of the immense Baths of Caracalla), the Arch, Basilica, and Baths of Constantine, all these were still intact and uninjured. And in the Baths of Agrippa, of Nero, of Titus, of Diocletian, of Constantine, and above all in the magnificent Baths of Caracalla, with their collections of priceless works of art, their reading-rooms, race-courses, pavements of fine mosaics, halls of many-coloured marbles, and luxurious bathing arrangements, the citizens of Rome led much the same kind of life which they had always led. But this Rome was to be seen no more. When eighteen years later the Gothic war was ended a battered ruin was all that remained; classical Rome had passed away for ever, to be succeeded after a time by the squalid and miserable city which is the Rome of the Middle Ages.¹ Except the Pantheon, the Colosseum, the Septizonium,

¹ The Palatine hill became a heap of stones, under which the floors and a few feet of the walls of the palaces of the Caesars lay buried; the Baths of Caracalla were a vast ruin, and of all their priceless works of art none remained except such as lay hidden under many feet of rubbish, the wreck of the ruined halls; and in the valley where had stood the Forum, the Fora of the emperors, and many of the temples, the débris formed by the destruction of these buildings reached in the Middle Ages a depth of 30 feet, much of which is even still unexcavated. The internal conflicts in Rome during the Middle Ages increased the general ruin; and so long did that city continue in this miserable state that even as late as the middle of the 15th century writers constantly deplore its condition, and the contrast it presented to e.g. Florence.

the Column of Trajan, the Column of Marcus Aurelius, and the battered and defaced Arches of Titus, Septimius Severus, and Constantine, there survived unruined only the churches, viz., the five great "patriarchal churches" of St. John Lateran, St. Peter's, the Liberian Basilica,¹ St. Paul's, and St. Lawrence, with the churches of St. Clement, St. Cecilia, St. Agnes, St. Pudenziana, Sta. Croce, Araceli, St. Sabina, and the church now called Sta. Maria in Trastevere; and even some of these had suffered severely.

First siege
of Rome. Early in March 537 Witigis advanced with an army which Procopius asserts to have numbered 150,000 men, and which must at any rate have numbered more than 100,000 men,² to attack Rome. The Ostrogoths established themselves in seven large entrenched camps,³ each situated in front of one of the principal gates, at a distance of from 600 to 800 yards from the walls. Their first proceeding was to cut all the aqueducts which supplied Rome with water,⁴—those aqueducts whose ruined arches, stretching for miles across the Campagna, and seventeen centuries ago providing a supply of pure water far exceeding that supplied to any modern city, stand like witnesses to attest the greatness of Rome. This deed, one which Alaric in all his three sieges of Rome had shrunk from committing, had far-reaching consequences irrespective of its forcing the city to depend upon the muddy stream of the Tiber for drinking water.⁵ For this act destroyed at a blow one great heritage of the civilization which the Roman race had given to mankind, and altered all the social life of the Romans. There was an end at once to all that system which the Baths represented,

¹ Now known as Sta. Maria Maggiore.

² Totila in his addresses to his Ostrogoths some ten years later more than once stated that when Belisarius landed in Italy the Ostrogoths numbered 200,000 warriors. So that Witigis may easily have had 150,000 before Rome as stated by Procopius.

³ The remains of several of these can still be traced.

⁴ See Vol. I, Chap. IX p. 308. Procopius mentions the number thus destroyed as fourteen, but as the total number of these aqueducts was only eleven it is evident that he must have included three which were only branches of others.

⁵ In recent times three of the eleven aqueducts have been repaired and now supply the city.

and which was within the means even of the poorest.¹ The great Baths of Augustus, Nero, Titus, Caracalla, Diocletian, and Constantine remained with all their channels dry; and they were never revived. Henceforth the Romans became, like the rest of the inhabitants of the West, an unwashed people. At the same time the water pouring forth from all these broken aqueducts, and only here and there carried off by river beds, turned a great part of the then flourishing Campagna into a swamp, making it the permanent home of malaria, and no longer habitable.

The twelve months' siege which followed,² the first of the five sieges of Rome in this war, is rendered for ever memorable by the marvellous talents, energy, and resource displayed by Belisarius. The commander who had won battles in Persia by the manner in which he handled infantry, and in Africa by his handling of cavalry, now displayed still greater abilities as an engineer and the defender of a beleaguered city. When the cutting of the aqueduct of Trajan left all the cornmills without motive power, Belisarius improvised floating cornmills on the Tiber, which system, invented by him, continued until modern times; when the Roman citizens, disheartened at the hardships they had to endure, and the overwhelming number of the enemy, showed serious discontent, he treated them with so much tact and kindness that when to this was added the sight of his daily prowess in the field, he was soon almost adored by them; when the paucity of his small force for such a defence became only too apparent, he enrolled all the able-bodied citizens into a National Guard which manned the walls and left his troops free to fight outside; when the pressure of famine began to be felt he turned all the non-combatants out of the city, managed to escort them unharmed through the carelessly guarded line occupied by the enemy, and distributed them in safety amongst various cities of southern Italy. He armed each tower along the walls with a *Ballista*,³ and each gate with a double portcullis; he caused the outside of the walls to be patrolled

¹ See Vol. I, Chap. IX, pp. 302-304.

² March 537 to March 538.

³ A huge bow, worked by machinery, which shot a short thick bolt with such force as to break even trees or rocks.

throughout the night by parties of picked men accompanied by trained dogs; to guard against treachery he changed the locks and keys of the gates every fortnight, and frequently changed the officers in charge of different parts of the walls; and by numerous other methods he made up as far as possible for the paucity of his force, while there seemed no end to his personal activity, watchfulness, courage, and resource.

After several minor combats the first grand assault was made by Witigis on the 21st March, and lasted a whole day. The Ostrogoths advanced, conveying with them huge battering rams to force the gates, and wooden towers, as high as the walls, filled with men, and drawn by oxen. Belisarius, restraining the frantic importunity of his troops (who in their eager desire to assail their opponents even accused him of cowardice), waited until the enemy had reached the further edge of the moat, and then with the fire of his archers slew all the oxen, leaving all these engines of war stranded and an encumbrance to the besiegers, and when evening fell he set them on fire. While he was occupied in meeting this assault on one side of the city a long and determined attack was made upon the other side against the fortress formed by the Mausoleum of Hadrian. At last the troops defending the Mausoleum, unable to wound their enemies with their arrows or their *ballistæ* owing to the Ostrogoths being so close under the walls, tore down from the three stories of marble terraces the numerous statues placed there,¹ and breaking them in pieces hurled the bodies, heads, legs, and arms of the statues upon the shields of the attacking force, and those of them who were not slain by this avalanche of marble fled in a panic.² By the evening the various attempts upon different parts of the walls had all failed, and the Ostrogoths retired unsuccessful, acknowledging a loss, Procopius says, of 30,000 men.

After the repulse of this attack Belisarius sent a letter to Justinian, pointing out that his force was only 5000 men and that of the enemy 150,000, and urgently asking for reinforce-

¹ Vol. I, Chap. VI, p. 233.

² The statue of the Dancing Faun, now in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, was unearthed from the ditch formerly surrounding the Mausoleum of Hadrian, and was probably one of the statues thrown down upon the Goths on this occasion.

ments. Soon afterwards he received a reinforcement of 1600 men who had been landed in southern Italy, and to the delight of Belisarius these were mostly cavalry. He then began a course of incessant sallies by small bodies of about 300 mounted archers, who approaching the vicinity of the Gothic camps, killed many of the enemy by their fire, and then rapidly retired under the shelter of the walls of the city. But when the unintelligent Witigis tried to copy these tactics with a body of 500 men, Belisarius surrounded the troop with 1500 men, and cut them to pieces. The light Moorish horsemen also were a special terror to the Goths, prowling about at all times outside their camps, and picking up any stray Ostrogoths whom they might come across.

At length in June Belisarius against his will agreed to a pitched battle, and suffered a serious defeat, chiefly through his allowing himself, at the urgent request of his Isaurian infantry, to be diverted from his original intention of making it almost entirely a cavalry battle. After this repulse therefore he returned again to his former tactics. In July famine began to be severely felt, followed by pestilence. Belisarius sent away Antonina to Naples, both for her own safety and in order that she might help to urge on relief operations. At the same time he sent Procopius also to southern Italy to see what garrisons could be reduced, and to send to Rome any men who could be spared, while at the same time endeavouring to collect supplies of food, and Procopius succeeded in sending him 500 men. The Ostrogoths at this time began to suffer terribly from the malaria in the Campagna, while a body of Huns which Belisarius had sent to occupy the church of St. Paul, outside the walls, on the Ostian Way, suffered so severely from the same cause that they had to be recalled to the city.

Early in November, soon after Antonina had returned from Naples to Rome, Belisarius received an order from the empress Theodora, commanding him to depose Pope Silverius and appoint in his place the bearer of the letter, Vigilus. The latter was a man of the most unscrupulous character, a disappointed candidate for the office, who upon failing to obtain it when Silverius was appointed by Thuidahad, had gone to Constan-

Theodora
deposes Pope
Silverius and
appoints
Vigilius as Pope.

tinople, and in the course of two years, by profuse promises of money and various underhand artifices (including a promise to the empress to befriend the Monophysites), had wormed his way into the favour of Theodora with this object. Belisarius did not like the task imposed upon him, but was urged by Antonina not to incur the wrath of the all-powerful empress. A forged letter was produced by Vigilius purporting to be an offer made by Silverius to Witigis to open by night the Asinarian Gate (close to the Papal palace), and admit the Ostrogoths. No one seems to have believed the letter to be other than a forgery, and even the names of its forgers are given by one contemporary historian.¹ Belisarius summoned Silverius, and advised him to avert his ruin and resign in favour of Vigilius, as ordered by the empress.² Upon Silverius refusing he was deported to Patara in Lycia, and Vigilius was installed as Pope. From Patara Silverius appealed to the emperor, who ordered that he was to be taken back to Rome, and there tried. Upon his arrival at Rome it is asserted that Vigilius, terrified at the return of the ex-Pope, sent an urgent message to Belisarius saying, "I pray thee hand over to me Silverius; otherwise I cannot pay the price I promised for the popedom." Whether this speech is true or another forgery, Silverius was handed over to some of the bodyguard of Vigilius, by whom he was transported to the island of Palmaria. There he was half-starved, and shortly after the termination of the siege died.³

In December 537 Belisarius received a further reinforcement of 2500 men, under command of Ostrogoths abandon siege of Rome. John the Thracian,⁴ accompanied by a large convoy of corn. Belisarius managed skilfully to divert the attention of the Ostrogoths by a sortie, thus enabling the detachment and its heavy train of wagons to get safely into the

¹ Liberatus.

² Some authorities state that Belisarius advised Silverius to propitiate the empress and avert his own ruin by accepting the Monophysite form of belief; but it does not appear that the imperial mandate gave this option.

³ In June 538.

⁴ He was of Gothic descent, his father and his uncle Vitalian (the leader of the rebellion against the emperor Anastasius I) having belonged to the Gothic *fœderati* of Thrace.

city. At the same time another detachment of 3000 Isaurians was landed at Naples, and together with more supplies was sent by sea to Ostia, and sailing up the Tiber almost under the noses of the Ostrogoths reached Rome in safety. The apathy and incapacity of Witigis in these operations is even more marked than usual. Strengthened by these reinforcements Belisarius so harried the Ostrogoths that after a time they proposed a truce for three months. It was, however, only kept by them for a short time, and upon their making another assault early in 538 Belisarius sent John the Thracian with a force of 2000 men to carry fire and sword through the Gothic territories along the eastern coast. John advanced burning, plundering, and desolating the country, and eventually reached Rimini, which he captured. This seizure of Rimini, a port so near Ravenna, alarmed Witigis for the safety of his capital, and accordingly in March 538 the Ostrogoths raised the siege, and marched away northwards to endeavour to regain Rimini, Belisarius inflicting a severe defeat upon their rear-guard at the Milvian bridge as they crossed the Tiber.

Thus ended the first siege of Rome in this war. It had in reality dug the grave of the Ostrogothic kingdom. For the sluggish incapacity of Witigis, who had shown himself equally ignorant of how to assault, how to blockade, or how to conduct any single operation of war, had resulted in the loss of all the flower of the Gothic army, while the remainder were thoroughly disheartened. And had Belisarius been properly supported at this time there is little doubt that the war would soon have been ended, and all the devastation of Italy which afterwards took place have been avoided.

Trouble created for Belisarius. But the suspicious nature of Justinian now again began to create trouble for Belisarius, and to delay the reconquest of Italy. It was one of the results of Justinian's not being a soldier. Unable himself to be in command of his army in Italy, and having to send constant reinforcements to it, he began to fear that Belisarius, in command of so large an army and winning so much renown, might prove dangerous to his throne. He therefore appears to have hinted to the generals who accompanied these reinforcements that it would not be displeasing to him if they thwarted Belisarius, and

this they proceeded to do. Throughout the operations of the next twelve months (538-539) we see this influence prevailing, and hampering all Belisarius' movements, John the Thracian and other commanders not scrupling from time to time to refuse to obey his orders. Witigis on arriving before Rimini proceeded to besiege it, and John the Thracian and his garrison were soon in sore straits. But reinforcements of 7000 men to the imperial army landed at Ancona, Belisarius himself proceeded to the east coast, most of the Gothic strongholds in central Italy (including Todi, Chiusi, Orvieto, Urbino, and Imola) were one by one taken, and at length by a combined movement of a fleet and the army the Ostrogoths besieging Rimini were put to flight and that city relieved.

But with this last reinforcement Justinian had sent his Grand Chamberlain, Narses; and upon his arrival the insubordinate conduct of various commanders towards Belisarius increased, until in a short time the army practically resolved itself into two parties, that of Belisarius and that of Narses, and soon into two separate armies under these two leaders. It was during this period of insubordination that Belisarius was led to put to death his general Constantine, then governor of Spoleto. A loyal Roman,¹ Presidius, had been forcibly robbed by Constantine of two jewelled daggers, and Presidius appealed to Belisarius to give him the protection of the Roman laws. Belisarius, always a very strict disciplinarian on behalf of the conquered people, and enraged at such an act against one of them, summoned a council, and ordered Constantine instantly to return the daggers, but receiving an insolent reply, called hastily for his guards. Whereupon Constantine drew his sword and rushed upon his general, but was disarmed, dragged outside, and killed by the guards at the command of Belisarius. For this hasty act of violence Belisarius has been justly condemned; at the same time it must be remembered that insubordination was rife, that Constantine had behaved with unpardonable tyranny towards one of the people of the country, that such acts always roused extreme anger in Belisarius, and that when to this was added Constantine's attempt upon his superior

¹ The *Romani* (Romans of Italy) did not look with any friendly eye upon the *Romaioi* (Romans of Constantinople).

officer's life it was no wonder that Belisarius' wrath carried him beyond all bounds.¹

Milan retaken
by the Goths
and Franks.

Meanwhile at the urgent request of the Archbishop of Milan, who had himself travelled to Rome to make it, Belisarius had sent a force which had recovered Milan for the emperor. But Witigis, who had retired to Ravenna, now despatched a large army to retake Milan, and also begged the help of the Franks, and Milan was ere long besieged by both the Ostrogoths and the Franks. Belisarius sent a force to relieve it, but this force was unable to cope with the masses of the enemy; he then ordered the commanders of two other portions of the army to march at once towards Milan and assist; but they refused, saying they were under the orders of Narses. Belisarius then wrote to Narses, pointing out the serious dangers which his insubordinate course of action was creating, and Narses at length relented, and in the spring of 539 issued the necessary orders for sending assistance to the hard pressed garrison of Milan. But six months had been wasted in these discussions, and it was too late. Milan fell; its male inhabitants, to the number, Procopius says, of 300,000 were all slain; the women were made over by the Ostrogoths to the Franks as payment for their assistance; almost the whole of Milan was razed to the ground excepting the cathedral and other principal churches; and the Franks with their captives and plunder withdrew from Italy. Belisarius announced this great disaster to the emperor, and the latter, seeing by this time the evil effect of his ill-advised action, tardily took the step he should have taken long before, recalled Narses to Constantinople, and formally proclaimed Belisarius as commander-in-chief of all the imperial forces in Italy.

Sieges of
Fiesole and
Osimo.

Step by step Belisarius had taken one fortress after another from the Ostrogoths until in central Italy there now remained to them only two, Fiesole in Tuscany, and Osimo, ten miles south of Ancona; and these two in May 539 he proceeded to besiege. The ancient Etruscan city of Fiesole (now the well-known suburb of Florence) was at this time one of Italy's strongest fortresses.

¹ In the *Secret History* this event, like every event in Belisarius' life, is attributed to scandal connected with Antonina.

We can still see remains of the massive walls by which the city, standing nearly a thousand feet above the valley of the Arno, was then surrounded; sitting on the stone seats of its ruined Theatre, overlooking the valleys and hills to the north, we have before us the ground where in 405 the vast host of Radagaisus was surrounded and exterminated by Stilicho;¹ while if we ascend the western summit of the hill, now occupied by the Franciscan monastery, we stand on the site of the city's Arx (or citadel), looking down from whence we may see in the valley below the road by which the troops of Belisarius must have approached. This western height is however ascended in these days with another object, namely for the sake of the glorious view from thence of the city of Florence and the beautiful valley of the Arno. But it was on a very different prospect that the defenders of Fiesole in 539 looked down. War was not then as now, and northern and central Italy lay waste. For two years no crop had been sown, and all was desolation. The inhabitants of Tuscany had fled to the mountains to live upon acorns and chestnuts, pestilence had followed upon famine, and the valley of the Arno lay an uninhabited desert.² While bad as matters were in Tuscany, they were still worse north of the Apennines in Lombardy, which outside a few principal cities was almost depopulated.

Incursion of
the Franks
into Italy.

Both Fiesole and Osimo stubbornly resisted all the efforts of Belisarius, Witigis meanwhile remaining supinely with his whole army at Ravenna, afraid to venture to attack the forces which were besieging his two principal strongholds in central Italy; and while these two sieges were proceeding a terrible devastation fell upon a large part of northern Italy. The Franks, a far more

¹ Chap. XVII, p. 33.

² Florence (Florentia), in the valley of the Arno below Fiesole, was a fine town as early as B.C. 62, with Forum, Baths, and an Amphitheatre; Tacitus mentions a deputation from it in the time of the emperor Tiberius (A.D. 14-37); and it had a Bishop in 313. But in this contest during the years 536-539 Florence, indefensible in position, became deserted, and in 541 was entirely destroyed by Totila after the battle in the valley of the Mugello (see below). Two centuries later Florence rose from its ashes under the Lombards, but in the position of a commercial suburb of Fiesole, the fortress.

ferocious race than the Ostrogoths, their appetite whetted by their recent plunder of Milan, determined, regardless of all treaties, to seize what spoil they could during the contests between the Ostrogoths and the Romans. They poured over the Alps to the number of 100,000 under their king Thiudabert,¹ and pretending to come as the friends of the Ostrogoths, marched without doing any harm until they reached Pavia, where, having gained the passage of the Po, they threw off the mask and sacked Pavia, slaughtering its garrison of Ostrogoths, and even slaying the women and children, and throwing their bodies into the Po. They then marched southward towards Tortona (then being besieged by a force sent against it by Belisarius), met on the way a Gothic army, routed it and put it to flight, the Ostrogoths in their panic flying right through the camp of the Romans besieging Tortona. The latter, seeing this panic-stricken flight of the Ostrogoths, imagined that Belisarius must be pursuing them, advanced to meet him, were met by the Franks, and in their surprise were easily routed in their turn, and fled across the Apennines, part to join the force besieging Fiesole, and part to join Belisarius before Osimo. The Franks then sacked Tortona, and marching southwards carried devastation down to Genoa, which city they also sacked. Then beginning to suffer from scarcity of food, owing to the devastation they had caused, and from sickness as the result, the Franks vanished again over the Alps as rapidly as they had come, leaving all Liguria down to Genoa a ravaged waste.

Soon afterwards Fiesole, having made a brave
 Capitulation of Fiesole and Osimo. resistance for seven months, in December 539 capitulated, and Osimo followed suit, Belisarius thus completing the conquest of central Italy. In four years, with troops greatly inferior in physique, and vastly inferior in numbers, he had steadily driven the Ostrogoths out of all southern and central Italy. And he had done this while never having sufficient troops to be able to fight the Ostrogoths on fairly equal terms in a pitched battle. Some victories are won through the bravery of the troops, others through the ability of the commander and the bravery of the troops combined, but in the case of Belisarius his success was all due to

¹ Chap. XXII, p. 291.

his own sole ability. Moulding troops of originally indifferent fighting capacity into a formidable fighting machine, and inspiring them with his own courage, he had gradually given them such confidence in him that they had come to feel that wherever he led victory was certain ; while at the same time he had inspired the Ostrogoths with such a terror of his name that they, formerly the bold invaders of Italy, cowered everywhere behind walls at his approach, and were half beaten before the fight began. He was now free to enter upon the siege of Ravenna, where the sluggish and incapable Witigis had remained inert while central Italy was being gradually taken from him, as southern Italy previously had been.

Capture of
Ravenna by
Belisarius.

The siege of Ravenna, begun early in 540, did not last long. Witigis, never good at fighting, turned to negotiations both with the Franks and with the emperor, the latter of whom, being threatened at this time with an invasion on the north from the barbarians along the Danube frontier, and with a still more serious invasion on the eastern frontier from Chosroes I, king of Persia, was urgently anxious to conclude peace in Italy, and to get back from thence some of his troops there, and above all his only general. Belisarius, paying little regard to such negotiations, steadily continued to draw his investment of the city closer, destroyed the flotilla of the Ostrogoths on the Po, defeated an attempt made by the brave Uraias, nephew of Witigis, to relieve Ravenna, and cut off every chance of food reaching the city, which upon its large corn magazines being accidentally destroyed by a fire soon began to feel the pinch of scarcity. But just when in April 540 Belisarius was in anticipation of receiving from Witigis offers of an unconditional surrender, there arrived an embassy from Justinian offering proposals for peace and unexpectedly favourable terms to the Ostrogoths ; by which on condition that Witigis gave up to the emperor all Italy south of the Po he should be allowed to retain the title of King and all territories to the north of that river. It was also ordered that upon these terms being accepted Belisarius and a large part of the army were to return to Constantinople.

But Belisarius, knowing that a much greater success was imminent, refused to sign these terms. Whereupon Witigis

in despair, the city being now sore pressed by famine, and the Ostrogoths in frenzy at the idea of their kingdom being brought to an end, made a remarkable proposal, offering to Belisarius himself the crown of Italy, urging him to cut himself adrift from the emperor, and become king of the Ostrogoths, and in time, perhaps, emperor of the West. It was a tempting proposal to one with the abilities of Belisarius, in command at the age of thirty-five of an army which was devoted to him, and feeling, as he well might, that with troops from the Ostrogoths added to that army, and with himself as their leader, there was no limit to his possible conquests in the future. But Belisarius, says Procopius, "hated the name of an usurper," and he put from him the tempting proposal and remained loyal to Justinian. Nevertheless he saw in it a means by which to obtain a peaceful surrender of Italy to the emperor, seeming not to have perceived the dishonour of deceiving the unfortunate Ostrogoths if he could thereby serve his master, that master who had so little of Belisarius' own generous spirit, and had already twice over been ready to nourish undeserved suspicions against his loyalty. He therefore pretended to accept the proposal, received the proffered submission, marched his army into the city, and only when in possession of it gradually allowed the Ostrogoths to see, while he distributed among them the corn which he had ordered his fleet to bring to the city, that he had no intention of being their king, and was still only the general of Justinian.

This entry of the Roman army into that almost impregnable capital, which it had taken even Theodoric a three years' siege to gain, must have been a wonderful sight. The streets were crowded with the tall and martial looking Ostrogoths, in numbers far surpassing their conquerors, the troops of Belisarius, who as they marched through them seemed in comparison both small in stature and insignificant in appearance. And when the women of the Ostrogoths, seeing this sight, and exasperated at the contrast between these puny-looking conquerors of Italy and their own splendidly-made men, spat in the faces of the latter and reviled them for having been vanquished by such foes, it was a final tribute to the military ability of the commander who had with such materials conquered so fine a race. At the same time there is no doubt

that Belisarius was as fortunate in the fact that the Ostrogoths were commanded by Witigis as he had been in the absence of the Vandal fleet when he invaded North Africa. Throughout the whole nation a more incapable leader than Witigis probably could not have been found. When Belisarius advanced from Naples with his little force of 5000 men the total army of the Ostrogoths cannot have been less than 200,000 men, and was in possession of all the strong places throughout the country. Witigis not only abandoned Rome to him, and then with an army of at least 100,000 men failed even to blockade that city effectually, but even after this, while in possession of so eminently defensible a country as Tuscany, and with an army vastly outnumbering that of Belisarius, supinely allowed that country to be gradually taken from him, and himself and his army to be shut up in Ravenna and starved into surrender by a force which at no time can have exceeded 20,000 men. Had the martial race of the Ostrogoths had as a commander any man of the most ordinary energy and military capacity it is inconceivable that even Belisarius could have conquered them.

The action of Belisarius, in accepting their submission and then when in possession of their capital refusing to be their king, was to the Ostrogoths a cruel and bitter disappointment. Under the terms which they had offered, and which Belisarius had accepted, they had looked forward to preserving the Ostrogothic kingdom and to exchanging as their leader and king the incapable Witigis, to whose lack of ability they justly attributed all their defeats, for one whom they admired as the greatest master of war they had ever seen. Instead of which they found their kingdom gone, and themselves prisoners of war. And Belisarius must have had a wonderful gift in conciliating opponents to have been able to cause them to accept these altered conditions peaceably, instead of breaking out into open violence when they learnt how they had been deceived, and massacring the force which they so much outnumbered. But Belisarius, though he had deceived them in this particular, kept the other portions of the agreement which he had made. Always strict in discipline, he allowed no plundering of the private property of the Ostrogoths, and no molestation of their women. Witigis, however, and his chief

nobles were kept in a state of friendly captivity, pending that permanent exile from their beloved Italy, and removal to the distant and unknown Constantinople, which they had dreaded so much, and had striven so desperately to avoid.

Thus did the capital of Italy once more pass under the sovereignty of the Roman emperor, whose stronghold in Italy it remained for the next two centuries, until taken by the Lombards.¹ The other chief cities of northern Italy, except Pavia, held by Uraias, nephew of Witigis, and Verona, held by Ildibad,² nephew of the king of the Visigoths, surrendered upon hearing of the fall of Ravenna. All the Ostrogoths who dwelt south of the Po were directed to return to their own lands, none of them being allowed to remain in Ravenna. The great royal hoard of the Ostrogoths, accumulated by Theodoric the Great, Amalasantha, and the avaricious Thiudahad, and stored in the palace of Ravenna, was placed on board ship for despatch to Constantinople, there to be deposited in the secret treasure-vaults of the Later Roman Empire, where it lay for many centuries.³

Justinian's suspicious nature caused him to order that on the departure of Belisarius no officer was to be left in supreme command in Italy, the various generals being left each to exercise his own command independently, with equal authority. Anything showing a greater ignorance of military affairs than this fatuous order could not be conceived. Its result was that Italy had ere long to be entirely reconquered in twelve years of ruinous war, a war which devastated the country, drained Justinian's treasury, and cost innumerable lives. Belisarius had no option but to obey the order, though he must have known that it would involve the whole of his work being done over again later on. Of the eleven officers thus left in charge of different parts of the country the most important were John the Thracian, another John called John the Glutton, Bessas, Constantian, and Vitalius, Constantian being left in charge of Ravenna, and Bessas of Rome.

¹ Vol. III, Chap. XXVII.

² His children had been captured by Belisarius, and were carried off to Constantinople as hostages.

³ Possibly until the seizure of Constantinople by the Franks and Venetians in 1204.

Urgent appeal of the Ostrogoths to Belisarius

Having concluded these arrangements, Belisarius, when about to depart, received a last urgent appeal from the Ostrogoths entreating him to alter his decision and be their king, to which both Uraias and Ildibad were ready to agree. The Ostrogoths in their desire to obtain him as their ruler even taunted him with preferring to be "the slave of Justinian, rather than reign as Emperor of the West over brave warriors." But Belisarius could not endure the thought of disloyalty to Justinian (little as the latter had deserved such sentiments), and he again declined, though it must have been difficult to refuse such a request from such a nation. With the character he was by this time widely known to possess, not only the Ostrogoths, but also men of all the best fighting races—the Isaurians, the Illyrians, the remnant of the Vandals, the Moors, and others—would have flocked to his standard; and with an army thus composed, and having for its backbone 100,000 Ostrogoths, a leader with the military genius of Belisarius would almost certainly have beaten the Franks and brought the whole of the West under his authority, and not improbably the East also. But while Belisarius in remaining steadfast to Justinian ruined his career, as after events proved, greater than all the honour he has gained as a commander was his conduct on this occasion. Having refused this last appeal of the sorrowful Ostrogoths, Belisarius towards the end of May 540, taking with him Witigis and his principal nobles, embarked at Classis, and sailed for Constantinople.

St Sophia. During the eight years that Belisarius had been engaged upon the wars in Africa and Italy Justinian's chief energies had been devoted to building operations. Among all the many churches built by Justinian one in particular has obtained lasting fame, the cathedral of St. Sophia (the Divine Wisdom). As soon as the Nika insurrection was ended Justinian set to work to rebuild this great church upon a far grander scale than before.¹ The architect chosen was

¹ The first church of St. Sophia, built by Constantine, was burnt at the time of the exile of St. Chrysostom in 404; the second was that burnt in the Nika insurrection; Justinian's was the third.

Anthemius of Tralles, who controlled 10,000 workmen. The cathedral was finished in December 537 (while Belisarius was conducting his defence of Rome), being completed in just a month short of six years. It had cost a sum equal to one million sterling. The shape of the building is that of a Greek cross, in length each way about 240 feet. Its dome was the first ever constructed since that of the Pantheon at Rome in the time of Augustus. Its height in the centre is 180 feet, and its diameter 115 feet,¹ the curve of the dome being remarkably low. From the outside the building has a disproportionate appearance, but from the inside the bold span of the arches and of the dome, and the mass of varied decoration with many-coloured marbles and mosaics produces a magnificent effect. To add to its splendour various ancient temples were plundered of their finest columns; these include eight columns of porphyry from the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, eight of green marble from the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, and others from the temples at Athens, Delos, Baalbec, and Cyzicus. The walls were lined with the most costly marbles, ten differently-coloured kinds having been counted,² while the interior of the dome and parts of the walls were covered with mosaics. The altar was entirely of gold, supported by pillars of gold, with over it a *ciborium* (canopy) of silver. In the apse were four columns composed of solid silver. At the conclusion of the ceremony of consecration the emperor exclaimed, "Glory be to God, who hath thought me worthy to accomplish so great a work." Then with an outburst of vanity he added, "I have vanquished thee, O Solomon." Seeing that the cathedral of St. Sophia was built 700 years before any of its rivals of the 13th century in the West, and 975 years before the present church of St. Peter's at Rome, Justinian's pride was pardonable. Anthemius of Tralles had

¹ The diameter of the dome of the Pantheon is 142 feet; that of the cathedral of Florence is 138½ feet; and that of St. Peter's at Rome 137½ feet, both of these two latter domes being also much more lofty than that of St. Sophia. In all four cases the interior measurements are taken.

² Red, rose colour, purple, yellow, green, saffron-colour, white and red, white with black edges, cream-colour with black veins, and black with white veins.

a right to feel at least equal pride.¹

At the same time Justinian after the Nika insurrection began an almost entire reconstruction with great magnificence of the imperial Palace, a portion of which near the main gate had been destroyed during the insurrection ; and the Palace as reconstructed by him retained the main features which he gave it during all the succeeding nine centuries.² The high wall, nearly a mile and a half long, shutting off the Palace from the city, was pierced by six gates, the principal of these, the Royal Gate, being situated a short distance behind the southern corner of St. Sophia. It was a lofty double gate, the inner pair of doors being of bronze. Inside this gate Justinian built the celebrated hall called the *Chalke* (brazen), so called because it was surmounted by a dome of brass, supported by immense pillars ; its pavement and walls were adorned with many-coloured marbles, and its walls were also ornamented with mosaic pictures representing the victories of Justinian's armies in North Africa and Italy. Behind and on both sides of this hall were the extensive quarters of the imperial Guards, numbering 3500 men, and divided into three classes, the highest of these being the Excubitors. After passing through several courts and halls in these palatial barracks the way led up a flight of marble steps into the Hall of the Excubitors. Behind this was the Consistorium (or Throne-room), a large hall, its walls lined with costly marbles, and its doors covered with ivory, and draped with curtains of purple silk. At one side of the Throne-room was an open-air terrace adorned with statues, with at one end of it the royal chapel, called the Chapel of the Saviour ; and beyond this terrace was the Triclinium (or Banqueting hall), with bronze doors, and its roof lined inside with gold. To the north-west of the Banqueting hall was the Council hall, with to the west of it the quarters of the Prefect of the Palace, or Grand Chamberlain. From the Throne-room a flight of marble steps led down to Daphne, the Private Palace,

¹ Anthemius of Tralles was one of five brothers who were all celebrated, one of them being distinguished in law, two as physicians, one in philology, and one in architecture. Agathias congratulated their mother upon "having brought into the world a progeny replete with such various learning."

² See plan, Appendix XIX.

and to the south-west of this were other blocks of private apartments. From the private palace the gardens sloped down to the sea, with at one point on the shore the emperor's private landing stage. The Baths, the Senate house, the Patriarch's palace, the Augusteum, and the Hippodrome were all close outside the walls of the Palace.¹ A broad winding stair, covered from view, called the *Cochlias*,² led up from the Palace to the emperor's box (the *Kathisma*) in the Hippodrome; and another covered way led from the small church of the Chalkoprateia (outside the Gate of Meletius) to the emperor's gallery in the cathedral of St. Sophia. This palace remained the imperial residence for the next six centuries,³ during which time it was the scene of many tragic events.

But the building of St. Sophia and the reconstruction of the imperial Palace by no means exhausted Justinian's general building operations. Justinian's energies in this respect. He now began those immense building operations in all parts of his empire which have formed such a feature of his reign, and are the subject of one of the chief works of Procopius, *The Edifices*.⁴ Twenty-five new churches erected in Constantinople, followed by others in every part of the empire, especially in North Africa, until the total number is said to have reached a thousand, attested Justinian's religious zeal. Almost every city in the empire saw aqueducts, hospitals, and bridges provided by his lavish energy.⁵ For Theodora, his able and energetic colleague in every enterprise, he built, at enormous cost, on the eastern shore of the Bosphorus, immediately opposite to

¹ For the details of these buildings outside the Palace, see Vol. I, Chap. XIII, pp. 421-423.

² In Latin *Cochlea*; the name signifying a snail.

³ After the 12th century it was little used, being superseded by the Blachernæ Palace, situated on the higher part of the city, adjoining the line of walls at the north-west corner, overlooking the Golden Horn.

⁴ Of the six books of *The Edifices*, written in 555, the first relates to the buildings erected in Constantinople, the second to those built in Mesopotamia and Syria, the third to those built in Armenia and the Crimea, the fourth to those built in the European provinces, the fifth to those built in Asia Minor and Palestine, and the sixth to those built in Egypt and North Africa.

⁵ Justinian's reign is also notable for his introduction of the manufacture of silk into Europe. Hitherto all silk had been manufactured in China.

Constantinople, near Chalcedon, the beautiful palace and gardens of the Heræum, called, from her always in the summer residing there, the Palace of Theodora, upon which the poets of the time have lavished their praises for its combination of nature and art, for the beauty of its halls, its gardens, and its fountains, and the harmony of the whole with the splash of the waves.

But most of all were Justinian's vast ideas in regard to building exhibited in works of defence. Fortifications were spread over the empire by him in every direction; a chain of eighty forts along the Danube, 214 others throughout Epirus, Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly disposed in four successive lines, huge walls to defend the Hellespont, others to defend the Crimea, forts to defend the distant north-eastern frontier in Lazica and Iberia, the fortification of Theodosiopolis in Armenia and of Palmyra in Syria, additional walls round the cities of Amida,¹ Dara, and Edessa, and innumerable forts along the Euphrates frontier, the Egyptian frontier, and above all in North Africa, seemed to show that there was no part of the empire, however remote, which was not under the protecting eye of Justinian.

But the two chief qualities in which Justinian was wanting were military knowledge and financial ability, and these two defects were united in his operations in regard to fortifications. Ignoring the fact that the construction of fortifications must be carried out with some regard to the number of troops available to man them, and that their situation must be in accordance with strategical principles, he wasted the resources of the empire upon innumerable fortifications which either from being placed in wrong positions, or from a paucity of troops with which to garrison them, failed almost entirely to be of any value as obstacles, his chains of fortifications being easily passed through both by the Persians on the east and the barbarians on the north whenever they desired. And when one notes the extent of Justinian's gigantic building operations all over the empire one feels that it was no wonder that the fourteen millions sterling left by Anastasius I quickly

¹ The walls built by Justinian round Amida (the modern Diabekir) still survive, and are magnificent. They are of black basalt, about 60 feet high, and of enormous thickness.

disappeared, and that by the end of Justinian's reign the countries of his empire were reduced to a state of complete exhaustion through having to provide funds to meet this enormous expenditure.

Justinian's earnest desire to get Belisarius back from Italy was not only due to his fear that the latter was becoming too powerful there, but also because he urgently needed a military commander who might cope with the danger which now threatened him on the eastern frontier from Chosroes I, king of Persia, whom Justinian had for several years with difficulty kept at bay by profuse gifts and honeyed words, but whose conduct showed by unmistakable signs that it would soon be impossible to restrain him any longer by such methods from attacking the empire.

Chosroes I. Chosroes I, the "King of Kings" (better known in the east by his name of Noshirvan), who ruled over the wide Persian empire for forty-eight years (531-579), has obtained as great a reputation in all eastern countries as even that accorded to the emperor Justinian himself in lands further to the west. He was the finest sovereign of the long dynasty of the Sassanidæ, and his reign is the most glorious in the history of Persia. During his long reign he entirely reorganized the Persian system of government, introduced a new system of land tenure (which was adopted unaltered a century later by the Saracen khalifs), largely increased the fertility of Persia by numerous irrigation works, and greatly improved the discipline and efficiency of the Persian army. But Chosroes I did more than this. He was a notable patron of literature, read and studied the religious books of all creeds, and caused the celebrated Persian history, the *Shahnamah* (or "Annals of the Kings"), still renowned throughout all eastern countries, to be drawn up; he founded an academy of poetry and philosophy, caused the classical writings of Greece and India to be translated into the beautiful Persian language (which remains to the present day the language of diplomacy and culture throughout the east), and introduced into Persia from India the game of chess.¹ Such

¹ Even in "far Kashmir" copies of his book, the *Shahnamah* (adorned with elaborate illuminations in the Persian style), are still studied, and Persian poems sung in honour of the mighty Noshirvan.

was the monarch who for forty-eight years was the constant opponent of the Romans. Possessing a much wider recruiting ground than the Roman Empire after being deprived in the 5th century of its western provinces could command, and being himself a capable soldier and unceasing in his attention to the training and efficiency of the Persian army, Chosroes I was a formidable antagonist to the Later Roman Empire throughout the whole reign of Justinian; and it says much for the generals of the latter (including Belisarius in particular), and for the troops that they commanded, that Chosroes was able to gain so little ultimate success.

Chosroes, the favourite son of the erratic Kobad, succeeded his father in 531, at the age of twenty-two, and began his reign by promptly putting to death his two elder brothers and many of their supporters. For some years, though looking with no friendly eye upon the Romans, he was occupied in establishing himself firmly upon the throne and in carrying out various reforms in the administration, but about the year 537, jealous of the successes gained by the Roman arms in Africa and Italy, he began to adopt a threatening tone towards the Later Roman Empire. This attitude on Chosroes' part was met by Justinian for a long time with the diplomatic methods noted, but it was plain that soon an attack from Persia was to be expected. At length in the spring of 540, while the final arrangements were being made by Belisarius at Ravenna, Chosroes, then thirty-one, suddenly invaded the empire, and, avoiding all Justinian's fortresses in Mesopotamia, ascended the western bank of the Euphrates,¹ took in rapid succession Hierapolis, Bercea, and Chalcis, and in June 540 assaulted and took Antioch, burning a great part of the city, and carrying off from thence, together with most of its inhabitants, all its statues, pictures, and marbles to adorn a new city which he thereupon founded near Ctesiphon, calling it Chosro-antiocheia.

Reception of
the captive
Ostrogoths.

Shortly after the news of this great disaster was received, the ships conveying Belisarius, the captive Ostrogoths, and the spoils taken from Ravenna arrived at Constantinople. Justinian, fearing the results of the universal popularity of Belisarius, avoided according him

¹ See Map C.

any regular triumph, such as had been accorded when the captive Vandals had been similarly brought as prisoners to Constantinople, and instead of it he received the captive Ostrogoths in state in the imperial Palace. Through the great bronze doors of the Royal Gate, and traversing the brilliant domed hall of the *Chalke*, the court of the Bodyguard, and the Hall of the Excubitors, these noble foes of the empire, led by their king, were conducted between a double line of gorgeously arrayed Imperial Guards, whose golden shields, gold lances, and gold helmets with red aigrettes were calculated to impress them with the magnificence of Justinian, up to the splendid Hall of the Consistorium. There Justinian and Theodora sat on their thrones, surrounded by all the high officers of State, while Witigis with his young wife Matasuntha (granddaughter of Theodoric, and the last descendant of the Amals), together with a long procession of the noble-looking Ostrogoth chiefs, the children of Ildibad, and soldiers bearing the treasures of the royal hoard of the Ostrogoths, defiled before them, bowing low before the great Roman emperor. Witigis was treated with honour by Justinian, and remained living at Constantinople as the emperor's friend, but died after two years. Matasuntha, admitted into the social life of the court and the friendship of Theodora, thoroughly enjoyed, we are told, her life at Constantinople, feeling no desire ever to return to Ravenna, and about ten years later she married Germanus, the nephew of Justinian.

Character and
methods of
Belisarius

But what of the man who had brought all this glory to the throne of Justinian? Belisarius, no longer the ruler of all men as he had been in Italy, treated with coolness by Justinian, quite overshadowed by the all-powerful Prætorian Prefect, John of Cappadocia (who in his arrogance even wore a purple cloak only differing from that of the emperor in being shorter and ornamented with narrower lace), and pushed into the shade by the gorgeously dressed commanders of the various bodies of household troops, seemed in no way to mind these things, or even to resent not being given the well-deserved triumph. He received in fact a daily one from the populace whenever he appeared in the streets. His defence of Rome was in all mouths; he had brought two kings captive to Constantinople; he had subdued the two

races of greatest renown in war, the Vandals and the Ostrogoths; and the people were never tired of showing their admiration for him. His own private body-guard, paid by himself and numbering nearly 7000 men, was composed of men of the races he had conquered—Moors, Vandals, and Ostrogoths,—men who were devoted to their conqueror. The astonished people said: “One household alone has destroyed the kingdom of Theodoric.”

Belisarius at this time was thirty-five, a year younger than Napoleon was when he won the battle of Austerlitz. In appearance Belisarius was tall, well-proportioned, and good-looking; while the reason why he was so popular, not only with his soldiers, but with the races whom he conquered, is very easily seen. Procopius tells us repeatedly of his justice, of his care over the private soldier, especially when wounded, and of the praises universally bestowed upon him for his constant desire to mitigate the sufferings of war for the people of the invaded lands, speaking also of how his soldiers were never allowed to straggle from the road and tread down growing crops, or to gather fruit growing in private gardens, or to plunder villages. He punished with stern severity all outrages upon the conquered people, was known to all as thoroughly chaste in his private life, and “no man ever saw Belisarius intoxicated,” says Procopius. Such a commander was in truth a rarity in the 6th century; and looking at the genius in war which Belisarius possessed, the devotion which he inspired among those whom he conquered, and the steadfast loyalty which he displayed, notwithstanding the most disgraceful treatment, towards an emperor who by always nourishing suspicions against him ruined Belisarius’ military career, we cannot but feel that he was one of the noblest characters to be met with in history.

The Persian War. The disaster which had fallen upon Antioch could not be immediately retrieved. Preparations to do so were made, but after the rainy season begins, about July, military operations are for many months impracticable in Mesopotamia, so that Justinian had to postpone these for about six months until it became possible to send an army against Persia. Early in 541, however, Belisarius (no doubt delighted to get away from the scandalous atmosphere of the

capital and breathe again the more robust environment of camps) started for the eastern frontier, with orders to make war upon Chosroes and avenge the disaster at Antioch, his wife Antonina remaining for a time at Constantinople. As we are no longer required to put any faith in the now discredited *Secret History*, we may disregard the fables which that scurrilous chronicle has interwoven into the history of the next three years (a record which has passed for the history of the years 541-543), attributing various infidelities to Antonina (by this time nearly sixty years old), declaring that Photius, Antonina's son by her first marriage, laid before Belisarius scandalous proof of his mother's guilt, that Belisarius departed for the east disturbed in mind at these infidelities of a wife to whom he was throughout life sincerely attached, that his military operations were rendered unsuccessful owing to this troubled state of mind, that he for a time imprisoned his wife, who appealed to the empress Theodora, that he was forthwith summoned before the latter, threatened by her with death, and only pardoned on account of his wife, whose forgiveness for having suspected her he was directed to obtain, and that he thereupon "fell prostrate before his wife, kissing her feet, declaring her his saviour, and devoutly promising thenceforth to live the grateful and submissive slave of Antonina."¹ Being thus set free from these fantastic absurdities we are enabled to regard Belisarius as a more ordinary mortal than these narratives have made him out to be.²

Operations in Mesopotamia. Although Justinian was pouring out money like water upon churches and fortifications, he had none to spare for his army, and Belisarius on arriving in Mesopotamia found himself in command of an army which was not only far too small for the purpose, but also was months in arrears of pay, and as a natural consequence was in a high state of insubordination. Nevertheless, with his marvellous

¹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, V, 162 (Edition 1862). Gibbon, accepting the *Secret History* as veracious, considers that Belisarius' conduct was "either *below* or *above* the character of a MAN."

² How it could ever have been supposed for a moment that a man with such a nature as this tale implies could have been admired and almost worshipped by his soldiers and by the manly warriors of the Goths and Vandals, as Belisarius was, is marvellous, and seems to show small knowledge of soldiers.

powers of commanding men and of fashioning even the most unpromising material into an efficient and disciplined force, he in a short time was able to advance into the territories of Chosroes, who at the moment was pursuing his ambitious designs far to the north, attacking the Roman dominions on the eastern coast of the Black Sea, while to force Chosroes to abandon this attack, and return from thence was a main object of Belisarius' operations.

Justinian, and in fact the people of Constantinople also, imagining that Belisarius was able to perform miracles, expected of him nothing less than that he should capture Ctesiphon, and deliver the captive inhabitants of Antioch. But Belisarius knew that with so small an army such an attempt would be absurd, and he confined himself to more sane operations. He besieged and took the Persian fortress of Sisaurane, and sent its governor with 800 captured cavalry soldiers to serve the emperor in Italy. He then despatched a force of Arabs under Aretas, supported by Roman troops, with orders to cross the Tigris and ravage the harvests of Assyria. But Aretas upset his plans by neither returning to join Belisarius nor sending any intelligence of his movements. Waiting for his return consumed the remainder of the short season during which operations on the Persian frontier were practicable; Belisarius' European troops began to suffer severely from fever induced by the heat of Mesopotamia in June; and after a time he was forced to desist from further operations until the next campaigning season. He had, however, succeeded in his main object, Chosroes being forced by hearing that Belisarius was ravaging Assyria to abandon his designs on the north-eastern frontier and return in haste. The ungrateful Justinian, ignoring the fact that war could scarcely be made, especially in such a region, without large supplies of money and an army less inadequate for such a task as meeting the powerful army of Persia, and disappointed that Ctesiphon had not been taken and Chosroes humbled, recalled Belisarius at the end of the campaigning season to Constantinople. But Justinian soon saw he had been under a misapprehension, that the army was too small and too ill-provided to enter upon operations of the kind he had contemplated, his confidence in Belisarius was restored, and it was

decided that the latter should enter upon a fresh series of operations in the next campaigning season with a better equipped force.

Meanwhile in the spring of 541, not long after the Fall of John of Cappadocia. Belisarius had departed for Mesopotamia, the great minister who had for eleven years been the evil genius of Justinian, the universally detested John of Cappadocia, had at last been brought to grief by Theodora. Innumerable are the accounts ¹ of the rapacity, gluttony, sensuality, oppression, and odious cruelties of the Prætorian Prefect, John of Cappadocia, hatred of whom had been the chief cause of the Nika insurrection. Coarse, brutal, and relentless, but able and possessed of an iron will, he was invaluable to Justinian, whose own character as a man of books unfitted him for the violent and cruel deeds perpetrated by his ruthless minister, but by which Justinian profited without compunction,² and without realizing that he was used as a pliable instrument by his strong-willed minister. But there was one at the side of the emperor who was not to be thus ruled. Theodora's strong character refused to be under the dominion of one whose arrogance offended her imperious spirit, whose coarse profligacy revolted her artistic temperament, and whose cruelties filled her with disgust. From the first she had been the Prefect's declared enemy, and during the Nika insurrection had urged, and obtained, his dismissal, but only for a short period. The whole of the succeeding eight years had been one long struggle between them, and in the spring of 541 Theodora conquered.

The details of the manner in which Theodora effected the ruin of John of Cappadocia are (very naturally) obscure. But cleared of various unreliable and contradictory embellishments, this much appears plain; that John of Cappadocia had heard a prophecy that he should become emperor, an aim he had long secretly cherished; that Theodora obtained knowledge of this, and laid a scheme to outwit him; that she

¹ Authenticated by both Procopius and John the Lydian.

² Among many other exactions was the "aerial tribute" (without a name, a law, or a definite object, and extorted with many cruelties), an annual gift of £120,000 which the emperor accepted from his Prætorian Prefect, the means of raising the money being left to the latter's discretion.

enlisted the help of Antonina, got the latter to pretend that she and Belisarius felt a strong grudge against the emperor for his ingratitude towards Belisarius, and would be willing to assist towards Justinian's assassination, and caused words to that effect to be privately repeated to John of Cappadocia; that the latter fell at once into the trap, and arranged a secret meeting by night with Antonina (then about to depart to join her husband) in the garden of a country-house belonging to Belisarius which was to be the first stage of her journey, with the object of discussing with her proposals for assassinating Justinian with the help of Belisarius; and that Theodora thereupon caused Narses the grand chamberlain, and Marcellus, the commander of the bodyguard, with some soldiers, to be concealed at the place appointed for this meeting, who when they had heard from the lips of John of Cappadocia his treasonable proposals suddenly came forward and attempted to seize him. John of Cappadocia escaped and took refuge in a church, thereby leaving the field open to Theodora, who going at once to Justinian proclaimed his guilt, and produced Narses and Marcellus as witnesses. He was seized, degraded from all his offices, transported to Cyzicus, and there forced to become a priest.

Shortly afterwards, upon his enemy the Bishop of Cyzicus being murdered, John of Cappadocia was accused of the crime, apparently unjustly; and, says Gibbon, "John of Cappadocia, whose actions had deserved a thousand deaths, was at last condemned for a crime of which he was innocent." The great minister, at whose name all men had trembled, and who had committed so many cruel atrocities, was himself stripped naked, grievously scourged, compelled to recite before the people all the misdeeds of his past life, and then, a rough cloak being thrown over him, was transported to Antinopolis in Upper Egypt, and there left to beg his bread. He remained there in exile for seven years, until the death of Theodora, when he was allowed to return to Constantinople, where he performed humble offices in connection with a church, and died in obscurity. John of Cappadocia might be called the last of the Prætorian Prefects,¹ for after his fall Justinian,

¹ The office which in its later form was created by the emperor Septimius Severus (Vol. I, Chap. VIII, p. 283).

taught by experience, so reduced the powers and emoluments of that office that it became practically abolished.¹

The Persian War. When in the spring of 542 the campaigning season in Mesopotamia arrived it was Chosroes who took the

initiative. Eluding the fortresses as before, he rapidly advanced with an army of about 100,000 men, crossed the Euphrates, and proceeded to invade Syria. Belisarius was hastily despatched from Constantinople with all the speed of posthorses, and almost alone, to repel this invasion. He found the Roman generals shut up in fear behind the fortifications of Hierapolis, and promptly ordered them to follow him to Europus where he intended to collect his forces. Chosroes, hearing of his arrival, sent ambassadors (really spies) before whom Belisarius made so skilful a display of his troops of many nations—Thracians, Isaurians, Heruli, Goths, Vandals, and Moors—that the report brought back to Chosroes caused him to halt and deliberate. Knowing the great skill in war of Belisarius, and ignorant of the amount of his force, he was afraid to risk a battle, and, though his army enormously outnumbered that of Belisarius, he began after a time slowly to retire. Belisarius with the utmost skill pressed this retreat, without ever allowing Chosroes to discover how comparatively small was the army opposed to him; the Persian army recrossed the Euphrates, and, thus steadily pressed by Belisarius, retired out of the Roman dominions, and Syria was saved. Perhaps nothing in the career of Belisarius displayed to a higher degree his talents as a general than this bloodless victory. Having gained this success, Belisarius returned at the conclusion of the campaign to Constantinople.

Illness of Justinian. But now a visitation more terrible than war spread over all the countries of the east, putting an end for a time to all military operations on either side. The plague, said to have begun in Upper Egypt, gradually spread over Persia, India, Syria, North Africa, and Europe. At length it reached Constantinople, and in a short time paralyzed all other matters. No record has survived of the total number who perished, but it is stated that during four months of that

¹ Regarding the possibility that John of Cappadocia may have been the unknown author of the foul and malignant *Secret History*, see Note H, p. 262.

summer (542), first five thousand, and at last ten thousand, persons died daily in Constantinople, and the work of burying the dead became so great that the emperor was forced to employ the whole of the household troops for the purpose. Finally Justinian himself was attacked, became delirious, and soon a rumour spread that he was dead, and that the empress was concealing the fact.

While Theodora, amidst the lovely gardens of her beautiful palace of the Heræum, where her husband lay apparently dying, contemplated in anxious alarm her fate if Justinian died,¹ the generals of the army in Mesopotamia secretly discussed at a military council the question of a new emperor, the names of Belisarius (then at Constantinople), John the Glutton (then in Italy), and Buzes (an officer holding a high command in Mesopotamia) being mentioned.

Belisarius
disgraced. Suddenly however, to the astonishment of all, Justinian recovered. Theodora had heard of the action of the generals while he lay unconscious and apparently at death's door, and she now informed him of this treasonable council, as she called it. The generals who had assisted at it were summoned to Constantinople, and a searching enquiry was held, with the result that Buzes was consigned to prison, where he languished for three years. Had not Belisarius been so popular with the people, and so necessary to the emperor, it is probable that he would have shared the same fate, on the same grounds. But though not imprisoned, Belisarius was disgraced; the command of the army in the east was taken from him, the greater part of his property was confiscated, and all his military household was broken up and divided among other generals. Men wondered, it is said, to see Belisarius, stripped of all his glory, walking about the streets of Constantinople, almost alone, in deep sadness, and even feeling that at any moment he might meet death at the hands of an assassin.

¹ Justinian and Theodora had either no children, or only one daughter whose name is not recorded. A "grandson" of Theodora, named Anastasius, is mentioned as at one time being engaged to Joannina, the only daughter of Belisarius and Antonina, but it is thought more probable that Anastasius was Theodora's nephew, the son of her sister Anastasia or of her sister Comito, who were both married.

Nevertheless it does not seem quite fair to upbraid Justinian to the extent often done in this matter. Without impugning for a moment Belisarius' loyalty, of which there is no question, it was not unreasonable that an emperor, especially under the conditions of that age, should object to a general who was overwhelmingly popular with the people maintaining a military body-guard of 7000 men absolutely devoted to him, and should take measures to put an end to Belisarius' position in that respect, even though some of those measures are indefensible.

The *Secret History* (in virulent language, and with many venomous embellishments) relates the whole of this action in regard to summoning the generals, conducting an enquiry into their conduct, imprisoning Buzes, and disgracing Belisarius, as being done by Theodora alone. But it is impossible to believe that, if Justinian was emperor in any sense, his generals could be imprisoned and his commander-in-chief disgraced without his authority. It is therefore more reasonable to suppose that the action was a joint one of Justinian and Theodora (who in all matters throughout their married life acted as one), though that action was very probably prompted by Theodora, who had suffered much mental distress and anxiety while Justinian lay at the point of death and the generals of the army were discussing who should be his successor.

Theodora's
letter to
Belisarius.

After a time, however, Theodora relented. She had presumably by that time got over the state of mental perturbation into which she had been thrown, and could regard the matter more calmly. She was as well aware as anyone that Belisarius was too valuable to the empire to be permanently placed on the shelf; while she also saw an opportunity for repaying her debt of gratitude to Antonina for the assistance given her by the latter the year before in helping to compass the fall of John of Cappadocia. As a result, while Belisarius, late in the evening, sat in his deserted palace in great dejection, a messenger from the empress was announced. Expecting to find the communication to be an order for his arrest and execution, he opened and read the following remarkable letter, one throwing a good deal of light upon the character of Theodora.

“*Theodora Augusta to the Patrician Belisarius.*”¹

“What you have done to us, noble Sir, you know very well. But I, on account of my obligations to your wife, have resolved to cancel these charges against you for her sake, and to make her a present of your life. Henceforward, therefore, you may rest satisfied as to the safety of your life and property.² Let your gratitude be displayed where it is due, not in words, but in your future conduct.”³

Nevertheless though Belisarius earnestly petitioned to be sent again to lead the army against Chosroes (the campaigning season of 543 having now arrived) he was not suffered to do so, but was given the office of “Count of the Sacred Stable,” which kept him in Constantinople. The *Secret History* would have us believe that this refusal was at the request of Antonina,³ but it is more likely that it was the outcome of suspicions still entertained by Justinian that if Belisarius found himself again with the army he might revolt, especially after the manner in which he had been treated. In any case Justinian soon suffered a deserved punishment for this refusal to reinstate Belisarius in command of the army in Mesopotamia, events quickly demonstrating how great was the latter’s value. For the army, not less than 30,000 strong, under fifteen generals with divided authority,⁴ was most ignominiously routed and completely put to flight by a force of only 4000 Persians, Dara and Edessa being besieged; but the ravages of the plague amongst both besiegers and besieged put a stop to further operations, and in 544 Justinian was forced to patch up a peace with Chosroes.

¹ In this letter, as in others of hers, we feel that Theodora herself penned the words. There is in it none of the long-winded milk-and-water phraseology beloved of the secretary class.

² This does not refer, however, to a sum of £135,000 which the emperor had appropriated out of the confiscated property, and which was not restored, but only to the remainder of Belisarius’ property.

³ The reason alleged being that Mesopotamia was the country where, says the *Secret History*, she had been imprisoned by Belisarius, and did not wish to go again where she had suffered this indignity. At what place this apocryphal imprisonment took place is not stated.

⁴ Justinian seems to have been fond of this arrangement of a number of generals with no commander-in-chief, as we hear of it both in Italy and in Mesopotamia, with similar results in both cases.

Disorder in
Italy. Meanwhile during the four years 540-544, a most disastrous change had come over affairs in Italy. Upon the departure of Belisarius in May 540 after having satisfactorily brought almost the whole country under the emperor's rule the ill-advised arrangement made by Justinian was not long in producing baleful effects. Each of the eleven generals left to rule in different parts of the country with equal authority set to work to plunder as much as he could, and under such conditions the army rapidly became demoralized. Moreover Justinian, always hopelessly incapable in financial matters, and always in need of money for his many building operations, now extended to Italy the various forms of financial oppression habitually employed by him, which had already half-ruined North Africa since its reconquest, and under which the various other parts of his empire groaned. The hated *Logothetæ*,¹ Justinian's tax-collectors, who by a most vicious system received as their salaries one-twelfth of all that they could extract by any devices from the people, arrived in Italy, and proceeded, according to their universal practice, to ruin its population while they themselves amassed wealth. Nor were their operations confined to the people of the country; these Logothetæ soon devised innumerable ways of taking heavy fines from the soldiers, one-twelfth of each fine going to the Logothetes concerned. They also devised a system of stopping promotion and keeping vacancies in what we should call the non-commissioned ranks of the army, in order to save the salaries belonging thereto; thus further impoverishing the army, and destroying both its efficiency and its discipline. Having thus filled both the conquered population and the soldiers of the army with fierce indignation, the Logothetæ turned their attention to the Ostrogoths, and devised a system of charges of embezzlement against many of the former officials of the Ostrogothic kings for various past offences (so-called) during the years preceding the reconquest of Italy. All these vicious and stupid contrivances for extracting money are stated to have been sanctioned by Justinian, and indeed must almost necessarily have been so.

These arrangements soon bore their natural fruit. Upon Belisarius refusing to be their king, the Ostrogoths had offered

¹ Singular, *Logothetes*; plural, *Logothetæ*.

the crown to Uraias, who declined it in favour of Ildibad; ¹ the latter, though he had accepted it, in doing so had notified his willingness to resign the crown if Belisarius would take it. When Belisarius left Italy Ildibad was in possession of only one city, Pavia, and had a force of about 1000 men. But before the Logothetæ had been at work a year all Italy north of the Po acknowledged the sovereignty of Ildibad, he had fought and won a battle at Treviso against the imperial general Vitalius, and his army (largely composed of men driven from the imperial army by the operations of the Logothetæ) had swelled to not far short of 10,000 men. Soon afterwards Ildibad caused Uraias to be assassinated, and in May 541 suffered the same fate himself. After an interval of five months under the lethargic Euraric, the Ostrogoths slew the latter, and in November 541 elected as their king Ildibad's nephew Baduila, better known as Totila, then about twenty-six years old, who at once proceeded to carry on the war begun by Ildibad.

Totila

Of all belonging to the Teutonic races at this period none, not even Theodoric the Great, was so noble a character as Totila. Brave in war, just and wise in administrative affairs, generous in disposition, and courteous and gentle towards women, he displays many of those knightly characteristics which became honoured in later ages, and we seem to see in him a forerunner of the Bayard of ten centuries later. He was destined to reign over the Ostrogoths for eleven years, to regain nearly all Italy, except its capital Ravenna, from the emperor, and to die in defence of the land he had, by the most laudable methods, made devoted to him.

Defeats at
Verona,
Faenza, and
the Mugello.

Justinian's arrangement of an army commanded by a number of generals all independent of each other proved as disastrous in Italy as it did in Mesopotamia. The imperial army, thus peculiarly commanded, advanced about January 542 against Verona, but the generals, all differing as to the plan of action, were carrying on their dissensions even during the battle, and the army consequently suffered a complete repulse, which was followed soon afterwards by another and still more crushing defeat at

¹ Professor Bury considers that the more probable form of his name was Ildibald.

Faenza, and finally in April 542 by a headlong rout in the valley of the Mugello near Florence, which rout entirely dispersed the army, and gave Totila the possession of Tuscany. Having thus gained central Italy, Totila, after destroying Florence, pushed on southwards, avoiding Rome; everywhere the oppression of the Logothetæ caused crowds to flock to his standard; he regained city after city, including Cumæ (where he captured the wives and daughters of the senators of Rome, treated them with every courtesy, and sent them back to their husbands and fathers, an act which deeply impressed the Romans), and was soon in possession of all southern Italy except Naples, which he proceeded to besiege. The Roman generals remained shut up, each in his own city, Constantian at Ravenna, John the Thracian at Rome, Bessas at Spoleto, Cyprian at Perugia, Justin at Fiesole, and the rest in other strongholds, which remained like islands in the general sea of Gothic Italy.

Totila supreme over nearly all Italy. By the end of 542 Justinian, seeing by this time how badly his arrangement had worked, but still determined not to employ Belisarius (who was being kept inactive in Constantinople), despatched an officer named Maximin as Prætorian Prefect in Italy. Inexperienced in war, he was also sluggish and cowardly, and while he delayed at Syracuse, Naples, in May 543, surrendered to the Gothic king. Totila allowed no outrages, put the garrison on ships to be taken to any port they wished, supplied every house of the starving citizens with food, and when a peasant complained that a soldier of the Gothic king's body-guard had outraged his daughter, and when his nobles implored him not to take the life of a brave soldier on such an account, Totila told them that it was only by showing a contrast to the vicious and corrupt government of the emperor that the Gothic kingdom would be raised again from the dust, and bade them choose which they would prefer, the safety of the whole Gothic state or the life of this man; whereupon with their concurrence the soldier was executed, his property being given by Totila to the girl. By conduct such as this Totila soon gained the confidence of the entire country; his justice became a proverb; and the emperor's cause sank ever lower in Italy.

St. Benedict. Just at this time there passed away, at the age of sixty-three, in the monastery which he had founded at Monte Cassino (halfway between Rome and Naples), a man whose name was to become a power throughout all Europe for the next seven centuries, and to be known and revered in lands where the name of the emperor Justinian had never been heard, Benedict of Nursia. From the sixth century to the thirteenth (when St. Francis and St. Dominic arose) the monastic rules which St. Benedict established were those observed by all monasteries in the West, while throughout the Middle Ages he furnished, both by his teaching and his life, the ideal for what was held, among all classes, throughout those ages as the highest type of human character.

Benedict from his boyhood showed a disposition which attracted all who knew him. Born in 480, and sent when he was twelve to school at Rome, when he was fourteen he took to a hermit's life in a cave at Subiaco, and by the time that he was twenty-five had established so great a reputation that many persons of high rank sent their sons to be trained under him. By means of this influence he during Theodoric's reign built twelve monasteries in different places; but in 528 he left Subiaco and established himself at Monte Cassino, where he soon afterwards, at the age of forty-nine, began to construct a monastery which was subsequently famed in all western countries. Having seen during his earlier years the evils arising from rules of too great strictness, which he saw led to open disregard of them in the case of some and to hypocritical pretence in that of others, he drew up for his new monastery a set of rules milder and more reasonable in character than those which obtained in the Eastern countries of the empire and had hitherto been adopted in Italy. And this "Rule of St. Benedict" became in course of time that followed everywhere in the West.

Founding his monastery of Monte Cassino in the year 529 while the Ostrogoths under Amalasantha held Italy, St. Benedict and those who through admiration of his character quickly gathered round him ere long found themselves surrounded by all the miseries of war. Before the new monastery had been established five years the disturbances among the

Ostrogoths of the years 534-535 ¹ took place, and in 536 were followed by the landing in Italy of the Roman army under Belisarius, and the beginning of the war with the Ostrogoths; and for the whole of the next twenty years the community gathered on the height of Monte Cassino saw perpetually the marching and fighting of bands of Ostrogoths, Romans, Franks, and Allemanni, the district round Monte Cassino passing again and again into the possession of one or the other of these foes, while at the time that St. Benedict died in the spring of 543 Italy had fallen into a state of the greatest ruin and misery, harried from end to end by war and disorders of every kind. When in some old Italian gallery we see portrayed in picture after picture the attractive faces of St. Benedict and his beloved pupils, the noble-born and noble-hearted Maurus and Placidus, with their expression of calm peace of mind and tranquillity, it is difficult to realize that they lived surrounded by every kind of disorder and wrong, and were daily brought in contact with the results of strife and warfare, famine and pestilence.

But St. Benedict did more for posterity than establish a more reasonable monastic system than had previously been customary. In his monastery of Monte Cassino he set his monks to work to supply the need which many centuries later was to be provided for by the art of printing, keeping them constantly at work in copying ancient manuscript books, while he began the collection of the valuable library for which Monte Cassino was afterwards so renowned, being the first abbot of a monastery who established the connection between monks and books. By the time that he died the Benedictine Order had begun to make its way from Italy into France, Spain, and Sicily. The monasteries became the only homes of learning throughout long periods when all around there was spread the desolation of war and the ruin wrought by barbarism, and in them proceeded perpetually the collection of great libraries, the copying of ancient books, and the writing of the chronicles of the time. Without these labours the great deeds and thoughts of Greece and Rome would have been to a large extent for ever lost to the world, while our debt to these homes of learning is also great for preserving

¹ Pages 216-217.

however rough a record of the events of their own times regarding which we should otherwise know little or nothing.¹

Desperate state of Italy Meanwhile the imperial generals in Italy, shut up in their respective strongholds, plundered and ravaged the adjacent lands to the utmost, and at length the state of the country became so terrible that early in 544 Constantian, commanding at Ravenna, wrote to the emperor that it was no longer possible to defend his cause in Italy. Soon afterwards Totila proceeded to besiege Otranto, the port at which a force coming to operate in southern Italy would have to land.

Belisarius again sent to Italy. Justinian now saw that no other course remained to him, if he wished to retain Italy, but to send Belisarius thither to repair all the blunders committed during the four years since he had left that country. But Justinian, in sending Belisarius to reconquer Italy, coupled with this command one regarding which one does not know whether to be more amazed at its meanness, or at its total want of any military knowledge, or even of ordinary common-sense. Justinian, still obsessed with the idea that Belisarius if in command of a large army might revolt, and not content with having already appropriated nearly half Belisarius' property, devised a method by which gradually to deprive him of the remainder, and while sending him to recover Italy at the same time to prevent his becoming the commander of a large army. Belisarius was therefore told that he must reconquer Italy *at his own expense*, a promise being exacted from him that he would make no demands upon the imperial treasury. Nor was this action of Justinian's due to want of money; for he was at the time lavishing expenditure upon the building and adorning of churches in every direction. No man with the most remote knowledge of what such a task as the reconquest of Italy meant, especially against such a foe as Totila (assisted as the latter was by the universal hatred for the emperor's government engendered by the operations of the Logothetæ, to whose enormities Totila was continually in the habit of pointing) could have issued such an order. And no man with the smallest nobility of character could have

¹ St. Benedict is commemorated in the Prayerbook of the Church of England on the 21st March.

dreamt of thus treating a man regarding whom he had three times in succession had to acknowledge that the suspicions against him which he had entertained were undeserved.

Belisarius, glad to escape from the hotbed of intrigue and slander, Constantinople, and to exchange at any price the degrading duties of "Count of the Sacred Stable" for his own proper work of commanding an army in the field, made no demur, and in May 544 departed to Thrace to endeavour to raise troops to take with him. But men had begun by this time to learn that to be a soldier in the army of Justinian meant receiving little or no pay, and having to leave their families destitute while at the same time seeing every subordinate underling in Justinian's tax-collecting department amassing wealth. Even the great name of Belisarius could not induce men to accept service under such conditions. So that it is not surprising that Belisarius could only get together about 4000 men, most of them of inferior fighting quality, and described by Belisarius himself as a "miserable squad." With these he crossed the Adriatic, raised the siege of Otranto, and then proceeded by sea to Ravenna.

NOTE H

JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA AND THE *Secret History*.

Though it has apparently not hitherto been made by historians, a suggestion may (except perhaps for one fact) be hazarded that the unknown author of the *Secret History* (see footnote to p. 194) is to be found in John of Cappadocia. Here was a man who more than all other men had reason after his fall to hate, with the fiercest hatred, Theodora, Antonina, and Justinian; a man who was able, absolutely unscrupulous, cognizant of all the life of the court for eleven years, ferocious, sensual, cruel, and from the abominable character of his private life likely to take a pleasure in fabricating, rather than to shrink from relating, even the worst of the anecdotes of the *Secret History*. Those who have attributed this book to Procopius, as formerly done, have known no motive why a writer who in his authentic works belauds Justinian to the utmost should have thus contradicted himself, and therefore in his case such motives have had to be imagined. In the case of John of Cappadocia it is the very reverse; no man had such reason to hate the three persons vilified in this book as had John of Cappadocia; and few men were so well able to hate. The only fact which stands in the way of the theory here hazarded is that the *Secret History* relates much against John of Cappadocia himself. But since the book is almost certainly not all the work of one hand, it seems possible that a later writer, feeling the same hatred against John of Cappadocia which the latter felt against Theodora, Antonina, and Justinian, may have added these portions to the book.

CHAPTER XXII

EAST—JUSTINIAN (LAST TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF HIS REIGN)

WEST—THE OSTROGOTHS, THE FRANKS, THE VISIGOTHS, AND BRITAIN

544—565

Unsatisfactory conditions of the war in Italy. THE history of the next four years of the war in Italy (544—548) is that of a few brave men under a brave and capable commander struggling to carry out a task made impossible for them by an emperor who wanted war made, but having no personal knowledge of it had no conception of its exigencies. Belisarius did all that any commander so situated could do, and showed no less ability than formerly, but the result was naturally small. Little bands of 500 or 600 men were sent against this or that stronghold held by the Ostrogoths, and sometimes captured it and sometimes failed, but a pitched battle with Totila was impossible for want of the necessary troops, and without battles such a country as Italy could not be won. Moreover there was always the chronic question of the large arrears of pay due to the troops (in some cases as much as a year in arrears), causing constant desertions, even among the Illyrians and Isaurians, the best soldiers in the army. Soon after reaching Ravenna Belisarius sent a force, mostly composed of Illyrian troops, which regained Bologna. But that city was almost immediately afterwards abandoned by the Illyrian troops who had captured it, who marched straight out of Italy back to their homes in Illyricum, and sent a message to the emperor that they had done so because they had served for years in Italy without receiving their pay, and because a body of Huns was laying waste their homes and carrying off their wives and children into slavery. And two successive sieges

of Rome by the Ostrogoths ended by gates being opened to Totila by the Isaurian soldiers guarding them because their pay was months in arrears, whereas his soldiers were properly paid and fed. And yet Justinian allowed this state of things to go on year after year, though repeatedly implored to send some sufficient body of troops for the war and the pay due to those already engaged therein.

It is often supposed that Justinian's armies were so palpably insufficient in numbers for the task assigned to them because there was a lack of men for soldiers. It is a complete fallacy; and one has but to look at the wide extent of his empire, and the numerous races, many of them of first-rate fighting capacity, over which he ruled to see that it is so. Moreover other emperors succeeded him who found no such difficulty.¹ Justinian could not get soldiers, first because he did not know how to do so, and secondly because he would not pay those he did get, and spent all his available funds upon churches and other building operations while he starved his armies. Men knew that service in his forces meant that their pay would be for months in arrears, that even when obtained a great part of it would be stolen from them under various pretexts by vicious financial officials, and that they would never have a fair chance in war, but would always be subjected to defeats by being pitted against far larger forces; and it was not surprising that under these conditions Justinian could not get soldiers.

After a year had been consumed in this unsatisfactory kind of warfare, during which time Totila had taken Tivoli, massacred its inhabitants, and begun from thence to cut off the supplies of Rome, which was held by Bessas with a small force of imperial troops, Belisarius disregarded his promise, and in May 545 wrote to the emperor saying that he had expended the whole of his own private resources; that it was impossible to make Italy provide the funds necessary to carry on the war, because most of that country was in the hands of the enemy; that it was necessary plainly to tell him that owing to the long overdue arrears of pay the larger part of Justinian's nominal soldiers were now serving under the banners of Totila; and that if the emperor desired to

¹ E.g. Heraclius (see Chap. XXIV).

overcome the Ostrogoths he must send a large force of troops and also money with which to pay them. But this manly letter produced no result. A few dribblets of men arrived from time to time, but not even enough to make up for the ordinary losses in war.¹

Pope Vigilius
deported by
Theodora.

In November 545 the troubles of Vigilius, Pope of Rome, began. The empress Theodora, wielding a joint authority with Justinian, and always labouring on behalf of her co-religionists,² had in 537 appointed Vigilius to that office in consequence of an engagement by him that he would assist the Monophysites.³ But in eight years Vigilius had shown no disposition to carry out this engagement (one quite incompatible with his position), and he now suffered Theodora's vengeance. Early in November 545, Anthemius, an imperial notary, received a letter from the empress ordering him to go to Rome and seize Vigilius, the letter saying, "If you shall find Vigilius in the Lateran, or in the Palace adjoining it, or in any church, at once put him on ship-board and bring him hither to Us. If you do not do this, by Him who liveth for ever I will have you flayed alive."⁴ In accordance with this forcible mandate Anthemius proceeded to Rome, and finding Vigilius in the church of St. Cecilia on the 22nd November 545, arrested him, and placed him on board ship, the people throwing sticks and stones at Vigilius and pouring forth curses upon him as the vessel bore him away. In accordance, however, with a subsequent order he was not at this time taken to Constantinople, but to Sicily,

¹ No doubt part of the reason why Justinian sent so few men to Italy was the necessity of resisting the operations of Chosroes, forcing Justinian to send every available man to the east, instead of to the west. But this will not apply in the case of these years 545 to 548, for during that period there was peace with Chosroes.

² One of the strangest things in the joint rule of Justinian and Theodora is that though he was an ardent Catholic and she an ardent Monophysite we never find this a cause of discord, and he appears to acquiesce in all orders given by her of the kind which she gave in regard to the appointment, and the arrest, of Vigilius.

³ Chap. XXI, p. 228.

⁴ The genuine ring about Theodora's letters which makes us feel quite sure that she penned them herself is here again apparent. No courtly Cassiodorus was allowed to polish, and spoil, *her* sentences.

where he was kept in custody, but not imprisoned. And there he remained for the next sixteen months.¹

Second siege of Rome. Meanwhile Rome was in sore straits. The force with which Bessas was expected to hold the twelve miles of walls which Aurelian had constructed for the defence of Rome, did not amount to more than about 3000 men. And Bessas had none of the ability which Belisarius had displayed nine years before under similar circumstances. Early in 546 Totila, having taken in succession Fermo, Spoleto, Assisi, Placentia and most of the other strongholds in which the various imperial generals had shut themselves up, advanced against Rome, and began a strict blockade of the city. After a time Belisarius made a most heroic attempt to assist Bessas and to relieve Rome. He seized Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber, placed Antonina there, and endeavoured to force his way up the Tiber by destroying the chain and fortified bridge which Totila had constructed about twelve miles below Rome. Being however unsupported by Bessas the attempt failed, and Belisarius being driven back was forced to retire to Portus through fear for the safety of Antonina and lest he should lose this his only port on the western coast; and at Portus he was laid up with severe fever for several months. While he lay ill the garrison in Rome, reduced to the last straits by famine, and enraged at the peculations of Bessas, became demoralized; and in December 546 this second siege of Rome ended by the Asinarian Gate, close to the Lateran Palace (the residence of the Popes of Rome), being opened by the Isaurian soldiers guarding it, the rest of the force under Bessas escaping by the Flaminian Gate on the other side of the city.

Rome left empty, reoccupied, and a third time besieged.

Totila on thus capturing Rome declared his intention of making Rome a pasture for cattle. He gave the city up to pillage, destroyed the great Baths of Caracalla at the southern side of the city, demolished about a third of the walls, and made preparations to destroy all the finest buildings of ancient times; but a firm and temperate remonstrance from Belisarius (still lying ill at Portus) against sullyng his fame by such an act caused him to desist. Totila only remained about a fortnight in

¹ See p. 283.

Rome, and then marched away towards Apulia, taking with him the senators,¹ and sending the few remaining citizens into exile, and for six weeks the city of Rome—the “Great Rome” of Trajan—was left without a single inhabitant and abandoned to wild animals. Then in February 547 Belisarius, being determined not to allow Rome to be left desolate, taking with him 1000 men, drove back the small force of Ostrogoths who opposed him, visited Rome, and resolving to re-occupy it summoned to him the rest of his force. He then attracted many of the former inhabitants to return by offers of food and employment, by unceasing exertions roughly repaired the breaches in the walls, placed obstacles in the gateways until new gates could be made, stationing his bravest troops there, and in less than a month was prepared for any attack. Totila, enraged at hearing that Belisarius had re-occupied Rome, returned by rapid marches from Apulia, and furiously attacked the city; the Ostrogoths were three times repulsed in three general assaults in the space of a week, and lost heavily; and after the third assault Totila gave up the attempt to retake Rome, and retired to Tivoli, where he accommodated his army in the vast palace called the “Villa of Hadrian,”² whose many beautiful buildings the Ostrogoths wantonly set about destroying, amusing themselves by using its choicest works of art as targets.

Misgovernment of North Africa. While Italy, as the result of a succession of blunders during seven years, had been reduced to this miserable condition, affairs in Justinian’s other newly conquered province were not in a much better state. Upon Belisarius’ conquest of North Africa that country had for a year or two settled down peaceably. But soon there had descended upon the province the usual swarm of Justinian’s Logothetæ, with the vicious system under which they were entitled to one-twelfth of everything which they could by any device extort from high or low. Moreover many officers and soldiers of

¹ This is the last that is heard of the Senate of Rome, whose place had long been taken by the Senate of Constantinople. When eight years later Italy was at length regained by Justinian the Senate of Rome was not again set up. Being an imperial body, and Italy being thenceforth governed from Constantinople, there was no longer any place in the scheme of government for a Senate of Rome

² Vol. I, Chap. VI, pp. 231–232.

the army which had conquered North Africa had married the widows of the slain Vandals, each such wife bringing with her as a marriage dowry the estate which had been hers while living with her Vandal husband. But the Logothetæ upon their arrival claimed that all such lands belonged by right of conquest to the State, and all those who had married Vandal widows found themselves and their wives ejected from their estates, or forced to live upon them as poverty-stricken tenants at a rack-rent under the Logothetæ.

These operations of the Logothetæ, together with the standing grievance of the pay of the troops being in arrears, at length induced the formidable revolt subdued by Belisarius in 536, which had been headed by Stutza, a soldier of the body-guard; and the same causes continued to produce like effects, though for a time tempered by the conciliatory rule as Prefect of Justinian's nephew, the humane and sensible Germanus, and his successor Solomon. In 544, however, a revolt due to the rapacity of the Logothetæ and the grievances of the army again broke out; the Prefect Solomon was killed, and Stutza reappeared, and was soon joined by large numbers of the troops. In 545 Areobindus, who had married Justinian's fascinating niece Præjecta, was sent to Africa as Prefect, with orders to subdue Stutza; a battle was fought at Sicca Venerea,¹ Stutza was killed, and the insurrection put down. Soon afterwards, however, Areobindus was murdered by a usurper, Gontharis, the rebel governor of Numidia, who seized Præjecta, but was himself after a month stabbed by the Armenian prince Artabanes, who had risen high in the imperial service, and was in love with Præjecta. Artabanes thereupon became Prefect of North Africa, but after ruling for a short time was in 546 recalled to Constantinople to meet a charge preferred to the empress Theodora against him.

Artabanes.

Artabanes, highly born, tall, dignified, reserved, and a prince in his own country, had rendered conspicuous services to the empire, and was in deserved favour with the emperor. In return for those services Justinian was ready to grant him high honours, but Artabanes only desired one reward, the hand in marriage of Præjecta, whom

¹ The modern Keff.

he had both rescued and avenged by slaying the hated Gontharis; while she was equally anxious thus to reward him. There was however a serious obstacle in the fact that Artabanes had a wife in Armenia, whom he had long discarded. Artabanes' wife now appealed to the empress Theodora to right her wrongs, and the latter, "unable," says Procopius, "to turn a deaf ear to a woman in distress," insisted upon Artabanes taking back his discarded wife, and gave Præjecta to another husband. But Artabanes never forgave Justinian and Theodora for thus separating him from the woman he loved, and though promoted to be Commander of the household troops, General of the *fœderati*, and Consul, brooded over this injury. To North Africa as his successor was sent as Prefect John the Thracian, married to Justinian's grand-niece Justina. In a two years' war (546-548) he finally subdued the native tribes of North Africa, the Berbers, and under the temperate rule established by him, North Africa remained henceforth undisturbed. But the province which had been so flourishing when conquered from the Vandals continued to decline in prosperity, not devastated by war like Italy, but crushed by the tyrannical rapacity of the Logothetæ, who, ever seeking to enrich themselves, invented every imaginable device for extorting money, spreading over North Africa like a swarm of locusts. Procopius asserts (though perhaps with some degree of exaggeration) that, whereas when he first landed in North Africa in 533 with Belisarius, he admired the populous condition of the cities and the great prosperity of the country throughout the district round Carthage, in less than twenty years (without suffering from any severe war) the greater part of this prosperous country had been converted into a silent solitude.

Desultory warfare in Italy The reoccupation of Rome by Belisarius had little practical effect on the course of the war, he having no force with which to follow up his success and attack Totila. There followed during the rest of the year 547 a long period of desultory combats here and there in southern Italy, in the course of which Otranto was at length retaken, and a reinforcement of about 2000 men arrived under Valerian; but the latter being entirely lacking in courage, shut himself up in Ancona and did nothing. In May 548 Belisarius was

driven out of Crotona, and forced to take refuge at Messina in Sicily, while Roscianum, which he had been trying to relieve, surrendered to Totila. Thus at the end of four years of war, instead of regaining Italy from the Ostrogoths, Belisarius, though as full of ability and courage as ever, "had wandered like a fugitive," says Procopius, "from one point of the coast to another," and had effected nothing, being left without the means with which to obtain any real results, while the whole country was reduced, after twelve years of destructive warfare, to a condition of appalling devastation.

This war of Justinian's in Italy (which lasted altogether for eighteen years) is an example of what a terrible thing is a war carried on by a ruling authority ignorant of military affairs, and even though the most capable commanders may be employed. Less than a hundred years later a military emperor, Heraclius, took ten years in preparing his army before launching upon a great war; Justinian on the other hand entered upon war without any preparation for it at all, and from the very outset showed an entire misconception of the nature of the task and of the arrangements necessary for success. He started by sending 9000 men to meet 150,000 men, and all his arrangements were of a similar character. He never gave any personal attention to military affairs, and never from first to last had a properly trained army. From time to time when he could spare attention from matters which to him were more important he collected small bodies of troops and sent them in little dribbles to the war, but he gave no attention even to their being properly equipped, and he did not even see to it that their pay was regularly forthcoming, while all other matters connected with a successful prosecution of the war were by him entirely disregarded.¹ Had a military emperor—a Trajan, an Aurelian, a Constantine, or a Valentinian I—waged this war it is plain from what occurred that it would have been most effectually concluded within two years from the time that Belisarius' force landed in the country, and thereupon Italy would have settled down to a condition of peace and prosperity. Instead of which, by this long dragging war, directly caused by complete ignorance on the part of the ruling authority of how war should be waged, and of

¹ See pp. 288 and 293.

the efforts and attention to many details necessary in order to wage it successfully, Italy was so utterly devastated that it never for centuries afterwards recovered the effects, its great architectural and artistic treasures (such as the Villa of Hadrian, the Baths of Caracalla, the Forum of Trajan, and the many other splendid buildings in Rome erected by so many emperors) were all irretrievably destroyed, and the country was brought to such a condition of impoverishment and weakness that it lay helpless when a few years later it was invaded by the Lombards.

Ravenna. Amidst all the havoc and ruin of Italy during the years 540-548 one spot alone remained undisturbed by these struggles, and presented a striking contrast to the desolation which prevailed throughout all the rest of that country. Ravenna, which had first been the imperial capital of the western half of the empire during the times of Honorius and Galla Placidia, and then the capital of the kingdom of the Ostrogoths during the times of Theodoric the Great and Amalasantha, had since the year 540 again become the imperial capital in the West, the emperor's permanent stronghold in Italy, and the seat of his representative, the Prefect. And Ravenna, protected on the land side by an almost impassable labyrinth of marshes, and having free communication by sea¹ with the opposite coast of the Adriatic, as well as with Constantinople, was safe from any attack by Totila, and remained in so peaceful and prosperous a condition amidst the turmoils of this war in Italy that it seemed scarcely to have any connection with the rest of that desolated country. While therefore everywhere else only destruction was taking place, in Ravenna it was the reverse, and these years 540-548 saw added to the buildings of Ravenna some of that city's most notable possessions, especially in regard to the construc-

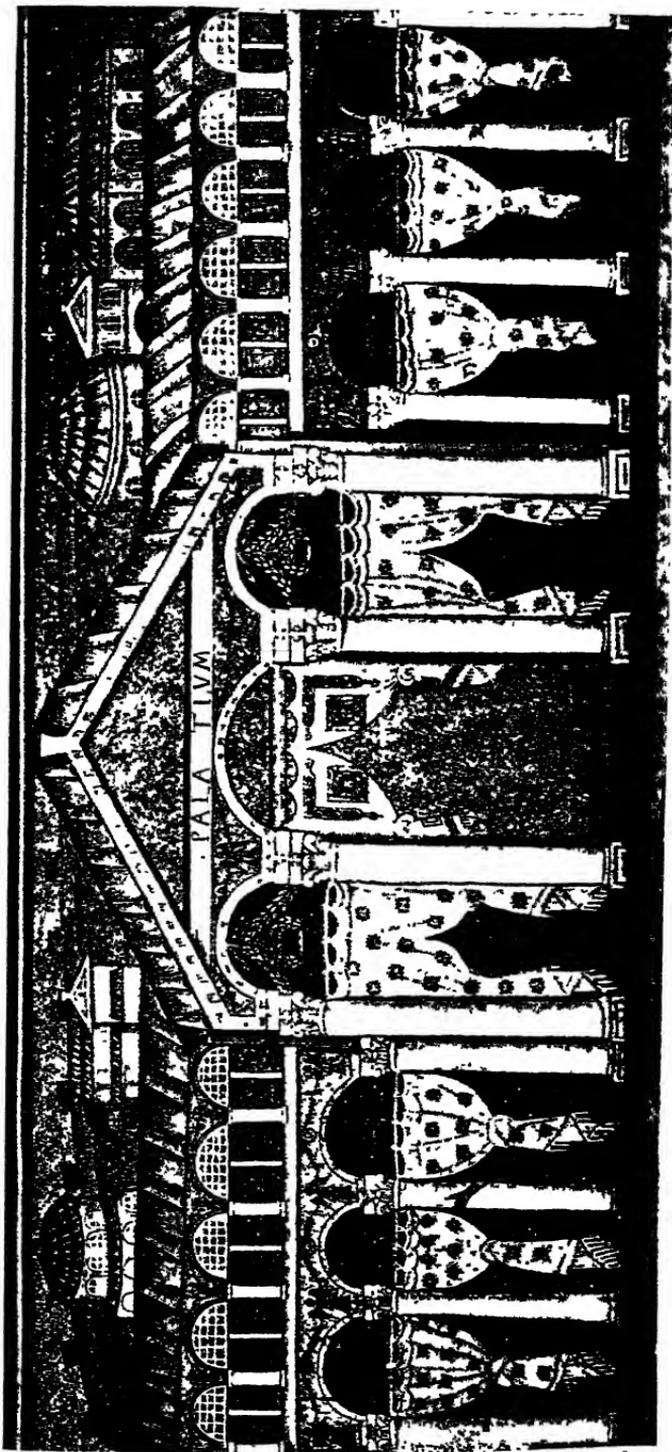
¹ Through its port of Classis (signifying, the station of the fleet), three miles from the city. This port, Ravenna's back door, was also its most vulnerable point. Towards the front (to the west, north, and south) Ravenna was almost impregnable, but it was otherwise as regards its sea-port to the east; and all captures of Ravenna took place through Classis being taken.

tion and adornment of its churches. For Justinian, whatever might be the case in other directions, had always funds to provide lavishly for this purpose. Four churches which still exist, and the Palace of Ravenna, of which we have only a picture, have all much interest in connection with this period.

The Palace of Ravenna. The Palace of Ravenna, after being for more than forty years occupied by the Ostrogothic kings, by the reconquest of Ravenna in 540 had again become the imperial palace, and the official residence of the emperor's representative the Prefect of Italy. It is often called "the Palace of Theodoric"; but there is no evidence that Theodoric built at Ravenna a fresh royal palace, which would have been a quite unnecessary expense, for the imperial Palace of the emperors of the West was available for his use and was certainly not likely to be wanting either in size or grandeur for the ruler of the Ostrogothic kingdom. Moreover this Palace of Ravenna was undoubtedly situated near the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia and the church of St. Vitalis, which was built by Amalasantha as the court church; in the mosaic picture of the palace which we possess ¹ this is corroborated, the church of St. Vitalis being shown standing close behind the palace; and in this mosaic picture, which shows the front of the Palace, it is called simply "Palatium" (the Palace), without any words connecting it specially with Theodoric. It had been "The Palace" before his time, in his time, and after his time, and was still so when in the reign of Justinian this mosaic was put up.

The general appearance of this interesting Palace of Ravenna, where Honorius fed his chickens, where Galla Placidia spent most of her life, where the boy Romulus Augustulus resigned the last shreds of the empire of the West, where Theodoric held his court surrounded by a degree of ceremony very unpalatable to his rough Ostrogoths, where Amalasantha studied ancient literature, tried to civilize the Ostrogoths, and whipped her little son, and where lastly, Belisarius informed the aged Witigis that his kingdom was at an end, and told the crest-fallen Ostrogoths that he declined to be their king, is shown us in one of the mosaics still to be seen in the church of St.

¹ See below.



[MOSAIC]

THE PALACE OF RAVENNA

Mosaic in the church of St. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna

The church of St. Vitale is visible close behind the palace, and at a little distance the walls of the city, thus showing the locality of this palace.

Apollinare Nuovo.¹ In the centre of the front of the Palace four lofty Corinthian columns support arches forming the main entrance, and above these a pediment on which is written the word PALATIUM. On either side of this main entrance is a long colonnade, with an upper storey above it, while between the pillars hang looped-up curtains with large square patches of imperial purple.²

Unique interest
possessed by
Ravenna. Much of the interest which Ravenna possesses is due to its exceptional history. Ravenna was left like an island between two great floods of barbarism (from one of which even Rome did not escape), the barbarian flood which during the 5th and 6th centuries overspread all the countries of the West, and the Mahomedan flood which during the 7th and subsequent centuries overspread all the countries of the East and South. The result has been that Ravenna, besides its unique remains belonging to the 5th century, possesses also almost the only remains of the art of the age of Justinian.³

¹ Plate LXIV. It is curious that in this picture of the Palace of Ravenna there is no sign of the large equestrian group which was placed by Theodoric upon its roof. As this mosaic picture undoubtedly shows the Palace as it was in the time of Justinian (when these mosaics were put up), it seems as though Justinian must have refused to have this statue of Theodoric upon the roof of the imperial palace, and removed (without destroying) this equestrian group; and that it was afterwards re-erected by the Lombards when in 750 Ravenna became theirs. For the group was certainly again upon the roof of the Palace in 800 when Charles the Great visited Ravenna, since he removed it from thence (Chap. XX, p. 187).

² In the eastern quarter of the city (in the present Via Alberoni) a single high wall, crowned with an upper storey, and having a simple doorway below, has been called by tradition the "palace of Theodoric." This may have been owing to a desire on the part of the Lombards to connect everything with Theodoric, the ideal figure among the northern races, but in any case this is not the palace shown in the mosaic picture in St. Apollinare Nuovo. For this latter not only shows the church of St. Vitalis (which is in the north-western quarter of the city) standing behind the palace, but also shows the walls of the city close behind the palace, which they would not have been in the case of the site in the Via Alberoni.

³ Except St. Sophia at Constantinople, the cathedral at Thessalonica, and the cathedral at Parenzo, near Pola. The churches of St. George and St. Demetrius at Thessalonica are much older than the time of Justinian, though much of their interior mosaic decoration belongs to his time.

In the time of Justinian art had chiefly resolved itself into architecture and pictures in mosaic ;¹ and in the work belonging to his age remaining at Ravenna we have examples of both these lines in art, all of them apparently executed during the years 540–548. The chief of these works are, (i) the church of St. Vitalis, with its mosaics, (ii) the mosaics of the church of St. Apollinare Nuovo, (iii) the mosaics of the chapel in the Archbishop's palace, and (iv) the church of St. Apollinare in Classe. During the whole of these eight years Constantian seems to have continued the commandant of Ravenna, while its Archbishop was the celebrated Maximianus ;² and the latter was almost certainly the chief agent in carrying out the works constructed at this time in Ravenna, though the funds for them must have been provided by Justinian.³

It is not generally recognized that the founder of both the church of St. Vitalis and the church of St. Apollinare in Classe was Amalasantha,⁴ though the style in which these two churches were eventually completed and adorned is due to Justinian. Immediately after the death of her father Theodoric, Amalasantha, possibly in memory of him, began, at the end of the year 526, to build an octagonal church, which she placed on the site where tradition said that St. Vitalis had suffered martyrdom in A.D. 66, and dedicated it to the latter, the church being intended by her to be the court church. It was however only about half finished

¹ We still hear of paintings in Justinian's time, but none of these have survived, with however one notable exception. There still exists in the cathedral of Rossano, in Italy, a magnificent manuscript of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, written in large silver letters upon pages of purple vellum, and this is adorned with twelve large miniatures of exquisite design, executed in the reign of Justinian. This manuscript is known as the *Codex Rossanensis* (Lenormant, *La Grande-Grèce*, I, 347).

² Considered to be probably the writer of the important chronicle called the *Anonymus Valesii* (see Chap. XX, p. 177).

³ These Ravenna mosaics have a special interest for members of the Church of England ; because that Church stands upon the basis of her appeal at the Reformation to the first six centuries of Christianity, and these mosaics, all put up during the 5th and 6th centuries, have much to show as to what was held at that time.

⁴ See page 281 (footnote).

when Amalasantha was murdered in 535, and was still in the same state when Belisarius took Ravenna in 540 and that city came once more under a Catholic sovereign. The church, begun as an Arian one, was then completed, and its interior elaborately decorated by the orders of Justinian, apparently under the superintendence of Archbishop Maximianus, by whom it was consecrated as a Catholic church in 547.¹

This church of St. Vitalis² furnishes notable examples of both the two chief lines in art of the age of Justinian, and in regard to its architecture was taken by Charles the Great as a model for his cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. The beautiful pillars which support its dome have elaborately carved capitals of a new form, and the walls were originally covered with very rare marbles, some portions of which remain. But its chief interest lies in the fine mosaics which cover the whole of the walls of the choir, though in execution they are perhaps not equal to those put up about a hundred years earlier in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, or those of still earlier date in the Baptistery of the Cathedral. On these walls of the choir, in addition to the mosaics on Biblical subjects, there are also the two large mosaic pictures previously mentioned, representing Justinian and Theodora,³ which were almost certainly designed by Maximianus himself, and the design approved by the emperor and the empress. And since Theodora died in 548, while Ravenna only came under the sovereignty of Justinian in 540, these two mosaics must have been put up during the years 540-548.⁴

St. Apollinare Nuovo. When Theodoric set up his kingdom in 493 the cathedral of Ravenna (built about the time that Honorius made that city the capital), together with its finely decorated Baptistery, had been standing for nearly a hundred

¹ Outside the church on the north side is a monument to the Exarch Isaac, who died in 641. The sarcophagus belonging to it, with an inscription in Greek stating that the monument was erected by his wife Susanna, is now in the museum at Ravenna.

² Plate LXV, showing part of the interior.

³ Chap. XXI, pp. 197-198.

⁴ They are considered to have been probably put up in the year 546.

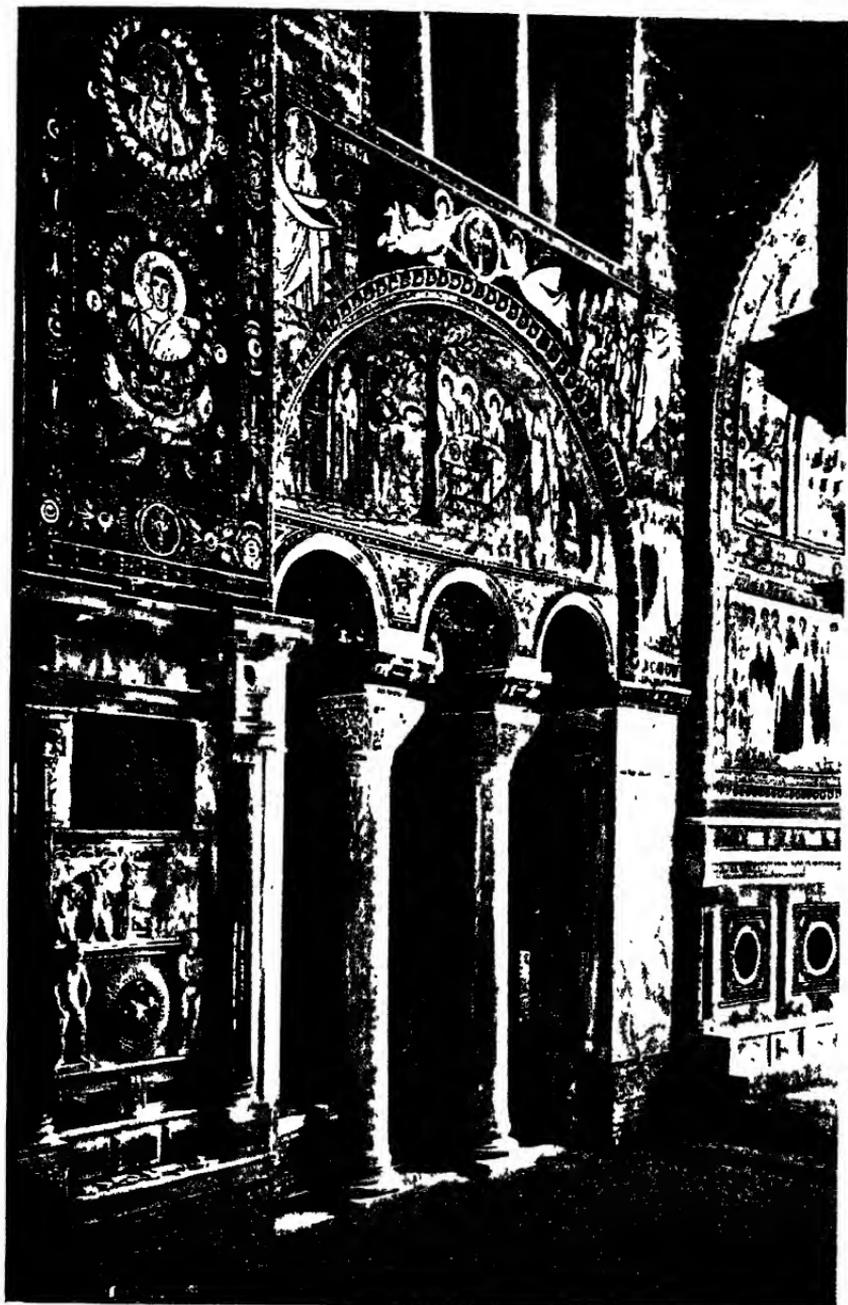
years.¹ Theodoric, acting very differently in this respect from all other sovereigns of his age, did not convert the cathedral into an Arian one, but determined to build a separate Arian cathedral. He therefore built a church for that purpose, dedicating it to St. Martin. When in 540 the Arian Ostrogoths were driven out of Ravenna by Belisarius and the city in a short time had only a Catholic population under a Catholic emperor, Justinian caused this Arian cathedral to be converted into a Catholic church, and its interior to be re-decorated. And in the 9th century, when in the struggles of the time Classis became in danger, the treasured relics of St. Apollinaris, Ravenna's first bishop,² were removed from St. Apollinare in Classe to this church of St. Martin inside Ravenna, and it received its present name of St. Apollinare Nuovo.

Though its former atrium,³ and its apse, have been removed this church affords a well-preserved example, highly valuable because so rare, of the general appearance and interior decoration of a church of the 6th century. The twenty-four marble columns of the nave were sent by Justinian from Constantinople at the time when he caused the interior of the church to be re-decorated. The chief glory, however, of this church is its magnificent series of mosaics, which cover the whole of the walls of the architrave, and are partly of the church's Arian and partly of its Catholic period. These mosaics are in three rows. In the upper row, above the windows of the nave, are scenes from the life of Christ, on the left side the miracles of Christ, and on the right side the history of the Passion; the omission of the Crucifixion shows the early date of these mosaics, when representations of that subject were always avoided. In the second row, between the windows, are large figures of the Apostles and Prophets, executed in a more pleasing and less stiff manner than became customary in Byzantine work of a later period. These two upper rows

¹ The cupola of the Baptistery is decorated with mosaics which are the finest and the oldest in Ravenna, representing the Baptism of Christ, figures of the Apostles and Prophets, and four altars with the open books of the four Gospels.

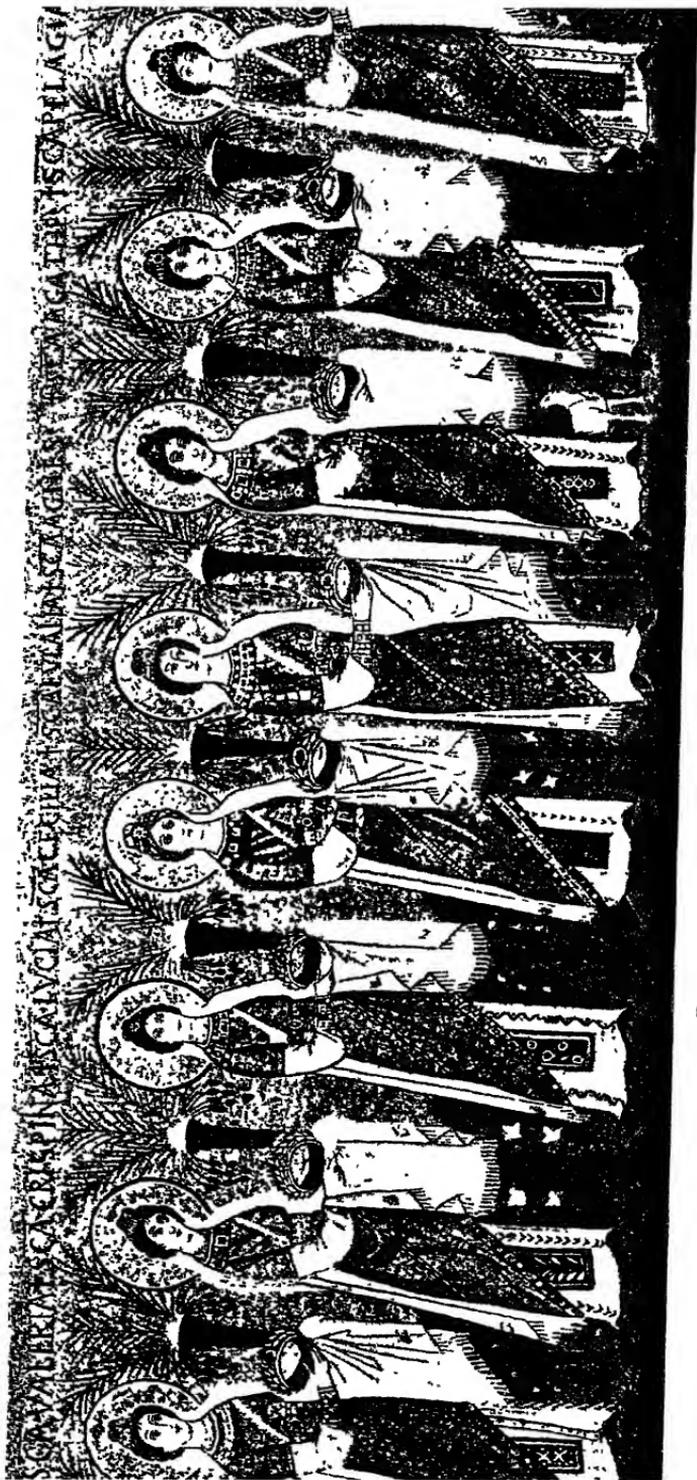
² Said to have accompanied St. Peter from Antioch, and on their reaching Italy to have been sent by him to be Bishop of Ravenna, and to have been martyred there in A.D. 79, the last year of the reign of Vespasian.

³ Outer court.



INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF ST. VITALIS, RAVENNA.
Showing the general character of the mosaic decoration.

ALINARI.



PART OF THE PROCESSION OF FEMALE MARTYRS

Mosaic in the church of St. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna

The plate only shows about one-quarter of the whole procession. The figures are about life size when looked at from the floor of the church

of mosaics may both perhaps belong to the Arian period of the church.

Below these, however, are the mosaics which have made this church celebrated, and these undoubtedly belong to the Catholic period of the church.¹ Extending along the whole length above the arches of the nave, from the western door up to the chancel arch, are two long processions of notable martyrs, male and female, the figures being about seven feet in height, so as to appear from the floor of the church about life size. On the right-hand side of the nave there issues from a side door of the palace of Ravenna a long procession of twenty-two male martyrs, clothed in white, each carrying his palm and crown, and each having his name written in Latin over his head upon the gold background of the picture, this procession advancing towards a representation of Christ, seated in glory, attended by four angels. On the left-hand side of the nave there issues from the gate of the town of Classis a similar procession of twenty-one female martyrs, each dressed in royal robes of a dark blue colour profusely ornamented, and with a white scarf, each bearing in one hand her palm and in the other her crown of martyrdom, and with her name written in Latin over her head upon the gold background,² this procession (now) advancing towards a representation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, seated with the infant Christ upon her lap, surrounded by four angels, and with the Magi presenting their gifts. With reference to what has been said as to Ravenna showing what was held in the 6th century, it is necessary to remark that this latter portion of this mosaic has been added in recent years, and creates an anachronism. The procession of female martyrs undoubtedly originally advanced, like that of the male martyrs, towards a figure of Christ their Saviour, with whose name on their lips they had died. But in recent years (apparently for controversial purposes) this end portion of the procession of the female martyrs has been altered,³ and the procession

¹ See p. 280.

² Plate LXVI. Showing about one-quarter of the whole length of the procession of female martyrs.

³ In 1846. The new portion, though cleverly blended, can plainly be distinguished, owing to the discoloration of the older mosaic-work.

now advances towards a figure of the Blessed Virgin. It is almost unnecessary to state that the 6th century, though it revered, paid no adoration to the Blessed Virgin. Moreover the 6th century would never have perpetrated such an inartistic unreality in its picture; the female martyrs did not die with the name of the Blessed Virgin on their lips.

Notwithstanding all the stiffness of mosaic, the solemn peace and dignity of the male martyrs, and the beauty, grace, and radiant joy of the female martyrs, are beautifully expressed; while these pictures, nearly fourteen hundred years old, arouse a human interest in those concerned such as no mere list of their names would evoke. Here are Vivia Perpetua and Felicitas of Carthage, Cecilia and Agnes of Rome, Euphemia of Chalcedon, Agatha of Catania, Eugenia of Alexandria, Lucia of Syracuse, Eulalia of Merida, Daria the Vestal Virgin, Pelagia the actress, the boy Pancras, the Roman officers Sebastian and Vitalis, the Bishops Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Cyprian, the deacons Lawrence and Vincent, and others of the most celebrated of those who had suffered in the terrible days of Diocletian only 230 years before. And these pictures, put up by those who lived so soon afterwards, cannot but have had an immense effect in causing a strong human interest in these martyred men and women to be felt by many belonging to the successive generations who during fourteen hundred years have worshipped in this church.

These two mosaic pictures on the right and left of the nave are also highly valuable as affording the only pictures in existence of the city of Ravenna of the 6th century. Not only do they show us the Palace of Ravenna,¹ connected with so much of the history of the 5th and 6th centuries, but also the no longer existing town of Classis. On that coast the sea has been for centuries receding; Ravenna, which in the time of Augustus was the station of his navy, in the time of Justinian was three miles from the sea, and Classis had become its port; while Ravenna is now six miles from the sea, and Classis has disappeared. In this mosaic we have a picture of this sea-port of Ravenna, Classis, where Theodoric met

¹ The picture shown in Plate LXIV is a reproduction from this mosaic.

the defeated Odoacer at the end of the three years' siege, and where Belisarius embarked, carrying away with him Witigis and Malasuntha and the royal hoard of the kingdom, while the Ostrogoths, gathered upon the quays, sorrowfully watched their departure. Classis (of which no vestige now remains, except a single church surrounded by fields) is represented in the picture as a walled town, with important buildings, a lighthouse, and ships entering its harbour.

But far beyond all other interests which these two great mosaic pictures possess is that due to the fact that these two processions of male and female martyrs, each with his or her name written, supply the earliest list of martyrs which exists,¹ and one quite unimpeachable in authority.

It does not pretend of course to include even half the number of the most noted martyrs,² which would have been impossible for want of space, but merely those who for one cause or another were chiefly honoured in Ravenna. Its importance, however, as a list of notable martyrs put up so soon after the last persecution cannot be over-rated. Those who put up this mosaic lived not longer after the persecution of Diocletian (in which nearly all of these martyrs suffered) than we are removed from the reign of William III in England, living therefore sufficiently near in time to the events to make their record absolutely reliable; they were not likely to include among their figures of martyred men and women any but those the fact of whose martyrdom was well known to all men at that time. Thus among them we find no cases where (as in subsequent centuries)

¹ Except of course the records in the Catacombs. As the list is long it is given in Appendix XII, the names being arranged according to the dates of martyrdom. In the mosaic picture they are arranged in the procession apparently according to the degree of honour given to each in Ravenna. St. Clement heads the procession of male martyrs, and St. Euphemia the procession of female martyrs.

² For instance such noted martyrs as Fabian, Lucius I, Stephen I, Sixtus II, and Eutychianus, all of them Bishops of Rome, Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons, Blasius, Bishop of Sebaste, St. Nicomede, St. Valentine, St. Crispin, St. Lucian, St. Alban, St. George, St. Blandina, St. Prisca, St. Faith, St. Margaret, and St. Catherine, some of whom are even commemorated in the Prayerbook of the Church of England, are absent from this mosaic, with many others of those whose names have been mentioned in Chaps. V to XI.

abstract ideas of fortitude, purity, and faith have become crystallized into legendary saints, but find only actual historical persons who for their steadfast deaths as martyrs were honoured by their contemporaries.

This list of martyrs chiefly honoured at Ravenna in the time of Justinian is no less interesting from its including many of whom all record has now been lost, and not including others most highly honoured at other places or in other times, the most curious of such cases being that of St. George, highly honoured in the time of Constantine in the 4th century, and in the 9th century the most honoured by the Eastern Church of all the martyrs, and yet in the 6th century not included in Ravenna's roll of honour. It will be seen that the list is extremely cosmopolitan; ¹ there is no such spirit shown as would be indicated by its including only martyrs belonging to Italy; Asia Minor, Syria, Greece, Italy, North Africa, Egypt, Sicily, and Spain are all represented, showing the complete oneness of the Catholic Church at this time.

There can be no doubt that this mosaic was put up, not in the time of Theodoric (as often supposed), but after the church became a Catholic church in the time of Justinian. Not only does Agnellus, in his history of the Bishops of Ravenna, written early in the 9th century, state as much, ² but also the work is plainly that of Greek artists of the time of Justinian. Nor would any Arian Ostrogoth have taken sufficient interest in the martyrdoms of these Roman men and women, martyred before the Goths became generally converted to Christianity, to put up such a record of them, nor have had such a knowledge of them as would enable him to do so.

Chapel of
Archbishop's
palace.

The square vaulted chapel in the palace of the Archbishops of Ravenna was built in the time of the empress Galla Placidia. In 547 it was adorned by Archbishop Maximianus with specially fine mosaics. In the centre on the groining of the roof, are large figures of four angels holding the monogram of Christ; under these are the symbols of the four Evangelists; and in the centre of the arch is a figure of Christ, represented in youth and without

¹ See Appendix XII.

² Agnellus says that the church was embellished by Justinian "with mosaics of the martyrs and virgins walking."

a beard. The figures of the four angels on the groining of the roof have been taken as models for those in the mosaics recently put up to adorn the dome of St. Paul's cathedral in London.

St. Apollinare
in Classe This splendid church, the largest at Ravenna, erected in what was then Ravenna's populous suburb, Classis, on the site of a temple of Apollo where tradition declared that St. Apollinaris had been martyred, was begun, like that of St. Vitalis, by Amalasuⁿtha.¹ Begun in 534, but delayed by her death in the following year, and by the troubles of the Ostrogothic kingdom in the years 535-540, its construction had not advanced far when Ravenna was taken by Belisarius in 540. The building of the church was then continued by Justinian, being completed in 548, and it was consecrated as a Catholic church by Archbishop Maximianus in 549. Whereas it then stood in the centre of a busy seaport (gradually destroyed in the wars of the next four centuries), it now stands in the midst of fields, without another building of any sort within sight, all vestige of Classis having disappeared, while the sea is now three miles away from it.² Though its spacious interior now presents necessarily a bare appearance, this church³ is one of the most important basilicas in existence, being one of the finest examples of the architecture of the age of Justinian, while it also has much historical interest. The twenty-four fine columns, of the beautiful *cipollino* marble, with basket-shaped capitals adorned with carved acanthus, which support the roof of the immense nave were sent by Justinian for it from Egypt. Round the walls is an unbroken series of portraits in mosaic of 129 Bishops and Archbishops of Ravenna, from St. Apollinaris to the present time. In the aisles are the marble sarcophagi of eight Archbishops of Ravenna, and in the left aisle an inscription recording a penance performed in this church by the emperor Otho III (983-1002). The east end, called the Tribuna, is raised above a half-sunken crypt, in which once reposed the remains of St. Apollinaris, the Tribuna being covered with a

¹ It is often stated to have been begun by "Julianus Argentarius," but he was simply her treasurer.

² It is kept locked up, but a service is held in it once a year.

³ Plate LXVII.

dome which is adorned with fine mosaics of the time of Justinian, dealing with Biblical subjects, while on the wall below is a mosaic (much damaged) belonging to the latter end of the 7th century, showing the emperor Constantine IV and his two brothers.¹ Archbishop Maximianus died in 552, three years after consecrating this church. His sarcophagus is to be seen in the cathedral, and also his ivory throne, the latter profusely ornamented with fine bas-reliefs.

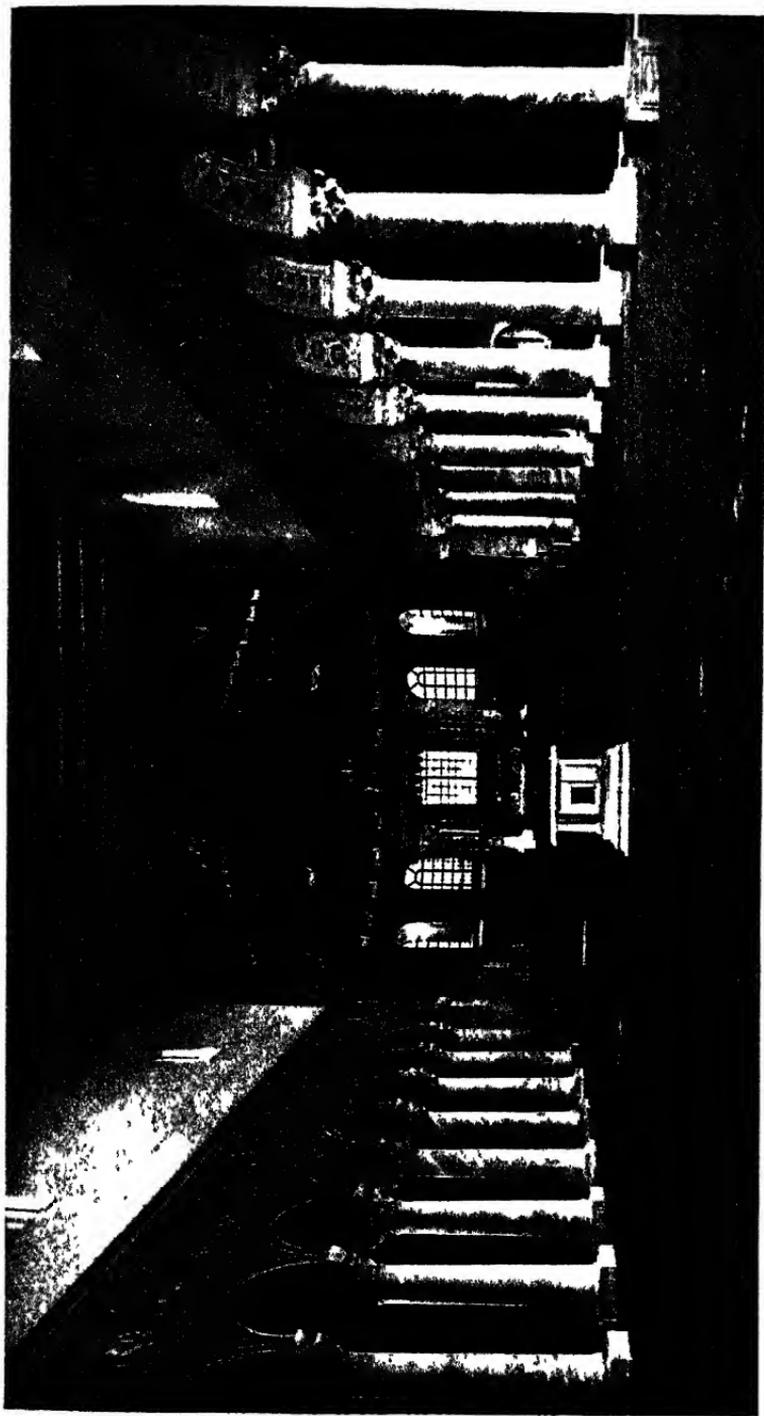
These various works at Ravenna remain as almost the sole examples of Justinian's countless works of this kind throughout his wide empire. Over all the rest of that empire the Mahomedan flood has swept, destroying all his other buildings, except St. Sophia, and the two churches at Thessalonica and Parenzo. Ravenna, however, the capital of the imperial power in Italy, still preserves memorials able to give us some faint idea of Justinian's boundless energy in the building and adorning of churches.

Meanwhile Justinian had been displaying his talents in a new field, that of an ecclesiastical lawyer, thereby arousing the controversy known as that of "the Three Chapters," an obscure war of words into which Justinian plunged with avidity, giving his chief attention during ten years of his reign (543-553) to this unreal and interminable discussion, which dragged on year after year until men loathed its very name. Briefly it arose thus. A hundred years before, three Bishops, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrihus, and Ibas of Edessa, had been ejected from their sees by the Monophysites when the latter were in power,² for holding Nestorian opinions, or opinions which might be so construed; but subsequently two of these Bishops had modified those opinions and had been reinstated by the Fourth General Council in 451. The Monophysites, backed by Theodora, now desired that this action of their party should be upheld by the opinions of these three Bishops (called the "Three Chapters") being formally condemned. And Justinian, as fond of theology as he was of law, and

Justinian's
theological
campaign.

¹ Chap. XXV, p. 510.

² Chap. XVIII, p. 90.



INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF ST. APOLLINARE, IN CLASSE, RAVENNA.
Showing the mosaics of the apse and the general style of the architecture.

anxious to display his legal acumen as a theologian, as well as to please Theodora, set about arrangements to effect this result.

But Justinian, looking upon himself as the supreme ruler and lawgiver of the Church, scorned such a method as the assembly of a General Council to give a decision on the point. He considered himself to be as much entitled to be the deciding authority upon a point of theology as upon one of law. Accordingly after long study of the subject, to put an end to the controversy which had been aroused, he in 544 issued an immense edict from himself ¹ to the whole Catholic and Apostolic Church, laying down the correct doctrine on the question, voluminously re-stating the true doctrine of that Church as laid down in the creed drawn up at Nicæa, detailing the various heresies since that time, and ending by condemning the opinions of the three Bishops, and requiring all to accept his decision. But mankind felt that he was interfering in matters beyond his scope; writings continued to pour forth like a river, discussing the obscure question from every point of view; and as most of these recalcitrant opinions emanated from the western patriarchate, and as the controversy had by that time lasted for five or six years without any indication that it might not continue to the end of time, Justinian early in 547 ordered Vigilius, the Pope of Rome, to come to Constantinople, and answer for the failure of the western patriarchate to obey his edict in the matter. Accordingly Vigilius sailed from Sicily, and in the spring of 547 arrived at Constantinople, where he was to spend seven years in frequent and humiliating vacillations over this question.

In 548 Belisarius, seeing that to continue the war in Italy with only the troops that he possessed was hopeless, whilst appeals by letter to Justinian (immersed in theological questions) had proved of no avail, determined to despatch Antonina to Constantinople to lay the whole case before the empress Theodora, and endeavour to obtain from her a proper army

¹ Justinian was not sparing in high-sounding titles; in this edict he styles himself as "Imperator Caesar Philochristus, JUSTINIANUS, Alamannicus, Gotthicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus, the pious, the fortunate, the renowned, the victorious, the triumphant, the ever-venerable, the august."

for the defeat of Totila and reconquest of Italy. Accordingly in June 548 Antonina, leaving Belisarius in Sicily, sailed for Constantinople on this mission.

Death of Theodora. For twenty-one years Theodora had been the firm help-mate of Justinian, his able colleague in all affairs, and the chief strength of his government. But during the whole of the year 547 she had been suffering from that terrible disease, cancer. She was now sinking rapidly, and on the 1st July 548, at the age of forty-five, the beautiful, resolute, and indomitable Theodora, who had begun life in the most degraded of all positions and had ended it as the joint ruler of an empire during perhaps the most important reign in that empire's history, passed away, apparently at her favourite seaside palace of the Heræum, her invariable summer residence.

Her character. The indications of Theodora's character given us by the fact of Justinian's marrying her, by his faithfulness to her throughout the twenty-two years of their married life,¹ and by his formally making her his colleague with an authority equal to his own, are corroborated by the episodes in which her own actions are recorded. Her boldness, courage, and resolution at the crisis of the Nika insurrection, and in her long struggle against and eventual overthrow of John of Cappadocia (for which she receives great praise in the writings of the contemporary John the Lydian), her letter to Belisarius in 542, her deportation of Pope Vigilius from Rome in 545, her conduct in regard to the wife of the Armenian prince Artabanes, her active support of the Monophysite party in religion notwithstanding that her husband was a bigoted Catholic, her charitable efforts in various directions, and her artistic temperament, combined with the palpable loss which the rule of the empire sustained in her death,² and with the statements of John the Lydian and Procopius that she was "always awake in sympathy for the oppressed," and "could not withstand the supplications of the unhappy," show a character of remarkable strength which possessed not a few fine points.

¹ Justinian was fond of calling her "his sweetest charm."

² See p. 293.

Her hand to be seen in two of Justinian's laws

Theodora's hand is plainly to be seen in several of the laws of Justinian, and especially in two of them. The first of these, enacted in 534,¹ made it unlawful for any person to compel a woman, even a slave, to take up the profession of an actress against her will; it also gave an actress power to withdraw from this (at that time) degrading and immoral life at any moment she pleased, no matter what engagement she had entered into, making it illegal for the manager of a theatre to prevent her, and even prohibiting him from demanding from her or her securities money lodged as a pledge to fulfil such engagement. Should the civil governors fail to enforce this law, the Bishops were directed to see that it was obeyed.² The second law, enacted in 535, has a strangely modern ring in view of recent legislation on the same subject. In it the emperor deals with the practice of enticing away girls for immoral purposes, more particularly in Constantinople, stating that he has "lately been informed of the iniquities of this kind which are being perpetrated in this great city"; that he has discovered that many persons "live and maintain themselves in this outrageous manner, making accursed gain by abominable means"; that they "travel about many countries and districts, and entice poor young girls by promising them shoes and clothes, and thus entrapping them, carry them off to this fortunate city, where they keep them shut up in their dens"; that they even "draw up bonds by which girls bind themselves to this occupation for a specified time"; that "acts so iniquitous and illegal are perpetrated in our times that some persons, pitying the girls, have desired to deliver them from this occupation, but their proprietors did not permit it"; and that "some of these men are so vile as to corrupt young girls under ten years old, and large sums of money have been given to buy off these unfortunate children and arrange for them a respectable marriage." This law states that the emperor is

¹ Eight years after Theodora's marriage to Justinian.

² This law looks very much as though Theodora at the age of twelve after her father's death had suffered from such compulsion against her will, and also as though it had been made impossible for her to withdraw from that mode of life.

“determined to deliver the city from this pollution,” and enacts the heaviest penalties for this offence.¹

Her ability in
the art of
ruling.

Theodora's intelligence in the art of ruling was undoubtedly greater than that of Justinian. While he was vacillating, she was prompt and resolute; where he theorized, she saw the practical issue. She brushed aside theory in theological discussions, and looked only at the political problems underlying them. Like all the most successful Roman emperors, she saw the necessity for a wide toleration, and carried the imperial policy along this course as long as she lived, though this was reversed after her death. Hence it has even been considered by historians that had the policy which she advised, and for a time carried out, been continued after her death it might have changed the course of history itself by making the Later Roman Empire stronger and more durable.² And now that we are no longer required to put any faith in the venomous diatribes of the *Secret History*, we are justified in considering that Theodora well deserved the position to which she was raised, and in view of the depth from which that exaltation took place that she was perhaps the most remarkable woman recorded in history.

Belisarius
recalled from
Italy at his
own request.

Antonina upon arriving at Constantinople to make her appeal was met by the news of the death of the empress Theodora. This altered everything; for Antonina knew that it would be of no use to make any such application to Justinian. Whether Belisarius had directed her in the event of that appeal being fruitless to request that he might be recalled we do not know, but it seems very probable. For this was the request which Antonina now made to the emperor. Her petition was granted, and Belisarius in September 548 received orders recalling him to Constantinople.

Plot to murder
Justinian.

Meanwhile a plot had been hatched against the life of Justinian by an Armenian named Arsaces who had suffered a deserved punishment for intriguing with the Persian monarch. Arsaces drew into the plot among others the Armenian prince Artabanes, who still brooded over the

¹ This second law was evidently a part of Theodora's efforts, previously mentioned, to rescue and protect girls from an immoral life.

² The *Cambridge Medieval History*, II, 27.

loss of the woman he loved. The conspirators planned to murder Justinian as he sat night after night in his library poring over abstruse questions of theology. But they felt that Belisarius was so firmly loyal to Justinian that he would be certain to avenge the emperor's death, and that it would therefore be necessary to murder Belisarius at the same time. They therefore waited for his arrival; and during this delay the plot leaked out. Artabanes, Arsaces, and the other conspirators were tortured, and confessed their guilt; but Justinian showed a conspicuous and highly honourable clemency. Artabanes was deprived of his office, and the other conspirators were merely kept for a time in confinement in the Palace; while in the following year Artabanes was pardoned, and given the command of the troops in Sicily. In October 548, a few days after this plot had been discovered, Belisarius reached Constantinople. He was received with honour by Justinian, was made Commander of the household troops, and was given precedence over all other Patricians; but he was not sent to command on the Persian frontier, though Chosroes I was again making preparations to attack the empire.

Early in 549 Totila asked from one of the sons of Rome for the fourth time Rome for the fourth time besieged. Clovis,¹ who were joint kings of the Franks, the hand of his daughter in marriage. He received a refusal, given on the ground that he was unworthy to be considered king of Italy since he had abandoned Rome. Stung by this taunt Totila in June 549 advanced to begin the fourth siege of Rome, the 3000 men garrisoning it being now commanded by Diogenes, one of the former military household of Belisarius. He had sown corn in all the waste spaces in Rome, and ripening corn-fields now waved over the Palatine hill and most of the interior of the city, which presented more the aspect of a farm than of imperial Rome. For some time Totila, though he took Portus and established a rigorous blockade, met with a vigorous resistance, the citizens assisting the troops in the defence. But the old question of the arrears of pay fought for Totila. The Isaurian soldiers, seeing their comrades who had taken service with Totila enjoying wealth while they were in poverty, declared that they would stand

¹ It is believed probably Chlotochar.

no longer the withholding of their pay, which they said was years in arrears, and on a dark night opened the gate of St. Paul to Totila's forces. Most of the garrison were killed, but Mindes the Isaurian and Paul of Cilicia with about seven hundred men were taken prisoners. Nearly all accepted service under Totila; a few, including these two commanders, appealed to Totila's well known generosity and asked him to send them back to Constantinople; which he did. Diogenes escaped to Civita Vecchia, which, however, was taken by Totila shortly afterwards, together with Reggio, Tarentum, and Rimini, and by the end of the year 549 there remained to Justinian in Italy only Ravenna, with the coast towns of Ancona and Crotona. Thereupon Totila, breathing vengeance against Sicily, which he declared had been the first cause of the overthrow of the Ostrogothic kingdom by its prompt surrender to Belisarius, crossed into that island, and during the year 550 thoroughly ravaged it, returning to Italy in 551 laden with plunder, leaving garrisons in the four chief fortresses of Sicily. He then sent an ambassador to Justinian to propose peace, but it is stated that the latter was too much occupied with the theological controversy regarding the "Three Chapters" even to receive the ambassador.

Life in Constantinople One effect of this long contest in Italy was much to the advantage of Constantinople. As year after year this devastating war continued, and as Italy became more and more a country where only those who were soldiers could exist, and where any kind of cultured life was impossible, all who were rich and cultivated, or who desired ease or amusement, betook themselves to Constantinople, thus increasing considerably the well-to-do class in the capital of the empire. There, while war and desolation spread over Italy, civilized life flowed on as usual, and the citizens of Constantinople (the population of which in Justinian's time has been calculated at about one million) troubled themselves but little about the woes of distant Italy, continuing to pursue a mode of life into which amusements largely entered. The principal public amusements at this time were horse-races, theatrical performances and ballets, and combats of men with wild animals, and even so serious an emperor as Justinian not

only from time to time was present, but also on certain occasions himself drew up the programmes for such amusements.¹ To those who thus fled thither the beauty of Constantinople, after the desolated condition of Rome and the other cities of Italy, must have been all the more attractive. One chief beauty of that city was of course the view of the sea in so many directions, and it is evident that this was fully appreciated. For among the laws relating to the city it is laid down in regard to the houses built upon the slopes of its seven hills that in building a house lower down the hill and in front of one already existing the view of the sea from the latter is not to be obscured.

The Franks
after Clovis'
death.

Over Gaul, Spain, and Britain at this period thick darkness reigns, though less so in Gaul than in the other two countries. Clovis at his death in 511 divided his kingdom (the north-eastern portion of which by that time extended considerably beyond the Rhine) between his four sons thus:—

1. Thiudaric.² The north-eastern portion of the kingdom (from the Meuse eastwards), subsequently called Austrasia, with part of Aquitaine (capital Metz.)
2. Chlodomir. The provinces south of the Loire (capital Orleans).
3. Childebert. The kingdom of Paris, with the rest of Aquitaine (capital Paris).
4. Chlotochar I. The north-western portion of the kingdom, subsequently called Neustria, including the former kingdom of the Salian Franks (capital Soissons).

¹ The programme drawn up by Justinian himself for the consular games runs as follows: "First day, investment of the new consul; second day, horse-races; third day, combat with wild animals; fourth day, beast baiting; fifth day, dramatic performances at the theatre called 'πόρναι'; sixth day, horse-races; seventh day, former consul lays down his office."

² Generally spelt Theuderic (see Chap. XX, p. 171). He was a half-brother of the other three, and not a son of Clotilda.

Each of the four brothers had his capital, not in the centre of his kingdom, but towards that part of its boundary nearest the centre of France, as though anxious to watch his brothers as carefully as possible.

In the perpetual contests which followed between these four kingdoms, Austrasia and Neustria grew to be the most important, and a large part of the history of the Franks during the next 200 years (the period of the Merovingian dynasty)¹ is that of the contests between these eastern and western portions of the Frank kingdom.

In 523 Chlodomir, Childebert, and Chlotochar² invaded Burgundy, defeated its king Sigismund, and took him prisoner. He with his wife and children were taken charge of by Chlodomir, who on arrival at his capital of Orleans caused them all to be thrown into a well and drowned. In 524 Chlodomir was killed in battle with the Burgundians, led by their king Godomar, the brother of Sigismund, and Chlodomir's death was followed by another atrocious crime. Though Clotilda had brought the Franks to Christianity they were not as yet much changed by it, and her sons inherited all the fierce nature of their father Clovis. She had now to witness a crime which brought bitter grief to her closing years. Her son Chlotochar, persuading his weaker brother Childebert to join with him, seized the little children of Chlodomir, and sent a message to Clotilda, the children's grandmother, then about forty-eight years old, asking (in irony at her religious views) whether she would prefer that these boys should be made priests, and when she in agony replied "I would rather see them killed than that their royal locks should be shorn," Chlotochar and Childebert pretended to take this as authorizing their crime, and killed the boys with their own hands,³ dividing Chlodomir's kingdom of Orleans. Clotilda bitterly mourned their death. Gregory of Tours states that she laid the two little bodies side by side on a bier and followed them in a solemn procession to the church of St. Peter in Paris,

¹ The dynasty of Clovis, called after his grandfather Merovech.

² Called variously Chlotochar, Clothar, and Lothair.

³ Except one boy, Clovis, who was absent elsewhere, and being thrust into a monastery became known when he grew up as St. Clodwig or St. Cloud, giving his name to the well-known suburb of Paris.

where they were buried in one grave. This scene is the last view that we have of the true-hearted woman Clotilda.

In 531 Thiudaric, the eldest son of Clovis, extended his kingdom of Austrasia still further to the east by conquering Thuringia, but died in 534, when he was succeeded by his capable son Thiudabert. And in the same year Thiudabert, with his uncles Childebert and Chlotochar, finally conquered Burgundy and divided it between them. Thiudabert, besides his raid into Italy in 539,¹ carried further the wars of conquest east of the Rhine begun by his father, gradually absorbing the territories of the Allemanni and Bavaria, and at his death in 548 his kingdom of Austrasia included a large part of Germany. He was succeeded by his son Thiudabald, then a child of ten, who died in 555 at the age of seventeen, whereupon Chlotochar married his young widow Vuldegrada, and took possession of his kingdom of Austrasia. And in 558 Chlotochar, upon the death of his brother Childebert, took his kingdom of Paris also, ruling the whole Frank kingdom for the last three years of his life. In 560 his son Chramnus rebelled, whereupon Chlotochar marched against him, and having defeated him shut him up with his wife and children in a hut, and had it set on fire. After this final crime Chlotochar only lived a year; he died in 561, and was buried with great pomp at Soissons.

The
Visigoths. Of Spain at this period we know much less than of Gaul. The Visigoths, who when they first settled down west of the Alps, in the time of Ataulf and Wallia, were considerably superior in manners and enlightenment to all others of the northern races, still retained this result of their long connection with the Roman Empire,² and were altogether superior in this respect to the rougher and more barbarous Franks. But after the great defeat suffered from the latter at the disastrous battle of Vouillé in 507³ the Visigoths, from having been the leading race in the West, declined before the rising power of the Franks. Driven steadily backwards out of their possessions in southern Gaul, except for a narrow strip of territory north of the Pyrenees, and retaining only

¹ Chap. XXI, p. 233.

² Chap. XVIII, p. 60 (footnote).

³ Chap. XX, p. 156.

their territories in Spain, the Visigoths became less and less able to cope with the Franks. For some fifty years after the death of Alaric II at the battle of Vouillé his successors maintained an unceasing contest with the Franks for the Visigoth territory north of the Pyrenees, but success remained always on the side of the Franks, assisted as the latter were by internal dissensions among the Visigoths. These dissensions however were at length brought to an end by Athanagild (554-567), who in 554 reunited the whole of the Visigoths under his authority.

In Britain the darkness enveloping the countries of the West is greatest of all. It is strange to realize that at a time when all the glories of the reign of Justinian were taking place—when the *Code*, *Institutes*, and *Pandects* were being promulgated, when St. Sophia was being built, when the kings of the Vandals and of the Ostrogoths were being brought in triumph as prisoners to Constantinople, when churches, hospitals, fortresses, roads, and bridges were being constructed all over the empire, and when Ravenna was being adorned with mosaics which are still admired by the world—in Britain, once so notable and enlightened a part of the Roman dominions, chaos and barbarism reigned supreme. Even the conflicts of the time are almost entirely unrecorded, and obscurity enwraps the whole island.

In 547, twenty-seven years after the Saxons had suffered their crushing defeat at Mount Badon,¹ a fresh wave of Angles in great strength invaded the east coast of Britain under Ida, who in that year founded his kingdom of Northumbria and built his castle and town of Bamborough, subsequently very celebrated. After this last invasion by the Angles, and as the result of long contests between the successive invaders of the island, Britain (with the exception of Wales, Somerset, Devonshire, and Cornwall, held by the descendants of the Romanized Britons) is found about the middle of this 6th century divided between the Jutes, the Saxons, and the Angles into seven kingdoms, viz., Kent (occupied by the Jutes), Sussex (or South Saxons), Wessex (or West Saxons), Essex (or East Saxons, and including

The seven
kingdoms of
Britain.

¹ Chap. XX, p. 163.

Middlesex), Northumbria (or North Anglia), East Anglia (Norfolk and Suffolk), and Mercia (or Middle Anglia), the latter being the largest of these kingdoms, and occupying all the centre part of Britain. It was owing to the fact that the Angles occupied a larger portion of the country than the Saxons that it eventually obtained the name of England. These seven kingdoms fought incessantly, large parts of the island lapsed back into thick forests, and the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons being Pagans there was little or no intercourse between Britain and the continent of Europe.

Marked effect
of Theodora's
death. Theodora, bold, strenuous, and resolute, had supplied just that element which Justinian lacked, and from the time that he lost her there is to be observed a very marked decline in the firmness and strength of Justinian's rule, weak counsels and vacillation taking their place. This effect made itself apparent at once in the year following Theodora's death. After the return of Belisarius to Constantinople Justinian in January 549 appointed Liberius, an elderly Patrician, to command the forces in Italy. But before Liberius had time to start this appointment was cancelled. After a few months Justinian again appointed Liberius, and the latter this time actually sailed for Syracuse, which he relieved, and was on his way from thence to Palermo when he learnt that his appointment had again been cancelled, and Artabanes appointed. The latter in 550 sailed for Sicily, but was wrecked at Malta; whereupon Justinian (without cancelling the appointment of Artabanes) proposed to send his nephew Germanus to Italy with a large army. The net result of these various changes of plans was that for two years after the recall of Belisarius nothing was done to check the course of Totila in Sicily,¹ or to succour the garrisons of the places still loyal to Justinian in Italy. Men declared that the emperor was too deeply immersed in theology to attend to the affairs of Italy.

The Colchian War. Justinian, now sixty-seven, was also at this time much disturbed by the operations of Chosroes I, who had transferred his attacks to the eastern shore of the

Black Sea. In this region he waged a war from 549 to 556, known as the Colchian (or Lazic) war, with varying success, but with final victory to the empire. In 553 the Persian army engaged in this war suffered a severe defeat at Phasis, in consequence of which Chosroes flayed alive his defeated general Nachoragan; after which the efforts of the Persians slackened. The war languished on until 556, when Chosroes saw that he was at a disadvantage, as while the Roman troops could reach the theatre of war by sea, his own troops had to make a long and difficult journey through a desert region. A provisional treaty was made in 556, and this was ratified by a more permanent one made in 562 for fifty years. The importance of this war lies in the fact that it was an attempt by Persia to gain access to the Black Sea, which attempt the Romans after a long struggle successfully defeated, and that sea remained in sole possession of the empire.¹

Gepidæ,
and
Lombards.

More serious were the invasions carried out along the Danube frontier by the Gepidæ, the Bulgarians, and the Sclavs. These tribes during the years 549-556 made frequent and terrible incursions into the Danube provinces, notwithstanding Justinian's chains of forts.² At length Justinian, to control the Gepidæ, invited their enemies, the fierce race of the Lombards³ (who now make their first appearance in history), under their king Audoin, to cross the Danube and occupy Noricum and Pannonia, the southern portion of the kingdom of the Gepidæ. The Lombards were

¹ For a full account of the operations of Chosroes I during the years 540-544, and in the long drawn out Lazic (or Colchian) war during the years 549-556, see Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, Vol. I, Book IV, Chaps. VIII and IX.

² Against the Antæ, a Slavonian tribe, Justinian erected a chain of fortifications along the lower course of the Danube which partially controlled their incursions, giving Justinian the opportunity to add to his many titles that of "Anticus."

³ The Lombards are stated to have come originally from a locality between the Elbe and the Oder, in what is now Magdeburg. It is erroneous to suppose their name to be due to the length of their beards. It is generally considered that their name is derived from the district they inhabited on the banks of the Elbe, where "Börde" still signifies "a fertile plain by the side of a river," and where a district near Magdeburg is still called the Lange Börde.

noted for their ferocity,¹ and they forthwith entered upon a war of extermination against the Gepidæ (carried on throughout the rest of Justinian's reign), in which war they eventually exterminated that race.² In these contests Alboin, the young son of Audoin, gained a name for the fiercest courage.

Bulgarans
and Sclavs. Still more terrible, however, to the inhabitants of the empire were the Bulgarians and the Sclavs. The Bulgarians, ruled by a Chagan or Khan, were a Tartar race, settled to the north of the lower course of the Danube, who derived their descent from the Huns, or from a stock similar to that of the Huns. Their neighbours the Sclavs, on the other hand, were an Aryan race, the most eastern of all the Aryan races of Europe. They had no king, chiefs, or central government, but lived in separate village communities. They were far behind the Teutonic races in civilization, had the rudest arms, used for boats trees hollowed out by fire, and were too backward and wanting in energy to be formidable to trained troops, but they were savage foes to the unarmed inhabitants of the lands into which they made incursions, while they excelled in forming ambuscades and in surprising unwary troops. One of their artifices was to lie under the water in rivers or lakes for hours, breathing through reeds, so that a thousand men might be hidden in this way and nothing be visible but a bed of rushes.³ Three peculiarities about the Sclavs as a race were, first, that being cruel, rather than courageous, they were always in subjection to some other nation, in the position of vassals; secondly, that they tended gradually to "Sclavise" the dominant race to whom they were subject; ⁴ and thirdly, that they increased enormously, rapidly becoming the most numerous of all the races bordering the empire, though the least warlike. Upon the advance of the Huns in the 5th century the Sclavs, flying before them from their settlements on the Lower Danube, migrated

¹ They themselves declared that they drank the blood of their enemies. And their king's daughter (Alboin's sister), in revenge for some words of insult, caused a royal guest to be promptly slaughtered in her presence.

² Chap. XXIII, p. 325.

³ This would scarcely be credible had we not several instances in which it was practised, and with a successful result.

⁴ Chap. XXV, p. 499.

northwards almost up to the Baltic, but on the fall of the empire of the Huns, the Slavs, driven south again by the Teutonic tribes (who detested them), returned to the neighbourhood of the Danube, where ere long they became vassals of the Bulgarians, whom they considerably outnumbered.

These two races, the Bulgarians and the Slavs, during the years 549–556 became the terror of Moesia, Illyricum, and Thrace.¹ Their captives, regardless of rank, age, or sex, were flayed alive, suspended between four posts and beaten with clubs till they expired, or slain by the terrible death of impalement; and it has been declared that in a single incursion they destroyed 200,000 inhabitants of the empire. Eluding Justinian's fortresses, they year after year ravaged the country, torturing the inhabitants, and retiring again across the Danube driving before them long processions of weeping women and children.

Germanus. Early in 550 Justinian's nephew Germanus, then fifty years old, upon the death of his first wife, married the Amal princess Matasuntha (by this time about thirty), the widow of Witigis. And soon afterwards Justinian determined to send Germanus to Italy to conquer Totila. The preparations were in marked contrast to those made in the case of Belisarius. Troops from every direction were assembled at Sardica (now Sofia), besides contingents of Huns, Heruli, and Lombards, while further levies were to be raised in Thrace and Illyricum, and above all Germanus was copiously supplied with money. Before starting he was ordered to drive back an incursion of the Slavs; this he did, and was then on the point of starting with his army for Italy when in the autumn of 550 he was suddenly taken ill, and after a few days died.²

Expedition to Italy under Narses Upon the death of Germanus Justinian resolved to make a supreme effort to overthrow Totila, increasing the size of the army to be sent to Italy, and appointing in command of it the Grand Chamberlain,

¹ Until in 558 Justinian sent against them the Avars by whom they were thoroughly subjugated (see p. 314).

² After his death Matasuntha bore him a son, who was named Germanus Postumus, and took a prominent part in affairs during the reign of the tyrant Phocas.

the eunuch Narses. It proved to be another of Justinian's wise selections. And all the more so because Narses was also the imperial Treasurer, and hence the one chief impediment in all the former operations in Italy was now at last removed, Narses having entire control over the public purse. He had been for some ten years, since the fall of John of Cappadocia, practically Justinian's prime-minister, and being known as such could command the unhesitating obedience of the whole official hierarchy. The small, shrivelled, dried-up old man, though he was now seventy-five years old, was still in full vigour; ¹ he had gained much experience in numerous embassies; though not a soldier by profession, he had evinced military talent in his former campaign in Italy, and had also as his right hand in military affairs his ardent friend John the Thracian; and lastly he was widely known as a man habitually liberal in regard to money, so that every soldier of fortune throughout the empire was anxious to serve under him.

Justinian, so niggardly in the case of Belisarius, was now lavish, and Narses was given *carte blanche* to provide whatever he thought necessary. Supplies and munitions of war were collected, the long-standing arrears of pay were discharged, and liberal offers were made in all directions to attract contingents of various nationalities to supplement the regular forces of the empire. As a result, in addition to the imperial troops, contingents including 2500 Lombards sent by Audoin, king of the Lombards, 3000 Heruli under their chief Philemuth, and a large body of Huns under Dagistheus, came to swell the army of Narses, which cannot have amounted to less than 60,000 men.² It was the first time that a proper force had been despatched to conquer Italy, and against such an army the remnant of the Ostrogoths had no chance, even under such a leader as the gallant Totila.

Early in 551 Narses, after brushing aside at Philoppopolis an incursion of the Kotrigrig Huns,³ set his army in motion

¹ Narses lived to the age of ninety-three.

² The numbers given by Procopius at the subsequent battle of Helvillum (Sigillo) make a total of about 60,000, and some must have been lost before that.

³ The Kotrigrig Huns were a remnant of the Huns who established themselves along the northern shore of the Black Sea, between the mouth of the Dneiper and the mouth of the Don.

for the west and led it across Macedonia to Salona, on the coast of the Adriatic, where he remained for a long time. From Salona Narses despatched about fifty vessels to relieve Ancona, then being besieged by Totila; a sea-fight took place with a small portion of Totila's fleet in which the Ostrogoths were defeated and Ancona relieved.

The movements of Narses were very slow; though not hampered by want of money, he took more than a year to reach the borders of Italy, and a year and a half before fighting a battle with Totila, who thus gained much time to prepare for the conflict. Evidently Narses had hoped to be able to convey his army across the Adriatic from Salona, or he would not (especially as he had the Lombards for friends) have inflicted upon himself the difficult march from thence to Aquileia, instead of advancing from Thrace by the regular road over the Pear Tree pass. He found, however, that vessels sufficient to convey such an immense number of men and horses across the Adriatic were unobtainable, while he also had reason to dread that such an operation might be interfered with by Totila's fleet; he was therefore forced slowly to advance up the coast by a difficult road and get round the head of the Gulf of Tergeste (now Trieste). While Narses was thus engaged, Artabanes, reinforced after his shipwreck in the previous year at Malta, landed in Sicily, and showing both courage and capacity attacked in succession the Ostrogothic garrisons, and soon recovered Sicily for the emperor.

Totila's just rule. For eleven years Totila, now thirty-seven, had shown to all men a noble example of a Teuton king. Not only valiant in war, and winning all hearts by a generosity towards enemies and a courteousness towards women which were new to his age and an astonishment to the Roman population,¹ he had also shown himself capable of ruling with a justice and moderation which were in marked contrast to the tyranny and oppression carried on by the agents of Justinian. To this cause entirely had been due his rapid and widespread success, city after city eagerly accepting such a man as its

¹ It has to be remembered that most of what we know of Totila comes from one of his enemies, Procopius, the friend of Totila's antagonist Belisarius. So that we may well believe that Totila was all, and more than all, that has been recorded.

ruler; and a kingdom based upon such sentiments on the part of the people rested upon a secure foundation. Moreover Totila, while abolishing the oppressive extortions of the Logothetæ, had by light forms of taxation which were easily borne managed to get money enough to support a powerful fleet of some 300 war vessels which made his name feared along all the coasts of Greece and Dalmatia.

But the Roman population of Italy could scarcely be expected, much as they preferred Totila's rule, to fight against the emperor when at last Italy was invaded by a powerful imperial army; so that to oppose Narses Totila had to rely solely upon his Ostrogoths. And instead of the 200,000 warriors who had formed the army of Witigis, the remnant of the Ostrogoths probably did not amount to more than about a fourth of that number. With these, however, during the many months that Narses was occupied in conveying his army from Salona round the coast of the Adriatic to Ravenna, Totila made every preparation for a determined resistance. Placing garrisons in Verona, Pavia, Rome, Rimini, Tarentum, and Acherontia, and guarding his chief hoard of treasure at Cumæ with a strong force under Aligern, the brother of his trusted lieutenant Teias, he gathered together all the rest of the Ostrogoths in the neighbourhood of Rome, and sent Teias with a strong force northwards, giving him instructions to make all the district lying between Ravenna and the former site of Aquileia (the district which Alaric had found so difficult to traverse)¹ as far as possible impassable; for which work there was ample time while Narses was laboriously conveying his army northwards from Salona towards the Isonzo. Lastly Totila made a compact with the Franks, then holding the greater part of Lombardy and Venetia, except the cities of Pavia and Verona, to assist in preventing the imperial army and its allies the Lombards (the natural foes of the Franks) from passing through Venetia.

Totila's plan was not a bad one. It included three lines of defence. First, a tract nearly 200 miles broad, traversed by

¹ Chap. XVII, p. 21-22. This part of Italy in the time of Augustus was an impenetrable tract covered with woods, lakes, and morasses. So that Teias had merely to cut breaches in the various dykes, and destroy such bridges as existed, to bring it back again into somewhat the same condition.

countless rivers, always a difficult region to pass, and now to be made still more so by inundations and other obstacles, and with Teias and the Franks threatening the right flank of the imperial army all the time that it was endeavouring to negotiate these obstacles. Second, a defence of the crossing of the Apennines, always difficult for a large army to traverse. Third, if Narses succeeded in forcing his way over the Apennines, then a defence of Rome and the various strong places held by Totila in southern Italy.

Difficulties
encountered
by Narses.

Narses after many difficulties reached the mouth of the Isonzo, at the head of the Adriatic, apparently about February 552. There he suffered a check, his way being barred by the Franks, who refused a passage to the army through Venetia, while he also found that Teias, then at Verona, by making inundations, breaking down bridges, and felling woods, had rendered the whole country from the Isonzo almost as far as Ravenna impassable by an army. In this dilemma John the Thracian suggested that the army should march cautiously along the sea-shore, where the country on the right flank of the army as it advanced, intersected by many rivers and now rendered still more impassable by the obstacles created by Teias, would give the Franks no opportunity for hostile action, and that the small fleet of ships which Narses possessed should move along the coast with the army and form bridges of boats over the rivers and marshes as these were successively encountered. This difficult operation was gradually carried out, taking Narses three or four months, and towards the end of May 552 he reached Ravenna, where he halted for nine days. He then, after attacking and taking Rimini, advanced down the coast by the Flaminian Way, but instead of turning along that portion of it which leads up to the incised rock at Petra Pertusa, proceeded further, and turning up the valley of the Cesano, re-entered the Flaminian Way at Cagli, and from there about the end of June gained the pass at Ad Ensem (the modern Scheggia), where the Flaminian Way crosses the crest of the Apennines. He thus completely turned the fortified position at Petra Pertusa, the chief obstacle on this route.¹

¹ This he was enabled to do through the valuable advice of John the Thracian, who having commanded for a long time at Rimini had a complete knowledge of this part of the Apennines.

Battle of
Helvillum. Totila on learning at Rome that Narses, having evaded the Franks and the obstacles created by Teias, had made his way along the coast and reached Ravenna, summoned Teias to join him with all his troops, and on their arrival marched northwards along the Flaminian Way, intending to take up his position upon the pass of Ad Ensem. But relying on Narses being stopped at the almost impregnable position at Petra Pertusa he had waited a little too long for the troops of Teias, and thus only reached the small town of Tadinum (now Gualdo Tadino), in the valley below the pass of Ad Ensem and about fifteen miles south of it, at the same time that the army of Narses gained possession of the crest of the pass. While it was not unnatural that Totila should have imagined that so large an army could only advance by the Flaminian Way (viâ Petra Pertusa), his mistake was in failing to guard *all* the passes, and to keep a careful watch over his assailant's movements. The result was that Totila, for whose smaller force it was of the first importance to fight in a position where the larger army of Narses could not bring its whole force to bear,¹ was compelled to fight in the open valley north of Tadinum, where Narses was able to draw up his whole army in battle array.

The battle which decided the fate of Italy was fought, about the middle of July 552, in the valley below the pass of Ad Ensem, at or near Helvillum (now Sigillo), halfway between Tadinum and the crest of the pass. Narses had about 60,000 men, Totila not more than two-thirds of that number. Narses drew up his troops in two lines, the front line being composed entirely of archers (on foot), and the second, or main line, being composed of the Roman regular troops, placed on the two wings, with the less trustworthy Lombards and Herulians in the centre. His cavalry were placed at an angle on one flank. Totila, brave as he was in war, was not a general, and this was his first pitched battle, while he was much outnumbered. He drew up his army in two lines (overlapped on each flank by the superior force of the enemy), placing his cavalry in the front line and his infantry in the second line, thus making the same mistake which had contributed to the

¹ It would have been unable to do so in the case of any position that Totila had chosen to defend in the mountains.

loss of the battle of Hadrianople in 378. And he also allowed Narses to entice him into making the attack. His cavalry, after fighting with much bravery, were defeated and fell back in confusion upon the infantry, throwing them into irretrievable disorder, and though the Ostrogoths (both on foot and mounted) fought with desperate energy, the whole army was completely routed and put to flight. No quarter was given, and few escaped.

Death of
Totila. Totila, wounded by an arrow, fled from the battle-field at nightfall with four or five followers, closely pursued by some of the enemy. As one of the latter, who did not know who he was, prepared to transfix him with his spear a young Ostrogoth of Totila's bodyguard who was with him cried out, "Dog, would you kill the king?" but without avail. Totila, pierced by the spear, and mortally wounded, was carried by his followers to the little village of Caprara, where in a few minutes he breathed his last and was buried by his followers in a hastily made grave. Thus ended the noble Teutonic hero Totila, more correctly Baduila,¹ who in eleven short years had raised the Ostrogothic nation again from the dust, and had ruled the people of Italy with sympathy and justice. The small number of Ostrogoths who escaped from the battle, among whom was Teias, made their way across the Apennines to Pavia, where many of the wives and children of the Ostrogoths were, and there they elected Teias as their king.

The Lombard
contingent
sent back. The first act of Narses after the battle of Helvillum shows the general character of the race who sixteen years later were to become the possessors of Italy. The atrocities of the Lombards upon the people of the country while the army was on its march to Ad Ensem had been monstrous; reducing villages to ashes, committing outrages of every description, and having as Pagans no respect even for the sanctity of the churches in which the horrified women and girls had thought to find a refuge, they were regarded by all with abhorrence, and Narses felt that much as he needed

¹ The name which he uses himself on all his coins is Baduila. Nevertheless the Gothic historian Jordanes generally uses the name Totila (the only form of his name known among the subjects of Justinian) and this form of it became afterwards the accepted one.

their assistance he could not take them with him any further. As soon therefore as the battle was over Narses dismissed the whole of the Lombard contingent back to their own country, escorted as far as the Julian Alps by a body of troops under his trusted general Valerian, with strict orders to see that these Pagan barbarians committed no more such outrages on the way.

Last stand of the Ostrogoths. Narses then advanced southwards, taking in succession the devastated city of Rome, besieged for the fifth time,¹ and the various strongholds held by the Gothic garrisons in southern Italy, and, in a war of extermination, slaughtering the Ostrogoths wherever encountered. The last stand of the unfortunate Ostrogoths was made at the northern end of the peninsula of Sorrento. It was a valiant fight which better deserved a *saga* than many other deeds of the northern races which have been so recorded; for the Ostrogoths fought bravely to the last, like the noble race they were; but in their case no bard remained to sing of their glorious end. In the fortress of Cumæ Aligern still guarded the royal hoard of Totila, besieged by a portion of the imperial army, and thither to his assistance came at length, after a long and hazardous march from Pavia, his brother Teias and all that remained of the Ostrogoths. Thereupon Narses summoned all his generals to join in one combined movement to annihilate the last remnant of that race. Teias, after one or two unimportant engagements with portions of the imperial forces, moved to the foot of Monte St. Angelo on the peninsula of Sorrento; and though surrounded by the greater part of the imperial army stood at bay for two whole months. At length, driven desperate by starvation, the Ostrogoths shifted their position to the lower spurs of Monte Lettere, near the present town of Angri,² and there in January 553 the Ostrogoths fought their last battle. It was

¹ The greater part of Rome had become a wilderness of ruins. Totila's garrison occupied a small portion, walled off from the rest, round the Tomb of Hadrian.

² Less than a mile to the west of Angri, just at the foot of Monte Lettere, is the Pozzo dei Goti (Well of the Goths), a large covered-in and bricked-up well, which local tradition (even though it knows nothing about the battle) declares was once filled with the bones of the Goths.

long and desperate, lasting two days; Procopius calls it "a giants' battle," fierce, and implacable, the Ostrogoths being determined to die rather than submit to the emperor. Teias, their king, fought in the front rank, and won strong admiration even from his enemies. In the evening of the first day Teias was killed, but the Ostrogoths still fought on till night, and renewed the fight next day. On the evening of the second day those who remained offered to surrender provided they were allowed to leave Italy, and to take with them their wives and property. These terms Narses accepted. Aligern surrendered Cumæ, and took service under the emperor. One thousand of the Ostrogoths escaped, succeeded in reaching Pavia, and are no more heard of, making their way over the Alps, and becoming merged in other barbarian races.¹ And the Ostrogoths, the noblest of all the Teuton enemies of Rome, as a race were ended. For them the result of the "truceless war" had been extermination. Amalasantha was indeed avenged.

The failure of the Ostrogoths to effect that which other northern races effected, and to establish a permanent dominion in the land they had conquered, appears to have been due to two causes. First, the Ostrogoths were evidently too few in numbers² to establish a permanent kingdom in Italy unless they amalgamated with the Roman population. Theodoric saw this, and did his best to pave the way to such an amalgamation; and so also did his capable daughter Amalasantha, who endeavoured to bring up her son in a manner which would render him fit to rule on similar principles. There was, however, one absolute bar, the difference in religion; and the Ostrogoths never possessed a Thiudalinda.³ The second cause is truly pathetic in the case of such a race. It is plain that in reality the Ostro-

Causes of
Ostrogoths'
failure.

¹ Buat declares they went to his favourite Bavaria; Mascou maintains that they drifted back to their native isle of Gothland; others depict them as settling down in the mountains of Uri in Switzerland (Gibbon).

² Originally the Ostrogoths had been as numerous as the Visigoths; but they had suffered severely from the Huns and in other contests in the East. So that by the time they conquered Italy their numbers were only about one-fourth that of the Visigoths.

³ See Chap. XXIII, pp. 358-359.

goths suffered owing to their magnanimity towards the conquered race. For only fifteen years after they came to their end they were succeeded in Italy by another northern race, one altogether inferior to the Ostrogoths, the Lombards; yet this savage and degraded race effected what the far nobler Ostrogoths had failed to effect, establishing a permanent dominion in Italy. But the Lombards (taking exactly the opposite course to that adopted by the Ostrogoths) achieved this result by a practical extermination of the Roman race, slaughtering large numbers of them, sending many others to be sold as slaves in Gaul,¹ driving many more to seek refuge in North Africa, and reducing those who remained to a position of absolutely grinding slavery under their Lombard masters, one so low that the very name of Roman makes no appearance in the Lombard records. Of all the northern races who conquered portions of what had been the western half of the Roman Empire the Ostrogoths were the noblest, and the only one who treated the conquered race with magnanimity. Yet while savage races like the Franks and the Lombards endured, the Ostrogoths, who by their conduct in Italy had deserved a better fate, suffered complete extinction.

Conflict of
the "Three
Chapters."

Justinian's energy in one field alone remained unabated. In the ten years' contest which he waged over the theological question of the "Three Chapters" he had lost his strong and courageous partner Theodora half-way through the battle; but that loss did not in this field, as it did in others, diminish Justinian's ardour. Finding that his first edict in 544 had not attained the result he sought, and being still determined to make the Church acknowledge in him the supreme ecclesiastical law-giver, superior not only to the Popes of the five patriarchates, but even to General Councils, he in 551 issued a second edict of the same character, an edict which in its lofty tone of calm superiority, as it reviewed not only this question, but all the heresies which had arisen since the First General Council in the time of Constantine, demonstrated that Justinian deemed

¹ See Chap. XXIII, p. 368.

that his authoritative fiat settled for ever all the controversies of the Church.

Far into the night and even until early dawn would Justinian pursue this to him most fascinating study of the exact character of the union of the Divine and human natures in Christ. And it may give pause to some of the superficial minds in the present day who, without power of deep study of any subject, imagine it to be a sign of intellect to regard Christianity as a "myth" and the existence of God as a "fable," to reflect that the great author of the *Code*, the *Institutes*, and the *Pandects*, possessing one of the most acute legal intellects ever owned by man, would have considered such a mental attitude as theirs to show the very reverse of intellect, and have looked upon it with contempt. This habit of Justinian's of doing with little sleep¹ added still further to the awe with which the populace had come to regard him whom in the riot of the "Nika" in the early part of his reign they had treated with so little respect; and a legend grew up that in the dead of night, when all others in the imperial palace were sound asleep, a watchful *silentiarius*² had beheld the emperor traversing the silent corridors of the palace with his head carried under his arm.³

But Justinian's second edict had no more effect than the previous one, and the controversy over the "Three Chapters," and as to whether the opinions of those referred to under that name were to be condemned or approved, continued to rage with unreduced vigour. What appears to have troubled men's minds, and to have prolonged the controversy, was an idea that they were placed in such a position that if they failed to condemn the "Three Chapters" they were siding with Nestorianism, whereas if they condemned them they were siding with Eutychianism.⁴ But this was a

Difficulty which prolonged the controversy.

¹ Chap. XXI, p. 197.

² The *silentiarii* were that portion of the body-guard who were charged with the special duty of guarding the doors of the imperial bedchamber. In those days of possible assassination they were the most carefully selected and most trusted of all the body-guard. The emperor Anastasius I before being chosen to occupy the throne was a *silentiarius*.

³ This story assisted the allegation of the scurrilous *Secret History* that Justinian was a demon in the form of a man.

⁴ The same mistake has been made by most modern historians.

mistaken view, though one craftily urged by the Eutychians (or Monophysites). Those concerned failed to recognize that where there are three parties to a suit the matter is otherwise. That the Catholics should condemn doctrines which the Eutychians also condemned did not in the least involve the Catholics in a concurrence with the Eutychians on the quite separate point which formed the particular heresy of the latter.

At length, being pressed by Justinian, the Pope of Constantinople, the Pope of Antioch, the Pope of Alexandria, and the Pope of Jerusalem signed a document signifying their concurrence with the emperor's edict in its condemnation of the doctrines of the "Three Chapters." It is stated¹ that they did so with reluctance; though why they should have felt any reluctance in the matter is not apparent, since the doctrines in question were undoubtedly contrary to those laid down by the Fourth General Council, being impregnated (either openly, or covertly) with Nestorian views. But this did not suffice for Justinian's purpose, which required that all the five Popes should sign this document, as well as Datius, Archbishop of Milan, who was then in Constantinople.² But Datius absolutely refused to do anything of the kind, and departed back to his see in order to show his determined refusal; while as for Vigilius, the Pope of Rome, it seemed impossible to get him to adhere to anything.

The vacillations of Vigilius. It is unnecessary to pursue the vacillations of Vigilius during the seven years (547-554) that he was detained by Justinian at Constantinople, occupied with

¹ By the Medieval Papal historians (see below, p. 308).

² It is constantly noticeable that however much the Church may stand upon its axiom that all Bishops are equal, increased importance in the Church practically always attaches to the see of the capital city. We notice the same thing in our own day in regard to the see of London. And at this period the sees of Ravenna and Milan (one the existing, and the other the former, capital of Italy and of the western portion of the empire) were for this reason looked upon as, though not theoretically, yet practically, of equal importance to the see of Rome, which in the desolation of Italy through the long war and in the almost deserted state of the city of Rome itself, was in the most destitute condition. Maximianus, Archbishop of Ravenna, had just died (552), and his successor was not yet appointed; but Datius, Archbishop of Milan, was at Constantinople, and was endeavouring to instil some firmness into the vacillating Vigilius.

endeavours to please all parties, and falling from one error to another in regard to this question. He first (548) assented to the condemnation of the "Three Chapters";¹ then (550) withdrew his assent and concurred with their opinions; then (551) again assented to their condemnation; and then (553) again withdrew his assent, and wrote a treatise defending their opinions. He was bullied in every way by Justinian, and exasperated the latter in every way by his tergiversation and crafty attempts to deceive him, as well as by taking upon himself to pronounce sentences of excommunication against other Popes who differed from him, an action to which they retorted by pronouncing similar sentences of excommunication against him. Nor did Vigilius meet with sympathy even in the West. By far the most important portion of the Church in the West at this time was the Church of North Africa. And in 549 a large local Council of the North African Church was held which excommunicated Vigilius. Justinian's wrath against him continued to increase during the years 550-551, until it grew so great that on one occasion Vigilius, fearing for his life, took refuge in a church, to the altar of which he clung desperately while the Prætor and five or six soldiers seized his tall and portly form by the legs to drag him from the altar, which was broken in the undignified scuffle, while it is stated in the *Liber Pontificalis* that one of the bystanders slapped Vigilius in the face and openly accused him of having murdered his predecessor Silverius.

It is very difficult to determine what Justinian's conduct towards Vigilius really was. Because all our information on this subject comes from the Papal historians (so-called) belonging to the Middle Ages, who in recounting these transactions at Constantinople show an intense desire, first, to make out that Vigilius was looked upon, both by Justinian and others, as occupying a more exalted position than any of the other four Popes (certainly the very last idea entertained by anybody at Constantinople in the middle of the 6th century), and secondly, to demonstrate that this highly honoured dignitary was most cruelly and disgracefully treated by the emperor;

¹ Possibly to please Theodora, who was then alive, though near her end,

while in pursuit of these two objects they are ready to proceed to any lengths.¹

Allowing, however, for much exaggeration and fabrication in these records, it seems clear that Justinian did treat Vigilius in an exceedingly harsh, if not shameful, manner, though it is also clear that Vigilius brought it upon himself by his exasperating conduct. Nor, even however much he endured, can we feel for him any pity. For he was absolutely unscrupulous, entirely without any convictions, and desirous only to obtain advantages for himself. In the treatment which he received he suffered a deserved punishment for his crafty and unscrupulous conduct in practically purchasing the Papacy by a promise which he knew he could not fulfil, and for his disgraceful conduct towards, if not murder of, his predecessor Silverius.

Meanwhile Justinian was much exercised to find The Fifth General Council. that even his second edict had failed to make the controversy regarding the "Three Chapters" subside. And at length in 553, after ten years during which this theological question had absorbed almost his whole time and attention, it apparently began to dawn upon him that he had (as men had from the first secretly whispered) been going beyond his province in attempting to be the doctrinal law-giver of the Church, and that there was one body whose authority the Church would at once obey, though his own edicts failed to secure that obedience. Accordingly in May 553 he assembled at Constantinople the *Fifth General Council*, to settle the question of the correctness or incorrectness of the opinions collectively known as those of the "Three Chapters"; and at once the entire question was settled.

The Council, attended by 165 Bishops, was presided over

¹ For instance, in describing the contest in the year 551 when Vigilius took refuge in a church, the record, after stating that he was dragged from thence in the manner already related, asserts that the empress Theodora then caused a rope to be put round his neck and had him dragged through the whole city until the evening. The Medieval Papal historian, in fabricating this piquant addition to the woes of Vigilius in order to blacken the Monophysite Theodora and the tyrannical Justinian, did not know that Theodora had at this time been dead for three years.

by Eutychius, Pope of Constantinople,¹ and assembled in the midst of all the splendour of Justinian's new cathedral of St. Sophia, then the most magnificent cathedral which had ever been seen. The deliberations of the Council were short and conclusive. It re-affirmed the decrees of the four earlier Councils, gave its decision that the doctrines propounded by the "Three Chapters" were not in accordance with the faith laid down at Nicæa, condemned them and those who had propounded them, and formally condemned Vigilius, Pope of Rome, as guilty of heresy for having concurred with them, and excommunicated him; whereupon he was banished to the island of Proconnesus in the Sea of Marmora.

This decision of the Fifth General Council put an end to a wearisome and unreal controversy which might have been ended ten years earlier if the emperor, instead of wishing to pose as an ecclesiastical legislator, able to issue edicts upon doctrinal questions, had adopted the simple course which Constantine had done, of referring the point to the body which the constitution of the Church had provided for the settlement of such questions. The acute and pedantic mind of the emperor, however, experienced satisfaction in feeling that he had discovered a point on which the work of the Fourth General Council required to be supplemented,² and he felt that he had gained credit as a theologian by the decision of the Council. The whole controversy naturally did much harm to the Church; while badly as Vigilius comes out of it, Justinian can scarcely be held to come out much better. The plain, rough soldier

¹ The Papal Medieval historians would have us believe that Justinian was anxious that Vigilius should preside at the Council, that he sent Belisarius to endeavour to persuade him to do so, and that Eutychius, the Pope of Constantinople, offered to "concede the first place" to Vigilius. But it is practically impossible that such a strictly legal mind as that of Justinian should have either desired, or permitted, a person to preside at any court or council at which that person's own conduct and opinions were to form one of the principal points upon which the assembly was to give a decision.

² The Fifth General Council is always looked upon as merely supplementary to the Fourth (see Vol. I, p. 540, footnote), its decision being on a point in regard to which the work of the Fourth General Council required, or appeared to precise legal minds to require, to be supplemented.

Constantine did better for the Church in this respect than the brilliant theological law-giver Justinian.

But the tergiversations of Vigilius were not even yet at an end. Four times he had swung from one pole to the other, but he now repeated the process a fifth time. In December 553, after six months of banishment, he addressed a letter to the Pope of Constantinople retracting his previous defence of the "Three Chapters," and two months later, in February 554, drew up a more formal document condemning those doctrines. After this fifth change of opinion there was no longer any reason for his excommunication or banishment, and he was accordingly allowed by the emperor to return to Italy; but he reached no further than Sicily, and died there in January 555.

Affairs in
Italy. Narses had scarcely finished disposing of the Ostrogoths and returned to Ravenna when in the summer of 553 he had to confront a raid into Italy by a combined force of Franks and Allemanni,¹ led by two brothers, Lothaire and Bucelin, who descended with 75,000 men into Lombardy. Narses, his forces by this time considerably reduced, had at first to bow to the storm and content himself with holding the fortified cities. The Franks and Allemanni defeated a Roman force under Fulcaris at Parma, and though some 2000 of them were destroyed near Rimini by Narses, swept on into southern Italy, where for six months they plundered and ravaged the whole of Campania, Lucania, Apulia, and Calabria. After which Lothaire with half their number departed for the Brenner pass across the Alps laden with spoil, but died between Verona and Trent, leaving Bucelin in southern Italy with about 30,000 men. In the spring of 554 Narses assembled his forces, attacked Bucelin at Casilinum, near Capua, and totally defeated him, the whole force of Allemanni being destroyed, and Italy being finally delivered from their ravages.

Italy (with the exception of its two dependencies, Rhætia and Noricum, which were not regained) had at last after eighteen years' warfare been recovered by the empire, and after this

¹ The Allemanni had been absorbed into the Frank kingdom about ten years before by Thiudabert (p. 291).

destruction of the Allemanni settled down in peace for a time under the rule of Narses. But it was the peace of a desert. The condition of the country after eighteen years of this destructive warfare was deplorable beyond description. Except Ravenna, there was not a city which had not been again and again plundered and ravaged. The country outside the cities was a desolate waste. Everywhere the ruins were to be seen of the beautiful buildings which for more than five centuries, from the time of Augustus to that of Amalasantha, had been the pride of every Roman. The city of Rome, five times attacked, defended, and captured by hostile armies, was a mere shell, a circuit of frequently defended walls surrounding heaps of ruins amidst which the few battered remnants of the city's past glory stood as sad reminders of what Rome once had been. The Villa of Hadrian was a vast solitary wreck, the abode of wild animals, who made their lair amidst the broken remnants of the triumphs of Greek sculpture; while in the ruined Baths of Caracalla the only relics of their countless artistic treasures which survived were those which lay buried under the débris of the shattered halls.

For the remaining eleven years of Justinian's reign Narses ruled Italy as his representative, with the title of Prefect. Fixing his residence at Ravenna, Narses did his best to restore the country to some semblance of prosperity, or at the least of ordered existence. But there were two obstacles to this. The soldiers of his army, their many hardships and dangers being over, gave themselves up to pleasure, and, says the contemporary writer Agathias, "nothing remained but to exchange their shields and helmets for the soft lute and the capacious hogshead." After a time Narses appealed to his army to abandon such conduct, pointing how it endangered the safety of the country, and his appeal was not in vain. Discipline was restored; fortifications were repaired; a Duke was appointed to the rule of each province; and the laws of Justinian were introduced into the tribunals. But the second obstacle to any prosperity Narses was unable to avoid. The system of taxation which the Logothetæ of Justinian represented again flourished in Italy, and, as ever, crushed the people under a burden which prevented any return of

the country to prosperous conditions, and also caused its population steadily to diminish.

Expedition against Spain. Having at last regained Italy, Justinian turned his arms against Spain. An expedition under the patrician Liberius was despatched in 554 from North Africa, crossed the straits, and subdued various places on the coast of Spain, and took Malaga, Carthagená, and Cordova. But the new king of the Visigoths, Athanagild (554-567), after a time successfully opposed the invasion, and the Romans were obliged to content themselves with retaining a strip of the coast including Malaga and Carthagená.

The Turks It is in the reign of Justinian that we first hear of the Turks. The name is a collective one which was applied to a vast number of tribes extending from the borders of China to the Black Sea, and there is little doubt that the Huns originally came from this same Turkish stock. One of these tribes, inhabiting the region of the Altai Mountains,¹ and called by the Chinese *Thú-kiú*, became in the 6th century very powerful under their leader Tumere, who united under his sway all the Turkish tribes of central and northern Asia, and in 546 assumed the title of Chagan, or Khan. He computed his cavalry (including both men and horses) by millions, and one of his armies is mentioned as numbering 400,000 men. After many contests with the Chinese the Turks began to push their way westwards, and were first heard of by the subjects of Justinian through another race whom they drove before them.

The Avars. In 558 a remarkable embassy appeared at Constantinople. The Avars, a Mongolian race (possibly originally a section of the Huns), driven before the Turks, had temporarily settled down at the foot of the Caucasus. There they heard of the splendour and reported weakness of the Roman Empire, and in order to see how far what they had heard was true, sent an embassy to Justinian, which by the assistance of the governor of Lazica was transported from the eastern shore of the Black Sea to Constantinople. The

¹ They lived a nomad life; the royal encampment was seldom out of sight of the Altai Mountains.

whole city turned out to look with curiosity and fear at these strange representatives of a fierce and wild people. Their long hair hanging down their backs was tied with ribands, but in the rest of their costume they imitated the Huns. They addressed the emperor in a very lofty tone, describing their nation as "the invincible and irresistible Avars" (ignoring the fact that they had fled before the Turks), and offering their services to the emperor to vanquish and destroy all his enemies, in return for which they would expect "precious gifts, annual subsidies, and fruitful possessions." Justinian, now seventy-five, feared by a refusal to turn them from inconvenient and dangerous allies into still more dangerous foes. He therefore made them a long speech, accepted the proffered alliance and their offers to exterminate the Bulgarians and Slavs, and sent the ambassadors away clothed in silken garments and adorned with chains and collars of gold. The Avars gladly took up the congenial task thus given them, and during the next ten years overran most of the countries north of the Danube, blotting out a large portion of the Bulgarians and Slavs, and making vassals of the remainder, affecting to be the allies of the emperor.

In 559 Belisarius, now fifty-four, was once more called upon to defend the empire. In the winter of that year the Danube was firmly frozen. The Bulgarians in great force, under their chief Zaburgan, crossed the frozen river, and spread over Macedonia and Thrace, devastating the whole country, and passing through the Long Wall of Anastasius I,¹ in which a recent earthquake had made breaches, advanced even to within twenty miles of Constantinople. The forces of the empire were mainly absent in Italy, Africa, and on the Persian frontier, and Constantinople was only defended by some 5000 men of the city guards, who according to Agathias were mostly composed of lazy citizens who had purchased exemption from other duties by this easy form of service, shrank from the dangers of warlike operations, and in this crisis dared not issue beyond the city gates. True and terrible tales of the inhuman atrocities committed by the ferocious Bulgarians were told by fugitives from the villages who flocked into the city, and a general panic seized the capital.

¹ Chap. XX, p. 159.

Justinian, by this time seventy-six years old and somewhat feeble, shared the universal alarm, and only able to think of the churches ordered the gold and silver vessels of all those in the suburbs to be removed into the city, while the gaily dressed crowd of courtiers thronging the palace had no thought but their own safety. With one voice the trembling sovereign and trembling people implored Belisarius to save them, and once again he was expected without soldiers by his very name to put to flight a formidable enemy. He must have sighed for his splendid military household of 7000 picked warriors which had been broken up.

But Belisarius had wonderful gifts for producing results without tools, and he nobly responded to the appeal made to him by both emperor and people. The horses of the imperial stables, of the citizens, and even of the circus were collected; the mere magic of his name inspired old and young with emulation to serve under him; in a short time he had got together a small force of cavalry volunteers with a nucleus of 300 veteran soldiers; and sallying forth with these he boldly encamped the first night within sight of the tents of Zaburgan. With the help of a crowd of villagers he surrounded his camp with a large ditch and rampart; and by raising clouds of dust and lighting innumerable fires made the Bulgarians suppose that they were confronted by a large army. Next morning the Bulgarian cavalry advanced to the attack. But Belisarius now employed his villagers, hidden from view, to shout as though they represented a great force of additional troops coming up on the flank of the Bulgarians; and the latter, met in front by Belisarius himself and his force, and attacked by a party of troops which he had placed in ambush on one flank of the attack, and believing from the shouting that more troops were coming on, gave way and fled in a headlong rout. And though they only lost 400 men, the impression which was produced upon Zaburgan of the might of Belisarius was so great that he broke up his camp, retired back into a distant part of Thrace, and Constantinople was saved.

One would have supposed that no honours could have been thought too great to lavish upon such a man. And so thought the people of Constantinople, who on Belisarius' return to the city accompanied him to the imperial palace with shouts

of joy and gratitude. But envy and malice had had time to do their ignoble work among the crowd of timid courtiers surrounding the aged Justinian, and now ashamed of their former state of panic. The acclamations of the people to the victorious general were imputed as a misdemeanour on his part; the courtiers regarded him in silence; and Justinian after cold and formal thanks for his services dismissed him. The Bulgarians, after ravaging part of Thrace, and failing during the summer in an attempt upon Greece, were alarmed by a report that a fleet of double-prowed vessels was being prepared on the Danube to cut off their retreat, and hastily retired again north of that river; and the danger which had menaced Constantinople was forgotten.

Last years of Justinian. In 561, two years after this last victory of Belisarius, a slight illness of Justinian was magnified, a report of his death spread, and a tumult became imminent in Constantinople. Upon news being received of the emperor's recovery the ferment to a great extent subsided, but frequent fires, a mutiny of the city guards, and battles between the Blues and the Greens, followed by arbitrary punishments, tended to keep the minds of the people in a disturbed state, to indicate a general discontent, and to increase the belief that the emperor's strength and energy were failing. This feeling culminated in 563 in a conspiracy formed by two courtiers, Marcellus and Sergius, to assassinate Justinian, then eighty years old. The plot was discovered, whereupon Marcellus committed suicide, but Sergius, in the hope of saving his life, accused Belisarius of complicity in the plot. The charge, instead of being dismissed as preposterous, was entertained, and Belisarius was ordered to clear himself of it. He who had refused a kingdom when it was pressed upon him was basely suspected of attempting the life of a sovereign to whom he had shown loyalty in every act of his life. His followers urged him to fly, but Belisarius scorned to do so, and appeared before the Council without fear, but full of just indignation. The emperor, who had prejudged him as guilty, was graciously pleased to spare his life, but all his property was confiscated, and he was guarded as a prisoner in his own palace. This continued for seven months. But in July 564 Justinian became convinced of his innocence;

his honours and his property were restored ; and for the last eight months of his life Belisarius enjoyed the favour of the sovereign whom he had for more than thirty-five years so faithfully served. He died in March 565, at the age of sixty, leaving behind him an imperishable name, both as a great commander in war, and as one of the most conspicuous examples ever seen of loyalty to a sovereign under the most trying conditions. Antonina survived him, and spent the last few years of her life in a convent which she founded.¹

As far as one can gather, Justinian's ungracious treatment of Belisarius throughout the latter's life, though at first sight somewhat incomprehensible, was due to causes simple enough. Belisarius hated courts, did not come of any exalted parentage, and was not connected by marriage in any way with the imperial family. Other soldiers, such as Germanus, the emperor's nephew, or John the Thracian, married to the emperor's grand-niece, were at all times looked upon with favour ; but Belisarius, the plain, straightforward general unconnected with the imperial family, though he would have stood high in favour with emperors such as Valentinian I, Theodosius the Great, or Leo I, had nothing to recommend him in the eyes of the scholarly student Justinian, and having no sympathy with the life of the court, or with the crowd of sycophantic courtiers who surrounded the emperor and empress, was not a *persona grata* in the imperial palace. The courtiers therefore, aware of his contempt for them, found little difficulty in again and again poisoning Justinian's mind against him when once the enthusiasm created by Belisarius' first victorious campaign against the Vandals had worn off. Consequently when at court he received the cold shoulder,

Apparent cause
of Justinian's
ungracious
treatment of
Belisarius.

¹ The popular story that so great was the ingratitude of Justinian that Belisarius in his old age was deprived of his eyes, and reduced to sit begging at the gate of Constantinople, is a pure invention of later times, first originated in the 12th century, and made popular by Marmontel in his romance *Bélisaire*. It was originated in some political verses written in the 12th century by John Tzetzes, who Gibbon says was a monk. It was imported into Italy in the 15th century when the rage for Greek writings took place, and was there repeated by Crinitus, Pontanus, and Volterrannus. But Tzetzes himself knew that Belisarius did not lose his sight and recovered his property and honours.

and when absent upon his campaigns could never feel that he was looked upon with cordiality. That he nevertheless served Justinian so long and so faithfully redounds much to his honour.

Foundation of Iona. In this same year 565, the last year of Justinian's life, Christianity was extended from Ireland to Scotland. In that year St. Columba, brought up in the Christian community in Ireland founded in 432 by St. Patrick,¹ landed at the island of Iona on the west coast of Scotland and there founded a monastery from whence Scotland received its first knowledge of Christianity. Subsequently the kings of Scotland were for many centuries crowned at Iona, on the stone which now forms part of the coronation chair in Westminster Abbey.

Death of Justinian. Justinian only outlived his great general by eight months, and died in November 565, at the age of eighty-two. He was buried in a golden tomb in Constantine's great church of the Twelve Apostles, the regular burial-place of all the emperors. In the great square of the Augusteum, where also stood the statue of Constantine, and the silver statue of Eudoxia, the silver pillar of Theodosius the Great in front of the cathedral of St. Sophia was removed,² and in its place, raised upon a pedestal of brass, was erected the colossal bronze statue of Justinian on horseback, looking towards Persia, clad in armour, and about to march against the Persians. And there, in front of the great cathedral he had built, Justinian's statue remained for nine centuries, until Constantinople was taken by the Turks, the empire brought to an end, and the statue melted down and made into cannon.

His character and achievements. Justinian's character, so far as it is to be gathered from his actions,³ is not a pleasing one. He displays none of the nobility of character which was possessed by many of the men around him. His power of

¹ Chap. XX, p. 162 (footnote).

² It weighed 7400 pounds of silver.

³ It has been pointed out by Gibbon that Justinian is not the most conspicuous object of his own time (*Decline and Fall*, Vol. V, p. 248). Theodora, Tribonian, Belisarius, Narses, and Anthemius of Tralles are all of them more conspicuous than Justinian himself.

judging men's characters and abilities enabled him to choose first-rate men to carry out his plans, and all whom he thus chose served him well. But his cold and calculating disposition seemed to use them merely as instruments, and he never shows a spark of generous gratitude to those whose achievements made his glory. Worst of all was his conduct towards Belisarius, while in this case to ingratitude there was added an ever-recurring suspicion, which was little short of disgraceful when harboured against such a man and in the face of its being repeatedly shown to be undeserved. On the other hand there must be set down to the credit of Justinian's character his temperate life, his laborious energy, his unswerving faithfulness to Theodora throughout the whole of their married life, and his marked clemency in the case of conspiracies formed to assassinate him. In strength of character he was not wanting, though it is certain that he possessed much less than Theodora, leant upon her greatly, and showed a marked diminution in firmness and resolution when deprived of this support.

Justinian looks both towards the past and the future. As regards the past he strenuously endeavoured to restore the empire to somewhat of its aspect in Constantine's time by bringing the West again under his authority; he was particular in observing ancient ceremonies, such as the consular games, and in maintaining ancient titles, such as that of *prætor*; he revived in his great works on the Roman law much of the spirit of ancient Rome; and he laid down authoritatively that Latin was the proper official language of the empire, and adhered to this as far as he was able. On the other hand as regards the future he was the author of various innovations; in the early part of his reign he closed the ancient philosophical schools of Athens, and in the later part of his reign abolished the time-honoured office of consul; and he established a position of absolutism on the part of the emperor such as had never been occupied by any emperor before him. By these and other changes he inaugurated that new spirit which we associate with the term "Byzantine," and which after his time became more and more the characteristic of the Later Roman Empire.

His reign is usually called glorious, but it can only be con-

sidered so to a partial degree. With the exception of two, his achievements (unlike the solid and permanent achievements of Constantine, to which they offer so strong a contrast) were unsubstantial, and therefore transient. Justinian's chief claim to glory outside the domains of law and architecture is the fact that, partly by arms and partly by diplomacy, he successfully defended the eastern frontier of the empire ¹ during thirty-five years against the most capable monarch who ever sat on the throne of Persia, Noshirvan, commonly known as Chosroes I. ² Justinian's reconquest of North Africa and Italy was carried out by others and almost in spite of Justinian (so hampering to the operations were his errors in military arrangements), and any glory which those conquests might have given him was entirely marred by the ruin which he brought upon those countries.

His conduct of military affairs was deplorable. By sending absurdly inadequate and ill-equipped forces to meet powerful foes in distant countries, by often placing his troops under a number of generals all independent of each other, by allowing his soldiers to be attracted in shoals to the service of the enemy because they were left for months without pay while he poured forth money like water upon building and adorning churches and upon useless fortifications, and by starving the military operations in every way, he caused his armies always to fight at the greatest possible disadvantage, induced serious defeats, and ruined Italy by a long and devastating war entirely brought about by these unwise methods. On the one occasion when he adopted a different course ³ his army was at once victorious, which only emphasizes the magnitude of the error in all his previous conduct of the war, and forces one to reflect upon how many thousands of lives might have been saved, and how much misery and ruin to Italy avoided, if he had adopted the same course from the first.

¹ The total length of the eastern frontier of the empire, from the Caucasus to the southern corner of Palestine, was roughly about 1200 miles. The attacks made by Chosroes I extended over about 700 miles of this frontier.

² It has been pointed out by Professor Bury that writers have generally lost sight of this point in the achievements of Justinian.

³ The expedition under Narses,

But bad as was Justinian's military administration, still worse was his financial administration. Not only did he waste money profusely while the people were being over-taxed, but he employed a fiscal system which was nothing short of execrable, since by paying his fiscal officials by means of a percentage upon what they could extract, a direct incentive was given them to devise every possible method in order to rob the people under the form of law, and amass wealth themselves while the people starved. That a man should be able to continue for thirty-eight years without ever seeing that the system carried on by the Logothetæ was one bound to ruin any country, however rich, destroying both its agriculture and its commerce and sucking out all its strength, shows a want of financial ability which in a man so able in many other directions is astonishing.¹

In nearly all parts of Justinian's work we see magnificent conceptions brought to naught through faulty execution. The genius of his brilliant diplomacy, by which for a time he made numerous barbarian races around his frontiers readily become his vassals, became nullified by his faulty military organization; for his diplomacy lacked the force necessary to support it, and when those same barbarian races discovered his military weakness they soon invaded the Roman dominions making insolent demands for lands and money. As Procopius wrote, "There is no other way of compelling barbarians to keep faith with Rome except by the fear of the imperial army." Again, Justinian's conception of restoring the Roman Empire to its pristine glory by recovering the lost provinces of the West was a grand one; but it was ruined both by the want of wisdom in despatching altogether insufficient forces for that purpose, and by his faulty fiscal procedure; so that John the Lydian wrote, "The tax-gatherers could find no more money to take to the emperor because there were no people left to pay the taxes." Again, the conception of surrounding the empire with chains of fortresses was also a grand one; but Justinian failed to realize the cost of such

¹ It is probable that the ill-success of Justinian in administrative affairs was in its origin largely due to the absence in him of that quality of *simpatia* (a sympathetic temperament) the want of which is so marked a feature of his character (see Chap. XXIV, p. 402, footnote).

an undertaking, as well as the fact that fortresses without garrisons were of little use; the want of troops to hold them causing Agathias to say sarcastically regarding them, "Even the barking of a watch-dog was not to be heard." Again, Justinian himself calculated that not more than one-third of the taxes imposed reached the Treasury; yet he allowed the vicious system under which this was possible to continue, so that it was said that "a foreign invasion seemed less formidable to the people than the arrival of the fiscal officials." Again, the nominal strength of his army was 645,000 men; but Justinian, entirely through his want of knowledge of how to treat soldiers, could not get more than 150,000. His endeavour to institute a thorough reform in all branches of the administration was another fine conception; but here again he failed to carry this out owing to the faulty methods he adopted.

The one glaring defect in Justinian was a perpetual seeking after showy, in preference to sound, and less glittering, achievements. Owing to this characteristic of his administration most of what he effected crumbled away upon his death. The world has been caught by the glitter of his achievements and the splendour of his conceptions, and has thereby been led perhaps to give him a higher place among rulers than he deserves. Nevertheless Justinian was a great sovereign and justly to be highly esteemed in comparison with all who had preceded him during 130 years, and with many of those who followed him; while his monumental *Code*, *Pandects*, and *Institutes* in the domain of law, and his building of the cathedral of St. Sophia in that of architecture, will always give him deserved renown, and it is upon these two achievements that his fame will ever rest established.

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NOTE K

PERSIAN KINGS OF THE DYNASTY OF THE SASSANIDÆ FROM 380 TO 628

(In continuation of Note E¹ showing the dynasty of the Sassanidæ from 226 to 380)

Artaxerxes II, half-brother of Sapor II	381-384
<i>(An old man, son of Hormizdas II by another wife)</i>	
Sapor III, son of Sapor II	385-389
Varanes IV (Bahram IV), half-brother of Sapor III.	389-399
Yezdegerd I, son of Sapor III	399-420
Varanes V (Bahram V), surnamed Gor, i.e. Wild Ass, son of Yezdegerd I	420-439
<i>(The favourite hero of Persian romances)</i>	
Yezdegerd II, son of Varanes V	439-457
Hormizdas III, son of Yezdegerd II	457
Peroz, son of Yezdegerd II by another wife	457-484
Balash, brother of Peroz	485-489
Kobad I, son of Peroz	489-531
Chosroes I (Noshirvan), called "The Just," son of Kobad I	531-579
Hormizdas IV, son of Chosroes I	579-590
Chosroes II, son of Hormizdas IV	590-628
<i>(Conquered by the emperor Heraclius, and his empire destroyed)</i>	

¹ Vol. I, p. 590.

CHAPTER XXIII

WEST—THE LOMBARD INVASION OF ITALY, THE BIRTH OF VENICE, THE FRANKS, THE VISIGOTHS, BRITAIN, AND GREGORY THE GREAT.

EAST—THE EMPERORS JUSTIN II, TIBERIUS II, AND MAURICE.

565 — 604

THE emperor Justinian had a brother and a sister, and of his brother's three sons the only one of any capacity, Germanus, was dead. The Senate therefore chose as Justinian's successor the son of his sister Vigilantia, his nephew Justin. He was a brother of the fascinating Præjecta, and was already married to a niece of the empress Theodora, Sophia. He at once gained popularity by summoning all creditors of his uncle Justinian to the Hippodrome, where a train of porters laden with bags of gold appeared, and all debts were satisfied.

The Avars. Seven days after the accession in November 565 of Justin II (565–578), an embassy arrived from the Avars, whose conquests since their embassy to Justinian in 558 ¹ had greatly inflated their pretensions; the embassy pompously offered Justin the friendship and assistance of the Chagan of the Avars, with threats of hostilities if it should be refused. But Justin bade them depart, saying that the empire was quite able to protect itself, and moreover that their conquerors the Turks solicited its alliance. This reply overawed Bajan, the Chagan of the Avars, who instead of

¹ Chap. XXII, p. 313.

attacking the empire turned his arms against Thuringia, the most north-eastern portion of the kingdom of the Franks ; but he met with no success, and was glad to accept an alliance opportunely offered him by the Lombards.

Alboin had succeeded his father Audoin as king of the Lombards in 561. During the years 561-567 he was mainly occupied in fierce contests with the powerful Gepidæ. Before his father's death Alboin had killed in battle the son of Turisund, king of the Gepidæ. His father Audoin dared him to visit the court of Turisund and make the latter give him the arms of his dead son. Alboin, taking with him forty companions, visited the court of Turisund, claimed the laws of hospitality, and was entertained at a banquet by his enemy, the aged Turisund, who though plunged in grief felt forced to accede to this demand for his son's arms, and to suffer Alboin to depart in safety. Alboin, whose wife, Chlotosinda, a grand-daughter of Clovis, had lately died, at this visit greatly admired Rosamund, the daughter of Cunimund, who soon afterwards succeeded Turisund as king of the Gepidæ. Her beauty was very great, and notwithstanding her hatred of him, Alboin was determined if possible to carry her off. As soon as he became king of the Lombards he made every endeavour to obtain her, but his offers of marriage were rejected with scorn. At length in 564 by a combination of stratagem and force he succeeded in carrying her off ; but fierce war was the immediate result, both Cunimund and the Gepidæ being furious at the insult. Their onslaught upon the Lombards was so violent that the latter, unable to withstand it, called in the Avars to their assistance ; the Avars attacked the Gepidæ from the north-east while the Lombards attacked them from the north-west, and the two together in the course of two years destroyed the Gepidæ. At the final battle, fought in 567, Cunimund in despair rushed upon the hated Lombards, and perished with 40,000 of his nation. His skull was made into a drinking cup by his savage young conqueror Alboin, who took as his share of the spoil Rosamund and the territories of the Gepidæ south of the Danube (Noricum and Pannonia), while

their territories north of that river¹ became the property of the Avars. Six years later Rosamund took her revenge.

This overthrow by the Lombards of the kingdom of the Gepidæ had effects upon all the adjacent countries, and even as far as Italy. There Narses had begun to experience trouble. His government was unpopular; whether justly or not he was accused of both avarice and oppression, and in 567 the Romans of Italy sent to Justin II demanding his removal, failing which they would invite the Lombards to rule in Italy. Justin, fearful of a revolt, appointed Longinus as Prefect of Italy, and Narses retired to Naples; but subsequently the Romans, repenting of their action, invited him to reside at Rome, where he died in 568.

The Turks.

In this same year 568 a new nation, whose name was in after centuries to become highly prominent in the history of the east, made their first appearance. Up to this time the Turks had only been heard of, but not seen. Now however at the end of the year 568 they sent an embassy to Justin II to request that he would not espouse the cause of rebels and fugitives (the Avars), whom they had vanquished and pursued to the Jaik, the Volga, the Caucasus mountains, and the Black Sea, and offering him instead an alliance with themselves. This embassy presented a very different appearance from that of the savage Avars. Their splendid dresses, their rich presents, and the letters they brought from the great Turkish Khan, Disabul, whose dominions extended along the whole northern boundary of Persia, made a favourable impression, and Justin II, glad of such a counterpoise to the power of Persia, accepted the alliance, and a year or two later sent an embassy in return to the court of Disabul at the base of the Altai mountains.

Conquest of
Italy by the
Lombards.

The destruction of so powerful a kingdom as that of the Gepidæ greatly increased both the fame and the strength of Alboin, and he now, at the age of twenty-eight, determined to conquer Italy from the empire. No sooner was this intention known than volunteers from many other tribes in Germany flocked to join him, including a contingent of 20,000 Saxons from Thuringia

¹ Comprising the modern countries of Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and the portion of Hungary north of the Danube.

who came in response to his invitation; though we are told that so great was the host which he commanded that this contingent made little difference. We do not know the total number of Alboin's host, but it would appear from the manner in which the Lombards on gaining Italy at once overspread that country that it must have been even larger than that of the Visigoths led by Alaric 168 years earlier.

Italy lay defenceless. The martial race of the Ostrogoths had been exterminated; the eighteen years of a mismanaged war had brought the country to ruin; Belisarius and Narses were no more; and there was nothing to oppose Alboin's conquest of the country except isolated garrisons without a leader. Alboin, therefore, being confident of the success of his enterprise, upon his departure from Pannonia and Noricum made over those territories to the Avars. Taking with them their families and all their property the Lombards set forth for the Julian Alps, which they crossed by the Predil pass without meeting any opposition, Alboin from the summit of the mountain ever since called "the royal mountain" gazing in delight at the enchanting view of Italy; and about the month of June 568 the Lombards descended into those fertile plains of northern Italy to which they were henceforth to give their name of *Lombardy*. "The Visigoth, the Hun, the Vandal, and the Ostrogoth failed to connect their names with even a single province or a single city of the imperial land. What these mighty nations failed to effect an obscure and savage horde from Hungary successfully accomplished." ¹

The Lombards when they furnished a contingent to accompany Narses into Italy in 551 had been Pagans; but apparently between the years 551-568 they had been partially converted to Arian Christianity, Alboin himself at all events being nominally an Arian Christian. The majority of the Lombards, however, appear to have been still Pagans when they arrived in Italy, being in the habit of sacrificing, sometimes a she-goat, and sometimes a captive, to their ancient gods. In any case such Christianity as they may have imbibed made little or no difference in their general character, which is described as "fiercer than even the ordinary fierceness of barbarians."

Alboin's success was rapid and complete. The atrocities of these barbarous foes caused terror to precede their march; the people, escaping to inaccessible morasses, lakes, or mountains, left the country a solitude; city after city opened its gates, and was plundered and ravaged; while the Prefect of Italy, being without the necessary troops to resist such an invasion, shut himself up in Ravenna, and contented himself with announcing to the emperor the loss of nearly all Italy.¹ The Lombards quickly spread over northern Italy, meeting with no resistance except at Pavia, where a brave commander and a brave garrison held out during a three years' siege, hoping for succour which never came. Meanwhile, spreading southwards, the Lombards during the years 569-572 overran and took possession of the rest of Italy; so that by the latter year, without a single battle, or a single siege except that of Pavia, there remained nothing in Italy to the empire except the territory round Ravenna, including the coast from Padua to Ancona, Rome with a small district round it, Perugia, Genoa and the coast adjacent to it, and Naples with Salerno and Paestum. At first Alboin (who personally did not proceed further south than northern Italy) made Verona his capital, but upon the fall of Pavia in 572 that city became the Lombard capital, and remained so throughout the 200 years of their dominion in Italy.

To describe the scene of widespread outrage, horror, and degradation produced in Italy by this inundation of barbarism, which was not merely a raid, but a conquest, would be impossible. Nor even if it were possible could modern ears endure it. The Lombards had come as conquerors, and treated the Romans as they treated all conquered races. Italy now suffered what the other portions of the western half of Rome's empire had suffered in the previous century, but to a worse degree. The total want of regard even for things which other barbarous races usually spared is shown by the fact that even Monte Cassino, the highly revered monastery of St. Benedict, was sacked. Italy,—the Italy of Virgil and Horace, of Ovid and Pliny, of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, of Constantine, Valentinian, and Galla Placidia,

¹ From the time of Alboin's invasion in 568 never again was the whole of Italy united under one government until the year 1870.

the Italy which from the time of Augustus to that of Amaluntha had for 600 years known so high a degree of civilization,—was now seized and trampled under foot by a barbarous horde in comparison with whom the Goth and the Vandal were polished gentlemen. Italy's condition was reduced to that of some fair garden which has been turned into a cattle-yard.

Thus was finally completed throughout the West that treading down of the Latin race by its Teutonic conquerors which had begun when in 407 the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi swept over Gaul.¹ Nevertheless, although the Latin race was thus trampled down throughout so many countries, and although for a time it seemed almost entirely to disappear,² it subsequently showed its remarkable tenacity. For in three of the eight provinces thus submerged by the barbarian flood³ the Latin race in course of time to a large extent absorbed its conquerors, and even handed on its own language to them⁴; with the result that eventually in Italy, in that part of Gaul which we know as France, and to almost an equal extent also in Spain, the inhabitants of those countries, through the gradual merging of conquerors and conquered, and through the influence of Latin customs and language, became in time more or less a Latin race. And though this Latinization of the conquerors did not occur in the countries conquered by the Saxons, the Allemanni, the Franks east of the Rhine, and the Vandals, that it should have taken place even in three of the provinces where the Latin race had been so severely crushed demonstrates the remarkable tenacity of that race.

One notable consequence of this invasion of Italy by the Lombards in 568 was the birth of Venice. Tradition has attributed this to a gathering of fugitives from Aquileia, Concordia, Padua, and adjacent cities at the time of Attila's invasion in 452. And that there was at all events

¹ Chap. XVII, p. 35.

² See Chap. XXIV, p. 431.

³ Britain, Gaul, Spain, Rhætia, Noricum, Pannonia, Italy, and North Africa.

⁴ Largely because those conquerors, despising reading and writing, had no written language. Even the Lombard laws drawn up in 636 were written in Latin, though Latin of a rough description.

in Theodoric's time a scattered population upon some of the many islands along the coast of Venetia¹ we have evidence in one of the letters of Cassiodorus, written in 537.² But Cassiodorus is evidently writing regarding a poor and scattered fishing population inhabiting some of the innumerable islands along the coast from the former site of Aquileia round to near Ravenna, and there is no evidence in his letter that he is referring to any collection of people upon the present site of Venice. When, however, the invasion under Alboin in 568 occurred a definite founding of Venice took place. As the Lombards burst into Venetia the terrified inhabitants of the towns near the coast, knowing the character of these ruthless invaders, hurriedly packed their families and goods into any boats they could obtain, and fled to the islands of Rialto and Malamocco, remote from the haunts of men and where nothing existed to excite the greed of the barbarians. These fugitives, unlike the poverty-stricken fishing population of whom Cassiodorus had spoken, were a people of refinement and culture, who also carried with them a certain amount of their property. And there, surrounded only by the sea and the sky, they began the gradual building up of that majestic city of Venice which in after times was to take so great a place in history.

But Alboin had not long to enjoy his victory. In May 572 he held in his palace at Verona a great banquet to all his principal chiefs to celebrate the completion of his conquest of Italy; not a banquet such as the Romans in their Pagan days had held (where whatever else was included there was at least artistic culture), but a banquet such as delighted the Lombards, wherein the sole enjoyment was

¹ It is to be noted that the province of Venetia does not take its name from the city of Venice, but vice versâ.

² Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, Book XII, Letter 24. He writes to the "Tribunes of the Maritime population," and orders that this population upon the islands, "who possess numerous boats," are to assist Istria in forwarding wine and oil to Ravenna for the King's use. He speaks of their "scattered homes amid the wide expanse of waters," and of how by "a twisted and knotted osierwork these people make a fragile bulwark against the waves of the sea," and mentions how they live upon fish, engage in making salt, and inhabit mean and humble huts.

a hoggish drunkenness. In the midst of the feast Alboin, after draining many bowls of wine, and being half intoxicated, called for the most precious ornament of his palace, the skull of Cunimund, the token of his destruction of the Gepidæ, and amidst shouts of applause "the cup of victory" formed from the skull of their dead enemy, was filled with wine and drunk from by Alboin and the Lombard chiefs.¹ But this was not enough; Rosamund was summoned. "Fill the cup of victory again," cried the inhuman conqueror, "fill it to the brim, and bear this goblet to the queen, requesting in my name that she will rejoice with her father." Rosamund, all whose relations and friends had been slaughtered, and her nation destroyed, in the victory she was called upon by her hated ravisher to applaud, and now commanded in insulting terms to drink from her father's skull, in an agony of grief, horror, and rage was speechless, having only strength to utter in a low voice, "The will of my lord shall be obeyed"; but as she touched the cup with her lips she registered a silent vow that this crowning insult, and all the wrongs of herself and her country, should be avenged in the blood of Alboin.* A beautiful woman can always gain adherents, and Rosamund obtained the assistance of Helmichis, the king's armour-bearer, and Peredeus one of the bravest young chiefs of the Lombards;³ and a few nights afterwards she admitted them to the room in which Alboin lay asleep, where they murdered him, Rosamund rejoicing in the deed and looking upon it as a just retribution for all her own and her country's wrongs. In after times the Bavarians, the Saxons, and other Teutonic races repeated songs applauding the valour and virtues of Alboin, the conqueror of Italy, but he was simply

¹ Apparently the Lombards held much the same ideas as the Saxons, by whom it was believed that those who fell in battle were at once admitted to the Hall of Woden, there to drink ale for ever out of the skulls of their enemies.

² Some have argued that Alboin in calling upon Rosamund to drink from the "cup of victory" was doing her an honour. She, at all events, did not look upon the matter in that light.

³ It is said that Rosamund obtained the assistance of Helmichis by promising to marry him and obtain for him the crown. Other accounts assert that both Helmichis and Peredeus were lovers of Rosamund.

a bloodthirsty and barbarous tyrant who deserved no better fate than he received.

The fury of the Lombards at the death of their great hero Alboin was immense, and Rosamund (who had at once married Helmichis) was forced to fly from Verona. With her step-daughter Albsuinda, a child of seven years old, and accompanied by Helmichis and Peredeus, she embarked in a small boat, sailed down the Adige, from thence reached the Po, and took refuge at Ravenna. There Longinus, the imperial Prefect, fell a victim to her charms; and there Rosamund shortly afterwards died. Whether true or not, the story is that Longinus urged her to become "Lady of Ravenna" by getting rid of Helmichis and marrying himself, that she thereupon offered a poisoned draught to Helmichis, and that the latter upon drinking half of it and noticing its taste, pointed his dagger to her breast, and forced her to drink the remainder. Peredeus was sent, with the little daughter of Alboin, to Constantinople, where after a few months he was executed by the emperor Justin II.

Ten years'
anarchy in
Italy.

Upon the death of Alboin the Lombard chiefs assembled at Pavia and chose Clepho, one of their number, as king. But in 574 Clepho was stabbed by a Roman slave, and there ensued ten years of anarchy during the minority of his son Autharis, throughout which period Italy, divided between thirty savage Lombard tyrants, calling themselves "dukes," groaned under intolerable oppression.¹ We are told that the results were worse even than the invasion of the Huns, these various Lombard tyrants establishing themselves in different parts of the country, destroying, outraging, and spreading around them universal misery and despair. All who were sufficiently well off to be able to do so migrated to North Africa. We have an indication of the general state of affairs in the fact that after the death of Pope John III in 574 more than ten months elapsed before his successor could be chosen, owing to Rome being surrounded by swarms of Lombards; while again in 579 when Pelagius II (the predecessor of Gregory the Great)

¹ During this period, about the year 580, Farwald, duke of Spoleto, attacked and took Classis, the port of Ravenna, and held it for about eight years, when it was recaptured by the troops of the empire.

was elected, Rome was cut off from all communication with the outer world, being besieged by the Lombards, who were ravaging the adjacent districts up to the walls of the city. To such a terrible degree did Italy suffer that the awful miseries endured during the sixteen years (568-584) following the invasion of Alboin produced the prevailing belief, often expressed, for instance, in the writings of Gregory the Great, that these were the things foretold in the Book of Revelations as preceding the end of the world. And when we realize, that in Britain, in Gaul, in Spain, in North Africa, in Rætia, in Noricum, in Pannonia, and in all other countries south of the Rhine and the northern course of the Danube similar miseries had been suffered by the populations of those countries during the greater part of 150 years, we obtain some idea of what the destruction of the western half of the Roman empire meant for Europe.

Justin II. The alliance which Justin II had made with the Turks in 568¹ was a political step of the greatest value to the empire in its never-ending contest with Persia, and with its powerful monarch Chosroes I. Henceforth the Persians could not ignore their northern frontier and bring all their strength to bear upon the empire, but in contending with the Romans on the west knew that the latter had a powerful ally who threatened Persia along its whole northern frontier, and must be watched and guarded against.

Justin II's chief anxieties, however, upon coming to the throne in 565 were concerned with affairs in the opposite direction to that of Persia. The Gepidæ, the Avars, and the Slavs were a perpetual source of disquiet to him, while it seems probable that even from the first the beginning of mental disease is to be seen in the degree to which anxiety on this account weighed upon his mind. It is stated in the poem *Johannis*, by Corippus, that to cheer this mental depression the empress Sophia ordered a splendid embroidered curtain to be made on which were represented in gold and colours the whole of the labours of Justinian, with a figure of the latter in the centre placing his foot upon the neck of a

barbarian king. Soon however a considerable relief to these anxieties was caused by the destruction of the Gepidæ in 567 by the Lombards; and though the Avars upon succeeding to the kingdom of the Gepidæ became much emboldened, and during the next two years constantly demanded the cession to them of Sirmium, this important fortress was securely held, and the Avars were unable to take it.

But the strongest indication that Justin II's mental disease was even as early as 568 creeping upon him (though it was probably for a long time kept hidden from the public eye by the empress Sophia) is to be found in his attitude as regards Italy. Though disturbed in mind by these lesser anxieties, Justin II seems to have remained quite untroubled by the much more serious invasion of Italy by the Lombards. He was not at that time engaged in war with Persia, yet he abandoned Italy to its fate, left it to be defended by the Prefect Longinus as best he might, and during the years 568-572 saw Italy overrun and wrested from the empire without making any effort to prevent it.

War with Persia. In 572 the peace with Chosroes I, made ten years before by Justinian for fifty years, was broken (chiefly owing to the ill-treatment of Armenia by Chosroes), and a fresh Persian war began. Marcian, commanding the Roman army in Mesopotamia, gained in 573 an important victory over the Persians at Sargathon, but failed to take Nisibis, and while he was besieging it was deprived of his command, in consequence of which his army, disgusted with his successor, mutinied, and Chosroes seizing the opportunity laid siege to Dara. At the same time another large force of Persians, assisted by the Arabian Saracens from Ghassan (on the eastern border of Palestine), invaded Syria, and captured Antioch, Apamea, and other cities, carrying off to Persia an immense crowd of captives, declared to have numbered more than two hundred thousand persons. From these captives Chosroes selected 2,000 beautiful virgins, and despatched them, escorted by a body of troops, and adorned as brides, as a present to the great Khan of the Turks, to conciliate him for the rejection of his offer of an alliance and murder of his ambassadors a year or two earlier. But these unhappy Christian girls declared among themselves that they would

die rather than suffer such a fate, and on arriving at a large river about fifty miles from the Turkish frontier asked leave to bathe out of sight of their escort. Permission being granted, the whole of them rushed suddenly into a deep part of the river, and were all drowned, the Persian escort (which had at their request removed to a distance to allow them to bathe) only becoming aware of what had happened by seeing their dead bodies floating down the river. These 2000 girls gave the first example of that overpowering dread and horror of the Turk which was to last from that time right down to the present day among all of the feminine sex who were Christians.¹ In November 573 Dara, which was considered impregnable, and had been made by the inhabitants of that region the storehouse for all their most valuable property, was taken by Chosroes, a disaster so great that it caused Justin to order all shops to be closed in Constantinople, while this misfortune ever after preyed upon his mind.

These disasters were partly due to the emperor's mental derangement having by this time become very pronounced, and at length the empress Sophia, who throughout the year 574 carried on the government, being embarrassed by simultaneous hostilities on the Danube from the Avars and Sclavs, despatched a large sum of money to Chosroes, and obtained from him a truce for a year, afterwards extended (by a further payment of money) to three years. And in December 574 she persuaded Justin II to appoint Tiberius, an able general, to be *Caesar*, and to make over the government to him.

But Sophia had no intention of resigning her own sovereignty as *Augusta*, and Tiberius was only given authority conjointly with her. Nor would she consent to another empress being permitted in the imperial palace, so that Ino, the wife of Tiberius, was made to live elsewhere; and when Sophia was pressed by Justin to alter this arrangement she showed

¹ And very naturally, in view of the inferior place assigned to women by Islam, which faith the Turks within the next seventy years adopted. The assertion that the Mahomedan religion teaches that women have no souls is usually denied by apologists for that religion; at the same time the point remains exceedingly vague, since the Mahomedan Paradise finds no place for women who have had a human existence.

much of the spirit of her aunt Theodora, saying, "As long as I live I will never give my kingdom to another." After a time the wives of the senators waited upon her to ask whether they might visit Ino; but all the reply they received from the empress was, "Go and be quiet; it is no business of yours."

Invasion of
Carduene by
the Romans.

Tiberius on being made *Caesar* appointed Maurice, one of the nobles of Cappadocia, and descended from the old aristocracy of Rome, as commander-in-chief on the eastern frontier. It was an excellent appointment. Maurice had much capacity, and in a short time greatly improved and increased the army in the east, gathering recruits from his own province of Cappadocia, as well as from Iberia and Syria. And in 578, upon the conclusion of the three years' truce, Maurice inflicted a severe blow upon Chosroes I by invading the province of Carduene, which no Roman army had entered since the days of Jovian, the force returning from thence laden with spoil, and bringing back, not only a large number of important Persian prisoners, but also 10,000 liberated Christian captives.

Death of
Justin II

Justin's malady steadily increased, and he became by degrees a dangerous lunatic. At length in September 578, during a lucid interval, he himself crowned Tiberius as emperor, and died eight days afterwards. Thereupon, to the annoyance of the masterful Sophia, Tiberius installed his wife in the imperial palace as empress, and she took the name of Anastasia.

New policy
inaugurated
by Tiberius II.

Tiberius II (578-582) was born in Thrace, and was of Roman descent, and though he only reigned four years, inaugurated a new policy for the empire. He wisely considered that, since Greek influence was everywhere increasing,¹ the empire must in future place its chief reliance upon its Greek-speaking provinces, rather than upon those more western provinces to which he himself belonged. Even in these latter provinces Greek was more commonly spoken than any other language, and it was the language

¹ In the 4th century the use of Latin was so universal that Ammianus Marcellinus, though a Greek by birth, wrote in Latin; whereas in the 6th century even a writer like Procopius did not know Latin, and wrote in Greek.

which was spoken by Tiberius II himself.¹ And he rightly saw that if this policy was to be carried out effectively the empire must adopt in regard to religion a more tolerant attitude towards the Monophysites and other non-Catholic sects than had been the practice hitherto. Also that, as a part of the same policy, it was desirable to give greater prominence to Greek ideas, by placing the empire on a somewhat more democratic basis, reducing its aristocratic tendencies and showing more sympathy with classes who had hitherto been shut out from public affairs. As a result of this new policy inaugurated by him of advancing the interests, and sympathising with the ideas, of the Greek-speaking provinces of the empire, Tiberius II has been called by some the first of the Greek emperors, and his accession has thus been considered as more or less an era in the history of the Later Roman Empire.

All that was best in Greek principles and ideas was thus incorporated in the empire by Tiberius II, and there is no doubt that the Later Roman Empire gained much by this new policy. At the same time, though using the Greek language and incorporating some of the best of the Greek principles of government, the Later Roman Empire must not be looked upon as in any way a Greek empire, nor its emperors as Greek emperors. That empire remained essentially Roman,—in its principles, its methods, and its spirit,—and its inhabitants rightly objected to being called “Greeks,” and justly clung steadfastly to their name of “Romaioi.”

Tiberius also bestowed much praiseworthy attention upon the army, notwithstanding failing health, improving its discipline and efficiency, and spending large sums upon increasing its numbers. He is also specially notable as being the originator of the celebrated Varangian Bodyguard (renowned throughout the whole of the subsequent 870 years that the empire lasted), which grew out of the new body of 15,000 *fœderati* of northern race which he organized.

His chief mistake was a most lavish and unwise liberality; not content with the just measure of reducing the taxation by one fourth, he lavished donations upon almost every

¹ Justinian I was the last emperor who spoke Latin as his mother tongue.

profession—lawyers, doctors, scholars, bankers, and silversmiths—and by the end of the first year of his reign had spent nearly all the money in the Treasury. This course of action, for which he has been loudly praised by the contemporary writers, was possibly a part of the democratic policy which he had adopted, but it left the State nearly bankrupt at his death, and created many difficulties for his successor.

Death of Chosroes I In 579 an end to the war with Persia seemed likely to occur through the death in that year, at the age of seventy, of the Persian monarch Chosroes I, who had been the great antagonist of the Romans for forty-eight years. His death however did not stop the war, which was continued by his son and successor Hormizdas, over whom in 581 Maurice gained an important victory at the battle of Constantina.

The Avars and the Sclavs. But Tiberius II had not only to confront the Persians. One effect of the Persian war was that, all available troops having to be withdrawn to the eastern frontier, the northern frontier was left with few troops and much exposed to incursions by the Avars and their vassals the Sclavs. In the first year of the reign of Tiberius a large body of Sclavs poured into Dalmatia, and finding themselves unopposed by any trained troops established themselves there permanently. But while the Sclavs were not a formidable foe to trained troops or fortresses it was otherwise in the case of the Avars. This Tartar race, having reduced the Bulgarians and the Sclavs to a state of vassalage, had gradually established their rule over a wide territory north of the Black Sea, and their dominions (since in 568 they gained Noricum and Pannonia)¹ now stretched from near Lake Constance on the west to the banks of the Don on the east. Their acquisition of Pannonia had brought them into much closer contact with the empire than previously, and they eagerly seized the opportunity given by the Persian war to attack the empire on its north-western frontier.

Loss of Sirmium. The chief object of the Avars at this time continued to be to gain possession of Sirmium, the old capital of the third division of Diocletian's empire, situated on the

¹ Page 327.

Save, on the south-eastern border of Pannonia, and Sirmium was besieged by Baian, the Chagan of the Avars, throughout the years 579-581. Tiberius made various efforts to relieve it, but the commander was incompetent, the troops which could be spared were insufficient for the task, and all efforts to relieve Sirmium failed, and at last, after the city had endured great hardships during a two years' siege, Tiberius was compelled early in 582 most reluctantly to surrender it to the Avars. The loss of Sirmium was a severe blow, as it was the chief fortress possessed by the empire for the defence of the north-western part of the Danube provinces.

Death of Tiberius II. Soon afterwards, in July 582, Tiberius, feeling that his end was approaching, summoned Maurice from the Persian war, appointed him his successor, and betrothed him to his elder daughter Constantina. On the 13th August Tiberius crowned Maurice with his own hands, and died on the following day. In the eight years during which he held the government of the empire Tiberius II displayed many of the best qualities in a ruler, and a contemporary chronicler says of him, "Men were not worthy of so good an emperor." The marriage of Maurice and Constantina was celebrated almost immediately after the funeral of the late emperor was over, the marriage ceremonies being unusually splendid, and the new emperor appearing thereat in a dress of great magnificence, embroidered all over with gold, trimmed with the imperial purple, and ornamented with many precious jewels. Still more magnificent however was Constantina's dress. She is said to have worn a tight-fitting tunic of cloth of gold, edged with the imperial purple, and sprinkled all over with diamonds, and upon her head the remarkable crown worn by the empresses. From this time forwards the imperial crown of the empresses became notable, being adorned with cascades of diamonds and pearls, which gave it a most resplendent appearance.

Maurice. Maurice (582-602) was forty-three when he became emperor. Tiberius II when dying had said to him, "Make your rule my fairest epitaph," and could not have made a better choice than he did in selecting him as the fittest man

to rule the empire. Maurice was capable, highly cultivated,¹ a good general, and a high-principled and noble-hearted man, and he showed throughout his reign his determination to rule with honour and justice. He bestowed much attention on the training of the army, and himself wrote a celebrated treatise (in twelve books) on military science called the *Strategikon*, which was followed for three hundred years afterwards as a text-book of military instruction. His chief fault would seem to have been a tendency to do the right things in the wrong way, of which he gave several instances during his twenty years' reign, the last of them bringing about his death.

^{His} In two directions Maurice's course was rendered ^{difficulties.} difficult. First, he was grievously handicapped by the results of the extravagant liberality of Tiberius II, which by leaving the State bankrupt forced Maurice to employ the most rigid economies. This both much hampered his military arrangements, and also made him unpopular with the army, to which these economies had often to be applied. Secondly, his endeavour loyally to carry out the policy in religious matters which Tiberius had inaugurated made him disliked by the orthodox party in religion, who looked upon all toleration shown to their opponents as an offence against themselves. These two causes have made Maurice out of favour with most of the writers of his time. Nevertheless Maurice reigned with vigour and uprightness, and was greatly appreciated by the mass of the people.

Two years after Maurice's accession the empress Constantina bore him a son, an event which was hailed with acclamations because the latter was "born in the purple."² In memory of the last emperor born in the purple (Theodosius II) the boy was named Theodosius. He was the first of six sons born to Maurice.

^{Attitude in religious matters.} A very important point in connection with Maurice's history, accounting for much which occurred subsequently, is his attitude in religious matters. Maurice, as was to be expected from his general character and temperament, was "moderate" in matters of religion,

¹ Both Menander and Theophylactus speak of his fondness for literature, notwithstanding his active military life,

² See Chap. XVII, p. 27.

while as a far-sighted ruler he saw, as Tiberius II had seen, that if the empire was to put forth its full strength a policy of toleration towards the Monophysites and other sects was absolutely necessary. Hitherto, up to the time of his immediate predecessor, schismatics had been uniformly persecuted. Maurice to his high honour, and that of John,¹ Pope of Constantinople (upon whose advice in such matters he much relied), refused to adopt such a policy, and passed a law that schismatics were not to be compelled to conform to the orthodox faith. This of course brought upon Maurice the hostility of all those to whom such moderation was anathema,² and especially of the see of Rome, always vehemently opposed to anything like toleration, and also always bitterly jealous of "New Rome" and all its works, a legacy handed down ever since the days when the latter had become the imperial city instead of "Old Rome." This hostile feeling towards Maurice on the part of the see of Rome subsequently bore fruit at the latter end of his life. It had also a more far-reaching effect; for it is from the time of Maurice, and his adviser in religious matters, John, that we may date the beginning of the long struggle of four centuries between the see of Rome and that of Constantinople.

The Persian War. For the first ten years of Maurice's reign the Persian war continued, and for a long time without decisive results. In 586 the Romans gained an important victory at Solachon,³ and invaded the Persian province of Arzanene, but in 587 sustained a reverse near Aphoumon and had to retire again across the Tigris. In 588 Maurice, being forced to carry out economies, issued an order that the pay of the troops was to be reduced by one-fourth. This produced a mutiny, the army in Mesopotamia going so far as to elect their commander Germanus, against his will, as emperor; the Persians seized the opportunity and besieged Constantina;

¹ Called by his contemporaries, owing to his austere mode of life, John Nesteutes (John the Faster).

² An additional cause of complaint was the fact that Maurice had issued an order preventing soldiers from deserting in order to become monks.

³ Chiefly through the steadfast courage and ability of Heraclius, commanding the centre of the Roman army, the father of the future emperor of the same name.

and it was nearly a year before the troops were pacified, whereupon Germanus relieved Constantina, and gained a signal victory over the Persians at Martyropolis, capturing that city with many Persian nobles of high rank. In 590 the Persians contrived to recapture Martyropolis by treachery, but were soon afterwards defeated by the general Heraclius in a brilliant victory, their camp being captured.

During the year 589 an insurrection had occurred in Persia, the Persian monarch Hormizdas was assassinated, and his son Chosroes II was driven out of the country and forced to take refuge in Mesopotamia among the Romans. He appealed to the emperor's protection, and for assistance to recover his throne, offering to restore Martyropolis and Dara, together with the provinces of Armenia which had been taken by his grandfather Chosroes I. The Senate of Constantinople were opposed to the empire taking up his cause, but Maurice dissented from them and determined to do so, seeing in this course an opportunity of ending the war and relieving the empire of the strain upon its resources thus produced. His bold and sagacious action had most successful results. Chosroes II was supplied with troops and money, in 591 by this assistance regained his throne, according to his word restored Persarmenia and eastern Mesopotamia to the empire with Martyropolis and Dara, and remained for the rest of Maurice's life the firm ally of Rome. It was a great triumph for Maurice. Thus this war, which had lasted for twenty years, and was the second long war engaged in with Persia during fifty years, ended in complete success to the Romans. These two wars, in the course of which neither side gained any great victory, were not without results to the empire. On the part of Rome they were defensive wars, Persia having been the assailant, and their net result was that all the grand designs of conquest nourished by Chosroes I had been brought to naught, and that the empire had repelled two long and formidable attacks without loss of territory.

On the Danube frontier Maurice in opposing the Avares and the Slavs was less successful, and for a long time experienced the same difficulties as had confronted Tiberius II, owing to the fact that all available troops were required for the Persian war. The provinces

Incursions of
the Avares and
Slavs.

which suffered most from the Avars and the Sclavs were Mœsia, Illyricum, and Thrace, the two latter provinces being inhabited by a population of whom the majority still spoke Latin and preserved the old Roman character and customs.¹ The Avars, though far more powerful than the Sclavs, were less permanently dangerous to the empire; for the Avars invaded the empire in order to make raids, but the Sclavs, in their endeavour to escape from the yoke of the Avars, came in vast numbers into the Roman provinces in order to settle there. They not only seized the lands of the inhabitants by force when they could, but they were also adepts in the art of encroaching, contriving little by little (like squatters) to spread further and further into the Roman provinces whenever a close watch over them was removed.

The Avars having gained possession of Sirmium in the last year of the reign of Tiberius II, in 583 seized several places in its vicinity on the Danube in Mœsia, and also made incursions into Thrace, and Maurice had to buy them off. In the following year, however, Maurice arranged to station a force in Thrace under Comentiolus, and when in 585 the Sclavs, instigated by the Avars, advanced from Dalmatia into Thrace they were defeated, and driven out of Thrace, and the captives they had taken were rescued. In 586 the Avars again advanced and took several towns on the Danube, and in 587 besieged Hadrianople and several other cities in Thrace; but they were unsuccessful, and being eventually routed at Hadrianople, were driven out of the country, which had peace for the next three years, when the conclusion of the Persian war in 591 enabled the emperor to withdraw the greater part of the army from the Persian frontier and employ it in defending the Balkan provinces. He appointed Priscus to the command, and the latter performed many gallant exploits in protecting Mœsia and Thrace from further incursions.

Passing from the bright light in the East into the darkness and gloom which during this latter half of the 6th century continues over all in the West, and leaving Italy sinking into the night of despair which other countries had previously

¹ Their descendants in the present day are the Albanians (Oman).

passed through, we may glance for a time at Gaul, Spain, and Britain, so far as the obscurity there permits us to see anything. And that very obscurity itself tells much; for it shows how completely all cultured existence was rendered impossible by the constant fighting, with the result that the written records are few, scanty, and illiterate.

Among these three countries Gaul is that in which we are better able to pierce the gloom than elsewhere, chiefly through the writings of Gregory, Bishop of Tours, who was Bishop of that city from 573 to 594, and who gives us in his *Historia Francorum* most of the information that we possess about the history and condition of the Franks at this time. His history gives a vivid picture of the ideas and mode of life of the time. Though a Roman by race and well born, his father having been for forty years Count of Autun and then Bishop of Langres, he writes in the roughest kind of Latin, his ignorance is great,¹ and his credulity amazing, his history being interspersed with the most miraculous and fabulous episodes, all of which he treats as undoubted historical facts. But from his writings, together with the rough laws published from time to time by the Frankish kings, we are able to gather a fair idea of the conditions of life in Gaul under the immediate descendants of Clovis. And bad as those conditions were, and barbarous as the Franks remained even after their conversion to Christianity, they were nevertheless indisputably the leading race in the West, especially as to the north and east of their dominions they had for neighbours the Saxons, the Thuringians, the Allemanni, and the Bavarians, who were all of them still Pagans, and infinitely more barbarous than even the Franks.

In Gaul at this period we find the two chief portions of Clovis' kingdom locked in a deadly combat. It shows in how barbarous a state the Franks still were that Chlotchar I² married simultaneously two sisters, Ingundis and Aregundis, and of his four sons three, Charibert, Guntram, and Sigibert, were the sons of Ingundis, while Chilperic, the second son,

¹ He had, for instance, never heard of the great legal Code of Justinian, published more than forty years before, and though he sometimes quotes Virgil, he evidently understands him very little.

² Chap. XXII, pp. 290-291.

was the son of Aregundis ; and there was no love lost between Chilperic and his brothers. Chlotochar I at his death in 561 again, like Clovis, divided the Frank kingdom between his four sons thus :¹

1. Charibert. The kingdom of Paris (capital Paris).
2. Chilperic. Neustria, roughly including the Netherlands, Normandy, Picardy, Maine, and the northern part of Aquitaine (capital Soissons).
3. Guntram. Burgundy, the southern part of Aquitaine, and part of Provence (capital Orleans).
4. Sigibert. Austrasia, from the Meuse eastwards, including Thuringia and Bavaria, with the remaining part of Provence (capital Metz).

Between these four portions of the Frank kingdom there prevailed almost perpetual war ; while these grandsons of Clovis and their descendants became noted for their long catalogue of dark domestic crimes. The greater part of these occurred in the course of the fierce struggle during the latter half of the 6th century between two rival queens, Brunhilda, queen of Austrasia, and Fredegonda, queen of Neustria ; a struggle which, continued by the son of one of these queens after she herself was dead, raged for forty-seven years, and is like some terrible Greek tragedy in its appalling murders of the nearest relatives—brothers, sons, and wives—surpassing even the older tragedy in the family of the Caesars.

Sigibert, the youngest, most capable, and least vicious of the four sons of Chlotochar, revolting from the profligacy of his brothers, married in 566 Brunhilda, a young Visigoth princess, the daughter of Athanagild, king of the Visigoths. Brunhilda (born in 546), belonging to a more enlightened race than the Franks, had received a Roman education, inherited a strong character and a high spirit, and possessed much ability.² She was for the next forty-seven years the most

¹ For genealogical table of the Frank kings from Chlotochar I to Dagobert I, see Appendix XIII.

² During the middle of her life she maintained constant political relations with the empire, and also conducted a correspondence with Pope Gregory the Great.

prominent figure in the history of the Franks. When at the age of twenty she married Sigibert she had a good disposition, and there is every indication that during the ten years of their married life she and Sigibert sincerely loved each other. But the dastardly murder, first of her ill-used younger sister, and then of her heroic husband, both of whom she loved, changed her nature into that of a fury, and her name became in course of time one of dread.

This marriage of Sigibert caused his elder brother Chilperic, the most vicious of the brothers, to determine that, altering his ways, he also would have a princess for his wife. Chilperic, Charibert, and Guntram changed their wives so constantly that it is impossible to say how many previous wives Chilperic had had, and his proposals of marriage were looked at askance at the Visigoth court; but he promised amendment, and obtained from Athanagild the hand of Galswintha, the younger sister of Brunhilda. The unfortunate girl, knowing the character of Chilperic and his court, implored not to be given to him, but she was made to obey, and was escorted across the Pyrenees to Rouen, where in the spring of 567 she was married to Chilperic.

But there was one at the court of Soissons who looked upon this marriage with extreme disfavour. Fredegonda, the fair-haired Frankish slave-girl, several years older than Galswintha, had no intention of allowing herself to be set aside. While in the service of a previous wife of Chilperic, Audovera, Fredegonda's unusual beauty had captivated the king. She had contrived by artifice to get Audovera divorced, but without the result which she desired of herself becoming queen. Fredegonda (born in 543), the greatest beauty of her time, and troubled with no scruples, was one of those attractive women who have an abnormal power of fascination, and she was throughout her life always able to obtain ready agents to remove from her path a rival, a troublesome brother-in-law, or an inconvenient step-son, for the sake of a smile from her. With such a rival in attendance upon her Galswintha's life was not likely to be a long one. The latter soon found her position intolerable; but she had not to endure it long. Before the year 567 was ended Fredegonda caused the murder of Galswintha, who was found in her bed strangled;

whereupon Fredegonda, then twenty-four, was married a few days afterwards to Chilperic. This crime began a fierce blood-feud of thirty years between the dark Spanish beauty Brunhilda, the princess, and the fair Frankish beauty Fredegonda, the slave-girl, life after life being sacrificed in the deadly combat between these rival opponents seated respectively at Metz and Soissons.

Upon this atrocious murder of her young sister, Brunhilda, then twenty-one, whose father Athanagild had lately died, and who had just given birth to the eldest of her children, her daughter Ingundis, felt that upon her devolved the exaction of vengeance on behalf of her family. Burning to avenge Galswintha, she stirred up her husband Sigibert to make war upon his vicious and cowardly brother Chilperic, a war which was carried on with all the fierceness invariably found in such internecine conflicts. In 568 Charibert, the eldest of the brothers, died or was murdered, and Chilperic took his dominions. And in 575, in the midst of a victorious campaign in which the Austrasian army had taken Paris and Rouen and compelled Chilperic to fly to Tournai, Fredegonda found means to have Brunhilda's husband, the gallant Sigibert, assassinated near Arras by two slaves with poisoned daggers, at the very moment that he was being raised upon the shield as the conqueror of Chilperic's kingdom, Brunhilda being at the same time captured in Paris with her three daughters, of ages ranging from eight to four years.

But this great sorrow and misfortune did not cow Brunhilda's spirit. All her Visigoth blood was roused to exact still greater vengeance. From the moment that her heroic husband Sigibert was murdered Brunhilda (like Kriemhild after the death of Siegfried in the great epic of the *Nibelungen*) lived but to avenge his death. Still only twenty-nine, and at the height of her beauty, she without much difficulty induced Merovech,¹ one of Chilperic's many sons, to marry her,² by his help effected her escape, got back to her kingdom of Austrasia, and assumed its rule on behalf of her seven-year-old son Childebert. Meanwhile Merovech suffered the wrath of his father Chilperic and the rage of Fredegonda; he was seized,

¹ Named after his ancestor, the grandfather of Clovis.

² Notwithstanding that he was her nephew by marriage.

his long hair was shorn, and after being forced to become a priest, he was at length assassinated by an emissary of Fredegonda.

There followed a series of crimes on both sides, each death causing cruel wrongs to cry to heaven for vengeance, and embittering more deeply the survivors in the conflict. One by one Chilperic's sons by former marriages as they reached manhood were slain either by Brunhilda or by their jealous step-mother Fredegonda (who at the same time suffered punishment by seeing several of her own sons die in infancy), until it seemed that Chilperic, who had originally had so many children, would leave no descendant; and at length in 584 Brunhilda compassed the death of Chilperic himself, he being stabbed at Chelles by an unknown hand as he dismounted from his horse on his return one evening from hunting. He left as his sole surviving descendant Fredegonda's latest born child, a boy of three years old named Chlotochar. Fredegonda, fearing for her own and her child's life, fled to the court of Guntram at Orleans, but after a time succeeded in getting her child proclaimed king of Neustria and recovered her former position. In 593 Brunhilda's son Childebert II, by the death of his uncle, the childless Guntram, succeeded to the throne of Burgundy as well as Austrasia; in 596 Childebert died at the age of twenty-eight, leaving two sons, Thiudabert and Thiudaric, boys of ten and nine; he left Austrasia to Thiudabert and Burgundy to Thiudaric, Brunhilda continuing to reign as regent over both Austrasia and Burgundy on their behalf. And in 597 Brunhilda's enemy Fredegonda herself at last died at the age of fifty-four.

But Fredegonda's death did not end the struggle, or assuage the vengeance of Brunhilda. She ruled Austrasia and Burgundy well, endowed many churches and religious institutions, and corresponded from time to time with the emperor Maurice and with Gregory the Great, but so long as any of the seed of Chilperic and Fredegonda survived that vengeance slept not. The contest was continued by her against Fredegonda's son Chlotochar II, who lost a large part of his territories, but at length triumphed over Brunhilda in truly Merovingian fashion. The two young kings, Thiudabert and Thiudaric, as they grew up developed all the intensely profligate ten-

dencies of the Merovingian race, as well as a mutual enmity, and in 612 in the war between them Thiudaric captured his brother Thiudabert and put him to death with his infant son, but a few months later himself also died, leaving four little sons, whose lives were at once in danger from Chlotochar II. Brunhilda, then sixty-seven, fighting in defence of her four little great-grandsons, was through the treason of some of the Austrasian nobles captured in 613 on the shores of the Lake of Neuchatel by Chlotochar, and being declared by him to have slain no less than ten kings or princes of his family, ended her stormy life in the most stormy scene of all, and in the midst of a fierce and excited crowd all raging against her was tied to two wild horses, and torn in pieces. In vengeance for the deaths of Galswintha and Sigebert she had destroyed almost the whole house of Chilperic, and had ended with giving her own life. This closed a tragedy as long and at least as terrible as the tragedy of the Caesars at Rome in the 1st century; while from its beginning to its end, throughout its course of forty-seven years, one single individual bore the principal part, Brunhilda, the Visigoth princess.¹

Nevertheless Brunhilda is by no means to be put on the same footing as her rival Fredegonda. She displayed many of the attributes of a great ruler. During her long reign of power in Austrasia of thirty-eight years she did much towards restoring to northern Gaul some semblance of the principles and methods of ordered government which it had known under the Roman Empire, principles which she had imbibed as a girl at the court of her father Athanagild. She was more highly educated than any of those around her in Austrasia; and since such principles and methods were as yet repugnant to the fierce and barbarous Franks, they were perhaps her chief crime in the eyes of those nobles of Austrasia who throughout her life so often violently opposed her. She gave valuable assistance to the mission which Gregory the Great despatched under Augustine to Britain, and which would never have reached that country had it not been for her; she founded many churches and monasteries, monasteries which were schools of learning; and in judicial and fiscal matters she

¹ It will be seen that this long struggle took place during the time of the emperors Justin II, Tiberius II, Maurice, and Phocas.

endeavoured in some degree to follow Roman lines. And the strong impression which she made upon northern Gaul is proved by the manner in which the people for centuries afterwards attached the name of the famous queen of Austrasia to various monuments of Roman times. So that to this day fragments of the Roman roads in Belgium and the north of France are called the "roads of Brunhilda," while near Bourges is shown a "castle of Brunhilda," at Etampes a "tower of Brunhilda," near Tournai a "stone of Brunhilda," and near Cahors a "fort of Brunhilda."¹

The As regards Spain during this latter half of the
 Visigoths. 6th century records are more scanty. The strong and able Athanagild, who had gained the throne in 554,² died in 567 soon after giving his daughter Galswintha in marriage to Chilperic, leaving no son. He was succeeded by Leovigild (567-586), the greatest of the Visigoth kings of this epoch. Leovigild ("the lion hearted") regained from the empire Malaga, Assidonia, and Cordova in south-eastern Spain, but against the Franks he was less successful, and eventually he abandoned Toulouse as the Visigoth capital, and removed the capital to Toledo. The fierceness of the contest so long maintained between the Visigoths and the Franks was greatly increased by the fact that the latter, with all the ardour of new converts, and proud of their Catholic faith, not only attacked the Visigoths as being in possession of territory which they coveted, but also as being Arians. This naturally incensed the Visigoths, who had been Arian Christians for at least 200 years before the Franks were Christians at all. Leovigild, having a fiery nature, accordingly developed a fierce hatred against the Catholic religion, and towards the end of his reign became in consequence involved in a contest which had two remarkable results, first, the overthrow of the Catholic kingdom of the Suevi (Lusitania and Gallicia) and its incorporation in the Visigoth kingdom, and secondly, the overthrow of Arianism among the Visigoths.

In the year 580 Leovigild arranged that his eldest son Her-

¹ Michelet, *Histoire de France*, I, 241.

² Chap. XXII, p. 292.

menigild should marry Ingundis, the eldest daughter of Sigibert and Brunhilda of Austrasia, then nearly fourteen. Ingundis, scarcely more than a child, travelled to the Visigoth court at Toledo, and was married to Hermenigild, none of those who looked on at the ceremony guessing how steadfast a spirit this little daughter of Brunhilda possessed, or that she would cause within seven years a great change in their nation.

Her mother Brunhilda, daughter of Athanagild, and brought up as an Arian, upon being married to the Frank king Sigibert had found herself expected to accept the Catholic religion professed by the Franks, and after a short time had done so. When her daughter Ingundis arrived at Toledo to be married to Hermenigild, the Visigoths, not realizing what Arianism appeared to a Catholic, or how impossible it was for one who had been taught Catholicism to descend, as it were, to this lower level, considered that just as Brunhilda had changed her religion upon marrying a Frank king, so in return Ingundis should change hers upon marrying the eldest son of the Visigoth king. The Visigoths clung resolutely to Arianism as a part of their national tradition; while they were still more fiercely determined on the subject owing to their enemies the Franks having adopted Catholicism.

But none of all the formidable personages by whom she was surrounded at the court of Leovigild could persuade or terrify the quiet little Frank princess of fourteen to renounce her Catholic faith and accept Arianism. Arguments, threats, and harsh treatment all proved equally fruitless. The greatest pressure was put upon her, first by her fierce mother-in-law Goisvintha, and then by the whole court. The aged queen Goisvintha was a violent and bitter Arian, and never for a moment supposed it to be possible that a young girl like Ingundis would dream of opposing her will. But when she told Ingundis that she must change her religion and received a quiet but determined refusal, all her wrath was roused. Gregory of Tours states that she seized Ingundis by the hair, dashed her to the ground, trampled her under foot, beat her until the blood spirted forth, and then had her stripped naked and thrown into a pond. But nothing conquered the spirit of the young Frank princess. She prevailed upon her father-in-law Leovigild to suffer Hermenigild and herself to have

Seville as their residence, and thither Hermenigild and Ingundis retired.

At Seville Ingundis after a short time succeeded in converting Hermenigild to the Catholic faith. This roused a storm from Leovigild against his eldest son, and he peremptorily summoned him to his court. Hermenigild was at first afraid to trust himself in his father's power, but his younger brother Reccared interceded for him, and upon Hermenigild's presenting himself before his father he was at first kindly received. Reccared's action in this matter shows that his character was a fine one; for most younger brothers in that age would have striven to widen the breach as much as possible, so as to secure Hermenigild's exclusion from all chance of succeeding to the throne. When, however, Leovigild found that Hermenigild refused to renounce the religion he had adopted the latter was deprived of all his retinue and sent into exile. Hermenigild thereupon appealed in 582 to the Suevi (converted to the Catholic faith about twenty-three years previously by a mission from Ireland), and also to the generals of the emperor Maurice commanding the imperial troops in Spain, to protect him from his father's wrath, and a two years' war followed, Seville being at length besieged. The king of the Suevi put forth the whole strength of his kingdom in Hermenigild's cause, and was eventually himself killed in endeavouring to raise the siege of Seville. Finally in 584 the war ended with the overthrow of the kingdom of the Suevi (which was annexed by Leovigild), and the capture of Hermenigild. He was imprisoned, managed to escape, was again captured, and thereupon was put to death (585). Ingundis, by this time nineteen, with her infant son, fled by sea to Constantinople, but died on the way in Sicily (586).¹

But though she died thus early her work did not die. Very few girls dying at nineteen have wrought so great a work as Ingundis by simple steadfastness had done. A few months after her death her father-in-law Leovigild also died, and was succeeded by Reccared I (586-601), Hermenigild's younger brother. It is plain that the steadfast stand made by Ingundis on behalf of her religion, and also by Hermenigild when he was converted to it by her, had made a great impression

¹ Her child Athanagild was taken to Constantinople, and was brought up by the emperor Maurice with his own sons.

upon Reccared, and also upon many of the most powerful chiefs of the Visigoths, hitherto such determined enemies of the Catholic religion. For Reccared immediately upon gaining the throne adopted the Catholic faith, and in the following year (587) assembled a Synod of the Church of Spain at Toledo, at which Synod the Visigoth nation renounced Arianism and formally adopted the Catholic faith. Thus in only seven years from the time that Ingundis came, a solitary little girl of fourteen, to the Visigoth court, then bitterly Arian, the religion she so steadfastly refused to abandon had triumphed and become that of the whole Visigoth nation.

A very peculiar circumstance is connected with this Synod of the Spanish Church at Toledo in 587. This Synod when adopting the Nicene creed in place of its former Arian creed, in reciting the words of the new creed made a mistake which afterwards had world-wide effects. In the portion of the creed which refers to the Holy Ghost this Synod, after the words "proceeding from the Father" inserted the word "filioque" (and the Son).¹ How this came to be inserted, or who suggested that a mere local Synod of a national Church just changing its belief, and imperfectly acquainted with that which it was adopting, could alter the ancient creed of the whole Catholic Church, is not known, and it seems probable that it was a simple mistake. For several generations the fact that the Spanish Church recited the creed differently from other parts of Christendom did not become known. Subsequently Charlemagne adopted the addition of the "Filioque clause," and irregularly got it accepted by a local Council of the Bishops in Gaul in 794. Then he tried to get Pope Leo III to adopt it, but the latter refused, and to prevent the innovation from spreading had the true form of the ancient creed engraved upon two silver plates and hung up in St. Peter's at Rome. Nevertheless the alteration spread; and at length after some two centuries had passed, without any formal act of the Church, and it is said at the suggestion of the emperor Henry II (1002-1024), the change was quietly adopted by the Popes of Rome, and spread from thence over the whole of the West, causing a division on the point between the Churches of the East and

¹ The alteration is therefore known as the "Filioque clause."

West, which still continues.¹ It is a strange result to have emanated from the obscure local Synod at which the Visigoths abjured Arianism and adopted the Catholic faith.

In Britain in the latter half of the 6th century records are even still more scanty. While in the East the great reign of Justinian was ending, followed by the reigns of Justin II, Tiberius II, and Maurice, in France the fierce struggle between Brunhilda and Fredegonda taking place, in Spain the reign of the fiery Leovigild being succeeded by that of Reccared I and the renunciation of Arianism, and while in Italy the Lombards were crushing the Latin race into the mire, in Britain the struggle between the (Christian) descendants of the Romanized Britons and the seven (Pagan) kingdoms of the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles is shown to be still continuing. For we have the Saxon record of a battle with the Britons in 552 near Salisbury, of another in 556 near Swindon, and of another in 577 at Dyrham in Gloucestershire, in all of which battles the Britons were defeated.² In religion these Pagan kingdoms of Britain followed the Scandinavian theism, their chief deities being Woden, Thor, Tiw, and Friga (all of which deities have given their names to days of the week), together with a belief in valkyries, elves, and other supernatural beings of the Scandinavian mythology. Towards the end of the 6th century Æthelbert, king of Kent, married Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, and great-granddaughter of Clovis, and she being a Christian this marriage led not long afterwards to the coming to Kent (instead of Northumbria) of the mission sent to Britain from Rome by

¹ The eastern Church declines to accept the alteration on the ground (strictly correct) that no change in the words of the creed can be made by any other authority than a General Council. Apparently that Church has no specific objection to the clause in itself (or would at any rate be ready to accept one saying "by the Son"), but declines to adopt any alteration until the latter is authoritatively made by a General Council; and no one can complain of this attitude. Meanwhile as long as the Catholic Church remains divided a General Council cannot assemble (see p. 388).

² As all our scanty records come from the Saxon or Anglian chroniclers we only hear of battles in which the Britons were defeated.

Gregory the Great,¹ and to the conversion of Kent to Christianity, more than thirty-five years before any of the other kingdoms of Britain permanently accepted that religion.

But the most important of the seven kingdoms of Britain at this period was Northumbria, stretching from the Humber to the Forth. Its king was Æthelfrith, who reigned for twenty-six years (591-617), during the time that the throne of the Later Roman Empire was occupied by the emperors Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius, of none of whom he probably ever heard. Æthelfrith brought Northumbria to a high degree of power, surpassing Kent, which until then had been the leading kingdom, and gained the title of *Bretwalda*,² while he is stated to have harried the Christian Britons more than any other king of his time, and in particular to have carried out in 615 a great massacre of them at Deva (Chester). Æthelfrith greatly increased the size and importance of his capital of Bamborough, and at this time Bamborough, and not London,³ appeared likely to become the future capital of England.

Meanwhile in Italy important events had been taking place. In 584 the ten years of anarchy among the Lombards⁴ came to an end, and Autharis, the son of Clepho, having reached the age of twenty, was installed as king, most of the thirty "dukes" resigning a large portion of their territories to him. Among the Lombards the kingly office was by no means so autocratic or so strictly hereditary as among the Franks. The Lombard dukes,⁵ each reigning over a territory of his own, were at all times inclined to assert a semi-independence, and upon the death of the king one of these dukes was usually chosen as his successor. The most important of these Lombard duchies were

¹ Page 372.

² A title from time to time given to the king of whichever of the seven kingdoms became the leading one.

³ The capital of Britain in the time of the Romans was York.

⁴ Page 332.

⁵ This is the title (*dux*) used by the contemporary chroniclers, all of whom of course wrote in Latin. We have no means of knowing what word the Lombards used for it in their own language.

Beneventum (comprising most of southern Italy),¹ Spoleto (comprising central Italy east of the Flaminian Way), Friuli (the north-eastern corner of Italy), Trent (the valley of the Adige as far north as Brixen),² and Turin (the north-western corner of Italy). Pavia, with all the central part of Lombardy, was looked upon as the royal duchy, being administered directly by the king himself.

Attacks on the Lombards made by Austrasia. Soon after the accession of the emperor Maurice in 582 Brunhilda, queen of Austrasia, in her conflict with Chilperic and Fredegonda, sought assistance from the emperor. He sent her large sums of money and in return for it obtained from her a promise to attack the Lombards, Maurice (unable to spare troops owing to the war with Persia) hoping by this means to eject these hated conquerors of Italy from the imperial land. There Smaragdus had been appointed by Maurice, in succession to Longinus, as Exarch³ of Italy, though the title was an empty one, since except Ravenna, Rome, Perugia, Genoa, and Naples, with a small district round each, the Lombards possessed all Italy, and Smaragdus is therefore more correctly known as Exarch of Ravenna. In 584, the year that Chilperic was slain and Fredegonda forced to fly, Brunhilda, being for the time relieved of anxiety as regards Neustria, redeemed her promise to the emperor and sent a large force against the Lombards. Her son Childebert was by this time sixteen, and between the years 584 and 590 Childebert, urged on and assisted with money by the emperor, led four separate expeditions against Italy, but was on each occasion defeated by the Lombards, and effected nothing.

Marriage of Autharis to Thudalinda. In 586 Childebert, after his second failure, made peace for a time with Autharis, and promised him his sister Chlotosuinda in marriage. But in the

¹ Except Naples, Rhegium, and Brundisium, still held by the empire, and subject to the authority of the Exarch of Italy at Ravenna.

² North of Brixen began the territory of Bavaria.

³ This Greek form of the title, instead of the Latin form Prefect, is now first met with, being first used in 584, and the change being made by the emperor Maurice in accordance with the new policy inaugurated by his predecessor, Tiberius II (p. 337). It is used in regard to both Italy and North Africa. An exarch had the honour of being styled *patricius*, a distinction not usually given to a prefect.

following year Chlotosuinda was betrothed to Reccared I, king of the Visigoths, and Autharis sought a bride in another direction, with results which altered all the subsequent history of the Lombards. The Franks had in the reign of Thiudabert gained possession of Bavaria, and Autharis, hearing that Garibald, the Frankish duke of Bavaria, had a daughter, Thiudalinda, who was far-famed for her beauty, wisdom, and accomplishments, determined to see for himself how far she deserved this renown. Accordingly in 588, after having in a severely fought battle defeated Childebert's third expedition against Italy, Autharis despatched an embassy on some pretext to the Bavarian duke, and a few days after its departure started himself secretly from Verona, crossed the Brenner pass, caught up the embassy, and travelled to the Bavarian court disguised as one of the members of the embassy. There he saw Thiudalinda, and falling deeply in love with her contrived to woo her without disclosing who he was, and after secretly gaining a promise from her, departed with the embassy back to his kingdom. A few months afterwards Thiudalinda, accompanied by her young brother, fled from the court of Bavaria, and crossing the Alps was received by Autharis with much honour on the shore of Lake Garda. Thence Autharis conducted her to Verona, where they were married on the 15th May 589, with great festivities, which were repeated upon their arrival at Autharis' capital of Pavia. It was a most auspicious marriage, for Thiudalinda was destined to show in a long career of forty years that she deserved all that had been reported of her.

Agilulf
becomes king. But she had first to endure sorrow. For in 590, after only one year of marriage, her young husband Autharis fell ill and died at Pavia. Thiudalinda was in great grief, and for some time it was doubtful who was to be the next king, there being no heirs, and the Lombards requiring a warrior to rule over them. But the Lombards must even in only a year have already become much impressed by Thiudalinda's character and wisdom; for instead of choosing a king in their usual fashion, they placed in her hands the choice of a new king. She chose Agilulf, duke of Turin, and we are told "on his kissing her hand, told him it was not fitting that one should kiss her hand who might kiss her lips," and married

him. Agilulf was devoted to her, and under her influence the entire condition of Italy gradually became changed.

Change in Thiudalinda, the beautiful and sagacious, was the good genius of the Lombard nation, coming from Thudalinda. Bavaria like a gleam of sunshine to bring light and a large measure of civilization to this pre-eminently savage race; and in doing so ameliorating greatly the sufferings of down-trodden Italy. Before she had been five years married to Agilulf she in 595 temporarily brought some degree of peace to that distracted land, by arranging, through her influence with Pope Gregory the Great,¹ a truce between the Lombards and the imperial authorities at Ravenna, and did the same again in the year 600; and she continued throughout her life to control largely all the politics of the Lombards. But Thiudalinda did much more than this. By her softening influence (employed with the utmost tact) during the forty years that she exercised sway over the Lombard kingdom, first through a husband who adored her, and after his death as regent for her son, the most extraordinary change was worked in the Lombards, who from having been the roughest and most savage of all the Teuton races—barbarous, drunken, passionate, hideously cruel, and commonly spoken of in the records of the time as “the unspeakable Lombard” (*nefandus Lombardus*),—became in less than two generations so changed that they are said to have looked with horror on the portraits of their grandfathers who had accompanied Alboin into Italy which hung in the royal palace at Monza.

The change wrought by her in religion. But the greatest change of all which Thiudalinda worked among the Lombards was in religion. She was a fervent Catholic, and ere long her strong influence with Agilulf caused him to abandon Arianism, or if not himself to do so at all events to make no opposition to his subjects doing so,² and by degrees the Catholic faith began to be tolerated. This condition of things continued

¹ Page 371.

² It is considered by some authorities to be doubtful whether Agilulf himself actually adopted the Catholic faith, though some contemporary statements imply that he did. But not to mention the fact of his allowing his infant son to be baptized as a Catholic, the words inscribed round his crown (see Chap. XXIV, p. 426) seem to make it conclusive that he did so.

for some ten years, the Lombards steadily growing less antagonistic to the religion professed by the queen whom they so much admired; and then in 602 Thiudalinda brought an almost irresistible influence to bear upon them. She and Agilulf were specially fond of Monza (about eight miles from Milan), where they usually spent a considerable part of each year, and where Thiudalinda had in the year 600 built a royal palace, which she adorned with paintings depicting the victories of the Lombards. And at Monza, towards the end of the year 602, Thiudalinda, who had been twelve years married to Agilulf without having any children, at length gave birth to a son, the first of her two children.¹ The Lombards were wild with joy at the birth of this son; nothing was in their eyes too good to do for Thiudalinda; and Agilulf at such a time could refuse her nothing. Hitherto the Lombard laws had severely prohibited under heavy penalties the son of any Lombard noble being baptized as a Catholic. This was now changed, and on Easter Sunday in April 603, amidst general rejoicings, Agilulf's son was baptized at Milan by the Catholic rite, and given the name Adalwald. This action as regards the heir to the throne, with the alteration in the laws mentioned, meant the gradual abandonment of Arianism, and this latter religion slowly died away, the nation as a whole during the following years by degrees becoming entirely converted to the Catholic faith. This change in religion had no small share in the alteration in the nature and manners of the Lombards, Arianism being essentially the creed of an ignorant and savage people.

Final triumph
of Catholic
faith over
Arianism.

We are thus able to see what important effects to Europe were produced by the conversion of Clovis and the Franks to the Catholic faith in 496. Owing to the preponderating influence which the Franks kept on gaining in the West that faith steadily drove out the Arian belief till then prevailing among all the Teuton conquerors of Europe who were not Pagans. Following the acceptance of the Catholic faith by the Franks in 496, the Burgundians, under their king Sigismund, owing to Frankish influence,

¹ Her second child was a daughter, Gundiperga, born in 603.

renounced Arianism in 517. Then the Suevi, under their king Carrarich, did the same in 559. Then the Visigoths,¹ under Reccared I, followed suit in 587. Then the Jutes² in Britain (and subsequently the Saxons) were converted from Paganism to the Catholic faith through the mission sent by Gregory the Great in 597.³ And last of all the Lombards began the abandonment of Arianism in 603.⁴ The manner in which Arianism, when it was triumphant throughout the whole of Europe, died away, and in only about one hundred and fifty years became extinct, is very remarkable. The Catholic faith, after having had to struggle for its existence for many generations, and after having, ever since the fall of the western half of the Roman Empire, been nearly submerged in western Europe, was now finally left the sole occupant of the field.⁵

The Catholic faith which had now at last triumphed had thus been compelled to endure, first a battle of 250 years against Paganism, and secondly a scarcely less strenuous contest of 280 years against Arianism and the other heresies which grew out of it. The battle against Paganism required unshakable faith and courage of the highest order; the battle against Arianism required a no less firm faith, an almost equal courage at times, and an unwearied power of patient endurance, together with in many cases readiness to suffer the loss of all that the world holds dear rather than conform to the dominant creed, which was backed by all the power of the State. In the first of these two periods the chief agents in the victory had been "the noble army of martyrs"

¹ Chiefly owing to the action of Ingundis, the Frank bride of Hermenigild.

² Chiefly owing to the support of Bertha, the Frank bride of Æthelbert, king of Kent.

³ Page 372.

⁴ Owing to the efforts of Thiudalinda. The process among the Lombards was gradual; Arianism, beginning its decline in 603, finally died out among them not long after Thiudalinda's death.

⁵ Britain is the only land which never saw Arianism; for Gaul had experience of it while occupied by the Vandals, and later on by the Visigoths. It will also be seen that the Franks and the Saxons never had an Arian period; that the Burgundians, Suevi, Visigoths, and Lombards all had an Arian period before changing to the Catholic faith; and that the only two races which remained always Arian were the Vandals and the Ostrogoths, who were both destroyed.

of whom Hilary sang ; in the second the chief agents were :—

Athanasius	295-373.
Hilary	308-368.
Basil the Great.	329-379.
Ambrose	340-397.
Chrysostom	347-407.
Augustine (of Hippo).	354-430.
Pulcheria	{ 431 ^a } (Roman princess.)
	{ 451 ^b }
Clotilda	496 ^c (Burgundian princess).
Ingundis	582 ^d (Frank princess).
Bertha	597 ^e (Frank princess).
Thiudalinda	603 ^f (Frank princess).

And greatly to be honoured as are the six men who have thus made their names immortal, high honour is also due to the five women who contributed so much to the final victory ; especially those Frank princesses who, alone, young in years, far removed from their homes, and surrounded in a foreign court by an alien race fiercely antagonistic to their religion, adhered firmly to their faith, and by their steadfastness eventually caused whole nations to change their religion.

In 590, the year that Thiudalinda married Agilulf, Gregory the Great, a man became Bishop of Rome who was destined to make his influence felt through all the countries of western Europe, Gregory the Great. Born about 540, he was carefully brought up by his father Gordianus and his mother Silvia (the latter a saintly character), and at the age of thirty was appointed by the emperor Justin II to be *Prætor* of the city of Rome, at which time he is spoken of by Gregory of Tours as dressing in silken garments and a purple-striped robe ornamented with gems. But upon his father's death a year or two later Gregory resigned this office, gave up nearly all the large patrimony to which he succeeded, and devoted it to founding monasteries in Sicily and elsewhere, including one on the site of the house that he inherited from his father on the Cœlian

^a The Third General Council convened, suppressing Nestorianism.

^b The Fourth General Council convened, suppressing Eutychianism.

^c Conversion of the Franks.

^d Conversion of the Visigoths begun.

^e Conversion of the Jutes and Saxons.

^f Conversion of the Lombards.

hill in Rome (where the church of the monastery, San Gregorio, still stands), in which monastery he became a monk. A few years afterwards he was sent, in the reign of Tiberius II, by Pope Pelagius II to Constantinople to act as the latter's representative at the imperial court, a duty which was very distasteful to him. He remained there thus employed for six years, during the remainder of the reign of Tiberius II and part of that of Maurice, the latter of whom took a dislike to him, which was not unnatural in view of Maurice's tolerant views, Gregory's temperament being intolerant, especially at this time in his life.¹

Becomes Pope of Rome. In 585 Gregory was recalled to Rome, and for the next five years was abbot of his monastery and also employed as the Pope's secretary. It was during this time that he took that well-known walk one day through the Forum, and saw there exposed for sale those fair-haired English boys whose appearance so roused his sympathies, and implanted in him a desire to conduct a mission to their race, the Angles, in the distant island of Britain, a desire which remained with him all his life. In 590 Pope Pelagius II died, and the Prætor, clergy, and people of Rome all insisted that no one else would be suitable as his successor but Gregory. The latter, longing for the quiet life of the monastery, refused the office again and again, and even wrote to the emperor Maurice begging him to annul the election and name some one else, but the emperor refused to do so, and Gregory had to accept it.² He was then fifty years of age. On being placed in the position he so little coveted he threw himself with the utmost energy into the work thus given him to do.

Extent of his authority. The authority of the Pope of Rome at the time that Gregory held that office was of three kinds, differing in extent. As Bishop, his diocese included simply the

¹ It is strange that Gregory lived for six years at Constantinople, employed in the duties of an envoy at the court, without ever learning Greek. It seems possible that this may have contributed its quota to the emperor's dislike of him.

² With reference to the struggles in the Middle Ages between the Popes and the Emperors this conclusive evidence that in the 6th century the Emperor's right to annul the election of a Pope was fully accepted is noteworthy.

city of Rome and the adjacent villages. As Metropolitan, he had the oversight of the seven dioceses comprised in the small territory round Rome which still remained to the empire. As Patriarch, his control only extended over Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and those few parts of Italy not subject to the Arian Lombards.¹ In Gaul the Frankish Bishops were in no way under his authority; in Spain, where the Visigoths had embraced the Catholic faith the year before he became Pope of Rome, the case during all the time that he held that office was the same; and in Britain the Saxons and Angles were Pagans,² while the ancient British Church in the west of the island did not even know of his existence.³

The testimony of the contemporary chroniclers is quite definite that in the time of Gregory the Great, as well as for more than a century after his time, the Pope of Rome possessed no authority of any kind over the Bishops in either Gaul or Spain. Indications of such authority had it existed might be expected most of all to be found among the Franks, that race having for more than a hundred years been converted to the Catholic faith. Nevertheless we find from the contemporary writers that in Gregory's time, while the Frankish Church honoured the Pope of Rome, there was no idea, on either side, of his possessing any authority whatever over that Church. We see this very plainly shown in the *History of the Franks*, written by Gregory of Tours, himself a Bishop. We do not find the Pope of Rome playing any part in the narrative. The Bishops are appointed without any reference to him, and they govern their dioceses without entering into any relations with him. Gregory the Great also in his own letters gives plentiful evidence of the same point; his influence is brought to bear, not upon the bishops, but upon the kings; he seeks to tender advice to them as to the course they should take in Church matters; he attempts no interference with the bishops of the countries they govern, but in all cases urges action upon the king; he gives advice in Church matters to Brunhilda, the ruling queen of Austrasia, but he urges the

¹ Page 328.

² They remained so throughout his lifetime, only the Jutes, holding the kingdom of Kent, being converted by the mission sent by him.

³ See pp. 373-374.

queen to act. And after his death for more than a century there are not more than one or two instances of any relations at all between the Pope of Rome and the Franks, even in the case of their kings. Similarly in the case of Spain, Gregory writes on Church matters to Reccared I, king of the Visigoths, but he makes no attempt to claim any authority over the Bishops of the Spanish Church.

In writing to other Metropolitan Bishops in Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, or North Africa Gregory often ignored the ruling of the Second General Council prohibiting him from attempting to exercise authority over other Metropolitans of his province,¹ and as one might expect, not infrequently makes use of the favourite Italian device² of writing in a tone which assumes a *quasi* authority where in reality none is possessed; so that in regard to this point of the extent of his authority it is not the letters written by him, but the replies thereto, or the results which followed therefrom, which give the most reliable evidence on the point. Many instances show that his advice or expostulations were more often than not courteously ignored, being received politely, but no attention being paid to them. And his overt actions in the same direction often met with a definite repulse. When on one occasion he endeavoured to claim authority over the Metropolitan of Aquileia the emperor promptly commanded him to desist, and Gregory had reluctantly to obey. Again, when he endeavoured to assume an authority over certain Bishops in North Africa, in which country the Church at Rome had become possessed of considerable estates, and (forgetting the celebrated defeat of Stephen, Bishop of Rome, on the same point in the 3rd century in regard to Cyprian³) wrote that "Rome is the mother church of Africa and her authority must be respected," his action met with a violent protest from Adeodatus, the Primate of North Africa, and Dominicus, Bishop of Carthage. Again, Gregory strove hard to create a papal vicar in the province of Arles, but he failed to get the Frankish Church to endorse his wishes, and Arles never became a papal vicariate.

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XV, p. 537.

³ Vol. I, Chap. X, p. 329.

² Chap. XIX, p. 109.

But though Gregory's authority was thus circumscribed, his influence was wider than his authority. His letters. Felt by the kings of the rough northern races in Italy, Gaul, and Spain, to be their superior in learning, ability, and purity of life, he exercised an influence far beyond that belonging to his office. He used this influence to the utmost, constantly writing to such rulers to urge them to live less un-Christian lives, or to press them to force the Bishops under their authority to adopt less unworthy courses of conduct. And though the silence or want of result which his communications frequently met with from these kings show that they often regarded him in the light of a troublesome busybody intermeddling in matters which were not his concern, yet in a large number of cases his representations of this kind had much effect. One point noticeable in his correspondence brings out the wide difference between his position and that of the Popes of Rome after the 10th century. We see in all his letters that he is a subject, not an independent ruler, and he even carries to excess his adulation of royal personages. His correspondence was immense, and 838 of his letters still remain; they are addressed to kings and queens, Bishops and clergy of his province, stewards of Church lands in North Africa or elsewhere, and various private persons; and they deal with diplomacy, doctrine, Church discipline, missionary work, management of property, works of charity, guidance of individuals in matters of duty or conscience, and many other subjects, showing how various were the matters to which he devoted his unbounded energy.¹

Character and attainments. We possess more intimate information about Gregory the Great than about any other man up to that date, our information coming from the most reliable source of all, his own letters. He was not like Leo the Great a deep theologian, and he did not even know Greek; but he was a man pre-eminent for a sound practical religion. He often shows a wide-minded liberality as regards forms and usages, saying "Where there is one faith, difference of usage does no

¹ Besides his many letters Gregory also wrote a "Sacramentary" (or order for the administration of the Holy Communion), several hymns, and the chief part of the Litany contained in the Prayerbook of the Church of England,

harm to the Church." He writes to kings exhorting them to humility, chastity, and mercy. He fears for himself "lest the worldly glory which I had cast away might creep on me again under the cover of ecclesiastical government." He knew no language but his own, had no knowledge of the classical literature of his race, was not an original thinker, and in the higher intellectual sphere he did not shine like Leo the Great; while he was altogether behind the latter by showing a strong tendency to time-serving and insincerity, and by stooping to adulation of those in power. He was in fact not nearly so great a man as Leo, not so strong a character, and not so "straight." On the other hand he made himself the champion of oppressed Italy, and when neither exarch nor emperor seemed able to effect anything, used his influence as a Bishop to obtain mitigations from time to time of that country's down-trodden condition. When he applies to the Exarch of Italy for help for Rome against the Lombards the Exarch replies that it is as much as he can do to defend the territory round Ravenna; and when he applies to the emperor he receives either no reply, or refusals, or sharp rebukes, rebukes which we can see Gregory often deserved, but which he of course failed to realize as deserved, and much resented.

Credulity a part of the spirit of his age. In all times an illiterate age is a fruitful soil for the growth of superstition; and one effect of a number of races unable to read or write having succeeded to the rule of the whole of Europe is to be noticed in the astonishing degree of superstition and credulity which had by this time become universal among all classes throughout the countries of the West. Instead of finding, as in the 4th century, a Bishop warning an empress who merely desired to possess a picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary to avoid even the beginnings of a tendency to superstition,¹ we find throughout the West in this age of Gregory a universal growth of the very rankest superstition and the most childish credulity, as a direct result of the illiterate character of the age, and find Bishops as much infected with it as all other classes of the community. Gregory, owing to this universal spirit of his time (and being himself also wanting in general learning), was as much imbued with this disease as all others at that

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XIII, p. 418.

epoch, and he frequently shows in his letters the most childish credulity, being always ready to confirm the truths of religion by adducing the evidence of ghosts, miracles, and supernatural appearances. For this he has been condemned by some writers in a manner which is unjust. He was a large-hearted man, of wide sympathies, and very much in harmony with his generation, and to sneer at him in this manner merely shows an inability to appreciate the spirit of the age in which Gregory lived.

His difficult position. Gregory's position was most difficult. In the continual warfare between the Lombards and the emperor's representative in Italy, and in the desperate condition to which the country had been reduced, he either had to be by turns a Bishop, a political officer, and even a general, or took upon himself to be so. We find him telling the Bishop of Cagliari to cause his city to be strongly fortified, urging the military officers at Rome to persevere in their efforts, suggesting plans of strategy, and directing the troops to maintain their discipline; while he several times manages to arrange a truce, so as at all events for a time to bring a respite to the tormented land. The Exarch at Ravenna (the exceedingly incapable Smaragdus)¹ nominally ruled also over Rome, but he scarcely dared to venture outside Ravenna for fear of the Lombards, and practically left Rome to be ruled by its Bishop, while the state of almost constant warfare made communication between Rome and Ravenna often impossible. Sometimes the Exarch would fail to observe treaties made with the Lombard king and would make a raid into the territory of the Lombards; the king would retaliate by laying waste the country almost up to the walls of Rome, and threaten to attack the city; whereupon Gregory had to become a general for a time and occupy himself with measures for its defence. The state of Italy is described by him thus: "Everywhere we see sorrows, everywhere we hear groans. Cities are destroyed, castles ruined, fields laid waste, the land reduced to solitude. In the country is no inhabitant, scarcely any remain in the cities; yet even these small remnants of the human race are still daily and incessantly smitten. Some we see led away into captivity, others maimed, others killed." And

¹ Page 356.

in a letter to the emperor Maurice, in enumerating the grievances of Italy, he speaks of "the sight of Romans being led away like dogs, with ropes about their necks, to be sold in Gaul as slaves."

Gregory's difficulties were undeniably very great; but he was not always wise in his action when he undertook to deal with political affairs. When in 592, acting in a manner which was entirely unauthorized, he took upon himself to conclude a peace with the Lombard duke of Spoleto, who ruled all central Italy,¹ the emperor Maurice, in justly rebuking him for an action which was altogether *ultra vires* and inexcusable (quite apart from whether the peace itself was judicious or otherwise), wrote to him that the peace which he had made in the name of the imperial authorities was an altogether injudicious one, and that his action in this case had been "fatuous." The emperor, having to consider the needs of the empire as a whole, had opportunities of seeing further than Gregory, who had a more limited sphere to regard, could do. On another occasion Gregory took upon himself to nominate a governor for Naples, (instead of leaving the appointment to be made by the Exarch), a most unjustifiable failure to keep to his own proper province, and an altogether unwarrantable intrusion upon that of the emperor.

But besides the duties of a Bishop and of a political officer, Gregory had also to carry out the duties of an administrator of large estates. In the general slaughter and dispersal of the landed proprietors the Church of Italy had by this time come to own considerable landed possessions, both in Italy and North Africa. These Gregory had to administer; and there is every evidence that he did so with much ability. The income from these lands provided him with large funds, which he used in supplying the necessities of the poverty-stricken population of Rome, in ransoming captives, and in constructing defences to the city. This gave Gregory many financial labours to add to those which belonged more particularly to his office of Bishop of Rome.

¹ Dr. Hodgkin speaks of this action as about as irregular as would have been that of an Archbishop of Canterbury who had unauthorisedly concluded a peace with Napoleon I at the time that the latter was meditating an invasion of England (*Italy and her Invaders*, V, 366),

In addition to these various activities Gregory's chief interest was Church music. He founded a "song-school", in which he personally instructed the boys, inaugurating an important reform in Church music. Up to that time the style of music used in churches had been the "Ambrosian," introduced by St. Ambrose. Before the latter gave his attention to the subject it was largely monopolized by the Arians, who were accustomed to taunt the Catholics with the dullness and solemnness of the music used in their churches. To remedy this St. Ambrose introduced the Ambrosian music, which was of a peculiarly melodious and attractive style, and was considered by some to be almost theatrical. So much so, that St. Augustine says that though it charmed him he often wondered whether it was suitable to have music of that style in the services of the Church. Gregory's reform was intended to banish all that was trivial and theatrical from Church music, and to return to a more severe style. At the same time he breathed into its slowly rolling melody a solemn and majestic grandeur which is all his own, causing his Church music when properly rendered to be very impressive.

Rome in his
time a city
of ruins.

Looking back through the mists of centuries, with the knowledge of the fame which in subsequent generations gathered round Gregory's name, it is strange to realize upon what he looked forth as he sat inditing his many letters in his half-ruined palace of the Lateran. Close behind his palace was the Asinarian Gate, through which twice over the barbarian Goths had burst into the city, as a prelude to scenes of destruction and horror; and in front were the battered walls so often and so arduously attacked and defended during twenty years. Within the city, on whichever side he looked, were ruins piled upon ruins, gigantic heaps of the débris of the buildings of classical Rome, with here and there in the spaces between them a few scattered fields or land lying waste, upon which the only uninjured building, the long unused Colosseum, looked down in desolate grandeur. And beyond the battered walls of the city the eye ranged over an often-ravaged land, where a roving band of Lombards was at any time possible, and where all was, as he himself says, "sorrow and groaning." As a cultured man, of an ancient

Roman family, Gregory must have felt deep sorrow in seeing Rome thus "sit desolate." We do not know who were his friends; he speaks of none; and in fact all who were cultured had long since fled to Constantinople. Nevertheless Gregory did work which helped largely to bring about a better state of things in the centuries to come; the walls of the *Civitas Dei* of which St. Augustine had written 170 years before¹ could now be plainly seen slowly rising above their foundations even in the midst of all the destruction of Europe; and Gregory himself took no small part in helping to build them.

It is curious to notice the wide difference at this time, both in character and circumstances, between the Pope of Constantinople, John Nesteutes, and the Pope of Rome, Gregory the Great. John, Pope of Constantinople, was in every way as remarkable a man, as highly gifted, as energetic, as frugal and austere in life, and as exemplary in conduct as Gregory the Great. But their characters differed materially; for while John was tolerant and on friendly terms with the emperor, Gregory was the reverse in both respects, a difference which caused a feeling between Gregory and John which was certainly not that of affection. Still more widely, however, did their circumstances differ. The one was Pope of the splendid imperial city, which in addition to its natural advantages had been made by the various buildings erected by Justinian the most superb city the world had ever seen; he had the gorgeous church of St. Sophia for his cathedral; he was surrounded by all the magnificence of the court and capital of a wide empire; and the ecclesiastical province of which he was Metropolitan contained numberless Bishops of important and prosperous cities. The other was Pope of a city of ruins, with nothing surrounding him except that which spoke of poverty and misery, while the attenuated province of which he was Metropolitan possessed only seven Bishops, and these often under the necessity of seeking refuge in concealment. But Gregory had an opportunity which was denied to John in the circumstances of the rough races who had occupied the various countries of the West; and he used it to the full, seizing all opportunities for bringing influence to bear in reli-

His
circumstances
and those of
John, Pope of
Constantinople.

¹ Chap. XVII, p. 53.

gious matters upon the kings of the Franks, Burgundians, and Visigoths, encouraging Thiudalinda in her efforts to convert the Lombards, and sending a special mission to Britain to convert the Jutes and Saxons. And it is to this work of his that Gregory owes his fame, whereas his rival and contemporary John is almost unknown.

Correspondence
with
Thiudalinda. About four years after he became Bishop of Rome Gregory, having by this time learnt something of the remarkable character of the queen of his country's enemy the king of the Lombards, and knowing also that she was a Catholic, addressed a letter to her, urging her in courtly terms to continue her efforts to bring her husband from Arianism to the Catholic faith, and imploring her gracious assistance towards bringing about a truce in the desolating war between the Lombards and the empire. Thiudalinda in response to this appeal brought about in 595 the desired truce for a year (doing the same again on a subsequent occasion), and in return solicited Gregory's advice and assistance in religious matters. This was the beginning of a correspondence between them which continued at intervals during all the remaining years of Gregory's life, though apparently they never met. And it was largely due to the encouragement and advice which she received from Gregory that Thiudalinda gradually succeeded in bringing the Lombards to abandon Arianism.

Planting of
Christianity
in Kent. The conversion of the Angles to Christianity had been a project upon which Gregory had set his heart ever since he had seen the fairhaired boys in the Forum who seemed to him "Non Angli, sed Angeli." That incident made so deep an impression on his mind that when he was abbot of his monastery he obtained permission from Pope Pelagius to undertake a mission to Northumbria himself, started upon this mission, and had got three days' journey from Rome when the clamours of the people of Rome caused his recall. Nevertheless he never laid aside this favourite scheme, and though on becoming Pope he had to give up going personally, he resolved to send a substitute. For some time circumstances in Gaul were unfavourable, but in 597 Gregory prepared a mission of forty monks from his

own monastery on the Coelian hill, placed the mission under charge of one of them, Augustine, and sent them off to Britain with many prayers for their success. We can well imagine the feelings with which Gregory watched from the steps of San Gregorio the departure of this little band of carefully selected men whom he had chosen for this venture upon which he had so long set his heart, and the difficulties of which he well knew. Instead, however, of going to the Angles in Northumbria Gregory directed the mission to proceed to Kent, both because it was easier to reach, and also because its king, Æthelbert, had lately married a Christian princess, Bertha, from whom assistance might be hoped. It shows how entirely cut off from Europe the west of England was at this time owing to Pagan races occupying all the rest of Britain, that neither Gregory nor his lieutenant Augustine knew of the existence of the ancient British Church in Somerset, Devonshire, Cornwall, and Wales,¹ and only came to know of it after the mission had established itself in Kent.

Every race has always felt that it owed deep gratitude to whoever first brought to it the knowledge of Christianity, and England has ever felt that gratitude towards Gregory, whose warm heart for so many years unwaveringly yearned over the distant English race which he never saw. No other of the northern races was brought to the knowledge of Christianity in this manner; no other involved travelling through dangerous countries and crossing the sea to reach them, or promised to be so fiercely antagonistic when reached. It was a most difficult task to send a mission, first to traverse the territory of the hostile Lombards, then to pass through Gaul, divided between four fiercely warring kingdoms, and then to cross the sea to land amidst a race of exceptionally savage Pagans. No wonder that Augustine and his party were daunted when they got half-way, and sent back in despair to Gregory saying it was impossible to get further. But nothing daunted Gregory; through his personal energy the favourable assistance of Brunhilda, queen of Austrasia, was obtained, and eventually the task was accomplished, and the mission at last landed safely in Kent. There owing to the influence of Bertha it was well received by Æthelbert, and through

¹ Chap. XX, pp. 163-164,

her it was enabled successfully to plant Christianity among the savage conquerors of Britain, the kingdom of Kent accepting Christianity in the same year (597). And though it was a long time before all the other six kingdoms followed its example and were converted to Christianity, one by one they all were so eventually.¹ The English race has demonstrated its debt of gratitude to Gregory in a marked manner; for he is the only Pope of Rome who is commemorated in the Prayerbook of the Church of England.²

It was however unfortunate that Augustine, owing to a harsh and unsympathetic disposition very different from that of Gregory, failed to establish satisfactory relations with the ancient British Church in the west when he came to know of it. Through the good offices of king Æthelbert in communication with the king of Wessex a conference between Augustine and the British bishops on the banks of the Severn was arranged about the year 602. But the British Church kept Easter on a different date from the Roman Church, holding the old western rule which had been laid down at the Council of Arles in 314,³ and observed various other customs all showing the ancient origin of this Church and the manner in which it had remained cut off from the rest of Christendom for several centuries; and the British bishops were not inclined to change any of these ancient customs, especially when treated by Augustine in a dictatorial tone. A second and larger meeting, attended by seven British bishops followed, but with no better result. When the latter were asked by Augustine whether they would acknowledge obedience to the Pope of Rome the British bishops explained that although they owed brotherly love to the Church of God, and to the Bishop of Rome, they owed no obedience to the latter, as their Metropolitan was the Bishop of Caerleon-on-Usk, nor were they familiar with the

¹ Essex accepted Christianity in 603, but Christianity was again driven out of Essex in 616. Regarding the gradual conversion of the six kingdoms, see Chap. XXIV, pp. 433-435, and Chap. XXV, pp. 465-467.

² While several of the early Bishops of Rome are so, Gregory is the only one thus commemorated who held that see subsequently to the time when, by the five patriarchates being established, the title of Pope became attached to it. Gregory the Great is commemorated in the Prayerbook of the Church of England on the 12th March.

³ Vol. I, Chap. XIII, p. 398.

title of "Pope" which Augustine used; this reply showing how completely the British Church had remained cut off since the time when the title of Metropolitan was the highest in the Church. When asked by Augustine whether they would help him to evangelize the Saxons the significant answer they gave was, "We do not think it worthy to preach to that cruel people who have treacherously slain our ancestors and robbed us of our lawful property." Thereupon Augustine became enraged, and threatened them saying that if they would not join in evangelizing their enemies they would in the future receive war from the latter, and the conference was dissolved. But the attitude of the British bishops in warning Augustine against trusting the barbarous nature of the Saxons was a few years afterwards vindicated when the members of the mission which he established were nearly all massacred. In after years, however, the British (or Celtic) missions played a large part in evangelizing the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, a larger one than did the mission in Kent.

Maurice's
general
success.

The emperor Maurice,¹ though he had been greatly hampered by the exhausted state of the Treasury, had achieved considerable success in his military operations, largely owing to the constant attention that he paid to the needs of the army. He was ever on the watch for new methods by which to maintain efficient bodies of troops economically, and is said to have been the first emperor who fully realized the advantage of Armenia as a recruiting ground.² He had thoroughly beaten the Persians, bringing the war against them to a highly successful termination in 591, and had put a check, to some extent at all events, upon the incursions of the Avars. But in the impoverished state of the Treasury it was impossible for him to supply any troops

¹ Pages 340-343.

² It has been authoritatively remarked that the story that on one occasion, through refusing to pay their ransom, he delivered over to death several thousands of his soldiers who were held as captives by the Chagan of the Avars, is not to be credited in the case of an emperor who was at great cost bringing men from Armenia to the defence of the Danube provinces (*Cambridge Medieval History*, II, 283).

for Italy, and his efforts in regard to that country had been almost entirely limited to inducing the Frank king of Austrasia, Childebert, to attack the Lombards, while all Childebert's expeditions against them had ended in failure.

Mutiny
on the
Danube.

In the last year of his reign Maurice, who was now sixty-three, incurred serious unpopularity with his army in a manner which had fatal consequences.

It appears to have originated in his tendency already mentioned to do the right things in the wrong way. In the autumn of 602 Maurice, with a view to economy, ordered that the army, which had for several months been operating successfully against the Avars and Sclavs to the north of the Danube, should winter there, supporting themselves from the enemy's country. But the order was an ill-timed one; the troops were worn out with long operations in a barbarous locality, they needed rest, they were looking forward to returning to civilized life for the winter, and the emperor's order, received at such a time, was in the highest degree distasteful. On receipt of the order they mutinied, recrossed the Danube, drove away their officers, and after a time chose an ignorant and brutal centurion named Phocas as their leader, and gave him the title of Prefect.

Revolution
in
Constantinople.

This episode cost Maurice his life. In October 602 the mutinous army set out under the command of Phocas to march to Constantinople to enforce redress of their grievances. On their approaching the capital a number of the citizens, led by the Green faction (which was nearly twice as numerous as the Blue faction), raised a riot, and offered the throne to Maurice's eldest son, Theodosius, then eighteen, and when he refused it, to his father-in-law Germanus. The latter, feeling he was suspected of treason, took refuge in St. Sophia, the uproar increased, houses began to be burnt, and at length on the 22nd November, Maurice (forgetting the shrewd counsels of Theodora on a similar occasion) decided to quit the city, and embarking by night with the empress Constantina, his three daughters, and his six sons, the youngest an infant in the arms of his nurse, on a vessel moored at the sea gate of the palace, took refuge, much crippled with gout, at Chalcedon.

Murder of
Maurice and
his six sons.

On the following day (23rd Nov.) Phocas reached the outskirts of the capital, the Green faction in an excited state swarmed out of the city to meet him, and the brutal and ruffianly Phocas was promptly crowned as emperor by the populace and the troops, and entered the city in state next day, his wife Leontia being afterwards crowned as empress. Being an utterly ruthless barbarian he forthwith determined that Maurice and all his six sons must die, and two days later he despatched an officer with a party of soldiers to Chalcedon for this purpose; the emperor was dragged from his sanctuary, his five younger sons¹ were successively slaughtered before their father's eyes, Maurice at each cruel murder finding strength to say, "Thou art just, O Lord, and Thy judgments are righteous," and when the last of them, a boy of a year old, had been despatched, the noble-looking Maurice had his eyes torn out and was then hacked in pieces (26th Nov. 602). The eldest son, Theodosius, had been hurriedly sent off by Maurice from Chalcedon to solicit help from Chosroes II, who under similar circumstances twelve years before had been befriended by Maurice, but Theodosius was pursued by the officers of Phocas, seized at Nicæa, and put to death. The empress Constantina and her three daughters were imprisoned, Maurice's brother Peter, together with the Prefect of the city, Constantine, and the general Comentiolus were slain, Germanus was seized and forced to become a priest, and Phocas, the late centurion, was master of the capital.

Indignation
of whole
empire.

Such a being as Phocas had never before sat upon the imperial throne at Constantinople; and what it must have been to the courtly officials trained in the school of Justinian, Justin II, Tiberius II, and Maurice to see such an one installed in the place these emperors had occupied, and to have to obey his commands, can scarcely be imagined. The empire at large, however, promptly displayed in no uncertain manner its disgust at what had taken place, and there could be no better evidence of the satisfactory

¹ The noble-hearted nurse of the youngest, in her devotion to the emperor, substituted her own infant son to be slain in place of the youngest child, but Maurice would not allow it, and revealed to the soldiers the well-meant fraud.

nature of Maurice's rule, and of the high esteem in which he was held by the people of the empire, than the storm of indignation which burst forth when the news of his murder was received. On every side the people rose in rebellion, and in a few weeks civil war was raging simultaneously in Illyricum, in Greece, in Palestine, in Anatolia, in Cilicia, and in various other parts of Asia Minor.

The times
of Domitian
revived.

But the citizens had yet to learn the full character of the ruffian whom in their excitement they had installed as emperor in place of the high-charactered Maurice; they were not left long in doubt. Phocas had not been chosen by the army as a whole; even the troops on the Danube had not originally any thought of making him more than their leader to obtain for them redress; and even they would scarcely have selected such a person as emperor. Recognizing how insecure was his position Phocas was therefore suspicious; and he had only one method for all who aroused his fears, namely prompt slaughter, accompanied with torture to extract the names of others. Undersized and misshapen, with shaggy eyebrows growing close together, red hair, beardless chin, and one cheek discoloured by a large scar, Phocas was probably the most unpleasant-looking individual who ever sat upon a throne. "Ignorant of letters, of laws, and even of arms, he indulged in the supreme rank a more ample privilege of lust and drunkenness, and his brutal pleasures were either injurious to his subjects or disgraceful to himself."¹ Even in a Nero some palliating grace may be found, but historians are unanimous that in Phocas there was none. He quickly revived the times of Domitian and Caracalla.

Gregory's
conduct
upon the
murder of
Maurice.

Gregory the Great would have been fortunate so far as his reputation is concerned if he had died before the emperor Maurice, instead of two years after him. Whereas a general outburst of indignation at such a crime was the prevailing sentiment with which the news was received throughout so many provinces, Gregory upon hearing of the murder of Maurice and his six young sons (one of them an infant of a year old, and the eldest only

¹ Gibbon.

eighteen), and of the exaltation of the ruthless tyrant Phocas to be emperor, gave vent to sentiments which if we had not the words from his own pen we might have supposed were the invention of an enemy anxious to blacken Gregory in the eyes of posterity. He writes to the blood-stained murderer Phocas in a strain of jubilation and lofty religious commendation which when the nature of the deed, the character of its perpetrator, and the office held by the writer of this eulogy are conjointly borne in mind, is little short of an infamy. Loading Phocas with fulsome and servile adulation, Gregory, instead of speaking in the tone in which for instance St. Ambrose had spoken to Theodosius the Great,¹ makes no mention of the guilt of blood, but on the contrary applauds the deed with the most preposterous, and even sacrilegious, exuberance, saying that in gladness at it "both heaven and earth rejoice," and that "in heaven choirs of angels will sing a Gloria to the Creator"; adding that "your piety and benignity have been raised by the Almighty to the imperial throne," and praying that the hands of Phocas may be strengthened against all his enemies.

Every effort has been made to palliate Gregory's conduct in this matter, but the results of those efforts only serve to show how futile is such an endeavour. It has been urged that he was suffering much from gout at the time; but gout, however severe, will not make a man write in regard to such a crime in a strain like this. It has also been urged that Gregory may not have known the character of Phocas, or the circumstances of the case. This is impossible. Gregory's letters show that he had innumerable means of knowing all that went on at various barbarian courts, and still more must this have been the case in regard to the capital of the empire, and to such an event as a revolution and the murder of the emperor. It is possible, though not probable, that he did not know all the details, but he certainly knew that Maurice and his six sons (one of whom Gregory had himself baptized) had been murdered by Phocas. And if so, that is sufficient.²

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XVI, p. 566.

² Professor Bury considers that Gregory "undoubtedly was aware that the feet of Phocas, as he ascended the throne, were stained with innocent blood" (*Later Roman Empire*, II, 155).

This strange action on Gregory's part has always been held to form the great blot upon his reputation, and various suggestions have been made to account for it ; but none of them appear to do so satisfactorily. It is no doubt true that the natures of Maurice and Gregory were antipathetic ; it is also true that Maurice's policy of "moderation," including his law that schismatics should not be compelled to conform, was opposed to the less tolerant sentiments of Gregory ; it is true again that in political matters they several times came into collision ; and above all it is true that Gregory felt that Maurice, while not in sympathy with him, was in sympathy with his rivals, John, Pope of Constantinople,¹ and the latter's successor Cyriacus, and did nothing when appealed to by Gregory to restrain what he called their pride.² But none of these causes, nor the whole of them together, are sufficient to account for the sudden outburst of pent-up rancour and hatred which reveal themselves in Gregory's pæan of joy and applause when he hears of the murder of Maurice and his sons. Even had the emperor Maurice been a Monophysite, an Arian, or even a Pagan, Gregory's action would have been in every way despicable ; it was still more so under the circumstances of the case.

The true cause apparently of Gregory's action. Apparently the true cause of this action is to be found in a different direction, viz. in connection with the three-fold position which Gregory from time to time occupied in Rome. He failed to realize that whereas when he acted as a Bishop he was only under the authority of a General Council, the moment that he proceeded to act in a political capacity or as a general, he came under all the conditions belonging to that position, including the first of them, the necessity of being subject to discipline. Whenever he acted in any political or military capacity the emperor was his superior officer, and Maurice had a perfect right to order procedure contrary to Gregory's views, or to disapprove of action which he had taken, and Gregory had no atom of right to resent such orders or such disapproval. It made no difference whether the emperor's view on such occasions was correct or mistaken ; he, the superior officer, and not Gregory, the subordinate, was the sole judge

¹ John died in 596.

² See p. 385.

in all such cases. Yet on every occasion upon which the emperor decided that some request of Gregory's for troops could not be granted, or gave orders contrary to the latter's views, or disapproved of political action which he had taken, Gregory, as his letters manifest, resented this, and being without a notion of discipline felt his dignity hurt on all these occasions; and not only felt resentment, but stored it up. As a result when Maurice was killed the pent-up torrent of this resentment burst forth, and Gregory gave an exhibition of petty spite and rancour, accompanied by adulation of a blood-stained ruffian, which is without a parallel as emanating from a Bishop of the Church.

Early in 604 Gregory addressed his last letter to Thiudalinda. She had written to him during the summer of 603 informing him of the birth of her son Adalwald, and of the important event of his having been baptized as a Catholic, and had at the same time requested Gregory for her guidance to answer a book that had been written against the condemnation of the "Three Chapters."¹ Gregory had apparently been too ill to reply earlier, but he now writes congratulating her in an elaborate style upon the birth of her son and the auspicious event of his being baptized as a Catholic, sends for the child various relics, and for his sister² three rings, and sends greetings to her husband Agilulf, with expressions of gratitude to him for the peace which had recently been concluded. Upon the theological point he tells Thiudalinda that he is too ill at the time to do as she wishes, promising to do so at some future time should he recover, but sends her the decision of the Fifth General Council on the subject. Gregory died soon afterwards, on the 12th March 604, at the age of sixty-four, and was buried in St. Peters, where his tomb is still to be seen, in the crypt of the present church. It is curious to note that the Romans, to whom he had devoted his life, do not appear to have been much moved

¹ Chap. XXII, p. 282.

² This shows that Thiudalinda's second child, her daughter Gundi-perga, had been born towards the end of the year 603, between the time of Thiudalinda's writing to announce the birth of her son (then six months old) and Gregory's reply.

by his death, and forthwith plundered his palace, honour to his memory being left for a later age to evince.

Usually
praised on
mistaken
grounds. Gregory the Great has always been held in the highest estimation by those who have desired to glorify the Roman see, owing to his having so widely extended the influence of that see; and this has by many been considered his chief claim to honour. Undoubtedly he deserves unstinted praise for his unwearying endeavours to assist the cause of the Catholic faith, for his constant labours to induce the kings of the barbarous nations around him to live a less un-Christian kind of life and to cause those whom they ruled to do the same, for his steadfast determination to plant Christianity in Britain, for his energetic efforts to mitigate the sufferings of his depressed country, and for his charitable assistance to the poverty-stricken people of Rome. But at the same time the qualities which he displays of time-serving and adulation of those in power, with the defects of character shown in his shameful pæan of joy upon the emperor Maurice being murdered, cannot be ignored; and if it were the case that Gregory's chief claim to honour was his wide extension of the influence of the Roman see, then these defects of character could not but place him below all those bearing the title of Great who had preceded him.

Chief claim
to honour. But Gregory's chief claim to honour does not lie (as so often supposed) in his extension of the influence of the Roman see, but lies in the powerful struggle which, unsupported by any around him, he carried out,¹ and for the time successfully, against a serious evil in the Church which he saw to be impending, and against which he protested with all the vehemence of his energetic nature. In this sphere he merits the highest honour that the world can accord him for his strenuous endeavour to preserve the Christian Church from formidable disasters which he foresaw would result if it departed from principles hitherto always held.

Importance
as a
witness. Gregory's principal importance in this and every other respect is owing to the date at which he lived (*viz.* the closing years of the 6th century), and the weighty evidence which so able and prominent a witness is able to afford as to what the Catholic Church held

¹ See below, pp. 384-387.

upon fundamental points at that date. And this has special importance for the Church of England. For to the latter, as a branch of the Catholic Church which knows no difference from the rest of that Church up to the end of the 6th century, the evidence of such a witness as to what that Church held just at the close of the 6th century is necessarily highly important.

Victory has its dangers for a Church as much as for a nation. The Catholic Church having, the year before Gregory died, finally triumphed in a struggle of nearly 280 years against Arianism and other heresies, was not long before it suffered in the usual way from the absence of any antagonist, viz. by a gradual beginning of retrogression from its former ideals. From the 7th to the 16th century the whole of the Catholic Church throughout the West ¹ (including the Church of England), gradually became permeated with numerous beliefs, methods, and customs which were subsequently seen to be additions to what had been held and practised throughout the first six centuries. Accordingly in the 16th century, when this was at length seen, the Church of England (acting differently from any other portion of the Church in Europe) reformed herself by reverting to what she had held in this earlier period and declaring that henceforth she accepted that, and only that, which had been held during the first six centuries, and that she rejected all the innovations which had since then been added.² To the Church of England therefore, standing ever since her reformation based upon this appeal to the first six centuries, any evidence from a witness such as Gregory the Great as to what was held during the closing years of the 6th century is of special concern.

Not that the issue itself is affected by the views held by Gregory the Great. Obviously the opinion of no individual, however highly placed, could have that effect, the only opinion which could affect the issue being that of the governing body

¹ But not throughout the East. The eastern half of the Catholic Church (now generally known by the name of the Orthodox Greek Church) remained unpermeated by the accretions noted, and eventually seceded from the western half of that Church on this very ground.

² Thereby bringing herself into line with the eastern half of the Catholic Church (the Orthodox Greek Church) which has never needed this reformation.

of the Church, a General Council. But standing as Gregory does just upon the boundary line of the period chosen by the Church of England at her reformation, he acts as a prominent landmark. Nor again would it affect the issue if that evidence were to show that in the 6th century, not merely Gregory, but the Catholic Church as a whole, had already adopted some of the accretions referred to. For this would only result in forcing the Church of England to draw the line at the first five, instead of the first six, centuries.

Letters to the Popes of Constantinople and Alexandria. The evidence afforded by the writings of Gregory the Great as to what was universally held at the close of the 6th century is remarkably clear. As regards (i) doctrine, he shows himself entirely free from the accretions which afterwards supervened, and in agreement in all points with the doctrine which had been held up to that time; while as regards (ii) Church government, he not only shows himself in entire agreement with the decrees of the first four General Councils on the subject, but he also denounces in the strongest terms any Bishop who shall teach any other view. The evidence on this point supplied by his letters is unusually definite. It is mainly contained in two correspondences which took place, the first in 595 with John, Pope of Constantinople, and the second in 596 with Eulogius, Pope of Alexandria, in both of which Gregory denounces in unmeasured terms any Bishop who shall set up a claim to supremacy in the Church, and thereby depart from the fundamental axiom of the Church's constitution, maintained by the rulings of the First, Second, and Third General Councils, that all Bishops are of equal rank and authority, an Archbishop, Metropolitan, or Pope having only the position in regard to other Bishops of a "Primus inter pares."¹

His letter to John, Pope of Constantinople. The first of these two correspondences (that in 595) was called forth by an apparently innocent action on the part of John, Pope of Constantinople, though Gregory saw in it the possibility of grave evil to the Church. In the love of high sounding phrases and extravagant language prevalent in all ages throughout the east, flatterers had long been in the habit from time to time of addressing the Pope of Constantinople as "Universal Bishop." Subsequently,

¹ First among equals.

before Gregory's time, this title had been definitely conferred on the Popes of Constantinople by both the emperor Leo I and the emperor Justinian, these emperors thus ignoring entirely the constitution of the Church, Justinian especially being at all times prone to consider himself as the sole authority in the Church. And this title had been recently confirmed in the case of John, Pope of Constantinople, by a local Church Council held at Constantinople in 588. In 595, in a document sent to Gregory, the Pope of Constantinople was repeatedly referred to by this title, which thereupon called forth Gregory's indignation. It would not be fair to Gregory in this case to attribute his wrath on the subject to jealousy or wounded pride. It is plain from the correspondence that he considered a great principle to be at stake, that of the freedom of bishops, which would be menaced by a claim on the part of any Bishop to a supremacy, creating imperialism in the Church.

His protest has the greater weight for two reasons. First, because Gregory was at times highly autocratic towards those under his authority, either as Metropolitan of the Roman province or as Pope of the western patriarchate, even more autocratic than the Church had authorized him to be.¹ And secondly, because Gregory was strongly imbued with the feeling (a time-honoured one in the Roman see ever since Constantinople had been founded) that Rome should take precedence of Constantinople in rank, a precedence which though accorded by two General Councils had not been so upon the grounds that Gregory would have liked it to be granted.² But Gregory's clear and practical mind drew a sharp line between precedence and supremacy, recognizing that the chasm between a "Primus inter pares" and a Commander-in-chief is immense and fundamental. And he not only drew this sharp line, but he let all men know, in the plainest and most forcible language, that he did so. Not even for the see of Rome will he claim a title implying a supremacy in the Church, but repudiates it, by whomsoever assumed, as trenching upon the rights of Bishops in general, opposed to the constitution of the Church, and certain to produce the gravest disasters.

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XV, p. 537.

² Chap. XIX, p. 107.

Denounces
title of
" Universal
Bishop." Addressing John, and while using expressions of courtesy and regard towards him personally, Gregory dwells upon the unlawfulness of any claim on the part of a Bishop to be a " Bishop of Bishops," as he considers the title " Universal Bishop " implied. He denounces this in the strongest terms, calling it " foolish," " proud," " pestiferous," " a diabolical usurpation," " profane," and " wicked "; he says that he takes it to mean the subjection of all Bishops to one ; he compares the pride of any one who assumes it to that of " Lucifer," and calls such an one " Spawn of Satan " ; and finally he says, " Let me ask your Holiness, supposing the whole Church had depended on one, and that one the Patriarch, then what would have become of it when Patriarchs themselves went astray, or even became the founders of heresies ? " ¹ In a subsequent letter on the same subject he says, " I confidently assert that whoever calls himself universal bishop, or desires in his pride to be called so, is the forerunner of Antichrist."

Not content with writing to John on the subject Gregory also wrote to the emperor Maurice, and to the empress Constantina, in the same strain, imploring the emperor to restrain this great evil by the exertion of his authority, and to require John to renounce the title which he had " impiously assumed." Maurice appears to have looked upon the matter with some contempt, or perhaps considered it one for the Church, and not the emperor, to decide, and in any case did nothing ; thereby still further increasing the sum of Gregory's stored up resentment against him.

Letter to
Anastasius,
Pope of
Antioch. Finding his letters to the emperor produced no effect, Gregory then wrote to Anastasius, Pope of Antioch, and to Eulogius, Pope of Alexandria, urging them also to protest ; but they seem to have considered the title merely one of honour and that Gregory was assigning undue importance to the matter. This naturally did not please Gregory, who saw further than his colleagues, and saw (as his question in his letter to John shows) that that against which he was protesting contained the germs of great disasters to the Church. And when Anastasius wrote to him gently disapproving of his persistence over a matter of such small

¹ As for instance Nestorius (Chap. XVIII, p. 75).

consequence, and of his thereby giving occasion for the creation of scandal in the Church, Gregory, feeling this bitterly, in irony replies, "I perceive that your Holiness, by the words of sweetness at the beginning of your letter and by what follows afterwards, has wished it to be like a bee that carries both honey and a sting, satiating me with the honey and then piercing me with the sting. I am thus led to meditate on the words of Solomon, 'Better are the wounds given by a friend than the kisses given by an enemy.'"

It enlists all our sympathies (knowing as we do from the subsequent events of thirteen centuries how correct was his foreboding) to witness this strong and lonely defender steadfastly battling to preserve the Church from disasters which only he was able to foresee, unable to make any around him understand the danger, and gently chided by colleagues for making "much ado about nothing," and moved in bitterness to speak of the wounds given by a friend.

Letter to
Eulogius, Pope
of Alexandria.

But the second correspondence, that in 596, addressed to Eulogius, Pope of Alexandria, furnishes even stronger evidence. For in the first correspondence Gregory had denounced the title in question when assumed by another; in the second he repudiates it when applied to himself. Eulogius, wishing to compliment him, or perhaps to pacify him, had in a letter to him applied to Gregory himself the title of "Universal Pope." Thereupon Gregory with the utmost vehemence again denounces that title, points out that the sees of Antioch and Alexandria have an equal dignity with his own, and in a remarkably fine passage concludes by saying, "I have said that neither to me, nor to any one else, ought your Holiness to write anything of the kind; and yet, behold, in the preface of your letter you apply to me, who protested against it, that title full of pride, viz. 'Universal Pope.' Which thing I beg your most sweet Holiness to do no more, and especially because what is given to others beyond what reason permits is subtracted from yourself. I do not esteem that an honour which causes my brethren to lose their honour; my honour is that of the Universal Church.¹ I am then truly honoured when each and

¹ The manner in which Gregory contrasts the term "Universal Pope" with "Universal Church" is particularly fine.

all are allowed the honour that is due to them. For if your Holiness calls me Universal Pope you deny yourself to be that which you call me universally. But no more of this; away with words which inflate pride and wound charity."¹ This letter is quite the finest that Gregory ever wrote, and all defects in his character in other directions may well be held to be counterbalanced by his noble words, "I do not esteem that an honour which causes my brethren to lose their honour; my honour is that of the Universal Church."

While thus repudiating a title and position of supremacy which he saw would lead to great disasters in the Church, Gregory is no less definite in insisting that within its own patriarchate each patriarchal see has a *primacy*, that position of "Primus inter pares" which in the Church of England is held by the Archbishop of Canterbury (the "Primate"), and in the Church of Scotland by the Archbishop of St. Andrews (the "Primus").

Gregory the Great not the founder of the Medieval Papacy.

Gregory the Great is often called "the founder of the Medieval Papacy," and historians have generally considered his chief importance in history to rest on this ground. But such a designation appears a complete misnomer in view of the fact that Gregory expended the most abundant energy in thus persistently fighting against that which is the very essence and special characteristic of the Medieval Papacy, viz. the introduction of imperialism into the Church by a claim to supremacy on the part of the Popes of Rome.² Again, still less is Gregory's conspicuous deference to all reigning sovereigns in agreement with that further claim to a supremacy, not only over the Church, but also over all kings and temporal rulers, which is a second characteristic of the Medieval Papacy. So that in regard to both of the two distinguishing marks of the Medieval Papacy Gregory, so far from being a founder of that institution, is seen to be as strongly in opposition to it as any man could be.

¹ It is noticeable that in these letters Gregory specifically says that the other Popes are equal in dignity to himself; while the same point is shown in his words to Eulogius, Pope of Alexandria, "If your Holiness calls me Universal Pope you deny yourself to be that which you call me universally."

² Including adoption by them of this very title "Universal Bishop."

Undoubtedly Gregory's large extension of the influence of the Roman see, when combined with the altered circumstances of the 8th century, assisted the Medieval Popes of Rome to put forward and maintain that claim to a supremacy in the Church which he had denounced. When by the conquests of the Mahomedans in the 7th century three out of the five Popes had been wiped out of existence, and the area of the patriarchate of the fourth immensely curtailed, the wide extent of the territory over which the fifth (the Pope of the western patriarchate) exercised influence and authority naturally greatly assisted the claim to a supremacy in the Church put forward by the Medieval Popes of Rome. But Gregory never guessed that such conditions as those wrought by the Mahomedans would arise to make his work assist the introduction of the very thing he had so strongly vituperated.

Nor would it in any way add to Gregory's glory if he had really been, as often supposed, the founder of the Medieval Papacy. For that imperialism in the Church which he had so forcibly denounced, correctly diagnosing it as "the subjection of all Bishops to one," and stigmatising it as "a diabolical usurpation," produced when it was introduced by the Medieval Popes of Rome dire evils, as he had foreseen would be its inevitable result. He did not of course foresee what particular shape the evil would take; no man could do that; but the point is that he saw plainly that grievous harm would ensue if the Church departed from its ancient fundamental principle by the introduction of a "Bishop of bishops." And his acute and pertinent query, "If the whole Church had depended on one, and that one the Patriarch, then what would have become of it when Patriarchs themselves went astray" has received a full answer in the centuries since he wrote it. That claim to a supremacy on the part of one see first destroyed the Church's constitution by rendering its governing body, a General Council of independent Bishops, no longer possible; then split the Catholic Church in two, the Eastern half of that Church steadfastly refusing to admit the claim; and then caused the Western half of that Church to split into a number of fragments, one fragment continuing to maintain the claim in question, and the rest, one after another, repu-

diating the claim, and becoming separate bodies, thus producing a *divided Christendom*.

Gregory the Great has not had justice done to him. He has been called the founder of the Medieval Papacy when he was a greater opponent of everything which that institution represented, and of the whole basis upon which it rested, than any other man in Europe. And at the same time he has received no honour for that which is his greatest glory. Leo the Great has been accorded deserved honour for guiding the Church in regard to doctrine at a most critical time, and by his celebrated document "the Tome" helping it to the decision which put an end for ever to a dispute which had for generations been tearing it asunder. But Gregory the Great's two correspondences in 595 and 596 represented collectively a document as important to the Church as Leo the Great's "Tome," and for the same reason. The one kept the Church from splitting into a number of fragments over the subject of *doctrine*; the other would (had it not subsequently been disregarded by a portion of the Church) have preserved it from similar disintegration over the subject of *Church government*; and neither was more important to the Church than the other, as the experience of eleven centuries has shown. Gregory the Great therefore deserves equal honour with Leo the Great, and upon the same grounds; each of them in their respective spheres having striven, the one successfully, the other in the end unsuccessfully, to preserve the Church from that dismemberment which would inevitably prove an insuperable obstacle to the conversion of the world to Christianity, and from that great evil of a divided Christendom which, not only in Europe and America, but still more in Asia and Africa, blocks the advance of Christianity.

Thus Gregory's just claim to greatness lies in his steadfast and vehement effort, in the face of rebuffs from every side, to protect the Church from the grave calamities which he foresaw would result from the introduction into it of imperialism through a claim to supremacy; a sagacious prescience which none of his contemporaries shared, but which has been proved correct by the disastrous consequences which have ensued as the result of the disregard of his powerful protest.

Interest of
5th and 6th
centuries.

Three great conquerors—Alaric, the noble king of the Visigoths, Attila, the terrible leader of the Huns, and Theodoric, the deservedly honoured king of the Ostrogoths—fill the greater part of the stage in the 5th century; while beside them we have Stilicho, the brave defender of Rome, the brilliant empress Galla Placidia, her capable niece the empress Pulcheria, and Pope Leo the Great. In the 6th century there follow Amalasantha, the queen of the Ostrogoths who was in advance of her time, Belisarius, the Napoleon of the 6th century, the empress Theodora, most wonderful of women, Totila, the chivalrous enemy of Rome, Alboin, the ferocious second conqueror of Italy, Clovis, the founder of a new power in Gaul, the fiery Visigoth princess Brunhilda and her seductive rival Fredegonda, the great Lombard queen Thiudalinda, and Pope Gregory the Great. Never let it be said that the 5th and 6th centuries are dull and uninteresting while figures such as these pass across the stage, making us feel as we contemplate their remarkable characters and the vivid circumstances of their lives how strenuous and many-coloured was the age in which they lived.

PART VI

The overthrow of Persia, the struggle against
the Mahomedans, and the affairs of the
western nations in the seventh century

(A.D. 604—740)

CHAPTER XXIV

EAST—THE EMPEROR HERACLIUS; DESTRUCTION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE; AND THE “WHIRLWIND SWEEP” OF THE MAHOMEDANS OVER SYRIA, MESOPOTAMIA, PERSIA, AND EGYPT.

WEST — THE LOMBARDS, THE FRANKS, AND BRITAIN.

604—641

IN the 7th century, upon which we now enter, the darkness in the West becomes still deeper, there being few or no records, nor deeds worthy of being recorded,¹ the characters of the rulers in the western countries being almost everywhere debased. But while the West remains thus wrapped in gloom it is otherwise with the East, where two great movements fill almost the whole of this century, and cause all our interest to be concentrated upon them.

Phocas. Phocas, having installed himself as emperor in the manner noted, reigned for eight years (602–610). Called by the contemporary writers “the new Gorgon,” and described as “a remorseless, treacherous, lecherous, and pitiless ruffian,” he surpassed the worst emperors of Pagan times. To call him “a reincarnation of Maximin” does even the latter an injustice. The empress Constantina, having a lofty spirit, and mindful of her father, her husband, and her sons, refused to endure the rule of such a monster, and after three years contrived to escape from her imprison-

¹ With one notable exception in the case of queen Thiudalinda’s work amongst the Lombards.

ment to the cathedral of St. Sophia, and tried to rouse the people against the tyrant; but she was seized, and perhaps for the first time in history a noble woman, the daughter of an emperor, and herself an empress, was deliberately tortured like a common malefactor, and then with her three perfectly innocent young daughters, Anastasia, Theocteste, and Cleopatra, was slain at Chalcedon on the same ground which had been stained by the blood of her husband and her five young sons. There followed a general slaughter of all supposedly disaffected persons, accompanied by every refinement of cruelty, "a simple speedy death being a mercy none could obtain," while Phocas took a delight in adorning the Hippodrome, the pleasure-ground of Constantinople, with their heads, limbs, and mangled bodies. Amongst other crimes Phocas burnt alive the able general Narses, a punishment which had never been heard of since the empire had become Christian, and was looked upon as a horrible enormity belonging only to Pagan times.¹

Devastation of the empire. The rule of a bloodthirsty, ignorant, and incapable ruffian of this kind produced the natural consequences. Upon hearing what had occurred at Constantinople Chosroes II prepared to advance, declaring himself the avenger of Maurice to whom he owed his throne. Phocas despatched an ambassador to his court, but the ambassador was bound in chains and thrown into prison by Chosroes, who thereupon declared war on Rome. Early in 604 he advanced and took Edessa, and in 605 gained a great victory over the troops of Phocas at Arxamon, which was followed by the capture of Dara. At the same time the Avars, crossing the Danube, ravaged the Balkan provinces; while the Slavs, following in their wake, established themselves in scattered communities over a large part of Moesia; with the result that after a time the Roman population of that province, being left without any troops, fell back to the Balkans, leaving Justinian's chain

¹ It is a cause for much shame that this cruel mode of death, the employment of which was universally condemned and rejected with horror by the Later Roman Empire, should have been eagerly and universally employed in the West (by both sides) as much as nine centuries later, in the times of the Reformation, and to such an extent that the burning of condemned persons became an everyday occurrence.

of frontier fortresses protecting only a devastated region inhabited by scattered settlements of Slavs. This was followed by further successes of the Persians, who in 606 overran Mesopotamia, in 607 invaded Syria and Palestine, carrying off immense numbers of captives, in 608 occupied in succession Armenia, Cappadocia, and Galatia, showing no mercy either to age or sex, and at length passed into Bithynia and encamped at Chalcedon, on the opposite shore of the Bosphorus to Constantinople.

Nevertheless Smaragdus, the Exarch of Ravenna, chose this latter year in which to give an example to the world of how far abject sycophancy could go. Unknown on account of any other deeds, Smaragdus has immortalized his name by erecting in 608 in the centre of the ruined Forum at Rome a column in honour of Phocas, placing round the pedestal an inscription (discovered twelve centuries afterwards) stating that the column was erected by him to the glory of Phocas "on account of the liberty, peace, and innumerable benefits of his piety."¹

Meanwhile the disorder in the empire grew from bad to worse. In 609 a persecution by Phocas of the Jews in Syria caused a revolt which was put down by a wholesale massacre of that race throughout Syria. General anarchy ensued over the whole of Syria and Egypt, in the course of which Eulogius, the Pope of Alexandria, was killed, and Anastasius, the Pope of Antioch, cruelly tortured, while in Constantinople Phocas was insulted even by his own party, the Greens, who told him openly at the games that he was "again drunk." Thereupon he ordered a general massacre of the offenders which produced a riot in which many buildings were burnt and much damage done to the capital.

¹ In the time of the poet Byron (the Forum at Rome being still buried some thirty feet deep in débris) this column stood up in the midst of what was then known as "the cattle-pasture," no one knowing what the column was, and it being called by Byron "the nameless column with a buried base." But in 1816 the Duchess of Devonshire had the base of the column excavated, with the result that the inscription round the pedestal was discovered, Smaragdus thereby "earning, by this abject homage to exceptional baseness, the contemptuous ridicule of all succeeding ages." |

Expedition prepared by Heraclius the elder. While this state of anarchy prevailed over all the rest of the empire, Heraclius,¹ who after his distinguished services in the Persian war in 586-590 had been appointed by Maurice to be Exarch of North Africa, the largest and most important province of the empire, kept his province quiescent, biding his time. His able and beneficent rule of North Africa had greatly increased the wealth and resources of that province, and had made all men feel confidence in him, while he was so popular that Phocas had not dared to depose him from his office. At length in 608 Heraclius considered that the time had come to make an effort to destroy the incapable miscreant who had seized the throne and murdered the emperor Maurice. Raising a number of additional troops, including a large force of Moorish cavalry, and feeling too old to lead the army himself, he entrusted the command of the expedition to his son Heraclius, assisted by Nicetas, the son of his chief military officer, Gregory. The plan made by Heraclius the elder (whose wife Epiphania, with Eudocia, the betrothed of his son, were seized at Constantinople and cast into prison by Phocas upon his hearing of these preparations) was that his son, as leader of the expedition, should command the fleet, should sail from Carthage to Thessalonica and establish himself there in force, and from thence should attack Constantinople, while Nicetas, with a force consisting largely of cavalry, starting before the fleet, should invade Egypt, and capture Alexandria, afterwards assisting the fleet in case it received a repulse.

Death of Phocas. It was a difficult plan to carry out, but was entirely successful, the arrangements being carefully thought out. Nicetas, starting towards the end of 608, succeeded in capturing Alexandria; he then sustained a defeat from Bonus, whom Phocas had sent to defend Egypt, but subsequently, about the end of 609, gained a complete victory over Bonus, with the result that the latter fled back to Constantinople, and Egypt submitted. Meanwhile Heraclius the younger had sailed from Carthage, and in a short time established himself at Thessalonica, gaining many additional adherents from the coast towns and islands on his way. From thence, towards

¹ Chap. XXIII, p. 342. He is usually called Heraclius the elder, to distinguish him from his son of the same name, the future emperor.

the end of September 610, he sailed for Constantinople, reached there on the 3rd October, defeated Phocas' fleet in the Bosphorus, and forthwith, without leaving his ship, summoned Constantinople to surrender. Phocas was seized by his own ministers, dragged on board the ship bearing Heraclius, and after being received by him with the speech "Is it thus, wretch, that you have governed the State?", was promptly hewn in pieces (5th Oct. 610).¹ The Senate at once proclaimed Heraclius emperor, and he was crowned in St. Sophia by Sergius, the Pope of Constantinople.

Heraclius the younger. Heraclius, who was thirty-six when he became emperor,² and reigned thirty-one years (610-641), has scarcely received the full honour that he certainly deserves. His great feat, one worthy of Constantine the Great, the entire overthrow of that Persian empire which had been for 400 years the dreaded foe of Rome, and against which almost every emperor had waged war without any permanent success, has been to a large extent obscured. This has been owing to two reasons, both caused by want of acquaintance with war; first, to a theory that he evinced lethargy, because after gaining the throne he spent ten years before attacking the Persians; and secondly to its being assumed that the loss of large portions of the empire to a new foe at the latter end of his reign was due to similar lethargy on his part, though he was then over sixty years of age, in failing health owing to the special hardships he had undergone in six years' strenuous campaigning, and quite unfit again to take the field in person, while the foe to be met was one who fought in a way entirely new to the Romans, employing a mode of fighting with which even modern armies have not always been able to cope.

All this underrates Heraclius, who in first raising the empire from a state of the utmost weakness and degradation, and

¹ Prof. Bury felicitously likens Heraclius to a knight-errant who slays the giant and delivers the captive who had pined for eight years in the dungeons of his castle.

² His father Heraclius the elder, Exarch of Africa, when despatching his son with a force to Constantinople had done so with the express intention that the latter, and not himself, should become emperor, feeling himself to be too old.

then after long preparation sallying forth with a powerful army and fleet under his own personal command, and in six splendid campaigns, in which he showed the highest genius, finally overthrowing the great military empire which for four centuries had shown itself a match for Rome, deserves honour second to none of the successors of Constantine the Great.

His coronation. Having released Epiphania and Eudocia from their imprisonment Heraclius celebrated his coronation, and his marriage to Eudocia on the same day. The coronation of the emperors of the Later Roman Empire, owing to the long historical associations attaching to the ceremony, the grandeur of the surroundings in which it took place,¹ the solemn character of the ceremonial observed, and the splendour of the dresses worn by all who took part in it, was the most imposing spectacle of the kind which has ever been witnessed. Sitting in a chariot entirely of gold, dressed in the gold-embroidered imperial purple robes, and escorted by the splendid Imperial Guards, whose uniform, equipment, and titles of rank recalled in many of their details the days of Trajan and Aurelian, the new emperor passed in a stately procession through the beautiful city of Constantinople to the cathedral of St. Sophia. There, in the midst of a gorgeously dressed assembly, with on every side walls gleaming with many-coloured marbles and mosaics which glittered like jewels, while the air was filled with the strains of majestic Church music, he knelt before the golden altar, received the Holy Communion, and was then crowned amidst acclamations of "Long live the emperor, long live the successor of Constantine." He then took the long coronation oath, in which the feature which is most notable is the great importance attached to the emperor's belonging to the orthodox Catholic faith, and undertaking to defend that faith against all heretical forms of belief. For while the new emperor swore "to rule with truth and justice, to abstain from bloodshed, and to be humane to all," by far the larger part of the oath consisted of, first, the recitation of the Nicene Creed, and then an affirmation that the emperor accepted the decrees of the five² General Councils, and "the

¹ See Plan (Appendix XIX).

² Five in the time of Heraclius, six after the time of his great-grandson Constantine IV, in whose reign the sixth took place.

privileges and usages of the most Holy Great Church of God," accepted the doctrines canonically laid down by the Fathers, and undertook to be a defender and champion of the Church, concluding with the words, "And whatsoever things the Holy Fathers rejected and anathematised, I do myself also reject and anathematise." Having taken this oath he signed it as "the Roman Emperor and Sovereign faithful in Christ," and dated it, even the hour being entered.

Commonly
accused of
lethargy.

As noted, it has commonly been held that during the first ten years of his reign Heraclius displays lethargy, this view being apparently based, partly on the absence of definite accounts of work done by him in this period, and partly on the Persian invasions of Syria in 613-615 and Egypt in 619 having been but feebly opposed. And a French historian, M. Drapeyron, in explanation of this supposed lethargy, has argued that while in the perfect man will, intellect, and "sensibility" should all be in equilibrium, in Heraclius "sensibility was more powerful than intellect, and intellect more powerful than will."¹ But it would seem that Heraclius displayed no such lethargy, and that when the conditions confronting him on gaining the throne and the military arrangements necessary before he could dream of meeting Persia in battle are considered this will be apparent.

Conditions
facing him
on gaining
the throne.

Having concluded his coronation and marriage Heraclius set himself to bring order out of chaos in the empire. His first task was to cleanse the Augean stable in the imperial palace, and clear out the crowd of parasites, sycophants, and panderers to the pleasures of the evil Phocas who had gathered round the latter during his eight years' orgy. This done, Heraclius had to carry out an entire reorganization of the administration, all honest men employed under Maurice having been slain. Everything was in confusion; Syria and Egypt were in a state of anarchy; the Balkan provinces were overrun by the Avars; the Persians had occupied Armenia, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia, thus driving a Persian wedge right through the whole length of Asia Minor; there was practically no army (except the comparatively small force which Heraclius had brought with

¹ M. Drapeyron, *L'Empereur Héraclius et l'empire Byzantin*.

him), a fact which, while it had enabled Heraclius so easily to seize the throne, left a long and difficult task before him, since none knew better than he that the creation of a fleet and an army capable of coping with the power of Persia must be the work of years; and lastly the treasury was empty, while with enemies occupying so large a part of the empire there were but small means of filling it. Worse still was the state of affairs in the civil administration, where misrule, corruption, and rascality reigned supreme. And here it was necessary to go slowly, since violent changes, especially with little force to back his authority, would produce a catastrophe. To cope with such a mass of difficulties required a man of strong will and steadfastness of purpose. And that Heraclius successfully coped with these difficulties, and by degrees brought order out of chaos, appears to show that he cannot have been wanting in strength of character; while it was a work which necessarily took a long time.

Again the military point seems scarcely to have received proper consideration. Heraclius, as a soldier, and the son of a soldier, knew better than to make the mistake that Justinian had made, and to attack a powerful enemy with inadequate forces. He knew, probably better than any around him (and certainly infinitely better than those modern writers who have adversely criticized him), how immense was the task which lay before him if he were going, first to drive the Persians out of a large part of the Roman dominions, and then to follow them into Persia and destroy their empire, as he hoped to do, and as he eventually did do. He cannot have forgotten that the best equipped army which had ever been put in the field against Persia,¹ commanded by an emperor who had won considerable successes in war, after advancing only a short distance into that country had been surrounded by an immense host and compelled to fight its way back to the Tigris. He must expect to meet armies of 100,000 or 200,000 men, fully trained and well-equipped, and commanded by generals who had throughout the previous reign been constantly victorious over the Romans. It was therefore plain that to create, not merely an army, but an army capable of vanquishing such a power as this, and at the same time

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XIV, p. 482,

to create a fleet able to defend Constantinople from any attacks during his absence, must be a work requiring much time, attention to innumerable details, and inexhaustible patience. For such a work ten years was not a long time, while to hurry such a process would merely mean that he would become yet another of the many emperors who had measured swords with Persia unsuccessfully. We know from contemporary writings how carefully Heraclius before entering upon this contest studied the conditions to be met, the strength of the enemy, the nature of the country, and the strategy to be employed. It is not likely that such a man, determined not to fail as so many before him had done, would dream of entering upon such an enterprise without taking full time to complete properly the preparations for it.

Lastly Heraclius had no great general like Belisarius. Therefore, though no Roman emperor for more than 200 years had commanded personally in the field, Heraclius must break through this custom, and be his own commander-in-chief. Hence before he could venture to quit the capital, and take personal command in a war certain to be a strenuous one lasting probably for five or six years, he must place the civil administration on so sound a footing that there would be no danger of maladministration or revolution during his absence. And to bring the administration to this degree of stability, after such an eight years' reign as that of Phocas, was a matter for which ten years was not at all a long period.

These various considerations of the reformation necessary throughout the public service, the creation of forces sufficiently powerful for such an enterprise, and the bringing the administration to such stability that Heraclius could be absent from the capital for several years without risk of a revolution, appear fully to explain his making no prominent move for ten years after gaining the throne,¹ and thoroughly to exonerate him in regard to that accusation of lethargy which has been made against him in regard to those years.

Appearance
and
character.

Heraclius' appearance is described by Cedrenus thus:—"He was of middle height, strongly built, and broad-chested; his eyes were fine, rather grey

¹ Except his unsuccessful endeavours to defend Syria in 613, and Egypt in 619 (see below).

in colour ; his hair was yellow, and his skin white. When he became emperor he shaved his long bushy beard, and remained thenceforth clean-shaven." As regards his character, without admitting that in Heraclius the equilibrium referred to by M. Drapeyron was not preserved, it is clear from the writings of George of Pisidia, Heraclius' intimate friend, that the latter possessed a full share of that due amount of "sensibility" which is to be desired in the perfect man. Moreover it was to this very quality of an impressionable temperament (*sumpatheia*), with which George of Pisidia credits him, that Heraclius' main achievements were largely due, inspired as these were by its outcome, a strong enthusiasm ; while to this same temperament is also due much of the interest of his character.¹ This capacity for enthusiasm shows itself throughout Heraclius' career. It prevented him from being overwhelmed by the difficulties before him at the beginning of his reign ; it carried him in a meteor-like course of victory from Constantinople to Nineveh ; it enabled him to inspire others with a similar enthusiasm ; and it also showed itself in Heraclius in regard to matters of religion. For he was throughout life fully as ready to be impressed by portents and signs as Constantine the Great ; while we also hear from George of Pisidia of an image of the Virgin Mary "not made with hands" by which Heraclius set great store, carrying it with him when

¹ It is interesting to notice what a large part this quality of *sympatia* (in Greek *sumpatheia*), upon which all the southern races of Europe set a high value, and for which we have no English equivalent (it being much more than is expressed by our English *sympathy*), plays in regard to our interest or the reverse in characters in history. This is well seen by comparing the emperors Justinian and Heraclius. Owing to the entire absence of this quality in Justinian, and notwithstanding that he was surrounded by literary men who could have described him to us, we seem to know nothing of his personality. The historian Procopius writes six great books upon the works of Justinian, and yet in a single line conveys to us more information regarding the character and personality of Theodora than he does regarding that of Justinian in the whole of his books. Justinian's works arouse our interest, but he himself, a cold abstraction, fails to do so. On the other hand because Heraclius possessed this gift of a "sympathetic" temperament, able to be stirred by enthusiasm, we seem to know him almost like a personal acquaintance, and are drawn to feel an interest in him and his deeds which is quite impossible in the case of Justinian.

he sailed from Carthage against Phocas, and again also throughout his campaigns against Persia.

Second marriage of Heraclius. Priscus, who had married the daughter of Phocas, on Heraclius becoming emperor had professed loyalty to him, and was sent into Cappadocia to endeavour to retake Cæsarea from the Persians, in which he was eventually successful. But soon afterwards he showed plainly his disaffection, and on coming to Constantinople in 612 was charged by Heraclius with treason, deprived of his command, and forced to become a monk. In the same year Heraclius' wife Eudocia, who had borne him two children, a daughter, Epiphania, and a son, Constantine, died; and in 613 Heraclius married his niece Martina, a marriage which gave general offence, being looked upon as incestuous. Martina was a woman of considerable ability, and it is evident that Heraclius made this marriage chiefly because he valued her strong force of character.

Persian invasion of Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt.

Had Heraclius been left undisturbed he would still have required a long time before he could be in a position to embark upon such an enterprise as endeavouring to vanquish the power of Persia. But before he had been three years upon the throne a series of events began which greatly retarded his preparations. In 613 Syria, only just recovering from a state of anarchy, was invaded by the Persians. Heraclius endeavoured to stop their advance, but his troops were insufficient, and first Antioch and then Damascus were taken. In 614 the Persians invaded Palestine, captured Jerusalem, carried off the Pope of Jerusalem, Zacharias, a captive to Persia, and also carried away into Persia the most precious relic of Christendom, the portion of the True Cross which the empress Helena had left there.¹ In 615 the Persians advanced through Cilicia, and eventually even up to Chalcedon, opposite to Constantinople, and the citizens could see across the waters of the Bosphorus the terrifying spectacle of blazing villages set on fire by them.² Lastly in 619 the Persians invaded Egypt, defeated the troops

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XIII, p. 419.

² The distance across the straits between Constantinople and Chalcedon (now Scutari) is only about a mile.

under Nicetas, and took Alexandria, making themselves masters of Egypt.

The chief reason why Heraclius was unable to oppose these operations of the Persians was want of money, combined with the fact that with the Balkan provinces occupied by the Avars, and Armenia occupied by the Persians, most of the best recruiting-grounds of the empire were in the hands of its enemies. Succeeding to a completely empty treasury, with large portions of the Roman dominions either occupied by the Persians or in a state of anarchy, and with a civil administration having to be gradually brought out of a condition of corruption and rascality, he had not had time as yet to obtain a revenue sufficient to create forces in any large number, and he was therefore compelled for a time to bow to the storm.

Moreover just at this time Heraclius was contemplating a remarkable project. Feeling that the atmosphere of Constantinople was not one in which such a task as he was anxious to carry out could best be performed, he was projecting a removal of the capital to Carthage. Whereas for such an enterprise as a determined war against Persia (a power which by this time utterly despised the Roman empire) it was necessary that the whole attention of the State should be given to military affairs, in Constantinople, through the effects of 220 years of luxurious life, everything militated against this. The inhabitants of that luxurious city had merely heard of war at a distance, had no knowledge of its conditions, and were not disposed to submit to any sacrifices in connection with it; they expected the emperor to be a constant source of pleasure to them, providing them with pageants, games, and gorgeous spectacles, and supplying them with the customary dole of bread given free without labour. At the same time the elaborate ceremonial of an extravagant court took up time and attention which was required to be devoted to military matters; and the costly crowd of palace officials of many grades consumed funds needed for carrying on a strenuous war. It was no wonder therefore that Heraclius, bent upon turning all his energy to one object, yearned after the freer atmosphere of Africa, where he would be surrounded by races inured to war ready to fill the

Project to
remove the
capital.

ranks of his army, where he could establish a simpler and more economical court, and where he could devote all time and money to the one object necessary to deliver the empire from the destruction by which it was threatened.

The degree of contempt with which the Roman empire, through the effects of eight years' disorganization under Phocas, was at this time regarded by the Persians is demonstrated by the letter written to Heraclius in 618 by the Persian monarch, Chosroes II, the grandson of the great Noshirvan. It ran as follows :—

Insulting
letter of
Chosroes II.

"Chosroes, the noblest of the gods, the king and master of the whole earth, the son of the great Oromazes, to Heraclius his vile and insensate slave.

"Refusing to submit to our rule, you call yourself lord and sovereign. You detain and disperse our treasures, and deceive our servants. Having gathered together a troop of brigands, you ceaselessly annoy us. Have I not then destroyed the Greeks? You say you have trust in God; why then has he not delivered out of my hand Cæsarea, Jerusalem, Alexandria? Are you then ignorant that I have subdued land and sea to my laws? And could I not also destroy Constantinople? But not so. I will pardon all your faults if you will come hither with your wife and children. I will give you lands, vines, and olive groves, which will supply you with the necessaries of life; I will look upon you with a kindly glance. Do not deceive yourself with a vain hope in that Christ who was not able to save himself from the Jews, who killed Him by nailing Him to a cross. If you descend to the depths of the sea I will stretch out my hand and will seize you, and you shall then see me unwillingly."¹

Before ten years were over the "vile and insensate slave" stood watching the burning of Chosroes' vast palace of Dastagherd, which he had given to the flames after having beaten in succession seven great Persian armies and destroyed for ever the power of Persia.

The project of removing the imperial capital to Carthage was kept secret by Heraclius as long as possible, knowing as he did the immense opposition it would meet with from all classes in Constantinople. But when he at length in 618 despatched in several vessels to Africa the treasures of the imperial palace his plan became known. Great was the consternation throughout all Con-

¹ Sep̄os, as quoted by Prof. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 220.

stantinople. "The possibility of losing the emperor, of no longer being the privileged imperial city, brought suddenly home to Constantinople the realities of the situation, and awakened it from the false dream of a spoiled child."¹ It shows how popular Heraclius had by this time become that under these circumstances, instead of any conspiracies to assassinate him being set on foot by the Byzantines upon learning of such a proposal, the entire community earnestly entreated him to abandon his project. And they were successful. Heraclius, moved it is said by their representations, gave way, promised not to desert Constantinople, and at the instance of Sergius, Pope of Constantinople, publicly made a solemn vow in St. Sophia "that he would never abandon the queen of cities."²

The motive adduced, viz. the representations of the Byzantines, seems scarcely sufficient to account for this change of purpose on the part of Heraclius, and for the abandonment of a project upon which after long consideration he had fully determined, and after he had got so far as to dispatch to Africa the treasures of the imperial palace. And it would appear that a stronger inducement which swayed Heraclius was the portent conveyed in the fact that one of the vessels conveying a large part of the treasures of the imperial palace was wrecked on the southern coast of Italy in a storm, all of the treasures it was conveying being lost in the sea. The solemn vow made by Heraclius in St. Sophia shows that he was more deeply moved than is to be accounted for merely by the representations made to him by the Byzantines, and his temperament being what it was such a portent would be certain to affect him strongly. Nor is this all. One is led to wonder whether it was on this occasion that the splendid bronze statue of Heraclius now preserved at Barletta³ found its way to the bottom of the sea. It seems very probable; especially as we hear of no other occasion when it would have been likely to be on board a ship. And if Heraclius' own statue met this fate on its way to Africa the portent would have been still more forcible, and would fully account for his solemn vow made in St. Sophia.

¹ Bury.

² Nicephorus, *Ἱστορία συντομος*, p. 12.

³ Page 409.

However this may be, it was well that Heraclius relinquished his project, natural though it was for him to have formed it. For Constantinople was ere long, when it came to have practical experience of war, destined to demonstrate its immense military strength, and to become, through many generations, the great bulwark of Christendom.

But though Heraclius abandoned this proposal his having formed it had great results. A marked change in the general tone of the Byzantines followed. Earnestness took the place of frivolity. Heraclius, full of enthusiasm, was now able to impart some of his own zeal to a people hitherto too frivolous to feel in earnest about anything but amusements. So changed was the temper of the people that after a short time Heraclius was able to abolish the distribution of free bread, thereby gaining much-needed funds for his military preparations, while the discontinuance of this incentive to idleness sent many recruits into the army. Heraclius, fired with a desire to rescue the True Cross from the sacrilegious hands of the Fire-worshippers, and to recover Jerusalem from them, imparted this enthusiasm to the people, and his war against Persia assumed the character of a crusade. The result was a close alliance between Church and State; Church treasures of gold and silver were melted down and turned into money for military purposes; the Church also lent to the State a large sum of money to be repaid at the end of the war; and Sergius, the strong and capable Pope of Constantinople, became the right hand of Heraclius. So that by the end of the year 619 Heraclius at last began to feel that he would soon be in a position to adopt a different tone towards Persia, and to make the insolent Chosroes II feel the power of the Roman arms.

But before this could be done it was necessary to make peace with the Avars. In 618 the Chagan of the Avars had made a determined attempt to capture Heraclius. Making pretended overtures for peace he proposed a conference between himself and the emperor at Heraclea, which Heraclius eagerly accepted, and a grand ceremony was arranged for the occasion. But the Chagan had proposed the conference solely with the intention of capturing Heraclius at it, and this he very nearly accomplished,

Change in
tone of the
Byzantines

Attempt of
the Avars
to capture
Heraclius.

Heraclius only just succeeding in escaping. Throwing away his purple robe, and with his crown under his arm, he fled at a gallop,¹ being pursued by the troops of the treacherous Chagan right up to the "Golden Gate" of the city,² while the Avars plundered the suburbs, burnt several churches, and though eventually driven away carried off thousands of men and women as prisoners. Subsequently, however, Heraclius, recognizing that before he could venture to quit Constantinople upon a long war with Persia it was necessary to come to some terms with the Avars, in order to secure safety for the capital from the west while he withdrew the bulk of his forces to the east, was compelled to overlook this outrage, and in 620 a peace was concluded with the Chagan of the Avars.

Nevertheless Heraclius could not even yet start upon his campaign, for early in 621 by the orders of Chosroes II the Persian forces at Chalcedon attacked Constantinople. But Heraclius was well prepared for them. His new fleet utterly routed the enemy's fleet, and the Persians lost all their ships and 4000 men. Thus by the end of the year 621 Heraclius was at last ready for his great enterprise; peace had been made with the Avars; Constantinople had a fleet to protect it from the Persians at Chalcedon; a great army had been raised and fully trained; and owing largely to the assistance given by the Church he had ample funds for the war. Heraclius spent the winter of 621 in retirement, preparing himself in every way for the work before him, and studying carefully works on strategy, the nature of the countries in which he intended to operate, and the various problems of the task he was about to undertake, the great difficulties of which, though he could not admit them to others, he himself well knew. It was no ordinary occasion; since Theodosius the Great no emperor had commanded in person in a war; and the Byzantines were impressed by this fact, and by the solemnity of the

¹ The distance to Constantinople was about 50 miles.

² The "Golden Gate," built by Theodosius the Great, and so often mentioned in the history of Constantinople, was at the south-western corner of the city. All grand processions entered the city by this gate. Though now walled up, its battered remains can still be seen forming part of the line of walls.

long preparation, as well as by at last realizing that this was to be a life and death struggle between Christendom and the Fire-worshippers.

The war against Persia. On the day after Easter Sunday 622 Heraclius,¹ now forty-eight, after appointing his ten-year-old son Constantine nominally regent in his absence, and placing the actual administration of affairs in the hands of Sergius, the Pope of Constantinople, and Bonus, a capable Patrician, sailed from the imperial city with a great fleet and army, everything being done which could give solemnity to the occasion. The departure of this remarkable expedition, so long prepared for, upon which so much hung, and commanded by the emperor in person, must have been an imposing sight. A considerable party in Constantinople had opposed Heraclius' proceeding himself upon the campaign, on the ground that no emperor had done so for 228 years, that it was unsuitable to his exalted dignity, and that it risked the occurrence of grave evils to the State in case of his death either in battle or from the hardships of the campaign; but Heraclius had refused to listen to these arguments.

Want of a historian. Nowhere do we feel so sorely the want of a Procopius, or of any man who could wield the pen in the simplest fashion, as we do in the case of the six campaigns of Heraclius which followed. But no such chronicler accompanied the latter, and he himself was far too strenuously engaged during the six years in question to be able to imitate Julius Caesar in this respect. We are told by chroniclers who were not there of the various battles won, but not a word regarding the means by which these great results were achieved. We are left to realize as best we may from the conditions of the case,—from the immense forces brought against him, the wide extent of country traversed, its difficult character, the absence of roads, the mountains and unbridged rivers crossed, and similar circumstances,—how great was the genius, the resource, and the tactical skill

¹ Plate LXVIII. Fine bronze statue of Heraclius (of immense size) found in the sea off the coast of southern Italy by fishermen, and now standing in the market-place of Barletta. Its height, exclusive of the pedestal, is 19 feet, by actual measurement taken recently for this book.

of Heraclius, and how well he deserved the gratitude and honour which he won among his contemporaries as the deliverer and saviour of the Roman Empire.

Commanders such as Heraclius suffer very greatly at the hands of historians when unaccompanied in their campaigns by a man like Procopius. In these easy times, when countless numbers of people pass their whole lives without ever having seen war, and when railways, telegraph lines, and other inventions of science have, in many countries, robbed even war itself of many of its former difficulties, historians write glibly of a commander having marched here, or fought a battle there, as though such operations were as easy as an ordinary journey in these days from London to St. Petersburg. The result is that the mind loses all power of appreciating the enormous efforts, both of mind and body, required in carrying out such operations. This effect, to be noted in regard to all commanders, is specially notable in regard to Heraclius, whose operations were on a grand scale, while the information regarding them is of the scantiest.

Power and
splendour of
Chosroes II.

Regarding the power and splendour of his antagonist, Chosroes II, we have numerous accounts. His empire (including the recent conquests from the Romans) extended from Tripoli and Chalcedon on the west to the Indus and the borders of Thibet on the east, and there was practically no limit to his military resources. His army, as the result of 400 years of warfare with the Roman army, was as well trained and as experienced in war as the latter; and his rule was the iron rule of an eastern despot. His favourite residence was Dastagherd, on the river Arba, about 70 miles north of the capital, Ctesiphon. The splendour of his range of palaces at Dastagherd was fabulous. We are told of its forty thousand columns of silver, marble, and carved wood supporting the roofs of its various halls, of its dome with a thousand globes of gold to imitate the motion of the planets, and of its thirty thousand rich hangings adorning the walls of its many chambers. Six thousand guards mounted daily before the palace gate, and twelve thousand slaves performed the service of the palace. In the vicinity were his other palaces of Dezeridan, Rusa, Vevdarch, the "Paradise" of Yesdem, and his great park at Veklal, in which were wild



ALINARI

BRONZE STATUE OF THE EMPEROR HERACLIVS.

Found in the sea, and now standing in the market place of Barietta Its immense size can be seen by comparison with the doors of the church. By actual measurement specially taken recently its height, exclusive of the pedestal, proves to be 19 feet.

boar, roebuck, ostriches, peacocks, and pheasants, and where lions and tigers were at times turned loose for purposes of sport. Nine hundred and sixty elephants were kept for the use of the Great King; in the royal stables were six thousand horses and mules; while his tents and baggage were carried on the march by twelve thousand camels and eight thousand dromedaries. Chosroes' favourite wife Scherin, so celebrated in the romances of the East on account of her beauty, wit, and musical talents, was a Roman and a Christian. Chosroes married her when, during the civil war in Persia after his father's death, he for a time took refuge with the Romans in Mesopotamia.¹

The six great campaigns against Persia. In the six great campaigns² conducted by Heraclius against the power of Persia during the years 622-628, campaigns carried on by him under the ever prevailing disadvantage of having to meet a powerful enemy with greatly inferior numbers, but which ended in winning back all that had been lost, and in carrying him victorious into the heart of Persia, the generalship, untiring patience, and never failing courage of Heraclius, and the splendid discipline of his troops, were strongly demonstrated. His first move was somewhat of a surprise. Instead of sailing up the Black Sea and attacking Persia in Armenia, as had been expected, he sailed down the Hellespont, coasted along the southern shores of Asia Minor, and landed his army in Cilicia, probably at the mouth of the river Sarus, south of Tarsus. The wisdom of this course was at once apparent, as no sooner did he land in Cilicia than numbers of Roman subjects, both from the adjacent provinces and from the northern part of Syria, escaping from the tyrannical rule of Chosroes, flocked to his standard, and he thereby gained a large increase to his forces.

How carefully Heraclius prepared his army for the task before it is seen by what took place upon his landing in Cilicia. Notwithstanding his long previous preparation, after effecting a landing in Cilicia he spent several months before marching northwards in drilling his troops; not merely, that is, in

¹ The love of Chosroes and Scherin is almost as favourite a subject in Persian romance as that of Mejnoun and Leila, and sung of to this day in many a Persian poem.

² See Map C.

teaching them how to perform certain manœuvres, but in teaching them that far more important matter, discipline. He was about to enter upon a war which he hoped would eventually lead him into the far regions of Persia; he well knew what an example of the value of discipline had been shown in the case of the last Roman army which had penetrated into those regions; ¹ and therefore, though time must have been precious, before advancing further upon his enterprise he spent several months in gradually teaching his troops (and especially the new recruits whom he had gained on landing) that spirit of unswerving discipline which had again and again in Roman history won victories against the heaviest odds, a discipline which was a tradition in the Roman army, and which in this struggle with Persia Heraclius knew would be put to as severe a test as it had ever endured.

First campaign. From Cilicia Heraclius slowly advanced in the autumn of 622 into the mountains of Cappadocia. Chosroes sent orders to Shah Barz, his best general, who was commanding the Persian forces at Chalcedon, to move eastwards and attack him. But Heraclius first completely baffled Shah Barz by a series of brilliant manœuvres, and then when he had at last gained an advantageous position fought a general engagement and gained a complete victory, the Persian army flying in the utmost confusion, "hunted like goats through the mountains," and suffering a heavy loss. After this action, which was fought on the borders of Cappadocia and Galatia, Heraclius advanced into Pontus, where he spent the rest of the winter and where Martina joined him.

Second campaign. In the campaign of 623 Heraclius, having secured Asia Minor by this decisive victory, advanced in April from Pontus ² eastwards, swept round the northern boundary of Armenia, and crossing the Araxes ³ and the mountains south of that river, invaded the fertile district of Azerbiyan ("the land of fire"), lying between the western

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XIV, p. 489.

² Regarding the distances traversed in these six campaigns of Heraclius, see Appendix XIV.

³ The Araxes rises in the centre of Armenia, has a course of about 700 miles to the Caspian Sea, and is a river of considerable size.

shore of the Caspian Sea and Lake Urumiya, and the chief seat of the Zoroastrian fire-worship. Destroying the cities and temples Heraclius advanced upon Ganzaca, the royal capital of Azerbiyan, where Chosroes in person awaited him with a large army, having also ordered two other armies, one under Shah Barz from the west, and another under Sahin from Persia, to converge upon Azerbiyan, and assist to drive this hated invader out of the sacred province. Before they arrived, however, Heraclius defeated the royal guards, which caused Chosroes to abandon Ganzaca and retreat south-westwards towards Nineveh. Heraclius thereupon took Ganzaca, and destroyed all its temples and the magnificent royal palace; he then destroyed Thebarmes, the birthplace of Zoroaster¹ (a city looked upon by the Persians much as the Christians did upon Bethlehem), after which as winter was approaching he retired northwards into Albania, on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, where he obtained additions to his army from various tribes of the Colchian and Iberian hills.

Third campaign. In the campaign of 624, in Albania and Armenia, Heraclius was attacked by three Persian armies. He was first opposed on one side by a large army under Shah Barz, and on the other side by an equally large army under Sarablagas, the latter force including several of Chosroes' most highly prized regiments called after different Persian sovereigns.² Heraclius manœuvred to separate these two armies in order to fight them in succession, but just when he thought he had achieved this they effected a junction, and Heraclius being in a disadvantageous position retired during the night until he found a more favourable position near the Araxes. The combined armies of Shah Barz and Sarablagas,

¹ Zoroaster's date is a point on which ancient writers differ greatly. Hermippus places him 500 years before the Trojan war, and Xanthus and Aristotle give him similar antiquity. Gutschmit thought he might be a contemporary of Moses. Duncker places him about B.C. 1000. At any rate he must have lived before Cyrus. Agathias says that whatever may have been his date he was the instructor of the Persians in the Magian religion (the Fire-worship). Plato calls him distinctly the founder of the doctrine of the Magi and the son of Oromazes.

² Such as "Chosroes' own" and "Perozes' own."

thinking he was in flight, and anxious to catch and destroy him before the third Persian army under Sahîn should come up to share in the victory, pressed on after him, and came suddenly upon Heraclius' army drawn up to receive them. The Roman army was enormously outnumbered, but never did discipline shine out more brightly than on this occasion. Heraclius briefly addressed his troops saying, "Be not dismayed by the number of the enemy, for by God's grace one Roman shall put to flight a thousand Persians. For the safety of our brethren let us sacrifice our own lives unto God, winning thereby the martyr's crown and the praises of future generations."¹ The Persian masses were hurled upon the Roman line without effect, neither the picked regiments of Sarablagas nor the mailed cavalry of Shah Barz being able to shake the firm stand of the Romans, and eventually the Persians suffered an overwhelming defeat, Sarablagas being killed, and the two combined armies being thoroughly routed. This victory on the Araxes was as complete as that in the first campaign on the northern border of Cappadocia.

But the day was not even yet ended. Scarcely was the battle over and the victors enjoying a well-earned rest when a third Persian army came up, that under Sahîn for whom Sarablagas and Shah Barz had declined to wait. The army of Sahîn was wearied by a long march, and depressed by news of the defeat of the other two armies. It was at once attacked by Heraclius with his victorious troops, and was quickly put to flight, its baggage also being captured. Nothing better shows the discipline of Heraclius' army than the fact that after gaining such a victory as that over Sarablagas and Shah Barz his troops were not demoralized or scattered and out of hand. Many have been the occasions in history when a second army coming up in this way, finding its enemy's troops thus scattered and demoralized by a previous success, has turned the tables, the day ending with a defeat of the army which at first had thought it had gained a victory. That it was not so in this case was solely due to the perfect discipline of Heraclius' troops. His long and careful training received

¹ The feeling that those who fell in fighting the Fire-worshippers would be martyrs in the Christian cause obtained in the army of Heraclius.

on this day its reward, and as the result he gained a unique success. It has fallen to the lot of few commanders in one day to beat three armies and gain two separate victories.

After this great success Heraclius retired westwards towards Armenia, winter having already begun. The surviving troops of Shah Barz had been so scattered by this defeat that he could do nothing for the time until in the spring a fresh army could be collected. He therefore retired for the winter to Salban (now Van). Sahin however, fearing the fate which generally overtook the unsuccessful generals of Chosroes,¹ collected his scattered troops and made an endeavour to follow Heraclius, but his force became entangled in difficult morasses and he had to abandon the attempt. Heraclius hearing on reaching Armenia that Shah Barz was at the fortress of Salban, made a long and laborious march by night, surprised and took the fortress, and compelled Shah Barz to fly in haste for his life, Heraclius capturing his golden armour, and a large number of the Persian nobles with their wives and children. After which Heraclius wintered at Salban.

Fourth campaign. In the campaign of 625 Heraclius (perhaps owing to having heard of possible hostilities by the Avars) returned again towards the west. Crossing the mountains to the south-west of Lake Van, he marched through Arzanene, recovering from the Persians the Roman cities of Martyropolis and Amida, and advanced to the Euphrates, where Shah Barz with a fresh army, having destroyed the bridge, awaited him on the opposite bank. But Heraclius contrived to elude Shah Barz, crossed the Euphrates by a ford near Samosata, and continuing to advance westwards crossed the Taurus a second time, and entering Cilicia reached the river Sarus, where Shah Barz overtook him. There a hard-fought battle took place in which the Roman army, through rash impetuosity, nearly suffered a defeat, but this was changed into a victory solely through the ability and courage of Heraclius, whose deeds of personal valour on this day aroused the astonishment of Shah Barz. The defeated Persian army, feeling it impossible to contend with such an antagonist, retreated crestfallen towards Mesopotamia, and Heraclius marched on through Cilicia and Cappadocia to Pontus, establishing

¹ They were usually flayed alive.

himself for the winter on the shore of the Black Sea, probably at Trapezus (Trebizond).

These successive defeats of six armies in four years, led by his best generals, now roused Chosroes II to put forth the whole power of his empire in 626 in a supreme effort to destroy an adversary who appeared to be invincible by ordinary means. For this purpose he summoned troops from far and wide through Persia, and formed two fresh armies composed of his most valued troops. One of these he placed under command of Shah Barz with orders to march to Chalcedon and form part of a combined attack upon Constantinople (see below). The other and larger army, consisting of all his most experienced troops, together with a number of new levies, and including a special corps of 50,000 men whom he called the "Golden Spears," Chosroes placed under command of Sahîn, with orders to advance through Mesopotamia and hunt and destroy Heraclius wherever he might meet with him, adding a promise that if Sahîn failed to crush Heraclius he should suffer an ignominious death. Not content with this, Chosroes adopted the unusual course of forming an alliance with the Chagan of the Avars upon the Danube, and the latter accordingly prepared a huge expedition to attack Constantinople from the west while the army of Shah Barz attacked it from the side of Chalcedon on the east.

Never before had the Roman Empire had to face such a dangerous combination. It had often had to contend against enemies on the eastern frontier and also in the Danube provinces, but never before had these enemies formed an alliance and carried out a combined plan of operations. But Heraclius was not daunted by this formidable array of forces against him. He must have felt great confidence in his fleet, in the garrison he had left to defend Constantinople, and in Bonus; for he never appears to have thought of abandoning his conquests in order to proceed himself to the defence of the capital. His army must by this time have been very large, for he was able to divide it into three portions, with widely separated spheres of action. One portion he retained under his own command to operate in Armenia, and from thence if possible to invade Persia; the second he placed under his brother Theodorus with orders to screen his (Heraclius')

movements by opposing Sahin on his march through Mesopotamia; the third portion consisted of those of his soldiers who from age or from the effects of four years' campaigning were less fit to endure the hardships of a fresh series of operations in the east,¹ and these he sent to reinforce the garrison of Constantinople, together with very carefully detailed orders regarding the manner in which the defence of the city was to be carried out.

Fifth
campaign. In the campaign of 626 we have no details regarding the operations of two of these forces, those under Heraclius and Theodorus, beyond the result. Having completed the above arrangements, Heraclius, quitting Pontus, passed into Armenia, and from thence again advanced into Azerbiyan. There he met with the Turkish tribe of the Khazars returning from a plundering expedition, and made an alliance with their chief, Ziebil, who gave him a contingent of 40,000 Khazars. Thus reinforced, Heraclius for a second time laid waste the sacred district of Azerbiyan, apparently unopposed.

The force under Theodorus proceeded to Mesopotamia as directed, where it encountered the army of Sahin, and fought a pitched battle with him, probably in the neighbourhood of Amida. But again Roman discipline overcame immense odds, the battle resulting in the entire defeat of the Persians, owing largely it is said to a hailstorm which beat in the faces of the latter. This is one of the most extraordinary battles of the war; for the army of Sahin must have enormously outnumbered the force of Theodorus, since that force only

¹ The contemporary writers speak as though Heraclius placed in this third portion all the veterans of his army. But that must be the mistake of writers who were not soldiers. No doubt this third portion contained many veterans, but it was not on that account that such were included in it, but because they were men physically unfit to undergo a further series of severe hardships. Heraclius would never have made so egregious an error as to send back all the most valuable portion of his troops, his veteran soldiers, and to take for the struggle which lay before him in Persia an army entirely composed of young soldiers. What he evidently did was to weed his army, sending back to Constantinople all those who, whether veterans or otherwise, were not fit to stand a further series of hardships in the difficult countries to which he was again about to return.

consisted of one-third of Heraclius' army, while the army commanded by Sahîn not only included all the most experienced Persian troops (p. 416), but also the picked force, 50,000 strong, called the "Golden Spears." Moreover the Roman army had no assistance on this occasion from the tactical skill of Heraclius, since he was not present. Even allowing to the fullest extent for the effect of the hailstorm, it is evident that the Roman troops must have fought with the most determined courage and maintained the strictest discipline, otherwise they could never have defeated the much larger army of Sahîn. It also shows the great confidence which Heraclius by this time had in his troops that he should have ventured to send the force under Theodorus to oppose an army by which he must have known they would be greatly outnumbered, while the result showed that his confidence was justified. The unfortunate Sahîn, in dread of the promised vengeance of Chosroes, suffered such torment of mind that in a few days he died, Chosroes venting his wrath by flogging his dead body.

Meanwhile the Avars had begun their advance. ^{Siege of} Constantinople. For four years, ever since Heraclius had left the capital, the Chagan, regardless of his treaty, had been making vast preparations for the capture of Constantinople, seeking for allies among all the surrounding tribes, and preparing engines of war of many descriptions. He now advanced with a huge host, which included not only the Avars themselves, but also countless numbers from the Slavs and other subject tribes, and in June 626 invested the city all round its land side. On the 29th June the attack began. The Avars burnt the suburbs, including many churches, but were repulsed in every attack upon the city itself. The siege lasted for more than a month, various attacks being made upon the walls with all kinds of ingenious machines, but without result. Towards the end of July a formidable assault was made under the Chagan's personal command, but was successfully repulsed.

While the Avars were thus employed on the land side of the city, the Persian army under Shah Barz were unable to cross the straits to attack the city from the side towards the sea through fear of the fleet. At length on the night of the 3rd August a grand attack both by sea and land was prepared. But the Roman fleet first destroyed the rafts which had been

got ready to convey the Persians, and then enclosed as in a trap the Sclavonic allies of the Avars in their boats upon the Golden Horn ; whereupon the Avars being seized with a panic abandoned the siege, the Chagan burning all his engines of war and retreating to his own kingdom north of the Danube. Thus ended the first of many sieges of Constantinople.

How long it was before Heraclius received news of the victory gained by Theodorus in Mesopotamia and of the repulse of the attack upon Constantinople we do not know, but towards the end of the year he quitted Azerbiyan and advanced for some 300 miles into Media. Soon afterwards, however, upon the death of Ziebil in December the Khazar contingent returned to their own country, and Heraclius, his forces thus reduced, retraced his course to Azerbiyan and spent the rest of the winter at Ganzaca. Martina accompanied her husband through the greater part of these campaigns, apparently staying at Ganzaca, Salban, and other places while he was occupied in fighting his battles, and two or three of her nine children were born in these countries in which Heraclius carried out his campaigns during the years 622-628.

Sixth
campaign. In the spring of 627 Heraclius starting from Ganzaca again advanced into Media, destroying the temples and laying waste the country, penetrating according to some writers as far as Ispahan. Roused by this formidable danger to his empire, Chosroes II, notwithstanding the failure of his great effort of the previous year, prepared another huge army to destroy Heraclius. The Oriental writers describe Media and Assyria as covered with Chosroes' fighting men, horses, and elephants, and magnify the size of the army collected to 500,000 men. Possibly it may have numbered 150,000. This army Chosroes placed under a fresh general, Razates, the fourth Persian general sent against Heraclius, and in bidding him depart said, "If you cannot conquer, you can die." Heraclius traversed Media from end to end, and apparently Razates for a long time hovered around his course without venturing on a general engagement, until at length in the autumn he received a peremptory order from Chosroes to fight a decisive battle. By this time Heraclius had passed into Assyria, and there, on the 12th December 627, between Nineveh and the historic plain of Arbela, the

battle was fought which decided the fate of the Persian empire. Again we are given no details of the tactics employed, the numbers on either side, the positions relatively occupied, or the course of the contest, but only the incident seized upon by the romantic chroniclers of the age, stating that in the midst of the battle Razates challenged Heraclius to single combat, that the latter, riding his favourite charger "Dorkon," accepted the challenge, and that Razates was slain in the encounter. This however did not end the battle, the Persians fighting with the utmost determination. The action, which had begun at dawn, lasted till nightfall, and the Romans suffered heavy losses, but the contest ended in an overwhelming victory for Heraclius, the Persian army being practically destroyed.

After gaining this great victory Heraclius slowly moved southwards along the eastern bank of the Tigris, taking one after another the luxurious palaces and pleasure-grounds of Chosroes, and after spending Christmas in the "Paradise" of Yesdem, advanced, through a succession of beautiful scenes, upon the royal domain of Dastagherd, whence upon his approach Chosroes, taking with him his favourite wife Scherin, fled first to Ctesiphon, and thence down the Tigris to the district of Susiana, near the head of the Persian Gulf. A day or two later Heraclius stood in the vast and luxurious palace of Dastagherd, surrounded by all its countless splendours. We are not told that as he did so he displayed any feeling of pride in all that he had accomplished, but if he did it was certainly pardonable. For his achievement was one greater than had been attained by any emperor before him except Constantine the Great. Heraclius had surpassed the deeds of Trajan, and had led the Roman armies further east than any commander had previously penetrated. To take over as he had done an empire in such a condition of degradation and weakness, to gradually bring it to order, in ten long years of patient preparation to make it able to enter upon the task of destroying a foe which for four centuries had been its formidable antagonist, with inferior forces and operating in a previously unknown country to beat in succession seven great Persian armies under four successive generals all of them notable commanders, and to stand at last in the vast palace

adorned with all the riches of Persia which the monarch who had called himself "the king and master of the whole earth" had created, while that monarch, who had written to him in such insulting terms, was flying in dishonour to a distant refuge, the power of his empire for ever at an end, were certainly achievements of which any man might be proud.

Burning of Dastagherd. But Heraclius could not keep Dastagherd. It was therefore first despoiled of all its notable riches (Heraclius dividing among his troops greater plunder than had ever before been heard of), and then set on fire, and all its forty thousand columns of silver and marble, its vast halls and courts, its beautiful dome, and its numberless highly decorated chambers were consumed in one mighty conflagration. To us this seems a great act of Vandalism, but Heraclius could scarcely have adopted any other course. He could not keep Dastagherd for himself, as he had determined not to take any of Persia's territories, but only those provinces which had formerly belonged to Rome. And to leave Dastagherd to be re-occupied by Chosroes after Heraclius had withdrawn from Persia would have assisted the Persian monarch to re-erect his power. In a few short years the defeat would be forgotten, and all the decisiveness of Heraclius' conquest would be lost. On the other hand to leave this vast royal domain a heap of blackened ruins provided an ocular demonstration to the Persians of how completely the power of Rome had been asserted, a demonstration all the more needed since the Roman Empire was not going to retain any portion of their territory.

End of the Persian empire. From the time of taking Dastagherd in January 628 Heraclius, who from thence marched back to Ganzaca, had merely to stand as a spectator, watching the dying throes of the Persian empire. The country revolted from Chosroes, who in March, shortly after Heraclius reached Ganzaca, was imprisoned and starved to death by his inhuman son Siroes. The latter agreed to Heraclius' terms for peace, which were remarkably moderate, the main conditions being the restoration of all the Roman provinces, the surrender of all Roman captives, and the restitution of the True Cross, which had not been found in any of the places captured by Heraclius. Shah Barz revolted from Siroes, refused to ac-

knowledge the treaty, and clung for a time to Chalcedon, but ere long decided himself to seize the throne, and marching to Persia defeated and killed Siroes, who had only reigned eight months, and seized the throne, but after reigning one month was himself also killed. Thereupon Persia dissolved into anarchy, a condition of affairs which continued for the next twelve years, when that country was taken by a new conqueror.¹

Having thus put an end to the great power which for so many generations had been Rome's formidable enemy, and having concluded the terms by which all that had been lost was regained, Heraclius, about May 628, set forth from Ganzaca to return to Constantinople. His journey back, through Armenia, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia, was a prolonged triumph. At length about July he reached Chalcedon (recently evacuated by Shah Barz), and there received a perfect ovation, the Senate, the clergy, and almost the whole population of Constantinople crossing the Bosphorus to do him honour, and receiving him with processions carrying branches of olives and at night "innumerable lamps." Heraclius waited at Chalcedon with Martina and their children for about two months, as he would not enter his capital until the Cross should be received back, but upon the arrival of this precious relic,² escorted by his brother Theodorus, in September, Heraclius crossed the Bosphorus, and made his public entry into Constantinople in a triumphal procession which must have been the most imposing that the Roman Empire had ever seen; imposing, not by reason of its magnificence, but by reason of the contrast between the circumstances when Heraclius had sailed upon his enterprise and those which he had created when he thus returned. Then not only had the Persian monarch been in possession of nearly half the provinces of the empire, but the citizens of Constantinople had lived in daily dread, with a Persian army encamped within sight across the narrow waters of the Bosphorus, and feasting its eyes upon the rich city which

¹ Page 449.

² The seals of the locked silver case in which the Cross was enclosed, and from which it was never removed except upon the most solemn occasions, were found not to have been broken, and the preservation of this honoured relic is stated to have been due to queen Scherin.

it hoped ere long to plunder. Instead of these deplorable conditions the citizens now saw this redoubtable emperor return after having regained all that had been lost, and after having permanently destroyed the power which had so long terrorized the empire.

Entry into Constantinople Heraclius entered the city on the 14th September by the Golden Gate, in a chariot drawn by four elephants, as Theodosius the Great had done, the procession moving slowly through the streets amidst the acclamations of the dense crowd anxious to honour in every way the deliverer of the empire. At Rome in former times a Roman triumph had always ended its course at the Capitol; this one at Constantinople concluded at the cathedral of St. Sophia, where Heraclius was received by Sergius, and where an imposing ceremony took place, the chief feature of which was the solemn "uplifting" of the True Cross.¹ The fact that in this new form of a Roman triumph this concluding ceremony at St. Sophia took the place of that in former times at the Capitol helped still further to show that the war which had been brought to an end was in one aspect a crusade, the first of all crusades. In the spring of 629 Heraclius himself escorted the Cross back to Jerusalem, where amidst scenes of great enthusiasm he solemnly replaced it in the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The Lombards. The Lombards during the reign of Phocas did not fail to profit, like other races, by the general misrule of the empire, Agilulf² in 603 taking all that remained to the empire in the valley of the Po, and reducing the imperial dominions in Italy to Ravenna, Rome, Genoa, and Naples.³

¹ It is curious to note that this occasion was considered so notable that a day in the calendar of the Church was set apart to commemorate it, this "Holy Cross Day" being commemorated on the 14th September, and that it is still so commemorated in the Prayerbook of the Church of England. ² Chap. XXIII, p. 359.

³ Under the Lombards there was no difficulty in raising a force sufficient for any operation required. Military service was based upon the land tenure, and at the king's command every man who possessed a fixed amount of land had to join his standard with a horse, a coat of mail, and complete equipment.

The rest of Agilulf's reign was uneventful, except for one terrible episode in 610, when the Avars, the former close friends of the Lombards, perhaps thinking the latter were becoming too civilized, suddenly dashed across the Julian Alps and attacked Friuli,¹ defeated its duke Gisulf,² slew him, his wife Romilda, and two of his four sons, carried off his four daughters as slaves, plundered and burnt Friuli, and massacred most of the inhabitants with true Scythian cruelty, retreating again to Pannonia apparently without giving Agilulf time to come to the assistance of Friuli.³ Agilulf died in 616, having reigned for twenty-five years.

Upon Agilulf's death Thiudalinda became regent on behalf of her son Adalwald, then thirteen. And about three years later her daughter Gundiperga was married to Arivald, duke of Turin. Thiudalinda's son Adalwald, after taking over the government in 622, became very unpopular with the Lombards. Though Sisebut, king of the Visigoths, wrote to him urging him to trample out the dying embers of Arianism, and saying that "so renowned a nation as the Lombards, so wise, so elegant, and so dignified, should not sit down contented under the yoke of a dead and buried heresy," Thiudalinda, with her usual wisdom, appears to have dissuaded her son from such a course, fervent Catholic though she was, and Adalwald's unpopularity does not seem to have been due to any action of this kind, but to mental disease, which caused him to put to death one after another some ten or twelve of the chief nobles of the kingdom. As a result Adalwald in 626, at the age of twenty-four, was poisoned. The Lombards being resolved to retain the benefit of Thiudalinda's influence as long as possible, chose as his

Regency of
Thiudalinda,
and her death.

¹ Now Cividale.

² A grand-nephew of Alboin, who gave the dukedom of Friuli to his nephew Gisulf, the father of the Gisulf slain on this occasion.

³ In national *sagas* a disaster of this kind is never admitted to be due to any want of martial valour, but invariably attributed to treachery on the part of some one; and the Lombard *sagas*, from which the details of this terrible event have to be gathered, attribute this disaster to treachery on the part of Romilda, whether truly or falsely it is impossible to say. In any case she suffered a terrible fate, being impaled with hideous cruelty by the detestable young Chagan of the Avars, the inhuman son of Baian, who had died about four years before.

successor her daughter Gundiperga's husband, Ariwald. Two years later, on the 22nd February 628, the great queen of the Lombards passed away at Monza, just forty years after her flight from Bavaria to her young lover Autharis, during the whole of which time she had been the good genius of the Lombard race.

The extent to which the Lombards recognized this latter fact, and honoured Thiudalinda in consequence is very remarkable. Their leaving the choice of their king to her when her first husband Autharis died, after they had only known her for one year, and their choice of her daughter's husband Ariwald as their king when in 626 Thiudalinda's son Adalwald died, were followed by other acts of the same kind. For when ten years later Ariwald died they left the choice of a king to Thiudalinda's daughter Gundiperga in the same way; and when Rotharis, the king whom she chose and married, died sixteen years later, they chose as king, not one of their own race, but Thiudalinda's nephew Aripert, and for a long number of years always insisted on having as their king one of her family.¹

But not only thus did the Lombards show their reverence for Thiudalinda. So highly did they honour her memory that for centuries afterwards, through all their subsequent vicissitudes, they treasured every relic of her that they could preserve; with the result that even at the present day, nearly thirteen centuries after her death, there still remain certain most interesting relics of her preserved by them. These are now all to be seen kept at Monza, the town which was Thiudalinda's favourite residence. The church which she built there is now the cathedral of Monza, and a chapel to the right of the choir contains her sarcophagus, and frescoes showing scenes in her life. In the sacristy of this church are preserved Thiudalinda's crown, her fan, her gold-handled comb, the cross which was placed on the breast of her husband, her son, and her son-in-law at the time of their coronation, a richly ornamented book-cover with Thiudalinda's inscription,² and most notable of all a hen with seven chickens made of

¹ See Chap. XXV, p. 477.

² Thiudalinda's signature is to be seen in the highly valued ancient *Codex* of the four Gospels preserved in the museum of Cividale.

gold, representing the Lombard kingdom and its seven provinces, executed by order of Thiudalinda, and supposed to have served as a centrepiece for her banqueting table.¹ This latter work, executed at the end of the 6th century, has by no means received the attention that it deserves. For it has passed without notice that it is (even by several centuries) *the first work of art executed by any of the northern nations.*² And this honour gained by the Lombards, originally the most backward of all those nations, is also due to Thiudalinda.

Her husband Agilulf's crown was also preserved in the same place until 1800, when it was carried off by Napoleon to Paris, where in 1804 it was stolen, and melted down by the thief.³ Over the door of the church is a curious relief representing queen Thiudalinda amidst her treasures. In view of the many centuries that these memorials of Thiudalinda have been thus preserved it is evident that the impression she produced upon those of her time must have been very great.

But the most important of all Thiudalinda's treasures (also now kept with the rest of these in the cathedral of Monza) is the so-called "Iron Crown,"⁴ which is first heard of in history in connection with her, and with which from her time onwards the Lombard kings were invariably crowned at Milan. As previously noted,⁵ it is a gold diadem, with, running round the inside, a thin strip of iron, said to be a nail of the True Cross, and from which this crown has gained its name. It is studded with 22 emeralds and pearls, 26 golden roses, and 24 enamels; but the roses and the enamels were added in the twelfth century.

The origin of this celebrated crown is full of mystery. No one knows when, or for whom, it was made. It suddenly

¹ Plate LXIX.

² Unless we include the mausoleum of Theodoric the Great, which though remarkable is scarcely a work of art.

³ It was adorned with figures of Christ, two angels, and the twelve Apostles, each standing in an arch of laurel boughs, and was studded with 65 carbuncles and emeralds and 158 pearls. Round the bottom of it ran an inscription stating that "Agilulf, the glorious man, by Divine grace king of the whole of Italy, offered this crown to St. John the Baptist in the church of Monza."

⁴ Plate LXX.

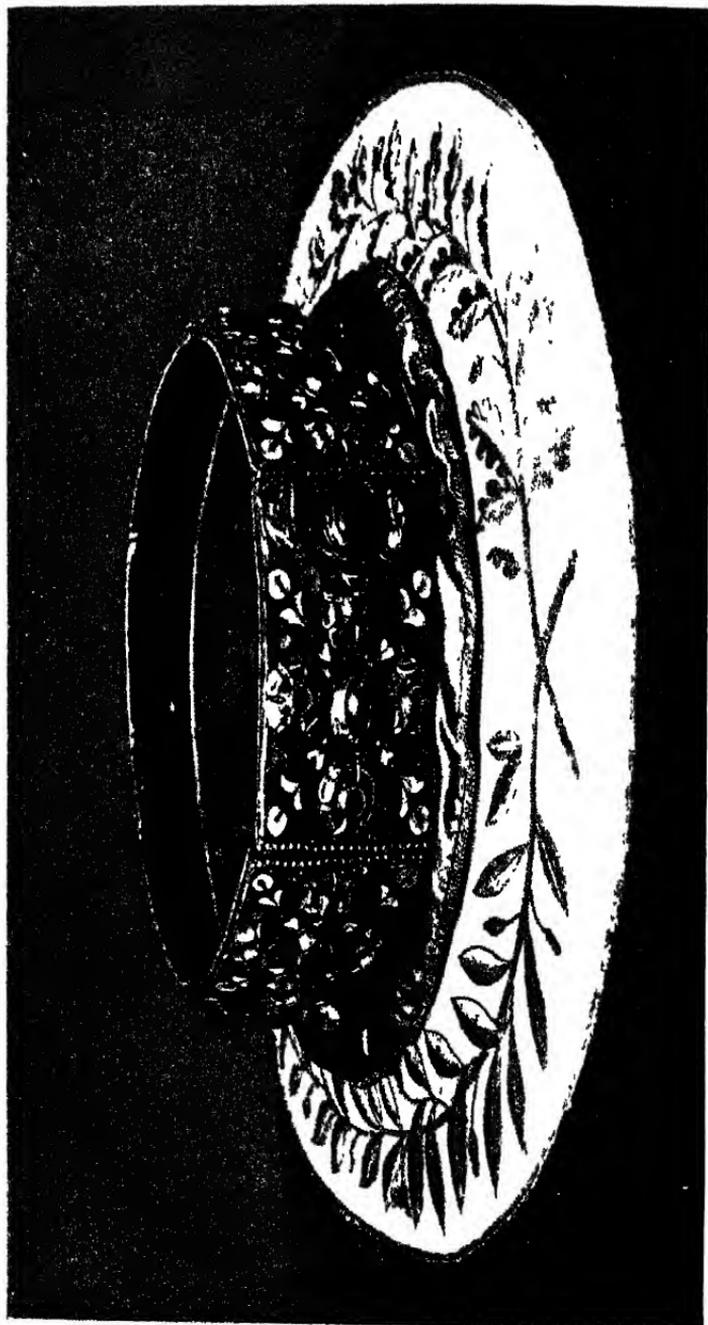
⁵ Vol. I, Chap. XVI, p. 567.



THUDALINDA'S GOLD HEN AND SEVEN CHICKENS

Representing the Lombard Kingdom and its seven provinces. Executed at the end of the 6th century, and therefore now more than 1300 years old. The hen and chickens are about life size.

[BRASCHI



[BRANCH.]

THE "IRON CROWN"

A small gold diadem, about two inches high, studded with jewels, with the sacred relic of the strip of iron fastened round the inside. It originally appears in the 6th century as one of Queen Theodolinda's, for some years. The gold roses and other decorations were added in the 12th century.

appears at Milan in the 6th century among Thiudalinda's treasures, greatly revered by her for the sacred relic which it enclosed. Its subsequent history has been notable. Following the Lombard kings, the German emperors of the Middle Ages were also crowned with this crown as kings of Lombardy in the cathedral of Milan,¹ where the crown was kept until 1162, when the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, as a part of his punishment to Milan for its revolt against him, removed this highly revered crown to Monza. The emperor Charles V was crowned with it in the 16th century; and in the 19th century the emperor Napoleon (observing the ancient custom by which from the 7th to the 12th century the crowning with this crown had taken place at Milan) had it brought thither from Monza, and in May 1805 crowned himself with this ancient and highly honoured crown in the cathedral at Milan. In 1859, after two Austrian emperors had in the meantime been crowned with it, this crown was removed to Venice, but in 1866 was returned to Monza.

Tons of paper have been consumed in learned writings over the question of whether the "Iron Crown" does actually contain a sacred nail of the Cross; while in connection with this point it has been declared that this crown was given to Thiudalinda by Gregory the Great. The latter however could neither have had it in his possession,² nor if he had, could have had the power of giving such an emblem of Imperial sovereignty to any one, and least of all to a queen of the Lombards, the foes of the empire, who were looked upon as unlawfully occupying the Imperial country, Italy. Moreover whereas the presentation of such a valuable and honoured relic would certainly have received elaborate mention from Gregory the Great in his letters, we find no mention of this gift in any of his 838 letters. Yet when he sends a small gift of three rings to Thiudalinda we find the fact made the subject of a letter. Again, the reception by Thiudalinda of a relic so highly revered by her as this crown would undoubtedly have been made the occasion of an impressive ceremony, and she would certainly have written a letter of grateful thanks for such a gift; yet we hear of no such ceremony, nor of any

¹ Now the church of St. Ambrose, Milan.

² See (ii) below.

letter written by her to Gregory to convey thanks for this valuable present.

To leave, however, on one side the question of whether the "Iron Crown" does or does not contain a sacred nail of the Cross, and the impossible theory that the crown was given to Thiudalinda by Gregory, a subject of more practical interest is whether this celebrated crown is Constantine's crown. The authenticity or otherwise of the discoveries made by the more or less credulous Helena at Jerusalem stands outside this question. We know that Constantine did receive a nail from Helena, which, whether or not it was what she supposed it to be, she had beaten into a thin strip of iron to be inserted in his helmet, and which he apparently caused to be inserted in his crown. When subsequently he died at Constantinople his empire was divided between his three sons, and the eldest of these, Constantine II (to whom a certain degree of pre-eminence was by mutual consent allotted), is much more likely to have taken possession of this crown of his father's, to which he had the best right, than either of his brothers, Constantius and Constans; and Constantine II had for his capital Milan, where this crown (so peculiarly constructed) is first heard of, kept as one of the treasures of the cathedral of Milan.

The considerations which appear to show, both that this crown is Constantine's crown and that it never moved from Milan up to the time when it is first heard of, are:—

- (i) Had it been taken to Ravenna when Honorius removed the capital thither from Milan in 403, it could never have come into the possession of the Lombards. It would have come into the possession of the Ostrogoths, and when their royal treasures were captured at Ravenna in 540 would have been sent with the rest of those treasures to Constantinople.
- (ii) Had it been taken to Rome (instead of Ravenna) it could also never have come into the possession of the Lombards. It would have come into the possession of the Vandals, would have been carried off by them to North Africa in 455 with the other imperial treasures carried away by them, and would have been captured with the rest of those treasures at Carthage in 533 and

sent to Constantinople. Even had it escaped being thus captured by the Vandals it would never have survived the five captures of Rome during the war of 537-555, including a period of six weeks when Rome was without any inhabitant. So that in no case could it have been in possession of Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome from 590 to 604.

- (iii) We know that the church of St. Ambrose in Milan (the former cathedral) was not destroyed in the general sack of the city by the Franks in 539, since that church still exists, much of it dating from the 4th century. The crown would probably have been safe from the Franks in any case, owing to the superstitious veneration with which it would be regarded by this Catholic race in consequence of the nail enclosed in it;¹ but if further precautions were necessary it could have been, and probably was, buried in the crypt.
- (iv) No one else after Constantine's time would have had any reason for constructing a crown in this unique fashion, viz. with a beaten-out nail inserted in it. It was certainly not made by Thiudalinda, in whose possession it first comes to light, and in whose eyes its value was not its connection with Constantine (for whom the northern nations naturally felt no regard), but as a casket enclosing a revered relic.
- (v) The form of the crown is not such as later sovereigns wore, while it is that which we know Diocletian and Constantine wore, viz. a simple gold diadem, studded with precious stones. The "Iron Crown" exactly accords with this, being a gold diadem, rather less than two inches high and six inches in diameter. Moreover Constantine's portrait-bust shows him wearing just such a diadem² (see Plate LV).

From the whole of the foregoing considerations it appears most probable that this celebrated crown is actually the crown of Constantine the Great; that from the time of his son Constantine II to that of Agilulf it remained always at

¹ Even as late as the 16th century the most abandoned thieves would not carry off jewels, etc., considered in any way sacred.

² Except of course for the gold roses added in the 12th century.

Milan, carefully kept as one of the chief treasures of the cathedral, treasured at first perhaps (during the 4th century) because it was Constantine's crown, but afterwards undoubtedly solely because of the sacred relic it contained; and that it came into possession of the Lombard kings with their conquest of Lombardy, though it is very likely that (kept where it was) the Arian kings, Alboin and Autharis, were not allowed by the persecuted Catholics to know of the existence of this revered relic, and that it was kept hidden until Thiudalinda's second husband Agilulf accepted the Catholic faith.¹ For it is only in his time that we first hear of this crown, and yet we know that he did not have it made.

But even the treasures preserved as memorials of Thiudalinda are not so forcible an evidence of the impression which she produced upon the Lombards, and of the great work which she accomplished in regard to that race during the forty years that she was their honoured queen, as is the code of laws drawn up by her son-in-law Rotharis. That a race so lawless, savage, and barbarous as were the Lombards at the time that she married Autharis in 589 should only forty-seven years afterwards be drawing up a regular code of laws of this kind is evidence of a change more rapid than has probably ever been seen in any other race. And both the Lombards themselves and writers in subsequent ages have acknowledged that this change in their race was due to the forty years' influence of Thiudalinda. Gundiperga's first husband Ariwald died in 636 after reigning uneventfully for ten years; upon his death the choice of a successor to the throne was left to Gundiperga; she chose Rotharis, duke of Brescia, and married him; and the chief act of Rotharis, who reigned from 636 to 652, was the drawing up of a regular code of laws which in future he required the Lombards to observe.

In the preamble of this code of laws, promulgated from his palace at Pavia, Rotharis states that in it he has embodied such usages as from ancient times had been customary among the Lombards, amending and adding to them as required by existing conditions. This code of laws, by the subjects with which it deals, conveys much information regarding the

¹ In after years giving his own crown as a present to a Catholic church.

Lombards, while also showing what an advance in civilization they had made. It is contained in 388 chapters, and includes laws regarding offences against the king, offences on the king's highway, offences against freedmen, half-freedmen, and slaves; laws regarding burglary, murder, sacrilege, poisoning, theft, forgery, coining, incendiarism, witchcraft, and crimes of immorality; laws on such subjects as judicial procedure, the collection of taxes, the laws of inheritance, marriage laws, manumission of slaves, treatment of debtors, lunacy, compensation in the case of accidents to workmen, accidental damage to property, and scale of compensation to be paid for bodily injuries inflicted; laws regarding vendors and purchasers, succession to property, guardianship of women, and power of women to own property; and laws regarding rural life, including damages to fences, cattle, horses, ploughs, harness, water-mills or vines, game laws, grazing rights, and many other similar matters.

But perhaps the most remarkable feature of these Lombard laws is the testimony they give to the entire obliteration of the Roman race in Italy, except in those few small portions of that country still belonging to the empire. Here is a code of laws dealing with all the ordinary concerns of life, and in a country which for a thousand years had given the law to mankind. Yet not only is there not a single reference from beginning to end to the great system of law codified by the emperor Justinian,¹ but there is not a sign that such a race as the Romans any longer exists, except in the case of one law which only makes the downtrodden condition of that race more marked, since it provides that the compensation to be paid for an injury done to a Roman female slave shall be half that payable in the case of a female slave of Teutonic race.

The Franks. Among the Franks during this period (the first half of the 7th century) there is little worth recording. After Chlotochar II in 613 had slain his uncle's widow

¹ The Lombard code of law had no affinity with the Roman system of law, but had likeness to Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian law. It has been described as the best codification of barbarian law known.

Brunhilda,¹ regent over Austrasia and Burgundy, he followed this up by putting to death the four little boys, her great-grandsons, in whose defence she had been fighting; and having destroyed all inconvenient members of his family as ruthlessly as his grandfather Chlotochar I had done, became sole ruler over the whole Frank kingdom.²

Chlotochar II (613-629) reigned for sixteen years, showing the usual profligacy and bloodthirsty cruelty of the Merovingian race, and carrying on a constant struggle with the nobles of Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy, and died in 629 at the age of forty-eight, leaving the Frank kingdom to his son Dagobert I (629-639). The latter, coming to the throne at the age of twenty-eight, had a more or less brilliant reign of ten years. He made an alliance with the emperor Heraclius, and in accordance therewith attacked both the Avars and the Slavs, and gained much glory by his successes against them. Exceeding even the usual degree of Merovingian profligacy he is said to have rivalled Solomon in his matrimonial arrangements, and died in 639 at the age of thirty-eight. Thenceforth for more than a century the kings of the Franks became puppet kings ("rois fainéants"), the power being exercised by rival "Mayors of the Palace," the constant contests between whom kept the Frank kingdom for a long period in a state of general chaos.

Struggle between Paganism and Christianity in Britain. In Britain³ at this period the struggle between Paganism and Christianity was being fiercely waged. This long struggle in Britain between Paganism and Christianity, which lasted nearly seventy years, has no parallel in any other country. In 604 the East Saxons renounced Paganism and accepted Christianity, and Mellitus was appointed as their Bishop. London, their chief city, was at that time a stronghold of Paganism, where not only the Scandinavian gods, but also Diana and Apollo were worshipped, in temples erected where St. Paul's and Westminster

¹ Chap. XXIII, p. 349.

² See Appendix XIII.

³ Throughout this history, with reference to what has been said in the Preface (p. ii), the portion relating to England is only sketched in outline, no attempt being made to give details regarding individual characters as is done in the case of other countries.

Abbey now stand, and upon Christianity being adopted these temples were made over to Mellitus, and used for Christian worship. But in 616 the East Saxons, on the death of their king, Sebert, reverted to Paganism, and Mellitus, Bishop of London, had to fly for his life to France. At the same time the new king of Kent, Eadbald, separated himself from the Christians, forcing the Bishop of Rochester also to fly to France, but Laurentius, the Archbishop of Canterbury, stood his ground, and the greater part of Kent remained Christian, being thus the only portion of Britain which at this time was not Pagan.

Baptism
of Edwin,
King of
Northumbria. But in 627 (the same year that in the East the emperor Heraclius finally destroyed the power of Persia), Northumbria, the largest and most important of the seven kingdoms,¹ inaugurated a change which was destined at length to destroy Paganism in Britain. Upon the death in 617 of Æthelfrith,² Edwin, son of Ella of Deira, had regained his father's kingdom, and had become king of Northumbria. He was *Bretwalda* of Britain, and is considered by Bede the greatest of all the *Bretwaldas*. Regarding Edwin³ Bede says, "In his days a woman with a babe at her breast might have travelled through the whole kingdom without suffering any harm." But he declined to accept Christianity, notwithstanding all the appeals of his Christian wife Ethelburga, a daughter of Æthelbert and Bertha of Kent. In 627, however, he at length gave way to her persuasions, assisted as they were by the preaching of Paulinus, the first Bishop of York, and accepted Christianity, being baptized at York. Edwin had built there for the occasion a little wooden church, and this church he a year or two afterwards rebuilt of stone. And there, in the centre of the city where Septimius Severus and Constantius Chlorus had died, and from whence Constantine the Great had started to conquer a world and to revolutionize the Roman Empire in regard to religion,

¹ The kingdom of Northumbria extended from the Wash to the Forth, divided into Deira and Bernicia.

² Chap. XXIII, p. 355.

³ His name is preserved in that of the most northern of his two capitals, Edinburgh (Eadwinesburh).

rose Edwin's little church, afterwards to form the nucleus of the great York Minster.¹

Defeat and death of Edwin This acceptance of Christianity by Northumbria was followed four years later by East Anglia, which in 631 was converted to Christianity by Felix,² a Burgundian Bishop who came from Burgundy at the invitation of Sigberet, king of East Anglia. But in 633 the fierce Penda, king of powerful Mercia, and a violent opponent of Christianity,³ being determined to crush that religion, attacked Northumbria, killed its king, Edwin, in a battle near Doncaster, with many adherents of the new religion, took York, and drove Christianity out of Northumbria, the Bishop, Paulinus, with the Northumbrian queen Ethelburga and her children, flying to Kent. In 634, however, Wessex followed the example of East Anglia, being converted to Christianity by Berinus, a monk belonging to Milan, who at his own request was consecrated as a missionary Bishop for this purpose by the Archbishop of Milan.

Iona. Thus up to this time only three of the seven kingdoms in Britain had been converted to Christianity, viz. Kent in 597 from Rome, East Anglia in 631 from Burgundy, and Wessex in 634 from Milan. But there was now to begin a new movement by which the remaining four kingdoms, comprising more than half England, were to owe their conversion from Paganism, not to missions from Italy or Burgundy, but to that celebrated island of Iona on the west coast of Scotland where in 565 St. Columba had planted his community and had begun preaching Christianity to the Scots.⁴

Aidan sent to Northumbria. When in Westminster Abbey we see enclosed in the Coronation Chair the stone brought in the 13th century by Edward I from Scone (whither it had been transferred from Iona) it is a reminder, not only of the fact that the king of England is king of Scotland as well, but also of the fact that the greater part of England owes its conversion

¹ The remains of Edwin's church are still to be seen in the crypt.

² In Norfolk and Suffolk he is often called "the Apostle of East Anglia," and has given his name to Felixstowe.

³ Penda claimed to be twelfth in descent from the god Woden.

⁴ Chap. XXII, p. 318.

to Christianity to that far-off little island of Iona which in the 7th century did so great a work, and won such deserved respect. In the year 635 Aidan (afterwards called the "Apostle of the North") was sent from Iona to re-convert Northumbria, and establish there a community similar to that at Iona. He came at the invitation of Edwin's successor, Oswald, king of Northumbria,¹ who years before when a fugitive had been treated hospitably at Iona. He now gave to Aidan for his community the small island of Lindisfarne (afterwards known as the "Holy Isle"), on the north-east coast, near the mouth of the Tweed.² There a church and monastery were built, with schools for the training of missionaries who could speak the English (i.e. Anglian) language, for even Aidan did not know it. And from Lindisfarne, the child of Iona, the conversion, first of Northumbria, and then of all the rest of England not yet converted to Christianity, took place, though only after a long struggle occupying most of the next twenty years.

Advance of the
Mahomedans. Four years after Heraclius had returned in triumph from his final campaign against Persia a little cloud arose in the east which was destined to develope in a few short years into a mighty tempest, with appalling results to mankind in many countries. In the year 632 occurred the death of the Arabian prophet Mahomed.³ The latter, born in 571 at Mecca, at the age of forty propounded a new religion styled Islam (signifying, entire submission to the decrees of God), its formula of faith being "There is no God

¹ He was the younger of the two sons of Æthelfrith, and regained the kingdom after Edwin's death.

² "And when, subjected to a common doom
Of mutability, those far-famed Piles
Shall disappear from both the sister Isles,
Iona's saints, forgetting not past days,
Garlands shall wear of amaranthine bloom,
While heaven's vast sea of voices chant their praise."

(Wordsworth.)

³ The proper form of his name is Mohammed, or more correctly Muhammad, but it seems better to adhere to the form which is best known.

but Allah, and Muhammad is his prophet." In Mecca he gained at first few adherents, and in 622 (the year that Heraclius began his war against Persia) was compelled to fly for his life from Mecca to Medina.¹ At Medina Mahomed gained many adherents among the Saracens, and thenceforth resolved to spread his religion by force of arms. After several battles he in 630 took Mecca, and established himself there as prince and prophet.² Further contests followed, and the greater part of Arabia was being rapidly subdued when in 632 Mahomed died at Medina.

His death was the signal for the advance of that Mahomedan "whirlwind of conquest" which in its irresistible course was to spread in only one hundred years from Arabia over Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, North Africa, and Spain, and sweeping round both ends of the Mediterranean, to penetrate on one side to the Bosphorus and on the other into the heart of France.³ Inspired by a fervent faith, animated by a determined purpose, and offering to each race conquered only two alternatives, viz. death or conversion to Islam, and thus constantly recruited by fresh adherents, in its first onset it swept along like a tornado, blotting out of existence all who would not accept this religion of the sword, and all traces of Christianity in the countries thus subdued.

Mahomed among his many wives had married Ayesha, the daughter of Abu Bekr, and when the Prophet died leaving no son, but only a daughter, Fatima,⁴ Abu Bekr was chosen

¹ This date forms the Mahomedan era, the episode being called by them the *Hegira* (the flight).

² At Mecca he abolished the idols of the *Kaaba* (the black stone long worshipped as having been miraculously brought from heaven), but incorporated in his new religion reverence for the stone itself by his sacred touch, and it still attracts crowds of Mahomedan pilgrims to Mecca.

³ The Mahomedans conquered Syria in 635, Palestine in 637, Mesopotamia in 639, Egypt in 640, Persia in 641, North Africa in 704-709, Spain in 711, and penetrated into the centre of France in 732.

⁴ Married to Ali, who as the Prophet's son-in-law was considered by a large party to have the best right to succeed, rather than the Prophet's father-in-law. Regarding the permanent division which this subsequently caused among the Mahomedans, see Chap XXV, p. 473.

to succeed him, and became the first Khalif (successor). Abu Bekr inaugurated a fresh policy, and resolved that the new religion must be spread, not by petty conflicts in Arabia, but by foreign conquest. Accordingly in 633 the redoubtable Khalid was sent against Persia, and four other generals against Syria.

Spirit in which the Mahomedans fought. Heraclius had not regarded these Arabian invaders as formidable, and though he moved to Edessa to be nearer the point of danger had anticipated that the Saracens of the Syrian deserts lying between Syria and Arabia would probably be able to repel them. But the Saracens on the borders of Syria were of the same stock, and ere long threw in their lot with the Arabian Saracens and accepted the religion of Islam. Following the invariable custom of the Mahomedans these fresh adherents were sent to prove their faith in battle, and attacked the Roman forces in Syria with all the fierce enthusiasm of new converts who fought with the joys of Paradise before their eyes, urged on by the customary exhortation of the Mahomedan generals, "Paradise is before you, hell is behind you," and desiring nothing so much as death in the conflict.¹ The spirit in which they fought is shown by the words² heard shouted out by a youth, a cousin of the heroic Khalid, while fighting under the walls of Emesa :—

"I see the black-eyed girls³ looking down upon me ;
Any one of whom, if she appeared in this world,
All mankind would die for love of her.
I see one of them holding towards me in her hand
A scarf of green silk⁴ and a cap adorned with jewels ;
And she beckons to me crying,
'Come hither quickly, for I love thee.'"

Unfair estimate formed of the Romans. Historians, through non-acquaintance with such fighting, have inadvertently done much injustice to the Romans in regard to the contest which now came upon the empire. For the adverse results of that contest have been universally looked upon as showing that

¹ See Khalid's speech to the Persian king Yezdegerd (p. 449).

² Reported by Al Wakidi.

³ In Persian, *hourri*.

⁴ The sacred colour among the Mahomedans ; in this world worn only by the lineal descendants of the Prophet, but in Paradise to be worn by all.

the Romans had greatly deteriorated in military qualities, and no longer possessed their ancient prowess in war. But we as a race have had opportunities denied to other nations for forming a more just estimate in this matter. During the last thirty-five years we English have had more knowledge than any other nation of what it means to fight this kind of foe, and both in Afghanistan and in the Soudan have again and again had to face these same enemies whose wild and fanatical onslaught was such a new experience to the Roman troops; though in these days the vehemence of that onslaught (great as it still is)¹ has lost much of the fiery impetuosity that it possessed in those years when the hosts of Islam first issued from the burning deserts of Arabia to spread like a torrent of lava over all the fairest lands of the East. Therefore we have less excuse for such misjudgments than other nations, such as e.g. the Germans, who have been without our long and varied war experience. And we who have had to meet a less vehement attack than came against the Romans, and have been able to meet it with the increased power which fire-arms give, and who have yet seen once or twice during those thirty-five years even a British force overwhelmed by such a foe, should be the last to disparage the Romans in consequence of such a result.

The wild charge of a large body of men every one of whom is determined to die is like nothing else in its irresistible force, and troops who have not experienced it have not known the severest test of war. If men fight with the object of victory they can be beaten; but if they fight with the object of death the matter becomes altogether different. The civilized man, uninspired by a similar fanaticism, stands at a great disadvantage in such a fight; and therefore wins all the more honour when through an unshakable courage he conquers. But to gain victory in such cases every single man of the charging enemy must be killed outright; there is no putting

¹ In the battles in Afghanistan in 1878-80 the Ghazis (signifying, devoted to death) clothed themselves from head to foot in white in order to be more conspicuous, and even when being shelled by artillery refused to take cover. At the battle of Ahmed Khel a charge of such Ghazis dealt great havoc upon the British force before they were destroyed.

them to flight.¹ And while this complete extermination is now possible by troops who are thoroughly steady and well disciplined, in the days before fire-arms were employed (when victory depended almost entirely upon hand-to-hand fighting) this complete extermination was not possible unless the force thus attacked was in great numerical superiority, no amount of bravery making up here for paucity in numbers, since no bravery can exceed that of foes whose one desire is death. So far, however, from the Romans possessing this necessary superiority of force, the numerical superiority in these battles was entirely on the side of the Mahomedans, who poured forth from Arabia in ever increasing numbers, while additional adherents were gained at every mile of fresh territory conquered.

It is quite plain that this method of fighting (then new to the world), and not any failure in military qualities on the part of the Romans, is the true cause accounting for the long succession of victories gained by the Mahomedans at this time. When the blood-stained Khalid spoke of his followers as those "who love death as thou lovest life," he was in fact announcing a new kind of warfare. It was different when a hundred years later the Mahomedans met the Franks in Gaul. By that time the effects upon the former of luxury and wealth had to some extent dimmed their earlier fervour. But when they first advanced from Arabia in the 7th century their attack, carried out in the manner which has been described, was practically irresistible, unless met with superior forces. Out of some thirty battles fought with this foe during the seven years 634-641, in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Egypt the Romans *never gained one single victory*. Yet these were in great part the troops who had only eight years before fought with such splendid valour and discipline in six campaigns, and against immensely superior numbers had won the victory in Cappadocia, the double victory on the Araxes, the victory at the river Sarus, the victory in Mesopotamia under Theodorus, and the crowning victory of Nineveh, and had never once been beaten by the Persians, who were far

¹ Even when lying on the ground mortally wounded they will kill any one who, after the fight is over, approaches to give them succour; and many English officers have lost their lives through this cause.

better trained and more skilled in war than the Mahomedans. It is impossible that troops with such a record should in so short a time have become wanting in valour and efficiency.

Again, in these battles most of the generals, the commanders of the various corps, and the subordinate officers must have been the same who had gone through the campaigns in Cappadocia, Armenia, Media, and Assyria with such credit to themselves, and had learnt valuable lessons therefrom. In this case also, as in that of the troops, it is impossible that in so short a time these officers should one and all have become helpless and incapable. On the other hand the Mahomedans when they began this contest were practically an untrained mob, full of desperate courage and fanaticism, but with no other military qualities; while they were led by men who had no military experience or tactical knowledge such as the Roman generals possessed. Lastly, it is not only the Roman race which is concerned. The Mahomedans turned their arms against another race, and here again the same thing is seen. The Persians had had long experience of war; their troops were thoroughly trained and proud of their military history; they were as brave in battle as any men ever were; they were commanded by good generals possessing the highest tactical skill; and their archers were renowned. Yet in their case also defeat followed upon defeat, and not one single victory was gained. And yet in at least one of these battles, the battle of Kadesia, the Persians had a numerical superiority of two to one.

It is therefore evident that the sole cause of this succession of victories was that which has been stated, viz. that where the foe consisted of men all bent upon earning death and the joys of Paradise, the force thus attacked must, in the days before fire-arms were employed, inevitably be beaten (however brave and well led) unless it had a numerical superiority of at least three to one.¹ In none of these battles had the Romans that superiority; so far from this being the case, a preponderance of force was almost invariably possessed by their opponents. It was no wonder therefore that the

¹ The case of the battle of Kadesia appears to show that this is the lowest proportion which was necessary in order to avoid defeat.

Romans, who we are able to see fought stoutly,¹ were beaten in battle after battle, or that the Mahomedans swept along in the uninterrupted career of conquest which has amazed the world; while to disparage the Romans for this result (as has been done universally) shows an entire want of acquaintance with the whole conditions of the case, and is highly unjust to them.

Mahomedan conquest of Syria and Palestine. The Roman forces in Syria upon being thus attacked offered a resistance which caused the four Mahomedan generals to combine their forces, and in July 634 the first important battle of the struggle with this new foe was fought at Ajnadein, south of Jerusalem, the Roman army being commanded by Heraclius' brother Theodorus who had so distinguished himself in the campaigns against Persia, especially in that of the year 626,² and the Arab forces being led by the fierce Khalid, surnamed "the Sword of God," who had gained a great reputation in three recent battles against the Persians.³ The battle appears to have been decided in a single furious charge, the Romans being swept away and overthrown with great slaughter. Shortly after this battle was fought the first Khalif, Abu Bekr, died, and was succeeded as Khalif by his strong supporter the great Omar, a stern religious enthusiast, who was bent upon conquering Palestine and taking Jerusalem, an attempt, however, which was not made for several years.

Heraclius now saw that this Arabian enemy was more formidable than he had supposed, and he summoned troops from all the adjacent provinces to form a fresh army, recalled his brother Theodorus, and gave the command to the Armenian general Baanes. No doubt had he been younger he would at this juncture have again broken the custom that the emperor should not himself lead his army in the field; but Heraclius was now sixty-one, and his health was seriously impaired. Unable therefore to take command in person in a new campaign, he collected 60,000 men and sent them to join Baanes, who concentrated his force at Pella, south of the lake of Gennesaret, where in January 635 he was attacked

¹ See p. 451.

² Page 418.

³ See pp. 449-450.

by Khalid and defeated.¹ Falling back northwards towards Damascus Baanes fought another battle at Marjasuffar in February 635, but was again defeated, and driven back to Damascus. The Khalif Omar now selected one of his most esteemed companions, Abu Ubeida, to command in Syria, Khalid acting as his second-in-command.

Capture of Damascus. Having in the beginning of the year 635 gained these two victories, the Saracens advanced upon Damascus, which was besieged, but was bravely defended for seven months, the garrison having lately been strengthened by a reinforcement of 5000 men. Upon Damascus being besieged Heraclius rapidly collected another force and despatched it to attack the besieging army, but the latter was in great strength and easily defeated the relieving force, and in September 635 Damascus, after an heroic defence, capitulated to Ubeida. Khalid, who had forced an entrance in an opposite quarter of the city, and begun a general slaughter, was furious that any terms should be made. "No quarter," he cried, "no quarter to the enemies of God; the unbelievers shall all perish by the sword." But Ubeida threw himself between the trembling citizens and the furious troops of Khalid, and adjured the latter in the name of God to respect his promised word; and for a time he was obeyed. A large number of the citizens, including many priests, women, and children, preferring exile to the acceptance of Mahomedanism, obtained permission from Ubeida to leave the city, and set out with the intention of reaching the coast and sailing towards Antioch. But the ruthless Khalid, four days after they had departed, declared they had received sufficient clemency, pursued them with 4000 cavalry, and overtaking them massacred them all.

Battle of the Yermuk. During the winter of 635 Heraclius by great efforts raised another army, and placed it under Theodorus Trithurius, with Baanes as his second-in-command. The Saracens had meanwhile spread over the northern part of Syria, and taken in succession Emesa, Chalcis, Beroëa, and Antioch. But on the advance of the Roman army, Ubeida and Khalid, feeling that their forces were too scattered, retired towards Palestine, and concentrated their army near the gorge of Wacusa, on the river Yermuk, which flows into

¹ See Map C.

the Jordan some miles south of the lake of Tiberias. There on the 20th August 636 the battle was fought which decided the fate of Syria. It was a fiercely contested battle. The Saracens were led by the redoubtable Khalid; and the character of their attack is indicated by the fact that the commander of the army, Abu Ubeida, posted himself in the rear to urge his forces on to the charge, giving the command of the actual attack to his second-in-command, the fierce Khalid. Nevertheless the issue was for a long time doubtful, the Saracens being again and again mown down as they charged by the terrible fire of the Armenian archers. By the evening, however, the quivers of the latter were empty; Ubeida had been waiting for this, and another furious charge decided the day, the greater part of the Roman army being destroyed in the Wacusa gorge, where immense slaughter took place. After gaining this victory the Saracens took Tiberias and various towns on the coast, and prepared to advance upon Cæsarea and Jerusalem.

Meanwhile Heraclius, now sixty-two years old, Serious illness of Heraclius. finding it hopeless under existing conditions to stop this Mahomedan whirlwind, which had entirely destroyed three of his armies in succession, determined to return to Constantinople,¹ and raise a larger army to be placed under his son Constantine, who had reached the age of twenty-five. But before leaving Syria, being determined that the sacred relic of the True Cross should not again fall into the hands of unbelievers, he made a rapid journey from Edessa to Jerusalem (notwithstanding that the Saracens were in the neighbourhood),² carried away the Cross with him, and travelling from thence to Chalcedon arrived there in a most peculiar state. We are told that so shattered in health was he that he had developed a disease almost like a sort of hydrophobia, having so great a fear of the sight of water that he was afraid to venture upon even such a short voyage as the crossing of the Bosphorus. At length this difficulty was overcome by making a wide bridge of boats, which was covered

¹ He was probably strongly pressed to do so by Martina, who was with him, and was much disturbed about his health.

² How he managed to evade the Saracens is not clear; he may have gone part of the way by sea, if the peculiar illness which shortly afterwards seized him at Chalcedon had not as yet been developed.

with earth, and hedged with thick branches, making it like a lane from which the water was invisible; along this the emperor rode, and in this manner crossed the Bosphorus. Upon reaching Constantinople, he deposited the Cross with much solemnity in the cathedral of St. Sophia, where thenceforth it remained.

Capture of Jerusalem. Jerusalem was invested by the Saracens shortly after Heraclius left it, and stood a long siege, but in 638 was forced to surrender. As the Mahomedan religion not only honoured the Jewish prophets, but also Christ (as the greatest of the prophets prior to Mahomed), the Khalif Omar came in person from Medina to take possession of the city, knelt at the shrine in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and inaugurated the erection of a great mosque, the Mosque of Omar, on the site where the Jewish Temple had stood. He treated the Christians of Jerusalem mercifully, did not compel them to renounce their religion, and required only that they should pay an annual tribute. Sophronius, the Pope of Jerusalem, was kindly treated by Omar, and conducted the latter through the holy places of the city, though the sight of Omar kneeling in his rough campaigning garb ("a much-worn coat of skins") at the shrine of the Holy Sepulchre caused Sophronius to exclaim in the Greek language not understood by Omar, "Behold the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet is come into the holy place." Sophronius died soon after this capture of Jerusalem by the Mahomedans.

Mahomedan conquest of Mesopotamia. Meanwhile Heraclius had been collecting another large army, ordering it to assemble at Amida, and in 638 he sent his son Constantine to take command of it, and to endeavour to recover Syria. Constantine advanced westwards into Syria, and laid siege to Emesa. Khalid hurried with an army from the north and Ubeida from the south to oppose him, and a battle against their united forces was fought by Constantine near Emesa in which the Romans were totally defeated. The Saracens having now finally gained Syria, in 639 invaded Mesopotamia; one after another Edessa, Constantina, Dara, and other cities were taken by them; and by the end of the year 639 the conquest of Mesopotamia was practically complete. What the loss of Meso-

potamia was to the Later Roman Empire may be judged from the fact that it is on record that at the time of its conquest by the Mahomedans it produced annually ten million tons of wheat and supported a population of six millions.¹ In the following year (640) Cæsarea, the last stronghold of the Romans in Palestine, which had stood a siege of several years, was also forced to capitulate.

Heraclius
unjustly
judged.

Historians have unanimously expressed surprise that Heraclius who had previously won so much military glory failed so entirely to withstand this Mahomedan invasion, and did not himself take command in the field against it. And they have attributed this to a lethargy similar to that supposed to have occurred in the earlier years of his reign.² But in the adverse judgment which they have thus formed regarding him they have failed to realize what such work as Heraclius was engaged upon in the years 622-628 is like, and its effects upon a man of his age. Heraclius was forty-eight when he started upon his first campaign against Persia, and he was fifty-four when he returned from the last of those campaigns. To a man of that age one campaign in the rough countries of Asia such as those where Heraclius was engaged is enough (unless he is a man of very exceptionally strong constitution) to age him severely;³ and Heraclius had been through, not one, but six such campaigns in succession. After the fourth of them he had invalidated those of his soldiers who could stand no more of these hardships, but he himself had continued to the end. And that it had told severely upon him there is ample evidence in the years that followed. He must have had a very strong constitution originally to have been able to go through the whole of these six campaigns at his age without breaking

¹ Under the blighting influence of Mahomedan rule it now supports only one million inhabitants.

² Page 397.

³ Upon men over forty years of age the effect of a campaign in the rough countries of Asia such as those in which Heraclius was engaged is very severe. After only two years' campaigning in Afghanistan in the years 1878-1880 all the officers holding the higher commands in the army thus employed looked at least ten years older than they had done before the campaign began (many having become grey-haired), not to mention those who during that time had had to be invalidated. Yet Heraclius was still older than this.

down; but he was no longer strong at any time after he reached the age of fifty-four, and when the Mahomedan invasion came upon Syria he was sixty-one, and also seriously out of health, far too seriously, as the shattered state in which he eventually arrived at Chalcedon shows, to have been able to dream of commanding an army in war.

It is therefore not in any way surprising that Heraclius did not take command of his army in person, while the view that this was due to lethargy is highly unjust to one who at a younger age and when in possession of health had shown himself so capable in war. Moreover he certainly displayed the very reverse of lethargy in the exertions which he made during the years 634-638 to raise one army after another to oppose the Mahomedans. Nor is it in the least likely that even had Heraclius been able to take command personally in this campaign in Syria he could have changed defeat into victory in view of the character of these Mahomedan attacks, against which neither bravery on the part of the troops nor tactical skill on the part of the commander could have availed unless the numbers on the Roman side had been treble those of their adversary, a condition which the numbers of the latter made practically impossible.

But military affairs were not the only affairs which at this period claimed the attention of Heraclius. The Monothelite controversy. Not long before the Mahomedan invasion took place another great controversy in religion had begun which was at its height during the years 628-638, becoming a cause of serious difficulties. It was the last phase of the discussion which had continued through so many generations as to the union of the Divine and human natures in Christ, and grew out of that Eutychian heresy which had been condemned by the Fourth General Council.¹ This new controversy had been going on all the time that Heraclius was prosecuting his war against Persia, and was originated by Sergius, the capable and energetic Pope of Constantinople. Whereas the Fourth General Council had laid it down to be the Catholic faith that there were in Christ two whole and perfect *natures* (a Divine nature and a human nature), united in the one Person of Christ as "Perfect God and perfect man," Sergius

¹ Chap. XVIII, p. 89.

propounded a theory that there were not both a Divine and a human *will* in Christ, but only one will, the Divine will, which used the humanity of Christ as its agent. The Catholics pointed out that this was tantamount to re-opening the whole controversy closed by the decision of the Fourth General Council, since Christ's human nature would be imperfect without a human will, which is a free will; that the whole teaching of Christ's life was in fact the voluntary surrender of this human will to the will of the Father; and that two whole and perfect natures implied both a Divine and a human will; a mystery of course, but one which was an integral part of the mystery taught "from the first," and laid down at the First General Council as being the Catholic faith, namely, that Christ was both perfect God and perfect man.

Nevertheless Heraclius supported the views of his friend and adviser Sergius, and the erroneous theory of the Pope of Constantinople was during the years 628-634 taken up also by Athanasius, the Pope of Antioch,¹ Cyrus, the Pope of Alexandria,² and Honorius I, the Pope of Rome, while the document in which the latter replied when interrogated by Sergius as to his views on the question continued for a century after Honorius' death in 640 to be the main support of this error, called the "Monothelite" (one will) belief. Thus four out of the five Popes had surrendered themselves to a doctrine which was in reality entirely opposed to the fundamental basis of the Catholic faith. One of the five only, Sophronius, the Pope of Jerusalem,³ "stood, like another Athanasius, alone against the world," firmly refusing to give his adhesion to this new doctrine. To oppose it he in 635 wrote his celebrated "Synodical letter,"⁴ which pointed out that this doctrine of Monothelitism was contrary to the Catholic faith as defined by the Fourth General Council, and steadfastly adhered to this up to his death in 637 soon after Jerusalem was taken by the Mahomedans.

¹ The last Pope of Antioch, that city being taken by the Mahomedans two years later, in 636.

² The last Pope of Alexandria, that city being taken by the Mahomedans five years later, in 639.

³ The last Pope of Jerusalem, that city being taken by the Mahomedans in 637.

⁴ *Epistola synodica.*

The *Echthisis*. Whether Heraclius thought, like Justinian, that an imperial edict on the subject would be as effective as the decision of a General Council it is impossible to say, for the circumstances of the time, with the Mahomedans rapidly spreading over the countries of the East, made the assembly of a General Council impossible at this period. To set the question at rest he in 638, shortly before the death of Sergius, drew up with the assistance of the latter (who appears to have written nearly the whole of it) an edict called the *Echthisis*, in which Heraclius laid down that the doctrine of one will in Christ was the correct one, and ordered it to be observed.¹ As might have been known, this had no more effect than Justinian's edict had had, and the Monothelite controversy continued to rage for the whole of the next forty-two years, until set at rest by the decision of a General Council.²

The Slavs become feudatories of the empire. About the year 638 Heraclius made an important agreement with the Slavs. After the repulse of the attack by the Avars upon Constantinople in 626 the Avar monarchy began to decline in power, whereupon the Slavs shook off the state of subjection in which they had been held by the Avars, and entered into relations with the emperor. Heraclius, accepting the existing position in the Danube provinces,³ concurred in the occupation by the Slavs of Dalmatia, Lower Pannonia, and the greater part of Mœsia, and in return the Slavs agreed to become feudatories of the empire, and to pay tribute.

Latin versus Greek, and the term "Byzantine." By the time of Heraclius the silent revolution as regards Latin versus Greek as the distinguishing note of the Later Roman Empire⁴ had been completed. It had been assisted to a large extent by the change of policy⁵ inaugurated by Tiberius II in 578-582; though that change was itself caused by the steady spread of Greek influence. In the time of Justinian Latin had been declared by him to be the proper official language; and in the mosaic picture in San Vitale at Ravenna Justinian and his officials

¹ Technically speaking it was not an edict, but rather a creed pronounced by authority.

² Chap. XXV, p. 504.

³ Page 394.

⁴ Chap. XXI, pp. 199-200.

⁵ Chap. XXIII, pp. 336-337.

and Theodora and her ladies wear the style of dress customary in Rome. But by the time of Heraclius Greek had gradually ousted Latin even as the official language; while in mosaic representations after his time the emperors are depicted in the Greek style of dress. Nevertheless the inhabitants of the Later Roman Empire (the *Romaioi*) indignantly rejected in all ages the appellation of "Greeks." And to the very last day of the existence of Constantinople as a Christian city they steadfastly and successfully maintained their right to the appellation of Romans, to which they asserted that they alone had a just right. As therefore it appears incorrect to use the term "Greek" regarding them, it seems best after the time of Heraclius, in any cases where the term "Roman" would create confusion, or be otherwise inconvenient, to use the term "Byzantine"; though always with the proviso that the Byzantines and the Byzantine army had none the less a just right to be called Romans and the Roman army, since they belonged to that portion of the empire of Constantine which alone survived, and which had its capital at "New Rome."

Mahomedan
conquest of
Persia.

While the Mahomedans had been carrying on their contest against the Later Roman Empire in Syria and Palestine they had also simultaneously attacked Persia. In the spring of 633 they advanced towards the former site of Babylon, led by the bloodthirsty Khalid. The Persians rapidly suspended their dissensions and placed the crown upon the head of Yezdegerd, the grandson of Chosroes II. Khalid sent him a haughty message, saying, "Accept the faith of Islam, or thou wilt rue it; for a people come against thee who love death as thou lovest life." A fierce battle was fought near Hira (a few miles from the future Kufa) which received the name of the "Battle of the Chains," because the Persians used chains to increase the solidity of their entrenchments, and even bound themselves together with ropes so that they could not be put to flight, being determined to perish rather than be vanquished. They were however defeated with great slaughter. This was followed in May 633 by the "Battle of the River of Blood," at which 70,000 Persians are said to have been slain. In January 634 there

took place another great struggle at the battle of Firdah, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates near the borders of Mesopotamia, at which Khalid won a third victory, the number of Persians slain being declared to have been 100,000.¹ Khalid then proceeded to Syria to lead the Mahomedan forces in that country, the command in Persia being taken by Motanna, almost the equal of Khalid for ruthless fanaticism and desperate courage, and in October 635 was fought the important battle of Boweib (near Kufa), at which for a fourth time the Persians were defeated. In May 637 there followed the important four days' battle of Kadesia, under the personal command of the Khalif's newly appointed vicegerent, Sayad Abi Wakkas. The accounts differ widely as to the numbers on each side at this battle, which gave the Saracens the possession of the Persian capital, Ctesiphon, some accounts placing the number on the side of the Saracens at 60,000 men, others placing it as low as 5000. But on one point all are agreed, viz. that the Persians numbered at least double the Saracens. Nevertheless the latter again won a complete victory, with the result that they captured, plundered, and then destroyed Ctesiphon, Yezdegerd and his nobles flying to the mountains of Iran. The spoil taken was immense, and each of the soldiers of Abi Wakkas received as his share a sum equal to £312 sterling, a forcible incentive to more adherents to join the cause of Islam.

This succession of victories gained by the Saracens over the Persians at the same time that they were gaining similar victories in severely contested battles against the Romans in Syria and Palestine show what an immense power of attack they developed during these years of their first setting out upon their long path of conquest. In July 638 another victory, at the battle of Yalulah, gave the Saracens all the western half of Persia; and finally in 641 the crowning victory of Nehavend ("the victory of victories") made the whole of Persia theirs, the Persians being made on pain of death to accept Mahomedanism. A small number of the Fire-worshippers² escaped down the Persian

¹ The Arabian records of these battles magnify them to the utmost, while the accounts supplied by Byzantine writers err in the opposite direction, seeking to minimize the deeds of the Arabs.

² Whom the Mahomedans called Guebres (infidels).

Gulf to the island which is now Bombay, where they still exist under the name of Parsees. On the opposite bank of the Tigris to Ctesiphon was built the Mahomedan capital of Kufa (Bagdad);¹ and subsequently on the united stream of the Tigris and Euphrates, near the head of the Persian Gulf, they erected their other important city of Basra (or Bussora), which ere long became a great centre of commerce. Omar after founding Bussora despatched an army into Scinde, the westernmost province of India, and in a short time subdued the greater part of Scinde.

Mahomedan conquest of Egypt. Promises of Paradise if slain, and spoils such as those captured at Ctesiphon for those who survived, brought ever increasing numbers to the standard of Islam, Arabia, like a volcano in eruption, continuing to pour forth armies eager for similar victories, and in December 639 the general Amru led from thence another large army against Egypt. He was opposed by the Roman forces first at Pelusium, in January 640, then at Bilbeis, and a third time at Danin, but the Saracens were victorious on all three occasions. Amru then besieged Babylon,² which was taken after a few months' siege. From thence the Roman forces fell back towards Alexandria, fighting four battles on the way, in all of which they were again defeated. Finally Alexandria was reached, and in October 640 its siege was begun.

Efforts to save Egypt. Meanwhile Heraclius was not idle, and made every effort to save Egypt, the great granary of Constantinople. He sent in succession four generals to Egypt with reinforcements, and the steadfastness with which they fought the Mahomedans is shown both by seven successive battles having been fought in a year, and by the fact that of these four generals, John and Marianus were both in turn killed in battle, Marinus fought a severe battle and only just escaped with his life, while Manuel, the fourth general, defended Alexandria for fourteen months. Heraclius was now in his sixty-seventh year, and was grievously afflicted with a disease which was slowly killing him,³ but had he lived

¹ This was done in accordance with the special orders of the Khalif Omar that the new Mahomedan capital for Persia was not to be set up on the ruins of the Persian capital, but to be erected on a new site.

² Also called Misr, near Cairo.

³ Dropsy.

longer Alexandria might perhaps have been saved, as during the last two months of his life he was actively occupied in making preparations to send a large force for its relief; the disturbances however which ensued upon his death prevented the force from being sent.

Death of Heraclius. Heraclius died on the 10th February 641 at the age of sixty-seven, leaving three sons, Constantine by his first marriage, and Heraclonas and David by his second marriage. On the following day he was buried with much solemnity in the church of the Twelve Apostles, like so many of his predecessors. And in the great church which Constantine had built, with its twelve tombs in honour of the Apostles¹ and its gorgeous mosaic decorations, and which in three hundred years had become illustrious as the burial-place of so many emperors, by the side of Constantine the Great, Valentinian I, and Theodosius the Great, Arcadius the nonentity, and Justinian the law-giver, was laid the emperor who was honoured by all the people as the saviour of the empire from the yoke of Persia.

Character of Heraclius. In regard to the character which has generally been attributed to him Heraclius has suffered a good deal owing to the style of writers from whom our knowledge of him has to be drawn, viz. poets² and ecclesiastics,³ whose one idea of praise for a man whom all his contemporaries admired was to credit him with that kind of mystic exaltation which commended itself to them as the highest type of character. This has led historians to depict Heraclius as a man wanting in strength of character and mental power, a man in fact of the type described by M. Drapeyron.⁴ But the portion of Heraclius' life of which we know most is that covered by the years 622-628, during which he was engaged in campaigns in Cappadocia, Armenia, Albania, Azerbiyan, Media, and Assyria; and no man who has himself been through a campaign in any of the rough countries of Asia of similar

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XIII, p. 423. On its site now stands the Mosque of Mahomed II, "the conqueror."

² E.g. George of Pisidia, the writer of the *Heracliad*.

³ E.g. Theophanes and Nicephorus. They did not even live in the time of Heraclius, but wrote about the year 800; Nicephorus was Pope of Constantinople, and Theophanes a monk, noted for his austere mysticism.

⁴ Page 399.

character will believe for an instant that Heraclius was a man of the type thus described, or that he was not fully endowed with strength of character and mental power. Only, however, through such an experience is it possible to enter into all which tested the abilities of Heraclius during those eventful years of his life, to realize the difficulties which he encountered, the ability and strength of will necessary in order to overcome them, the military genius necessary in order to win the battles which he won, and the fortitude necessary in order to endure, not only the hardships, but the frequent depressing circumstances inseparable from a long series of severe campaigns in countries of this nature. Far from being wanting in strength of character, Heraclius shows himself as a man endowed with the fullest strength of character and ability, and also with a strong power of enthusiasm, without which qualities deeds such as he accomplished are not to be performed. His descendants for four generations sat on the imperial throne,¹ and three of them at least displayed this same quality of strength of character to a very marked degree.

The power of enthusiasm. Moreover it was the very quality which has been supposed by historians to be more or less a defect in Heraclius' character which was in reality one of the chief causes of his success. An impressionable temperament gave him the power of enthusiasm; and this enabled him, as such a nature always does,² to call forth in his soldiers a devotion to him which made them willing to endure sacrifices under his leadership such as no commander of a less sympathetic temperament could have obtained from them. Under any leader of the latter kind such experiences as the troops of Heraclius had to undergo during the years 622-628, in laborious campaigns in difficult countries, subjected to exceptional hardships, and constantly having to fight battles in which they were always overmatched, would in time have

¹ For genealogical table of the house of Heraclius see Appendix XV.

² This is in reality the most valuable gift that any man who aspires to command men can possess. Those commanders who have had it have always surpassed those who have been without it. Belisarius and Napoleon are examples of men who possessed it, and Wellington of one who lacked it, the latter suffering much through the want of it.

caused feelings of discontent and disaffection amongst the troops. Instead of this Heraclius' troops were devoted to him, both then and at all times.

His ability and popularity. But the strongest evidence of the great ability of Heraclius, as well as of the value of the sympathetic temperament which he possessed, lies in the fact that, whereas even an emperor like Justinian did not escape revolts and plots against his life, with Heraclius it was the reverse, and he remained during the whole of a thirty-one years' reign immensely popular, both with the people and with the army. That this should have continued the case even when towards the end of his reign serious defeats and large losses of territory were for six years taking place is truly remarkable, and shows upon what a firm foundation Heraclius' popularity rested. His reign of thirty-one years was almost entirely occupied, first in raising the empire from a state of the utmost maladministration and degradation, then in delivering it by his own personal courage and ability from the grasp of a formidable enemy, and then, notwithstanding failing health, in struggling manfully to defend it under conditions which for the time made success practically impossible. Throughout his long reign he displayed the finest qualities that a ruler can possess, qualities which were thoroughly appreciated by the people, and he deserves to be honoured as one of the greatest of the successors of Constantine.

CHAPTER XXV

EAST—THE EMPERORS CONSTANTINE III,
CONSTANS II, CONSTANTINE IV, AND
JUSTINIAN II.

WEST—THE FRANKS; BRITAIN; BIRTHDAY OF
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; MAHO-
MEDAN CONQUEST OF NORTH AFRICA.

641 — 711

FROM the time of the death of Heraclius the history of the Later Roman Empire is that of a long struggle of 800 years against this new Mahomedan power which had suddenly arisen,¹ that empire steadily shrinking in territory and strength, but bravely maintaining, often with glorious episodes, a struggle in which it was greatly overmatched, and dying at last in a blaze of glory.

In this long contest Constantinople was the fortress, not only of the Later Roman Empire, but of Europe, standing as the impregnable bulwark of Christendom against a foe determined to subdue all Europe to the religion of Islam, and steadily confronting this eastern attack during centuries when the western nations were feeble in strength, and when had it not been for the protection thus afforded that Mahomedan deluge would inevitably have poured over all Europe from the Bosphorus to the Irish Channel. Again and again the Mahomedan waves dashed themselves against this great fortress which the genius of Constantine had created, each fresh army eager to win that blessing said to have been promised by the Prophet, "*All the sins of the first army that takes Constantinople are forgiven.*" But century after century

¹ As well as from time to time against other foes from the north.

the golden cross still shone upon the dome of St. Sophia (like the standard waving over a beleaguered citadel), and each attack in turn was repulsed by generation after generation of those "Byzantines" upon whom scorn is often thrown for their elaborate ceremonial and luxury, and whose culture and refinement appeared contemptible to the uncultured nations of the West, but who, whatever their shortcomings in other directions have deserved for this long and steadfast fight the gratitude of Europe.

Nor is this the only ground upon which they have deserved that gratitude. All literature, culture, and art had been destroyed throughout the West by the flood of barbarism which in the 5th and 6th centuries had swept over Europe, even the little oasis of Ravenna preserving only a tiny remnant of it, which also was ere long almost submerged. And now a similar destruction had begun in the East, and as this Mahomedan torrent engulfed one after another of the eastern countries, Constantinople as the centuries went on became more and more the only abode of literature, culture, and art, and the solitary storehouse of all those products of civilization which, first the Greeks and then the Romans, had created. And the Byzantines by preserving these things through centuries when the western nations were unable to appreciate them, until the time came when they were able to do so, have on that ground also deserved the gratitude of Europe.

Constantine III. During the latter half of the 7th century darkness still continues to reign in the West,¹ and our attention therefore remains still drawn chiefly to the East where so much of importance was at this time taking place. Upon the death of Heraclius his eldest son, Constantine III, succeeded to the throne. But disturbances at once began in consequence of Heraclius having in his will desired that two of his four sons by Martina, Heraclius (or Heraclonas) and David, who took the name Tiberius, should have equal rights with Constantine, the supreme authority being exercised by the

¹ The great dearth of any authorities in the West is at its height throughout the 7th century, which was the most illiterate of all the centuries.

empress Martina. The latter was however opposed both by the people and the Senate (which body at this time manifested much strength), and while this disturbed state of affairs was continuing Constantine III, who was suffering from consumption, removed to his palace at Chalcedon, where in a short time he died, at the age of thirty, after a reign of only three months (May 641). Martina was accused of having poisoned him in order that her own sons might reign, but there is believed to be no truth in the charge.

Martina had ordered the army of Thrace to the capital to defend her cause; but the people refused to be ruled by a woman, and the general Valentine

brought the army of Asia Minor to Chalcedon to oppose her. To prevent civil war Heraclonas thereupon brought forward his nephew Heraclius, the eleven-year-old son of Constantine III, and crowned him as joint-emperor with himself and Tiberius, Heraclius on being crowned as joint-emperor taking the name of Constans II (Sept. 641). But a few months later, as Martina continued to be the centre of disturbances, the Senate, assisted by Valentine and his army, banished Martina and her sons to Rhodes, Martina suffering the cruel operation of having her tongue mutilated and her sons having their noses slit; the first instance of such a punishment being inflicted upon any member of the imperial family. Whereupon Constans, then twelve years old, was installed by the Senate and the troops as sole emperor (Aug. 642).¹

Martina's cruel fate was undoubtedly chiefly caused through the fierce enmity borne against her throughout her life by the Church. Though her marriage was recognized by the law of the State, the Church refused to acknowledge that she was a lawful wife, or that her children were legitimate, and opposed her on every occasion. All that we know about her is related by her bitter enemies, the ecclesiastics of the time, and it is not likely that we have been given the true picture. She was a thoroughly good wife to Heraclius throughout the twenty-eight years of their married life, and a strong assistant to him in all difficulties, while it is evident

¹ The accounts of these events during 641-642 which succeeded the death of the emperor Heraclius are very obscure and contradictory.

from his will that he considered she was the one person in the family able to rule the empire after his death. Confronted with unusual difficulties when that event occurred she yet made a brave fight, and it is no dishonour to her abilities that she was unable to overcome the combined force of the strong enmity of the Church and the resolute determination of the people not to be governed by a woman, while the cruel manner in which she was eventually treated shows the vindictive spirit of those whom she had to oppose. Her brave endurance of countless hardships in accompanying her husband throughout his arduous campaigns, the strong support which she gave him during twenty-eight years, the ability which she displayed, and her unswerving faithfulness show that she was a woman who deserves an honoured place among the empresses of the Later Roman Empire.

Meanwhile Alexandria, after heroically sustain-
Fall of Alexandria. ing a strenuous siege of fourteen months, in December 641 had been forced to surrender, the troops and the wealthiest of the inhabitants being withdrawn by sea. This loss of the capital of Egypt, the second city in the empire, caused chiefly by the disorganized state of affairs prevailing at Constantinople throughout the year 641, was a great blow. Upon the Mahomedans taking Alexandria the great Alexandrian Library, the largest and most celebrated of all the ancient collections of books, founded by the Ptolemies in the 3rd century before Christ, and said to have contained 700,000 volumes, was burnt by the orders of the austere Khalif Omar, who said that if these writings agreed with the Koran they were useless, and if they disagreed they were pernicious.¹ Omar

¹ It has been much debated whether this destruction of the Alexandrian Library, narrated by the learned Abulpharagius, really took place. Gibbon related it, but felt doubtful as to its truth. Dr. W. Smith, however, in his edition of Gibbon's History, remarks: "Since the time of Gibbon several new Mahomedan authorities have been adduced to support the authority of Abulpharagius respecting the burning of the Alexandrian library. . . . Among Oriental scholars, Professor White, M. St. Martin, Von Hammer, and Silv. de Sacy consider the fact of the burning of the library, by the command of Omar, beyond question" (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, IV, 338, footnote).

would not allow Amru to make Alexandria his capital,¹ and under his orders a new capital for Egypt was founded at Cairo ("the city of Victory"), where the mosque of Amru still commemorates the latter's conquest of Egypt. In 644 Omar was assassinated, and was succeeded as Khalif by Othman, the husband of two of the Prophet's daughters, a man of less austere temperament than Omar, but of less strength of character. In 646 a strong endeavour was made by the empire to recover Alexandria, a considerable force and a fleet of 500 ships being sent from Constantinople under command of Manuel, Alexandria's heroic defender during the siege. A battle was fought close outside the city, but the Romans as usual were defeated, and the Mahomedans then razed all the fortifications of Alexandria to the ground. In the same year a strong force was despatched from Constantinople against Muawiyah, the Mahomedan general in Syria, but it likewise was defeated, and the Mahomedans overran part of Asia Minor. At the same time Muawiyah, with a view to future operations by sea as well as by land, began the creation of a fleet.

Egypt being now conquered, the Mahomedans, who in fourteen years, besides their conquest of Persia, had gained Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, in 647 proceeded to invade the great province of North Africa, the conquest of which, instead of the rapid progress they had made hitherto, was to take them sixty years to accomplish. The two provinces of Egypt and North Africa were entirely separated by the intervening Libyan desert, stretching westwards from Egypt for some 800 miles, and all communication between Egypt and North Africa was by the Romans performed by sea. But the desert had no terrors for these children of Arabia, who, mounted upon their camels, and marching from oasis to oasis, traversed it without difficulty. This first invasion of North Africa was led by Abdallah, the foster-brother of the Khalif Othman, Abdallah being renowned as the bravest and most expert horseman of Arabia. Crossing the deserts of Libya and Barca with an army of between 40,000 and 60,000 men, he laid siege to Tripoli. The Exarch

¹ Possibly because he feared the imperial fleets. The Mahomedans appear for this reason always to have avoided choosing cities upon the sea coast for their capitals.

of North Africa, Gregory, advanced against him with an army which besides regular troops included a large number of Moorish auxiliaries, and is said to have reached a total of 120,000 men. Abdallah, abandoning the siege of Tripoli, advanced to meet him, and the armies met in the neighbourhood of Sufetula (now Sbeitla) about 150 miles south of Carthage. Gregory rejected with indignation a summons from Abdallah to accept the faith of Islam, and for a day or two indecisive combats took place. There followed a general engagement, Gregory's capable daughter, who had been trained to arms from her earliest years, fighting, richly dressed, by her father's side. But Gregory's army, notwithstanding its superior numbers, met with the usual fate; his troops were unable to withstand the fiery charges of the Saracens, the Roman army was defeated, Gregory himself being killed, and his daughter in the division of the booty became the spoil of an Arab of Medina, and to escape such a fate committed suicide by throwing herself from her camel as she was being conveyed across the desert. As a result of this defeat Sufetula and several adjacent towns fell into the hands of the Saracens, who after plundering them and destroying Sufetula retired again to Egypt laden with spoil, making no further attack upon North Africa for the next fourteen years.¹

Constans II. In 647, when he was seventeen, Constans took over the government and began to reign independently. And his very first act was a remarkable one. Constans II (641-668) is one of the most highly interesting characters among all the emperors of the Later Roman Empire, partly because of his independence of character and originality, partly because he stood so alone throughout his reign of twenty-seven years, and partly because of the clouds which surround him. Left an orphan at eleven years old, unassisted as he grew up by any advisers, at war with the Church in a matter (refusal to be dominated by the Church) wherein he was, according to our modern ideas, altogether in the right, hated by both sides in a religious controversy because he persisted in holding aloof from it and exercised his authority to suppress the strife, strong and inflexible, bravely holding an independent course on

¹ Page 478.

principles foreign to his age but in accord with our own, abstemious and blameless as regards the morality of his private life, and treading his way alone through life, he interests us all the more because we are permitted so few glimpses of his character and actions.

Even as a boy of eleven, when first made emperor by the Senate during a time of domestic turmoil, Constans, brought up amidst intrigues and danger, had shown that he was a boy of an unusually self-reliant character¹; and as he grew up he showed himself a strong ruler, possessing much ability, and remarkably free from the religious bigotry which prevailed among all around him. By the ecclesiastical writers of that and subsequent ages he has been represented as a cruel and odious tyrant, but this is now thought not to be a true picture of his character, and to be due to the deep offence which he gave by the line he took in matters of religion. The only writers of his time were ecclesiastics, and these writers markedly avoid giving us information regarding any actions of Constans' life except those which they can make use of in some way to blacken his character. Nevertheless we are able to see much in him which tells against the view of him which they desire us to accept. In fact we have to gather our opinion of Constans II, not only by what they relate, but also by what they avoid relating. It is noticeable, for instance, that though so much hated by them there is no single suggestion made against him of immorality in his private life; a remarkable fact in times when this accusation was almost invariably made against all who were obnoxious in matters of religion if there was the slightest pretext for such a charge.

Bold course
taken by
Constans.

In Constantinople in the 7th century religious matters occupied the forefront in all politics to an even greater degree than they had done in the 6th century, every man being labelled in political matters

¹ Even his change of name is an indication of his self-reliant disposition, showing his determination to stand upon his own merits, and not to gain any assistance from possessing the same name as his popular grandfather. His mother was Gregoria, the daughter of Nicetas, the cousin of Heraclius who had so ably assisted the latter to gain his throne, and it is unfortunate that we do not know any more about her; for presumably she must have had a strong character. She was evidently dead when Constans was eleven years old.

according to whether he belonged to the orthodox or unorthodox party in religion, and virulent animosity existing between the rival parties. The orthodox party, ever since the time of Justin I, had held the complete ascendancy,¹ and any emperor who did not favour that side was likely to have but a troubled reign. Moreover this position of affairs had gradually brought it about that the Church, instead of the position it occupied a hundred years earlier under the autocratic Justinian I, had begun to look upon itself as one of twin powers, the State and the Church, and was growing more and more to become the chief of these two powers and to exert a kind of domination over the emperor. The independent character of Constans revolted against this; and immediately upon taking over the government at seventeen he astonished all men by refusing to be thus dominated, and taking up a severely non-partisan position in the contest between the orthodox and unorthodox parties in religion.

This action was taken in connection with the controversy over the Monothelite doctrine, put forward in the reign of his grandfather Heraclius. Thirty-three years after Constans took this action that doctrine was authoritatively declared by a General Council to be a heresy. But it had not yet been declared so; on the contrary it had, as has been seen,² been adopted by a majority of those occupying the highest positions in the Church, and had been declared by the edict of Heraclius to be the correct belief. Those who had taken a prominent part in the question during the reign of Heraclius were all dead, but the controversy, by no means settled by the latter's edict, continued as vigorously as ever. Paul, the Pope of Constantinople, was a strong adherent of Monothelitism, and the majority of the eastern portion of the Church followed him in the matter.³ On the other hand in the West that doctrine

¹ Excepting during the eight years' orgy of Phocas, who had been placed on the throne by the Green faction (the unorthodox party in religion), and as a rule endeavoured to ingratiate himself with that side.

² Chap. XXIV, pp. 447-448.

³ This fact throws a flood of light upon the whole political history of the reign of Constans II, and fully accounts for the odium in which the latter was held in Constantinople, and for the distorted record of his character and actions which has come down to us, a record regarding which, as noted, historians have begun to feel doubt as to whether it may not have misrepresented Constans.

found little favour, and in 646 the Church of North Africa (which at this period was by far the most numerous and important part of the western portion of the Church) held a local Council which drew up a strong manifesto against the Monothelite doctrine.

His edict
The Type Constans was not, like his grandfather Heraclius, an adherent of the Monothelite doctrine; on the other hand he was bent upon suppressing controversy, which he saw was harmful to the State. He therefore took action in regard to it which showed his independence of character, and also, unfortunately for his popularity, showed all men that the State, rather than the Church, was his first consideration. In 647, as soon as he assumed the government, he to suppress this controversy drew up and promulgated his celebrated edict known as the *Type*, which became the cause of all the troubles of his reign. This ordered, under severe penalties, that none should speak of either one will or two wills in Christ, that the whole controversy should be buried, and that the doctrine existing before the strife arose should be maintained as if no such dispute had occurred.¹

This action was a remarkable one in a youth of only seventeen, while it was evidently solely due to Constans himself; for not only do we hear of no one as having been his adviser, but also all those around him were ardent adherents of one

¹ The edict took a thoroughly sound and sensible tone, and ran as follows: "Inspired by Almighty God, we have determined to extinguish the flame of this controversy, and will not allow it any longer to prey upon the souls of men. The Sacred Scriptures, the works of the Fathers, and the decrees of the Five General Councils are enough for us; why should men seek to define beyond these? Therefore no one shall henceforth be allowed to speak of one will and one operation, or of two wills and two operations in the Person of Christ. Any one transgressing this command shall, if a bishop, be deposed from his see; if a priest, from his clerical office; if a monk, shall be banished from his monastery and imprisoned. If he holds any dignity or office, civil or military, he shall be deprived of it. If he is a nobleman, all his property shall be confiscated; if not noble, he shall not only be beaten with stripes but further punished by perpetual banishment; in order that all men being restrained by the fear of God, and dreading the condign punishments with which we thus threaten them, may keep unmoved and untroubled the peace of the holy Churches of God."

side or the other, and would not have assisted him to produce a measure so disliked by both sides. It was a bold, honest, and statesmanlike endeavour to put an end to a controversy which was doing no good to mankind and was injuring the State; and it was an endeavour which only a strong and capable ruler would have conceived.¹ Supposing that the circumstances of the time, owing to the operations of the Mahomedans, rendered the assembly of a General Council of the Church impracticable, no better means could have been devised for bringing to an end a baneful discussion. Moreover Constans' religious attitude (expressed in his words, "The Sacred Scriptures, the works of the Fathers, and the decrees of the Five General Councils are enough for us; why should men seek to define beyond these?") was in accord with that moderate standard which commends itself to our modern ideas on the subject.

But edicts or laws of temporal rulers or parliaments upon questions of religion have the inherent flaw that a temporal power is thereby endeavouring to deal with a spiritual matter;² and though the edict of Constans did not express an opinion upon any point of doctrine it gave as much offence as if it had done so. His edict violently offended both parties in the strife. The Catholics declared that it implied that the one doctrine was as good as the other; which was not true, since the edict carefully abstained from any opinion on that point. They also declared that in drawing it up Constans had been guided by the Monothelite Pope of Constantinople, Paul. The Monothelites were no better pleased, asserting that by ordering a return to the position before the Monothelite doc-

¹ The very terms of the edict show that it must have been entirely Constans' own work, for no ecclesiastical adviser of that period (either Catholic or Monothelite) would have assisted him to draw up such a document.

² A great modern statesman once said: "Of all invasions into the domain of conscience, invasions on the part of the State are among the most dangerous and the most destructive" (W. E. Gladstone).

³ Some modern authorities, following these assertions of the Catholic party, have been led to make the same statement that Constans was guided by Paul, the Pope of Constantinople. But this cannot have been the case; for if the terms of the edict are read it will be seen that it could not have been drawn up by a Monothelite.

trine arose the edict favoured the Catholics. But the real gravamen of the offence in the eyes of both was the prohibition of controversy; for to the men of that age controversy upon matters of doctrine was as the breath of life, and to be compelled to exist without it an unbearable deprivation. The edict was felt by them to be such as might have been promulgated by a Trajan or a Hadrian; such an attitude on the part of a Christian emperor was held to be intolerable; Constans was stigmatized as "worldly-minded," and his edict was declared to be "impious." And since Constans, self-reliant and inflexible notwithstanding his youth, was not to be shaken by the odium which he thus earned, and steadfastly adhered to this attitude, forcing men if they engaged in controversy to do so secretly, he was throughout his reign detested by the whole ecclesiastical class and their adherents, and was looked upon by both parties in the controversy as an enemy; with the result that his character and deeds have been uniformly condemned by the writers of his own and subsequent ages, Constans being declared to have been a cruel, impious, and hateful tyrant.

Attacks by Penda upon East Anglia, Northumbria, and Wessex.

In the West at this time neither in Italy, Spain, or France, are there any events of importance, and our attention becomes drawn chiefly to Britain. It is remarkable how in the latter half of the 7th century languor, inertness, and feebleness seem to pervade alike the Lombards in Italy, the Visigoths in Spain, and the Franks in France and Germany, whereas in Britain the Anglo-Saxons never went through any such phase, and this latter half of the 7th century was one of their most vigorous periods. There the four kingdoms which had been converted to Christianity¹ were suffering many things from the three Pagan kingdoms, but chiefly from Penda, king of Mercia, whose kingdom stretched across Britain from the Wash to Chester,² and who still continued fiercely his war against the new religion. The year 642 in Britain was afterwards called the "unhappy year," owing to the victories gained by Paganism, the Christian kingdoms all suffering heavy blows. In that year (the same

¹ Chap. XXIV, pp. 434-435.

² Its capital was at Tamworth.

which saw Egypt and Persia conquered by the Mahomedans), Penda marched into East Anglia, defeated and killed its king, Sigebert, and then marched against Northumbria. Oswald, king of Northumbria, who on account of his fine character was greatly revered, opposed Penda at Maserfield in Shropshire (afterwards in memory of Oswald called Oswestry), and in the battle Oswald was killed, with his last breath exclaiming "Lord, have mercy upon the souls of my people."¹ Penda refused his body burial, and caused it to be exposed on stakes until it rotted. Penda then turned his arms against Wessex, inflicted a severe defeat upon that kingdom, and forced its king to renounce Christianity.

Oswald was succeeded by his brother Oswy,² the last of the Northumbrian *Bretwaldas*. For several years he suffered constant enmity from Penda, and after a time in order to put an end to the strife he, about the year 650, gave his daughter Alchfleda in marriage to Penda's eldest son, Peada. This, however, had little effect at the moment; Penda, refusing to renounce his long-standing enmity to Christianity, in 654 again attacked East Anglia and killed its king, Anna; and in 655 (though then eighty years old) he again attacked Northumbria, refusing the terms that Oswy offered, and declaring that nothing would satisfy him but the extinction of the whole nation. The battle between him and Oswy was fought between Doncaster and Ledstone, and was long and furious. Penda was totally defeated, and when at length he was driven into the river Aire and drowned, that river was said to have avenged five kings whom in succession he had slain in his war against Christianity. He was succeeded by his son Peada, Oswy as the result of his victory annexing a large part of Mercia. Peada, through the influence of his wife Alchfleda, in a short time accepted Christianity, and allowed a community from Lindisfarne to be established in Mercia,

¹ Owing to his having fought and died for the cause of Christianity, and to his much admired character, Oswald was canonized and is known as St. Oswald.

² Oswy married Eanfled, the daughter of Edwin and Ethelburga, who was born in the year that Edwin embraced Christianity (627). Oswy and Eanfled thus uniting the two houses who had so long contested the throne of Northumbria.

by which that kingdom was gradually converted; and to celebrate this event there was founded in 657 the monastery and church of Peterborough. The cathedral of Peterborough thus stands as a record of the conclusion of this prolonged and desperate conflict, of the conversion to Christianity of that powerful kingdom of Mercia which occupied all the central part of England, and of the honour due from all of English race to Northumbria for its long and steadfast fight to uphold the cause of Christianity.

Christianity re-established among the East Saxons. Meanwhile Sigberet, king of the East Saxons, visiting Oswy in Northumbria and seeing the work at Lindisfarne, had asked for a similar community to be established in his kingdom, and in 653 a mission under Cedd was re-established at London, he being appointed Bishop of that city in 654, and the East Saxons accepting Christianity. Thus by the year 657 six out of the seven kingdoms had at last become Christian, only the kingdom of the South Saxons still remaining Pagan.

Altered condition of the Church.

The Mahomedan whirlwind which had swept over all the south-eastern countries during the ten years 634-644 had made an immense change in the condition of the Church. Out of the five patriarchates, three, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, with all the dioceses subject to them, had been destroyed. Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt were all now Mahomedan countries. There remained only two patriarchates, Constantinople and Rome. The condition of these differed widely. The patriarchate of Constantinople, now the sole Eastern patriarchate, remained as heretofore, embracing all provinces and dioceses east of the Adriatic as far as Armenia; but the patriarchate of Rome, the Western patriarchate, had been reduced by the circumstances of the time to Ravenna,¹ Rome, Genoa, and Naples, with Sicily and Sardinia. Neither the Church of the Visigoths in Spain, nor the Church of the Franks in Gaul acknowledged any other authority than that of their kings, and to a still greater degree was this the case as regards the

¹ Even Ravenna a few years later was separated from the jurisdiction of the Roman patriarchate (p. 481).

Lombards in Italy. North Africa also belonged nominally to the western patriarchate, but when fifty years earlier Gregory the Great had attempted to exercise a jurisdiction over it exceeding his due authority,¹ the North African Church had violently repudiated that jurisdiction, and since then no successor had attempted to assert the same.

Depressed
state of the
Roman see.

Although, however, the western patriarchate had become thus reduced, it had been demonstrated by Gregory the Great that it was still possible for the holder of the office of Pope of Rome to exercise considerable influence with the kings of the western nations in his vicinity. But during the intervening forty-five years since the death of Gregory the Great no man had held that office who possessed a character such as enabled him to exercise any influence of this kind. So that the Popes of Rome, with jurisdiction dwindled to such small proportions, and without any supplementary influence of the kind that Gregory had wielded, saw themselves ever more and more circumscribed in authority and prestige. But however reduced might be the condition of the Roman see, one thing remained quite undiminished, viz. its intense jealousy of Constantinople and all its works.² The outlook from the time-worn palace of the Lateran might be truly desolate; but the lower the Roman see sank in condition the fiercer grew its jealousy of its prosperous rival. Rome as a city might be little more than a heap of ruins in the midst of a desolate waste ravaged by prowling Lombards, while Constantinople as a city grew ever more magnificent; Rome as a patriarchal see might wield authority only over a few half-depopulated towns, while the patriarchal see of Constantinople ruled over unnumbered flourishing cities; but the greater the contrast grew, the more fixed grew the determination of the Roman see to exert a vehement opposition to everything that emanated from Constantinople.

Action of Pope
Martin I.

In 649, when Constans was nineteen Martin I was elected as Pope of Rome. He was evidently a man full of more than an ordinary amount of Roman self-esteem, and also he evidently altogether failed to appreciate the resolute character of the youth of nineteen who occupied the imperial throne. Martin I, shortly after

¹ Chap. XXIII, p. 364.

² Chap. XXIII, p. 341.

his election, ignoring entirely the emperor's edict prohibiting discussion of the subject, proceeded to put forward views in opposition to those which had been enunciated by his predecessor Honorius I,¹ condemned the Monothelite doctrine, and convened a local Synod at the palace of the Lateran, which thereupon anathematized Sergius, Pope of Constantinople, Cyrus, Pope of Alexandria, Athanasius, Pope of Antioch, the *Echthesis* of the emperor Heraclius, and the *Type* of the emperor Constans, "together with all receivers and defenders of the same." It is very significant that we here find the law which condemned controversy held in equal detestation with that which enunciated a doctrine to which those concerned objected. The cool effrontery of a mere local assembly of ecclesiastics, gathered from two or three towns entirely dependent upon the protection of the emperor's troops to preserve them from being absorbed by the Lombards, in anathematizing opinions promulgated by much higher authorities in the Church, also the edict of the emperor's grandfather, and also the edict of the reigning emperor forbidding them to discuss the question, shows the height to which the Roman see was ready to go in self-complacent assumption. An additional aggravation of the offence was that Martin was considered to be uncanonically Pope, his election not having been confirmed by the emperor, an indispensable part of every valid election of a Pope in the 7th century.²

Constans, who was about to start on the first of his campaigns against the Mahomedans, was placed in a difficult position by this action of Martin I. He could scarcely pass by, not only the re-opening of a controversy which he had sternly prohibited from being re-opened, but also the deliberate defiance of his authority in this insolent condemnation of his edict. On the other hand if he took action to bring Martin I to punishment for so flagrant a disobedience of a law purposely devised to keep the peace between the antagonists he would incur the hatred of every Catholic in his empire. The difficulty was all the greater in that the doctrine maintained by

¹ Martin I was not the immediate successor of Honorius I, but was the third in succession to the latter.

² See also Chap. XXIII, p. 362.

Martin I and the synod at Rome was that with which Constans himself concurred.

Nevertheless Constans was too strong a ruler to permit his authority to be defied in this manner. Trial and banishment of Pope Martin I. Accordingly the Exarch of Ravenna was ordered to arrest Martin I and send him to Constantinople to be tried. There were various delays, the Exarch having to proceed to Sicily to repel an attack of the Saracens and dying there, and a new Exarch having to be appointed, but eventually in 653 Martin I was arrested and sent to Constantinople for trial, where after various delays on the way he arrived in 654. He was not tried (as the Catholic writers have endeavoured to make it believed) for promulgating a particular doctrine, but was tried on a charge of conspiring against the emperor's authority. He was declared guilty, and was sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted by Constans to banishment to the Crimea (the punishment which the edict had pronounced in the case of those who should re-open the controversy), and there in 655 the hardships and the rigours of the climate caused Martin's death. The Catholics of course looked upon him as a martyr,¹ and to support this view the ecclesiastical writers have embellished the account of his arrest, journey, imprisonment, and trial with various details intended to show that he was cruelly treated, but when these are examined and stripped of their palpable exaggerations it does not appear that he was treated with exceptional harshness.

With the same object these writers have maintained that he was punished for enunciating the orthodox doctrine that there were both a Divine and a human will in Christ. But this view of Martin's arrest and punishment is not in accordance with the facts. Constans had no quarrel with that doctrine (which he himself held); but he had promulgated a law that the question should not be discussed, from either side; this law Martin I had not only deliberately contravened but also had done so in a manner which was a flagrant defiance of the emperor's authority; and it was for this that he was

¹ He has in later years been canonized in the Roman Church as St. Martin I.

arrested and banished.¹ It was impossible that Martin I or any one else could be permitted to assemble councils to publish decisions calling down curses upon laws promulgated by the ruling authority of the empire. Constans' error was not in arresting and banishing Martin I, but in thinking by an edict to keep the men of that age from controversy. Having once published such an edict he was right to insist on its being obeyed; and when it was disobeyed in the manner that it was on this occasion (not even by a letter or document put forward by Martin I, but by the public assembly of a synod and the publication of such a decision), Constans could do no less than he did unless he intended to abdicate. The whole matter, however, of course still further increased the odium with which Constans was regarded by the entire ecclesiastical class.²

Constans' rigidly non-partisan attitude has had a peculiar result. While his command that all should return to the *status quo* before the Monothelite doctrine arose amounted (as the Monothelites had said) to a prohibition of Monothelitism, and while the Catholics declared that his edict implied that the one form of faith was as good as the other, and condemned him accordingly, and still more bitterly after his punishment of Martin I for action which was in reality rebellion, the fact that the only authorities who supply records of Constans' reign were ecclesiastics and gave expression to all the hatred of him felt by the Catholics on the above grounds, has caused most modern historians to write of him as being a Monothelite, and to represent all his actions as those of a mere partisan. But a study of the edict which caused all the troubles of his reign completely refutes this idea; for no Monothelite could have

¹ Even modern historians have been led by the ecclesiastical writers to look upon Martin I as having suffered for maintaining the orthodox doctrine and condemning what was afterwards declared a heresy. This however obscures the plain issue, which is as has been stated.

² It is difficult to determine how far the people agreed with the detestation in which Constans was held by the ecclesiastical class, the latter being the only writers of the time. The total absence of any rebellions against Constans looks as though the people did not regard him in the manner in which the ecclesiastics did.

drawn up that edict. Everything shows that the true view of the conduct of Constans II is that it was dictated by a rigid refusal to be a partisan in matters of religion, a principle which was new to the world, and which being altogether obnoxious to the men of that age caused him to be virulently hated by both parties.

The
Mahomedan
advance
arrested.

But while these matters engaged a certain amount of Constans' attention during the early years of his reign, they were not his principal concern. His chief attention was devoted to military affairs. From the time that in 647 he took over the government his main concern was the endeavour to arrest the Mahomedan flood which during the latter years of his grandfather's reign and his own minority had deprived the empire of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, and was still sweeping forwards. And in this endeavour Constans was remarkably successful, bringing the Mahomedan advance almost to a complete standstill. In 652 he led an expedition in person to prevent the Mahomedans from gaining Armenia; and though owing to local disturbances they at length gained a footing in Armenia, and though in 654 they captured the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, their conquests were small, and they gained no permanent advantage of importance so long as he reigned. In 655 Muawiyah, the Mahomedan commander in Syria, prepared a powerful naval expedition to attack Constantinople. Constans, then twenty-five, fitted out a fleet, took command of it himself, and sailed for the coast of Lycia, where a great naval battle ensued at Phœnix. The Romans were defeated, Constans narrowly escaping with his life; but though defeated he inflicted sufficient loss upon the Mahomedans to put an end to their project of besieging Constantinople.

Mahomedan
dissension.

In 656 the Khalif Othman was assassinated in a rebellion fomented by Ayesha, the capable and ambitious widow of the Prophet. Regarding who should be his successor a serious dissension arose. Ever since the death of Mahomed in 632 a considerable party among the Mahomedans had considered that his proper successor should be his son-in-law, the brave, religious, and simple-hearted Ali,

who had married the Prophet's daughter, Fatima.¹ And upon the death of Othman this party insisted that Ali should succeed to the Khalifate, as he should rightfully have done when Abu Bekr was chosen. The rival party chose Muawiyah,² and a struggle for the Khalifate ensued between Ali and Muawiyah, which resulted in a double Khalifate during the next five years, Ali establishing himself as Khalif at Kufa in Persia, and ruling Persia, Khorassan, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Egypt, while Muawiyah established himself as Khalif at Damascus, ruling Syria and Palestine. Thenceforth there took place the permanent division of the Mahomedans into two sects, the Shiahs and the Sunnis, the former of whom refuse to recognize the first three Khalifs, and look upon Ali as the first Khalif.³ The Shiahs constitute the majority of the Mahomedans in India and Persia, the Sunnis (considered as the orthodox Mahomedans) being dominant in the Ottoman Empire, Turkestan, Afghanistan, Arabia, and Africa.

The double Khalifate did not last long. In January 661 Ali was murdered at Kufa. Thereupon his adherents chose his elder son Hassan, the grandson of the Prophet, to succeed him; but Hassan cared even less than his father Ali for rank and power, and Muawiyah soon persuaded him to resign his claims, and became himself sole Khalif. Muawiyah removed the capital from Medina to Damascus, establishing the Omeyyad dynasty, and in 669 managed to get Hassan poisoned. He entirely altered the character of the Khalifate, not only by changing it from being an elective to a hereditary office, but also by the change from its early simplicity and absence of ceremonial to the luxury and magnificence which he inaugurated at Damascus.

As the Mahomedan conquests extended a new policy was gradually developed. While the sovereignty of the Mahomedan power still continued to be spread by the sword, conversion of the conquered peoples to Islam became less and less carried out by that

¹ Chap. XXIV, p. 436.

² Muawiyah was descended, like Othman, from Omiya, the head of a collateral branch of the Prophet's family, and his descendants became known as the Omeyyad branch.

³ The Shiahs, instead of "Khalif" prefer to use the title "Imām," as being the term used in the Koran.

method. The spirit of Khalid and Motanna was gradually replaced by a policy which had a wider political horizon. Instead of the two alternatives, death or Islam, between which the conquered had had to choose in the earlier years of the Mahomedan advance, a third alternative was by degrees added. It became recognized that it was more advantageous, both to the strength of the Saracen power and to the extension of the Mahomedan religion, to make those who would not accept the faith of Islam pay a heavy tribute towards the support of the Mahomedan government than to slaughter them,¹ especially as the latter course would tend to render the conquered district a desert.

It is true that this third alternative was for a long time very irregularly applied. Where a city had made a fierce resistance, causing great losses to the Mahomedans, the only alternatives given when the city was at last taken would often be death or Islam. Again in many cases the third alternative though offered might be refused. The condition of accepting the rule of harsh and tyrannical Mahomedan governors, of occupying the position of a subject race under conquerors who in their daily conversation habitually applied terms such as "dog" and "infidel" to the conquered, and of paying a crushing tribute to support this hated dominion, was to many insupportable, death being preferred. But by degrees this third alternative came to be more and more adopted; so that after a time Christian communities were to be found existing, though in a much down-trodden condition, in the territories conquered by the Mahomedans.

Expedition of Constans against the Slavs. In 658 Constans, now twenty-eight, led in person an expedition against the Slavs. By the agreement made with Heraclius twenty years before² a large proportion of that race were now tributaries of the empire. But in 658 the Slavs settled in Mœsia had refused to pay their usual tribute. Constans therefore marched against them,

¹ So strongly did this become felt in course of time that two or three centuries later, in the Middle Ages, conversion of the conquered to Islam became looked upon almost with disfavour by the Mahomedan rulers, since on conversion of the conquered to that faith this payment of tribute ceased.

² Chap. XXIV, p. 448.

in a short campaign defeated them, took many of them prisoners, and compelled them to pay the tribute. As usual, the Sclavs had in these twenty years greatly increased in numbers, and the lands allotted to them in Mœsia had become too restricted for them. Constans therefore transferred a large body of them to Asia Minor, giving them lands there which had become vacant through the incursions of the Saracens and slaughter of the inhabitants, the Sclavs in return giving an agreement to assist in the defence of the districts given them.

There is a very important change in the administration of the empire about the middle of the 7th century which appears to have been the work of Constans II. This was the reversion to the older system which had prevailed before the time of Constantine's reorganization of the administration,¹ the rule of each district being now again placed in the hands of a governor exercising both civil and military functions, and the whole empire being for this purpose given a fresh subdivision, its various sections no longer being styled provinces or dioceses, but given the name of *Themes*. The number of these *themes* was at first apparently about twelve,² but their number gradually increased by further subdivision until in the 10th century there were twenty-nine. The question of exactly when this important change was made is obscure, and all the more so because we have so little information given us about Constans II in regard to any matters which will not provide opportunities for blackening his character; but that very obscurity is on this ground an additional reason for considering that this satisfactory change was his work, while it would appear from the few scattered allusions to the subject made by Theophanes and Nicephorus that this new arrangement was undoubtedly made in the reign of Constans II, the attacks of the Saracens rendering it desirable to make military defence the primary consideration in each district. At the same time it may be admitted that there are indications that such a change was beginning to a small extent in the latter years of the reign of Heraclius.

¹ Vol. I, Chap. XIII, p. 426.

² Six in Europe and North Africa, and six in Asia.

This system was one eminently adapted to the new conditions into which the empire had now entered. The former system whereby the governor of a district had no military authority had been one adapted to a state of peace; but the empire had now to be organized for a permanent state of defensive warfare; and for such conditions Constans' new division into themes, each with a governor who combined both civil and military functions, gave much increased power of resistance;¹ and it was probably chiefly by this means that Constans arrested the Mahomedan advance (p. 472).

Constans
executes his
brother
Theodosius.

In 659 Constans put to death his brother Theodosius (of whom we hear for the first time on this occasion), in consequence, it is said, of finding him engaged in a conspiracy. In their inveterate determination to tell us nothing about Constans except what will bring him into odium this is the only intimation given us by the ecclesiastical writers of the time that Constans had a brother. It is extraordinary that we should be told not a single word regarding this conspiracy or the part that Theodosius had taken therein, and we can therefore only suppose that the facts of the case did not furnish any material for vilifying Constans, while the bare fact being related in this manner did so. It would seem therefore that, severe though it was, the action of putting his brother to death was known for some reason to be justified. The detestation in which Constans was regarded by the whole ecclesiastical party makes their entire silence on the subject very marked. Nevertheless these writers did not fail to use the event still further to blacken Constans, asserting that apparitions of his brother came to him in his sleep reproaching him for the act, while they assert that it was owing to remorse, and in order to escape from these apparitions, that three years later he left Constantinople for Italy.²

¹ Regarding the military constitution of these themes, see also Chap. XXVI, p. 544.

² It has previously been noted (Chap. XX, p. 183, footnote) that with the writers of those ages there is no more favourite device for instilling an idea that a person was guilty of crime in regard to another person's death than to invent tales of subsequent remorse. The procedure is particularly base in this instance because the writers in question in stating that Theodosius was put to death had made no statement that there was any unjust reason for the deed.

Bavarian
line of Lombard
kings.

While in the East the publication of an edict against controversy, the banishment of a Pope of Rome for rebellion, the inauguration of a new subdivision of the empire, and campaigns against Saracens and Slavs had kept Constans II for fifteen years in ceaseless activity, in Italy little energy was shown at this period by the kings of the Lombards. In the Lombard kingdom from the time of the death in 652 of Rotharis,¹ who was succeeded by Thiudalinda's nephew Aripert, the throne of Pavia was held for about sixty years by a succession of kings of little importance. Upon the death of Aripert in 661 Grimuald, Duke of Beneventum (renowned in the Lombard *sagas* for the adventures of his early life), seized the throne from the two sons of Aripert, one of whom he murdered, and held it for ten years. He was the first Lombard king who united under his actual government both northern and southern Italy. At his death in 671 Perctarit, the elder son of Aripert, regained the throne, chiefly through the devotion of the Lombards to one belonging to the family of their revered queen Thiudalinda. Nothing shows so strongly the extraordinary character that Thiudalinda must have possessed as this feeling existing among the Lombards for a princess of another race even fifty or sixty years after her death, causing them to insist upon having a Bavarian line of kings upon the throne simply because they were of her family. Their very names—Aripert, Perctarit, Godepert, Raginert, Cunincpert, Liutpert—show their foreign origin. These Bavarian kings of the Lombards, however, manifested little or no ability, and under their rule Italy remained for the next forty years (671-711) in a more or less divided state, the powerful Lombard nobles who held different portions of it acting almost as independent sovereigns and being often at war with the central authority.

Departure of
Constans for
Italy.

In 662 Constans, now thirty-two, determined to make an effort to recover southern Italy from the Lombards, while also establishing himself in a better position to resist the Saracens. He had cowed the Slavs; he had made Asia Minor strong; the chief point

¹ Chap. XXIV, p. 425.

of danger now was in North Africa, against which province in the previous year the Saracens had again advanced, and were at this time besieging Tripoli. Established in strength in southern Italy he would be far better able to offer a successful resistance to the advance of the Saracens in the district round Carthage than he was at Constantinople. With this object, leaving his wife ¹ and his three sons (the eldest of them by this time about twelve years old) at Constantinople, and taking with him a considerable force, he sailed for southern Italy.

The ecclesiastical writers have made use of this action taken by Constans to prosecute their usual object in regard to him. They have suppressed the military side of the matter, have spoken of this departure for Italy merely as a removal to a more congenial locality, and have represented it as due to the detestation with which they assert he was regarded in Constantinople; ² and this theory has upon their authority become the accepted one among historians. But setting aside the fact that Constans was not the sort of man to be swayed by such a motive, the military necessities of the time and Constans' achievements in connection therewith, fully suffice completely to refute this theory. For the event thoroughly justified the step he took; not only did he reconquer for the empire a large portion of southern Italy, which remained for centuries afterwards part of the empire, but also he succeeded owing to this change of his base of operations in putting a stop during his reign to the advance of the Saracens in North Africa.

Moreover Constans had similarly left Constantinople on previous occasions to prosecute military operations; and his leaving his wife and children there, together with several of his actions during the first year or two that he was in Italy and Sicily, show that this step was not intended as an aban-

¹ Constans' wife was a daughter of the general Valentine, who in 641 had taken so prominent a part in his being placed on the throne. We do not know her name, the ecclesiastical writers not taking the trouble to mention it as it supplied no material for blackening Constans.

² Combined with the effect of the apparitions of his dead brother which they declare came to him in his sleep, and which the dates show must if the assertion is true have been occurring for three whole years.

donment by him of Constantinople, as these writers have represented, and that his intention was simply to carry out that which his ability in war correctly showed him was the most effective mode of coping with the military situation, and that he looked forward to returning when he had achieved this object. The fact that afterwards the resistance made by the Saracens in North Africa detained him year after year at his base of operations in Sicily does not affect the question of his original intention. The ecclesiastical writers in order to give point to their story have declared that as the vessel conveying Constans sailed away, and as the domes and towers of Constantinople began to recede from view, Constans looking at them shook his fist and spat at the imperial city. But, as Prof. Bury has pertinently remarked, "This attribution of an act of childish and indecent spite to a man of strength and ability like Constans, throws suspicion on the whole narrative."¹

Constans on reaching Italy landed with a large force at Tarentum in Apulia, part of the extensive Lombard duchy of Beneventum. This was the largest and most important of the Lombard duchies, and included the whole of southern Italy, except the district round Naples, still belonging, with a few other coast towns, to the empire. At this time Grimuald, the most powerful of the earlier Lombard kings, had the year before gained the throne,² and on becoming king had installed his son Romuald as Duke of Beneventum. The emperor at once advanced through Apulia, driving back Romuald's forces, and capturing city after city in Calabria and Apulia from the Lombards.³ At length he reached Luceria, situated on a lofty plateau and one of the most important cities of the duchy, which city owing to its situation was regarded as the key of Apulia.

¹ Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 299.

² Page 477.

³ The ecclesiastical writers, in their desire to represent Constans' departure for Italy as a mere removal to the latter country owing to his being hated in Constantinople, have made no mention of his taking any troops with him; it is however evident that he must have taken with him a large force, since immediately upon landing in Italy he proceeded to engage the Lombards in battle and to make important conquests.

Constans took it, and razed it to the ground. He then advanced against the capital Beneventum,¹ and laid siege to it. Beneventum made a brave defence, but after a time was reduced to great straits, and to save it from being captured Romuald offered to make terms. Meanwhile king Grimuald was advancing to his son's assistance, which induced the emperor to accept the terms offered by Romuald, receiving Romuald's sister Gisa as a hostage; whereupon Constans raised the siege and retired to Naples for the winter. In the spring of 663 Constans renewed the war, the terms agreed to by Romuald not having been carried out, and sent a force against Romuald under the general Sapor; but the latter was defeated at Forinum, which reverse, together with the fact that the Saracens were gaining successes in North Africa, caused Constans to abandon any further attacks upon Beneventum, and to content himself with the territory he had already gained.²

From Naples Constans in June 663 travelled to Rome, being met by Pope Vitalian and the clergy six miles from the city, which he entered on the 5th July, being the first emperor who had visited Rome since the fall of the western half of the empire 187 years before. There he attended services in the principal churches, and made valuable offerings to them. At the same time he ordered the removal from Rome of various things with which to enrich Constantinople, including all the ornaments of bronze which still remained in Rome, and the greater part of the bronze tiles of the roof of the Pantheon,³ which he despatched to Constantinople. This again shows that he had no intention of abandoning the latter city, but intended returning there when he had driven back the Saracen attack upon North Africa. After remaining in Rome rather less than a fortnight

¹ Beneventum lay on the Via Appia, forty miles north-east of Naples, was an important Roman colony as early as B.C. 268, and was the most important city in southern Italy after Naples.

² These conquests of Constans in Calabria and Apulia remained permanent possessions of the empire for many centuries.

³ He cannot have taken the whole of them, as generally stated, since part of them were used in 1633 to form the bronze canopy over the high altar in St. Peter's.

Constans departed again to Naples,¹ and soon afterwards, the Saracens having made a raid upon Sicily, he removed thither, drove out the invaders, and established himself at Syracuse, as being the most convenient centre from which both to control affairs in southern Italy and as a base of operations for the defence of North Africa. And from Syracuse during the next five years the affairs of Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, Sardinia, and North Africa were administered directly by the emperor himself.

While Constans had been fighting in southern Italy the Saracens had advanced into the district round Carthage, and after taking various towns had in the early part of 663 captured Carthage itself. Constans, therefore, having established himself at Syracuse, by means of heavy taxes imposed on his Italian and Sicilian subjects, prepared there a large army and fleet with which he attacked the Saracens in North Africa, and was completely successful. He retook Carthage, and all the towns which the Saracens had captured, and drove the latter entirely out of that part of the province, and though contests with them continued during the next four years round Tripoli with varying success, the Saracens gained no permanent footing in North Africa during his reign. In Asia Minor they in 663 invaded several of the southern provinces, carrying off many captives; in 664, under Abdul Rahman, the son of the renowned Khalid, they again did the same; while there were similar incursions in 666 and 667. But all these efforts partook of the nature of raids, and though they caused much suffering to the people of the districts concerned there was no loss of territory, and the strength of the empire was maintained.

Of the last four years of Constans' life (664-668) we are given scarcely any details, except that we are told by the ecclesiastical writer Agnellus that Constans made Maurus, the Archbishop of Ravenna, independent of the Pope of Rome, giving the Archbishops of Ravenna the privilege of receiving the *pallium* directly from the em-

¹ Constans' short stay in Rome, and his conduct while there, summarily refutes the declaration made by the ecclesiastical writers that in leaving Constantinople he had the intention of making Rome, instead of Constantinople, the capital of the empire.

peror.¹ The prosecution of the war in North Africa compelled Constans to impose much heavier taxes upon the people of Calabria, Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa than they had previously paid, which was looked upon as a great affliction. Thus Agnellus (who wrote in the 9th century), speaking of Constans' rule over the provinces directly administered by him, says, "He imposed such afflictions on the inhabitants or proprietors of lands in Calabria, Sicily, Africa, and Sardinia as never were heard of before. So that even wives were separated from husbands, and sons from their parents." The people of the countries concerned as usual did not realize that conquest by the Saracens which was thus prevented would have brought upon them tenfold greater miseries. It must also be remembered that Agnellus is writing from hearsay and nearly two centuries later.

Death of
Constans II. In the year 667 Constans, seeing no prospect of being able at present to quit his base of operations at Syracuse if he was to continue to keep the Saracens at bay, wrote, it is said, summoning his wife (whose name we are not told) and sons to come to him from Constantinople; but we are told that some of his (or her) friends, or the people, prevented this, though how they managed to do so is not recorded.² In any case his wife and sons did not go to him, and Constans died, as he had lived, alone. In July 668, when he was thirty-eight, going one day to the Baths of Daphne at Syracuse, he left the rest of his retinue outside, and went into the Baths accompanied only by one attendant, named Andreas, to wait upon him while he took his bath. The writer Theophanes states that as the emperor was about to smear his body with soap Andreas, seizing the vessel containing the soap, struck him on the head with it, and fled. When after a long time the emperor did not appear his other attendants went in to look for him, and found him lying dead.

¹ Agnellus, *Life of Maurus*, Chap. IV.

² The accounts are contradictory. Zonaras states, "Some of his friends prevented this. But others say that the people of the city did not permit them to go." Theophanes says in one place that the opposition came from the people, and in another place from two of the ministers. But if Constans really sent such an order it is hard to see how any such opposition could have prevented their going.

The reason for Andreas' act is unknown. Nor is it even known whether he intended to kill the emperor, or merely struck him in a sudden fit of anger; and he does not appear to have had any accomplices. Upon this tragic death of the emperor occurring certain persons (whose names are not recorded), as soon as the emperor's body had been buried, induced an obscure Armenian named Mizizios to assume the purple, the only reason assigned for their foolish action being "because he was very goodlooking and handsome." However the troops in southern Italy, Sardinia, and North Africa, not being swayed by his good looks, promptly united to overthrow him, and put to death both Andreas and Mizizios, and with them a certain Justinian, holding, it is said, a high position in Sicily. From which it is to be presumed that the latter had been concerned in the elevation of Mizizios.

Character. Of the character of Constans it is impossible to speak with certainty, so much obscurity on the subject having been created by the ecclesiastical writers on whom alone we have to depend. That he was a strong and capable ruler, endowed with much ability, and with extraordinary independence of character is obvious. His civil administration of the empire was evidently good, as there were no rebellions, while his ecclesiastical detractors have been unable to record any failure on his part in this direction; and his military administration certainly was highly satisfactory. Taking over the rule of the empire at a time when the Mahomedan onrush had for fourteen years been carrying everything before it, he stopped this course of uninterrupted conquest, and during his reign the Saracens obtained no important permanent advantage. Every part of the empire testified to his military ability; at a time of exceptional difficulty such as none of his predecessors except Heraclius had had to face, he made Asia Minor strong by his change in the government carried out by his system of the *Themes*; he successfully repulsed the Slavs; he reconquered a large part of southern Italy from the Lombards; and he stopped for as long as he lived the advance of the Saracens in North Africa. But the chief feature of his character and actions, one which brought upon him unmeasured condemnation, was his refusal to be dominated by the Church, and his rigid

determination not to be enrolled as a partisan in religious strife, and to put that strife down with an iron hand. Taking up this attitude when only a youth of seventeen he never swerved from it throughout life, notwithstanding a volume of abuse and misrepresentation such as few sovereigns have had to endure.

The intense hatred which this attitude on Constans' part called forth is a marked indication of the temper of the age. It is highly significant that while there had been various emperors who held unorthodox opinions in religion, the emperor who was hated above all others was not one who held unorthodox views, but one who prohibited controversy. Yet Constans' attitude on this point was one which in these days we should hold a sound and sensible one, the rage for religious controversy threatening to swamp religion. It was not without cause that his edict spoke of the controversy as a "flame," and described it as "preying upon the souls of men." Whereas (as his edict said) all reasonable limits of definition had already been reached, men sought to define still further, and by a never ending "hair-splitting" to indulge in a love of controversy for its own sake. It was upon this that Constans' edict fell with a heavy hand. And for thus doing Constans was so universally and deeply detested by every ecclesiastic, that they, the only writers of that age, will tell us nothing about him except what they can relate or invent to blacken his character. It is very possible that he was, as they have said, harsh, cruel, and tyrannical. But our belief in that fact is considerably lessened when we see their determination to relate nothing which will not tell against him, and with the same object to invent to his discredit stories which are always mawkish and childish, and generally malignant and impossible.¹ And when all this is done, not because the emperor concerned was a Pagan, or a man of vicious life, or unorthodox as to religion, but simply because, being none of these things, he insisted upon putting down the prevailing love of controversy, it turns all the belief which we

¹ Although we are frequently told that Constans was tyrannical, yet the fact that throughout his reign of twenty-seven years there were no rebellions tends to throw some doubt upon the truth of the statement,

might otherwise have had in their testimony to a distrust of all their statements.

One thing at all events is clear, viz. that the army did not concur in this hatred of Constans II. For had it done so, violently detested as he was by the whole ecclesiastical class and their supporters, there would certainly have been plots against his life. Only by the strong adherence to him of the whole of the army could Constans have continued to rule for twenty-seven years while thus cordially hated by so large and powerful a class without any plot against his life or any rebellion taking place. The army would naturally sympathize with an emperor determined to put down this perpetual brawling over the deepest mysteries of religion, and would feel that his law, the *Type*, was a perfectly proper one, and evidently it was resolved to support him in enforcing it. Moreover the fact that throughout Constans' reign there is never any sign of disaffection among the troops even when he was in so much disfavour in other quarters, shows that Constans manifested qualities from a military point of view which gained the confidence and regard of his soldiers.

Notwithstanding the narrow-spirited malice which without having any definite facts to record against him deliberately prevented any record to his credit being handed down to posterity, it has yet been impossible wholly to hide certain good points which he manifests. In an age when the West was showing example after example of rulers whose profligacy was only equalled by their weakness of character, Constans II presented the spectacle of a ruler, strong in character, chaste in life, independent, and self-reliant, steadfastly battling against an evil which injured the State and "preyed upon the souls of men," and against which he fought with a spirit which was indomitable.

Taking into consideration his bringing the Mahomedan rush to a standstill, his preservation of the empire from further loss of territory during his reign, his important reorganization of the administration by the system of the *Themes*, his reconquest for the empire of a large part of southern Italy, and his satisfactory civil administration during a reign of twenty-seven years, Constans II may justly be considered a strong

and successful emperor, a success which the ecclesiastical historians have contrived entirely to obscure.

Result of thirty years' contest in Britain. The three successive kings of Northumbria, Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy, by their strenuous fighting in the cause of Christianity¹ during the thirty years 627-657, a contest in which two of them lost their lives, had by the latter year finally established Christianity firmly in Britain. Oswy after defeating Penda's unprovoked attack upon Northumbria, effecting his destruction, and compelling Mercia to abandon Paganism, continued during his remaining thirteen years to help forward the new religion (see below). Peada, the son of Penda, who had succeeded to the reduced kingdom of Mercia in 655 and had established Christianity therein, was assassinated in 658, but was succeeded by his younger brother Wulfhere, who besides extending Mercia greatly to the south, was also active in suppressing Pagan temples and advancing Christianity.

Disunion of the Churches in Britain. Up to this time the Churches which had been successively established in the various kingdoms of the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes were in a much divided state, having little intercourse, not only owing to the frequent warfare between those kingdoms, but still more owing to having no sympathy with each other. One had been founded by a mission from Rome, another by one from Burgundy, another by one from Milan, and three by the Celtic missions from Iona and Lindisfarne, while to these there has also to be added the ancient British Church in the west; and the Celtic missions in Northumbria and Mercia looked with no friendly eye at the missions from Italy and Burgundy, whose customs were entirely different from their own, the two parties keeping Easter at a different time, having a different liturgy, and differing in regard to numerous other matters.

Conference of Whitby. In 664 Oswy removed one principal bar to union among the different Churches in the kingdoms of Britain—the discord between those planted from Iona and

¹ Chap. XXIV, pp. 433-434; and 466-467.

those planted from Italy over the date of keeping Easter—by assembling the conference of Whitby. It is often called the Synod of Whitby, but this is not strictly correct, as laymen took part in the discussion and helped in formulating the decision, the final verdict being given by Oswy himself, while only three of the clergy present were Bishops. The conference decided that in future the Roman date of keeping Easter should be observed. Oswy himself and his queen Eanfled took part in the discussion, he being on one side (the Celtic) and she on the other (the Roman), which latter won the day. Though Oswy had confined his invitations to attend the conference to the clergy and others belonging to Northumbria, and though it was therefore purely a local assembly, yet that kingdom had so long led the way in Britain that the decision was accepted by the other kingdoms. This removed one important obstacle to union between the various Churches in Britain, though there still remained many other points which continued to cause disunion.

Appointment of Theodore of Tarsus as archbishop. Shortly afterwards Oswy took another step which had still greater results, and was fraught with important consequences to the English race. In the same year that the conference of Whitby took place, Deusdedit, the Kentish archbishop, died. Thereupon Oswy, king of Northumbria, and Egbert, king of Kent, mutually agreed to select a man in his place likely to be acceptable to both the rival parties. And as a special means to this end they decided to send the man chosen to Rome to be consecrated as archbishop by the Pope of Rome, Vitalian, who had succeeded to that office in 657.¹ The man they chose was Wighard, and he was sent to Rome, but died there soon after his arrival; and upon Pope Vitalian being asked to choose another in his place he wrote saying that it was very difficult to find a man with the necessary qualifications. At length, however, in 668 he chose and consecrated as archbishop for Britain the wise and capable Theodore.² The latter belonged

¹ He was the next Pope of Rome but one to Martin I.

² This is the first case of an archbishop for the British Isles being consecrated by a Pope of Rome, this being done for a special purpose; and after it there is not another case for 350 years, all who succeeded Theodore being Englishmen.

to Tarsus, the city of St. Paul, the city where the emperor Julian had been buried, situated on the coast of that province of Cilicia which had so often in recent years been harried by the Saracens, and which was just about to see the great Saracen Armada sailing past to besiege Constantinople. Being a Greek, Theodore was better able to deal with such a divided household as that in Britain than either an Englishman or a Roman would have been. He landed in Kent in 669, accompanied by his friend Hadrian, the abbot of a monastery in North Africa.

Death of Oswy. This was Oswy's last act. He died in 670 after reigning over Northumbria for twenty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son Egferth. Oswy's reign (642-670) almost exactly coincides with that of the emperor Constans II; so that it was while in the Later Roman Empire were taking place the contests roused by Constans' edict the *Type*, his wars with the Saracens, the Slavs, and the Lombards, and his tragic death at Syracuse, that in Britain Oswy was fighting to maintain his throne of Northumbria, destroying Penda, bringing Mercia to renounce Paganism, assembling the conference at Whitby, and joining with Egbert in obtaining an archbishop for Britain from the East.

Constantine IV. Constantine IV (668-685) was eighteen when he succeeded his father Constans. A beardless youth when he began to reign, for some special reason which is not very clear¹ he became soon afterwards nicknamed by the people "Pogonetos" (bearded), and by this name is often called in history to distinguish him from other Constantines. We are told nothing about his personal character, and have to judge of it solely from the actions recorded of him. In the year of his accession Constantine was married to Anastasia, of whom we know little more than her name. Soon after-

¹ Some writers state that upon his father being murdered he proceeded to Sicily and avenged him, and that on his return the people noticed that his beard had begun to grow. But recent authorities consider this journey to Sicily apocryphal. It seems more likely that he was the first Christian emperor not clean shaven.

wards the troops in the Anatolic theme (Isauria, Phrygia, and Pisidia) marched to Chrysopolis, and sent a deputation demanding that Constantine should associate with himself as emperors his two younger brothers, Tiberius and Heraclius, in accordance with the custom which had been inaugurated by his great-grandfather Heraclius in order to prevent any chance of a usurper seizing the throne upon the death of the reigning emperor, and in accordance with the directions left by Constans II. Constantine temporized with the demand, gave his brothers the empty title, and pacified the troops concerned, but after they had returned to their district he sent for the instigators of the movement and executed them, while he kept his brothers immured in an honourable confinement in the imperial palace.

In his reign of seventeen years Constantine IV displayed that best of all qualities in a ruler,¹ strength of character, and with this were combined wisdom and common-sense. Three important events marked his reign, the five years' siege of Constantinople by the Saracens, the assembly of the Sixth General Council, and the founding of the Bulgarian kingdom. In the first and second of these events the successful result was largely due to Constantine's own personal ability, while the disastrous result in the case of the third was not due to any failure on his part, as he was at the time incapacitated by illness.

Upon the death of Constans II the Saracens, perhaps considering that the young Constantine would prove a less formidable opponent than his father, began to be more active on both the eastern and western sides of the empire. In 669 Muawiyah's general Fadala made a raid into Asia Minor, advanced even as far as Chalcedon, and wintered at Cyzicus; in the same year the Saracen commander in Egypt sent an expedition against Sicily which ravaged a great part of that island, carrying off various treasures which had been collected there by Constans II; and in 670 Muawiyah's general Busur conducted another incursion into Asia Minor, and carried off many captives. But most of all in North Africa did the Saracens now begin to show increased activity.

¹ Chap. XVII, p. 42.

The great province of North Africa, extending North Africa. as the crow flies for a total length from Tripoli to Tangier of about 1200 miles,¹ and the richest province of the empire, while it had suffered grievously during the hundred years of the Vandal dominion in the 5th century, had since then been for 137 years again under the imperial rule, and during the last hundred years of that period had regained a considerable amount of its former prosperity, no longer being in the condition to which Justinian's Logothetæ reduced it, and which had been described by Procopius in 555.² This satisfactory result had been due both to the long period of peace which the province had enjoyed for more than a hundred years while every other portion of the empire had been frequently devastated by war, and also to its having had a succession of able governors who had steadily improved its condition. Especially was this the case with regard to Heraclius, the father of the emperor of that name, whose wise and beneficent rule had brought North Africa to a highly flourishing condition. This prosperity had also been assisted to a very large extent by the ruthless treatment to which the Roman population of Italy had during one hundred years past been subjected by the Lombards.³ All Romans who were sufficiently wealthy, in order to escape slaughter, outrage, or slavery, had by degrees fled from Italy to North Africa,⁴ thereby helping much to increase the prosperity of the latter country. This combination of long peace, a series of good governors, and the immigration of large numbers of well-off Romans of the upper and middle classes had made North Africa at

¹ Theoretically its total length was 1600 miles, as its eastern boundary was 400 miles east of Tripoli; but almost the whole of this 400 miles was merely desert.

² Chap. XXII, p. 269.

³ Chap. XXIII, pp. 332, 367-368, and Chap. XXIV, p. 431.

⁴ This was probably a much larger cause of the remarkable disappearance of the Roman race in Italy, previously noticed, than losses occasioned through the actual slaughter of that race. So far as central and southern Italy were concerned, for every one of the Roman population slain probably three took ship for North Africa before the Lombards actually reached the district. But of course the poorest classes were unable to do this, being forced to remain upon the lands whose produce was their only means of subsistence.

this time by far the most prosperous of all the provinces of the empire.

Flourishing cities and numerous fortresses. A great network of roads connected Carthage, the capital, with the cities to the south and west, and even with distant Tingis (Tangier). The province was crowded with flourishing cities (as we can see by the numerous remains of them still existing), and its means of defence had been gradually increased, notably by the lavish fortress-building of Justinian, until they were at this time astonishing. Nothing is more remarkable at the present day than the immense number of fortresses, all erected subsequently to the period of the Vandal dominion, whose remains stud the country in all directions.¹ The Vandals had destroyed the walls of many of the cities; but the Later Roman Empire had rebuilt these, constructing walls of much greater strength, and in many cases had also erected a separate fortress to protect the town. There are scarcely to be seen the remains of a single town or even village, which is not provided with its "Byzantine" fortress.² These fortresses, like the walls built at the same period, are all of the most massive description, and distinguishable at once from the defences of an earlier time of the Roman rule by their totally different character. The strength and excellence of their construction bear witness to the high degree of military skill in this direction possessed at the time that they were built, viz. during the 170 years from 534 to 704.³ Several of them are in use even at the present day.

Foundation of Karrowan. North Africa had not up to the time when Constantine IV became emperor suffered seriously from the Saracens, their attacks upon that province having

¹ It is only in recent years that these numerous and widespread remains of Roman cities and fortresses in North Africa have come to be fully known.

² By the expression "Byzantine" fortresses, "Byzantine" church, or "Byzantine" walls writers signify that the building in question was constructed during the 170 years (534-704) subsequent to the Vandal dominion, when North Africa had again become a part of the empire and was ruled from Constantinople, instead of as formerly from Rome or Ravenna.

³ For list of the most important of these "Byzantine" fortresses, see Appendix XVI.

hitherto been of the nature of temporary raids upon the eastern districts. Now however a fresh series of attacks began which were of a more formidable character. The Khalif Muawiyah had formed the ambitious design of conquering the whole Roman empire, and as a part of this design he in 670 despatched the capable Okba,¹ the most furious fighter among the Saracens, in command of a picked force to attack North Africa. After various contests with the imperial forces in the district south of Carthage, Okba, feeling the disadvantage under which he was placed from the want of any base of operations (the Saracens not making the sea their base, and being separated from Egypt by the Lybian desert), determined to found a place of strength in North Africa to form, not only a base on the western side of the Lybian desert from whence to prosecute more effectively his attacks upon the territory of the empire, but also a secure refuge for the Saracen families and for the safe custody of the spoils taken in war. For this purpose he in 672 founded the city of Kairowan, about 80 miles south of Carthage, its inland situation (distant about 12 miles from the western coast of the Gulf of Syrtis) protecting it from attacks by the imperial fleets. The Saracens thus obtained for the first time a permanent foothold in North Africa, and Kairowan became thenceforth the centre of their power in that country. During the next fifteen years it was the scene of many battles, being frequently attacked by the imperial forces, and several times taken and retaken.

But Constantine IV had now, at the age of twenty-
Five years' siege of Constantinopletwo, to confront a more serious danger than attacks upon the outlying provinces of the empire. His great-grandfather Heraclius had fought the Saracens in Syria and Egypt; his father Constans had fought them in Asia Minor and North Africa; to Constantine it now befell to fight them in the home waters of Constantinople itself, and to meet an immense attack upon the capital of the empire made with the whole force of the Saracen power, the second ² of

¹ In India and Persia the form of his name is Akbar, but in the rougher language of Arabia, Okba.

² The first being the attack by the Avars and Persians in 626.

the long list of sieges of Constantinople during 827 years. And well did this young great-grandson of Heraclius maintain the credit of his dynasty, displaying in resisting this prolonged and formidable attack abilities which proved him to be yet a third most capable defender of Christendom produced by the house of Heraclius.

The Khalif Muawiyah in pursuance of his design to conquer the whole of the Roman dominions, had resolved instead of any further expeditions against the provinces of Asia Minor, to attack Constantinople itself with a huge Armada, which he now in 672 prepared for this purpose. He placed it under command of Abdul Rahman,¹ and the latter towards the end of that year sailed along the southern coast of Asia Minor towards the Ægean Sea, part of the expedition wintering at Smyrna, and part on the coast of Cilicia, where a further squadron joined Abdul Rahman before the end of the winter. In April 673 this great Armada entered the Sea of Marmora, and began a siege of Constantinople which was to last for five years. Abdul Rahman moored his fleet from the promontory of Hebdomon to that of Kyklobios near the Golden Gate, and during the whole summer, from April to September, engagements with the Roman fleet, which defended the harbour, continued daily, while the Saracen army at the same time attacked the city on the land side.

The "Romaic fire." Constantine had made every preparation for meeting this attack upon his capital, the most important being the construction of a large number of fireships for destroying the enemy's ships by means of the "Romaic fire."² This was a new invention, its preparation being strictly kept a State secret; and during all the centuries which followed the "Romaic fire" became a prominent feature in all the naval battles between the Romans and their adversaries. Its form and the manner it was employed are not known with entire certainty, but a receipt for its manufacture published in the 10th century shows that this invention was a compound of sulphur, tartar, pitch, Persian gum, nitre, and petroleum

¹ Page 481.

² Or "Greek fire." It was said to have been invented by a Syrian named Callinicus.

boiled together; tow was saturated with this and then set on fire and thrown on the enemy's ships, the fire thus produced being inextinguishable by ordinary methods. Another kind was composed of sulphur pounded in a mortar with nitre and charcoal, the mixture being poured into long narrow tubes, forming a sort of cartridge, which was ignited and hurled through the air from a catapult.¹

Constantine's
great victory. During a whole summer the fighting round the walls and shores of Constantinople resulted in no advantage for the Saracens, who lost many ships and men, and upon the approach of winter Abdul Rahman drew off his forces and sailed to Cyzicus, where he wintered. Returning again in the following April he renewed the attack with increased vigour and continued it throughout the summer, but with the same result, Constantine's fireships destroying numbers of the Saracen vessels with their crews, while their land forces could make no effect upon the walls of the city, and in October 674 Abdul Rahman was again compelled to retire for the winter to Cyzicus. The Armada being reinforced during each winter by Muawiyah, who was determined to take Constantinople, Abdul Rahman continued the struggle in the same manner throughout the years 675, 676, and 677, but was at length himself killed. Meanwhile Constantine's troops in North Africa were not idle, and a severe contest was maintained against Okba in the neighbourhood of Kairouan, with the result that in 676 Kairouan was captured by the Romans. At last in September 677, after a five years' arduous struggle to take Constantinople, the Saracens, having suffered enormous losses of both men and ships, finally abandoned the siege. But upon their fleet sailing away it was caught in a storm, and the greater part of it was dashed upon the rocks near Syllæum, while all the ships which escaped being wrecked were attacked by the Roman admiral and destroyed. At the same time that the fleet was being thus annihilated the land army under the personal command of Sofian, who had succeeded Abdul Rahman, was attacked by the Roman generals during its retreat and suffered a total defeat, 30,000 Saracens being killed.

¹ Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 319.

Crushing nature of the defeat upon the Saracens. This wholesale defeat of the great Armada paralyzed the operations of the Saracens for sixteen years. The Khalif Muawiyah I had put forth the whole of his resources upon this determined attempt to gain possession of Constantinople, and when at length it thus signally failed his spirit was crushed. He sent ambassadors to Constantinople asking for peace, and offering to pay an annual tribute. A peace for nominally thirty years was arranged, the tribute to be paid by the Saracens annually being fixed at 3000 lbs. of gold (equal in weight to £123,000), fifty captives, and fifty thoroughbred horses.

Widespread results of the victory. This great victory, gained by Constantine IV before he was twenty-seven years old, was felt to be second only to that of his great-grandfather over Persia. And not only was his triumph complete, but it received widespread acknowledgement. The nations of the West recognized that he had stood forth as the defender of Europe; embassies laden with presents poured into Constantinople from the Chagan of the Avars, from the kings of the Franks, of the Visigoths, and of the Lombards, and from the chiefs of other races in the West, conveying congratulations, and making requests that he would execute treaties with them; and honour was universally lavished upon the Byzantines for their brave and steadfast resistance to the Mahomedan attack, the danger of which to all Europe had by this time become apparent.

Birthday of the Church of England. While this great siege of Constantinople had been taking place an event occurred in England probably more important to that country than any other in all its history, more so even than its formation 127 years later into one kingdom, or than its conquest in the eleventh century by the Normans, viz. the "Birthday" of the Church of England, an event which has had lasting results upon the English race.

Theodore of Tarsus, who was sixty-seven years old when he was appointed archbishop, was not only wise and capable, and highly educated in both Greek and Latin, but also possessed a sympathetic and conciliatory disposition; and the

debt which England owes to him is immense. He first, at much personal danger, travelled in a three years' tour all through the various warring kingdoms in England to make himself acquainted with the scattered portions of the Church. Having completed this tour he then convoked a great Synod of all the Bishops of the various Anglian, Saxon, and Jute kingdoms, and of the four Welsh dioceses of the ancient British Church, which Synod met at Hertford just at the time that the first year's siege of Constantinople was ending. This Synod of Hertford, assembled on the 24th September 673, is the Birthday of the Church of England. Before that date the various missions had been merely portions of the Church *in* England, but after that date they became the Church of England, *Ecclesia Anglicana*.¹

This Synod united the whole of these scattered portions of the Church into one, the Church of England, and partly on this occasion and partly at the re-assembly of this Synod seven years later at Hatfield drew up important rules for that purpose. First, it formally adopted for that Church the whole Code of canons then recognized by the undivided Catholic Church, i.e. the whole of the canons which had been passed by the five General Councils (the sixth General Council not having as yet taken place); this Code is still the basis of the ecclesiastical law of the Church of England. Secondly, it drew up a body of canons of its own to guide its customs and practice, which canons also still remain in force. And thirdly, this Synod provided (in its seventh canon) for its own perpetual continuity by an annual re-assembly in Synod of the Bishops of all the dioceses thus federated, which Synod has grown with an unbroken life by slow constitutional development into the two Convocations of Canterbury and York, these when sitting together forming what is officially styled "*The Sacred Synod of the English nation*."² This body alone

¹ This is its official title, and is that used in *Magna Carta*. Archbishop Theodore, to whom the Church of England owes so much, died in 690, at the age of eighty-eight.

² The two Convocations of Canterbury and York, though ordinarily meeting separately, together form this Synod of the Church of England, first convoked and its constitution laid down in 673. Every assembly of these two Convocations of the Church of England is in reality simply a re-assembly of the Synod of Hertford,

has the right to speak for the whole Church of England. For which reason a canon of this Synod of Hertford is still printed at the end of all large copies of the Prayerbook such as are used in old parish churches in England, laying down severe penalties for any one "who shall affirm that the Sacred Synod of this nation, in the name of Christ and by the King's authority assembled, is not the true Church of England by representation."

Effect upon
the English
race.

No other national Church now existing has anything like so ancient a record.¹ And the effect upon the English race of this Synod of Hertford in September 673 has coloured all their history. It began the welding of the Angles, the Saxons, the Jutes, and the Celts into one race, and paved the way for the formation of one kingdom of England 127 years later. And it also paved the way, by its representative principle, for the formation later on of a governing assembly of the nation in secular affairs similar to that which the Church had already adopted in spiritual affairs, and the formation of one "Parliament" for all England in the same way as there had previously been formed one Church Synod for all England. And from that principle the whole scheme of government of the British Empire has grown.

As this welding together of the Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Britons by means of one Church gave those races the first beginning of national unity we henceforth speak no more of "Britain," but of "England."

Foundation of Bulgana. In 679, two years after his great victory over the Saracens, Constantine IV prepared forcibly to chastise the Bulgarians. This Tartar race,² who during

¹ It is important to note (especially in view of the common error which supposes the Church of England to have had its beginning at some unknown date in the time of the Reformation) that the Church of England at the present day holds the same doctrines that it did at its "Birthday" in 673 (see Vol. I, Chap. XV, p. 540, footnote, and Chap. XXIII, p. 382).

² The Bulgarians in their customs differed entirely from the Slavs, and in this respect more nearly approached the Turks. They were polygamists; the women were veiled; the men wore turbans; and both sexes wore loose trousers (Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 336).

the reign of Heraclius had revolted from subjection to the Avars, were settled between the Danube and the Dneister, along the north-western shore of the Black Sea. While the siege of Constantinople had been continuing they had begun to make incursions into the district now known as the Dobrud-scha, and in 679 Constantine determined to punish them. For this purpose he prepared a strong expedition composed of both naval and military forces to attack them both by sea and land. This expedition he led in person, and sending his army across the Danube to attack the Bulgarians from the south he at the same time attacked them from the sea with his fleet, which he himself accompanied. The Bulgarians, terrified at this great display of force, fled, and took refuge in various castles difficult of access amidst morasses and rocky hills, where they were besieged. After a few days, however, Constantine became ill with a severe pain in his foot, and ordering his army to continue the siege sailed himself with a few ships for Mesembria, on the western coast of the Black Sea. Unfortunately some regiments of cavalry, seeing this departure of the emperor, and not knowing its cause, mistook it for flight on his part, and being seized with a panic made a rapid retreat; the rest of the army seeing them hurriedly retreating thereupon took alarm and also retreated; the panic became general, and the Bulgarians, issuing from their strongholds, pursued the panic-stricken army, and entirely routed it, killing large numbers. Still pursuing, they crossed the Danube, were attracted by the appearance of Moesia and the apparent defencelessness of its Slav population, and resolved to migrate and establish themselves south of the Danube. This resolution they promptly carried out. Advancing into Moesia they reduced the Slavs to subjection as their vassals, placed them along the frontiers of their new kingdom to protect it from the Avars on the west and from the Romans on the south (along the border of Thrace), and set up this new Bulgarian kingdom upon what until then had been Roman territory. The Roman forts and towns in Moesia were soon taken, and Constantine, his great expedition being thus completely wrecked, and he himself being too ill at the time to assemble another, was compelled to make peace with the Bulgarians and to agree to pay a tribute in order to protect

Thrace from being also invaded. The Bulgarian king, Isperich, made Varna his capital.

Remarkable
expansion of
the Sclavs.

But though the peace-loving and inert Sclavs were thus subdued by the warlike Bulgarians and made by them their vassals, by some process for which we cannot account but which seemed to be the rule in the case of the Sclavs,¹ instead of the Sclavs upon being subdued by the Bulgarians becoming merged in their Tartar conquerors, the reverse took place, the Sclavs (a fair-haired and blue-eyed race) in course of time gradually absorbing the Bulgarians (a black-haired and Mongolian race), the latter becoming "Sclavised." With the result that the Bulgarians at the present day have no remaining vestige of a Tartar origin but are almost purely Sclavs. The tendency also of the Sclavs to multiply enormously beyond all their neighbours still continued; no race ever equalled the Sclavs in keeping its cradles filled; and this race, from a district (Polesie) less than half the size of England, have gradually spread over Servia, Croatia, Carinthia, Styria, Bohemia, Poland, the coast of the Baltic, and almost the whole of modern Russia.² The Sclavs, as Dr. Peisker has said, "by a process of peaceful penetration have gradually thickly populated immeasurable regions. The migrations of this interesting race have been no sudden torrents, such as those of the Teuton races, but the slow advance of a silent and irresistible tide."³

The tragedy
of Kerbela.

In April 680 the Khalif Muawiyah I died, after having been Khalif for twenty years, being suc-

¹ Chap. XXII, p. 295.

² The total number of Sclavs at the present day is said to be about 120 millions, five-eighths of whom are Russians. They are divided into two great groups, the western and the eastern Sclavs. The Western Sclavs include (1) the Bohemians (called by themselves the Czechs), (2) the Slavaks (inhabiting north-west Hungary), (3) the Poles (or Lekhs), and (4) the Sorabians (extending along the Baltic north of the Elbe). The Eastern Sclavs include (1) the Bulgarians, (2) the Serbians, (3) the Croats, (4) the Wends (inhabiting Carinthia and Styria), and (5) the Russians. Jordanes calls the Sclavs by the name of Winidæ, and this, in its modern form Wend, is the name given by the Germans at the present day to all Sclavs.

³ *The Cambridge Medieval History*, II, 426.

ceeded by his son Yezid I.¹ This death of Muawiyah was followed by a tragedy which has had a more powerful effect upon the Mahomedans than any other event in the whole of their history, its solemn commemoration, though more than twelve centuries have since elapsed, being still annually observed. Of the Prophet's two grandsons, the sons of Fatima and Ali, the elder grandson, Hassan, had been poisoned by Muawiyah eleven years previously, but his brother Hosein was still living at Mecca. And upon Muawiyah's death the people of Kufa sent messenger after messenger to Hosein imploring him to come to Kufa and be installed upon his father's throne as Khalif. Hosein, honoured by all as the grandson of the Prophet, and a man of high character and religious life, was, like his father Ali and his brother Hassan, not anxious for rank and power, while he also distrusted the fickle people of Kufa; but after receiving, it is said, some 150 letters to the same effect he at length consented to go. Accompanied by his wives and children, and with an escort of about 200 men, he left Mecca, travelled northwards across the desert, and early in the Mahomedan month Mohurram reached Kerbela on the Euphrates, about 60 miles south of Kufa. But Yezid had ordered the governor of Kufa to oppose him; those who had urged him to come failed to appear; and Hosein's little band upon reaching Kerbela found themselves confronted by an army of 4000 men. Yezid had sent orders that Hosein and his adherents were to be destroyed unless they would acknowledge Yezid as Khalif. Hosein would not do this, though he offered to return to Mecca, which was refused. He reminded the reluctant troops who opposed him of the invitations which had been sent to him, but only thirty of them responded to his appeal and joined his little band, which subsequently received the name of the "Family of the Tent."²

Hosein, after urging the members of his little band to leave him to his fate, which all of them refused to do, on the morning of the tenth of the month Mohurram embraced each member of the band, and they then prepared to sell their lives dearly.

¹ For list of the Mahomedan Khalifs, see Appendix XVIII.

² Meaning, the household of the Prophet,

On the previous night they had grouped the tents close together and had constructed round them a ditch and a hastily made breastwork of stones, and this feeble fortress they now prepared to defend, the women and children being placed inside the tents. The attack soon came, and was a slaughter rather than a battle. At last none remained alive but Hosein, the troops all shrinking from striking the last descendant of the Prophet. He stood with his youngest child in his arms; an arrow pierced the child's ear; and as Hosein laid the little body down dead, he was himself pierced in the back by a lance and fell dead (Oct. 680).¹

In India and Persia, the countries chiefly inhabited by the Shiah Mahomedans,² every year as the date of this tragedy in the month of Mohurram comes round, the entire Mahomedan community give themselves up to ten days of deepest mourning. In those countries Hassan and Hosein are looked upon as victims sacrificed to the hatred of the Omeyyad branch, Hosein especially being called "the Martyr," and regarded as having given his life for his people. The whole tragedy of the "Family of the Tent" is re-enacted with terrible realism.³ And on the tenth day, when all are filled with a burning fervour of religious excitement, the processions make the streets resound with their perpetually repeated mournful cry, "Alas Hassan, alas Hosein."

Sixth General
Council. Constantine was now thirty years old, and had been for twelve years almost continually fighting the enemies of the empire. At last he had leisure to turn his attention to the settlement of the long-standing Monothelite controversy in the Church. He wisely abstained from issuing any more edicts on the subject, and since the peace made with the Saracens now rendered this possible, he in November 680 assembled at Constantinople the

¹ The spot was afterwards called Meshed Hosein (the sepulchre of Hosein), and marked by a tomb.

² Page 473.

³ In the intense excitement to which they become worked up the actors have at times been known to be really slain, like the prototypes whom they represent. This period of solemn mourning is known as "the Mohurram."

Sixth General Council, the last of the General Councils of the Church.¹

The *First General Council* had met by the peaceful lake of Nicæa, its first sitting opened by the great Constantine in all the flush of his dazzling conquest of the whole four divisions of the vast empire extending from Scotland to the Tigris; the *Second* had met in this city of Constantinople, its first sitting opened by the emperor Theodosius, who had lately returned in triumph after his successes over the Goths, and had thereupon ejected the Archbishop and all the parish clergy of the city for being Arians; the *Third* had met at Ephesus, convened by the young empress Pulcheria in the name of her brother Theodosius II, at a time when a large portion of the western half of the empire had been lost to its barbarian foes; the *Fourth* had met at Chalcedon, convened twenty years later by the same empress Pulcheria in her own right, at a time when the terrible Huns had become the dread alike of East and West, had recently ravaged all the fair lands of Thrace and Macedonia, but had just suffered a crushing defeat in Gaul; the *Fifth* had met in this same city of Constantinople amidst all the magnificence of the reign of Justinian, who had reconquered Africa and Italy, had restored the glory of the empire, and had raised a cathedral which was the wonder of the world; and now the *Sixth* met again in Constantinople, but under utterly different circumstances to those existing when the previous Council had assembled in the glorious reign of Justinian, meeting there now after the empire had lost Italy, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Egypt, and when the capital itself had lately endured a five years' siege by the fleets and armies of a powerful foe who had only been beaten off for a season.

In this Sixth General Council the western portion of the

¹ At a council assembled by the empress Irene in 787 large portions of the Church (including the Churches of France, England, and other countries of the West) were not represented, and refused to accept its decisions; for which reason it is not considered a General Council, its decisions not having been accepted by the Churches of all countries, though so styled by those portions of the Church which took part in it (see Vol. I, Chap. XV, p. 539, footnote).

Church was more strongly represented than it had been at any of the previous General Councils, while the Council had an additional interest for those gathered at it owing to the fact that to it came Bishops from several of those rough northern nations, who had despoiled the empire of its western territories, nations who had never before sent representatives to a General Council of the Church. But little did any of those assembled at this Council dream that this was the last time that Bishops from the many lands there represented would sit together discussing points of a common faith. Still less would they have believed that united Christendom would ever suffer the city in which they met, so often called "*the Christian city*," to be captured by a non-Christian race, and the cathedral which was its chief glory be turned into a Mahomedan mosque.

Since the previous General Council had assembled in 553 a great change had come over the Church, altering the previously existing counterpoise. Whereas then Christendom had for many generations been grouped into five patriarchates, forming in disputed questions a counterpoise to each other by representing as they did the different attitudes of mind in matters of religion which will always exist among widely separated races of mankind, the recent Mahomedan conquests had blotted out three of these five patriarchates of the Church, so that there were now left only those of Constantinople and Rome. At the same time since the previous General Council the Visigoths in Spain, the Lombards in Italy, and the Jutes, the Angles, and the Saxons in England, had, like the Franks previously, been converted to the Catholic faith. And though for a long time these nations had not looked upon themselves as owing any allegiance in religious matters to the patriarchal see of the West (established in territory which was to them an enemy's country), yet they were beginning to do so, and to establish relations with that see.¹ So that it was evident that in course of time, as this tendency increased, the weight and influence of the western

¹ As, for instance, in the case of the application on the part of Northumbria and Kent to Pope Vitalian for the selection of a man as archbishop for Britain.

patriarchate, though it had been for long so greatly reduced, would eventually much exceed that of the eastern patriarchate, especially if the latter continued to lose territories to the Mahomedans. Had a Constantine the Great been on the throne he would assuredly have foreseen the dangers likely to arise from this ill-balanced state of affairs, and would have brought about a redistribution of the patriarchal areas (perhaps dividing the western patriarchate into three patriarchates) to meet these altered conditions. But no such idea would seem to have occurred to the Sixth General Council, which confined itself simply to the doctrinal question which had caused its assembly.

The Council was attended by 289 Bishops, and was thoroughly representative. Besides the Bishops from all territories within the empire, there were also present Bishops from the Lombards, from the Visigoths, from the Franks, and from the lately constituted Church of England.¹ Georgios, Pope of Constantinople, presided.² The emperor opened the proceedings; on his right at the opening ceremony sat the Bishops of the East, and on his left the Bishops of the West. The Council did not sit like the previous one in St. Sophia, but sat in the imperial palace, in the domed hall (the Chalke) built by Justinian. It sat for nine months, its proceedings being conducted with dignity and ability. In September 681³ the Council published its decision. That decision was that the Monothelite doctrine was opposed to the faith held "from the first," laid down at the First General Council, and finally defined at the Fourth General Council, and was not the doctrine of the Catholic Church. It was therefore unanimously pronounced to be a heresy; and the four Popes who had supported it, viz. Sergius, Pope of Constantinople (its originator), Athanasius, Pope of Antioch, Cyrus, Pope of Alexandria, and Honorius I, Pope of Rome, were condemned by name as

¹ One of the latter was Wilfrid, Bishop of York.

² For presiding Bishops at the six General Councils, see App. XX.

³ In this same year the kingdom of the South Saxons, the last of the kingdoms in England which was still Pagan, accepted Christianity through the preaching of Wilfrid, formerly Bishop of York, who owing to a quarrel with Egferth, king of Northumbria, removed to Sussex, and converted the South Saxons.

heretics,¹ Honorius I receiving special condemnation owing to his writings having formed the chief support of this heresy.² Several previous Popes of Constantinople had been publicly declared to be heretics, but Honorius I was only the second Pope of Rome who had been so, the first being Liberius in the 4th century, condemned as such for the adoption of the Arian belief.³ It was apparently due to the West being so fully represented that this General Council gave such a decisive verdict in condemnation of the Monothelite heresy.

The last General Council dispersed. It little knew that it was the last, or foresaw the disruption in the Church which was to begin when another hundred years had passed, and was to prove the origin of unlimited disintegration in the ages to follow, producing a divided Christendom.⁴ But though it was the last, this General Council had finally reiterated for all time what is the belief held by the Catholic Church regarding the deep mystery of the union of the Divine and human natures in Christ, and no further dispute on that subject has since then ever arisen. The six General Councils had also, during the 355 years from 325 to 680, given authorita-

¹ The word "heretic," by the manner in which it has been wrongly used by later ages, has been given a sound of opprobrium which does not properly belong to it. The term simply means one who does not hold the doctrine of the Catholic Church. It has been pointed out by Canon Staley and others that while e.g. an Arian or a Nestorian was a "heretic," his religion might be more sincere and his life more worthy than that of many who belonged to the Catholic Church.

² In the sixteenth century a theory was propounded by the Papal writers that the acts of the Sixth General Council had subsequently been tampered with, that the name of Honorius I was not among those condemned as heretics, and that the insertion of his name was a forgery. But this theory has been entirely refuted after a very exhaustive examination into the subject by the learned German scholar Hefele, and shown to be an attempt to deceive.

³ For nearly 1200 years afterwards (until the latter end of the 19th century) the first act of each succeeding Pope of Rome upon his election was to appear before the people and publicly repeat this condemnation of these two predecessors, Liberius and Honorius I, and solemnly to repudiate their errors. Since the enunciation, however, in 1870 of the dogma of Papal infallibility this ancient ceremony, carried out by some 185 Popes of Rome, has for a very obvious reason been dropped.

⁴ See Chap. XXIII, pp. 388-389.

tive decisions on all other points of primary importance connected with the doctrine, the practice, the constitution, and the government of the Church. And they had also shown that they were the supreme authority in the Church, with power to eject from their sees even Popes who taught doctrines not held from the first, or who otherwise failed to obey their authority as the united voice of the Church given by an assembly of independent Bishops gathered from widely diverse nationalities.

As we look for the last time at this undivided Catholic Church (subsequently to be split, first into two, and then into three great divisions) the most marvellous thing about it is that notwithstanding countless imperfections in its leaders and members, and notwithstanding wranglings, hair-splittings, and disputes which at times make us turn with disgust from the Church records of the age, yet this Church, outwardly full of imperfections, was nevertheless the vehicle for handing down to mankind that "faith once for all delivered to the saints," that Christian religion so extraordinarily superior in its purity and lofty teaching to the lives and deeds of most of those who handed it down. Nor was this due to that teaching being written in a book, the Bible; for every dispute that arose throughout all the centuries turned upon the interpretation to be given to some passage or passages in the Bible. And this marvel is not confined to the Church of the first seven centuries; the same thing is to be seen throughout all the ages which follow. Notwithstanding innumerable defects in the Church's leaders, notwithstanding fierce fighting, terrible cruelties perpetrated in the name of religion, and evils of every description among the Church's members, notwithstanding even this Catholic Church becoming eventually split, through human pride, into three portions,¹ it still goes on through it all handing down a religion which suffers no stain from the imperfections of the vehicle by which it is conveyed to mankind, and showing itself able to produce, in every century and in every country, men and women whose characters and lives are those of saints upon earth.

¹ The Orthodox Greek Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Church of England.

Constantine degrades his two brothers

During the year 681, either while the General Council was actually sitting, or immediately after it had dispersed,¹ Constantine IV for some reason deprived his two brothers Tiberius and Heraclius of the imperial dignity, and subjected them to the usual process in such cases of mutilation by slitting their noses. No reasons are assigned for this action on Constantine's part, and we can only suppose either that the two brothers (who had been kept for about eleven years secluded in the imperial palace) were discovered engaged in some intrigue against him, or else, as is much more probable, that this action was taken because Justinian, Constantine's only son, was now twelve years old. Constantine's great-grandfather Heraclius, having in view the case of Phocas and in order to reduce the chances in future of usurpers thus seizing the throne, had left the imperial power to be exercised jointly by three of his sons; but the arrangement had not worked well. Constans II had similarly given the imperial dignity to his three sons even during his lifetime, but at his death his eldest son had quickly seen the evils which this might produce when his son grew up, and now apparently took this step in order to nullify them.

This question of ensuring an undisputed succession to the throne had been a permanent problem in the imperial family ever since the time of Theodosius the Great, and various methods had been tried in order to meet the difficulty. Among these, in order to prevent as far as possible the existence of collateral branches of the reigning family (with as a result disputed successions), the peculiar course had long been adopted of excluding from marriage the daughters of an emperor who had sons. And from this time forwards, after this action of Constantine IV in regard to his brothers, the same rule was extended to the younger sons of emperors; not only were they not in future given joint powers with their elder brother

¹ There is some uncertainty as to exactly when this action occurred, the statements of Theophanes on the point being somewhat ambiguous. But as the proceedings of the last meeting of the General Council are signed by all three emperors, while the edict promulgating its decision is in Constantine's name alone, it would appear that the degradation of the two brothers took place in September 681, immediately after the last sitting of the General Council.

(though they might be given the imperial title), but also they, like their sisters, were excluded from marriage. But this system worked even worse than that which had preceded it. Its effect necessarily was to make hereditary succession for any length of time in one family exceedingly unlikely;¹ so that upon the death of the reigning emperor the crown was frequently at the mercy of any ambitious man. The results are to be seen throughout the history of the Later Roman Empire during the next 400 years, until in 1081 the Comneni family abolished the system and established their dynasty.

Okba's raid in North Africa. Apparently the peace made with Muawiyah I in 677 was considered by his son and successor Yezid I to be terminated by Muawiyah's death in 680, as fighting soon afterwards began again in North Africa; and in 682 the reckless and adventurous Okba, who had been for twelve years almost continuously fighting in the district between Carthage and his capital of Kairowan, and had lately recaptured Kairowan from the Romans, started thence with a small force upon a wild marauding raid into the unknown north-western regions of the province. Against the fortified cities of the Romans² he could of course do nothing, and he evidently avoided them, and turned his arms against the various tribes of Moors inhabiting the mountainous tracts that lay in his path, especially the Moorish tribe of the Aoureba, whom he nearly exterminated, carrying off a large number of their women and girls as captives. The Arabian chroniclers give fabulous accounts of the deeds of this favourite Saracen hero of the time, but these have to be largely discounted. Okba at length reached the sea,³ where he is said to have spurred his horse into the waves, and raising his eyes to heaven to have exclaimed, "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on, to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of Thy holy name, and putting

¹ Though the dynasty inaugurated by Basil I lasted from father to son for four generations.

² See page 491, and Appendix XVI.

³ Probably to the north-west of Tingitanum, near the modern town of Ténès, on the coast opposite Cartagena (see p. 509, footnote).

to the sword all who worship any other gods but Thee." Thirty years later those unknown kingdoms of the West were to be reached by his successor Musa.¹

Then Okba fought his way back, but when he reached the neighbourhood of Biskra in the Aures Mountains, about 120 miles south of Constantine, he was attacked by the remnant of the Aoureba tribe (who thirsted for revenge), assisted by some imperial troops from Tingad, his force was defeated, and he himself was killed. He is looked upon as the great Arab saint of North Africa, and his tomb at the little village of Sidi Okba, where he fell, is one of the most revered shrines in that country. His raid, though related in extravagant terms by the Arabian chroniclers, had no influence upon the war, as he avoided the Roman cities and its only effect was to increase very largely the hatred against the Saracens felt by the Moors, and especially by those tribes of the latter with whom he had so severely dealt; and this bore fruit sixteen years later. In the following year (683) his capital of Kairowan was again attacked by the imperial forces, and captured.

Yezid I was in this year 683 succeeded as Khalif by Muawiyah II, who was followed in the same year by Merwan I, and the latter in 685 by the capable and energetic Abdul Malik, who was Khalif for twenty years (685-705).

Death of In the year 683, besides the capture of Kairowan
Constantine IV in North Africa, Constantine IV gained various successes over the Saracens on the eastern border of Asia Minor, Melitene, on the upper waters of the Euphrates, being

¹ Considerable confusion has occurred in regard to the history of the Saracen conquest of North Africa owing to Gibbon having attributed to Okba a large part of the deeds performed 25 years later by the Saracen leader Musa, and having consequently represented Okba as reaching the Atlantic beyond Tangier, after gaining numerous victories. But the learned Weil, in his *Geschichte der Chalifen*, has pointed out that Gibbon (owing to being unacquainted with eastern languages and relying upon interpreters of the, always obscure, writings of the Arabian chroniclers) has mixed up the expedition of Okba in 682 with that of Musa in 704-709, that the chief part of the deeds thus attributed to Okba were performed by Musa 25 years later, and that Okba never got anything like so far west as Tangier. In fact the time occupied by the latter's expedition would alone make this impossible; for he was killed near Biskra on his way back in that same year.

captured from them and destroyed, while in the same year they were driven to abandon Germanicea. Two years later, in September 685, Constantine IV died at the early age of thirty-five, after reigning seventeen years. He was buried in the church of the Twelve Apostles, leaving his widow Anastasia with one son, Justinian, their only child.

At Ravenna, in the church of St. Apollinare in Classe, is a much damaged mosaic representing Constantine IV at the time of his accession at eighteen, standing with his two young brothers Tiberius and Heraclius beside him. All three have the title of emperor written after their names. To the left of Constantine stands Reparatus, the Archbishop of Ravenna, to whom he hands a document marked "Privilegium," reiterating that independence of Ravenna from the jurisdiction of the Pope of Rome which his father Constans II had previously granted.¹

Justinian II. Justinian II (685-711), the last of the dynasty of Heraclius, was only sixteen when by his father's death he succeeded to the imperial throne. Unfortunately while he possessed the qualities displayed by his father Constantine and his grandfather Constans of courage, energy, and strength of character, he was not by nature endowed with their wisdom and cool judgment, and coming to the throne at so early an age he had not time to develop such qualities before he became involved in serious disasters which embittered his whole disposition. Moreover while in the case of Constans II and Constantine IV we hear of no ministers as being relied upon by them in any way, Justinian II, young, hot-tempered, and rash, was in the earlier part of his career influenced by two ministers who were execrable in character, and who by their conduct were the chief cause of the odium which at length, after ten years' misrule, caused his deposition, mutilation, and banishment. There followed for Justinian ten years of dire adversity in which his strong character and indomitable spirit were remarkably demonstrated; but when after this harsh experience he returned to power, to wreak vengeance upon all who had had any hand in his sufferings,

¹ Page 481.

an ungovernable spirit of revenge made his acts like those of a madman.

During the first five years of his reign Justinian II, notwithstanding his youth, gained remarkable successes against the Saracens. In 687 he despatched an army under the Isaurian general Leontius to Armenia and Iberia, which countries Leontius traversed as far as the Caucasus; while in the same year Justinian sent into Syria another army which, co-operating with the Mardaites, in 688 retook Antioch. In the same year in North Africa the Saracens, led by Zoheir, the successor of Okba, severely defeated an army composed of imperial troops and Moors at Thysdrus;¹ but Justinian despatched a powerful army to the assistance of North Africa, and in 689 Zoheir was overthrown. These defeats caused the new Khalif, Abdul Malik, who had succeeded his father Merwan I in the same year that Justinian succeeded his father Constantine, to sue for peace, and a peace was made in 689 by which the Khalif agreed to pay tribute and to surrender to the empire Armenia, Iberia, Arzanene, and even distant Atropatne, which extended east of Arzanene as far as the Caspian Sea. This peace was a great triumph for Justinian, who had regained countries which had not been subject to the empire since the time of his great-great-grandfather Heraclius.

Having gained this signal success over the Saracens, Justinian, then twenty-one, in 690 turned his arms against the Bulgarians who were oppressing the Slav tributaries of the empire. Leading his army in person, he in a successful campaign defeated the Bulgarians and liberated about 30,000 Slav captives. The latter he established in Mysia, on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, giving them lands, and forming them into a special corps to help in resisting the Saracens. Returning from this campaign Justinian in the same year proceeded to Armenia, where he appointed chiefs and settled the various affairs of the lately ceded country.

¹ The modern El Djem, near Ras Kapoodia, where Belisarius had landed in 533, and notable for the still existing remains of its fine Roman amphitheatre. During these contests with the Saracens it was often used as a fortress.

The Quinisext Council. In 692 Justinian, being bent upon a reform in public morals, more especially among the clergy, assembled a Church Council for the purpose which has received the peculiar name of the Quinisext Council. It passed a large body of enactments which not only show that such a reform was greatly needed, but also are highly instructive as to the manners of the time and the degree to which superstition and immorality prevailed among both clergy and laity. The enactments of this council are specially valuable owing to being almost the only document extant which shows the manners and customs of the age of Heraclius, Constans II, Constantine IV, and Justinian II.

Defeat at Sebastopolis. In the following year (693) Justinian, again leading his army in person, attacked the Saracens near Sebastopolis, at the north-eastern corner of Cappadocia. But in his force he had included the special corps of Slavs which he had formed, and two-thirds of this corps, with much ingratitude, suddenly during the battle deserted to the enemy and turned upon the Romans, causing the latter to suffer a total defeat. Justinian was not unnaturally furious at the defeat and the slaughter of his troops through this ungrateful treachery on the part of the Slavs, whom he had liberated from their captivity, and given lands for their support, but he executed a punishment which was shamefully cruel and unjust. Escaping from the battlefield he fled to Leucata (near Nicomedia), the district where he had settled the Slavs, but on arrival there, still furious with passion, he put to death all of that race whom he could find, together with their wives and children. The consequence of this defeat at Sebastopolis was the loss of Armenia; and in the following year (694) a second defeat was sustained at Germanicea, which compelled the Roman forces to abandon that city.

Unwise choice of ministers. Justinian, young and hot-tempered, was when he came to the throne amenable to both good and bad influences, but unfortunately his unwise choice of ministers caused him to be surrounded only by influences of the latter kind, and the cruelty and rapacity of his two chief ministers, Theodotus and Stephanus, in course of time covered him with odium. Theodotus was a monk who had left his monastery, preferring the more lucrative position of a

Logothetes, and had been made by Justinian his financial minister. His extortions and cruelties are said to have been terrible, various accounts being given of his cruel methods of forcing his victims to consent to the confiscation of their property.¹ Stephanus was a Persian eunuch who had charge of the privy purse, and is described as being similarly bent upon amassing wealth for himself, and equally "blood-thirsty." It is stated that on one occasion when the emperor was absent on a campaign "this savage beast" administered a whipping with leather thongs to the empress-mother Anastasia "as if she were a little school-girl." By these two men persons of all classes were consigned to prison for no cause, and various enormities perpetrated, until the government of Justinian became universally and justly detested.²

Justinian
mutilated and
banished. Justinian had for ten years devoted his restless energy to military and foreign affairs, leaving all civil administration in the hands of these two ministers. The natural result followed. In 695, when Justinian had been ten years on the throne, Leontius, the Isaurian general who had gained much reputation in Armenia in 687, but who had recently spent three years in prison (on what account we are not told), was liberated by Justinian and given an appointment in Greece. The people, however, upon his emerging from prison surrounded him and urged him to head a rebellion. It was immediately successful, none raising a hand on behalf of the emperor. Justinian, at this time twenty-six, was seized, taken to the Hippodrome, and there his nose was slit and his tongue mutilated; ³ after which cruel treatment he was placed on board a ship and banished to the Crimea. Theodotus and Stephanus were tied together by the feet, dragged through the city,

¹ Such as suspending them naked over a fire to scorch their bodies until they agreed to his demands.

² It seems probable that a great part of the crimes of these two ministers were perpetrated without Justinian's knowledge while he was absent upon his campaigns, or his visit to Armenia.

³ Most accounts speak of his tongue being "amputated," but this must be an exaggeration, as in after years he was able to speak, though no doubt with extreme difficulty. It was perhaps slit, or partially removed.

and burnt; and the imperial dignity was assumed by Leontius.

Long anarchy
in the Frank
kingdom.

In the Frank kingdom the chaos which had so long reigned began about this time to show signs of subsiding. From the time of the death in 639 of Dagobert I¹ there followed a succession of puppet kings of the Merovingian race whose exceeding profligacy was only equalled by their complete incapacity. It was "a dynasty of children"; they were fathers at 16, 15, and even 14 years of age, lived surrounded by great luxury, on the few occasions when they were seen outside their palaces appeared in magnificent chariots drawn by oxen, and died as a rule before they reached five-and-twenty. During this period interminable contests between rival "Mayors of the Palace" for the possession of these "rois fainéants" (as they were called), a chronic state of civil war between Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy, and frequent assassinations, form the history of the Frank kingdom for some fifty years. The frequent assassinations of which we read in the history of the Merovingian kings are, however, scarcely to be looked upon in the same light as they would appear in later times, or would have appeared among the Romans. Among the semi-barbarous Franks assassination carried out by the king, or on his behalf, was recognized as the royal method of execution. At length in 689 the confusion began to abate through Pépin, commonly called Pépin of Heristal,² becoming "Mayor of the Palace" and virtual ruler of the kingdom, and wielding for twenty-five years a strong rule under which it obtained some measure of rest from turmoil.

Northumbria
loses the
supremacy.

In England there occurred at this time a change as regards the centre of power among the various kingdoms, the kingdom of Northumbria losing the supremacy it had so long held. Egferth, king of Northumbria, upon succeeding his father Oswy in 670,³ failed to maintain

¹ Chap. XXIV, p. 432.

² The name is said to be given to him on insufficient authority.

³ Page 488.

his father's wise and temperate course of action. In 675 he attacked Mercia, and was at first successful, but in 679 suffered a decisive defeat. He then turned his arms against the Welsh tribes in Cumbria (Cumberland and Lancashire), and added a great part of Cumbria to his dominions. But these conquests brought about a blow to Northumbria from which it never recovered. Egferth, emboldened by his successes against the Welsh, determined to attack the Scots, and in 685 (the year that at Constantinople Justinian II succeeded to the imperial throne) he crossed the Forth into the territory of the Scots and Picts. Advancing into the mountains of Scotland he was attacked by the Scots and Picts on the 20th May 685 at a place which Bede calls Dumnechtan, and which has been identified with Nechtsanmere, near Forfar; and there his whole army was destroyed, scarcely a man escaping to tell the tale in Edinburgh, and Egferth himself being killed.¹ His body was buried at Iona. The kingdom of Northumbria, unable to recover from this crushing blow, lost its supremacy, the centre of power among the seven kingdoms shifted, and Wessex became for a time the leading kingdom.

Nearly 200 years had elapsed since Cedric, leading
Ina, king of Wessex. the second great wave of Saxon invasion into Britain,² in 496 (the year that saw Clovis and his knights accept Christianity) had founded the kingdom of the West Saxons. Since that time Wessex, converted to Christianity by Berinus in 634, had generally remained weaker than the other kingdoms owing to domestic discord, no one branch of the house of Cedric being able to control the others. This state of affairs was at length ended by Ina, king of Wessex, who succeeded to that kingdom in 688, and ruled over Wessex with vigour and ability to the great advantage of the West Saxons for thirty-eight years (688-726). He at once began to extend his dominions. He first attacked Kent, won several victories over that kingdom, took Sussex, and set up his relative Nunna as ruler over it under himself. Ina then in 694 turned his arms against the descendants of the

¹ Egferth's widowed queen, Æthelthryth (Audrey), known as St Æthelthryth, founded the abbey of Ely, on an island in the marshes of Gyrwe, the debateable land between Northumbria and East Anglia.

² Chap. XX, p. 162.

Romanized Britons to the west of his kingdom, drove Geraint, the British king of Damnonia, out of his capital of Taunton, conquered Somersetshire, and annexed it to his kingdom of Wessex, building a castle at Taunton.

By this conquest of Somersetshire the Saxons at last gained possession of the revered shrine of Avallon¹ (to which they gave the name of Glastonbury), venerated for its legendary history which associated it with the very earliest beginnings of Christianity in Britain, while ever since the destruction of Roman Britain it had gained additional honour as the burial-place of the great British hero King Arthur.² After being protected from the Saxons for 200 years by the descendants of the Romanized Britons, it now came into their possession when they were no longer eager to destroy all Christian buildings, but on the contrary felt a superstitious reverence for them.³

Having thus triumphed both towards the east and the west, Ina then endeavoured to extend his kingdom to the north, and entered upon a war with Mercia; but here he was not equally successful, and though the war was continued for a long time neither kingdom gained any advantage.

Ina's supremacy, however, was not attained merely through his successes in war, but still more through his qualities as an enlightened ruler. He drew up a code of laws which show how carefully he provided for every detail of the affairs of his kingdom and the welfare of his people. These laws are the oldest in England except those of the kingdom of Kent, and were taken in the 9th century as the basis of the code then drawn up by Alfred the Great. Ina was also a strong patron of learning, while he is still more notable for having rebuilt and endowed the abbey of Glastonbury.⁴

¹ The first church at the far-famed island of Avallon (Glastonbury) is said to have been a little wattled building of legendary antiquity, dating from the 1st century. Some twenty-five years after Arthur's death, David of Menevia is said to have built, about 546, a new church near the old one. About 628 the old one was entirely encased in lead by Paulinus, the first Bishop of York. Ina's church, built about 700, replaced these early foundations.

² See Chap. XX, p. 163.

³ Chap. XXVI, p. 573.

⁴ Regarding the rest of Ina's reign and his abdication after reigning thirty-eight years, see Chap. XXVI, p. 573.

This action on the part of the Saxon king Ina marks one of the most notable events in English history. For Glastonbury is the great link between the Romanized Britons who were driven back into the west at the end of the 5th century by a mass of Pagan foes, and their Saxon conquerors. The one principal church of Roman Britain which was preserved from the destruction which overtook every other when the Saxons and Angles swept over Britain, turning that prosperous land into "a serpent-haunted wilderness, the country of the dead," it remained protected from ruin by these Pagan foes until in the 7th century they became Christians, and in the time of Ina gained possession of this revered shrine. Then the link between conquerors and conquered was forged. The West Saxons, no longer ruthless destroyers, became builders; under the auspices of Ina a fresh and much larger church was erected; and in after centuries another and yet another, each larger than its predecessor; while in the plot of ground adjoining this ancient shrine,—the ground where the body of its British defender King Arthur had been interred,—were laid in the course of many centuries the bodies of numberless Saxon and Norman men and women of royal blood, making this the most hallowed spot of English soil, a plot of ground where three great streams of English blood unite, British, Saxon, and Norman. Speaking of the early beginnings in the dim mists of the past of this much-revered Avallon, the burial-place of Arthur, thus rebuilt and endowed by the great West Saxon king, and of the legends which surround it, Professor Freeman has said, "It is on any showing a tie between the Briton and the Englishman, between the older Christianity of our island and the newer, the one church of the first rank which lived through the storm of English conquest, and which passed into the hands of our victorious fathers as a trophy of victory undestroyed and unplundered."¹

Ten years' interregnum. During the ten years that Justinian II remained in banishment (695–705) the imperial throne was held, first for three years by Leontius (695–698), and then for

¹ Proceedings of Somersetshire Archæological Society, 1874.

seven years by Apsimar (698-705). The period of the rule of these two usurpers was chiefly marked by the further strenuous conflicts with the Saracens, now under the rule of the energetic Khalif Abdul Malik.

In 697 the Saracens overran a large part of Asia Minor, and also gained Lazica, which revolted from the empire and submitted to the Khalif Abdul Malik.

And in the same year the latter sent a large army against North Africa under Hassan, the governor of Egypt. Hassan retook Kairowan, and also captured Carthage; but Leontius despatched John the Patrician¹ to North Africa with the whole of the Roman fleet, together with the assistance of further troops from Sicily, and John defeated the Saracens and retook Carthage. In 698 however the Khalif Abdul Malik prepared a still larger army and fleet, and despatched it against Carthage. A fierce battle was fought near Utica, on the western side of the bay of Carthage, in which battle John was totally defeated, and being forced to embark the remnant of his shattered force sailed for Constantinople to obtain reinforcements. He had no intention of abandoning the struggle for Carthage, but intended to return when reinforced. Upon his departure, however, the Saracens succeeded in taking Carthage, and to prevent the return of the imperial fleet Hassan filled up the harbour, and almost entirely destroyed the city.²

John sailed to Crete, but on his arrival there the defeated troops, fearing the wrath of Leontius at this loss of Carthage, chose Apsimar, the admiral of the fleet, as his successor on the throne. Apsimar sailed forthwith to Constantinople, entered the harbour of the Golden Horn, and managed by treachery to gain admittance

The throne
seized by
Apsimar.

¹ As an Exarch was given the title of *patricius* the designation of "the Patrician" was often used in place of that of the Exarch. It therefore indicates that John had been appointed Exarch of North Africa.

² It is generally stated that Carthage was given to the flames, but this can only be partially true. The ruins of Carthage were used for centuries as a quarry for materials which were sufficiently valuable to be transported thence even to Kairowan (80 miles distant) and other cities; while many of its "Byzantine" columns were carried off by the Saracens to Cordova when they subsequently conquered Spain.

through the gate of the palace of Blachernæ, at the north-west corner of the city. Thereupon his troops proceeded to attack those of Leontius and to plunder the city. Leontius was seized, and treated as he had treated Justinian; his nose was slit, and he was sent into banishment.¹

Meanwhile though John the Patrician was unable to return with reinforcements to continue the struggle round Carthage North Africa unaided had effected its own deliverance. Though the Saracens had destroyed Carthage they had not by any means yet conquered North Africa. Not only were the numerous cities which were scattered over the 1000 miles which lay between Carthage and Septem (Ceuta), and were inhabited by the Roman population of the province, exceptionally strongly fortified, and held in many cases by small Roman garrisons, but also the Saracens had to reckon with the Moors, inhabiting all the mountainous parts of the province, and for many years past accustomed in large numbers to form part of the imperial armies, and in particular to furnish a considerable portion of the imperial cavalry. Idolaters in religion, leading a nomad life, and brought up amidst barren mountains and scorching deserts, the Moors possessed many qualities akin to those of the Saracens themselves. Large contingents furnished by this warlike race had taken part in all the contests against the Saracens during the fifty years since the latter first invaded the country,² while many of their tribes bore a special hatred against the Saracens on account of various cruelties suffered from them in the course of these contests, more particularly those tribes who had suffered so severely at the hands of Okba in the raid conducted by him in 682.

Led by their prophetess-queen Damia,³ the Moors now violently attacked the Saracens, who had scarcely finished destroying Carthage when they found themselves assailed by the Moors with a fury and enthusiasm equal to their own.

¹ Apsimar upon thus usurping the throne called himself Tiberius III.

² They had for instance formed nearly half of the large army of the Exarch Gregory when he advanced to oppose the Saracens at their first invasion of the province in 647 (page 460).

³ Gibbon calls her name Cahina, but "Cahina" simply means "prophetess."

The Saracen forces in North Africa, already much reduced by the fighting round Carthage, were unable to withstand this attack. They fell back before the Moors, lost Kairowan and all the territory they had gained round Carthage and Tripoli, and being steadily driven back by the Moors evacuated the country and retired again into Egypt, whence they did not emerge for the next five years (699-704).

Apsimar. North Africa having thus given the Saracens a severe repulse and being for the time free from their attacks, Apsimar turned his attention to opposing them in Asia Minor and Syria. He appointed his capable brother Heraclius commander-in-chief of all the themes in Asia Minor, and Heraclius well justified this choice. In 699 the Saracens made a raid into the Roman territories, but were driven back. In 700 Apsimar sent a strong force against them in Syria which overran all the northern part of that country. In 701 the Saracens retaliated by invading Cilicia, but the Roman forces again drove them back, and advanced as far as Samosata. And in 703 Apsimar's brother Heraclius gained a great victory over them in Cilicia, and a second still more crushing victory at Sisium in Cilicia early in 704, and drove them out of that province. These various contests during the years 697-704 show how steadfast was the resistance carried on by the Later Roman Empire against the Saracen power even during a period of domestic anarchy.

Vicissitudes of Justinian. Meanwhile the banished Justinian had been going through many vicissitudes. Arriving towards the end of the year 695, sorely wounded in the face and inwardly raging in mind, at the cheerless frontier town of Cherson (near the modern Sebastopol), he had been kept by the magistrates of the town under strict surveillance and subjected to many hardships. Henceforth he became possessed of but one idea, viz. to wreak a terrible vengeance upon those who had maltreated him; nor apparently did he after a time conceal this determination. At length, after he had been at Cherson about five years, the magistrates of the town, fearing to retain the charge of one who they felt was fabricating plots against the existing government, determined to kill him. But Justinian, becoming aware of this intention, contrived about the year 701 to escape, and fled for refuge to the Tartar tribe of the

Khazars, with whom his father's great-grandfather Heraclius had had friendly relations in 626.¹ The Chagan of the Khazars was proud to show him honour, and after a time, about the year 702, gave him his sister in marriage. Justinian was fond of copying his great namesake, and by his desire upon marrying him she took the name of Theodora.

Justinian remained with the Khazars for nearly three years, during which time Theodora bore him a daughter. But in the beginning of 704 Apsimar, becoming alarmed at the intrigues which Justinian was prosecuting, sent an embassy to the Chagan promising him a large sum of money if he would send him Justinian dead or alive, and the Chagan, won over by this offer, secretly gave orders to two of his principal officers to kill Justinian. But the latter's Tartar wife Theodora, hearing of what was intended, warned Justinian; whereupon Justinian when alone with one of the two officers, Papatzys (with whom he had been on friendly terms), seized him, and strangled him with his own hands. He then promptly obtained a private interview with the other officer, Balgitzys, governor of the town of Bosphorus,² killed him in the same way, fled down to the shore, seized a fishing boat which he found there, and sailed to a place called Symbolum, where he summoned to him several adherents who had remained there. The personal strength, boldness, and resource displayed in this episode throw a light upon Justinian's remarkable character.

From Symbolum Justinian, taking with him his two or three adherents, sailed in the fishing boat along the north-western coast of the Black Sea, making for the mouth of the Danube, but on the way the boat was caught in a severe storm and was in the greatest danger. One of his adherents, thinking that they were certainly about to sink, implored Justinian to vow that if he got back his throne he would spare his enemies. To which Justinian replied, "If I spare a single one of them, may God drown me this instant in the waves." Not even in imminent danger of death was Justinian's spirit quelled. At length he reached the Danube, ascended that river a short distance, and sent a messenger to Terbel, the king of the

¹ Chap. XXIV, p. 417.

² The town of Bosphorus was situated on the straits connecting Lake Mæotis with the Black Sea.

Bulgarians, asking him to give him assistance to get back his throne, and promising in return to give him his daughter (then an infant) in marriage and many gifts. Terbel agreed, welcomed Justinian with honour, and the latter remained with him during the winter of 704. At the same time Apsimar collected all his available troops at Constantinople to meet the attack which he now foresaw would come upon him in the spring from the Bulgarians.

In the spring of 705 Justinian, by this time a man of thirty-six, accompanied by Terbel with a large army of Bulgarians and Slavs, advanced against Constantinople. Apsimar's troops insulted the Bulgarians from the walls, but after the attack had lasted three days Justinian with a small party of soldiers managed to find an entrance through an unguarded drain leading into the Blachernæ palace at the north-western corner of the city, and established himself in that palace. It is evident that, whatever may have been the attitude of the troops (regarding which we are told nothing), the citizens of Constantinople did not side with Apsimar. Possibly the cruelties which had been carried out by Justinian's ministers had been chiefly directed against the rich; or the people may have recognized that they had been chiefly the crimes of his ministers rather than of himself; in any case ten years had since then elapsed, and these cruelties were forgotten. The people felt that Justinian was their hereditary sovereign, they pitied his misfortunes, and they admired the courage and fortitude which he had displayed under them, and before September Justinian was master of Constantinople, and Apsimar had fled. Terbel was given the title of *Caesar*, and with his army departed to his kingdom laden with gifts. Soon afterwards Justinian received a scornful message from the Chagan of the Khazars informing him that his wife Theodora had borne him a son, and bidding him send for her and the child; and towards the end of the year Theodora and her son Tiberius reached Constantinople.¹

His
vengeance. Meanwhile Justinian had begun to carry out the vengeance over which he had brooded for ten years.

¹ In this same year 705 the Khalif Abdul Malik died, and was succeeded by Walid I (705-715).

Leontius was dragged from the monastery where he had taken refuge; Apsimar was caught and brought to Constantinople; and after being dragged in ignominy through the streets the two usurpers, each of whom had received homage as an emperor for several years, were laid, bound in chains, below Justinian's throne in the Hippodrome, while the latter sat presiding at the games with his feet upon their necks; after which they were executed. Apsimar's brother Heraclius was captured, brought to Constantinople, and hanged with all his officers. Callinicus, the Pope of Constantinople, who had joined in the rebellion of Leontius and had crowned him, was blinded, and sent as a prisoner to Rome, as an example to others of a similar rank in the Church. Nevertheless it is plain that Justinian had the people on his side, or he could not have done all this. We are also told that he put to death all Apsimar's soldiers; but this must be an exaggeration, for without a force to support him Justinian could not have seized Apsimar, Leontius, Heraclius, and others, and have carried out all these executions. It appears however that a large number of the soldiers were put to death, and that Justinian's subsequent military operations suffered severely in consequence.

Vindictive
fury. But Justinian was by this time practically mad. Long brooding over his wrongs (of which he had an hourly reminder in the mutilation of his face¹ and in his difficulties of speech), combined with uncontrolled indulgence of vindictive wrath lashed continually into fury, had made him a monomaniac. And the results in a strong nature like his were terrible. The next six years were a reign of terror in Constantinople. The vow which he had sworn amidst the stormy waves of the Black Sea not to spare a single one who had had any part in his mutilation and banishment was carried out to the letter. We are told that he "furiously raged" for six years. Men in the highest positions were slain in multitudes; the axe, the cord, and the rack were unceasingly at work; and every fantastic device was employed to render the deaths of those concerned as bitter as possible. While thus occupied Justinian fell out with his ally Terbel, and in

¹ He was called by the Byzantines "Rhinotmetos" (the slit-nosed), and by this name is known in history.

707 led an expedition against him ; but the army had become demoralized by the slaughter of so many officers and soldiers, and the force was routed by the Bulgarians. A similar result ensued in the case of a force which Justinian sent to relieve Tyana, then being besieged by the Saracens ; the force was defeated, and in March 708 Tyana was taken by the Saracens and destroyed.

Even distant Ravenna did not escape a share in this reign of terror. The reason is obscure, but Agnellus indicates that some citizens of Ravenna had taken part in Justinian's mutilation.¹ Theodore the Patrician was sent to Ravenna with troops and a fleet, and on his arrival invited the chief men of that city, including the Archbishop, Felix, to a banquet, at which they were seized, placed on board ship, and brought to Constantinople. There they were brought before Justinian, "who was seated upon a golden throne studded with emeralds, and wore a turban, interwoven with gold and pearls by the cunning hands of his Khazar Empress."² The senators of Ravenna were all slain ; the Archbishop was blinded in the usual way, by being made to look into a red-hot dish until his eyes were destroyed, after which he was permitted to return to Ravenna.³

But most of all did Justinian's fury rage against Cherson, whose inhabitants had planned to slay him in his adversity. Expedition after expedition was despatched to Cherson with orders to slay the inhabitants wholesale. When his officers only killed a portion of them, roasting some over a fire, drowning others, and sending their children into slavery, Justinian exclaimed "All are guilty ; all must perish," and in 710 sent another expedition with

¹ Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Ravenna*, in *Vita S. Felicis*.

² Hodgkin, *Invaders of Italy*, VI, 374.

³ We are given an opportunity of estimating the value of the records drawn up by the Papal biographers regarding the events of this period when we find that in recording this cruel and entirely unjust treatment which came upon the Archbishop and chief citizens of Ravenna these writers attribute it to the evil conduct of the see of Ravenna in having obtained from Constans II and Constantine IV authority to be independent of the jurisdiction of the see of Rome, and therefore consider that those in question received in being thus treated a just punishment.

orders to leave no human being alive, man, woman, or child, and to level Cherson with the ground. But his officers Helias, Vardan (a son of the patrician Nicephorus), and the patrician Maurus Bessus, who were sent in succession to execute these inhuman commands, being determined no longer to endure the rule of a madman, on arrival at Cherson revolted, and joined the citizens. Justinian, suspecting them, crossed over to Asia Minor with a force, and proceeded towards Sinope, to ascertain what they were doing. But his force upon the approach of Helias (whose children Justinian in revenge had slain, and whose wife he had compelled to marry her negro cook) also revolted. Helias thereupon struck off Justinian's head, and Vardan, taking the name Philippicus, was proclaimed emperor (Sept. 711). Maurus proceeded to the Blachernæ palace in Constantinople, where the six-year-old boy Tiberius was living with his grandmother Anastasia (his mother Theodora being apparently dead), took the child to the postern gate, and there cut his throat.

Dynasty of
Heraclius. The dynasty of Heraclius which thus came to an end was remarkable for its strength of character; Heraclius, Constans II, Constantine IV, and Justinian II all showed this quality. Two things are also notable regarding this dynasty neither of which are mentioned by the ecclesiastical writers who are the only authorities for the events of the period. One is that the emperors of that house were undoubtedly liked by the people. We see this indicated not only in the history of Heraclius, Constans II, and Constantine IV by the entire absence of any rebellions or plots against their lives, but even in the case of Justinian II, by the readiness of the people to place him again on the throne after he had been banished for ten years; and it is therefore to be inferred that as regards the great mass of the population of the empire the rule of Heraclius and his descendants was sympathetic and temperate. The other point to be remarked is that they were remarkably free from immorality in their private lives. Already noted in the case of Constans II, this is no less plainly shown in a similar way in the case of Justinian II; notwithstanding all the execration justly poured upon the latter for his terrible cruelties we find no single suggestion made against him on the score of immorality; &

fact which in the case of the erratic and violent Justinian II is specially remarkable. It is evident that this quality of personal chastity, at a period also when the characteristics displayed in this respect by the kings of the western nations were in such startling contrast, was hereditary in the race of Heraclius. It is also noticeable that Heraclius, Constans II, Constantine IV, and Justinian II all departed from the custom which had grown up under weaker emperors, by personally commanding their armies in war on various occasions.

Mahomedan
Conquest of
North Africa. While Justinian had been regaining his throne and executing his terrible vengeance, affairs in the largest and most prosperous province of the empire had undergone an immense change. For fifty-seven years the Saracens had been attacking North Africa, but after fighting for nearly two generations had in 699 lost even their city of Kairowan and had retired back to Egypt for five years to recruit their forces; so that up to the year 704 they had gained nothing except the destruction of Carthage and the devastation of the district round it. Throughout the last thirty of these fifty-seven years, ever since the founding of Kairowan, the fighting had been almost incessant; but the eastern district of the province (from Carthage on the north to Capsa ¹ on the south) though itself continuously devastated by war, had stood like a much battered shield, protecting all that lay beyond it to the west.

Character of
the province. Behind that shield the province stretched (as yet unpenetrated by the Saracens, except for the raid carried out by Okba in 682) for a length as the crow flies of 1000 miles from Carthage to Tingis (now Tangiers), traversed by the great Roman road, 1430 miles in length, running from Carthage viâ Sitifis, Tingitanum, Pomaria, and Ruaddir to Tingis. On its northern side, along the coast, the province was bordered by the range of the Tel Atlas, and on its southern side by the range of the Sahara Atlas, while its width, from these latter mountains to the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, averaged roughly 200 miles. A prominent and important

¹ Now Gafsa. Portions of the "Byzantine" fortress at Gafsa are still in use, as also the Roman Baths.

feature of the province were the wide plateaux in all directions which extended from the lower slopes of the mountains, watered by the numerous streams which descended from the latter, and supplying large quantities of corn. The province included every variety of scenery,—lofty mountains, covered in many places with forests of cedars, oaks, and elms, healthy plateaux upon which stood many of the most important cities, and beautiful valleys—and was for the most part exceedingly fertile, except in the most western portion, west of Numerus Syrorum (the modern Lalla-Marnia), beyond which for the last 200 miles the country was in general bare and rugged, with few towns. The mountainous districts were inhabited by the rough mountain race of the Moors,¹ but the more open parts of the province, including the plateaux, were crowded with populous and strongly fortified cities,² and the inhabitants of these cities were almost entirely Roman, North Africa having always been the most essentially Roman province in the empire next to Italy itself,³ while the latter country since its conquest by the Lombards could scarcely any longer be looked upon as in any sense Roman.⁴ The Roman population of North Africa was in fact at this time the largest body among the subjects of the empire who were still entitled to be called “Romani,” in contradistinction to the “Romaioi.” Even the small fact, of their habitually styling the Exarch by his Latin title, and calling him the “Patricius,” in preference to the Greek word “Exarch,” helps to show their essentially Roman character.

¹ More properly Berbers or Khabyles. In Roman times, while the term “North Africa” was usually applied to the part of the province in the vicinity of Carthage (the country now called Tunis), the western part of the province was called by the general name of Mauretania (its various portions being known as Mauretania Tingitana, Mauretania Cæsariensis, Mauretania Sitifensis, and so on), and hence the name of *Moors* became applied by the Romans to all the indigenous Berber or Khabyle tribes of North Africa, as a general name distinguishing them from the Roman population of the province.

² See p. 491, and Appendix XVI.

³ Differing in that respect entirely from the province which lay next to it on the other side of the Lybian desert, Egypt, which had always been as essentially Greek.

⁴ Chap. XXIV, p. 431.

The total difference in sentiment, language, and military qualities of the Romans of the province of North Africa from the Romans of the province of Egypt has previously been noted;¹ just as thoroughly as Egypt was in all matters in spirit eastern, so no less thoroughly was North Africa in spirit western. The Saracens in all their previous conflicts with the empire, as well as with Persia, had been pitted against eastern races; in attacking North Africa they for the first time were met by a race belonging to the West. The result had been shown in the fact that, instead of their rapid progress in the east, they had been for fifty-seven years fighting at the eastern end of the province of North Africa without being able to progress further. Professor Freeman in commenting upon this fact in comparison with the rapidity of their conquests in the east attributes it to "the strong imperial spirit of the inhabitants of North Africa," and says:—"Roman in every sense, their language Latin, and their faith Catholic, they offered a far stouter resistance than the races of eastern origin." Now however a final attack was to end for ever this Roman province of North Africa.

It has generally been assumed that North Africa during the 170 years after its reconquest by the empire in 533 from the Vandals steadily declined in prosperity, that at the time of the Saracen invasion the Roman population had become much reduced, and that when in 698 Carthage was destroyed not many were left to make any resistance to the final invasion which came in 704. It has however been shown² that so far from this decline in prosperity having taken place, the decline which occurred during the reign of Justinian had during the period 570-704 been reversed. The effects of more than a hundred years of peace, of a succession of able governors, and of the immigration into North Africa of large numbers of the Roman population driven to fly from Italy to escape the dire miseries brought upon them in that country by the Lombards, had raised North Africa to a condition of great prosperity; while the supposition that the destruction of Carthage put an end to resistance ignores all the rest of a province 1000 miles long

¹ Vol. I, Chap. VIII, p. 292.

² See p. 490.

by 200 miles broad, crowded for about four-fifths of its length with numerous strong cities.¹

Nor is this all. The theory that at the time the Saracen invasion occurred the Roman population of that province, and its prosperity, had become greatly reduced is now conclusively refuted by the greater knowledge which in recent years has been gained regarding the numerous ruined cities of North Africa (until lately not able to be visited), which furnish copious proofs contradicting that theory. It was not only the most strongly fortified part of the whole empire, but also the city walls of latest date, and many of the numerous fortresses built to protect the cities,² have been found to a large extent to have been constructed during the very period when it has been assumed that those cities had become empty of any inhabitants.

This evidence of a numerous population and much prosperity at the period in question furnished by the ruins of many of the Roman cities of North Africa is also corroborated by other facts. Not very long before the Saracens first appeared North Africa was able to fit out a naval and military expedition sufficiently powerful to enable the son of the governor of the province to seize the imperial throne, and at the same time was able to equip an army entirely composed of cavalry to proceed against Egypt to assist in the same object.³ Again, throughout the reigns of the emperors of the house of Heraclius the Church of North Africa was the most important part of the Church in the West; and on at least two occasions important Church Councils of its Bishops took place, one of these being in 646, only the year before the Saracens' first invasion of the province. This in the same way shows a numerous population and much prosperity.

The destruction of Carthage in 698 had at last battered in the "shield"⁴ which had so long stood protecting all the

¹ The great length of the province of North Africa, combined with the habit of the Roman writers in often using the term "North Africa" as synonymous with "Carthage," has caused much confusion, writers frequently speaking of "North Africa" when they only mean to refer to the district surrounding Carthage.

² Page 491.

³ Chap. XXIV, p. 396.

⁴ Page 526.

remaining seven-eighths of the province ; but this removal of its shield did not affect the rest of the province at the moment, being immediately succeeded by the retirement of the Saracen forces from North Africa in consequence of their defeat by the Moors. So that up to the time when this final invasion in 704 took place the greater part of this wide-spreading province was in the same state of prosperity as hitherto, and was in a condition, fortified so extensively as it was, to make a vigorous defence. Again, the fact that in this invasion Musa, the Saracen commander, took five years to cover a distance of 1000 miles as the crow flies, or 1400 miles by road, shows that he had not merely to march through cities empty of inhabitants, or ready to submit, but that on the contrary these cities had a numerous population and offered a strenuous resistance. Such a march would not have taken Musa more than five or six months at most if he had been unopposed, or opposed only by attacks in the field made by the Moorish tribes, so that in that case he would have reached Tangiers at the end of 704 or beginning of 705, and not, as he did, in 709.

It would also appear that in the case of many of these cities the citizens had the assistance of small bodies of regular troops. For when John the Patrician, Exarch of North Africa, sailed for Constantinople in 698 after his defeat at Utica we are expressly told that he did so in order to obtain reinforcements ; and during the period 698-704 the authorities at Constantinople only refrained from sending such reinforcements, and turned their attention to meeting the Saracens in Asia Minor, because that was the point then chiefly attacked by the latter and because North Africa was at that time completely free from attack, the Saracens having retired to Egypt.¹ Since, therefore, the imperial authorities, notwithstanding the loss of Carthage, had no other intention than that of resuming the defence of North Africa at a future time when it should again be attacked, they naturally left the garrisons in other parts of the province undisturbed. Moreover when John the Patrician embarked his shattered force after his defeat at Utica we do not hear of any withdrawal of the garrisons from

¹ Page 520.

important fortresses in other parts of the province¹; nor would there have been time for this, some of those garrisons being at distances of 800 miles or more from Carthage. It therefore seems that the majority of these garrisons must have remained at their posts, and subsequently took part (as they were intended to do) in the defence of the cities where they were stationed.

These various considerations, together with the evidence furnished by the ruined cities themselves, tend to show that when this final invasion in 704 took place the province (except that eastern portion lying between Carthage on the north and Capsa on the south which had formed a shield to the rest) was in a high state of prosperity, and its Roman population very numerous, and occupying a large number of strongly fortified cities.

In 704 the Saracens, having in five years reorganized their forces and gathered a much more powerful army, again advanced from Egypt in great strength under Musa, who had succeeded Hassan as governor of Egypt, and who during the five years 704-709 conquered North Africa. The time chosen was just that when circumstances made the empire least able to meet this invasion. At the time that this final attack was launched against North Africa Apsimar, having defeated the Saracens in Cilicia, was collecting all his forces at Constantinople to resist the threatened advance of the Bulgarians to reinstate Justinian; and subsequently, during 705, while Musa was slowly subduing one city after another in North Africa, Justinian was regaining his throne, executing his vengeance upon Apsimar and many others in a reign of terror at Constantinople, and creating demoralization in the army by the number of officers and soldiers put to death. At such a time it was impossible that any troops should be available to assist North Africa, and that province was necessarily left to defend itself as best it might. That it did so bravely is proved by the long time that it took Musa to subdue it.

¹ Such as those stationed at Numerus Syrorum, Pomaria, Altava, Castellum Tingitanum, Auzia, Sitifis, and other fortresses guarding the great central road through the province, and those holding important cities or fortresses in other directions, such as Septem, Tingartia, Cæsarea, Constantine, Tingad, Tebessa, Thubursicum, Bagai, Tipasa, Augusta Ammædara, Thelepte, and Sicca Venerea.

The conquest of North Africa is a sealed book, a door over which a dark curtain hangs. Mystery ever broods over North Africa, and nowhere more so than in regard to this great conquest which turned the most Roman province of the empire into a Mahomedan land. The case is like that of a ship which founders at sea with all on board, and regarding which all that is known is the condition of the vessel when she left port, the date of her departure, and that she never arrived at her destination. We are only able to trace out the main features from what we know of the conditions which existed when Musa's army appeared on the confines of the province in 704, and of what they were when five years later that army reached Tangiers.

Conquest wrapped in obscurity. Musa had a double enemy to meet. He had both Course of the campaign. to subdue an immense number of strongly fortified cities, held by their Roman citizens assisted in various cases by a small body of regular troops; and he had also to meet attacks from the half-trained Moors, tribe after tribe of whom as he advanced westwards would descend upon him either from the Atlas mountains on his left or from the Kabyle mountains (the Tel Atlas) on his right.

Tripoli offered no obstacle, but after passing Tacape (now Gabes), the chief harbour on the Gulf of Syrtis Minor, Musa was opposed in the neighbourhood of Thysdrus by a strong force of Moors, again led by their prophetess-queen Damia. A fierce battle ensued near Thysdrus in which the brave queen Damia was killed; after which the Moors suffered successive defeats. Regarding the subsequent course of the contest for the possession of North Africa we know only the result, the destruction which supervened over the whole of this great province being so complete that it left none alive capable of giving any record of its events.¹ Nevertheless we can form some idea of those events from the general information we possess as to the condition of the province at the time. The whole life of seventy or eighty busy and prosperous cities did not come to an end because

¹ Neither the Saracens, nor of course the Moors (who knew nothing of writing), supply us with any reliable information. The obscurity of the writings of the Arabian chronicles has already been noticed, and in this case they had more than usual reason for being obscure.

Carthage, distant hundreds of miles from many of them, had ceased to exist, or because the Saracens were again fighting, as so often before, at the eastern end of the province. A city like Tingartia,¹ or Sitifis, or Constantine would hear in 704 that the Saracens had returned and were again fighting in the eastern district, but its daily life would go on as usual until, one, two, or three years later, the Saracens appeared, surrounded the city, and called upon its whole population to submit and become Mahomedans.

City after city was captured, plundered, and in many cases destroyed. Musa (apparently dividing his army after his victory at Thysdrus) took in succession, on the south, Capsa,² Thelepte,³ Augusta Ammædara,⁴ Tebessa,⁵

¹ Nearly 600 miles from Carthage.

² The capital of the second section of the province of North Africa, that called Byzacena.^a An important city in all ages, being the portal of the desert, and all caravans passing through it. Its walls were entirely rebuilt in the 6th century by Justinian, and these "Byzantine" walls still remain, while the "Byzantine" citadel is still in use.

³ Up to the time of the Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 Thelepte was the chief place on the main road between Capsa and Tebessa. Its ruins include a "Byzantine" fortress with many towers, a large set of Baths, and the ruins of many churches.

⁴ A model Roman "camp" (castra), the junction of four important roads. Up to the time of the Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 was no less important than Tebessa. Its huge "Byzantine" fortress is the largest in North Africa, enclosing an area of 219 yards by 120 yards, the walls being of great strength, with many towers, and including within them the ruins of a church. Outside the fortrees are the ruins of another church with extensive "Byzantine" additions and numerous tombstones. Also a set of Baths, and other Roman remains (see also Appendix XVI).

⁵ The original head-quarters of the Third Legion (the legion permanently stationed in North Africa), and connected with Carthage by a Roman military road. After being destroyed in the Vandal period, it was entirely rebuilt in the 6th century by Justinian, and is still enclosed by the walls built at that time. These "Byzantine" walls have 14 towers and 3 gates. Outside the walls are the ruins of an immense church, the oldest portions being of the 4th century and the latest of the 7th century, while its cemetery shows that it was in use up to the time of the Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 (see also Appendix XVI).

Bagai,¹ Timgad,² and Diana Veteranorum ;³ and on the north, following the great main road, took in turn Augusta Mactaris,⁴ Sicca Venerea,⁵ Madaura,⁶ Tipasa,⁷ Thubursicum,⁸

¹ Bagai was one of the chief cities of this part of North Africa. In the 4th century a Church Council of 310 Bishops had been held there. It was at the time of the Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 protected by immense "Byzantine" walls, and a fortress the ruins of which, with 25 towers, enclose a space 360 yards long by 335 yards wide. On the north-west side the fortress has a citadel 84 feet high. The city itself has been entirely destroyed, the sole remnant of it being this huge "Byzantine" fortress.

² The most important military station on the southern side of the province, standing on a high plateau. In the 3rd and 4th centuries what Cologne was to the Rhine frontier that Timgad was to the African frontier of the empire. After the city had been ruined during the Vandal period a huge "Byzantine" fortress to defend this part of the province was built by Justinian in the 6th century, with walls 8 feet thick and many towers. These "Byzantine" walls enclose an area 122 yards long by 80 yards wide, while eight of the towers still remain. Outside the fortress are the ruins of the church built by Gregory, the governor of North Africa, in 645, only two years before the first invasion of the Saracens. (Regarding the other Roman remains at Timgad, see App. XVI.)

³ A considerable colony of veteran soldiers. Its ruins include a "Byzantine" fortress, and a "Byzantine" church, besides a Triumphal Arch, a Forum, and other Roman remains.

⁴ At the time of the Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 was an important city. Its ruins include a "Byzantine" church, a Triumphal Arch, a Roman mausoleum, aqueduct, and other Roman remains.

⁵ A large and important city strongly situated on a rocky hill. At the time of the Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 was considered of the greatest strategical importance, being the junction of four important main roads, a position which has given it its modern name of Le Kef (the key). Its "Byzantine" remains have been largely obliterated by the modern city, but among those still visible are the "Byzantine" city walls and the "Byzantine" ruins of three churches.

⁶ Situated on a high plateau, with a conspicuous "Byzantine" fortress. Also ruins of Baths, a church of the 4th century, and other Roman remains.

⁷ A large "Byzantine" fortress on a high plateau, the only remains of the destroyed city of Tipasa.

⁸ Situated on a high plateau. At the time of the invasion in 704-709 was one of the chief cities in this part of North Africa, and was protected by two "Byzantine" fortresses, the ruins of which remain. Has also ruins of a Triumphal Arch, Baths, and Forum.

Thibilis,¹ Constantine,² and Sitifis.³ From Sitifis, steadily advancing westwards, Musa then took in succession Thamalla,⁴ Tigsirt,⁵ Cæsarea,⁶ Tingitanum,⁷ Tingartia,⁸

¹ Situated on a plateau. At the time of the Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 was a prosperous city surrounded by "Byzantine" town walls of a late date, the ruins of which remain, together with the "Byzantine" ruins of a church. Also a Forum, and other Roman remains.

² The capital of the third section of the province of North Africa, that called Mauretania Sitifensis.^a A very strong city situated on a high plateau encircled on three sides by the river Rhumel. Was the only city which Gaiseric, the Vandal King, was unable to take when he invaded North Africa in 429. Its name was changed from that of Cirta in the 4th century by Constantine on his transferring to it (instead of Lambæsis) the seat of the government of this part of North Africa.

³ The second city of Mauretania Sitifensis. Its "Byzantine" fortress with eleven towers still exists, having been converted into quarters for the military garrison. Except a well-preserved Roman mausoleum all other remains of the time of the Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 have been obliterated by the modern city.

⁴ A "Byzantine" fortress; the only remains of the destroyed city of Thamalla.

⁵ Situated on a promontory on the coast, and protected by an older set of walls, and an inner "Byzantine" wall. Has also ruins of an important cathedral with "Byzantine" additions.

⁶ The capital of the fourth section of the province of North Africa, that called Mauretania Cæsariensis.^a Situated on the coast, and up to the time of the Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 one of the wealthiest cities of North Africa, the rival of Hippo and of Carthage. Its ruins included "Byzantine" city walls, Theatre, Baths, Amphitheatre, Roman Naval harbour, and a Roman Circus, 435 yards long, within the city walls.

⁷ At the time of the Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 was a highly flourishing city. Most of its "Byzantine" remains have been obliterated by the modern city. It contains the ruins of a large church, said to have been the oldest church in this part of North Africa, with additions made in the 7th century.

⁸ An important city situated on a high plateau about 50 miles south of Castellum Tingitanum, and at the time of the Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 had for some time been made the capital of the south-western part of Mauretania Cæsariensis. Most of its "Byzantine" remains have been obliterated by the modern city.

^a Chap. XXI, p. 213.

Altava,¹ Pomaria,² Numerus Syrorum, Septem (Ceuta),⁴ and finally Tingis (Tangier).⁵ But to conquer that 1000 miles of Roman territory had taken him five years (704-709), a rate of advance of only 200 miles each year; giving some idea of the resistance these and other cities made. But if the conquest was slow it was thorough. Musa, like Khalid,³ gave no quarter. By the year 709 no remnant of the Roman population of North Africa survived.

Whether the inhabitants of these cities of North Africa were given the option, instead of becoming Mahomedans, of retaining their Christian religion, submitting to be ruled by Mahomedan governors, and paying a heavy tribute to support the Mahomedan rule, is not known. Very possibly owing to the determined resistance which these cities had made this alternative was not offered. But at any rate if offered it was refused; for no Christian communities subsequently remained in North Africa.⁷ Such a refusal was only what

¹ A "Byzantine" fortress, to protect the great Roman road to the west.

² Ditto.

³ Ditto.

⁴ The capital of the fifth section of the province of North Africa, that called Mauretania Tingitana.⁶ Situated on a promontory at the eastern end of the straits of Tangier. Regarding Septem it was declared that it was "so strong that the whole world could not take it."

⁵ An important military station. The only remains of the Roman town are the Roman sea gate and the Roman bridge over the stream of the Galeres.

⁶ Chap. XXIV, p. 442.

⁷ While no community occupying any of these cities of North Africa accepted any offer, if such was ever made to them, to retain their Christian religion, to accept the Mahomedan rule, and to pay a tribute to support that rule, it appears possible (though not probable) that a small number of individuals may have done so; as in 749 a letter was sent by the governor of North Africa, Abdul Rahman, to the Khalif at Damascus informing him that all remaining "infidels" in North Africa had accepted the religion of Islam. Though whether this refers to Christians, or to sections of Berber or Khabyle tribes who, secure in mountain strongholds, had up to that time refused to abandon their idol-worship, is not apparent. It would seem, however, to be more likely to refer to the latter.

was to be expected in the case of a race still proud of their descent as Romans, and by no means prepared to submit to the degradation of being ruled by an Arabian race who habitually styled them "infidels" and "dogs."¹

Fate of the Moors. So far as the Moors are concerned we know something of their fate. Musa is stated to have slain immense numbers of them, and to have taken captive a vast number of their women and girls, many of whom were afterwards sold for as much as a thousand pieces of gold.² Eventually the Moors submitted, accepted the faith of Islam, and 30,000 of them entered Musa's army.

Fate of the Roman population. But of the far more important Roman population of the province we hear nothing. And that silence speaks volumes. We have but to look at the remains of the immense number of cities which when Musa advanced into the province were in a flourishing condition,³ we have but to note that this was a community which at an earlier period could assemble in a local Council of the North African Church as many as 600 Bishops, and which (judging by the general state of prosperity of the province and the evidence afforded by its ruined cities) presumably at the time of this conquest could still have assembled a good deal more than a sixth of that number,⁴ we have but to observe the many ruins of churches, even every "Byzantine" fortress having its church, irrespective of those in the city it protected, to realize what happened in this the largest and richest province of the empire.

It therefore speaks volumes when we find that by the year 709 no portion of this great Christian population remained. Bishops and their clergy, soldiers and civilians, men, women,

¹ In the East a dog is the most despised of all animals, and the use of the word as a term of opprobrium, now common in the West, was learnt by the Western races from the Mahomedans.

² Equal to £570 sterling.

³ For details regarding some of these cities, viz. all those whose ruins have "Byzantine" remains, showing definitely that they were occupied at this time, see Appendix XVI.

⁴ The dioceses were of course much smaller than an English diocese; each perhaps only included one important city with the smaller towns and villages round it. But even supposing this to be the case 100 such dioceses represent a very large Christian population.

and children, refusing to become Mahomedans, perished by the Arab sword. And moreover so complete was the extirpation of the Christian religion that out of a Church which had had so many dioceses, not a single Christian, not a single Christian building (other than a ruin), not a single Church ornament, not even a single Christian book, document, or relic of any kind, was to be seen in that country a hundred years afterwards.

Nor was this acceptance by a whole population of death in preference to becoming Mahomedans surprising. The detestation with which that religion was regarded by the Christians of that time was more intense than can in the present day even be imagined. As already noted, these Romans of North Africa were made of other stuff than the inhabitants of Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor.¹ Moreover the eastern Christians, speaking generally, besides being a weaker race, were as regards religion divided into numerous sects as the result of the various heresies—Nestorian, Monophysite, Monothelite, and others—which had from time to time taken root in these eastern countries, while the antagonism between these sects was so bitter that we know that on various occasions it even prevented them from combining against the Mahomedans when the latter invaded their country. The Christians of North Africa on the other hand were of western race, and were not only of stronger physique and character, but also were uniformly Catholics in religion. To such a race obedience to the teaching of him whom they designated the “False Prophet,” and acceptance of a faith which in view of its conception of Paradise² they commonly spoke of as “the polluted religion,” was worse than death. And it was indignantly rejected by these Christians of the time-honoured North African Church,³ who were strengthened in their scornful refusal to abandon their faith and adopt this “polluted religion” by the many memorials around them of the steadfast deaths

¹ Page 528.

² Chap. XXIV, p. 437.

³ Just as it was 748 years later by the prisoners taken at the final siege of Constantinople by the Mahomedan conqueror, Mahomed II, who one by one were given the same alternative, and similarly suffered death rather than accept it.

endured in those same cities by their predecessors during the persecutions under Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian four hundred years before.¹

They would not do as the Moors did, these Roman Christians, and they therefore died—men, women, and children, the rich and the poor alike. But they have received no honour for their steadfast martyrdom. The historian Gibbon, naturally anxious in his hatred of Christianity to avoid crediting the Christians of North Africa with the honour of having died for their religion, and finding nothing but silence as to their fate, put forward² the view that the whole Christian community of North Africa “magarized,”³ becoming thenceforth blended with the Arab population; and this allegation of his has become the accepted view regarding what occurred.

But this is impossible. For in that case when next North Africa was seen by European eyes five centuries afterwards, in the time of the Crusades, traces of mixed European and Asiatic blood (Roman and Arab) would have been apparent in many of the inhabitants of that country. Mixed blood between different European races soon becomes obliterated; but mixed blood between European and Asiatic races *never* becomes obliterated. Though three hundred years have passed, the Eurasian community in India shows no slightest sign of becoming any less patently non-Asiatic and yet at the same time patently non-European. And exactly the same result would have followed in North Africa had the Roman population survived in the manner stated.

But a second and still stronger testimony on the point is that which the very face of the land of North Africa has to give in refutation of the charge made against this Christian

¹ As for instance the inscription on the rock at Constantine (see Appendix XVI).

² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, VI, 352.

³ The Greek word of opprobrium used by the Romans of the Later Roman Empire, signifying to renounce the Christian religion and become a Mahomedan. The primary meaning of *magarizein* is “to cover the face with dung,” its secondary meaning being that here noted. It is a word only used in late Greek and not met with before the 7th century, the time when the Mahomedan advance began.

community, who have so long been thus traduced. The widespread fertility of that province depended upon one thing,—water; and for generations the most elaborate system of water-channels to be seen anywhere in the world had been maintained by the Roman population, by which system every tiny stream that descended from the mountains was conserved and made to supply its quota towards producing that fertility. This was specially the case with regard to the great grain-producing lands on the plateaux,¹ which lands without these water-channels would at once have become entirely waterless and barren. These water-channels required unremitting care to keep them in due working order; and that care was supplied, not by the Moors, which rough mountainous race knew nothing of such matters, but by the Roman population who owned these lands. Musa's extermination of the whole of that population left the matter to be thenceforth administered by the Arabs and the Moors. The results continue to this day; wherever one looks in North Africa ruined water-channels are the most prominent feature. A recent writer, speaking of the "vestiges of what were once opulent towns standing amidst profuse vegetation, and are now lonely ruins surrounded by desert," says:—"The causes are the barrages and dams and aqueducts which have gone to pieces, the supplies of water which have been cut off, the wells which have silted up; and the consequent invasion of the desert sand."² Yet had the assertion that the whole Christian community adopted the faith of Islam been true there would have been no effects of this kind; *for that community, however much its religion were changed, would have continued as heretofore to till its lands and maintain its water-channels, and the condition of North Africa in this respect would have remained unchanged.* So that North Africa itself refutes the dishonouring assertion made against this Roman population, whose faithful deaths have deserved a better record.

How forcibly the land of North Africa gives its unerring testimony on the point is shown by the words of another writer who, speaking of that country as it is to-day, says:—

¹ Regarding the great fertility of these lands, see Ch. XVII, p. 80.

² *La Tripolitaine d'Hier et de Demain*, by M. de Mathuisieulx.

“Where are now the three hundred cities that once acknowledged the sovereignty of Carthage? What has become of the fat lands and cornfields of Byzacium, of Emporia, of Zeugitana? The most impressive relic of old Carthage is the ruined aqueduct which once led a river of water into the city from hills fifty miles distant.¹ Its ruined condition is perfectly typical of the fate that has overtaken Africa. The collapse of the water-supply and of irrigation has involved the sterilisation of hundreds of thousands of acres. Along the confines of the western desert, in the southern parts of Algeria and Tunisia, throughout the provinces of Tripoli and Cyrene, and even to the mouths of the Nile, the sand has everywhere overcome man's resistance and everywhere has invaded and eaten away, in its noiseless stealthy fashion, as moths eat old clothes, the cultivated land. . . . To what is this change due? To the Arab. It came with his coming, and its explanation lies in the character and temperament of his race. . . . The volatility and restlessness which seem ingrained in the very temperament of these children of the shifting sand render it physically impossible for them to persevere beyond a certain time in any accustomed round of tasks and duties. They were not made for agricultural routine or the fixed laws of settled communities. These things weary them, and by and by the paraphernalia of civilisation crumbles under their touch. Their cities become nests of depredators or strongholds of pirates; their aqueducts and irrigation works dissolve in ruin; their fields and groves wither and languish. Babylonia and Syria have the same tale to tell as North Africa. Wherever the Arab settles anarchy creeps in. He feeds, like ivy, on decay; and to-day, of the many Asiatic and African States that were prosperous before his coming, there is not one but since that visitation has fallen to cureless ruin.”²

A third testimony is that of language. The Saracens conquered Persia and forced the Persians to accept Mahomedanism; yet the Persian language survived. They occupied Spain for 800 years; yet there large traces of the Roman language remain. But in North Africa not a trace of the Roman language has remained; a conclusive proof of the very different treatment suffered by the population in the latter case.

¹ It did so up to the year 698, when it was destroyed, like so many others, by the Mahomedans.

² Article on “The Desert,” by L. March Phillipps, published in 1912. Though the fertility of Spain was not so dependent upon water-channels the same thing to a large extent would have taken place there when the Mahomedans conquered that country had not an altogether different policy been adopted, by which the original inhabitants of the country were spared. See Chap. XXVI, p. 548.

North Africa
left a ruin.
 Little, however, did considerations of this kind trouble Musa when, two years before the death of Justinian II (still engaged in vengeance), that Arab commander at last reached Tangier. He had subdued North Africa to Islam, the largest and most valuable conquest which the Mahomedans had hitherto made, and one which they had been fighting for 62 years to achieve. He was conscious of how great a difference this conquest would create in the whole position of the Mahomedan power, converting the Mediterranean Sea henceforth to a large extent into a Mahomedan lake, and furnishing that power with a base from which to carry out the conquest of western Europe. And as he gazed across the narrow straits of Tangier he was only eager, like Okba, to press on to "the kingdoms of the West," and to slay with the sword all who would not accept the faith propounded by Mahomed. But behind him, in his victorious course of 1400 miles, he had left North Africa a ruined land, drenched from end to end in Christian blood.

CHAPTER XXVI

EAST—THE EMPERORS PHILIPPICUS, ANASTASIUS II, THEODOSIUS III, AND LEO III.

WEST—CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE MAHOMEDANS ; FRANCE ; ITALY ; AND ENGLAND.

711—740

UPON the death in 711 of Justinian II there was one man already marked out by his ability, military achievements, and strength of character as the fittest successor to the throne of the Later Roman Empire, Leo the Isaurian, the commander of the troops in the Anatolian theme (Isauria, Phrygia, and Pisidia). It was however six years before he was made emperor, and in the meantime the throne was given by the Senate and the aristocratic party to three emperors in succession, each of whom proved his unfitness for the office and was deposed after reigning two years.

Philippicus. Philippicus (711–713), who had been made emperor in the general revolt against Justinian, proved a worthless sensualist. While he spent his time upon frivolous amusements, in which he wasted large sums of money, the Bulgarians under Terbel overran Thrace, and the Saracens invaded Asia Minor, and in 713 the army deposed Philippicus, and blinded him. Whereupon Artemius, his chief secretary, who took the name of Anastasius II, was chosen by the Senate as emperor.

Anastasius II. Anastasius II (713–715) guided the administration with judgement. Becoming aware after a time that the Khalif Walid I was making extensive prepara-

tions for another siege of Constantinople, he showed promptness and wisdom in the arrangements he made to resist it. But he was unpopular with the army, and in 715 the troops in the Opsikian theme marched to Chalcedon, chose an obscure official named Theodosius as emperor, and deposed Anastasius, who made no resistance and retired to live as a monk at Thessalonica.

The Themes. It has already been noted that the term "Theme" ¹ (as a province of the empire) was adopted when Constans II reverted to the principle of giving the governor of a province both military and civil functions,² in order to increase the defensive power of the empire against the Saracens. And as, owing to the constant invasions of the latter, military affairs grew everywhere to be the primary consideration, the whole empire had now become organized upon a military basis. The word "theme" itself was a military term, denoting what we should call in these days an Army Corps. Such a body of troops was commanded by a "strategos," or general-in-chief; and this name also had now become that used for the military governor of each of these provinces under their new designation. The term "theme" was applied both to the Army Corps and the district it defended, while the corps-commander was also the governor of the district. And while some of these themes had geographical names, others were named after the division of the army quartered there. This is the origin of the name of the most important of the themes in Asia Minor, the Opsikian theme, so called because the Opsikion, or Imperial Guards, were quartered in that district (the north-western part of

¹ The themes in Europe (that of North Africa being lost) were — Thrace, Greece, Illyricum, Sicily, and the Exarchate of Ravenna. The most important of the themes in Asia Minor were:—

(i) The Opsikian theme, embracing the north-western part of Asia Minor.

(ii) The Thracesian theme, the south-western part of that country.

(iii) The Anatolian theme, the central part.

(iv) The Paphlagonian theme, the northern part.

(v) The Cappadocian theme, the eastern part.

(vi) The Cibyrean theme, the southern part (called after the town of Cibyra).

(vii) The Seleucian theme, the south-eastern part.

² Chap. XXV, p. 475.

Asia Minor) as being the nearest to the capital, Constantinople. The Thracesian theme had also a military name, being thus called because it was occupied by regiments transferred from Thrace to Asia for service against the Saracens.¹

Theodosius III. Theodosius III (715–717), who when thus chosen by the troops had fled to evade the honour proposed for him, but had been brought back and forced by the troops to accept it, proved a complete nonentity. And the certainty universally felt that the vast armament which the Saracens had been for two years preparing² would soon besiege Constantinople at length caused both the Senate and the army to depose Theodosius and elect the one man capable of meeting such an attack, Leo the Isaurian.

The growing power of the aristocracy and the Senate throughout the whole period from the time of Heraclius to that of the election of Leo the Isaurian is very noticeable. It has been pointed out by Professor Bury that a long struggle had in fact ever since the time of Justinian I been going on between the throne and the aristocracy, the latter desiring to limit the absolutism of the emperor. This opposition made itself felt in the case of both Constans II and Constantine IV, but these emperors were too strong to succumb to it. Justinian II, however, strong but tactless, was eventually crushed by it. But no sooner did the aristocratic party gain this victory than the fallacy of the anti-imperial policy became exposed. Each successive representative of the aristocratic party placed upon the throne³ found himself forced to abandon his aristocratic principles and become an autocrat if he would not be a puppet. There ensued a rapid succession of emperors, each in turn finding the same necessity, and the result producing anarchy. And eventually the absolute need felt, in view of the increasing danger to Christendom of the Mahomedan menace, of a man who would rule with a

¹ For a learned investigation into the whole of the obscure subject of the system of the Themes, see Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 339–351.

² The death of Walid I in 715 delayed the preparations. They were however renewed by his successor Sulaiman.

³ Leontius, Apsimar, Philippicus, and Anastasius.

strong hand, forced the Senate, the army, and the people to unite in choosing such a man in the person of Leo the Isaurian.

Mahomedan conquest of Spain. In Spain during the 110 years since the death in 601 of Reccared I¹ the strength of the Visigoths had steadily declined. A period of fierce civil wars, with much mutual slaughter among the nobles, had first taken place, which reached its climax under the ruthless old king Kindaswintha (642-653). Originally one of the nobles, he at the age of seventy-nine seized the throne, and proceeded to carry out a slaughter such as might have been executed by an Amir of Afghanistan anxious to destroy all possible rivals, Kindaswintha putting to death in the first year of his reign about 700 persons, the greater part of them nobles. This period of exhausting conflict had been succeeded by fifty years of complete degeneracy in the powerful Visigoth nobility. Slumbering in a long peace, given up to luxury and effeminacy, and abandoning the exercise of arms, these degenerate lords of Spain had become at the end of the 7th century difficult to recognize as the descendants of those Visigoths who had swept into Italy under Alaric, and had ravaged Rome's rich territories from the Danube to the Atlantic. Nevertheless Roderic, the Visigoth king, at his luxurious court at Toledo could scarcely believe the report when early in 711 he heard that a presumptuous band of Moors had dared to invade the southern part of his kingdom.

Musa on reaching Tangier after his conquest of North Africa did not delay long before making plans for an advance into those "kingdoms of the West" which his eager spirit yearned to conquer. In April 711 he sent an advanced force of 5000 men across the straits into Spain; and in accordance with the usual Mahomedan custom which made the latest converts take the lead in the next contest, this force was entirely composed of Moors. It was led by Tarik, who has given his name to the place where he landed, Gebel Tarik (Gibraltar).

Quickly advancing, and overcoming all opposition, he soon reached the vicinity of Cadiz.

Upon hearing of this invasion the Visigoth king, Roderic, summoned the dukes, counts, bishops, and nobles, with their feudal retainers, and marched southwards to oppose this invader who had presumed to desecrate the sacred soil of Spain. Roderic's army, very variously composed, is stated by some of the Arab writers to have numbered 70,000 and by others 40,000; in any case it amounted to at least double that of Tarik, whose force had in the meantime been augmented by reinforcements from Africa, bringing it up to about 20,000 men. The fate of Spain was decided in a single battle, fought in July 711 at Lake Janda, near Cadiz. But as we are told that the Visigoth king appeared upon the field of battle reclining in a car of ivory drawn by two white mules and dressed in gold-embroidered silken robes, with a diadem of pearls on his head, the issue was scarcely doubtful. Tarik was completely victorious. Roderic, abandoning his car, and mounting his horse Orelia, fled from the field, but was drowned in the Guadalquivir; and Tarik, rapidly pursuing the flying Visigoths, was soon in possession of Granada, Cordova, and ere long of Toledo.

Musa on receiving intelligence of this rapid success began to fear lest his lieutenant might win all the glory. In the spring of 712 he crossed the straits with another army of about 30,000 men, and advancing northwards besieged and took in succession Seville (which stood a siege of several months), Merida (which also offered a stout resistance), and other cities believed by the Visigoths to be impregnable which Tarik had left unattacked in his rapid dash upon Toledo. At Seville,¹ Merida, and elsewhere Musa was astonished at the magnificent Roman aqueducts, bridges, triumphal arches, and other buildings testifying to the former greatness of Rome. Near Toledo he was met by Tarik² and conducted by him to the palace of the Visigoth kings; and by the middle of the year 713 almost the whole of Spain was in the hands of the

¹ Seville had been the centre of government in the time of the Roman rule of Spain.

² Tarik was shortly afterwards disgraced by Musa, and deprived of his command.

Mahomedans.¹ Those of the Visigoths who refused to submit to the conqueror were driven into the northern part of Spain, chiefly into Galicia and Asturias, and the Saracen² capital was established at Cordova.

Upon this conquest of Spain being effected the new religious policy previously mentioned³ was brought into force in that country, toleration being granted to Christians on payment of an annual tribute, and that alternative being readily accepted by the Spanish Christians. There were two reasons for this. In the first place suspicions regarding Musa's loyalty were already being entertained at Damascus, a letter of recall had been despatched to him by the Khalif Walid I, and Musa, being anxious to pacify Spain as quickly as possible, adopted a temperate course in all his measures in that country. In the second place the Spanish Christians did not possess the stern and courageous character exhibited by the North African Christians, while they were much divided among themselves, the Spanish population (a mixed race, partly of Roman, partly of Suevic, and partly of Visigoth descent) having a strong hatred for the imperious Visigoth nobility. Thus everything combined to make the pacification of Spain go smoothly, and in a very short time that country settled down peaceably under the Mahomedan rule.

This different treatment of Spain from that which had been pursued in North Africa had very important results to the former country, the effects of which to a large extent remain to this day. The indigenous population of Spain was by this means preserved, instead of being slaughtered as in North Africa. The consequence was that instead of the

¹ It is in these days sometimes asserted that the actual conqueror of Spain was Tarik, and not Musa. But a study of the case from a military point of view shows that the older view is correct, and that Tarik acted in the capacity of the commander of an advanced guard, the heavier work of subduing Spain being accomplished by Musa.

² In the East the Arabs were generally known by the name of Saracens, in the West by that of Moors. As they arrived in Spain from Mauretania, and as the first party were composed of Moors, the Spanish chroniclers gave this name to the whole of the new conquerors of Spain, and this name, notwithstanding its inaccuracy, has adhered to them in Spain and the West.

³ Chap. XXV, p. 473.

results which have been noted in the case of Babylonia, Syria, and North Africa,¹ Spain was not rendered a bare and unfertile land, and remains as the one example of a country conquered by the Mahomedans where this result was not produced.

Death of Musa. Having thus satisfactorily subdued Spain, Musa towards the end of 714 departed to return to Damascus as commanded, leaving his son Abdul Aziz as his *Vali* (or lieutenant) at Cordova.² Travelling by land, he passed slowly through North Africa, Egypt, and Palestine, travelling in a princely style,³ and conveying with him many valuable treasures as the result of his conquests of so many rich lands. He reached Damascus in 715, found a new Khalif, Sulaiman, in power, and was by him deprived of his office and disgraced; his son Abdul Aziz was soon afterwards assassinated at Cordova, and in 716 Musa, who had had a career of such glory, died at Mecca of a broken heart.

Mahomedan victories in India. The Mahomedans during these years while they had been subduing Spain had also extended their conquests to India. Walid I (the predecessor of Sulaiman) followed up what Omar had begun,⁴ and between the years 708 and 715 not only entirely conquered Scinde, but advanced in a victorious career right into the centre of northern India. The widespread dominion and ceaseless energy of the Mahomedans is realized when we note that at one and the same time they were subduing Spain, fighting against the Later Roman Empire on the borders of Asia Minor, extending their conquests to the east of Persia, and carrying their victorious arms to the banks of the Ganges.

¹ Chap. XXV, p. 541.

² As the conquests of the Mahomedans extended, *Emirs* (or vice-roys of the Khalif) were appointed to govern the different portions of their widespread dominions. One had previously been appointed for Persia, having his capital at Kufa (Bagdad), one for Egypt, having his capital at Cairo, and one for North Africa, having his capital at Kairowan, and in 717 one was appointed for Spain, having his capital at Cordova.

³ Documents in the British Museum contain details of the heavy expenses of supplying his numerous retinue with food during the halt that on the way he made in Egypt. ⁴ Chap. XXIV, p. 451.

Leo III. Leo III (717-740), better known as Leo the Iconoclast, was forty-seven years old when he was chosen by the united voice of Senate, army, and people as emperor. He belonged to that brave and manly Isaurian race which had so troubled the empire in the 5th century,¹ but which now supplied to it a much needed deliverer and reformer of its administration. As commander in the central portion of Asia Minor Leo had for some years kept at bay the Saracen general Moslemah, the brother of the Khalif Sulaiman, and it was well known that his first work would be to meet the great attack upon Constantinople which the Saracens had long been preparing. His reign, like that of Constantine IV, is notable for three important events, the great siege of Constantinople in 717-718 which he successfully repulsed, his important reform of the entire administration by which he regenerated the empire, and his inauguration of that Iconoclastic conflict which for more than a century afterwards governed all politics both in East and West.

On the 25th March 717 Leo III entered Constantinople in state by the Golden Gate. He had four months to prepare for the Saracen attack. This was on an even more formidable scale than that made by Muawiyah I in 672-677. In July Moslemah with an army of 80,000 men marched through Cilicia, Pisidia, Lydia and Mysia, crossed the Hellespont at Abydos, advanced up the west coast of the Sea of Marmora, and on the 15th August invested Constantinople on the land side, surrounding it with a breastwork and a ditch. Sixteen days later, on the 1st September, the Saracen admiral Sulaiman arrived with a fleet of 1800 warships and transports, with which he proceeded to blockade both the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus. As the portion of this fleet allotted to the latter duty was proceeding northwards to its destination Leo sallied forth from the harbour in the Golden Horn with a part of his fleet under his own personal command, and attacking the rearmost portion of the enemy's long line of ships entering the Bosphorus, burnt with the "Romaic fire" twenty of the larger vessels (each carrying 100 soldiers), causing great consternation among

¹ Chap. XX, pp. 158-159.

the Saracens at the destruction wrought by this "moist fire." The admiral Sulaiman died a month later.

There followed a long and unusually severe winter, during which the efforts of the besieging army were greatly hampered by the heavy snow and frost, while in their open camps they naturally suffered much more severely from the cold than the besieged, and they lost large numbers of men. The ground was entirely covered with snow for more than three months, supplies were scarce, and the camels and horses of the besieging army died by thousands. The besieged suffered no such scarcity, Leo III as a part of his preparations for the defence of the city having ordered each family to lay in a store of corn sufficient for two years' consumption. In the spring large reinforcements to the Saracens arrived from Egypt under Sophiam, who brought additional ships, men, arms, and food; and this was followed by another large armament from North Africa under Yezid. Afraid of the deadly "Romaic fire" these reinforcements moored at different harbours on the Bithynian coast; but Leo sent by night vessels fitted with appliances for hurling the "Romaic fire," which burnt ship after ship of the enemy's transports and spread terror into their forces. Soon afterwards a fourth army, under Merdasan, traversing Cappadocia and Phrygia arrived in the vicinity of Nicomedia, and from thence, hovering on the eastern coast of the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus, prevented the Roman boats from collecting supplies along the Asiatic coast. But Leo secretly caused a small force collected in Asia Minor to surprise Merdasan's troops from the rear, and they were completely routed.

Defeat
of the
Mahomedans.

Meanwhile the immense Saracen host began to suffer severely from famine, followed as usual by pestilence. Leo making an alliance with the Bulgarians induced the latter to advance upon the rear of the Saracen army surrounding the western side of the city. The Bulgarians attacked the Saracens vigorously, and according to the Arab writers slew 22,000 of them. This was a final blow, and on the 15th August 718 the shattered remnants of the once mighty Saracen armada abandoned the siege and retired repulsed. The remnant of their army succeeded in reaching Syria in safety, but their fleet as it sailed down the

Hellespont suffered severely in a storm, and then was entirely destroyed in a still more severe storm which it encountered in the Ægean Sea, all but ten vessels foundering or being driven upon the rocks; of these ten vessels five were captured by the Roman fleet, and out of the vast Saracen fleet which from first to last had entered the waters round Constantinople only five vessels survived to reach Syria. Thus ended a twelve months' strenuous contest in which the Saracens had put forth their whole power. And while the circumstances had greatly assisted him, the chief part of this victory had been due to the energy, courage, and military ability of the great Isaurian emperor.

Effect upon
Omeyyad
dynasty. This total defeat of the immense effort made by the Khalifs Sulaiman and Omar II ¹ was even more important to Christendom than the similar defeat dealt to that made by the Khalif Muawiyah I in 677. The Saracen empire was more extensive and powerful in the time of Leo III than it had been in that of Constantine IV, and the armaments gathered against Constantinople on this occasion were on a considerably larger scale. And though desultory invasions of Asia Minor began again in 726, and were repeated in subsequent years, the Omeyyad dynasty of Khalifs, founded by Muawiyah I, never recovered the effects of this great defeat; the power of that dynasty thenceforth declined, and within the next thirty years came to an end, except in their recently acquired dominion of Spain. Hence this date of 718 marks an important stage in the long conflict maintained by the Later Roman Empire against the Mahomedan power.²

Birth of
a son. Just at the time that Leo III had the joy of seeing the shattered remnant of the defeated Saracen fleet sailing past down the Bosphorus in flight, another event

¹ The Khalif Sulaiman died in 717 and was succeeded by Omar II. The latter was followed after only three years by Yezid II (720), who also only reigned for four years, and was succeeded in 724 by the Khalif Hischam (724-743).

² Professor Oman considers that this victory had an even greater effect in delivering Europe from the Mahomedan danger than that of Charles Martel at Poitiers fourteen years later (Oman's *Byzantine Empire*, p. 187).

came to increase his happiness, his wife Maria bearing him a son, Constantine, afterwards Constantine V, and destined in his turn to win renown against the foes of the empire. The boy was baptized on Christmas Day 718 by Germanus, the Pope of Constantinople, Maria being at the same time crowned as *Augusta*; and we are told that as she returned from the ceremony the new empress scattered gold liberally among the crowd from the cathedral to the gate of the imperial palace.¹ About the same time Leo gave his daughter Anna² in marriage to the general Artavasdos (who had supported him during the short reign of Theodosius III), and made him general of the Opsikian theme, the most desired of all the commands.

Regeneration of the empire. The great Saracen attack having been successfully repulsed, and a revolt in Sicily (718), and a conspiracy at Thessalonica (719), having been promptly put down and the ringleaders executed, Leo III in 720 began that which was the chief work of his life. The celebrated conflict raised by his subsequent action in religious matters has obscured the much more permanent work which Leo III performed in carrying out a thorough regeneration of the empire, and creating a more robust tone by his administrative reforms and the modifications he introduced into the laws. The ignorance, lack of culture, intellectual weakness, dissoluteness, and superstition which had crept in during the 6th and 7th centuries have already been once or twice alluded to, and the effects had penetrated into every department of public and private life, producing a universal tendency towards decay. Leo's reforms were intended to bring about a general regeneration; and they succeeded in having that effect. More completely than Tiberius II³ may Leo III be regarded as the founder of a new era of the Later Roman Empire. The vigour which by his far-sighted and radical reforms,—administrative, military, and social,—he infused into the empire gave it a new lease of life.

¹ See Plan (Appendix XIX).

² Leo III's daughter Anna, at this time about sixteen, does not appear to have been the daughter of the empress Maria.

³ Chap. XXIII, p. 337.

Condition of
empire at
his accession.

The condition of the people of the Later Roman Empire when Leo III became emperor, though far superior to the lot of those Roman inhabitants of the unhappy provinces which once had formed the western half of the Roman Empire and had succumbed to Teuton conquerors, was nevertheless little short of deplorable. The greater part of Illyricum and the Balkan provinces had been given up almost entirely to various communities of Slavs,¹ who oppressed the few remaining Roman inhabitants at every opportunity; large colonies of Slavs had also been planted in Bithynia, as well as in Macedonia and Greece; the Bulgarians from time to time plundered Thrace almost up to the walls of Constantinople; and the provinces of Asia Minor were repeatedly harried by the Saracens. The turmoil of the evil reign of Justinian II and the commotions which succeeded it had kept the empire in a state bordering upon anarchy for twenty-one years, during which time six emperors in succession had been dethroned.² Owing to these circumstances the condition of the population of the empire, which included many different races—Romans, Greeks, Armenians, Isaurians, Phrygians, Syrians, and others—had been rendered almost intolerable. Agriculture had become well nigh impossible, commerce was greatly hampered, and a general lethargy had everywhere supervened. It was to the rule of an empire in this condition that Leo III was called. In twenty-three years of strenuous work the change which he effected was marvellous. He reorganized the whole body, political, military, and social, so completely that the symptoms of decay were swept away, order took the place of disorder, prosperity returned, the population revived from lethargy, the increased strength of the government enabled it ere long to drive the intruders from its territories, and such a fundamental increase of vigour was infused into the empire that it outlived by many centuries every government which had been contemporary with it in the time of Leo III.

A general
restoration.

During the years 720–726 Leo III reformed every branch of the administration, raised again to

¹ Chap. XXIV, p. 448.

² Leontius, Apsimar, Justinian II, Philippicus, Anastasius II, and Theodosius III.

strictness the relaxed discipline of the army and increased its efficiency, swept away evils in the administration of justice, reformed the police arrangements, remodelled the financial administration of the empire, and introduced measures to protect its commercial interests. Lastly, the Roman laws codified by Justinian I being in Latin, and that language being no longer understood by the officials who had to administer the law, Leo began the preparation in Greek of a selection ¹ for ordinary use of all the most important laws on the chief concerns of life, with additions and modifications bringing them into accord with altered conditions. This important Code took about fifteen years to complete; when it was published in 740 it was accompanied by three subsidiary codes containing the regulations governing military, agricultural, and maritime affairs, of which the two latter have attained great importance.² And all this was done by a man who had from his earliest youth been a soldier, and who until he became emperor had been occupied all his life with military, rather than with civil, affairs.

Even in the domain of literature the effect of the reforms of Leo III is to be seen. The 7th century, the most illiterate of all centuries in the West, is also the darkest of all centuries in the East, literature appearing to be absolutely dead at the time of the accession of Leo III. But the vigour which he breathed into every department of administrative and social life had the same effect in the domain of literature, which now began to revive.

But Leo III considered that this great work of regeneration of the empire would not be complete unless he attacked what appeared to be the chief root of many of the evils of the age, the gross superstition prevailing in religion. Accordingly, eight years after he became emperor, he entered upon a war against religious pictures, icons,³ images, and other things of a similar character, a war which has earned for him the name of "the Iconoclast," and which, continued by his son and grandson, raised

The war
against
images.

¹ See p. 582.

² Page 583.

³ Sacred pictures in relief, partaking of the character both of a picture and an image; they are to be seen everywhere in Russia at the present day.

a bitter conflict lasting more than a hundred years, and affecting all political events in both East and West.

Divided
opinions on
the matter

Opposite opinions have ever been held, and will ever be held, regarding the Iconoclastic movement inaugurated by Leo III. The opinion held will be determined, not by learning, scholarship, or wisdom, but solely by the mental attitude in regard to religious matters natural to the person concerned (a mental attitude which is due to temperament), the most scholarly and the most ignorant being on a par as regards this question. Those whose temperament inclines them either to unbelief or to a dislike of outward forms in religion, and to a disinclination to acquire knowledge on such matters, will approve of the Iconoclastic policy; those whose temperament inclines them to acquire a knowledge on the subject which enables them to see beyond the outward form, and to value it for what it symbolizes, will disapprove of that policy. Neither side has any right to look down upon the other, or to imagine that it has a monopoly of spiritual enlightenment, or possesses a superiority of wisdom.¹ It is solely a matter of the general mental attitude on such subjects natural to the temperament of the person concerned.

Leo III.'s
methods wrong.

But whatever opinion the general mental attitude of each person upon religious matters leads him to hold regarding the rightness or wrongness of Leo III's Iconoclastic policy, it will probably be admitted by most people that his methods were wrong. A deservedly honoured historian who has lately passed away,² himself by religion a member of the Society of Friends, and there-

¹ This is a point which specially requires to be borne in mind at the present day. For nothing is more marked in these days than the inveterate habit of the rationalistic mind to imagine that it has a monopoly of wisdom, and that those who hold an opposite view to its own do so because they have less brains; a habit of mind which is certain entirely to mislead those who give way to it. No man is fit to teach others, on any subject, who does not recognize, habitually, that the particular school of thought to which he belongs has no monopoly of wisdom, that the other side is equally well equipped with brains, that a superiority of knowledge on the particular subject is at most all that he can claim, and that there is always the possibility that his side may be wrong and the opposite side right.

² Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, D.C.L. Died 2nd March 1913.

fore having no sympathy with that inordinate adoration of religious pictures and images against which Leo III waged this war, speaking of Leo's methods, has said as follows:— "Undoubtedly there are times in the history of the world when the holiest and most necessary work that can be performed is that of the Iconoclast. . . . But even in performing it one who enters upon such work must remember and allow for the love and reverence which for generations have clustered round certain forms or words against which it may be his duty to wage war; and he will, if he is wise, gently loosen the grasp of faith, rather than with ruthless hand break both the worshipped image and the heart of the worshipper." ¹ Golden words. An infinite mass of misery to mankind, and damage to the cause of religion, would have been avoided if in all ages Puritanism when in power had been guided by such principles. Not however that the Iconoclasts can be correctly styled Puritans. They considered that many of the things which the monks inveighed against as pomps and vanities were perfectly harmless and legitimate. The Iconoclasts were the opponents, not of luxury and splendour, but of austerity, credulity, and superstition.

Stages in the growth of superstition. The age was one in which the grossest superstition and credulity were rampant, and a reform in this respect was greatly required. The chief stages in the growth of the reverence paid to religious emblems, pictures, and images, until it became excessive and harmful, were as follows:—

- (i) In the 2nd century, we find even the austere Tertullian recording with approval the universal use among Christians of the sign of the Cross.
- (ii) In the 3rd century, during the age of persecution, the Catacombs show everywhere representations of the Cross, the Good Shepherd, the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Lamb, the Fisherman, and the Fish (all emblems of Christ), as well as other emblems representing the Christian Church, such as the Ship, or the life of the Christian, such as the Phoenix, the Dove, and the Lyre.

¹ Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, VI, 433 (First Edition).

- (iii) Early in the 4th century, in the time of Constantine, we find for the first time likenesses of Christ; also pictures of Bible scenes beginning to be placed in the churches.
- (iv) By the middle of the 4th century the reverence for religious pictures is shown to be well established. Thus Basil of Cæsarea says:—"I receive also the Son of God and the holy Mary, and also the holy Apostles, and Prophets, and Martyrs. Their likenesses I revere and kiss with homage, for they are handed down from the holy Apostles, and are not forbidden, but on the contrary are painted in all our churches." (N.B.—This does not overstep the line between a worthy reverence and an unworthy superstition; the lover who kisses the letter written to him by his love does not worship it.)
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- (v) It is from the 5th century onwards that that which had hitherto been a just and worthy reverence begins to change into superstition. In that century, contemporaneously with the general decline of the empire and the loss of learning and culture, there begins an ignorant credulity which rapidly developed legends of all kinds (including legends of miraculous pictures of Christ), while miraculous relics of various sorts begin to be vehicles for a degrading superstition.
- (vi) In the 6th century this credulity and superstition had still further increased, as is to be seen in the letters of Gregory the Great, who himself was imbued with it as strongly as all others.
- (vii) In the 7th century, in the time of the emperor Heraclius, we find on all sides indications of the still greater dimensions to which superstition had grown, especially among the monks.
- (viii) Lastly in the 8th century there was no limit to the preposterous lengths to which superstition had attained. Images of saints were dressed in linen and made to stand sponsors for children at baptism. The hair cut off from the heads of monks when they received the tonsure was made to fall into the lap of

some saint's image. The bread of the Holy Communion was placed in the hands of a saint's image to be received from thence by the communicant. And in some cases even the paint was scraped off from the image of a saint and mixed with the bread of the Holy Communion.

But though a reform was urgently needed, such a reform, to be of any permanent benefit, needed to be attained by far different means from those which Leo III adopted. In the year 725 the latter began to move in the matter, the statement of Theophanes being that in that year "the irreligious emperor first began to stir the question of the destruction of the holy and venerable images"; and ere long, moved by what he considered a portent conveyed by the eruption of a volcano near the island of Thera, Leo in 726 issued an imperial edict ordering the wholesale destruction of all religious pictures, icons, and images.¹ This edict he at once began to enforce with a brutal disregard for the feelings of his subjects, proceeding to stamp out all opposition with the utmost severity. An example of the scenes which took place all over the empire is furnished by one incident which occurred at Constantinople. Over the principal gateway of the imperial palace was a much revered statue of Christ. A soldier of the imperial guard ascended a ladder and began to destroy it. Some women cried out to him to desist from such sacrilegious work, but in vain, and the hatchet fell upon the revered face. Thereupon, wild with indignation, the women shook the ladder, and the soldier fell to the ground, being seriously hurt by the fall, and as he still breathed, the women stabbed him to death. A widespread riot followed, which was suppressed by executions, banishments, and mutilations of the women concerned and of those who had shown sympathy with them.

Insurrection
raised in
Greece.

It was not likely that on a subject connected with religion a reform carried out on these lines could fail to produce formidable troubles. The first of these

¹ It is a curious example of how illogical men's minds often are upon such subjects that the emperor who was beginning a war against superstition should have begun his action in consequence of what he considered a portent.

occurred in Greece, which country promptly burst into furious insurrection. A rival emperor, named Cosmas, was elected by the insurgents, a large fleet was prepared, and on the 18th April 727 the Greek insurgents arrived before Constantinople. But the "Romaic fire" was again brought into play, the Greek fleet was destroyed, Cosmas and one of his two generals were captured and beheaded (his other general Agallianus being drowned in the battle), and the insurrection was put down. But a rising tide of revolt against the emperor's authority, created by this ill-advised way of treating such a question, began to permeate the empire.

Having defeated this insurrection Leo turned Suppression of the College of Constantinople. his attention to the educational establishments.

These, as was to be expected, were strongly opposed to his Iconoclastic policy, and they were one after another suppressed, Theophanes declaring that Leo put an end to a system of education which had prevailed since the time of Constantine the Great. Specially notable among these educational institutions was the college in Constantinople situated near the cathedral of St. Sophia. At its head was a provost or master, assisted by twelve of the most learned men of the time, and the college had a high reputation in Constantinople. Leo, feeling the advantage of gaining over to his side in the conflict the representatives of learning and education, endeavoured to bring this college to his views. But as might be expected with any university composed of learned men, a policy of Iconoclasm failed to commend itself to them, and he failed entirely. Thereupon he suppressed this honoured institution,¹ removed its valuable library to the imperial palace, and one writer declares burnt down the college buildings.

Storm raised in Italy. Meanwhile the Iconoclastic edict had raised a perfect storm in Italy. Owing apparently to some fresh taxation which had been imposed upon the Church in Italy, and to which the Exarch of Ravenna had been ordered to enforce compliance, the Exarch and the Pope of Rome, Gregory II, were already at war, when in 727 the emperor's

¹ An act not unlike suppressing the University of Oxford or Cambridge in the present day.

edict regarding the destruction of all religious pictures and images, which edict the Exarch was also ordered to enforce, came to add fuel to the flames. The Church in Italy absolutely refused to obey the edict, which was declared to be "a new impiety" which had arisen; plots on the part of the Exarch to murder Gregory II were met by the stirring up of revolutions against the Exarch; all the cities of the exarchate rebelled, each choosing a duke for itself; a proposal was even made to elect a rival emperor and escort him to Constantinople; and Exhilaratus, governor of Naples, who tried to enforce the edict, was killed by the people. Gregory II, after holding a synod which unanimously condemned Iconoclasm, wrote to the emperor solemnly warning him against interfering in sacred things; whereupon Leo sent orders to the Exarch to seize Gregory and deport him to Constantinople. But the Exarch was in no position to carry out the order, the whole of his territory being in revolt, while Liutprand, king of the Lombards, sympathised with Gregory II and all who were opposed to the emperor.

While the anarchy thus created continued throughout all that part of Italy which still belonged to the empire, the most learned man of the time, John of Damascus, published in the year 727 a powerful oration against the Iconoclastic policy, and asserted that the emperor had no right to interfere in a question of religion. He followed this up with a second equally strong oration of the same kind, published in 728. And these two orations much strengthened the hands of all those who were fighting against Iconoclasm.

Leo III was still as determined as ever to continue his Iconoclastic policy, but whether because he thought to reduce the turmoil by means of the authoritative decision of a council representing different classes of the community, or with a view to obtaining advice to assist him to attain his object by other means than those hitherto employed, he on the 7th January 729 assembled at Constantinople a more or less representative conclave, which perhaps may have received the name given to it of a *Silentium* under some idea that it was to silence all further opposition. Leo had naturally from the first been most anxious to obtain the assistance of ecclesiastical authority

to support him in this struggle, and thereby to overawe by the weight of the highest authorities in the Church all those who were opposing his religious policy. And the friendly terms upon which, up to the year 725, he had been with Germanus, the aged Pope of Constantinople, a man greatly revered by all, had led him to hope that in time he would achieve this. But in regard to the two Popes who now remained where formerly there had been five, one, the Pope of Rome, had opposed his policy with the utmost determination, and with the other, the Pope of Constantinople, Leo had been pleading for four years without avail, Germanus (now ninety years old) being as resolutely opposed to Iconoclasm as Gregory II.

At this conclave Leo III made a final appeal to Germanus to lend the weight of his authority towards the destruction of religious pictures, icons, and images. But Germanus, instead of acceding, in solemn and pathetic words resigned his office. "I am Jonah," said the aged Pope, "cast me into the sea. But know, O Emperor, that without a General Council thou canst not make any innovations in religion."¹ He was, of course, absolutely right; and this had been Leo's mistake from the first. It was one which the cases of Justinian I² and Heraclius³ should have taught him to avoid. It might, no doubt, have been difficult to persuade a General Council to promulgate canons embodying the reform he was anxious to see carried out, or he might have had to be satisfied with a modified programme, but unless he could thus persuade a General Council to support his views any other action he might take could only produce what had been produced, viz. rebellion and turmoil, constantly exacerbated by harsh and cruel punishments.

Germanus was deposed, and suffered to depart into an honourable retirement, and in his place the emperor obtained a man who was willing to advance his views, Anastasius, hitherto secretary to Germanus.

Anastasius
made Pope of
Constantinople.

¹ Thus the Pope of Rome, the Pope of Constantinople, and John of Damascus had each in turn made the same statement to Leo, viz. that he had no right to interfere in questions of religion, except by the authorized channel of a General Council.

² Chap. XXII, pp. 283 and 305.

³ Chap. XXIV, p. 448.

Anastasius was appointed Pope of Constantinople, and for the next fifteen years supported the cause of Iconoclasm; so that in the eastern patriarchate those who opposed that policy had now against them not only the emperor, but also the head of the Church. Nevertheless, though thus heavily handicapped, they did not give in; the Iconoclastic party still remained in the minority, and the conflict continued.

In the Lombard kingdom the Bavarian line of kings¹ continued until 712, when Aripert II, the last of that line, died. At his death the Lombards chose as his successor on the throne of Pavia one of their own race, the deservedly honoured Ansprand, a Lombard noble of Milan. He, however, died after three months, and was succeeded by his celebrated son Liutprand.

Liutprand. Liutprand (712-742) was twenty-eight when he ascended the Lombard throne, and in his reign of thirty years he proved himself the wisest and most powerful of the Lombard kings.² The first fifteen years of his reign were almost entirely uneventful, and he was mainly occupied during these years in consolidating his kingdom by gradually subduing the power of the semi-independent rulers of its larger duchies, and in enacting measures for its good government. Two notable events, however, occurred during this period. About the year 720 Farwald II, the Lombard duke of Spoleto, for the second time captured Classis, the port of Ravenna, repeating the exploit of his predecessor of the same name in 580,³ but Liutprand forced him to restore Classis to the Exarch of Ravenna. In the year 725, however,

¹ Chap. XXV, p. 477.

² The chief authority for the whole of the history of the Lombards is Paul the Deacon, who was born about 725, and whose chief work is his *History of the Lombards*, beginning from their origin and carried down to the death of king Liutprand in 742. About the year 782 Paul the Deacon visited the court of Charles the Great, and won the favour of the latter. He remained there about four years, after which he returned to Italy, re-entered his beloved monastery of Monte Cassino, and died there about 795. His *History of the Lombards* was probably written towards the end of his life, and would no doubt have been carried still further had he not died when he had reached as far as the death of Liutprand.

³ Chap. XXIII, p. 332 (footnote).

Liutprand himself besieged Ravenna, captured Classis for the third time, and destroyed it.

Liutprand's laws. Liutprand during this first half of his reign pursued a custom which was alone sufficient to make him remarkable. Every year on the 1st March for fifteen years he, with the concurrence of the "Judges" and the chief men of the kingdom, put forth a small set of laws regarding any important matters which had formed the subject of disputes during the preceding twelve months. These laws, though they are written in still more barbarous Latin than even those of Rotharis (thereby showing that education in Italy was still continuing to decline), are very instructive in demonstrating how the Lombards were gradually advancing out of their previous state of barbarism. They show an increasing value set upon human life, an increasing endeavour after justice in all social relations, and an increasing respect for women, besides including various enactments to prevent oppression.

Triangular duel in Italy. When, however, Liutprand had been fifteen years on the throne the disturbances created in Italy by the emperor's Iconoclastic edict began, and during the remaining fifteen years of his life Liutprand's career became an intensely active one. During this latter half of Liutprand's reign there was maintained in Italy a triangular duel between the Exarch of Ravenna (the emperor's representative), the Pope of Rome, and the king of the Lombards. They had different aims. The object of the Exarch was to defend the imperial territories, and to enforce the emperor's Iconoclastic edict so far as those territories were concerned. The object of the Pope of Rome ¹ was to resist the emperor's edict in every way, but at the same time to prevent the Lombard king from becoming ruler over all Italy, Rome included, as he threatened to do. The object of the Lombard king was so to take advantage of the confusion and anarchy in the imperial domains as to bring all Italy under his authority. Thus at one time the Exarch and the Pope are found ranged against the king; at another the king and the Exarch against the Pope; and at another the king and the Pope against the Exarch. And though the Pope of Rome in his resistance

¹ Gregory II died in 730, and was succeeded by Gregory III,

to the Iconoclastic decrees would at one time urge the Lombard king to attack the Exarch, at another time he would meet a threatened attack by Liutprand upon Rome by warning the latter that Rome belonged to the emperor and by calling upon the Exarch to assist in defending it. The circumstances were still further complicated by the fact that the Lombard dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum had long maintained a virtual independence, that Liutprand was determined to end this and make them really subject to the crown, and that the Pope of Rome from time to time supported the two rebellious dukes against the Lombard king.

Liutprand during these fifteen years demonstrated his ability. He took every advantage which the circumstances of the time offered him, he captured one portion after another of the already attenuated imperial territories in Italy, he gradually reduced the dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum to complete subjection to the crown, and when he died in 742¹ he was recognized as the most powerful of all the Lombard kings.

Represented
as champion
against
Iconoclasm.

Liutprand has often been represented as a champion against the tyranny of Iconoclasm. But there seems no evidence for this assertion. His one aim was the consolidation of his kingdom, the reduction of the Lombard dukes to subjection, and the increase of his dominions at the expense of the empire. And it was merely an accident that in pursuing this aim he at times found that it assisted his object to make common cause with the Pope of Rome whose cause of quarrel with the emperor was over the question of Iconoclasm. In doing so he has been represented by the Papal biographers as showing "devotion to St. Peter"; but as already said, Liutprand's object was the advancement of his kingdom, and whenever he made friends with the Pope of Rome it was solely with this object in view.

Use made of
Liutprand's
name.

As during the time of Liutprand the only records of events in Italy are those written by ecclesiastics or Papal biographers, we naturally find various expressions put into the mouth of Liutprand (whose horizon in Church matters evidently did not extend beyond the confines of Italy) such as will exalt the position in the Church

¹ Not 743 as usually stated; see p. 591, footnote.

of the Pope of Rome. But although Liutprand in his laws lays great stress upon the Lombard nation being now Catholic, he did not in his conduct act as one holding this exalted view of the Pope of Rome, against whom he often made war. It must also be borne in mind that though we find everywhere in the writings of the ecclesiastics of the western patriarchate at this period expressions intended to convey the idea that the Pope of Rome was the head of the Church, we find exactly the same kind of expressions used by the ecclesiastics of the eastern patriarchate regarding the Pope of Constantinople. Moreover to the latter was still applied, even officially, that title of "Universal Pope" which had so much annoyed Gregory the Great. The pretensions in this respect put forward on every occasion by the see of Rome were no greater than the pretensions put forward by the see of Constantinople; the only difference between the two cases was that in the West the community at large were more ignorant, and therefore more easily imposed upon by such pretensions. The two patriarchal sees were in fact in intense rivalry, all the greater since the other three patriarchal sees had been swept away by the Mahomedans. It was the old rivalry between New Rome and Old Rome, between the imperial city and the city which once had occupied that position. And during so ignorant and dark an age in the West as the 8th century there was no limit to which such pretensions might not be carried.

Charles Martel The Frank kingdom (including not only France, but also a large part of Germany) lost in 714 the strong rule of Pépin of Heristal,¹ who had for twenty-five years administered its affairs with firmness and ability. At his death the kingdom threatened again to dissolve into anarchy; Austria and Neustria were at deadly feud; the dukes of Aquitaine, Thuringia, and Bavaria proceeded to throw off their allegiance to the puppet king at Metz, Dagobert III; and to complete the confusion Pépin, under the evil influence of his wife Plectruda, had bequeathed his office of Mayor of the Palace to her young son, a child of six, passing by his capable eldest son Charles,² then about twenty-

¹ Chap. XXV, p. 514.

² Afterwards known as Charles Martel (the Hammer).

five years old, whom his stepmother Plectruda promptly imprisoned. But Charles escaped from his prison, rallied the Austrasians round him, defeated a rival Mayor of the Palace in Neustria, captured a Merovingian child, Thiudaric IV, and placed him upon the throne, and in his name ruled the whole kingdom. He soon made his strong hand felt in every direction; in Bavaria he installed a duke ready to be his vassal; marching against Eudo, duke of Aquitaine, he compelled him to return to his allegiance to the Frankish sovereign; and attacking one after another of the enemies of the kingdom he defeated in succession the Saxons, the Allemanni, and the barbarous and savage Frisians, who inhabited the territory between the mouths of the Rhine and the Ems, and had long vexed northern France.

Saracen invasions of France. But a more formidable enemy had meanwhile appeared in the south of France. The Saracens, eager to press northwards, did not long remain satisfied with their conquest of Spain.¹ Scarcely had they established themselves in that country than in 718 they crossed the Pyrenees and ravaged part of southern France, and two years later under their leader Zama gained the province of Narbonne, which they held for the next forty years. Charles Martel appears at this time to have underrated the Saracen danger, his hands being full in the north. Meanwhile the Saracens in 721 were opposed by the brave Eudo of Aquitaine and defeated in a severe battle under the walls of Toulouse, in which Zama was killed, which for a time arrested their onward course. In 725, however, the Saracens again crossed the Pyrenees under Anabasa, and overran the whole of southern France from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone. But Anabasa died in 726, after which the Saracens advanced no further for several years.

Third invasion under Abdul Rahman In 731 the Khalif Hisham² appointed as Emir in Spain the ambitious and energetic Abdul Rahman, and the latter at once began a formidable attack upon western Europe. He had planned with the Khalif that they should jointly advance from East and West, conquering all that yet remained of Christian Europe, and should meet in the centre of Europe after having subdued

¹ Pages 546-548.

² Page 552 (footnote).

the whole continent to Islam, and should then set up the capital of the Mahomedan empire at Rome. Gathering from Arabia, Syria, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain an immense host of Saracens and Moors, which apparently cannot have numbered less than 500,000 men, Abdul Rahman advanced in 731, crossed the Garonne, defeated Eudo of Aquitaine on the banks of the Dordogne with great slaughter, burnt Bordeaux, overran Aquitaine, and advancing northwards captured city after city in Poitou, while his right wing overspread Burgundy and advanced as far as Lyons.

The issue involved. Charles Martel had not been idle in preparing to meet this Mahomedan torrent. But his forces had to be gathered from long distances. From Bavaria, from Thuringia, from the borders of Saxony, from the banks of the Rhine, and from northern France he summoned his Frank warriors to do battle in the cause of Christendom in a contest as severe as any that their ancestors had experienced, calling upon them to show that they were worthy descendants of the warriors of Clovis. As all well knew, the issue to be decided was whether Europe was henceforth to be Christian or Mahomedan,—whether the future Notre Dame at Paris and the future St. Paul's at London were to be churches or mosques, and whether Paris and London were to echo with the call to prayer of the Muezzin, as Narbonne, Arles, and Avignon were already echoing. For if the Franks lost this battle there was no other force to stop the Saracens who had swept over so many countries, and neither the British Channel nor the Alps would have formed any bar to their advance.

The great battle of Poitiers. And well did the Franks maintain their ancient reputation on this occasion, in a battle which is recognized as one of the decisive battles of the world. The two great armies met in October 732 about fifteen miles west of Poitiers, not far from that field of Vouillé where 225 years before the Franks had crushed the Visigoths,¹ and about sixty miles south of the site of that still more celebrated battle of the Mauriac Plain which had seen an equally great issue fought out against Attila.²

The Saracens in a long career of conquest during a hundred years, from the borders of Syria to the centre of France, had

¹ Chap. XX, p. 156.

² Chap. XIX, p. 101.

gained an absolute confidence of victory. But the plunder of innumerable cities and the luxury thereby induced had told upon them, and they had not now the same fiery enthusiasm in battle which they had possessed when their armies first issued from Arabia led by Khalid, "the Sword of God." Moreover they were now opposed, not by the effeminate Visigoths of Spain, but by a northern race whose courage, strength, and stature were a new experience to the Saracens. Knowing the importance of the issue, the hostile armies fenced with each other for six days in minor engagements, but on the seventh day the great battle of Poitiers was fought. We are given no details. The greater part of the forces on both sides were probably mounted. No special tactics are mentioned, and the battle was apparently a simple sledge-hammer contest. It lasted a whole day and until after dark. And though we are told of the great valour displayed by Charles Martel, this was too vast a struggle to be decided by the personal prowess of any one man, and the issue long hung doubtful. But Charles fought with such determination, cleaving his way with such ponderous blows through the ranks of the Saracens, that he won ever afterwards his name of "the Hammer," and inspired the Franks with the most steadfast courage. Against the fiery charges of the Saracens and Moors the warriors of the Rhineland stood, we are told, "like a wall of ice." At length, when darkness was already coming over the battlefield, Abdul Rahman was killed, and the Saracens fled in a complete rout, and did not stay their course until they had recrossed the Pyrenees.

The losses which the Saracens are said to have suffered in this great battle have no doubt been exaggerated; though in a whole day's fight of this character the losses are bound to be enormous. The historian Paul the Deacon states that in this battle the Saracens lost 350,000 men, and Anastasius, the Papal librarian, augments the number to 375,000. But even after making large allowance for exaggeration in these figures the Saracen loss was evidently immense; and for generations afterwards the site where this battle was fought was known in Andalusia¹ as

¹ The name given by the Saracens to Spain, meaning "the land of the West."

the "Pavement of the Martyrs." So crushing was this defeat that during all the seven centuries afterwards during which the Saracens ruled in Spain they never again attempted a general invasion of France.¹

Actual ruler
of the
kingdom. Charles Martel, the consolidator of France and the saviour of Europe, lived for nine years after this great achievement, ruling the Frank kingdom with firmness and justice. He might at any time have taken the throne, but the Merovingian dynasty of Clovis apparently had sacredness in his eyes, even though represented by puppet kings so little deserving of respect, and Charles remained satisfied with being the actual though not the nominal king of the Franks. Owing to his strong, firm rule, and his refusal to be dominated by the Church, he has not found favour with the ecclesiastical writers of his time; but he deserves honour on that very ground.

Friendship
with
Liutprand. Charles Martel married Sonichildis, the second daughter of Thiudapert, duke of Bavaria, Liutprand, king of the Lombards, having married her elder sister Guntrada; and Charles was throughout his career on cordial terms with his brother-in-law Liutprand. And when in 737 the Saracens for a second time made a raid from Narbonne into Provence Charles besought Liutprand to assist him in attacking them. Thereupon Liutprand led an army across the Alps, at the approach of which the Saracens, fearing to be caught between two fires, fled back to Narbonne. Two years later Charles was able to repay the debt. In 739 Pope Gregory III having made a league with the two rebellious dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum, Liutprand, putting the former of them to flight, marched upon Rome, and took four cities belonging to the imperial territory near Rome. Gregory III appealed in piteous terms to Charles Martel to come to his assistance against the Lombard king. Charles entirely refused to give any help against Liutprand, thereby earning the wrath of Gregory III and animosity from the Papal writers. Charles Martel died in 740² at the age of fifty-

¹ Though they retained their hold upon the province of Narbonne for about forty years, and from thence made raids into Provence on several occasions.

² Not 741 as usually stated; see p. 591, footnote.

two, leaving his office of virtual ruler of France divided between his two sons.

Æthelbald,
king of Mercia. In England the seven kingdoms still continued their contests, though the unification of the Church which had been effected ¹ tended to reduce the strife and to make these contests less severe. Æthelbald, king of Mercia, who ruled at Tamworth for forty-one years (716-757), gradually increased the power and importance of Mercia until he brought that kingdom to a position of acknowledged supremacy.² With the exception of a raid into Somerset in the early part of his reign, and a raid made into his kingdom by Wessex in retaliation, Æthelbald remained for the most part a peaceful ruler. He was active in supporting the Church and in reforming abuses among the clergy. He also not only gave large endowments of land to the Church, but drew up a series of "landbooks" containing the conditions upon which the lands given by him were to be held; and these landbooks contain much valuable information regarding the tenure of land and the position of the peasantry in England at this period.

English
missions to
Germany. But the most prominent feature at this time is the zeal developed by the recently constituted Church of England in endeavouring to convert various Continental races who were still Pagans. England, which had itself been converted to Christianity less than eighty years, now sent forth missionary after missionary from the training colleges which had been established at Lindisfarne, Glastonbury, and Jarrow to give their lives in brave attempts to convert the most savage and barbarous races of Germany. From Northumbria in 695 went Willibrord, who for forty years laboured to convert the savage Frisians, and at length was killed by them. Two priests, both named Ewald, about the same time attempted a similar task in Saxony, and were torn limb from limb at Cologne, and their bodies thrown into the Rhine. From Wessex in 716 went Winfrith, who received from Pope Gregory II the name of Boniface, and is often called "the Apostle of Germany." He worked for thirty-five years at organizing the half-formed

¹ Chap. XXV, p. 496.

² See p. 574.

Churches of Thuringia and Bavaria, directed from his see at Mainz the religious affairs of all central Germany, and then at the age of seventy went a second time to try and convert the Frisians, and was martyred by them. Ranke is of opinion that the zeal of these English missionaries was partly quickened by the rapid advance of the Mahomedans, and says: "We ought not to consider the Christianization of Germany only from the point of view of religious belief and teaching. However important these may be, it was of world-historical importance that some counteracting influence should be prepared against Islamism, which was pressing ever deeper and deeper into the continent of Europe. Boniface knew right well what had happened in Spain: the work of conversion which he was carrying on was the chief cause why the same events did not repeat themselves in Gaul and Germany."¹ It is somewhat difficult to follow Ranke's reasoning. For the chief cause of the repulse given to Islam was the valour of the Franks, and the latter had been Christians for more than 200 years. Moreover by far the greater part of Boniface's work was done subsequently to this repulse of Islam.

Increased influence of the Church. The establishment of one united Church throughout England also gave rise to various changes in political and social affairs. The Church became ere long looked upon by the Angles and the Saxons with greater respect than had hitherto been the case among them; the clergy began to be largely the advisers of the people in temporal affairs; no important laws were made without consulting them; and in the national assemblies they sat side by side with the nobles to decide upon political, social, and domestic concerns. A gradual toning down of the fiercer elements of Anglo-Saxon nature was the general result.

Royal pilgrimages. But another effect of this increased influence of the Church of England upon the Anglo-Saxon race was more remarkable in its demonstration of national characteristics. It is often said even in the present day by other European races that the English are the most religious race in Europe. However that may be, they certainly seemed to show signs of such a characteristic in the 8th century as

¹ Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, I, 286-287.

soon as the formation of one Church for all England produced the increased influence mentioned. A constant succession of royal devotees began, kings and queens resigning their rank to enter monasteries and convents often founded by themselves, or to make pilgrimages to shrines such as Glastonbury, or to the tombs of specially revered martyrs or saints, or even to walk barefooted on pilgrimages to Rome, as the place where so many renowned martyrs had suffered, and there establishing hospitals for the reception of worn-out travellers from England, or schools for the education of English children. This kind of action was not of course confined to England at this period; but it certainly appears to have been much more largely followed in that country than elsewhere. The kingdoms of Northumbria, Essex, East Anglia, Mercia, Wessex, and Kent each contributed examples of kings who thus resigned their crowns to enter monasteries, similar action being taken by many queens and noble ladies who entered convents, often becoming rulers of convents which they had built and endowed. Among these kings Coinred, king of Mercia, Ceadwalla, king of Wessex (Ina's predecessor), and Offa, prince of the East Saxons, all made pilgrimages to Rome.

Abdication
of Ina, king
of Wessex.

The great contest taking place in the Later Roman Empire and Italy from the year 726 onwards over the Iconoclastic policy of Leo III raised no echo in England. To the Anglo-Saxons missions to Pagan countries, the founding of monasteries, and pilgrimages to holy places were of more interest than nice questions of theology. In 716 Ina, king of Wessex, after a long and prosperous reign of thirty-eight years, followed the prevailing fashion, being impelled thereto mainly through the exhortations of his queen, Ethelburh, who urged upon him the vanity of all earthly greatness, and besought him to lay aside his crown and undertake a pilgrimage with her to Rome. Ina did so, and together he and Ethelburh, walking barefoot the whole way, performed a pilgrimage to Rome, where Ina remained for the rest of his life, living in a humble fashion. There he endowed a school for English children in order that they might become better acquainted with foreign countries, which school afterwards became famous and was supported by various kings

of Wessex who succeeded him. Queen Ethelburh after a time returned to Wessex and died there in a convent which she founded. After Ina's abdication of the throne of Wessex the supremacy of that kingdom declined, and Mercia became the leading kingdom, as already noted.

The Venerable Bede. The training colleges established at Lindisfarne, Glastonbury, and Jarrow, besides sending forth missionaries produced various notable scholars, such as Aldhelm, Cædmon, and, above all, Bede. The latter, who has gained the title of the Venerable Bede, was the most learned man of his time in Europe. Born in 672, he lived the whole of his life of sixty-three years at the monastery of Jarrow-on-Tyne, occupied upon translations of the Bible, commentaries compiled from the writings of the Fathers, biographies of his contemporaries, works on astronomy, rhetoric, and poetry, and especially his celebrated *Ecclesiastical History of the Anglian Nation*, written at the request of Ceolwulf, king of Northumbria, and still the chief authority for events in the early history of England. Bede died in 735 at Jarrow just as he finished translating the Gospel of St. John.

Aldhelm, Cædmon, and Isidore of Seville. The general depth of ignorance into which the West had sunk has already been noted. Few could read or write, fewer still knew Latin, while almost all knowledge of Greek had departed. Agathus, who was Pope of Rome in 678-682, stated that theological study had completely decayed in Italy, having become impossible owing to the proximity of the Lombards. It is pleasant therefore to note that in such an age the exceptions are chiefly to be found in England. In that country Archbishop Theodore, in addition to his great work of forming the Church of England, had inaugurated a study of Latin and Greek literature which was continued after his death. Aldhelm (or Eadhelm), Bishop of Sherborne in Wessex, wrote in Latin and in Saxon, and translated the Psalms into Saxon. And Ina, king of Wessex, is reported to have invited two learned men from Athens to teach Greek to Aldhelm. Cædmon translated portions of the Latin Bible into verses in Saxon. Lastly Bede was a thorough Greek scholar, and, as noted, the most learned man in Europe in his time. It has also even been declared that at this period Greek was more studied in Eng-

land and Ireland than anywhere else in Europe. To these scholars must be added on behalf of Spain the name of Isidore of Seville, who was a prominent scholar of the time, and knew Greek. But these few shining lights in the general darkness only serve to show how great was the general degree of ignorance which prevailed in the West.

The struggle
against
Iconoclasm
continued.

From the time that in 729 Leo III obtained a Pope of Constantinople willing to assist in enforcing his Iconoclastic policy it became so difficult openly to oppose the prohibition of religious pictures, icons, and statues that immense numbers of persons quitted the eastern provinces and sought refuge in Italy.¹ There the opposition to Iconoclasm was maintained as stoutly as ever. Upon the death in 730 of Gregory II he was succeeded by Gregory III. The election of the latter is notable as being the last time that an emperor of the Later Roman Empire was solicited to confirm the election of a Pope of Rome. The election was confirmed by Leo III in the usual manner; nor was Gregory III consecrated until the emperor's mandate reached Rome. But Gregory III was not long in showing the same attitude as his predecessor. He first sent three letters in succession to Leo III urging him to abandon Iconoclasm, but all his three messengers were one after the other imprisoned. Gregory then assembled a Synod in the Lateran palace which condemned Iconoclasm in still more unmeasured terms than before, and excommunicated all Iconoclasts. Thereupon the emperor despatched a fleet to Italy with orders to seize Gregory III and convey him to Constantinople. But the fleet encountered a storm in the Adriatic, the majority of the ships were wrecked, and the officers and men of those which escaped wreck being for the most part secretly opposed to Iconoclasm the attempt came to nothing.

In regard to this action on the part of the emperor it must be remembered that though Leo III was undoubtedly wrong

¹ It has been estimated that during the Iconoclastic conflict in the reigns of Leo III and his son Constantine V more than 50,000 persons migrated from the eastern provinces to southern Italy on this account.

in endeavouring to carry out Iconoclasm by force, instead of through the proper channel of a General Council of the Church, Rome and the other dioceses embraced in the Roman patriarchate were under his rule; and that this being so he could not permit his authority in this portion of his dominions to be thus defied, and himself and his officials to be excommunicated, unless he were ready to abdicate. It is only another example of the difficulties created when a temporal power attempts to deal with spiritual matters.¹

Thereupon Leo III took a step which had lasting effects. He transferred the whole of the dioceses of the imperial dominions in southern Italy, including chiefly those in Calabria, Apulia, Naples, and Sicily, from the jurisdiction of the Pope of Rome to that of the Pope of Constantinople, making them part of the eastern patriarchate. This reduced the jurisdiction of the Pope of Rome, so far as the empire was concerned, to only Rome, Ravenna, and Venice. Southern Italy and Sicily thus returned to that connection with Greek thought and sentiment which those countries had had as a Greek land many centuries earlier, before Rome conquered Greece. Gregory III was unable to offer any opposition to this step, and from this time forth, while northern and central Italy continued Latin in sentiment, southern Italy and Sicily remained Greek; ² churches were built in the Byzantine style, Greek ideas prevailed in religion, and Constantinople and not Rome became the authority appealed to on all occasions. This act of Leo III, combined with the large number of fugitives from the eastern provinces owing to the Iconoclastic edict, completely "Hellenized" southern Italy, and its results largely affected the history of Italy throughout the Middle Ages.

This change increased still further the immense difference between the extent of the jurisdiction of the Pope of Constantinople and that of the Pope of Rome. For while the jurisdiction of the latter was reduced to the small dimensions noted, the jurisdiction of the Pope of Constantinople was increased after this transfer of southern Italy to his patriarchate

¹ Chap. XXV, p. 464.

² Sicily until its conquest by the Saracens in the 9th century, and southern Italy until its conquest by the Normans in the 11th century.

to a total of 650 bishops' dioceses, grouped under 52 Metropolitan Bishops.

While Leo III thus severed southern Italy from the western patriarchate and brought it under the Pope of Constantinople, he was wise enough not to press his Iconoclastic policy in that country, which might have resulted in the inhabitants transferring their allegiance to the king of the Lombards. As a result southern Italy enjoyed at this period a tranquillity which was denied to all the rest of the empire.

In seeking to reach the truth through the labyrinth of falsehood which surrounds it in the obscurity of the 7th and 8th centuries it is necessary to receive with the utmost caution any statements regarding the deference paid to, position of, or authority of the Popes of Rome in the 7th and 8th centuries made by the Papal writers of the 9th and 10th centuries. The first time the claim of the Pope of Rome to a supremacy in the Church is made is in a letter in 777 from Pope Adrian I to Charles the Great. The claim then lay dormant until the year 800 (when Charles became emperor of the West), but after that date, during the 9th and 10th centuries, the whole efforts of the Papal writers became devoted to twisting every allusion to ecclesiastical affairs in the preceding centuries in such a way as to show that the Popes of Rome had throughout all previous time been accorded the position thus claimed. With this object these writers stuck at nothing, freely falsifying every statement bearing upon this point, and (feeling that the end justified the means) had no scruples in introducing forged sentences or expressions into *bona fide* documents of the past, such as the letter of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, to Stephen, Bishop of Rome, in the 3rd century,¹ or the letter of Chrysostom on the occa-

¹ Strange to say, the forgeries in this celebrated letter (now in the Bodleian Library), in which Cyprian severely reprovved Stephen for attempting to dictate to the Church of Carthage, have been exposed by the Medieval scribe himself, who below the forged document has transcribed the original letter; doing this secretly to save his reputation as a scribe, among which class it was a point of honour in copying a document not to alter even the form of a letter of the alphabet. Archbishop Benson, in his *Life of Cyprian*, has given facsimile reproductions of this letter and its curious forged alterations.

sion of his banishment by Arcadius in the 5th century,¹ or even in forging entire documents to prove their point, as the well-known "Forged Decretals" and the forged "Donation of Constantine"² (now acknowledged by all Europe as forgeries) remain to testify.³

Thus in regard to the 7th and 8th centuries any statements made by these Roman ecclesiastical writers of the 9th and 10th centuries which bear upon this point are quite valueless, and reliance must be placed solely upon *contemporary* writings (few though these are), making sure at the same time that such have not subsequently been tampered with. The only safe course is to bear in mind throughout, (i) that the Popes of the two remaining patriarchates (Constantinople and Rome) were of equal authority;⁴ (ii) that it was the aim of every ecclesiastical writer at Rome to hide this; (iii) that throughout the 7th and 8th centuries these two Popes were in constant and bitter rivalry;⁵ (iv) that in creating the office it had been most carefully and specifically laid down that no such supremacy attached to the Metropolitan Bishop given this title of Pope over any other Metropolitan Bishop of his patriarchate; and (v) that when at the end of the 8th century this claim to a supremacy in the Church was put forward by one of these Popes (a claim entirely repudiated by the rival patriarchate), it at once became the object of every ecclesiastical writer at Rome, from the highest to the lowest, to demonstrate by all means in his power, however unscrupulous, that this

¹ Chap. XVII, p. 37.

² Vol. III, Chap. XXVIII.

³ These Papal writers of the 9th and 10th centuries were, however, so ignorant of all matters outside Italy, or referring to times long past, that they introduced into the documents thus forged glaring anachronisms; with the result that when in the time of the Renaissance these documents came to be read by scholars their forgeries were at once apparent, as for instance in the prominent case of the forged "Donation of Constantine," a document which in an illiterate age had been supposed genuine for seven centuries.

⁴ See Vol. I, Chap. XV, pp. 536-537; and Vol. II, Chap. XXIII, pp. 383-387.

⁵ The Pope of Constantinople still continuing to use the title of "Universal Bishop" protested against by Gregory the Great at the end of the 6th century.

claim had throughout all the preceding centuries been admitted, not only by all authorities in the West, but also by all authorities in the East. And at the same time to bear in mind also (vi) that no such claim had ever been admitted by any General Council, nor could have been so without that General Council abrogating its own supreme authority.

The
Hodêgêtria A remarkable historical relic still to be seen at Bari in southern Italy is connected with the despatch of the fleet in 731 to seize Gregory III. The church in Constantinople celebrated for centuries under the peculiar name "Tôn Hodêgôn" (of the Guides) possessed as its chief treasure a greatly revered picture, known as the *Hodêgêtria*. This picture, a portrait of the Virgin Mary declared to have been painted by St. Luke, which had formerly been kept at Antioch, was in the 5th century given to the empress Pulcheria by her sister-in-law the empress Eudocia,¹ and was regarded by Pulcheria with the greatest veneration. To house it she built the celebrated church at Constantinople called the church of "Deiparæ Hodegetriæ" (the Mother of God, the Guidress, or she who guides). Subsequently the name of this church was changed to "Tôn Hodêgôn" (of the Guides), a point of considerable interest.

In course of time this picture, the *Hodêgêtria*, had become regarded with ever increasing veneration; emperors starting upon a campaign worshipped before it, asking that "the Guidress" would lead them to victory; it had more than once been taken into battle; and when in 717 Constantinople was besieged by the Saracens Leo III himself caused it to be carried round the walls in a solemn procession.²

When, however, in 726 Leo III began to move in the matter of the excessive reverence paid to sacred images the question of this celebrated and much venerated picture had ere long to be faced. The emperor avoided the subject for five years, but in 731, soon after he had obtained an Iconoclastic Pope of Constantinople, Leo III, notwithstanding his own action fourteen years before, ordered this much revered picture to be burnt. Such an order was looked upon as an even worse sacrilege than the destruction of the image of Christ over the

¹ Chap. XVIII, p. 87. ² Ducange, *Constantinopolis Christiania*.

gateway of the imperial palace, and to save the picture from his hands it was consigned to the charge of a faithful adherent who secretly escaped with it on board one of the ships going to Italy. The ship was one of those which escaped wreck, and the picture was safely landed in Italy near Bari, and made over to the cathedral authorities at Bari.¹

But this did not by any means end the history of this remarkable picture. About a century and a half later, when the Iconoclastic policy had been finally reversed, the *Hodêgêtria* was again taken back to Constantinople, and became more venerated than ever. The emperors of the Later Roman Empire never started upon a campaign without first worshipping in the church where it was kept and imploring to be led to victory; upon return from victorious expeditions they regularly went to this church to offer their thanksgivings to "the Guidress"; the picture was again on several occasions taken into battle to ensure victory; it was in the 13th century a second time carried round the walls during a siege of Constantinople; and it became the regular custom to lodge it in the imperial palace during the festival of Easter. Finally when in 1453 Constantinople was taken by the Turks, a Greek poem on the fall of Constantinople declared that this sacred picture, honoured for so many centuries, was preserved from falling into their hands by being taken up to heaven by angels; the truth apparently being that when the fall of the city had become certain the picture was secretly conveyed on board a ship and again despatched to Bari, where it has ever since remained.

Great doubt exists among writers as to the meaning of the name "Tôn Hodêgôn" (of the Guides) given to the church in Constantinople in which the picture was kept, and also as to when this name was adopted in place of its earlier one of "Deiparæ Hodegetriæ" (she who guides). Ducange suggests that it was called Tôn Hodêgôn "because the Byzantine emperors never started on a campaign without worshipping there and asking the Virgin to lead them to victory." But this accounts only for its earlier name, and fails altogether

¹ Several other old Greek pictures, brought to southern Italy at this time to save them from destruction, are to be seen in various towns in southern Italy, such as Otranto, Amalfi, Salerno, and Barletta.

to account for the plural (the Guides) in the case of its later name. It looks as though the party in the Church who objected to the exaltation of the Virgin Mary and to the term "Mother of God" (Theotokos, or in Latin, Deipara), wishing to avoid this term and yet to retain the time-honoured name of the church in some form, had at some period changed the singular into the plural, making it "the church of the Guides," with allusion to the Holy Trinity.

This celebrated picture, the *Hodégéttria*, supposed to be now nearly 1900 years old, and in any case a most interesting historical relic with a history of 1500 years, is still to be seen, blackened with age, kept in the cathedral of Bari.¹

Marriage of Leo's son. In 732 Leo's son Constantine, by this time fifteen, was married to the daughter of the important Khan of the Khazars. On thus marrying Constantine she became a Christian and took the name of Irene. The Khazars at this time had become very powerful; in 728 they had invaded Armenia and Media, and in those regions had thoroughly overawed the Saracens. They were uniformly hostile to the latter and on friendly terms with the empire, and this marriage was a political measure to cement still closer this advantageous alliance.

Battle of Acroinon. Towards the end of his reign Leo III again won honour against the Saracens. In 734 the latter again invaded Asia Minor, but without gaining any special success. They made similar attacks in 736 and in 738, in-

¹ The Byzantines preferred to ignore the fact that the picture had ever been away from Constantinople, and though its secret despatch in the fleet going to Italy is well attested, preferred to believe that it was mysteriously hidden from the Iconoclasts in the 8th century in some way not stated, and mysteriously preserved from the Turks in the 15th century in the manner related. And Ducange, from whom a large part of these details have been taken, speaks as though the picture had never been removed from Constantinople. In that case it is necessary to assume, (i) that the picture was preserved in some mysterious manner from the Iconoclastic emperors in the 8th century; (ii) that it was preserved from the Turks in the manner noted, or in some other mysterious way, and to account for what became of it, and (iii) that the picture which has so long been kept at Bari is a copy, and to account for its name and how it got there. The account given in the text appears more likely to be true than these assumptions of mysterious agency.

cursions which had all more or less the nature of raids, and were beaten off by the troops in the districts invaded. But in 739 these incursions were succeeded by a much more formidable attack. The Khalif Hischam despatched an army of more than 100,000 men under four generals, one to invade the Cappadocian theme, one the Seleucian theme, and two to advance into the Anatolian theme.¹ To meet this formidable invasion Leo III ignored the custom that the emperor should not personally command in war, and with his son Constantine, then twenty-one, took the field. The result was another great success. At the battle of Acroinon, in Phrygia, in the summer of 739 Leo gained a great and decisive victory, completely routing the Saracen army, and driving the Saracens out of Asia Minor; and as the result of this victory both he and the army gained high honour. At this battle of Acroinon perished Abdullah Albattal, said to be the original of the legendary hero the Cid.

Early in 740 the important Code of the Roman laws² written for the first time in Greek, and called the *Ecloga*, was finished and promulgated. Its full title was:—"A compendious selection of the laws, made by the wise emperors Leo and Constantine from the Institutes, the Digest, the Codex, and the Novellæ of the great Justinian; and an improvement thereof in the direction of humanity." And its Preamble contained the words:—

"We exhort and command those who have been appointed to administer the law to abstain from all human passion; and from a sound understanding to bring forth sentences of true justice, and neither to despise the poor nor to permit a powerful transgressor to go unconvicted. . . . Presents and gifts blind the eyes of the wise. Therefore being anxious to put an end to such evil gain, we have determined to provide from Our patrimony salaries for the most illustrious quæstor, the comptrollers, and all the officials employed in administering justice, to the intent that they may receive nothing whatever from any person who is tried before them."

Accompanying the *Ecloga* were the three special codes of regulations already mentioned. The first, the Maritine Code, contained an immense set of regulations dealing with the mercantile marine and sea trade, and pro-

¹ See p. 544, footnote.

² Page 555.

viding laws for every case which could arise between the ship-owner, the merchant owning the cargo, the captain of the vessel, the passengers, and the crew, as well as for cases of loss or injury to ship or cargo. The Code shows that in the 8th century sea-trade (that is, nine-tenths of all trade) was carried on by companies, chiefly because the Mediterranean was infested by Saracen pirates and the risk of loss was too great to be borne by individuals. The importance of this Maritime Code of Leo III, known as the Rhodian Code,¹ is manifested by the fact that it became throughout the Middle Ages, among all countries, the recognized universal code governing all commercial traffic by sea. And when in modern times each country drew up a maritime law for itself this Rhodian Code formed the basis of that law among all nations, and still continues to do so.

The second code, the Agricultural Code for the empire, was also of high importance. It laid down laws for every case which could arise between the proprietor of the soil and the tenants who cultivated it, as well as for compensation in case of loss, and also laws for cases where the land was cultivated by a community of peasants holding the land in common. But the most noticeable feature of this code is its showing that a silent revolution had taken place since the 5th century, serfdom being no longer found, and peasants, though divided into two classes, being in both cases free men. Slavery, so far as agriculture is concerned, had disappeared.² As to how during the two centuries concerned this great change had come about we are left in ignorance. Evidently the change had been a gradual one. The Russian scholar N. Skabalonovitch considers that it was chiefly due to the large infusion into the population of Slavonic settlers, who in many districts, both in Europe and Asia, had taken the place of the former peasants, slain or carried off as captives in the various invasions by the Avars and Bulgarians in Europe, and by the Persians and Saracens in Asia.³ The Slavs did not understand an institution attaching men to the soil; hence the

¹ Rhodes having in former times been the centre of ocean traffic.

² Slavery however still existed in a modified degree in other lines in life, though rapidly disappearing.

³ See Chap. XXV, pp. 475 and 511.

tie which had connected the peasants and the soil was broken, the former ceasing to be serfs, and retaining a right to move freely from place to place.¹

The third code, the Military Code, provided regulations for all the various affairs of the army, and laws governing the life of the soldier and his officer. The chief feature of this code is that it shows the introduction of a much more strict discipline than had for a long time prevailed.

The *Ecloga* of Leo III (with its subsidiary codes) is of the more importance because the Isaurian emperors were regarded with so much hatred by their successors on account of their Iconoclastic policy (the Iconoclasts becoming looked upon as the unorthodox, and their opponents as the orthodox party) that these succeeding emperors destroyed every document connected with them, and it was almost by an accident that this solitary monument of the administrative measures of Leo III survived.²

The superiority
of the empire
demonstrated
by these laws.

These laws of the great Isaurian emperor cause us to realize how immense was still the superiority of the Later Roman Empire over all nations of the West. The language in which these laws are couched, the ideas they embody, the well-ordered system they exemplify, and the scrupulous attention to detail in regard to different classes of the population which they show, are all in marked contrast to the uncouth laws, couched in still more uncouth Latin, which some of the nations of the West were beginning to formulate. And while both the empire itself and the western nations had long since abandoned the idea which had prevailed at the end of the 5th and beginning of the 6th century of a suzerainty on the part of the empire,³ nevertheless the western nations looked up to the empire as superior to themselves in all such matters. But the time was long past when communication between East and West had been easy and frequent, and when a rapid ride such as that of Constantine from Nicomedia to Boulogne had been possible.⁴ Hos-

¹ *Vizantyskoe Gosudarstvo i Tserkvo* (The Byzantine Empire and Church), by N. Skabalonovitch.

² For a full description of the *Ecloga* see Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, II, pp. 411-421.

³ Chap. XX, pp. 145 and 172.

⁴ Vol. I, Chap. XII, p. 370.

tile nations, broken roads, and general insecurity rendered communication from West to East scarcely possible, and the races beyond the Alps knew little about the empire and its affairs. Even a journey to Rome was a long, difficult, and perilous undertaking; further east than Rome the western nations scarcely looked.

Commerce and
wealth. The destruction of the western half of the Roman Empire had been a benefit so far as commerce was concerned to what had been the eastern half of that empire. The Franks, the Goths, the Burgundians and other northern races who had overrun the West despised commerce, and the whole of the flourishing trade of the western half of the Roman Empire was destroyed when they conquered the western countries. Thenceforth all trade was directed to the Later Roman Empire, Constantinople, especially, becoming the centre of most of the trade with the far East. And when in the 7th century the conquests of the Mahomedans blocked the Red Sea route to the East this effect was doubled. The whole trade between Europe and the far East at this time centred in Constantinople; in order to avoid the Saracen dominions, it passed by the Black Sea, thence through the territory of the Khazars to the north of the Saracen dominions in Persia, and so to China and India. This route was the highway of European commerce from the 7th to the 10th century. And as a result Constantinople at this time in wealth and commerce surpassed every other city of the world to even a greater degree than London now surpasses the other European capitals; in fact the commerce of Europe in the 8th century centred at Constantinople more completely than it has since then ever done in any one city. The great wealth of society in the Later Roman Empire at this period as the result of this enormous trade is shown by the immense amount of gold currency in circulation. That empire furnished for several centuries the whole of the gold currency in circulation not only in all the western nations, but also in the empire of the Mahomedan Khalifs, the gold "byzant" ¹ of the Later Roman Empire being the only gold coin in both East and West.²

¹ See Appendix XVII.

² Finlay, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 197.

The Later Roman Empire (contrary to the erroneous picture drawn of it in later times by such writers as Gibbon and Voltaire) was the country in which reigned a higher degree of order and justice than in any other at this period. In no other country were life and property anything like so secure. The Later Roman Empire, through the advantage of possessing a systematic administration of justice with a fixed legal procedure, gave a greater degree of personal liberty, as well as greater security for property, than was to be found either in the dominions of the Mahomedan Khalifs or in any country of the West. It has been said that the empire of the Khalifs and of Charlemagne, though loudly praised by historians, could not, in their best days, compete in this respect with the Later Roman Empire as reorganized by Leo III, and that no other government of which history has preserved the records has secured equal advantages to its subjects for so many centuries.¹ At the same time the moral tone of its society was on an altogether higher level than was to be seen elsewhere. In the empire of the Mahomedan Khalifs violence and injustice claimed an unbounded license; and in the West at this period licentiousness was universal, while the laws of the western nations testify to the frequency of female drunkenness, the prevailing immorality, and the general social anarchy. In marked contrast to these conditions in the West it has been held that the superior moral tone of society in the Later Roman Empire was a main cause of that empire's long duration.

A century ago it was customary among historians, as a part of the depreciatory view then held of the Later Roman Empire,² to speak of that empire as if it were destitute of military strength. The truth was far otherwise, especially after the reforms carried out by Leo III, who both by these reforms and by his own personal example breathed a new spirit into the army. No contemporary government possessed so perfect a military organization, nor could any bring into the field on an emergency armies so well trained and equipped. The pernicious system which had for centuries obtained in the Roman Empire, and been one of the

¹ Finlay, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 9.

² See Chap. XX, p. 157.

chief causes of the overthrow of the western half of that empire in the 5th century,¹ a system which deemed the conditions of the soldier and the citizen incompatible, and under which the artisan was bound to his trade, the proprietor to his estate, and every restriction possible exerted to prevent free enlistment of citizens as soldiers, still continued. It placed an impassable barrier between the proprietor of the soil, who was the taxpayer, and the soldier, who was the defender of the country, the mass of the population still continuing to be excluded from the use of arms. The system was of too long standing in the empire for Leo III to attempt to break it; with the result, we are told, that "the imperial forces mainly consisted of conscripts drawn from the lowest ranks of society, or from rough mountaineers of almost independent provinces, or of foreigners hired as mercenaries."²

But it is the special glory of the born leader of men, one who possesses the true instincts of a soldier, to be able to make troops of the finest quality out of what to the civilian's eye would seem the most unpromising material; as had been shown by Belisarius and many another great commander. And it is evident that many of the officers surrounding Leo III had this power, and that whatever the original material may have been like they were able to fashion it into troops of which any country might be proud. For though the Saracens devoted all the wealth of their empire to their military establishment, and in arms and military science were in no way inferior to the Romans, yet they never dared to meet the latter with anything approaching equal numbers; and the many stubbornly contested battles fought in Asia Minor against superior forces in the armies of the Khalifs entitle the army of the Later Roman Empire to rank high in military estimation.³ For in this, as in other cases, we must judge of that army by its achievements. And it has won lasting renown by the fact that by its valour and discipline it successfully defended the empire, though greatly overmatched

¹ Chap. XIX, p. 135.

² Finlay, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 27.

³ Among the military arrangements maintained for the defence of the empire was a regular system of telegraphing by means of fire-signals from the frontiers of the empire to the shores of the Bosphorus.

in numbers, against the fanatical Saracens for four hundred years, until at last the Saracen empire broke up.

General
estimate to
be formed of
Later Roman
Empire.

In order to form a correct estimate of the Later Roman Empire in the progressive improvement of mankind it is necessary to compare it, on the one hand, with the degraded condition of the Roman Empire in Pagan times in all matters relating to moral enlightenment; and on the other, with the style of government prevailing at this time in the Mahomedan empire, and with the barbarous administration of the western nations. The regularity of its civil and judicial administration, the defensive power of its military organization, the state of education, and the general tone in morals, are all in marked contrast to the case of all other nations at this period. The one incurable defect in the Later Roman Empire, as it had been throughout the history of the Roman Empire in all ages, was its rapacious fiscal administration based upon erroneous financial principles. Yet even in this direction no other government of that age displayed equal honesty. And as respect for the law was regarded by the emperors as self-respect, this feeling tempered the exercise of arbitrary rule.

Social life in
the Later
Roman Empire
in the 8th
century.

Turning to regard social life in the Later Roman Empire in the time of Leo III, such glimpses as we obtain show that though the age was in some respects below that which had preceded it and that which followed it, a fairly high degree of culture and refinement was maintained. The universal ruin which had overspread everything in the West threw into greater contrast the civilization and culture of the Later Roman Empire and the magnificence of its capital city. Boys were regularly sent to school, sometimes for as long as seven years, and this was followed by a university course in rhetoric, literature, logic, mathematics, and music. Girls also, though taught at home, received in general a high degree of education; apparently this was as a rule given by their mothers, as it is noted of Theoctiste, the mother of Theodore, Abbot of Studion, a lady occupying a high position in society, that she had to teach herself after her marriage, because being an orphan she had grown up uneducated.

Life in Constantinople was enlivened by various festivities,

as well as by frequent ceremonials connected either with the court or the Church. The monastic life was exceedingly popular, men of the highest rank frequently becoming monks. As such they not only became in many cases learned students and writers, but also learnt various trades; Theodore of Studion states that when he became abbot of his monastery he made rules by which every monk therein had to learn a trade, some being masons, some weavers, some shoe-makers, some rope-makers, and some bronze-smiths. The law of Justinian was enforced which forbade any one below the rank of the nobility to remain in Constantinople who was not gaining his livelihood in some recognized trade or profession; any able-bodied man found without a trade was assigned one, and if he refused to work was expelled from the city. The law in question stated the reasons for this enactment to be, first that idleness leads to crime, and secondly that it is unfair that strong men should live upon the gains of others, since any excess which the latter possess is owed to the weak and maimed. Among the recognized trades was that of a garden-labourer, employed by the State; the so-called "gardens" being public parks maintained by the State for the enjoyment of the people.¹

The splendour of the imperial court tended ever more and more to an eastern magnificence and an increasing departure from the old Greek and Roman simplicity. The tiara, the state-robe, and profuse ornaments all marked this tendency; the nobility wore jewels even on their golden shoes; and even the most ordinary domestic utensils were embossed or overlaid with gold. Nevertheless the extravagance in Constantinople at this period did not approach that of Rome in the age of Caligula and Nero; such tendencies had been to no small extent suppressed by Christianity; and banquets costing a fortune, or luxurious orgies such as were common in Rome in the 1st century, would in Constantinople have been considered a scandalous outrage upon society. Among the upper classes, together with luxury, much elaborate ceremony was customary. Ladies in society took the titles of their husbands with feminine terminations, with the result

¹ For most of these details I am indebted to Prof. Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 519-529.

that we find them rejoicing in such titles as *archontissa*, *turmachissa*, *hypatissa*, and *candidatissa*, while we also find in use the more familiar title of *contessa* (countess). But for all their high-sounding titles these ladies were exceedingly human, and though they spoke in melodious Greek instead of in our rougher northern tongue, romantic and self-sacrificing love, sorrowful tragedies, and unselfish labours for the good of others, as also gossip, scandal, and worldly-mindedness, were as common in Constantinople in the 8th century as in these days in London or New York. Many pathetic tragedies unknown to history must also from time to time have been caused by the cruel rule that Byzantine princesses who were the daughters of an emperor who had sons might not marry. Though there was much eastern extravagance of dress there were no eastern ideas as regards the position of women; Rome had always allowed perfect freedom to women, and this continued under the Later Roman Empire, women leading a perfectly free life, and more so in fact than in the West, where Teutonic ideas as to the more or less secluded life proper to be maintained by women prevailed.

And while the women were womanly, the men were manly, and by no means such as western historians of a later age for long centuries imagined them. No doubt there were those (as in every age) who preferred a lucrative civil appointment at the court, or to lounge in the drawing-rooms of the capital, rather than to endure the hardships and risks of a soldier's life. But there were very many with whom it was otherwise. And though these nobler spirits found no favour with the monks and ecclesiastics who were the sole chroniclers of the time, their deeds have afforded a more enduring and reliable record than any such chroniclers could have furnished. The great emperor Leo III, with his long and honourable record, first as an aide-de-camp of Justinian II, then as an envoy sent away from his court by the suspicious Justinian to the tribes in the wild territory north of the Caucasus, where he went through many adventures and hairbreadth escapes, then as commander in the Anatolic theme, when he several times defeated the Saracens, then as the heroic defender of Constantinople, and lastly as the stern opponent of super-

stition, was in every way himself a most manly character. And around him he gathered others like himself, men who had fought in many battles, in North Africa, in Asia Minor, in the long siege of Constantinople, and in the great victory of Acroinon, and who as they walked through the streets of Constantinople were honoured by all as the defenders of the empire, and would had they lived in these days have been covered with medals. Such men took no part in court intrigues or the degrading chicanery of politics, and so found no place in the writings of the time; their business was to defend the empire, and in this nobler task they have left behind them a record which is imperishable.

Death of Leo III. Leo III died on the 18th June, 740,¹ at the age of seventy, soon after the promulgation of the *Ecloga*, having reigned twenty-three years. The year 740 in which this important code of laws was promulgated is thus notable from the fact that the emperor Leo III, the most important figure in the East, Charles Martel, the most important figure in the West, and Pope Gregory III, who had so strenuously opposed Iconoclasm, all died in this same year.

In the Later Roman Empire up to this time three emperors stand out as specially remarkable, Justinian I in the 6th century, Heraclius in the 7th, and Leo III in the 8th; and among these Leo III deserves to occupy the second place, as the most notable emperor next to Justinian I. His character was in every way an honourable one; and had it not been for the strong prejudice against him felt by the ecclesiastical writers of later ages on account of his unorthodox Iconoclastic policy he would no doubt have been placed upon a high pedestal. His military achievements against the Saracens before he became emperor, his splendid repulse of the immense Saracen attack upon Constantinople in 717-718, his brilliant victory over the Saracens at the battle of Acroinon, when he was nearly seventy,

¹ Not 741, as usually stated. Professor Bury has pointed out that, in consequence of a mistake made by the contemporary chroniclers which misled modern historians, for fifty years of the 8th century (from 727 up to shortly before the death of Constantine V) all the received dates are wrong by a year (see *Later Roman Empire*, II, 422-427).

and his able and thorough reform in the discipline of the army attest his high claim to honour from a military point of view. But this was only one portion of his abilities ; in the administrative sphere he shone with even greater lustre. His regeneration of the entire public and private life of the empire, breathing into it a more robust spirit, his reforms in every branch of its administration, his advancement of its commerce by his various measures to protect commercial interests, and lastly his remarkable and eminently practical code of laws, with its three subsidiary codes, place him in the first rank among administrators.

Unfortunately the line he took in matters of religion has obscured his claim to honour in other respects. His determination to put down the gross superstition which prevailed in religion was in every way laudable. But instead of attacking so thorny and difficult a question slowly and cautiously through the recognized channel of authority in the Church, a General Council of Bishops, he proceeded by the unlawful and arbitrary course of an imperial edict, and by the harsh and cruel methods which he adopted to enforce obedience to his will in the matter he robbed his endeavour to put down superstition of all the commendation which it might otherwise have won. The error of his action in endeavouring to carry out such a reform by means of an imperial edict instead of through a General Council of Bishops is rendered all the more marked by the fact that whereas the superstitious reverence for pictures and images was much less in the western than in the eastern patriarchate, it was the western patriarchate which was forced into being the chief opponent to his authority, the eastern patriarchate having been rendered powerless to resist it.

By this action in regard to religious matters Leo III did harm which went far to counterbalance all his beneficial reforms. Not only destroying valuable works of art, and objects which had been long endeared to the hearts of his subjects, but also ruthlessly persecuting all who opposed this action, he by his harsh and unsympathetic Iconoclastic policy raised an embittered conflict which lasted for several generations, and did widespread harm both to the Empire and to the Church, driving a wedge between East and West. That

policy was continued by his son Constantine V in a still more ruthless and far less creditable fashion, many cruel martyrdoms of those who opposed Iconoclasm taking place. And though forty years after Leo III's death Iconoclasm was overthrown and the Iconoclastic policy reversed by the empress Irene (the widow of Leo III's grandson),¹ it was then too late to heal the division which that policy had created, East and West having grown apart. And although this was not the ultimate cause of the final breach between the eastern and western patriarchates of the Church in the eleventh century, yet it must be held to have contributed its quota to that breach, through the two patriarchates having been separated throughout the greater part of the 8th century by the Iconoclastic policy.

Character of
the emperors
from 395 to
740.

It is worthy of notice, with reference to the character in former days given to the Later Roman Empire, that in the 345 years from the death of Theodosius the Great to the death of Leo III (with the exception of course of the disgraceful usurper Phocas) the general average of the twenty emperors who in turn sat upon the imperial throne at Constantinople were men of ability, and in moral character not only immeasurably higher than the rulers of other countries their contemporaries, but also certainly as high as those which any list of sovereigns of similar length in any country or age can show.

General view
over
East and West
at death
of
Leo III.

A general view over both East and West at this stage in their history shows that the long period of confusion and turmoil which followed the irruption of the northern nations into the Roman Empire was passing away, that the "wild nations" were beginning to become tamed. In Italy the Lombards had thoroughly established their rule, and were becoming a civilized race, the latest step in that process being the laws promulgated by king Liutprand. In France and southern Germany a strong and orderly rule had been established over the fierce Franks by Charles Martel, the effete Merovingian

¹ The wife of Constantine V and the wife of his son Leo IV had both of them the name of Irene.

dynasty was near its end, and that dynasty was soon to be succeeded by Charles Martel's own descendants. In England a process of unification was taking place among the Anglo-Saxons through the establishment of one national Church for all England, a change which was gradually preparing the seven kingdoms of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes for being all brought under one king. The Mahomedans had been beaten back on both flanks of their attack upon Europe, had reached their furthest limit in the West, and were settling down in Spain for a period of nearly 800 years. In the East, the Later Roman Empire, though only half its size in the time of Justinian I, and only one quarter the size of the empire ruled by Constantine the Great, was still strong, an example to all the world in law, commerce, and methods of government, and able successfully to oppose the Mahomedans. In the Church three of the five patriarchates had been swept away, while the two remaining patriarchates had for a time been driven into opposition by the Iconoclastic policy.

The most prominent feature of the time is the depth of ignorance into which the whole of the West had sunk. Scarcely any except ecclesiastics could read or write, and even they could only do so in the most uncouth language, knew nothing of Greek (the language used in the East), and were egregiously ignorant. Even in Rome, the city of Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy, and Tacitus, all learning had departed.

But though the West was sunk in so much ignorance, it was from the West that eventually the one thing was to come which the East could not supply, so far as religion was concerned. The East had done its part well throughout the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries in maintaining the fight for the true faith against a long succession of attacks; and without this steadfast defence of that faith nothing that could rightly be called Christianity would have survived to later ages. But doctrine was not everything. Christianity appeals not only to the intellect, but also to the heart. And the Teutonic races of the West, gifted with that susceptibility which the intellectually minded East lacked, were in the fullness of time to supply this element. We see this spirit showing itself in them even at the end of the 5th century, and among the barbarous Franks, in the speech recorded of Clovis when he was first told the story

of Christ's death, "If I had been there with my Franks, I would have avenged his injuries." No Greek or Roman would have made such a speech. We see the same spirit, one quite foreign to the temper of the East, manifesting itself in the case of those Burgundian and Frank princesses who had so much to do with the conversion of various nations in the West, as well as in the case of those Anglo-Saxon missionaries who sacrificed their lives in attempts to convert savage races in Germany. And when, later on, the time came for the noble race of the Normans to be converted to Christianity, this element which the East could not supply was through them to produce great effects in the world's history.

Lastly, at this time of the middle of the 8th century Constantinople still stood like a great fortress barring the way against the Mahomedans, two grand attacks by whom it had repulsed in disaster. It still remained the metropolis of the world, the only home of the refinement, learning, and art of the Roman empire, a city beside which neither Rome nor any other city of the West was more than a provincial town, a city which had still a glorious history of many hundred years before it, and which before it died would replant in the unlettered West the laws, the learning, the culture, and the art of the Roman Empire.

END OF VOL. II.

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APPENDIX XI

List of the emperors of the Later Roman Empire from Zeno to Leo III.

(For convenience the emperors who reigned over the eastern half of the Roman Empire before it becomes called the Later Roman Empire are also entered.)

Emperor.	Date.	
Arcadius . . .	395-408	Eastern half of the Roman Empire. Ditto. Ditto. Ditto. Ditto.
Theodosius II . .	408-450	
Marcian . . .	450-457	
Leo I . . .	457-474	
Leo II . . .	474	
<hr/>		
Zeno . . .	474-491	Later Roman Empire.
Anastasius I . .	491-518	
Justin I. . .	518-527	
Justinian I. . .	527-565	
Justin II . . .	566-578	
Tiberius II . . .	578-582	
Maurice . . .	582-602	
Phocas . . .	602-610	
Heraclius . . .	610-641	
Constantine III	641	
Constans II. . .	641-668	
Constantine IV.	668-685	
Justinian II . .	685-711	
Philippicus . .	711-713	
Anastasius II . .	713-715	
Theodosius III.	715-717	
Leo III . . .	717-740	

APPENDIX XII

The male and female martyrs shown in the two processions in the mosaic picture in the church of St. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, the name of each being written over his or her head.

(N.B.—In this list they are arranged chronologically, not in the order they stand in the procession.)

Name.	When and Where Martyred. (The cases of those marked (a) have been detailed in Vol. I, Chapters V to XIII).
MALE MARTYRS.	
1. Vitalis . . .	An officer in the Roman army who was a Christian, in the time of Nero, and stationed at Ravenna. Seeing a Christian led to death whose courage was sinking, he encouraged him, and afterwards removed and buried his body. For this he was buried alive on the spot in Ravenna where the church to his memory stands . . . A.D. 66
2. Gervasius and } 3. Protasius }	Sons of Vitalis. Martyred at Milan. . . A.D. 67
4. Apollinaris . .	First Bishop of Ravenna. Said to have accompanied St. Peter to Italy from Antioch, and been sent by him to preach Christianity on the eastern coast of Italy, being appointed Bishop of Ravenna, the chief city on that coast. Fifteen years afterwards, in the reign of Vespasian, was martyred by the Pagan inhabitants at the place where the church of St. Apollinare in Classe now stands . . . A.D. 79
5. Clement (a) . .	Bishop of Rome. Martyred in the Crimea, under the emperor Trajan . . . A.D. 101 (He heads the procession of male martyrs in the mosaic picture.)
6. Ignatius (a) . .	Bishop of Antioch. Martyred at Rome, under the emperor Trajan. . . . A.D. 114
7. Polycarp (a) . .	Bishop of Smyrna. Martyred at Smyrna, under the emperor Antoninus Pius . . A.D. 156
8. Justin Martyr (a)	Teacher of Christianity. Martyred at Rome, under the emperor Marcus Aurelius . . A.D. 177
9. Cornelius (a) . .	Bishop of Rome. Martyred at Rome, under the emperor Gallus A.D. 252
10. Cyprian (a) . .	Bishop of Carthage. Martyred at Carthage, under the emperor Valerian A.D. 258

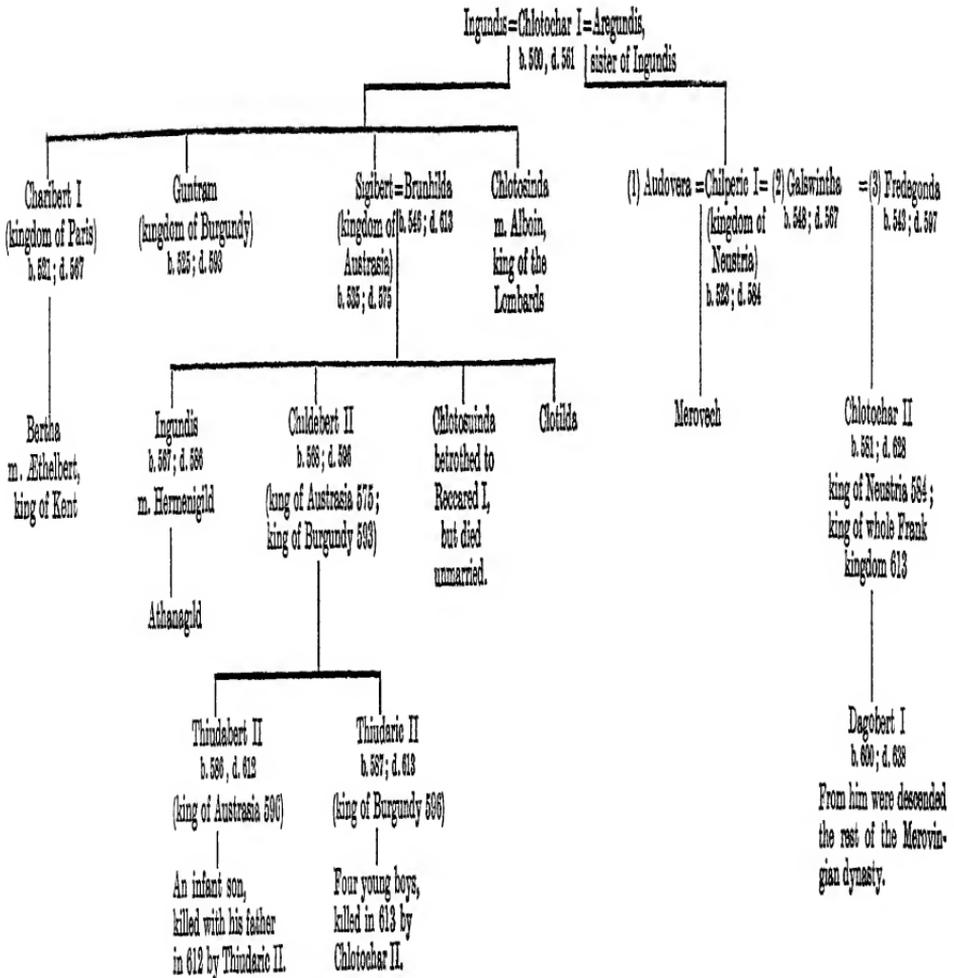
Name.	When and Where Martyred.
11. Lawrence (a)	A deacon. Martyred at Rome, under the emperor Valerian A.D. 258
12. Hippolytus	A Roman soldier placed on guard over Lawrence. Buried the body of the latter; was seized and brought before Macrianus (the cruel minister of Valerian, and instigator of the persecution), and declared himself a Christian. After seeing nineteen members of his family beheaded, is said under the orders of the cruel Macrianus to have been bound to two wild horses, and torn asunder A.D. 258
13. Cassianus	A schoolmaster at Imola. Was denounced as a Christian by his scholars, and given up to their fury. Martyred at Imola. A.D. 258
14. Demetrius	Martyred at Rome, under the emperor Valerian A.D. 258
15. Sabinus	Martyred at Rome, under the emperor Valerian A.D. 258
16. Ursinus	Martyred at Rome, under the emperor Valerian A.D. 258
17. Pancras	A brave Christian boy martyred at Rome under the emperor Diocletian for tearing down the edict of persecution when it was put up in the Forum. A.D. 303 (The church to his memory in Rome was erected in A.D. 500. There is a well-known church to his memory in London.)
18. Vincent (a)	A deacon at Saragossa in Spain, aged twenty. Martyred upon the promulgation of Diocletian's edict, with all the other Christians in Saragossa, by the Proconsul Dacianus, being subjected to terrible tortures as an example to the rest. The acts of his martyrdom were read publicly in the North African churches in the 4th century in the lifetime of St. Augustine. Is specially honoured in Spain, where there is scarcely a city without a church dedicated to his memory A.D. 304
19 Sebastian (a)	Captain of the imperial bodyguard. Martyred under the emperor Diocletian A.D. 304 (Numerous churches to his memory were built in the 4th century.)
20. Chrysogonus	All that is known of him is that when St. Anastasia (see below) was persecuted by her relations he sustained her by his

Name.	When and Where Martyred.
	exhortations, and for this was martyred with her at Rome by the emperor Maxentius A.D. 307
21. Johannes, and } 22. Paulus }	Two Roman officers martyred at Rome, under the emperor Julian A.D. 362 (Their house stood on the Coelian hill where the church dedicated to their memory stands.)
FEMALE MARTYRS.	
1. Vivia Perpetua (a)	A young Roman lady. Martyred at Carthage, under the emperor Septimius Severus A.D. 203
2. Felicitas (a) . .	A slave girl. Martyred with Vivia Perpetua A.D. 203
3. Eugenia (a) . . .	Daughter of the Proconsul of Egypt, and highly educated. Martyred at Alexandria, under the emperor Septimius Severus A.D. 203
4. Agatha (a) . . .	Martyred at Catania in Sicily, under the emperor Decius A.D. 251
5. Paulina	Martyred at Rome, under the emperor Decius A.D. 251
6. Sabina	A Roman lady, martyred at Rome, under the emperor Decius A.D. 251 (On the site of her house on the Aventine hill a church was erected in 423 which still exists.)
7. Daria (a)	A Vestal Virgin; one of the sacred six, the highest persons in the State next to the emperor. On the outbreak of the persecution under Valerian she was accused by his cruel minister Macrianus of being a Christian, and acknowledged it. She was martyred at Rome by being buried alive A.D. 257
8. Pelagia (a) . . .	An actress. Confessed herself to be a Christian, and was martyred at Rome, under the emperor Valerian, by the cruel minister Macrianus A.D. 257
9. Valeria	Martyred at Rome, with hideous tortures, under the emperor Valerian, by the cruel minister Macrianus A.D. 257
10. Vincentia	Ditto Ditto A.D. 257
11. Crispina	Ditto Ditto A.D. 257
12. Anatolia	Ditto Ditto A.D. 257
13. Victoria	Ditto Ditto A.D. 257

Name.	When and Where Martyred.
14. Cecilia (a) . . .	A young Roman lady. Martyred under the emperor Probus. A.D. 280 (Her house in Rome was converted within ten years after her death into a church, which still exists.)
15. Christina . . .	Daughter of the governor of Bolsena. Was tortured by her father on his discovering that she was a Christian, and was martyred under the emperor Carinus, it is said by being thrown into the lake of Bolsena tied to a millstone A.D. 283
16. Lucia (a) . . .	A girl of sixteen. Martyred at Syracuse, under the emperor Diocletian A.D. 303
17. Justina . . .	Daughter of the priest of a Pagan temple at Antioch. Being discovered by her father to be a Christian was martyred at Antioch, under the emperor Diocletian. A.D. 304
18. Eulalia . . .	A very determined little girl of twelve at Merida in Spain, who announced herself a Christian, broke in pieces the Pagan idols to which she was ordered to burn incense, and was thereupon martyred at Merida, under the emperor Diocletian. A.D. 304
19. Agnes (a) . . .	A girl of fourteen. Martyred under circumstances of disgraceful cruelty at Rome, under the emperor Diocletian. A.D. 304 (St. Jerome writing about eighty years afterwards says that hymns in her honour had been written in all languages.)
20. Anastasia . . .	A Greek lady married to a Roman husband. Was persecuted by her husband and relations for becoming a Christian, and finally martyred at Rome, under the emperor Maxentius. A.D. 307 (The church to her memory in Rome was built within eighty years of her death.)
21. Euphemia (a) . . .	A young unmarried Greek lady, belonging to Chalcedon, on the coast of Bithynia. All the details of her martyrdom are known with certainty (see Vol. I, p. 383). Martyred at Chalcedon, under the emperor Licinius A.D. 311 (She was so highly honoured that the name of Euphemia, Virgin and Martyr, received the title of Great. Though last of all in time, she is placed at the head of the procession of female martyrs in the Ravenna mosaic in consequence of her memory being held in so much honour.)

APPENDIX XIII

FRANK KINGS FROM CHLOTOCHAR I TO DAGOBERT I



APPENDIX XIV

Approximate distances traversed by Heraclius in his six campaigns in 622-628

Year.	Route.	Miles.	
		Intermediate.	Total.
622	From Tarsus through Cilicia and Cappadocia to Trapezus in Pontus	—	580
623	From Trapezus through Lazica and Iberia to the Araxes, and thence to Ganzaca in Azerbiyan	750	
	From Ganzaca round the lake of Thebarma, and thence to Getana in Albania on the Caspian Sea	630	1380
624	From Getana to the Araxes, thence into Armenia, and thence to Lake Van	—	600
625	From Lake Van through Arzanene to Germanicia, and thence through Cilicia and Cappadocia to Trapezus in Pontus	—	1070
626	From Trapezus through Armenia to Ganzaca in Azerbiyan, and thence into Media and back to Ganzaca	—	1200
627	From Ganzaca traversing Media to Aspadana, and from thence to Nineveh in Assyria	1260	2000
	From Nineveh to Dastagherd	300	
	From Dastagherd to Ganzaca in Azerbiyan	440	
628	From Ganzaca to Amida	490	1200
	From Amida to Cæsarea in Cappadocia	350	
	From Cæsarea to Constantinople	360	

The actual roads traversed by Heraclius' army being in many cases not known, these figures are only intended to give a general idea of the distance covered in each campaign. In most instances the real distance covered was considerably more, as in these figures marches and countermarches in manoeuvres against the enemy are not included.

APPENDIX XV

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF HERACLIUS



APPENDIX XVI

List of the principal ruined cities and fortresses in North Africa having "Byzantine" walls, showing that they were occupied at the time of the Mahomedan invasion.

(Irrespective of many other cities undoubtedly occupied at that time, but whose ruins do not show this feature, their walls or churches having been built before the period 534-704.)

City or Fortress.	Present Name	Details of Ruins.
Agbia. . .	Ain Hedjar.	"Byzantine" fortress, situated on a height above the modern town of Ain Hedjar, with other Roman remains.
Altava . .	Hedjar Roum ("Roman castle")	"Byzantine" fortress to protect the great Roman road running through the province from east to west.
Annobaris .	Ain Rharsalla	"Byzantine" fortress, situated on a height above the main road from Sicca Venerea to Tebessa. Near it, upon the road, are two Roman triumphal Arches.
Augusta Am- mædara	Haidra . .	The junction of four important roads, and in 704 as important a city as Tebessa. Besides its huge "Byzantine" fortress (219 yds. by 120 yds.), the largest in North Africa, within which are the ruins of a church, the ruins of Ammædara also include a fine triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus (used by the Byzantines as a fort), a Roman mausoleum in excellent preservation, and the ruins of a large church with extensive "Byzantine" additions and numerous tombstones.
Augusta Mactaris	Maktar . .	In 704 was an important city, but is now only a small village. Besides the "Byzantine" ruins of a church, it possesses the ruins of a triumphal Arch, a Roman mausoleum, an Aqueduct, and other Roman remains.

City or Fortress.	Present Name.	Details of Ruins.
Bagai. . .	Ksar Baghai	Immense "Byzantine" city-walls or fortress, with 25 towers, the interior space being 360 yds. long by 335 yds. wide, with a castle on the north-western side having a "keep" 84 ft. high. Bagai, where in the 4th century a large Church Council of 310 Bishops had assembled, was in 704 the chief city of this district, but nothing now remains of it except this huge fortress.
Bulla Regia .	Hamman Darradj	Once the prosperous capital of the Dakla district. Was the place where the Vandal kings kept their treasure as more secure than Carthage, and the place to which in 533 Gelimer retired after he lost Carthage. Its ruins include a "Byzantine" fortress (still in use as a caravanserai), an Amphitheatre, Baths, Temples, and an interesting Roman dwelling-house, the ground-floor almost intact, with a mosaic pavement, vaults, and stairs to the upper storey. Also three well-preserved subterranean palaces.
Cæsarea . .	Cherchel .	The capital of the fourth section of the province of North Africa, that called Mauretania Cæsariensis. Situated on the coast, and up to the time of the Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 one of the wealthiest cities of North Africa, rivalling Hippo and Carthage. Its ruins include "Byzantine" city walls, an Amphitheatre, Baths, Theatre, Roman Naval harbour, and a Roman Circus, 435 yds. long, within the city walls.
Calama . .	Guelma .	Has remains of its "Byzantine" town-walls, striking ruins of lofty Roman Baths, and remains of a Roman Theatre.
Capsa. . .	Gafsa . .	The capital of the second section of the province of North Africa, that called Byzacena. One of the oldest towns in North Africa, important in all ages as the gateway of the desert, all caravans having to pass through it. Its walls were entirely rebuilt by Justinian in the 6th century, and these walls still remain, together with the "Byzantine" citadel, which is occupied by the French garrison. The Roman Baths are also still in use.
Castellum Tin- gitanum	Orleansville.	At the time of the Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 was a highly flourishing city. Most of its "Byzantine" remains have

City or Fortress.	Present Name.	Details of Ruins.
Constantine .	Constantine .	<p>been obliterated by the modern city. It contains the ruins of a large church said to be the oldest in this part of North Africa, with additions made in the 7th century.</p> <p>The capital of the third section of the province of North Africa, that called Mauretania Sitifensis. A very strong city situated on a high plateau encircled on three sides by the gorge of the river Rhumel. The only city which Gaiseric, the Vandal king, when he advanced in 429 was unable to take. Its "Byzantine" remains are mostly obliterated by the modern city which occupies the same site. Besides the Roman Bridge over the gorge of the Rhumel (with sculptures of elephants), and the large Roman Reservoirs (164 yds. by 40 yds.), has many other Roman remains, and among these an inscription on a rock near the Rhumel ravine in memory of those martyred here in 259 in the Seventh persecution, that in which Cyprian suffered. Its name was changed from that of Cirta in the 4th century when the seat of the government of this part of North Africa was transferred to it by Constantine from Lambesis.</p>
Diana Veteranorum	Zana . . .	<p>In 704 was a large colony of veteran Roman soldiers. Besides a "Byzantine" fortress and the ruins of a "Byzantine" church it possesses a well-preserved triumphal Arch, the ruins of a Forum, and other Roman remains.</p>
Hadrumetum	Susa . . .	<p>In all ages an important seaport, the great outlet for the produce of the fertile and thickly populated district to the west of it. Its "Byzantine" fortress still remains, and is in use as a college. At the time of the final Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 the whole of the coast on both sides of Hadrumetum was bordered with richly adorned country-houses, and the mosaics from many of these are now in the local museum. Regarding these and other mosaics, see Chap. XVIII, pp. 82-83.</p>
Madaura . .	Mdaourouch	<p>Situated on a high plateau, with a conspicuous "Byzantine" fortress. Its ruins include a Roman mausoleum, Baths, the ruins of a church, and other Roman remains.</p>

City or Fortress.	Present Name.	Details of Ruins
Mascula . .	Khenchela .	In 704 an important city, the key of the passes into the eastern part of the Aures mountains. Its "Byzantine" remains were nearly all swept away in 1860 when the present town was founded.
Numerus Syrorum	Lalla Marnia	"Byzantine" fortress to protect the great Roman road traversing the province from east to west.
Pomaria . .	Tlemcen .	Ditto
Sicca Venerea	Le Kef . .	A city at all times held of great strategical importance, being the junction of four great Roman roads, and strongly situated on a rocky hill. Its "Byzantine" remains have been largely obliterated by the modern city, but among those still visible are the "Byzantine" city walls, and the "Byzantine" ruins of three large churches. The older portion of the city is built partly out of "Byzantine" ruins. Its other Roman remains include a set of Baths, and the Roman Reservoirs, which are still in use.
Simitthu .	Chemtou .	Specially famous for its Roman quarries of the yellowish red "Numidian" marble. Besides a "Byzantine" fortress, its other Roman remains include an Amphitheatre, Baths, Forum, an Aqueduct, a Roman Theatre, and a cemetery with numerous tombstones.
Sitafis. . .	Setif. . .	Was in 704 the second city of Mauretania Sitifensis. Its "Byzantine" fortress with eleven towers still remains, having been converted into quarters for the modern garrison. Most of its other "Byzantine" remains have been obliterated by the modern city, except a well-preserved Roman mausoleum.
Tebessa . .	Tebessa. .	The original head-quarters of the Third Legion, and the most important city in this part of North Africa. Was entirely rebuilt by Justinian in the 6th century, and is still encircled by the walls then built. These "Byzantine" walls have 14 towers and 3 gates, one of the latter being formed by the "Arch of Caracalla," built in 214 by Julia Domna in memory of her husband Septimius Severus. Outside the walls is the well-preserved Temple of Minerva (now used as a museum), and the ruins of an immense church and monastery,

City or Fortress	Present Name.	Details of Ruins.
Thamalla .	Ras-el-Oued	the whole of its area covering 213 yds. by 115 yds., its older portions being of the 4th century and its later of the 7th century, and its cemetery showing that it was in use up to the time of the final invasion by the Mahomedans in 704-709.
Thelepte . .	Medinet-el-Khadima	In 704 was the chief place on the main road between Capsa and Tebessa. Besides a "Byzantine" fortress with many towers, its ruins include those of many churches, a large set of Baths, and extensive and interesting Roman quarries.
Thibilis . .	Announa .	Situated on a narrow hill high above the Announa valley. At the time of the final Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 was a prosperous town encircled by "Byzantine" town-walls of a late date, which still remain, together with the "Byzantine" ruins of a church with seats for the Bishop and clergy. Its other Roman remains (only brought to light in 1905) include the east gate of the town, the entrance Arch of the Forum, and the much-ruined south gate of the town, the only two-arched Roman gateway in this part of North Africa.
Thubursicum	Khamissa .	A large ruined city occupying both sides of a hill high above the valley of the Medjerda. At the time of the final Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 was the most important city in this part of North Africa, and was protected by <i>two</i> "Byzantine" fortresses, one on the crest of the hill and the other on its western edge. The ruins of these two fortresses remain, together with those of a "Byzantine" church. Its other Roman remains include a triumphal Arch which was the southern gate of the city, Baths, Forum, Theatre, another triumphal Arch with three passage ways, and an extensive burial ground.
Timgad . .	Thamugadi.	The most important military station on the southern side of the province, situated on a wide plateau 3500 feet high extending from the lower slopes of the Aures mountains. Founded by Trajan in the 2nd century Timgad grew to great magnifi-

City or Fortress.	Present Name	Details of Ruins.
		<p>cence in the 3rd and 4th centuries. Originally, as the chief fortress on the southern frontier, it was laid out as a square Roman "Camp," 384 yards each way, with a gate in the centre of each side, but subsequently the city grew far beyond these limits. After prospering exceedingly during the 3rd and 4th centuries it declined during the hundred years of the Vandal dominion, and in 535 was almost entirely destroyed by the Berber tribes of the Aures mountains. Thereupon the emperor Justinian built a huge fortress on the southern side of the city, with walls 8 feet thick and many towers, and this fortress formed the chief defence of Timgad at the time of the final Mahomedan invasion in 704-709. Near this fortress, the walls of which, with eight of the towers, still remain, are the ruins of the church built by Gregory as late as 645; and inside the city are the "Byzantine" ruins of another church and monastery occupied up to 704. The remains of the city are very extensive, and include no less than <i>eleven</i> Thermæ (or Roman Baths), one of these, the largest in North Africa, being 88 yds. by 70 yds., with thirty-five different rooms; also an Arch of Septimius Severus, 40 ft. high, and forming the western gate of the city; a large Forum, with a colonnade of Corinthian columns; a Judgment Hall; a Theatre, accommodating about 4000 persons; a Capitol, with an inscription recording that it was restored by the emperor Valentinian I, its portico having columns 44 ft. high; and a set of public Latrines, the finest ancient building of the kind anywhere known, copiously supplied with water, having marble seats the arms of which are adorned with carved dolphins, and showing the high degree of civilization of Timgad in the 4th century. After North Africa was taken by the Mahomedans in 704-709 the watercourses of Timgad became broken, with the result that the large streams of water which had supplied the unusual number of Baths and other requirements of the city, wandering as uncontrolled torrents, gradually in the course of eleven centuries buried the whole city</p>

City or Fortress	Present Name.	Details of Ruins
		under a mass of débris (except the Arch of Trajan, the Capitol, and the "Byzantine" fortress), and it is only since 1880 that it has been excavated.
Tingartia . .	Tiaret . . .	The capital of the south-western part of Mauretania Cæsariensis at the time of the final Mahomedan invasion in 704-709, on a plateau 3500 ft. high. Most of its "Byzantine" remains have been obliterated by the modern city.
Tipasa (Numidia)	Ksar Tifech	A large "Byzantine" fortress, standing on a plateau 3100 feet high, the only remains of the destroyed town of Tipasa.
Tipasa (Mauretania)	Tipaza . . .	A seaport on the coast about 17 miles east of Cæsarea, with "Byzantine" town-walls. Its other Roman remains include an Amphitheatre, a fine set of Baths, Theatre, Mausoleum, Roman harbour, the runs of a Cathedral dating from the 4th century, interesting ruins of two other churches built in the 4th century, a Roman burial-ground, and a large cemetery (with thousands of Christian graves) which shows use up to the time of the final Mahomedan invasion in 704-709, and in it many Christian monuments and sarcophagi, the whole being much desecrated by herds of cattle.
Uthina . . .	Oudna . . .	At the time of the final Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 was one of the wealthiest cities in the hill-country west of Carthage, and protected by a "Byzantine" fortress the ruins of which still exist. Its other Roman remains include ruins of an Amphitheatre, and of a Theatre, Baths, and the Roman Reservoirs; also ruins of the "Palace of the Liberii," the latter a fine example of a rich nobleman's house in the 4th century.
Vaga . . .	Béja . . .	In 704 was one of the most thriving towns in the rich Medjerda valley. Has remains of a "Byzantine" fortress, and also "Byzantine" town-walls with many towers.

Both Sufetula and Carthage had "Byzantine" defences, but having both been destroyed (the former in 648 and the latter in 698) before the final Mahomedan invasion in 704-709 they are not included in this list.

APPENDIX XVII

Relative value of money in the period from the 5th to the 8th century, as compared with our present money.

It has been calculated by experts that the relative value of money at this period was approximately as follows :—

- (i) 100 Roman *pounds of gold* was 7200 *solidi*, and equal in weight to £4100 sterling.
- (ii) 20 *pounds of gold* was equal in weight to £820.
- (iii) 1000 *pieces of gold* were equal in weight to £570.
- (iv) 100 *pieces of gold* were equal in weight to £57.
- (v) The gold "Byzant," called also the "Nomisma," appears to have been about equal to £1 sterling.

APPENDIX XVIII

List of the Mahomedan Khalifs from 632 to 740.

	A.D.
Abu Bekr	632-634
Omar I	634-644
Othman	644-656
Muawiyah I } Ali }	656-661
Muawiyah I.	661-680
Yezid I	680-683
Muawiyah II	683
Merwan I	683-685
Abdul Malik.	685-705
Walid I	705-715
Sulaiman	715-717
Omar II	717-720
Yezid II	720-724
Hischam	724-743

APPENDIX XX

The Six General Councils

Council.	Date.	Heresy dealt with.	Bishop who presided.
First General Council	A.D. 325	Arian	Hosius, Bishop of Cordova.
Second General Council	381	{ Macedonian, and Apollinarian }	Meletius, Pope of Antioch.
Third General Council	431	Nestorian	Cyril, Pope of Alexandria.
Fourth General Council	451	{ Eutychian, or Monophysite }	Anatolius, Pope of Constantinople.
Fifth General Council	553	{ Doctrines of the "Three Chapters" }	Eutychius, Pope of Constantinople.
Sixth General Council	680	Monothelite	Georgios, Pope of Constantinople.

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- ABDALLAH**, leads first Mahomedan attack upon North Africa, ii, 459.
Abdullah Albattal, said to be original of the Cid, killed at battle of Acroinon, ii, 582.
Abdul Malik, eighth Khalif, ii, 509; surrenders Armenia, Iberia, Arzanene, and Atropatne, 511; gains Lazica and Carthage, 518; death, 522.
Abdul Rahman, son of renowned leader Khalid, ii, 481; commands Armada sent against Constantinople, 493, killed, 494.
Abdul Rahman, appointed Emr of Spain, ii, 567, vast plan of conquest, 567; advances into France, 568; defeats Eudo of Aquitaine, 568; overruns Aquitaine and Burgundy, 568; fights great battle of Poitiers, 568; killed, 569.
Abgarus, last king of Osroene, i, 302.
Abi Wakkas, Sayad, appointed vicegerent of Khalif Omar in Persia, ii, 450; wins battle of Kadesia and takes Ctesiphon, 450; wins battles of Yalulah and Nehavend, completing conquest of Persia, 450.
Abrcium, Battle of, disastrous defeat of Decius, i, 319.
Abu Bekr, first Mahomedan Khalif, ii, 436; inaugurates policy of foreign conquest, 437; attacks Persia and Syria, 437; death, 441.
Abulpharagius, statement of destruction of great Alexandrian library supported by latest authorities, ii, 458.
Abu Ubeida, sent to command in Syria, ii, 442; captures Damascus, 442; wins battle of the Yermuk, 443; takes Jerusalem, 444; wins battle of Emesa, 444.
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- Amida (Djabekir), Siege and capture of by Sapor II, i, 469; given back in exchange for Nisibis, 488; its splendid walls of black basalt built by Justinian, ii, 242.
- Ammanius Marcellinus, officer in the Imperial Guards, i, 427; principal historian in 4th century, 588; books which survive, 588; character as a historian, 588.
- Amphitheatre of Carthage, its great splendour, i, 295; two stories higher than Colosseum at Rome, ii, 80.
- Amphitheatre of Trèves, Ruins of, i, 496.
- Amphitheatres in North Africa, large number of, ii, 81.
- Amphitrite of Rhodes*, Statue of, set up in Baths of Zeuxippus in Constantinople, i, 422.
- Amru, Mahomedan general, conquers Egypt, ii, 461; takes Alexandria, 458; founds Cairo and builds mosque of Amru, 459.
- Anastasia, half-sister of Constantine, i, 379; married to Bassianus, 379.
- Anastasia, sister of the empress Theodora, ii, 252.
- Anastasia, empress, wife of Tiberius II, *see* Ino.
- Anastasia, daughter of the emperor Maurice ii, 394; slain by Phocas, 394.
- Anastasia, empress, wife of Constantine IV, ii, 488; disgracefully treated by minister of her son, 513.
- Anastasius I, emperor, a *silentarius* of the Imperial Bodyguard, ii, 152; chosen by the empress Ariadne to succeed Zeno, 152; married by her, 152; character, 158; successful administration, 158; expels the Isaurian officials, 158; makes war upon them, 159; recovers Jotaba, 159; victorious over Persia, 159; constructs the Long Wall, 160; reorganizes the army, 160; involved in religious conflicts, 161; abolishes the *chrysargyron* tax, 161; prohibits combats between men and wild beasts, 161; leaves fourteen millions in the Treasury, 161; successful character of his reign, 161; death, 161.
- Anastasius II, emperor, ii, 543; unpopular with army, 544; deposed, 544.
- Anastasius, Pope of Antioch, ii, 385; letter to him from Gregory the Great, 385; tortured in the insurrection against Phocas, 395.
- Anastasius, made Pope of Constantinople upon signifying readiness to support Iconoclasm, ii, 562.
- Anatocha, girl martyred at Rome in Seventh persecution, i, 331.
- Anatochus, Pope of Constantinople, ii, 103; presides at Fourth General Council, 103; crowns Leo I, the first case of an emperor crowned by an ecclesiastical authority, 123.
- Andalusia, Saracen name for Spain, ii, 569.
- Andragathus, commands cavalry of usurper Maximus, i, 552; pursues Gratian, 552; cruel artifice, 553; murders him, 553; killed at battle of Siscia, 563.
- Andreas, kills emperor Constans II, ii, 483; executed, 483.
- Andrew, St., goes as Apostle to Scythia, i, 122.
- Anencletus, second Bishop of Rome, i, 195.
- Angles, The, at end of 5th century invade Britain, ii, 162; take possession of eastern coast, 163 (for continuation *see* Britain).
- Anglesey, Conquest of, i, 134.
- Angrî, Battle of, last stand of the Ostrogoths, ii, 303.
- Anicetus, vicious parasite of Nero, i, 130; helps to assassinate Agrippina, 130; concocts vile plot to destroy Octavia, 135.
- Âmo Novus, aqueduct constructed by Claudius, i, 98.
- Anna, king of East Anglia, ii, 466; attacked by Penda, king of Mercia, and killed, 466.
- Anna, daughter of Leo III, ii, 553.
- Anonymus Cuspiniani*, chronicle of 5th century, ii, 139.
- Anonymus Valesii*, chronicle of 6th century, ii, 139.
- Ansprand, chosen king by the Lombards, ii, 563; death, 563.
- Antæ, Slavonian tribe, ii, 294.
- Anthemius, becomes minister of Arcadius, ii, 31; governs on behalf of the boy Theodosius II, 63; capable administration, 64; constructs the Theodosian Wall, 64; death, 64.
- Anthemius of Tralles, architect of cathedral of St. Sophia, ii, 239; one of five brothers all distinguished, 240; Agathias' compliment to their mother, 240.
- Antinous, favourite of emperor Hadrian, i, 230; drowned in the Nile, 230; temples and statues erected to him, 230; impulse thereby given to sculpture, 230.
- Antioch, important city of the Greek Empire, i, 116; founded by Seleucus and called after his father, 116; becomes third city of the Roman Empire, 116; magnificence, 116; Christians first given that name there, 118; becomes the capital of Christianity, 120; remarkable aqueduct constructed at its port by Vespasian, 181; captured by Sapor I, 323; retaken by Valerian, 324; great church built there by Constantine, 432; called by Ammanius "the Crown of the East," 560; riot there in reign of Theodosius I, 560; captured by Chosroes I, ii, 244; Persians driven out by Belsharius, 251; again captured by Chosroes I, 334; peace made, 342; cap-

- tured by Chosroes II, 403; recovered by Heraclius, 421; taken by the Mahomedans, 442.
- Antioch, Church of, founded by St. Peter, i, 157; its affairs guided for many years by him, 157; Ignatius, its first Bishop, appointed by him, 158; suffers much in Third persecution, 224; in 4th century made one of the five patriarchates, its Metropolitan Bishop receiving title of Pope, 537, overwhelmed in 7th century by Mahomedan conquest of Syria, ii, 442.
- Antonia, daughter of Marc Antony and Octavia, i, 32; married to Drusus, 32; refuses to re-marry when left a widow, 33; informs Tiberius of the crimes of Sejanus, 69.
- Antonia, daughter of the emperor Claudius, i, 103, present at death of Britannicus, 128; murdered by Nero, 147.
- Antonina, wife of Belisarius, ii, 206, character, 206; her provision for water on voyage to North Africa, 206; sent to Naples to urge on relief operations, 227; scandals related by *Secret History* regarding her, 247; assists Theodora to achieve fall of John of Cappadocia, 260; sent by Belisarius to Constantinople to obtain reinforcements, 284; survives Belisarius and retires to a convent, 317.
- Antoninus Pius, emperor, ideal character, i, 238, draws up Code of the Roman law, 239, erects the Temple of Baalbek, 239; directs construction in Britain of "Wall of Antoninus," 240; erects temple in Rome in honour of his wife, 241, his last word the keynote of his life, 242.
- Antoninus and Faustina, Temple of, *see* Temple.
- Antony, *see* Marc Antony.
- Apelles, renowned Greek painter, i, 430.
- Aper, Praetorian Prefect, put to death, i, 344.
- Aphoumon, Battle of, defeat of troops of Maurice by the Persians, ii, 341.
- Apollinare in Classe, St., Church of at Ravenna, ii, 281; example as to architecture, 281; its mosaics, 282.
- Apollinare Nuovo, St., Church of at Ravenna, ii, 276, example of church of 6th century, 276; its mosaics, 276; two processions of notable martyrs, 276; mosaic pictures of palace of Ravenna and port of Classis, 278; importance of these mosaics, 279.
- Apollinarian heresy, The, i, 536.
- Apollinaris, St., first Bishop of Ravenna, ii, 276.
- Apollo, Statue of, by Phydias, brought from Athens by Constantine to adorn his new city, i, 422; made to represent Constantine, 422; lower part of the column still remaining, 422.
- Apollodorus of Damascus, architect, i, 213; builds massive stone bridge over the Danube, 213; architect of Trajan's column, 216, criticises Hadrian's plan of Temple of Venus and Rome, 234.
- Apollonius of Tyana, Pythagorean missionary, i, 190; memory honoured by Alexander Severus, 309.
- Apostles, The, spheres of work undertaken by, i, 121.
- Apsimar, usurper, gains throne, ii, 518, defeats Saracens in Asia Minor and Syria, 520; bribes Chagan of the Khazars to kill Justinian II, 521; attacked by Justinian, 522; captured and executed, 523.
- Aqua Salvæ, place of St. Paul's martyrdom, i, 171.
- Aqueducts, Eleven, of Rome, i, 308; large amount of water supplied by them, 308; of Constantinople, 424; of Carthage, ii, 209.
- Aquila and Priscilla, i, 170.
- Aquileia, besieged by Atilia, ii, 111; its destruction by him, 112.
- Araric, king of the Goths, defeated by Constantine, i, 429.
- Arbogast, general of Gratian, sent by him to oppose the Visigoths in Epirus, i, 531; commands part of the army of Theodosius I against Maximus, 563; sent by Theodosius to rule in Gaul, 564; murders Valentinian II, 568; defeated at battle of the Frigidus, 571, commits suicide, 571.
- Arcadia, third daughter of Arcadius and Eudoxia, ii, 27; death, 92.
- Arcadius, emperor, elder son of Theodosius I, succeeds to rule of eastern half of the empire, ii, 7, marriage to Eudoxia, 11; apathetic character, 15, signs warrant for execution of Eutropius, 16, banishes Chrysostom, 31; love for Eudoxia his sole characteristic, 36, death, 36.
- Arch of Drusus, i, 16; in honour of Tiberius at Arausio, 78; of Titus, 185; of Trajan, 216; of Severus, 289.
- Arch of Trajan plundered by Constantine, i, 218.
- Arch, Four-sided, erected by Julia Domna at Thebessa, ii, 81.
- Arch of Constantine, last of the triumphal arches erected by emperors, i, 376; adorned with bas-reliefs taken from Arch of Trajan, 377, its Pagan emblems, 377.
- Archbishops of Ravenna given the *pallium* by the emperor, ii, 481.
- Arches, Triumphal, in churches, ii, 94.
- Aregundis, one of the wives of Chlotchar I, ii, 344.
- Areobindus, married to Justinian's niece Præjecta, ii, 268; made Prefect of North Africa, 268; subdues insurrection headed by Stutza, 268; murdered by Gontharis, 268.
- Aretas, sent by Belisarius to ravage Assyria, ii, 248.
- Arevagni, eldest daughter of Theodoric, married to Alaric II, king of the Visigoths, ii, 172.
- Ariadne, daughter of Leo I, married to the Isaurian chief Tarascodissa (Zeno), ii, 124; defeats attempt of Longinus to seize the throne, 152, chooses Anastasius I as emperor and marries him, 152; death, 161.
- Arianism, condemned by First General Council, i, 411; spreads widely, 412, embraced by Constantine, 439; enforced by his son Constantius, 460; demonstrates its rancorous spirit, 462, edict published by Gratian and Theodosius putting it down, 535; makes its home among the northern races, 535; abandoned by the Suevi, ii, 352, abandoned by the Visigoths, 353; abandoned by the Lombards, 359.
- Aripert, nephew of Thuidalinda, chosen by the Lombards as their king, ii, 425; death, 477.
- Arus, origin and history, i, 409; his opinions declared by First General Council a heresy, 410; his doctrines taken up by Constantine, 439; death, 440.

- Ariwald, duke of Turin, married to Thudalinda's daughter Gundiperga, ii, 424; chosen king of the Lombards, 425, death, 425.
- Arles, Council of, i, 398; British Bishops present at, 398.
- Armenia, unsuccessfully attacked by the Parthians, i, 74; temporarily lost by Rome, 135; reconquered by Corbulo, 147; Tirdates made king by Nero, 147; first kingdom to adopt Christianity, 344.
- Arminius, *see* Hermann.
- Army, *see* Roman Army.
- Arrecina Tertulla, first wife of Titus, i, 185.
- Arria, wife of Caecina Paetus, Noble conduct of, i, 102.
- Arria the younger, wife of Paetus Thrasea, i, 144.
- Arsaces, Plot of, to murder Justinian, ii, 286.
- Arsamosata, capital of Armenia, taken by Trajan, i, 219.
- Art, (1st century) under Augustus, i, 9, 15, 25, and 36; under Tiberius, 78; under Nero, 138-140; (2nd century) under Trajan, 216-217, under Hadrian, 231-234; (3rd century) under Severus, 289 and ii, 80-81; under Caracalla, i, 302-304; under Diocletian, 353; (4th century) under Constantine, 432 and 581; under Valentinian I, 499; under Theodosius I, 565 and ii, 82; (5th century) under Galla Placidia, ii, 94 and 96-97; (6th century) under Justinian, 239, and 274-282.
- Art, Greek, its zenith, i, 430.
- Artabanus, Armenian prince, ii, 268; high character, 268; kills usurper Gontharis and rescues Praejecta, 268; made Prefect of North Africa, 268; desires to marry Praejecta, 269; separated from her by Theodora, 269; induced to join plot of Arsaces, 286; appointed to command forces in Italy, 293; recovers Sicily, 298.
- Artabanus, king of Parthia, seizes Armenia, i, 74; defeated by Tiberius, 74.
- Artabanus, last king of Parthia, defeated and killed by Artaxerxes, i, 308.
- Artavasdos, general, married to daughter of Leo III, ii, 563.
- Artaxerxes (Ardishir) overthrows Parthian empire, i, 308; founds Sassanian empire of Persia, 308; lays claim to all the dominions ruled by Cyrus, 308; makes unsuccessful attempt to conquer Mesopotamia, 309.
- Artemidorus, faithful friend of Theodoric the Great, ii, 169.
- Arthur, prince of the Silures, ii, 163, chosen king by the British, 163; defeats Angles and Saxons, 163, wins battle of Mount Badon, 163; protects shrine of Avallon, 163; burial there, 163, exploits preserved by Welsh bards, 164.
- Arxamon, Battle of, Chosroes II defeats forces of Phocas, ii, 394.
- Asdings, royal race of the Vandals, ii, 212.
- Asia, extent of province known by that name, i, 236.
- Aspar, general, commands force sent to assist Galla Placidia, ii, 68; sent to North Africa, 78; places Leo I upon the throne, 123; failure of Armada sent against the Vandals attributed to him, 124; struggle for power with Zeno, 124; plots to eject the Isaurians, 125; murdered with his sons, 125.
- Ataulf, chosen king of the Visigoths, ii, 56; leads them back from Calabria, 57; desires to marry Galla Placidia, 58; leads Visigoths into Gaul, 59, policy of merging *Gotha* into *Romania*, 59; marries Galla Placidia, 61; evacuates southern Gaul and establishes his capital at Barcelona, 62; murdered, 62.
- Athalaric, son of Theodoric's daughter Amalagutha, ii, 182, removed from her charge by the Ostrogoth chiefs, 215; early death, 216.
- Athanagild, reunites Visigoth kingdom, ii, 292; death, 347.
- Athalaric, sent by Hermanric to oppose Romans on the Danube, i, 501; defeated, 501; visits Constantinople, 533; death, 534.
- Athanasius, one of the two chief speakers at First General Council, i, 409; becomes Bishop of Alexandria, 440; banished by Constantine to Trèves, 440; permitted by Constantine's eldest son to return to his see, 453; banished by Constantius, 453; cause espoused by Constans, 454; persecuted by Constantius, 461; remains alone defending the Catholic faith, 461; takes refuge in the desert, 461; insulting letter from Julian to him, 479; visits Jovian at Antioch, 492; returns to his see, 492; acknowledged as leading Bishop of the Church, 492; again driven into exile by Valens, 510, returns to his see, 510; death, 510.
- Athanasius, last Pope of Antioch, ii, 447; adopts the Monothelite heresy, 447; pronounced a heretic by Sixth General Council, 504.
- Athens of Lyndus*, Statue of, set up in Baths of Zeuxippus in Constantinople, i, 422.
- Atia, mother of Octavius (Augustus), i, 5.
- Attalus of Pergamum, martyred at Lyons in Fourth persecution, i, 263.
- Attalus, king of the Marcomanni, given by Galienus part of Pannonia, i, 333.
- Attalus, puppet emperor set up by Alaric, ii, 60; deposed, 51.
- Attila, succeeds to rule of the Huns, ii, 84; great extent of his dominions, 84; appearance and character, 85; extorts subsidy called the Hungeld, 88; murders his brother Bleda, 88; invades Greece, 88; insulting message to Theodosius II, 89; wrath at refusal of Pulcheria and Marcian to pay the Hungeld, 92; demands surrender of Honoria and her dowry, 99; invades Gaul, 100; carries out terrible destruction, 100; fights battle of the Mauriac Plain, 101; retires out of Gaul, 102; invades Italy, 111; besieges and destroys Aquileia, 111; destroys other cities of northern Italy, 112; orders picture of his triumph, 113; advances upon Rome, 113; meeting with Leo the Great at the Mincio, 114; retires out of Italy to Pannonia, 116; death, 116; burial, 116; impression produced by him among the Latin races, 116; among the Scandinavian races, 116; among the Teutonic races, 117.
- Audefleda, sister of Clovis, second wife of Theodoric, ii, 172.
- Andoin, king of the Lombards, ii, 294; occupies Noricum and Pannonia, 294; attacks the Gepidae, 295; death, 325.
- Andovera, wife of Chilperic I, ii, 346.
- Angurs, i, 40,

- August, name given to month Sextilis, i, 8.
 Augusta, title borne by the empresses, i, 31.
 Augusta Ammædara in North Africa, ii, 609; its extensive Roman remains, 609.
 Augustan History, The, i, 272.
 Augusteum, The Forum of Constantine's new city, i, 421.
 Augustine, St., Bishop of Hippo, born at Thagaste, i, 562, sent to Carthage to study rhetoric, 562; becomes professor of rhetoric at Milan, 562, converted to Christianity, 562, baptized by St. Ambrose, 562, death of his mother Monica, 562; made Bishop of Hippo, 562; his theology, 563, its strong influence upon the English race, 563; effect produced upon him on hearing of the fall of Rome, ii, 52; his great book the *De Civitate Dei*, 52, opposition to the Pelagian heresy, 72; his last ten days, 72; death at Hippo during its siege by the Vandals, 72.
 Augustine, St., sent by Gregory the Great to Britain, ii, 372; establishes Christianity in Kent, 373; harsh and unsympathetic disposition, 373; fails to establish relations with the British Church, 374.
 Augustus Caesar (Octavius), claims inheritance as adopted son of Julius Caesar, i, 5; joins Marc Antony and Lepidus in a triumvirate, 5, punishes murderers of Julius Caesar, 6; divorce from Scribonia, 6, marriage to Livia, 6; defeats Sextus Pompeius, 7; defeats Antony and Cleopatra and annexes Egypt, 7, made emperor and takes title of Augustus, 8; consolidates Roman dominions, 9; theoretical position, 10; refounds Carthage, 10; visits Gaul, Spain, Sicily, and Asia Minor, 11; annexes Noricum, Rhetia, Vindelicia, and Pannonia, 12; makes Judæa a Roman province, 13; grief at disaster under Varus, 14, transforms appearance of Rome, 15; chief buildings, 15, his system of administration permanently adopted, 16; encouragement of literature, 17, reorganization of the army, 19, family troubles, 21; death, 23, general character, 24; palace built by him, 25; celebrated statues with which adorned, 26; obelisks brought by him from Egypt, 27; reverence for ancient religion of Rome revived by him, 39; office of Pontifex Maximus assumed, 40, personal feeling regarding religion, 41, given divine honours during his lifetime, 42, legend regarding him, 43.
 Aulus Plautius, sent by Claudius to invade Britain, i, 98; defeats Caractacus, 99; successes against Prasutagus, 101; returns to Rome and given an "ovation," or lesser triumph, 101.
 Aurelian, emperor, i, 335; in five years regains Gaul, Spain, Britain, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, 335; defeats the Goths and gives Dacia to the Visigoths, 335, severely defeats the Allemanni, 335, marches into Gaul, defeats the Franks, and subdues Trevisus, 336; proceeds to the East, defeats Zenobia, and besieges her in Palmyra, 336; captures Zenobia and destroys Palmyra, 336, celebrates magnificent triumph, 337; conspired against by the Senate, 337; suppresses the conspiracy and puts to death many senators, 337, leaves Rome for Persian frontier, 337; assassinated owing to a forgery, 337; chief work in Rome construction of present line of walls, 338.
 Aurelius, see Marcus Aurelius.
 Aureolus, sets up independent kingdom in Rhetia, i, 333, crosses the Alps and takes Milan, 333, defeated by Gallienus, 333; executed, 333.
 Ansonius, Minister of Gratian, i, 516; his writings, 589.
 Austrasia, north-eastern part of the Frank kingdom, ii, 345, its extent, 345.
 Autharis, king of the Lombards, ii, 332; minority, 332, takes over the rule, 355, defeats attacks made by Austrasia, 358, proceeds disguised to court of Bavaria and falls in love with Thudalinda, 357; married to her at Verona, 357; death, 357.
 Authorities, 1st and 2nd centuries, i, 271, 3rd century, 367; 4th century, 588; 5th century, ii, 139.
 Auxiliary corps, i, 19; formed of men not yet having rights of Roman citizens, 19, efficiency equal to that of the legions, 20; conditions of service, 20, chiefly cavalry, 20.
 Avallon, Shrine of, greatly revered, ii, 163; protected from the Saxons by king Arthur, 163, his burial there, 163; earliest church there, 516; captured by Ina, king of Wessex, 516 (see also Glastonbury).
 Avars, The, Mongolian race driven westwards before the Turks, ii, 313; settle temporarily at foot of the Caucasus, 313; embassy to Justinian I, 313; induced by him to attack the Bulgarians and Slavs, 314, overrun countries north of the Danube, 314; embassy to Justin II, 324; defeated by the Franks in Thuringia, 325, join with the Lombards in destroying the Gepids, 325, take half their territory, 325; Pannonia and Noricum resigned to them by the Lombards, 327; demand cession of Sirmium, 334; reduce Bulgarians and Slavs to vassalage, 338; extend their dominions from Lake Constance to the Don, 338; gain Sirmium, 339; make incursions into Thrace, 343; besiege Hadrianople, 343; defeated and driven back over the Danube by Maurice, 343, in reign of Phocas ravage the Balkan provinces, 394, attempt to seize emperor Heraclius, 407; in conjunction with the Persians besiege Constantinople, 418, repulsed with great loss and retire across Danube, 419, carry out massacre of the Lombards at Friuli, 424, decline in power, 448.
 Avidus Cassius, revolts against Marcus Aurelius, i, 253; assassinated, 254.
 Avidus, Marcus, husband of Julia Mæsa, and grandfather of the emperor Elagabalus, i, 305.
 Awe with which name of Rome regarded by the northern races, ii, 17.
 Ayesha, favourite wife of Mahomed, ii, 436.
 Azerbiyan, sacred district of the Fire worship in Persia, ii, 413; invaded by Heraclius and its capital Ganzaca taken, 413.
 BAALBEK, Temple of, erected by Antoninus Pius, i, 239; description of, 239.
 Baanes, general, opposes Mahomedans in Syria, ii, 441, defeated at battles of Pella, Marjasuffar, and Damascus, 442.

- Bacourus, Armenian general under Theodosius I, i, 569.
- Baduila, *see* Totila.
- Bagal, in North Africa, its huge "Byzantine" fortress, ii, 610.
- Bagdad (Kufa), founded by Khalif Omar, ii, 451.
- Bahram, king of Persia, *see* Varanes.
- Baia, Gulf of, Cahgula's bridge of boats across, i, 89.
- Baian, Chagan of the Avars, sends embassy to Justin II, ii, 324; besieges and takes Sirmium, 339.
- Balta, royal race of the Visigoths, i, 569.
- Bamborough, capital of Northumbria, founded by Ida, ii, 292; importance increased by Æthelfrith, 355.
- Baptism, custom of deferring it until dying, i, 441.
- Barnabas, St., sent to Antioch, i, 117; searches out St. Paul, 117; accompanies St. Paul on his first tour, 123; visits Cyprus, 124; accompanies St. Peter to Cornth and Rome, 149; supposed to have written Epistle to the Hebrews, 170.
- Barsumas, Abbot, disgraceful conduct of at the Letrocumum, ii, 90, condemned by Fourth General Council and banished, 103.
- Bartholomew, St., travels to India and Armenia and martyred in Cilicia, i, 123.
- Basil, St., Metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia, i, 510, upholds the Catholic faith in midst of persecution, 510, over-awes Valens, 511; founder of monastic orders, 511; death, 511.
- Basilica at Trèves, The, i, 496.
- Basilike*, The, Library founded by Julian, i, 477; burnt down, ii, 147.
- Basilina, mother of the emperor Julian, i, 465; love for Homer and the Greek poets transmitted to her son, 465; death, 465.
- Basiliscus, brother-in-law of Leo I, ii, 124; defeated by the Vandals, 124, given the throne against the wish of his sister the empress Verina, 146; banished, 147.
- Bassianus, brother-in-law of Constantine the Great, i, 379.
- Batavian cavalry, their fine service in Britain under Aulus Plautius, i, 99.
- Bathanarius, brother-in-law of Stilicho, put to death, ii, 42.
- Baths of Agrippa, i, 10; of Titus, 185; of Caracalla, 302, of Diocletian, 353; of Constantine, 435.
- Baths of Zeuxippus at Constantinople, built by Constantine, i, 422; celebrated statues adorning them, 422; burnt down in "Nika" insurrection, ii, 201.
- Baths of Caracalla, Destruction of by Totila, ii, 266.
- Bato, Pannonian chief, i, 49.
- Bauto, general, a Frank, sent by Gratian against the Visigoths in Thessaly, i, 531; made Count of the frontier for protection of Italy from Maximus, 559; successfully defends the passes of the Alps, 559; his daughter married after his death to the emperor Arcadius, ii, 12.
- Bavarian line of Lombard kings, ii, 477.
- Bede, The Venerable, birth, ii, 574; the most learned man of his time, 574; all his life spent at Jarrow, 574, chief work his *History of the Anglian Nation*, 574; death, 574.
- Bedriacum, first battle of, i, 174; Otho's troops defeated by those of Vitellius, 174; second battle of, 176; troops of Vitellius defeated by those of Primus, 176.
- Belisarius, general of Justinian, ii, 200; defence of Dara, 200; defeats Persian forces in Syria, 201; subdues the "Nika" insurrection, 204; marriage to Antonina, 206; sent to attack Vandal kingdom, 206; wins victory of Ad Decimum, 207; captures Carthage, 208; wins victory of Tricameron, 210; receives surrender of the Vandal king, 211; escorts Vandal captives to Constantinople, and given a Roman triumph, 212; sent to conquer Italy, 217; study of his profession, 219; conquers Sicily, 220; suppresses revolt in North Africa, 220; captures Naples, 220; occupies Rome, 222; besieged there by the Ostrogoths, 224; energy and resource, 225; instals Viglius as Pope of Rome, 228; puts the general Constantine to death, 230; captures Fiesole and Osimo, 233, captures Ravenna, 234; implored by the Ostrogoths to be their king, 238, sails for Constantinople, 238; appearance, 246, care of his soldiers, and protection of the conquered people from oppression, 246; bodyguard formed by men of races he had conquered, 246; sent to make war upon Chosroes I, 247; captures Sisaurean, 248; sends force to ravage Assyria, 248, forces Chosroes I to abandon attack upon north-eastern frontier, 248; recalled, 248, sent to oppose Chosroes I in Syria, 251; causes him to retreat, 251; disgraced, 252; "pardoned" by Theodora, 253; her letter to him, 254; sent a second time to conquer Italy, 260; his "miserable squad," 261; heroic attempt to relieve Rome, 266; severe illness, 266; re-occupies Rome and there sustains three attacks, 267; attempts to defend Crotona, 270; forced to retire to Sicily, 270; sends Antonina on a mission to Theodora to endeavour to obtain a proper army, 283; recalled, 286; made commander of the household troops, 287; puts the Bulgarians to flight, 315; accused of complicity in plot of Sergius, 316; his property confiscated, 316; his honours and property restored, 317; death, 317.
- Benedict, St., ii, 258; life as a boy, 258; great influence, 258; founds twelve monasteries, 258; founds monastery of Monte Cassino, 258; reformed rules, 258; surrounded by war, 259; his favourite pupils Maurus and Placidus, 259; makes monasteries homes of learning, 259.
- Berenice (Veronica), Jewish princess brought to Rome by Titus, i, 185; forced by Vespasian to return to Judæa, 185.
- Bernus, converts Wessex, ii, 434.
- Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, ii, 354; married to Æthelbert, king of Kent, 354; receives mission sent by Gregory the Great, 372; through her influence Christianity planted in Kent, 373.
- Bessas, general, placed by Justinian in command at Rome, ii, 237; inactive defence of the city, 266; escapes upon its capture by Totila, 266.
- Bethlehem, Birth of Christ at, i, 42; church of the Nativity erected there by the empress Helena, 419.
- Bireme*, warship, i, 20.

- Bishops, axiom that all are of equal rank, i, 508; stress laid upon this principle, 509; election of, 512; "translation" from one see to another prohibited by First General Council, 605; position of leading Bishop in the Church not dependent upon the see held, ii, 106; notable instances in cases of Ambrose and Augustine, 106.
- Blandina, slave-girl martyred at Lyons in Fourth persecution, i, 264.
- Blasius, St., Bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, martyred in Tenth persecution, i, 360.
- Bleda, brother of Attila, ii, 88.
- Blue and Green factions, ii, 195.
- Boadicea, queen of Iceni, i, 133; shamefully treated by the Romans, 133; leads Iceni in revolt, 133; almost destroys the Ninth legion, 133; takes Verulam and London, 133; Suetonius Paulinus advances against her, 134; decisive battle fought near London, 134; dress and appearance, 134; defeated and commits suicide, 134.
- Böcking, German professor, characteristic remark regarding the *Notitia Dignitatum*, i, 572.
- Boëthius, Anicius Manlius, scholar, philosopher, poet, and statesman, ii, 170; seditious conduct, 174; imprisonment, 175; writes the *Consolation of Philosophy* while in prison, 175; character, 176; executed, 177.
- Boniface, Count of Africa, ii, 71; driven into rebellion by an intrigue, 71; invites Vandals into Africa, 71; discovers the intrigue, 72; forgiven by Galla Placidia, 72, defeated by the Vandals, 72, besieged in Hippo, 72; again defeated by the Vandals, 78; proceeds to Italy, 79, wounded in a battle with Aëtius, 79; death, 79.
- Boniface (Winfrith), English missionary to Germany, ii, 571; martyred by the Frisians, 572.
- Boncosus, sent by Phocas to defend Egypt, ii, 396, defeated by Nicetas, 396.
- Bora, icy wind over "Pear Tree" pass, i, 570; great force, 570; effect at battle of the Frigidus, 571.
- Born in the purple, origin of the phrase, ii, 27.
- Bourtanger Morass, Defeat of Roman force at the, i, 62.
- Boweib, Battle of, Mahomedans defeat Persians at, ii, 450.
- Bracila, Count, put to death by Odoacer, ii, 144.
- Brazen Column, The, in Constantinople, i, 422.
- Brenner Pass, see Via Claudia Augusta.
- Bretwalda*, Title of, ii, 355.
- Brigantes, occupying Lancashire, subdued by Ostorius Scapula, i, 112.
- Britain, invaded by Aulus Plautius, i, 98; further districts conquered by Ostorius Scapula, 111, revolt of Boadicea, 133; further conquests by Julius Agricola, 181; its Romanization begun, 181, permanently garrisoned by three legions, 182; construction by Hadrian of wall from the Tyne to the Solway, 227; wall of Antoninus from the Forth to the Clyde, 240, growing importance in 3rd century, 285; wall of Severus, 286; made part of western section of the empire by Diocletian, 347; seized by Carausius, but regained by Constantus Chlorus, 348; ruled by Constantine as *Caesar*, 370; its coast defence organized by Valentinian I, 498; advance in 4th century, 499; country-houses of nobles, 499; Roman roads, 500; complete Romanization, 500; export of corn, 500; incursion of Scots and Saxons, 500; both defeated by Valentinian I, 500; province of Valentia created in southern half of Scotland, 501; British Mint established, 501; 800 vessels employed in export of corn at port of London, 501; one of the three Roman legions withdrawn by Stilicho, ii, 23; the usurper Constantine takes the other two legions to fight in Gaul, 35; invaded by the Jutes and Saxons, 56; terrible devastation wrought, 56; Roman Britain vanishes, 56; becomes called "the island of ghosts," 130, again invaded by Jutes under Hengist and Horsa and by Saxons under Aelle, 162; again by Saxons under Cedric, 162; again by the Angles, 162; the Romanized Britons driven into west of the island, 163; Angles and Saxons defeated in twelve battles by Arthur, 163; battle of Mount Badon, 163; change wrought in the Romanized Britons, 164, fresh wave of Angles under Ida, 292; seven kingdoms established, 292, successes of Saxons against the Romanized Britons, 354; Æthelfrith, king of Northumbria, 355; his massacre of the Britons at Chester, 356; Northumbria becomes most important of the seven kingdoms, 355; mission by Gregory the Great to Kent, 371; Kent accepts Christianity, 373; struggle between Paganism and Christianity in Britain, 432; East Saxons accept Christianity, 432; Pagan temples in London, 432; East Saxons revert to Paganism, 433; Edwin, king of Northumbria, greatest of the *Bretwaldas*, 433, accepts Christianity, 433; East Anglia follows example of Northumbria, 434, Penda, king of Mercia, attacks Northumbria and kills Edwin, 434; Wessex accepts Christianity, 434, Oswald, king of Northumbria, 435; Aidan at his request sent from Iona to Northumbria, 435, Penda attacks East Anglia and kills its king Sigebert, 466; attacks Northumbria and kills its king Oswald, 466, attacks Wessex and forces its king to renounce Christianity, 466, again attacks East Anglia and kills its king Anna, 466; again attacks Northumbria, 466; Penda defeated by Oswy and killed, 466, Mercia accepts Christianity, 467, Peterborough founded, 467, East Saxons finally accept Christianity, 467; conference of Whitby, 486; Theodore of Tarsus appointed archbishop for Britain, 487; death of Oswy, king of Northumbria, 488, birthday of the Church of England, 496; South Saxons accept Christianity, 504; battle of Nechtansmere, 515, loss by Northumbria of the supremacy, 515; Ina, king of Wessex, 515, his conquests, 516; his laws, 516; Glastonbury, gained by him, becomes link between Britons and Saxons, 517; Æthelbald, king of Mercia, 571; valuable information in his "landbooks," 571; English missions to Germany, 571; Willibrord, 571; Winfrith (Boniface) organizes churches of Thuringia and Bavaria, 572; royal pilgrimages, 573; abdication of Ina, king of Wessex, 573; the Venerable Bede, 574; his "History of the Anglian Nation,"

- 574; Aldhelm, 574; Cædmon, 574.
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 Bucelin, leads raid into Italy, ii, 311, ravages southern Italy, 311, his force destroyed, 311.
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 Bulgarians, The, derive descent from the Huns, ii, 295; become terror of the Danube provinces, 296; attack Constantinople, 314; revolt from the Avars, 498, defeat Constantine IV, 498; foundation of the kingdom of Bulgaria, 498; make the Slavs their vassals, 498, defeated by Justinian II, 511; become "Sclavised," 499.
 Bulla Regia, the treasure-house of the Vandal kings, ii, 208; refuge of Gelmer, 208; its interesting Roman remains, 610.
 Burgundians, The, repulsed by Valentinian I, i, 503; with Franks and Allemanni invade Gaul, ii, 55, establish a kingdom in south-eastern Gaul, 164; defeated by the Franks, 290; finally conquered by the Franks, 291.
 Burning, Infliction of death by, a practice regarded with horror under Later Roman Empire, ii, 394.
Burnt Pillar, The, in Constantinople, lower part of column of Constantine's statue, i, 422.
 Burrhus, commander of the Praetorian Guards, i, 125; assists Agrippina to gain throne for Nero, 125; speech when Nero proposed to divorce Octavia, 114.
 Bussora (Basra) founded by Khalif Omar, ii, 451.
 Buzes, general under Justinian, ii, 252; imprisoned, 252.
 Byzacena (or Byzacium) second section of the province of North Africa, ii, 213; its great fertility, 541.
Byzant, gold coin of Later Roman Empire, ii, 585; the only gold coin in circulation in 8th century in both East and West, 585; called also the Nomisma, 616; approximate value, 616.
 "Byzantine" walls, term used regarding walls of cities and forts in North Africa to signify a certain date, i, 491.
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 CÆDMON, ii, 574; one of the most learned men of 7th century, 574.
 Caerleon-on-Usk, one of the three principal Roman stations in Britain, i, 182; Bishop of, present at Council of Arles, 398; its diocese divided by the British in 5th century into five dioceses, ii, 164.
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 Caesarius, commissioner sent to inquire into riot at Antioch, i, 560; rapid journey back with his report, 562.
Caesars, *The*, satirical fable written by emperor Julian, i, 477.
 Caesonia, last wife of Caligula, i, 87; attempts to make him desist from cruelty, 91; death, 91.
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 Caiaphas, Jewish High Priest, removed from his office by Tiberius, i, 85.
 Cairo, foundation of, ii, 459.
 Caius, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, i, 24; death at eight years old, 24, Augustus' fondness for him, 24.
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 Caius Caesar, son of Marcus Agrippa and Julia, adopted by Augustus, i, 33; death, 34.
 Caligula, emperor, youngest son of Germanicus and Agrippina, i, 75, proper name Caius, 75, chosen by Tiberius as his successor, 75; his name how given him, 86; inherited tendencies, 87; horrifies Roman society by marrying his sister Drusilla, 87, career of crime, 87; sweeps away all barriers to autocratic power, 88; follies and extravagance, 89; visits Gaul, 90; banishes his two sisters, 90; murder, 91.
 Caligula, Palace of, i, 91; peculiar construction, 92; principal palace of the Caesars under ten emperors, 92; scene of principal events of Nero's reign, 140; many interests attaching to it, 140.
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 Callimachus, Pope of Constantinople, blinded and imprisoned by Justinian II, ii, 523.
 Campaigns, The, Description of in time of Trajan, i, 219; effect upon it of cutting of aqueducts by the Ostrogoths, ii, 225.
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 Candidianus, son of Galerius, brought up by empress Valeria, i, 380; death, 381.

- Canon, word signifying a law, i, 540.
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- Capelianus, attacks and kills Gordian I, i, 311.
- Capreae (Capri), residence of Tiberius for eleven years, i, 67, way in which the falsehood regarding his manner of life there has been unmasked, 598-599.
- Capsa, made capital of Byzacena, the second section of province of North Africa, ii, 213; important in all ages as the gateway of the desert, 533, its "Byzantine" walls, 533; Roman mosaics at, showing chariots racing, 83.
- Caracalla, emperor, elder son of Septimius Severus, i, 283; suspected of having poisoned his father, 301; murders his brother Geta, 301; puts to death about 20,000 persons, 301; grants privileges of Roman citizens to all free inhabitants of the empire, 302; assassinated, 302.
- Caracalla, Baths of, their great magnificence, i, 302; luxurious arrangements, 302, costly style of decoration, 303; richly coloured marbles, 303; a people's palace, 303; numerous works of art which their ruins have supplied, 304.
- Caractacus, king of the Silures, opposes Romans on their invading Britain, i, 99; loses Colchester, 100; retires towards the West, 101; continues the contest, 111; defeated at Leintwardine, 112; brought a prisoner to Rome, 113; life spared and given a pension, 113.
- Caratene, mother of Clotilda, ii, 154.
- Carausius, rebellious seizure of Britain by, i, 348.
- Carcer Castrensis, chief prison of Carthage, ii, 209.
- Carduene, conquered by Trajan, i, 219, given up by Hadrian, 227; ceded to Diocletian, 348.
- Carinus, emperor, profligate life, i, 343, marches against Diocletian, 344; killed by a tribune during battle of Margus, 344.
- Carthage, refounded by Augustus, i, 10, description of, in 3rd century, 295; captured by the Vandals, ii, 79; recaptured by the empire, 208, description of in 6th century, 209; captured by the Mahomedans at end of 7th century, 518, destroyed by Hassan, 518; rich columns carried off to Karowan, Cordova, and other cities, 518.
- Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, i, 112.
- Carus, emperor, gives his two sons rank of *Caesar*, i, 343; proceeds to attack Persia, 343, austerity, 343; declines overtures of peace, 343; takes Ctesiphon, 343, killed during a storm, 343.
- Cassiodorus, chief minister of Theodoric the Great, ii, 167, voluminous letters and courtly verbiage, 168; letter to Artemidorus, 169.
- Cassus Chaerea, arranges murder of Caligula, i, 90.
- Catacombs, The, i, 363; general character and great extent, 363; immense number of martyred persons buried in them, 363; originally belonged to private families, 364. *Cataphracts*, see *Cuirassiers*.
- Catherine, St., young Roman lady martyred in Egypt in Tenth persecution, i, 360.
- Catholic, meaning of name, i, 412; first used, 412; distinguished from Roman Catholic a name of 16th century, 412.
- Catholic Faith, Depressed state of under Constantius, i, 460; its almost complete obliteration through conquests of northern races in the West and heresies in the East, ii, 155; final triumph, 360.
- Cavalry arm, The, separated from the Infantry arm by Constantine the Great, i, 427.
- Cavalry as archers, Use of by Belisarius, ii, 219.
- Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, ii, 573.
- Cecilia, St., martyred at Rome in Ninth persecution, i, 341; her house in Rome converted into a church, 342; buried at first in catacomb of St. Calixtus, but remains subsequently removed to this church, 342.
- Cedd, heads mission from Lindisfarne to the East Saxons, ii, 467, made Bishop of London, 467.
- Cedric, leader of second wave of Saxon invaders of Britain, ii, 162; founder of kingdom of Wessex, 515.
- Cemeteries (1st century) of Priscilla and Domitilla recently excavated, i, 201; interesting results, 201.
- Censor of morals, elected by whole Roman empire, i, 317.
- Ceolwulf, king of Northumbria, ii, 574.
- Cerinthians, Sect of the, i, 186.
- Chans, Battle of the, ii, 449.
- Chalke, Hall of the, in imperial palace, ii, 240.
- Chapel of Archbishop's palace at Ravenna, mosaics in, ii, 280.
- Charnbert, eldest son of Chlotchoar I, ii, 345, death, 347.
- Charobaudes, commander-in-chief in Gaul, ii, 40.
- Chariot-racing in North Africa in 4th century, Mosaic picture of, ii, 83.
- Charles Martel, eldest son of Pépin of Heristal, ii, 566, imprisoned by his stepmother, 567; defeats Neustria, places a puppet king on the throne, and rules whole kingdom, 567; prepares to meet Saracen invasion, 568, fights battle of Poitiers, 569; marries Sonichildis, 570; friendship with Lutprand, 570; refuses to give help against him, 570; death, 570.
- Chatti, The, win great victory over Varus, i, 13; repeatedly defeated by Tiberius, 14, in later ages known as the Franks, 14; successful contests with Germanicus, 60.
- Cherusci, The, with Chatti win great victory over Varus, i, 13, defeated by Tiberius, 14, their chief's daughter Thusnelda marries Hermann, 61; two parties created in consequence, 61; treachery of her father Segestes, 61; war thereby caused, 61.
- Chess, Game of, introduced by Chosroes I into Persia from India, ii, 243.
- Chester, one of the three principal Roman stations in Britain, i, 182; Roman gate at, 286; massacre of Romanized Britons at, ii, 355.
- Childebert I, third son of Clovis, ii, 289; portion of the kingdom given to him, 289; assists to murder his brother Chlodomer's sons, 290, helps to conquer and divide Burgundy, 291; death, 291.
- Childebert II, son of Sigebert, king of Austrasia, ii, 347; succeeds to Burgundy as well as Austrasia, 348; leads four expeditions against the Lombards, 356.
- Childeric, king of the Saxon Franks, father of Clovis, ii, 154; discovery of his tomb at Tournai, 154.

- Chilperic I, second son of Chlotochar I, i, 345; given kingdom of Neustria, 345; vicious character, 346; marriage to Visigoth princess Galswintha, 346; upon her murder marries Fredegonda, 347; struggle with his brother Sigebert, 347, forced to fly to Tournai, 347, sees his sons successively murdered, 348; death, 348.
- Chlodomir, second son of Clovis, ii, 289; portion of the kingdom given to him, 289; joins in attack on Burgundy, 290; murders its king Sigismund with his wife and children, 290; killed in battle by the Burgundians, 290; murder of his sons by his two brothers, 290.
- Chlotochar I, fourth son of Clovis, ii, 289; portion of the kingdom given to him, 289; murders his brother Chlodomir's sons, 290; annexes half Chlodomir's kingdom, 290; helps to conquer and divide Burgundy, 291; marries young widow of his grand-nephew Thudabald and annexes his kingdom of Austrasia, 291; upon his brother Chilbert's death annexes his kingdom of Paris, 291; rules whole Frank kingdom, 291; murders his son Chramnus, 291; death, 291.
- Chlotochar II, son of Chilperic I, ii, 348; cruelly puts to death Brunhilda, queen of Austrasia, 349; murders her great-grandsons and becomes sole ruler of the Frank kingdom, 432; death, 432.
- Chlotsunda, grand-daughter of Clovis, first wife of Alboin, ii, 326.
- Chlotsunda, daughter of Sigbert and Brunhilda, betrothed to Recared I, ii, 357.
- Chosroes I (Noshirvan), ii, 243; reign most glorious in history of Persia, 243; famed throughout the East, 243, achievements in administration, 243; achievements in literature, 243; attention to efficiency of Persian army, 244, invades Roman Empire and takes Antioch, 244; attacks Roman dominions on east coast of Black Sea, 248; invades Syria, 251; besieges Dara and Edessa, 254; attacks Roman dominions in Colchis, 294; suffers severe defeat at Phasis, 294, makes peace, 294; begins a fresh war, 334, defeated at battle of Sargathon, 334, invades Syria and takes Antioch, 334; takes Dara, 335; signs a truce, 335, death, 338.
- Chosroes II, grandson of Chosroes I, ii, 342, driven out of Persia, 342, takes refuge in Mesopotamia with the Romans, 342; with help of the emperor Maurice regains his throne, 342; becomes firm ally of Maurice, 342; declares war against Phocas, 394; takes Edessa and Dara, 394; overruns Mesopotamia, 395; invades Syria, 395, overruns Armenia, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia, 395, captures Antioch and Damascus, 403; captures Jerusalem, and carries off sacred relic of the True Cross, 403; advances up to Chalcedon, 403; takes Alexandria, 404; insulting letter to Heraclius, 405; attacks Constantinople but repulsed by Heraclius, 408; splendour of his chief palace Dastagherd, 408; his first army defeated by Heraclius, 412, his second army defeated, 413, his third, fourth, and fifth armies defeated, 414; his sixth army defeated at the Sarus, 415; forms alliance with the Avars for a joint attack upon Constantinople, 416; his seventh army defeated near Amida, 418; his eighth army defeated in its attack upon Constantinople, 419; his ninth army defeated in severely contested battle near Nineveh, 420; abandons Dastagherd and flies to Susana, 420; imprisoned and starved to death by his son Siroes, 421.
- Chramnus, son of Chlotochar I, murdered by his father with his wife and children, ii, 291.
- Christianity, Teaching of, inaugurated, i, 83; beginning of Christian Church as result of preaching at Pentecost, 84; conversions in Judæa, Galilee, Samaria and Caesarea by St. Peter, 94; strong position established at Antioch, 117; name of Christian first given, 118; distribution of the countries of the world among the Apostles, 121; spread of Christianity east, north, and south of Antioch, 149; first persecution, 159-169; second persecution, 195-196; third persecution, 222-225; position of Christianity at end of reign of Hadrian, 237; fourth persecution (first general persecution), 257-269, fifth persecution, 294; improved position in time of Alexander Severus, 309; sixth persecution, 319-321; seventh persecution, 325-330; eighth persecution, 338; ninth persecution, 340-342; tenth persecution, 354-364 and 382-384; Edict of Milan, 385; Christianity adopted as the State religion of the Roman Empire, 387; the Arian heresy, 410; First General Council, 411; constitution of the Christian Church consolidated, 508; dioceses grouped under Metropolitans, 509; the Macedonian and Apollinarian heresies, 536; Second General Council, 536; Metropolitans grouped under Popes (or Patriarchs), Christendom being divided into five patriarchates, 537; the Nestorian heresy, ii, 75; Third General Council, 77; the Eutychian heresy, 89; the "Latrocinium," 90; Fourth General Council, 103; depressed state of the Catholic faith, 155; conversion of the Franks, 156; controversy of the "Three Chapters," 282; Fifth General Council, 309; spread of Christianity to Scotland, 318; conversion of the Visigoths from Arianism, 353; conversion of Kent, 372; conversion of the Lombards from Arianism, 359; final triumph of the Catholic faith, 360; conversion of Northumbria, East Anglia and Wessex, 434; "Iona's saints," 435; the Monothelite heresy, 446; altered condition of the Church through destruction of three patriarchates by the Mahomedans, 467; conversion of Mercia, 467; birthday of the Church of England, 496; Sixth General Council, 506; stages in the growth of superstition, 557; the Iconoclastic campaign of the emperor Leo III, 559.
- Christianity, Special features in, causing animosity to this religion to be felt by Romans, i, 165, not a national religion, 165; appearance of godlessness, 165, suspicion of conducting orgies, 165; abstention from public functions, 165, a secret society, 166; appearance of moroseness, 258; loss of income to the priestly class caused, 258; accusation of sacrificing infants, 258, diatribes of Caecilius against this religion, 259; further animosity against it upon celebration of Rome's thousandth birthday, 320, combined effect of these grounds of

- hatred culminates in reign of Diocletian, 355.
- Christina, St., daughter of governor of Bolenstra, martyred in Ninth persecution, i, 342.
- Chronology of events in the Christian Church during 1st century, i, 203-208.
- Chrysaphius, minister of Theodosius II, ii, 87; agrees to pay Attila an annual tribute, 88; lays plot to assassinate Attila, 88; takes up cause of Eutyches, 89; brings about the "Latrocinium," 90; uses power of the State to advance Eutychianism, 90; brings down both Church and State to ignominy, 91; put to death, 93.
- Chrysopolis, Battle of, between Constantine and Licinius, i, 401; leaves Constantine sole ruler of the Roman world, 402.
- Chrysostom, St. John, appointed chief preacher of Antioch, 561; reputation as the Church's greatest preacher, 561; style of his sermons, 561; calms terrified people of Antioch, 561, made Pope of Constantinople, ii, 14; attacks luxurious ways of society, 29; violent language against the empress Eudoxia, 30; at length banished, 30; pardoned and recalled, 31; again violently denounces the empress, 31; a second time banished, 31; dies at Comana, 36; two peculiar documents in connection with his banishment, 37.
- Church, Christian, *see* Christianity.
- Church and State, Settlement by Constantine of future relations between, i, 406.
- Church of England, Birthday of, ii, 496; canons adopted, 496; provides for annual Synod, 496; development therefrom of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, 496; lasting effect upon the English race, 497; paves the way for one Parliament for all England, 497.
- Cibalae, Battle of, between Constantine and Licinius, i, 379.
- Cicero, words of, regarding ignorance of history, Preface, p. ix.
- Circus, Roman, Plan of, i, 373.
- Classis, port of Ravenna, Mosaic picture of in time of Justinian, ii, 279; captured by Liutprand and destroyed, 564.
- Claudia, mother of Constantius Chlorus, i, 347.
- Claudian family, The, Glory of, extolled by Suetonius, i, 28.
- Claudian, poet in 4th century, i, 571; poem on the battle of the Frigidus, 571; called the last of the Roman poets, ii, 8; character of his writings, 8; describes Stilicho's crossing of the Alps in winter, 23; taunts Alaric with failure of his dreams of taking Rome, 24.
- Claudius I, emperor, placed on throne, i, 96; peculiar character, 97; remedies evils of Caligula's reign, 97; constructs two fresh aqueducts, new harbour at Ostia, and road over Brenner Pass, 98; begins conquest of Britain, 99; annexes Mauretania, 101; entirely in the hands of freedmen, 102; marriage to Valeria Messalina, 103; imbecile scheme to give her up temporarily to Caius Silus, 107; heartless consent to her death, 108; marriage to Agrippina, 110; persuaded by her to adopt Nero, 110; treats Caractacus with clemency, 113; persuaded by Agrippina to marry his daughter Octavia to Nero, 114; poisoned by Agrippina, 114.
- Claudius II, emperor, restores discipline in the army and order in the government, i, 334; military talents, 334; defeats the Goths, 334; dies of the plague, 334.
- Clement, St., Bishop of Rome, i, 195; his celebrated Epistle to the Corinthians, 198; probably a connection of the emperor Domitian, 200; martyred by Trajan, 222.
- Clement of Alexandria, head of the school of Christian philosophy there in 3rd century, i, 293.
- Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, i, 7; marries Marc Antony and proposes with him to found an independent empire, 7; attacked and defeated at battle of Actium by Augustus, 7; again attacked by him, and commits suicide, 7.
- Cleopatra, daughter of Marc Antony and Cleopatra queen of Egypt, i, 8; brought up by Octavia, sister of Augustus, 8; given in marriage to Juba, son of last king of Numidia, 8.
- Cleopatra, daughter of the emperor Maurice, ii, 394; slain by Phocas, 394.
- Clepho, chosen king of the Lombards, ii, 332; murdered, 332.
- Clotilda, married to Clovis, king of the Franks, ii, 154; brings about his conversion to Christianity, 156; grief at murder of Chlodomir's children, 290; burial of their bodies, 290.
- Cloud, St., youngest son of Chlodomir, ii, 290; gives name to suburb of Paris, 290.
- Clovis (or Clodwig) founds the Frank monarchy, ii, 154; unites the various sections of the Franks, 154; marries Clotilda, 154; conversion to Christianity, 156; defeats Burgundians, Allemanni, and Visigoths, 156; makes the Franks the leading nation in the West, 156; death and burial at Paris, 156.
- Cniva, king of the Goths, defeats Gallus, i, 318; gains crushing victory over Decius at Abricum, 319.
- Code of Justinian, The, ii, 198; its high value to mankind, 199.
- Codex Rossanensis*, copy of the Gospels in silver letters on purple vellum, kept at Rossano, ii, 274.
- Coinage of Roman Empire stamped by Constantine with the Labarum, i, 436.
- Comred, king of Mercia, ii, 573.
- Colchester, made headquarters of the Roman forces in Britain, i, 100.
- College of Constantinople, suppressed by Leo III, ii, 560.
- Colmar, Battle of, Allemanni defeated by Gratian, i, 522.
- Colonia Agrippina (Cologne), headquarters of Roman forces on lower Rhine, i, 60; Agrippina's military court there, 79.
- Colonization carried out in 3rd century by Probus, i, 340.
- Colossal statue of Nero in gilded bronze in porch of the "Golden House," i, 138; removed by Hadrian to front of Flavian amphitheatre, 138.
- Colosseum, The, constructed by Vespasian, i, 180; general arrangements, 181; completed and opened by Titus, 186.
- Columba, St., founds monastery of Iona, ii, 318.
- Column of Trajan, i, 217.
- Column of Marcus Aurelius, i, 256.
- Column of Phocas, ii, 395.
- Comentiolenus, general, drives Sclavs out of Thrace, ii, 343; murdered by Phocas, 376.

- Comito, sister of the empress Theodora, ii, 252.
- Commerce of the West destroyed by the northern conquerors, ii, 585; benefit thereby to Later Roman Empire, 585; Mahomedan conquests increase this effect, 585; route thenceforth taken by commerce, 585; immense trade diverted to Constantinople, 585.
- Commissariat and arsenals, Separate department for, created by Constantine the Great, i, 427.
- Commodus, emperor, appearance and character, i, 276; shameless profligacy, 276; attempt to assassinate him, 277; cruelties, 278; appears as a gladiator, 278; assassinated, 278.
- Concordia, flourishing city destroyed by Attila, ii, 112.
- Consolation of Philosophy, The*, written by Boethius, ii, 178; its numerous editions and translations, 175.
- Constans I, emperor, fourth son of Constantine the Great, i, 413; allotted central portion of the empire, 452, becomes ruler over the two western prefectures, 453; defeats the Franks, 453; visits Britain, 453; forces Constantius to reinstate Athanasius, 454; treacherously slain by Magnentius, 454.
- Constans II, emperor, son of Constantine III, ii, 457; placed on throne at eleven years old, 457; at seventeen takes over the government, 460; character, 460; offends the ecclesiastical writers of his age by the line taken by him in religious matters, 461; endeavours to suppress controversy by his edict called the *Type*, 463, thereby violently offends both parties, 464; refusing to be shaken gains detestation of whole ecclesiastical class, 465; his edict defied by Pope Martin I, 469; banishes latter to Crimea, 470; non-partisan attitude, 471; arrests the Mahomedan advance, 472; defeated in naval battle at Phenix, 472; success against the Slavs, 474; divides empire into *Themes*, 475; puts his brother to death, 476; leaves Constantinople for southern Italy, 478; use made of this action by the ecclesiastical writers, 478; successes in southern Italy over the Lombards, 479, visits Rome, 480; establishes himself at Syracuse, 481; retakes Carthage from the Saracens, 481; drives them out of North Africa, 481; makes Archbishops of Ravenna independent of Popes of Rome, 481; imposes heavy taxes to support the war in North Africa, 482; killed at Syracuse, 482; achievements, 483, strong character, 484; unwavering opposition to controversy, 484; regard for him shown by army and people, 485; preserves empire from further loss of territory to the Mahomedans during his reign, 485.
- Constantia, half-sister of Constantine the Great, married to Licinius, i, 377; intercedes for Licinius' life, 401; her son Licinianus mysteriously put to death, 416; letter to Eusebius, 418; summons Constantine to her when dying, 420, death at Nicomedia, 420, her body carried to Rome and buried there in a mausoleum built by Constantine, 420, her sarcophagus, 420.
- Constantia, eldest daughter of Constantine the Great, i, 413.
- Constantia Postuma, daughter of Constantius, i, 474; married to Gratian, 519.
- Constantian, general of Justinian, ii, 237.
- Constantina, second daughter of Constantine the Great, i, 413, married to her cousin Hannibalianus, 457; granted by Constantine title of *Augusta*, 457; crowns the general Vetrano, 457; married to Gallus, 457; character, 459; death, 459.
- Constantina, daughter of Tiberius II, ii, 339; married to the emperor Maurice, 339; magnificent dress and remarkable crown, 339; bears the first of her six sons, 340, imprisoned with her three daughters by Phocas, 376; escapes to the cathedral of St. Sophia, 394; tortured and slain, 394.
- Constantine the Great, born at Naissus, i, 369; detained at court of Diocletian, 369; wins distinction in Egypt and Persia, 369, marries Minervina, 369, appearance and mental qualities, 369, excites jealousy of Galerius, 370; rapid journey to join his father, 370; becomes *Caesar* of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, 370; defeats the Franks, 371; makes alliance with Maximian and marries his daughter, 371; gives an asylum to Maximian, 372, owing to latter's treachery forces him to commit suicide, 372; starts from Gaul to oppose Maxentius, 373; crosses the Alps, 374; wins battles of Susa, Turin, and Verona, 375; defeats Maxentius at Saxa Rubra, 376; declares Christianity the religion of the State, 376; publishes Edict of Milan, 377; war declared against him by Licinius, 379; wins battles of Cibalae and Mardia, 379-380; becomes virtually supreme over whole empire, 381; immense energy, 394; succession of edicts showing a new spirit, 395; introduces a high imperial ideal, 397; assembles Council of Arles, 398; campaign against Sarmatian Goths, 399; again attacked by Licinius, 400; wins battles of Hadrianople and Chrysopolis, 401; upon Licinius again conspiring causes him to be executed, 401, increases military strength of the empire, 404; has six principal achievements, 405; settles future relations between Church and State, 406; assembles First General Council, 407; visit to Rome, 414; gift to Bishop of Rome of the Lateran palace, 415; mysterious tragedy of his putting to death his son Crispus, his nephew Licinianus, and his wife Fausta, 416; gives his mother Helena title of *Augusta*, 418; builds church of Sta. Croce and chapel of the Scala Santa, 419; founds his capital of "New Rome," 421; separates the three chief functions of government, 426; reorganizes civil administration of the empire, 426; reorganizes the army on new principles, 427; inflicts crushing defeat upon the Goths, 429; patronage of literature, 430; builds at Rome church of St. Peter and churches to the memory of St. Lawrence, St. Sebastian, and St. Agnes, 431-432; builds church at Thessalonica to the memory of St. George, 432; significance of the four churches built by him to the memory of martyrs, 433-435, Baths and Basilica built by him at Rome, 435-436; removes from Thebes the great Egyptian obelisk, 437; inscriptions upon it, 438; light thereby thrown upon this action, 438; adopts opinions of Arius, 439; celebrates

- dedication of church of the Holy Sepulchre, 441; prepares to march against Sapor II, 441; taken ill, 441, baptized by Eusebius, Arrian Bishop of Nicomedia, 441; death, 441, imposing funeral, 442, burned in church of the Twelve Apostles, 442, honoured with Pagan rites at Rome at same time that he was being buried with Christian rites at Constantinople, 442, character has not received justice owing to being estimated chiefly from the religious point of view, 442-446; surpassed all who had preceded him, 447, mainly deserves honour for achievements which no other emperor displays ability to produce, 448; greatest of the Roman emperors, 449.
- Constantine II, emperor, second son of Constantine the Great, birth, 1, 399; given rule of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, 440; treats Athanasius with honour, 440, obtains rule of the western portion of the empire, 452, makes an attack upon Constans, 452, killed, 452.
- Constantine III, emperor, eldest son of Heraclius, 1, 443, commands army sent to recover Syria, 444; defeated at battle of Emesa, 444, becomes emperor, 456; death, 457.
- Constantine IV, eldest son of Constans II, becomes emperor, 1, 488; called "Pogonotos," 488; keeps his two brothers in confinement, 489, successfully defends Constantinople during a five years' siege, 493; by his victory paralyzes the Saracens, 494; Khalif pays him an annual tribute, 495, receives congratulations from nations of the West, 495, leads expedition against the Bulgarians, 498; defeated owing to illness, 498; assembles Sixth General Council, 501, degrades his two brothers, 507; captures Karowan, 509, gains successes over Saracens in Asia Minor, 509; death, 510; mosaic picture of him at Ravenna, 510.
- Constantine, son of Leo III, takes part with his father in battle of Acroinon, 1, 582.
- Constantine, usurper in Britain, carries off the two remaining legions to Gaul, 1, 35, defeated by the imperial general Sarus, 35, establishes himself at Arles, 36, captured and put to death, 58.
- Constantine, general under Belisarius, put to death, 1, 230.
- Constantine, Baths of, at Rome, 1, 435; existing remains, 435; group of the *Horse Tamers* belonging to them, 436.
- Constantine, Basilica of, at Rome, 1, 436, great span of its arches, 436; have served as a model to modern times, 436.
- Constantine, capital of the third section of the province of North Africa, 1, 213; its interesting Roman remains, 611.
- Constantinople, founded as "New Rome," on site of Byzantium, 1, 420; inauguration ceremony, 421, principal buildings, 421-423; its walls, reservoirs, and aqueducts, 424, great beauty, 425, life in during reign of Justinian, 1, 288; besieged by the Persians and Avars combined, 418; becomes the fortress of Europe during many centuries, 455; the sole storehouse of literature, culture, and art, 456; besieged a second time for five years by great Armada despatched by the Khalif Muawiyah, 493; attack repulsed, 495; besieged a third time by powerful Armada despatched by the Khalif Sulaiman, 550; repulse of the attack destroys power of the Omeyyad dynasty of khalifs, 552, enormous trade drawn to this city, 585, social life therein during reign of Leo III, 588-591.
- Constantinople, Church of, becomes in 4th century one of the five patriarchates, its Metropolitan Bishop receiving title of Pope, 1, 537, immense number of dioceses included in its patriarchate after transfer to it of those of southern Italy, 1, 577.
- Constantinus, called Chlorus from his pale complexion, 1, 346; parentage and character, 347, able rule over Dardania, 347; made *Caesar* by Diocletian, 346; forced to divorce his wife Helena and marry Maximian's step-daughter Theodosia, 346; defeats the usurper Allectus and regains Britain, 348; made *Augustus* in succession to Maximian, 352; summons his son Constantine to join him, 370, death at York 370; his family a remarkable one, 475.
- Constantius, emperor, third son of Constantine the Great, 1, 413; forced by the army to agree to the massacre of his step-uncles and their sons, 451, allotted rule of eastern portion of empire, 452; opposes Sapor II, 452, defeats him at Hileia, 452; persecutes Athanasius, 453, forced by Constans to restore him to his see, 454, upon death of Constans becomes sole ruler of the empire, 455; favourite son of his father, 455; high sense of duty to the empire, 455; awe-inspiring majesty, 455; main interest assistance to Arianism, 456; though bigoted and suspicious, possessed certain qualities commanding respect, 456; marches against Vetranio, 457; gives his cousin Gallus rule of the east, 457, opposes Magnentius, 457; defeats him at battle of Mursa, 458, takes possession of Milan, 458; married to Eusebia, 458; sends officer to report upon misrule of Gallus, 459, puts Gallus to death, 459, under dominion of Arian party persecutes the Catholics, 460, sends a force to seize Athanasius, 461, summons his cousin Julian to Milan and keeps him a prisoner, 463, at intercession of Eusebia gives him rank of *Caesar* and sends him to govern Gaul, 466; refuses to listen to calumnies against him, 468, visits Rome, 468, defeats Suevi, Sarmatians, and Quadi, 469, refuses request of Julian for rank of *Augustus*, 470; again marches to oppose the Persians, 470; marries Faustina, 471, refuses to withdraw troops from defence of the eastern frontier to support his personal quarrel, 473; learns of Julian's capture of Sirmium, 473; marches to oppose him, 473; conceals his mental distress, 474, taken ill at Tarsus and dies at Mopsuene, 474.
- Constantius, general, 1, 58; defeats Heraclian, 59, escorts Galla Placidia to Italy, 63; forces Honorius to agree to his marrying her, 66; raised by Honorius to rank of *Augustus*, 67; death, 67.
- Constatution of the Church, The, 1, 508-509.
- Corbulo, general, reconquers Armenia, 1, 147; put to death by Nero, 147.
- Cornelia Salonina, empress, wife of Gallienus, 1, 333.
- Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, martyred in Sixth persecution, 1, 321.

- Coronation, The, of an emperor in Later Roman Empire, ii, 398.
- Cosmas, heads insurrection against Leo III, ii, 560; attacks Constantinople, 560; defeated and beheaded, 560.
- Costanza, St., Church of, at Rome, originally the mausoleum of Constantine's sister Constantina, i, 420; its remarkable 4th century mosaics, 420
- Country house of a nobleman in 4th century, Mosaic picture of, ii, 82.
- Country life in 4th century, Mosaic picture of, ii, 83.
- Court, Splendour of the, of Later Roman Empire in 8th century, ii, 589.
- Crecentia, girl martyred at Rome in Second persecution, i, 196.
- Crescent and star, Device of the, its origin, i, 424.
- Crispin, St., martyred at Soussons in Tenth persecution, i, 360.
- Crispina, empress, daughter of Brittnus Præsens, i, 276; married to Commodus and accompanies him to Pannonia, 276; forced by him to witness shameless scenes, 276; accused of immorality and put to death, 277.
- Crispina, girl martyred at Rome in Seventh persecution, i, 331.
- Crispus, eldest son of Constantine the Great, birth, i, 370; given rank of *Caesar* and rule of Gaul, 399; gains much credit, 399; greatly assists Constantine in the struggle with Licinius, 401; demands title of *Augustus*, 413, kept a prisoner at the court, 413; mysteriously put to death, 416.
- Croce, Sta., in Gerusalemme, Church of, in Rome, i, 419.
- Ctesiphon, captured by Trajan, i, 219; by Carus, 343; captured and destroyed by the Mahomedans, ii, 450.
- Currassiers (*Cataphracts*), how armed, ii, 205.
- Cunmund, king of the Gepidae, ii, 325; his daughter Rosamund carried off by Alboin, 325; makes war upon the Lombards, 325; defeated and killed, 325; his skull made into a drinking cup by Alboin, 325.
- Curiales, hereditary members of civic corporations, ii, 83; the laws making them responsible for the municipal taxes most crushing to this class, 83, the system abolished by Anastasius I, 161.
- Cyprianus, Thascius Caecilius (St. Cyprian), wealthy teacher of rhetoric at Carthage, i, 327; agreeable disposition, 327; converted to Christianity, 327; chosen Bishop of Carthage, 327; becomes leading Bishop of the Church in 3rd century, 327; becomes a tower of strength to the whole Church during the Sixth persecution, 328; conduct during the plague, 328; controversy with Stephen, Bishop of Rome, 329; martyred in Seventh persecution, 329.
- Cyprian, Reporter to the High Court of Justice under Theodoric, ii, 174; accuses Albinus and Boethius of seditious conduct, 174; integrity and high character, 174.
- Cyril, Pope of Alexandria, causes riot by seeking to expel the Jews, ii, 65; indirectly responsible for cruel murder of Hypatia, 65.
- Cyrus, minister of Theodosius II, ii, 87.
- Cyrus, last Pope of Alexandria, adopts the Monothelite heresy, ii, 447; pronounced a heretic by Sixth General Council, 504.
- DAGOBERT I, son of Chlotochar II, ii, 432.
- Damascus, made by the Khalif Muawiyah the capital of the Mahomedan power in place of Medina, ii, 473.
- Damascus, Metropolitan Bishop of Rome in time of Valentian I and Gratian, i, 511; mediocre abilities, 511; first Bishop of Rome to be given new title of Pope, 537; endeavours to contest decree of Second General Council as to its grounds for making Rome one of the five patriarchal sees, 537-538; his arguments treated with contempt, 538; death, 565; his tomb in the Catacombs, 511.
- Dama, prophetess-queen of the Moors, ii, 519; wrongly named "Cahna," 519; wins victory over the Saracens, 520; again fights with them at Thydrus, 532, killed, 532.
- Daphne, Grove of, at Antioch, i, 116; famed for its licentious excesses, 116; visit to it of emperor Julian to celebrate a festival, 480; finds it entirely deserted, 480.
- Dardania, new province cut out of Moesia by Aurelian, i, 335; Roman inhabitants of Dacia transported thither, 335.
- Daria, one of the six Vestal Virgins, i, 326; converted to Christianity, 326; martyred in Seventh persecution, 326.
- Dastagherd, great palace of Chosroes II, ii, 410; description of, 410; its destruction by Heraclius, 421.
- Dates for fifty years of 8th century wrong by a year, ii, 591.
- Datus, Archbishop of Milan, ii, 307; refuses to concur with emperor Justinian's edict condemning the "Three Chapters," 307.
- Daughters of an emperor who had sons prohibited from marriage, ii, 507.
- David of Manevia, builds a church at shrine of Avallon, ii, 516.
- David, third surviving son of the emperor Heraclius, ii, 452; given equal right to the throne with his brother, 456; mutilated and banished, 457.
- Decabalus, king of Dacia, i, 189; ignominious peace with him made by Domitian, 189; defeated by Trajan, 213; again defeated and commits suicide, 214.
- Decius, emperor, reign begun with much splendour, i, 316; magnifies his office of *Pontifex Maximus*, 317; revives office of Censor of morals, 317; is attacked by the Goths, 317; sends Gallus to oppose them, 317; issues edict for general slaughter of the Christians, 318; personally conducts the persecution, 321; forced to proceed in person to oppose the Goths, 318; suffers a defeat, 318; again advances against them, 318; whole army destroyed and Decius killed, 319.
- Defence of Christianity* sent to Antoninus Pius by Justin Martyr, i, 243; its three parts, 243; second *Defence of Christianity* sent to Marcus Aurelius, 257.
- Defensors appointed by Valentian I for protection of the people, i, 506.
- Definition of the Catholic faith drawn up by Fourth General Council, and embodied in the Athanasian Creed, ii, 104.
- Dedication of the emperors, i, 182.
- Delators (informers), original use of by Augustus, i, 57; increased use by Tiberius, 57; their use checked by him, 57; abuses created by them, 72; much employed

- by Domitian, 190; trade exemplified, 190; put down by Trajan, 223; denounced by Hadrian, 236; ordered by Marcus Aurelius to be employed, and substantial rewards promised to them, 259.
- Delmatian**, half-brother of Constantine the Great, i, 413.
- Delmatius**, nephew of Constantine the Great, i, 450; by latter's will given rule of Moesia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, 450; slain in massacre of collateral branch, 451.
- Delphi**, Ancient Column of, set up in Constantinople, i, 422; its long history, 422.
- Demetrius**, martyred at Rome in Seventh persecution, i, 331.
- Demophilus**, Arian Archbishop of Constantinople, made to resign his office, i, 535.
- Deogratias**, Bishop of Carthage, ii, 121; mitigates sufferings of Roman captives carried off by the Vandals, 121; death, 121.
- Deuterius**, friend of Stilicho, beaten to death by Olympius, ii, 42.
- Deutsch**, derivation of the name, ii, 171.
- Diadem**, Wearing of the, by emperors adopted, i, 349.
- Diana**, Temple of, at Ephesus, destroyed, i, 323.
- Diana and Apollo**, Temples of, in London, ii, 432.
- Digna**, her suicide to escape the Huns, ii, 112.
- Diocletian**, emperor, conduct upon death of Numerian, i, 344; acclaimed emperor, 344, victory over Carinus, 344; birth and character, 345; subdivides empire into four parts, 347; establishes the four capitals of Trèves, Milan, Sirmium, and Nicomedia, 347; subdues Egypt, 348; gains Mesopotamia and five districts beyond the Tigris from Persia, 348; restores empire to highest prosperity, 349; becomes sole legal authority, 349, adopts wearing of the diadem and imperial robes, 349; reduces Senate of Rome to oblivion, 349; celebrates triumph at Rome, 351; publishes edict for general slaughter of Christians, 351, abdicates, 352, his Baths at Rome, 353; great palace at Spalatro, 353; death, 378; burial, 379.
- Dion Cassius**, writer of 2nd century, i, 262; history and writings, 272.
- Dioscurus**, Pope of Alexandria, ii, 90; conduct at the "Letrocnium," 90; condemned for his crimes, and banished, 103.
- Disabul**, Khan of the Turks, embassy to Justin II, ii, 326.
- Distances** by main road from Gaul to Mesopotamia, i, 611.
- Divine honours** to emperors, i, 41.
- Divorce** under Roman Empire, frequency and brief procedure necessary, i, 23.
- Docetæ**, Sect of the, i, 186.
- Domestics**, *The*, i.e. Household Troops, *see* Guards.
- Domitia Lepida**, grand-daughter of Augustus' sister Octavia, and mother of Valeria Messalina, i, 103; murdered by Agrippina, 114.
- Domitia Longina**, empress, taken from her husband by Domitian, i, 187; erects monument to her father Corbulo, 187; unhappy life, 187; divorced, but reinstated owing to indignation of the people, 189.
- Domitian**, emperor, character, i, 187; adorns Temple of Jupiter, 187; cruelty to the Vestal Virgins, 188; recalls Agnocola from Britain, 188; ignominious peace with
- Dacians, 189; detestation felt for him, 189; re-establishes the "Terror," 190; carries out Second persecution, 191; ruthless murders, 192; assassinated, 192; chief building the Flavian Palace, 193.
- Domitian**, officer sent by Constantius to report on misrule of Gallus, i, 459.
- Domitilla**, *see* Flavia Domitilla.
- Donatists**, *The*, i, 398; decision of Council of Arles regarding them, 398; subsequent history, 399.
- Drusilla**, sister of Caligula, forced to marry him, i, 87.
- Drusus (1)**, younger son of Livia, i, 32; popularity, 32; married to Antonia, 32; campaigns in Germany, 12; death, 12.
- Drusus (2)**, son of Tiberius, birth, i, 48; capacity, 60; sent to Rhine frontier in place of Germanicus, 63; married to Livilla, 66, associated by Tiberius with himself, 66; poisoned, 67.
- Drusus (3)**, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, 66, honours obtained for him by Tiberius, 66; led by Sejanus to conspire against Tiberius, 67; tried by Senate and imprisoned, 69, starves himself to death, 71.
- Dynasty of Heraclius**, Character of, ii, 525.
- EADBALD**, king of Kent, renounces Christianity, ii, 433.
- Eanfled**, daughter of Edwin and Ethelburge, married to Oswy, ii, 466.
- Ebionites**, Sect of the, i, 186.
- Echtheus**, *The*, Edict published by Heraclius, ii, 448.
- Ecloga**, *The*, Code of the Roman law drawn up for first time in Greek, ii, 582; preamble, 582; its three subsidiary codes, 582-584; special importance of this Code, 584; demonstrates superiority of the empire over all contemporary nations, 584.
- Edict of Milan**, *The*, i, 377, its terms, 385.
- Edwin**, Anglian king of Northumbria, ii, 433; becomes *Bretwalda* of Britain, 433; accepts Christianity, 433; his wooden church at York, 433; killed by Penda, king of Mercia, 434.
- Egbert**, king of Kent, unites with Oswy, king of Northumbria, in obtaining Theodore of Tarsus as Archbishop for Britain, ii, 487.
- Egtherth**, king of Northumbria, attacks Mercia, Cumbria, and the Scots, 515; killed at battle of Nechtansmere, 515.
- Egypt**, Conquest of, by the Mahomedans, ii, 451.
- Elagabalus**, emperor, proper name Bassianus Varius Avitus, i, 305; made high priest of the Syrian sun-god Elagabalus and takes that name, 305, marches against Macrinus and defeats him, 305; declared by his grandmother Julia Mæsa to be a son of Caracalla, 306; extraordinary entry into Rome, 306; profanity, 306; attempts to murder his cousin Alexander Severus, 306; killed in an insurrection, 306.
- Elephants**, Train of, brought into the field by Sapor II, i, 484; danger of use in battle unless highly trained, 490.
- Eleusus**, Mysteries of, i, 465.
- Emesa**, Battle of, ii, 444.
- Emirs**, or viceroys, appointed by the Khalifs, ii, 549.
- Emperor**, Title of, i, 9; technical position of, 9; becomes sole legal authority, 349.

- Emperor crowned by an ecclesiastical authority, First instance of, ii, 123.
- Emperors of first four centuries, General character of, i, 573.
- Emperors from 395 to 740, High general character of, ii, 593.
- England, *see* Britain.
- England, origin of the name, ii, 293.
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- Enlistment of Roman army not confined in Trajan's time to men born in Italy, i, 214; Constantine's policy of enlisting men of northern races a sound one, 400; importance from a political point of view of allowing all races included in the empire to contribute a portion of the military strength, 569; opposition to that policy in time of Honorius, ii, 61.
- Epicharis, her brave conduct when tortured by Nero, i, 143.
- Epicurean philosophy, The, i, 38.
- Epiphania, wife of Heraclius the elder, imprisoned by Phocas, ii, 396.
- Equestrian Order, Procession of knights of the, on anniversary of battle of Lake Regillus, i, 414.
- Erastus, appointed Bishop of Corinth by St. Paul, i, 170.
- Ethelburga, wife of Edwin, king of Northumbria, ii, 433; induces him to accept Christianity, 433; forced to fly with her children to Kent, 434.
- Ethelburh, wife of Ina, king of Wessex, ii, 573, persuades him to resign his crown, 573; death, 574.
- Eucherius, son of Stilicho, ii, 38; put to death by Olympius, 42.
- Eudo, duke of Aquitaine, forced by Charles Martel to return to his allegiance, ii, 567; defeats the Saracens, 567; defeated by Abdul Rahman, 568.
- Eudocia (Athenais), empress, daughter of Athenian sophist Leontius, ii, 67; chosen by Pulcheria as wife for Theodosius II, 67; baptized and takes name of Eudocia, 67; married to Theodosius, 67; literary ability, 67; writes poem celebrating victory over the Persians, 68; retires from the court, 87; oration to the Senate of Antioch, 87; her writings, 87.
- Eudocia, empress, betrothed to Heraclius, ii, 396; imprisoned by Phocas, 396; liberated by Heraclius, 398; marriage to him, 398; birth of her two children, 403; death, 403.
- Eudoxia, empress, daughter of Count Bauto, ii, 11; marriage to Arcadius, 12; character, 14; gives birth to a daughter, 14; picture of her walking in a procession, 15; gives birth to a second daughter, 16; insolently treated by Eutropius, 16; appeals to Arcadius, 16, shares with Galfnas sway over Arcadius, 27; gives birth to a third daughter, 27; conflict with Galfnas, 27; becomes sole power in the State, 27; description by Mark the Deacon of their reception by her, 27; birth of her son, 27; attacked by Chrysostom for the luxury of the court, 29; his unmeasured language against her, 30; makes Arcadius banish him, 30, relents and recalls him, 31, silver statue erected in her honour, 31, violent sermon by Chrysostom against her, 31; banishes him a second time, 31; death, 31; grief of Arcadius at her loss, 31.
- Eudoxia, empress, daughter of Theodosius II, married to Valentinian III, ii, 86; cruelly treated by Maximus, 120; carried off a captive by the Vandals, 121, ransomed by the emperor Leo I, 123.
- Eudoxia, daughter of Valentinian III, carried off a captive by the Vandals, ii, 121; forced to marry Gaiseric's son Huneric, 122.
- Eugenia, daughter of the Proconsul of Egypt, martyred at Alexandria in Fifth persecution, i, 294.
- Eugenius, puppet emperor set up by Arbogast, i, 568; death, 571.
- Eulogus, Pope of Alexandria, ii, 385; correspondence with Gregory the Great, 386; killed in the insurrection against Phocas, 395.
- Euphemia, St., young Greek lady martyred at Chalcedon in Tenth persecution, i, 383; high honour given her by eastern part of the Church, 383; church to her memory at Chalcedon, ii, 103.
- Euphemia, empress, wife of Justin I, ii, 192; opposes her nephew Justinian's proposal to marry Theodora, 192; death, 192.
- Eurarc, chosen king by the Ostrogoths, ii, 256; slain, 256.
- Euric, king of the Visigoths, ii, 126; capable rule, 126; code of laws, 126; seizes Arles, 126; death, 126.
- Eusebia, empress, second wife of Constantius, i, 458; agreeable character and high ability, 463; intercedes for Julian, 463; persuades Constantius to give him rank of *Caesar*, 466; supports him against calumnious enemies, 468; death, 469.
- Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, present at First General Council, i, 408; subsequently adopts the Arian opinions, 439; gains strong influence over Constantine, 439; baptizes him, 441.
- Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, i, 383; account of some of the terrible cruelties in the Tenth persecution, 383; description of the new church at Tyre, 394; present at First General Council, 408; description of Constantine's appearance and manner of opening the proceedings, 409; warning to the princess Constantia against superstition, 418; description of the church of the Twelve Apostles built by Constantine at Constantinople, 423; account of the burial there of Constantine, 442; chief writings, 538.
- Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, banished by Constantine, i, 440.
- Eutharc, descendant of the great Gothic king Hermanric, married to youngest daughter of Theodoric the Great, ii, 172.
- Eutropia, half-sister of Constantine the Great, married to Nepotianus, i, 413; put to death with her son by the usurper Magnentius, 454.
- Eutropius, father of Constantius Chlorus, i, 347.
- Eutropius, historian, put to death by Valens, i, 527.
- Eutropius, minister of Arcadius, brings about his marriage to Eudoxia, ii, 11; forces her to obtain for him titles and wealth, 15; insolent arrogance and tyranny, 15; put to death, 16.
- Eutyches, propounds a new heresy, ii, 89; triumphs at the "Lactocinium," 90; violence of his party, 91; his doctrines condemned by Fourth General Council, 104.

- Eutychnian heresy, The, ii, 89; called also Monophysite, 104.
- Eutychnianus, Bishop of Rome, martyred in Ninth persecution, i, 342.
- Ewald, name of two English missionaries to Germany, ii, 571; both killed at Cologne, 571.
- Exarch, Title of, adopted instead of Prefect, ii, 356.
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- Faith, St., a girl of eleven martyred at Agen in Gaul in Tenth persecution, i, 360.
- Family of the Tent, last descendants of the household of the Prophet, all killed in the slaughter at Kerbela, ii, 501.
- Farwald I, Lombard duke of Spoleto, captures Classis, i, 332.
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- Fatima, only child of Mahomed, ii, 436; married to Ali, 436.
- Fausta, empress, daughter of Maximian, married to Constantine the Great, i, 371; saves Constantine's life, 372; left at Vienna when he invaded Italy, 374; her first child born, 399; her six children, 413; accompanies Constantine to Rome, 414; joins with him in presenting her palace the Lateran to the Bishop of Rome, 415; her mysterious death, 416.
- Faustina the elder, empress, wife of Antoninus Pius, i, 240, want of ground for the accusation made against her character, 241; death two years after her husband became emperor, 241; institution for orphan girls founded to her memory, 241; temple erected in her honour the only one ever erected in Rome to a woman, 241.
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- Felix, brother of the freedman Pallas, made Procurator of Judæa by Claudius, i, 102.
- Felix, minister of Galla Placidia, ii, 71; by treachery causes Boniface to revolt, 71; death, 72.
- Felix, Burgundian Bishop, converts East Anglia, ii, 434; gives his name to Felxstowe, 434.
- Felix, Archbishop of Ravenna, blinded by Justinian II, ii, 524.
- Fetivism, attributed to the writers of the 5th century, ii, 69.
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- Fiesole, siege and capture by Belisarius, ii, 233.
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- Firdah, Battle of, Persians defeated at, ii, 450.
- Firmilian, Metropolitan of Caesarea, rebuke to Stephen I, Bishop of Rome, for attempt to dictate to Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, i, 329.
- Firmus, Moorish prince, Rebellion of, against Valentinian I, i, 504.
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- Flacilla, empress, first wife of Theodosius I, i, 560.
- Flamen Dialis, chief priest of Temple of Jupiter, i, 40.
- Flaminian Way, The, in time of Galla Placidia, ii, 95.
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- Gallus, elder son of Julius Constantius, i, 451; preserved in massacre of his relatives, 451; sent to castle of Macellum, 457; given rule of eastern provinces, 457; married to Constantina, 457; his misrule, 459; rebels against Constantius, 459; death, 459.
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- Germanus, Pope of Constantinople, ii, 562; attempt of Leo III to force him to agree to Iconoclasm, 562; his speech, 562, deposed, 562.
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- Herennius, son of the emperor Decius, i, 317; killed at battle of Abricum, 319.
- Heresies, Arian, i, 410; Macedonian, 536; Apollinarian, 536, Nestorian, ii, 75; Eutychan (or Monophysite), 89; Monothelite, 446.
- Heretic, its strict meaning, ii, 505.
- Hermann (called Arminius by the Romans), leader of the Cherusci, gains great victory over Varus, i, 13; marries Thusnelda, daughter of Segestes, chief of the Cherusci, against her father's wishes, 61; his wife Thusnelda treacherously captured by her father and made over to the Romans, 61; gains two great victories over the armies of Germanicus, 61-62; death, 63, monument to his memory, 63.
- Hermanfred, king of the Thuringians, married to sister of Theodoric, ii, 172.
- Hermanric, king of the Goths, i, 501; extends his dominions from the Dneister to the Baltic, 501; sends Athanaric to invade Roman dominions, 501; cruelty to wife of the chief of the Roxolani, 520; death, 520.
- Hermanric, youngest son of Aspar, saved by Zeno from massacre, ii, 125.
- Hermengild, eldest son of Leovigild, king of the Visigoths, ii, 351; married to Ingundis, 351; removes with her to Seville, 352; converted by her from Arianism, 352, war made upon him by his father, 352; captured and put to death, 352.
- Herod the Great, given kingdom of Judæa by Augustus, i, 13; character and many crimes, 595; death, 595.
- Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, rescues Calgula's body, i, 116; given kingdom of Judæa by Claudius, 116; persecutes the Christian Jews in Jerusalem, puts St. James to death, and imprisons St. Paul, 118; death, 120.
- Herod Antipas, *Tetrarch* of Galilee and Perceæ, i, 595; marries Herodias, the wife of his half brother Philip, 595; puts to death St. John the Baptist, 595; deposed and exiled by Calgula, 595.
- Herodian, historian of 3rd century, i, 367.
- Hertford, Synod of, ii, 496; its formation of the Church of England, 496, lasting effect of its action upon the English race, 497, begins the welding together of Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Britons, 497.
- Hilary, St., of Poitiers, i, 510; supposed author of the *Te Deum*, 510, banished by Constantius to Phrygia, 510, restored to his see by Valentinian I, 510, great eloquence, 510; death, 510.
- Hilary, St., of Arles, ii, 110; attractive character, 110; shameful conduct towards him of Leo, Bishop of Rome, 110; temperate way of meeting it, 110; asserts independence of Metropolitanans, 110; death, 111.
- Hileia, Battle of, Sapor II defeated by Constantius and his heir killed, i, 452.
- Hilpark, king of the Burgundians, father of Clotilda, ii, 154.
- Hippodrome, The, at Constantinople, built by Constantine, i, 422; size and general arrangement, 422; three notable columns adorning its *apana*, 422.
- Hippolytus, martyred at Rome in Seventh persecution, i, 331.
- Hischam, Khalif, ii, 552; appoints Abdul Rahman Emir of Spain, 567; despatches formidable army to invade Asia Minor, 582; his army defeated by Leo III at battle of Acromon and driven out of Asia Minor, 582.
- Historia Francorum*, by Gregory of Tours, ii, 344.
- Hodégëtria*, The, picture with wonderful history, ii, 579; church built for it, 579; veneration with which regarded, 579; ordered to be burnt, 579; secretly conveyed to Italy, 580; its subsequent history, 580; still to be seen in cathedral of Bari, 581.
- Holy Cross Day, its origin, ii, 423.
- Holy Sepulchre, Church of the, built by Constantine, i, 418; its dedication and costly adornment, 441.
- Homonioia, Sta., church of, built by Constantine, i, 413.
- Homo-ousion* (of one substance), word chosen after long debate by First General Council, i, 411.
- Honorio, daughter of Constantius and Galla Placidia, ii, 85, appeals to Attila to make her his wife, 86; her surrender demanded by him, 99; again demanded as price of his evacuation of Italy, 114; her death at Ravenna, 114; burial, 114.
- Honorius, emperor, younger son of Theodosius the Great, i, 571, succeeds to rule of western half of the empire, 571, an incapable nonentity, ii, 7, married to Stilicho's daughter Maria, 14; terror at hearing Visigoths were in Italy, 22; removes to Ravenna, 31; visit to Rome, 31; festivities held there in his honour, including last combat of gladiators, 31; rearing fowls his sole interest, 33; married to Thermantia, 37; allows massacre of eight high officials, 40; concurs in murder of Stilicho, 41. allows massacre of families of Teuton troops, 42; declines to ratify treaty made with Alaric, 50; unmoved by fall of Rome, 53; declines to agree to marriage of his sister to Ataulf, 58; becomes absurdly jealous of her, 67; death, 68.
- Honorius I, Pope of Rome, adopts the Monothelite heresy, ii, 447; his letter becomes main support of this heresy, 447; pronounced a heretic by Sixth General Council, 505; attempt made in 16th century to maintain his condemnation by this Council a forgery refuted, 505.
- Horace, poet, i, 17.
- Hormisdas, Pope of Rome, Death of, ii, 175.
- Hormizdas IV, son of Chosroes I, ii, 338; defeated by Maurice at battle of Constantina, 338.
- Horse Tamers*, The, Group of, in Rome, i, 436; presented to Nero by Tridates, king of Armenia, 436; adorned Baths of Constantine, 436; the only ancient statues never buried, 436, curious idea regarding them in the Middle Ages, 436.
- Horses in a stable in 4th century with their names, Mosaic picture of, ii, 82.
- Hossin, younger grandson of Mahomed, ii, 500; resists persuasions to come to Kufa to be installed as Khalif, 500; consents at length to go, 500, opposed at Kerbela by troops of Yezid I, 500; his offer to return to Mecca refused, 500; defends a small entrenchment, 501; he and his family all slain, 501; looked upon by the

- Shiaks as martyrs, 501; annual commemoration of this tragedy, 501.
- Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, chief adviser in Church matters to Constantine the Great, i, 406, wisdom and high character, 406; presides at First General Council, 408; banished and imprisoned by Constantius, 460; gives way at 100 years old and signs the Arrian creed, 460.
- Hours, a black-eyed girl of the Mahomedan paradise, ii, 437.
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- Huns, The, first heard of, i, 520; nature and appearance, 520; their wide dominions, ii, 84; contrast to the Aryan races, 84; lived perpetually on horseback, 84; invade Mossia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, 88; cross the Rhine and fall upon Gaul, 100; terrible destruction created, 100; fight battle of the Mauriac Plain, 101; retire out of Gaul, 102; invade Italy, 111; destroy cities of northern Italy, 112; advance to the Mincio, 113; retire thence to Pannonia, 116; exterminated in contests between the sons of Attila, 116.
- Hunting party in 4th century, Mosaic picture of, ii, 82.
- Hypatia, celebrated lecturer on philosophy in Alexandria, ii, 65; her cruel murder by the fanatical monks, 66.
- Hypatius, set up as emperor in The "Nika" insurrection, 202.
- IBBAS, gains Provence for Theodorio the Great, ii, 173.
- Icelus, rapidity of his journey from Rome to Galba in Spain with news of the death of Nero, i, 172.
- Iceni, British tribe of the, defeated by Vespasian, i, 101; their revolt, led by Boadicea, 133.
- Iconoclastic struggle, The, ii, 555; opposite opinions regarding it, 556; Leo III's methods wrong, 556; first action in the contest, 559; insurrection raised in Greece, 560; storm raised in Italy, 561; Pope of Constantinople deposed for refusal to agree, 562; fleet sent to depose Pope of Rome, 575; dioceses of southern Italy transferred to eastern patriarchate, 576.
- Icons, ii, 555.
- Ida, Anghian king, leads fresh wave of Angles into Britain, ii, 292; founds kingdom of Northumbria, 292; builds castle and town of Bamborough, 292.
- Ignatius, St., appointed by St. Peter first Bishop of Antioch, i, 158; great ability, 159; wide renown and influence, 224; trial before Trajan, 224; journey to Rome, 224; martyrdom, 224; remains buried in church of St. Clement, 225; authenticity of his letters, 225; apparent mistake as to their date, 225.
- Ilidbad, on surrender of Ostrogoth kingdom retains Verona, ii, 237; regains territory north of the Po, 256; murdered, 256.
- Iltheo, last wife taken by Athala, ii, 116; prototype of Kriemhilde in the *Nibelungen Lied*, 117.
- Ilidiger, son-in-law of Antonina, ii, 220.
- Iliad, The, and the Odyssey written in gold upon intestines of a serpent, i, 477.
- Illus, joins rebellion raised by the empress Verina, ii, 147.
- Imam, title used by Shah Mahomedans instead of Khalif, ii, 473.
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- Imperial Palace, The, at Constantinople, built by Constantine, i, 423; much increased by Theodosius I, 557; its reconstruction by Justinian, ii, 240; hall of the Chalke, 240; hall of the Excoibitors, 240; Throne-room, 240; Banqueting hall, 240, Daphne, or private palace, 240; gardens, 241.
- Imperial Palace, The, at Trèves, i, 496.
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- Importance of Britain in 3rd century, i, 285.
- Ina, king of Wessex, ii, 515; able rule, 515; defeats Kent, 515; defeats Gerant, British king of Damnonia, 516; captures Glastonbury, 516; attacks Mercia, 516; code of laws, 516; rebuilds and endows Glastonbury, 516; resigns his throne, 573; pilgrimage to Rome, 573; endows English school there, 573.
- India, envoys from sent to Constantine the Great, i, 431; Mahomedan conquests in, ii, 549.
- Infanticide, made capital offence by Valentinian I, i, 506.
- Ingundis, one of the wives of Chlotochar I, ii, 344.
- Ingundis, daughter of Sigibert and Brunhilda, ii, 347; married to Hermenigild, 351; cruel treatment to force her to change her religion, 351; removes to Seville, 352; converts Hermenigild, 352, besieged in Seville, 352, sails for Constantinople, 352; death, 352.
- Innocent I, Pope of Rome, ii, 47; want of capacity, 48; tone adopted by him, 48; sent on embassy to Honorius, 50.
- Ino, empress, wife of Tiberius II, ii, 335; takes name Anastasia, 336.
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- Iona, foundation of, ii, 318; Anglian kingdoms converted from thence, 435; "Iona's saints," 435.
- Ireland, first mention of, i, 188; converted by St. Patrick, ii, 162.
- Irenaeus, St., Bishop of Lyons, pupil of Polycarp, i, 245; one of the earliest Christian writers, 278; his chief book, 279; martyred in Fifth persecution, 293.
- Irene, St., Church of, built by Constantine, i, 423; burnt in the "Nika" insurrection, ii, 202; rebuilt by Justinian, 202; the largest church in Constantinople next to St. Sophia, 202.
- Irene, empress, daughter of the Khan of the Khazars, married to Constantine V, ii, 581 (see also p. 593, footnote).
- "Iron Crown," The, ii, 426; description, 426; its first appearance, 426; subsequent history, 427; theory that it was given by Gregory the Great an impossible one, 427; question whether it is the crown of Constantine, 428.
- "Iron Gates," The, narrow channel of the Danube, i, 213; inscription cut on rock at by Trajan, 213.
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- Islam, the religion established by Mahomed, *ii*, 435, its formula of faith, 435.
- Ispirich, first king of Bulgaria, *ii*, 499.
- Issus, Battle of, Niger defeated by Severus, *i*, 281.
- Istamboul, Turkish name for Constantinople, its Greek derivation, *i*, 424.
- Italy, southern, "Hellenized" by the emperor Leo III, *ii*, 576.
- JAMES, St., brother of St. John, put to death by Herod Agrippa, *i*, 118.
- James, St., the Less, takes Jerusalem as his special sphere, *i*, 122; stoned to death by the Jews, 153.
- Janus, Temple of, closed on accession of Augustus, *i*, 3; opened for last time in history by Gordian III, 312.
- Jarrow, monastery and training college at, *i*, 571; home of Bede during his whole life, 574.
- Jerome, St., words as to equality of Bishops, *i*, 508; removes from Rome to Palestine, 511; translates the Bible, 511; effect produced upon him by the fall of Rome, *ii*, 52.
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- Jerusalem, Church of, in 4th century made one of the five patriarchates, its Metropolitan Bishop receiving title of Pope, *i*, 537; overwhelmed in 7th century by the Mahomedan conquest of Syria, *ii*, 444.
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- John, St., assists in the work at Antioch, *i*, 122; removes to Ephesus, 183, arrested and tortured in Second persecution, 186; banished to Patmos, 197; liberated by Nerva and returns to Ephesus, 202, death, 221.
- John Pope of Antioch, combines with the Nestorian party, *ii*, 77; attacks churches of Ephesus, 77.
- John I, Pope of Rome, sent by Theodoric on mission to Constantinople, *ii*, 179, accused of sedition and imprisoned, 181; death, 281.
- John the Lydian, his description of Theodora's character, *ii*, 197.
- John of Cappadocia, minister of Justinian, *ii*, 201; tries to dissuade Justinian from the Vandal war, 205; steals the money for supplying the expedition to Africa, 206; his many crimes, 249; eight years' struggle between him and Theodora, 249; his ruin effected by her, 250; degradation and punishment, 250; death, 250.
- John the Thracian, brings reinforcements to Belisarius, *ii*, 228; captures Rimini, 229; married to Justinian's niece, 269; made Prefect of North Africa, 269, accompanies the army of Narses, 300.
- John Nesteutes, Pope of Constantinople, *ii*, 341; large-minded policy, 341; character, 370; correspondence with Gregory the Great, 385.
- John the Patrician, Exarch of North Africa, retakes Carthage, *ii*, 518; defeated at battle of Utica, 518.
- John of Damascus, *ii*, 561; powerful oration against the Iconoclastic policy of the Emperor Leo III, 561.
- Jordanes, writer of 6th century, *ii*, 139.
- Josephus, Jewish historian, words regarding death of St. James the Less, *i*, 153; relates his obtaining help from the empress Poppæa, 153; description of siege of Jerusalem, 183.
- Jovian, emperor, elected upon Julian's death during retreat from Persia, *i*, 487, receives proposals for peace from Sapor, 487; unfairly condemned for surrender of Nisibis, 488; honourably refuses to repudiate his agreement, 491, removes the inhabitants to Amida, 491; issues edict of toleration to Pagans, 492; receives Athanasius at Antioch, 492, death, 492.
- Jovinus, general, defeats the Allemanni, *i*, 498; sent by Valentinian I, to inquire into the complaints against Romanus, Count of Africa, 504; corrupted by him, 504; executed, 504.
- Jovius, minister of Honorius, *ii*, 50.
- Juba, made king of Mauretania by Augustus, *i*, 8.
- Judæa, made a Roman province by Augustus, *i*, 13; change in its government made by Claudius, 115; subjugation by Vespasian, 172.
- Jude, St., with St. Simon, preaches in Mesopotamia and Persia, *i*, 123; martyred in Persia, 123.
- Julia (1), daughter of Augustus, married to her cousin Marcellus, *i*, 11; married to Marcus Agrippa, 11; married to Tiberius, 12; scandalous conduct, 21, banished, 21; death, 23.
- Julia (2), daughter of Marcus Agrippa and Julia (1), married to Æmilius Paulus, *i*, 21; scandalous conduct, 22, banished, 22.
- Julia (3), daughter of Drusus and Livilla, married to Nero, son of Germanicus, *i*, 67; intrigue with Sejanus, 69; attempts to gain influence over Claudius, 106; banished and put to death, 106.
- Julia Claudilla, first wife of Caligula, *i*, 86.
- Julia Livilla, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, married to Marcus Vnicus, *i*, 90; banished by her brother Caligula, 90; recalled by Claudius, 97; intrigue with Seneca, 105; banished and starved to death, 105.
- Julia, daughter of Titus, *i*, 185; taken from her husband by Domitian, 187; death, 187.
- Julia Domna, empress, wife of Septimius Severus, *i*, 282; her good disposition, 282; high character and attainments, 282; wounded in trying to protect her younger son from murder by his brother, 301; ill-treated by Macrinus and commits suicide, 305.
- Julia Messa, sister of Julia Domna, banished by Macrinus, *i*, 305; causes her grandson to be made high priest, 305; procures his election as emperor, 305; protects her other grandson from him, 306.
- Julia Soæmias, mother of the emperor Elagabalus, *i*, 305, killed with him by the troops, 306.
- Julia Mammæa, mother of the emperor Alexander Severus, *i*, 305; unwise in attempting to take part in the rule, 307; killed with her son in a mutiny, 309.
- Juhan, emperor, nephew of Constantine the Great, *i*, 451; spared from general mas-

- sacre of his family, 451; kept in confinement at castle of Macellum, 457; secretly studies occult science, 463; taken to Milan as a prisoner, 463; interceded for by the empress Eusebia, 463; thoughtful and imaginative temperament, 465; initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis, 465; made *Caesar* and sent to govern Gaul, 466; formidable nature of his task, 466, successes against the Franks and Allemanni, 467; successful expeditions into Germany, 467, able government of Gaul, 468; enmity of Constantius' ministers against him, 468, proclaimed *Augustus* by troops at Paris, 470, requests division of the empire, 470, makes a dash for Illyricum, 471, captures Sirmium, 472; upon death of Constantius hailed as emperor, 476; unfairly stigmatised as "The Apostate," 476; Greek character of his Paganism, 477; immense power of work, 477; endeavours to restore Paganism, 478; special hatred for Athanasius, 479; failure of his efforts to revive Paganism, 480; attempts to rebuild the Jewish Temple, 480; project to invade Persia, 481; his unpopularity at Antioch, 482; publishes the *Misopogon*, 482, starts to attack Persia, 482; initial successes, 483; unable to bessege Ctesiphon, 483, destroys his fleet, 484; advances into Persia, 484; forced to retreat, 485, surrounded by Persian army, 485; his energy and bravery 486; mortally wounded, 486, death, 486; his body carried to Tarsus for burial, 491; his tomb, 491.
- Julius Constantius, half brother of Constantine the Great, i, 413, killed in massacre of the collateral branch, 451.
- Julius Didianus, throne sold to him by the Praetorian Guards, i, 280; death, 280.
- Jupiter, Temple of, in Rome, burnt in contest against Vitellius, i, 176, rebuilt by Vespasian, 179, roofed at great cost with gilded bronze plates by Domitian, 187; its gilded bronze plates carried off by the Vandals, ii, 121.
- Justa, eldest daughter of Valentinian I, i, 513.
- Justin Martyr, history and character, i, 243; his "Defence of Christianity," 243; martyred in Fourth persecution, 261.
- Justin I, emperor, elected by the Senate, ii, 162; puts down all Eutychian and Nestorian tendencies, 162; leaves chief power to his nephew Justinian, 162.
- Justin II, emperor, nephew of Justinian I, ii, 324; popularity, 324; overawes embassy of the Avars, 324; makes advantageous alliance with the Turks, 326; mental disease, 333; war with Chosroes I, 334; persuaded by the empress Sophia to appoint the general Tiberius as *Caesar*, 335; becomes a dangerous lunatic, 336; crowns Tiberius as emperor, 336, death, 336.
- Justina, empress, second wife of Valentinian I, i, 513; character, 513; given by Gratian nominal rule of Italy and North Africa, 519; begs Ambrose to protect Italy from Maximus, 558; demands church for Arian worship, 559; flies to Thessalonica, 563; gives her youngest daughter in marriage to Theodosius I, 563; restored to Milan, 564, death, 564.
- Justinian I, emperor, ii, 191; marriage to Theodora, 192, elusive character, 192; picture painted of him by the *Secret History*, 193, great works on law, 199; operations against Persia, 200; the "Nika" insurrection, 201, prepares to attack the Vandal kingdom, 204, small scale of the force and its bad equipment, 206; overthrow of the Vandal kingdom, 211, receives the Vandal captives in triumph at Constantinople 212; arrangements for rule of North Africa, 213, change in his position after the "Nika" insurrection, 214; declares war against the Ostrogoths, 217, campaign in Italy begun, 220; capture of Naples, 220; Rome occupied, 222, first siege of Rome, 224; cities of central Italy taken, 230; capture of Ravenna, 234, building of St. Sophia, 239, reconstruction of the imperial palace, 240; immense building operations, 241; Theodora's palace, 242; vast scheme of fortifications, 242; empire attacked by Persia, 244; receives the Ostrogoth captives in triumph at Constantinople, 245; Persian War, 247; ruin of John of Cappadocia, 249; campaign in Mesopotamia, 251; visitation of the plague, 251; Justinian attacked, 252; generals discuss selection of a successor, 252; recovery of Justinian, 252; the generals disgraced, 252; defeat of the army in Mesopotamia, 254, disasters in Italy, 255; ruinous system of the *Logothetae*, 255; defeats of the forces by Ildibad, 256; victorious career of Totila, 257, Belisarius again sent to Italy, 261, chronic question of arrears of pay due to the troops, 263; second siege of Rome, 266; third siege of Rome, 267; misgovernment of North Africa, 268; effect of a war carried on by a ruling authority ignorant of military affairs, 270; Justinian's works in art at Ravenna, 274-282; plunges into the controversy of the "Three Chapters," 282; edict on the subject, 283, orders Vigilius, Pope of Rome, to Constantinople, 283; lofty titles, 283; death of Theodora, 284; laws for protection of women, 285; plot to assassinate him, 287, Rome surrendered by soldiers whose pay was several years in arrears, 288; Sicily conquered by Totila, 288; life in Constantinople in Justinian's time, 288, programme drawn up by himself for a week's festivities, 289; the Colchian War, 294, incursions by the Gepidae, Bulgarians, and Slavs, 294; appoints his nephew Germanus to command an army to reconquer Italy, 296; upon death of Germanus appoints Narses to command the expedition, 297; advance of Narses, 298, difficulties encountered by him, 300, Totila defeated at battle of Helvillum, 301, the Ostrogoths destroyed, 304; second edict regarding controversy of the "Three Chapters," 305; deep nocturnal studies, 306, story of his traversing the palace at night with his head under his arm, 306; exasperation at the tergiversations of Vigilius, 308; summons Fifth General Council, 309; sends expedition against Spain, 313; induces the Avars to attack the Bulgarians, 314; Zaburgan put to flight by Belisarius, 315, Justinian's ingratitude, 316; tumults of his last years, 316; second plot to assassinate him, 316; his disgraceful treatment of Belisarius, 316; Justinian's death, 318, his burial, 318; equestrian statue in front

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- Justinian II, emperor, son of Constantine IV, ii, 507, succeeds his father at sixteen, 510, character, 510; regains Iberia and Armenia from the Saracens, 511; retakes Antioch, 511; in North Africa overthrows Zohair, 511; Khalif agrees to pay him tribute and surrenders large territories, 511, conducts successful campaign against the Bulgarians, 511; settles liberated Slavs in Mysia, 511; proceeds to Armenia, 511; assembles the Quinsext Council, 512; suffers defeat at Sebastopolis through treachery of the Slavs, 512; as punishment puts many Slavs to death, 512; unwise choice of ministers, 512, their extortions and cruelties, 513, Justinian mutilated and banished, 513; escapes from Cherson, 520; marries sister of Chagan of the Khazars, 521; strangles two officers ordered to kill him, 521, speech amidst the storm in the Black Sea, 521; takes refuge with the Bulgarians, 522; regains his throne, 522, carries out a terrible vengeance, 523, slays senators of Ravenna and blinds the Archbishop, 524; endeavours to kill all the inhabitants of Cherson, 524; the generals revolt, 525, his head struck off, 525.
- "Justinian's Vandals," five cavalry regiments given this name, ii, 212.
- Jutes, The, invade Britain, ii, 56, second wave of them under Hengist and Horsa, 162; establish themselves in Kent, 163.
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- KAABA, THE, black stone long worshipped in Arabia, ii, 436; reverence for it incorporated by Mahomed in his new religion, 436.
- Kadesia, Four days' battle of, Persians defeated by the Mahomedans, ii, 450.
- Kairovan, founded by Okba, ii, 492.
- Kerbela, Tragedy of, ii, 500.
- Khalid, sent by Abu Bekr against Persia, ii, 437; his message to Yezdegerd, 449; wins battle of "the Chains," battle of the "River of Blood," and battle of Firdah, 449; proceeds to Syria, and wins battle of Ajnadem, battle of Pella, and battle of Marjasuffar, 441, ruthless conduct at taking of Damascus, 442; leads attack at battle of the Yermuk, 443.
- Khalif, signifying successor to Mahomed, ii, 437; first Khalif, Abu Bekr, 437; second Khalif, Omar, 441; third Khalif, Othman, 459, division among the Mahomedans regarding the succession, 473; subsequent Khalifs, 617.
- Khazars, The, a Tartar tribe, ii, 417; their chief Ziebil makes an alliance with Heraclius, 417; Justinian II takes refuge with them, 520, their Chagan's sister married to him, 521; become very powerful, 581; overawe the Saracens, 581; daughter of their Khan (or Chagan) married to son of Leo III, 581; become permanent allies of the empire against the Saracens, 581.
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- Kobad (or Kowad), king of Persia, takes up socialistic doctrines, ii, 159; makes war upon the Roman Empire, 159, defeated and makes peace, 169; again attacks the empire, 200, death, 201.
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- Lake Janda, Battle of, Saracens defeat Visigoths at, ii, 547.
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- Lateranus, Plautus, put to death by Nero, i, 146.
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- Lauretum (Laurel-grove), Palace of the, built by Galla Placidia, ii, 95; murder there of Odoacer by Theodoric, 153.
- Lawrence, St., martyred at Rome in Seventh persecution, i, 330.
- Lawrence, St., Church of, at Rome, built by Constantine, i, 432; rebuilt by the empress Galla Placidia, ii, 94.
- Laws. Code of the Roman law drawn up by Antoninus Pius, i, 239; laws of Constantine the Great, 394; code of the laws of the Christian emperors of 4th century (the Theodosian Code), ii, 74; laws of the Visigoths drawn up by Euric, 126; laws of the Franks under Clovis (the Salic laws), 156; laws of the Ostrogoths drawn up by Theodoric, 168; great Code of the Roman law drawn up by Justinian, 198; laws of the

- Lombards drawn up by Rotharis, 431; laws of the Saxons drawn up by Ina, 516; Code of the Roman law for first time drawn up in Greek by Leo III, with three subsidiary codes, 582.
- Legend, how the meaning of the word has become reversed, i, 358; its original significance, 359.
- Legion, the Roman, its organization, i, 18; armament, 19; rate of pay, 19; conditions of service, 19; care taken in selection of the men, 19; splendid discipline, 19; auxiliary corps, 20; number of legions maintained, 20; similarity to our organization in India, 20; size of the legion reduced by Constantine, 427, curious mode in which this reduction has been criticized, 428.
- Legions, the Second (Legio Augusta), stationed at Caerleon-on-Usk, i, 286, the Third, stationed in North Africa, transferred for 25 years from Lambæus to Cologne, 312; the Sixth (Legio Victrix), stationed at York, built the Roman Wall, 286; the Ninth, defeated and almost destroyed by Boadicea, 133; the Twelfth, given name of the "Thundering Legion," 251; the Twentieth, given name of Legio Valeria Victrix, 107, Julius Agricola for a long time commanded it, 181; stationed at Chester, 286.
- Lemtwardine, Battle of, against Caractacus, i, 112.
- Lentenses, The, subdued by Gratian, i, 522.
- Leo I, emperor, ii, 122; the first emperor crowned by an ecclesiastical authority, 123; able rule, 123; long prevented from opposing the Vandals by Aspar, 123, ransoms the empress Eudoxia, 123; begins important change in the army by substituting Isaurians for Teutons, 123; sends great Armada against the Vandals, 124, causes Aspar to be assassinated, 125; surrenders island of Jotaba, 125, death, 125.
- Leo II, emperor, son of Leo I, death at five years old, ii, 125.
- Leo III, emperor, ii, 550; able defence of Constantinople during a year's siege by the Saracens, 550, crushingly defeats them, 551, birth of a son, 552; decadent condition of the empire at his accession, 554, breathes new life into it, 554; numerous and radical reforms, 555; begins the war against images, 555, opposite opinions regarding his Iconoclastic policy, 556, his mistaken methods, 556; first action in the contest, 559, suppresses the college of Constantinople, 560, storm raised in Italy, 561, endeavours to force Germanus, Pope of Constantinople, to agree to the Iconoclastic policy, 562, deposes him, 562, sends fleet to Italy to seize Gregory III, Pope of Rome, 575; transfers the dioceses of southern Italy to the eastern patriarchate, 576; orders the much revered picture of the *Hodêgêtria*, to be burnt, 579; severely defeats the Saracens at battle of Acromon 582; promulgates code of the Roman laws for the first time drawn up in Greek, 582; its preamble, 582; attaches to it three important subsidiary codes, 583, commerce and wealth of the empire in his time, 585, security to life and property, 586, Later Roman Empire as reorganized by him superior to empire of Charlemagne, 586; contrast between it and the kingdoms
- of the West, 586, breathes a new spirit into the army, 586; character and achievements, 591, death, 591.
- Leo the Great, Pope of Rome, birth, ii, 108; character, 108; becomes Bishop of Rome, 108; his letter (the Tome) written to Fourth General Council, 105; attempts to alter decision of the General Council regarding precedence of Rome over Constantinople, 107; meets with a refusal, 107; utilizes name of Rome to exalt his see, 109; adopts unlawful methods, 109, marked coldness of the empress Galla Placidia towards him, 109-110, shameful conduct towards Hilary of Arles, 110, meeting with Attila at the Mincio, 114; induces Attila to retire, 114, powerful personality, 115; death, 126, writer of many of the collects in Prayerbook of the Church of England, 126.
- Leonides, father of Origen, i, 294, martyred at Alexandria in Fifth persecution, 294.
- Leontius, joins revolt raised by the empress Verina, ii, 147; death, 147.
- Leontius, usurper, commands army sent by Justinian II against Iberia, ii, 511, revolts against him, 513, seizes the throne, 514, banished, 519; put to death, 523.
- Leovigild, king of the Visigoths, ii, 350, fiery nature, 350, hatred against the Catholic religion, 350; marries his eldest son to daughter of Sigibert, king of Austrasia, 351, banishes his son for accepting the Catholic faith, 352; makes war upon him, 352, defeats king of the Suevi and annexes his kingdom, 352; captures his son and puts him to death, 352; death, 352.
- Lepidus, member of triumvirate with Marc Antony and Octavius, i, 5, given rule of North Africa, 6, defeated by Sextus Pompeius, 7.
- Lepidus, husband of Caligula's sister Drusilla, put to death by Caligula, i, 90.
- Letters of Ignatius, apparent mistake as to their date, i, 225.
- Lex de Majestate, law regarding crimes against the State, i, 57, its scope much extended by Tiberius, 57, by abuse becomes a means for venting personal hatred, 68; employed by Sejanus and Agrippina to remove each other's adherents, 68.
- Libanian, Pagan rhetorician, relates Julian's conversations with the gods, i, 476-477, instructor of Chrysostom, 561.
- Liberius, Bishop of Rome, banished and imprisoned by Constantius, i, 460, gives way and signs the Arian Creed, 460; erects the Liberian Basilica in Rome, 460.
- Lucianus, son of Lucianus and Constantia, mysteriously put to death at twelve years old, i, 416.
- Lucianus, Emperor, given by Galerius the rank of *Augustus*, i, 371; makes an alliance with Constantine, 377; married to Constantia at Milan, 377; defeats Maximin, 378; puts to death his wife and children, 378; makes war upon Constantine, 379; defeated at battle of Cibalae, 379; again defeated at battle of Mardia, 380; left with the rule of four provinces, 380; cruelly puts to death the empresses Prisca and Valeria, 381, again makes war upon Constantine, 400, defeated at battle of Hadrianople, 401; again defeated at battle of Chrysopolis, 401; at intercession of Constantia his life

- spared, 401, retires to Thessalonica, 401; conspires against Constantine and executed, 401.
- Lumenius, Prefect of Gaul, killed in massacre at Pavia under Honorius, ii, 40.
- Limes, The, fortified rampart between the Rhine and the Danube, i, 211; strengthened by Trajan, 210, reconstructed of stone by Probus, 340.
- Lindsfarne, called "the Holy Isle," ii, 435, community planted there from Iona by Aidan, 435, schools for teaching missionaries the Anglian language, 435; large part of England converted from thence, 435, sends missionaries to Germany, 471.
- Linus, first Bishop of Rome, appointed by St Peter, i, 156, contrast between him and first Bishop of Antioch, 159; apparently escaped from Rome before the persecution by Nero, 171; mentioned by St. Paul at his second visit to Rome, 171.
- Literature, principal writers and their works in time of Augustus, i, 17-18, in time of Nero, 141, 146 and 271; in time of Trajan, 109 and 271; in 2nd century, 272; in 3rd century, 367; in 4th century, 588-589; in 5th century, ii, 8, 21, 23 and 139.
- Luitprand, chosen king of the Lombards, ii, 563; forces Farwald, duke of Spoleto to restore Classis, 563; captures and destroys Classis, 564; annual laws, 564; triangular duel with Exarch and Pope of Rome, 564, subdues dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum, 565, misrepresented as a champion against Iconoclasm, 565; assists Charles Martel against the Saracens, 570, attacks Rome and takes four cities of the imperial territory, 570.
- Livia, first empress, daughter of Livius Drusus Claudianus, i, 27; greatness of the Claudian family, 28, married at fifteen to Tiberius Claudius, 28; suffers dangers and hardships while accompanying him in the civil war, 28; induces him to divorce her and marries Octavius (afterwards Augustus), 28, beauty and attractions, 29; importance to Octavius of this marriage, 29, her good sense and moderation, 29; considered by the Romans "the perfect model of a lady of high society," 30; speech in the Senate regarding her, 30; becomes the first of all empresses, 31; strong artistic tastes, 31; her two sons, 31, abuse heaped upon her by the party of Scribonia, 32; mortification she was forced to endure, 33, loss of her younger son, 33; at seventy-two left a widow, 34; Augustus' dying speech to her, 33; disagreements with her son Tiberius, 34; her death, 34; her high character, 35; generosity and humane disposition, 36; her house on the Palatine hill, 36; paintings with which adorned, 36; her villa on the Flaminian Way, 37; paintings of its atrium, 37, tomb of her chief servants on the Appian Way, 37.
- Livia Orestilla, bride of Caius Piso, carried off by Caligula, i, 87; after a few days divorced and banished, 87.
- Livilla, daughter of Drusus and Antonia, i, 60; married to Drusus, son of Tiberius 60; corrupted by Sejanus and under his influence poisons Drusus, 67; takes refuge with her mother Antonia and starves herself to death, 70.
- Livy, principal historian during reign of Augustus, i, 17; death, 18.
- Loyothetae*, The, tax-collectors of Justinian, ii, 255; their vicious practices, 255, their operations in North Africa, 268; cause a revolt, 268, destroy for a time the prosperity of North Africa, 269.
- Lolha, wife of Memmus Regulus, i, 87, taken as a wife by Caligula, 87; divorced, 87.
- Lolha Paulina, banished by Agrippina, i, 114; tribute sent by latter with orders to bring back her head, 114.
- Lombards, The, originally situated on the Elbe, ii, 294; name derived from that district, 294; instigated by Justinian to attack the Gepidae, 294; fierce wars with them, 295; call in the Avars for their assistance, 325; exterminate the Gepidae, and take Noricum and Pannonia, 325; invade Italy, 327; their ferocity specially noted, 327; rapid conquest, 328; trample Italy under foot, 329, ten years' anarchy, 332; Autharis made king, 355; attacked by Austrasia, 356; Autharis married to Thudalinda, 357; at his death Thudalinda married to Agulf, 357; change in the Lombards wrought by her, 358; reverence of the Lombards for her memory, 425; Rotharis, 430; his code of laws, 431; Bavarian line of Lombard kings, 477; Apulia and Calabria taken from the Lombards by Constans II, 480, Luitprand, 563; consolidates the Lombard kingdom, 564.
- London, captured and destroyed by Boadicea, i, 133; Roman colony there re-established by Hadrian, 227, given title of Londinium Augusta by Valentinian I, 501; British Mint established by him, 501; large export of corn from the port of London, 501.
- Long hair carefully arranged a custom of the Merovingian family, ii, 154.
- Longinianus, Prefect of Italy, killed in massacre at Pavia under Honorius, ii, 40.
- Longines, Count of Isauria, heads revolt of the Isaurians against Anastasius I, ii, 158.
- Longinus, brother of emperor Zeno, attempts to seize the throne, ii, 152.
- Longinus of Cardala, Isaurian official, joins revolt against Anastasius I, ii, 158.
- Longinus, Prefect of Ravenna, captivated by Rosamund, ii, 332.
- Long Wall, The, a wall and canal, constructed by Anastasius I, ii, 160.
- Lothaire, with his brother Bucelin, leads a raid of Franks and Allemanni into Italy, ii, 311, ravages southern Italy, 311; departs for Brenner Pass with much spoil, 311, dies near Trent, 311.
- Lucan, poet, implicated in conspiracy of Piso against Nero, i, 146; tries to purchase safety by involving his mother, 143; put to death, 146.
- Lucia, St., martyred at Syracuse in Tenth persecution, i, 360.
- Lucian, St., martyred at Beauvais in Tenth persecution, i, 360.
- Lucian, Count of the East, beaten to death by Rufinus, ii, 11.
- Lucilla, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, i, 247, married to Lucius Verus, 248; second marriage, 253; organizes plot against her brother Commodus, 277; banished and put to death, 277.
- Lucius I, Bishop of Rome, martyred in Sixth persecution, ii, 321.
- Lucius Caesar, son of Marcus Agrippa and

- Julia, adopted by Augustus, i, 33; death at Marseilles, 34.
- Luke, St, writes at Caesarea the Gospel of St. Luke, i, 151, accompanies St. Paul to Rome, 151, writes there the Acts of the Apostles, 153.
- Lupicinus, official of Valens, i, 521.
- Lutetia (Paris), favourite city of Juhan, i, 470; practically founded by him, 470; palace there built by him still remaining, 470.
- Luxury in time of the Roman Republic, Instances of, i, 15.
- Lyons, Events at, in Fourth persecution, i, 282.
- Lysippus, sculptor in zenith of Greek art, i, 430.
- MACEDONIA, ravaged by the Huns, ii, 88.
- Macedonian heresy, The, i, 536.
- Macedonius, Archbishop of Constantinople in 4th century, i, 536.
- Macedonius, Pope of Constantinople in 5th century, ii, 161, exiled by Anastasius I, 161.
- Maecianus, chief of the Magi, becomes minister of Valerian, i, 325; induces him to order slaughter of the Christians, 326, treacherously causes destruction of Valerian and whole Roman army, 324, sets up an independent kingdom, 331; overthrown by Odenathus and Zenobia, 332.
- Macrinus, emperor, after assassinating Caracalla procures his own election, i, 305; causes Julia Domna to commit suicide and banishes Julia Messa, 305, defeated and slain, 305.
- Macro, made by Tiberius commander of the Praetorian Guards, i, 70; put to death by Caligula, 87.
- Magarize, To, meaning of the term, ii, 539.
- Magi, priests of the religion of Zoroaster, i, 325; name subsequently applied to priests of any eastern religion, 325.
- Magical arts, Fantastic charges regarding use of, i, 507.
- Magie ring suspended over metal dish, i, 513.
- Magnentius, usurper, kills Constans I, i, 454; puts to death Nepotian and his mother Eutropia, 454; defeated by Constantius at battle of Mursa, 458; death, 458.
- Mahomed, Prophet, ii, 435, his new religion, 435; fight to Medina, 436, takes Mecca, 436; incorporates reverence for the *Kaaba* in the new religion, 436, subdues most of Arabia, 436; death, 436.
- Mahomedans, The, ii, 436; their rapid sweep of conquest, 436, attack Syria, 437, spirit in which they fought, 437; unfair estimate formed of the Romans in this contest, 437; defeat of men determined to die, 438, "those who love death," 439; similar results seen in regard to the Persians, 440, battles of Ajnadain, Pella, and Marjasuffar, 441; capture of Damascus, 442; battle of the Yermuk, 443; capture of Jerusalem, 444, conquest of Mesopotamia, 444, attack upon Persia, 449; battles of "the Chams" and the "River of Blood," 449, battles of Firdah, Bowsib, and Kadesia, 450; Ctesiphon taken and destroyed, 450; battles of Yalulah and Nehavend, 450, Persia conquered, 450, Bagdad and Basra founded, 451; Scinde subdued, 451; Egypt attacked, 451; seven battles fought in nine months, 451; Alexandria taken, 458; Cairo founded, 459, first invasion of North Africa, 459; battle of Sufetula, 460; retire again to Egypt, 460; capture of Rhodes and Cyprus, 472, naval battle of Phœnix, 472, permanent division among the Mahomedans, 473; two rival Khalifs, 473; Sunnis and Shiah, 473; capital removed from Medina to Damascus, 473; Omeyyad dynasty established, 473; new policy inaugurated regarding those refusing to become Mahomedans, 473; capture Carthage, but again driven out of North Africa by Constans II, 481, Okba sent to attack North Africa, 492; founds Karowan, 492; five years' siege of Constantinople, 493; crushing defeat, 495; tragedy of Kerbela, destroying last descendants of the Prophet, 501; Okba's raid in North Africa, 508; Khalif Abdul Malik surrenders Armenia, Iberia, Arzanena, and Atropatne, 511, Carthage captured and destroyed, 518, Mahomedans again driven out of North Africa, 520, severely defeated in Cilicia, 520; advance under Musa from Egypt against North Africa, 531; in five years' campaign conquer North Africa, 533; slaughter of the Roman population, 538-542, advance against Spain, 546, battle of Lake Janda, 547; conquer Spain, 548; put in force new policy there, 548; conquer large part of northern India, 549; great siege of Constantinople under Omar II, 551, effect of its defeat upon the Omeyyad dynasty, 552; Abdul Rahman invades France, 567; great battle of Poitiers, 569; Mahomedans crushingly defeated and retire into Spain, 570.
- Mahomedan era, The, ii, 436.
- Mailed cavalry, first organized by Constantius i, 462; their armament, ii, 205.
- Main road from Constantinople to the West, Route of, i, 471, distances by, 611.
- Maestas*, Law of, i, 68.
- Manuel, general of Heraclius, defends Alexandria for 14 months, ii, 451; forced to surrender the city, 458, makes ineffectual endeavour to recover it, 459.
- Marble for buildings in Rome, whence chiefly imported, i, 16; magnitude of the trade, 242, different kinds used in Baths of Caracalla, 303.
- Marc Antony, contest with Octavius, i, 5; joins with him in a triumvirate, 6, wins battle of Philippi, 6, obtains rule of the East, 6; proposes to found an independent empire with Cleopatra, 7, divorces Octavia in favour of Cleopatra, 7, defeated at battle of Actium, 7, commits suicide, 7.
- Marcella, niece of Augustus, married to Marcus Agrippa, i, 10; divorced, 11.
- Marcellinus, Ammianus, see Ammianus.
- Marcellinus, imperial treasurer, assists the usurper Magnentius, i, 456.
- Marcellinus, Count of Illyricum, his words regarding end of western half of the empire, ii, 128, his writings, 139.
- Marcellus, nephew of Augustus, i, 11.
- Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, one of the two chief speakers at First General Council, i, 409.
- Marcia Furnilla, second wife of Titus, i, 185.
- Marcia, holds almost the position of empress after death of Crispina, i, 278; tries to prevent Commodus from appearing as a

- gladiator, 278; protects Christians, 278; joins in causing death of Commodus, 278.
- Marcian, emperor, chosen by Pulcheria and married by her, ii, 92, refuses to pay the tribute to Attila, 92; after Pulcheria's death reigns in his own right, 117; abstains from rendering help against the Vandals owing to a vow, 122, death, 122; testimony of posterity to the excellence of his rule, 153.
- Marcian, general, defeats the Persians at battle of Sargathon, ii, 334.
- Marciana, sister of Trajan, i, 211.
- Marcomanni, The, ravage Rætia, Noricum, and Pannonia for 14 years, i, 249-255; immense number of captives carried off by them, 249; peace concluded by Commodus, 276; given by Gallienus a large part of Pannonia, 333.
- Marcus Agrippa, commands fleet at battle of Actium, i, 7; constant companion and adviser of Augustus, 10; married to Marcella, 10; builds the Pantheon, three aqueducts at Rome, and the aqueduct at Nismes, 11; divorced from Marcella and married to Julia, 11; death, 11.
- Marcus Aurelius, emperor, specially chosen by Hadrian, i, 246; education, 246; at eleven years old becomes a Stoic, 246; attractive character, 247, married to Faustina, 247; becomes emperor, 247; his "Meditations," 247; series of public calamities, 249; numerous duties performed by him, 250; operations against the Marcomanni and Quadi, 251; proceeds to the Rhine, 253, called thence to Syria to meet a revolt, 253; death of Faustina, 254; honours paid by him to her memory, 254; proceeds to Egypt, 254; publishes edict for general massacre of Christians throughout the empire, 255; again proceeds to the Danube provinces to oppose the Marcomanni and Quadi, 255; death from infectious disease, 255; his equestrian statue in Rome, 256; solemn ceremonies with which he inaugurated the first general persecution of Christians, 259; general character of the persecution, 260-265; thus action considered the great blot upon his character and reign, 265; endeavours which have been made to palliate it, 266; his action bluntly declared by Pagan writers due to expediency, 266; contrast between his deed and the sentiments expressed in his writings, 267; his casting aside the principles of his two predecessors, 268; condemnation of his deed by John Stuart Mill, 269.
- Marcus the Deacon, his account of the birth of Theodosius II, ii, 27-28.
- Mardia, Battle of, Victory of Constantine over Lucinus, i, 380.
- Margaret, St., daughter of a Pagan priest, martyred at Antioch in Tenth persecution, i, 360.
- Margus, Battle of, won by Diocletian against Carnus, i, 344.
- Maria, Sta., in Trastevere, Church of, in Rome, founded in reign of Alexander Severus, i, 310.
- Maria, empress, daughter of Stilicho, married to Honorius, ii, 14, death, 37.
- Maria, empress, wife of Leo III, ii, 553; bears a son, 553; munificence at her coronation, 553.
- Marina, second daughter of Arcadius and Eudoxia, ii, 16, death, 92.
- Maritime Code, The, of Leo III, ii, 582; comprehensive character, 583; becomes the universal code for sea traffic during the Middle Ages, 583; basis of the maritime laws of all nations, 583; also called the Rhodian Code, 583.
- Mark, St., sent by St. Peter to Egypt, i, 122; founds the Church of Alexandria, 124; apparently at Rome shortly before St. Peter was martyred, 169; sent for by St. Paul, 170.
- Martin, St., of Tours, ii, 189.
- Martin I, Pope of Rome, ii, 468; defies the edict of Constans II, 469; trial and banishment, 470; death, 470.
- Martina, empress, second wife of Heraclius, ii, 403; joins Heraclius in Pontus after his first campaign against the Persians, 412; accompanies him during several of his campaigns, 419; returns with him to Chalcedon, 422, disturbed about his health, 443, left by his will the supreme authority in conjunction with three of his sons, 456; opposed by the Senate, 457; orders the army of Thrace to the capital, 457; deprived of authority by the Senate, banished, and her tongue mutilated, 457; ability and force of character, 458.
- Martyrdoms, Number of, Dr. Arnold's words on the point, i, 261.
- Martyropolis, Battle of, defeat of the Persians at, ii, 342.
- Masezel, appeals against his brother Gildo the Moor, ii, 14.
- Massacre, The Vatican, by Nero, i, 163; description by Tacitus, 164; by a Christian writer of modern times, 166; names of some of those slain, 167-168.
- Massacre of the Gothic boy hostages, i, 526.
- Masterpieces, Greek, taken from disused Pagan temples to adorn Constantinople, i, 422.
- Matasuntha, daughter of Theodorice's daughter Amalasantha, ii, 216; forcibly married by Witigis, 221; carried captive to Constantinople, 245; treated as a friend by the empress Theodora, 245; after death of Witigis married to Justinian's nephew Germanus, 296; bears him a posthumous son, 296.
- Matidia, niece of Trajan, i, 230.
- Matthew, St., takes as his sphere southern Egypt and Ethiopia, i, 122; writes his Gospel, 155; martyred in Egypt, 170.
- Matthias, St., preaches in Judæa, and martyred there, i, 123.
- Maturus, young son of Attalus, martyred at Lyons in Fourth persecution, i, 263-264.
- Mauretania, given by Augustus to Juba, i, 8; annexed by Claudius, 101.
- Mauriac Plain, Great battle of the, ii, 100; its site, 100; decided whether Europe in future to be Teuton or Tartar, 101; no tactics employed, 101; furious charges of the Huns, 102; victory of the allies, 102; immense slaughter in the two armies, 102; Theodorice, king of the Visigoths, killed, 102; retreat of the Huns, 102; legends regarding the battle, 102.
- Maurice, emperor, success as commander on Persian frontier, ii, 336; invades Carduene, 336; succeeds Tiberius II as emperor, 339, marriage to his daughter

- Constantina, 339; high character and ability, 340; his difficulties, 340; attitude in religious matters, 341; successes and reverses in Persian war, 341; by sagacious action in regard Chosroes II brings the war to a successful end, 342; curbs the Avars, 343; instigates Brunhilda to attack the Lombards, 356; refuses to annul election of Gregory the Great, 362, objects to latter's action in concluding a peace with Lombard duke of Spoleto, 368; the first to realize value of Armens as a recruiting ground, 374; by an ill-timed order causes mutiny of the troops on the Danube, 375; takes refuge at Chalcedon, 376; slain with his six sons by Phocas, 376.
- Mauritius, Prefect of Rome, intercedes for St. Clement, i, 222.
- Maurus, Archbishop of Ravenna, n, 481.
- Maurus Bessus, sent by Justinian II to destroy Cherson, n, 525; revolts, 525; kills the boy Tiberius, ending the dynasty of Heraclius, 525.
- Mausoleum of Hadrian, i, 233; its three stories decorated with statues, 233; spoliation it has suffered, 233.
- Mausoleum of Diocletian, i, 379.
- Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, ii, 96; mosaics, 96, three notable sarcophagi, 97, her alabaster sarcophagus, 98; buried in it sitting in her chair, and remained thus for eleven centuries, 98.
- Mausoleum of Theodoric the Great, ii, 187.
- Maxentius, emperor, brutal character and incapacity, i, 371; revolts against Severus, 371; banishes his father Maximian, 371; tyrannical rule of Italy, 373, prepares to attack Constantine, 373, defeated at Saxa Rubra and drowned, 376.
- Maxentius, Circus of, i, 373.
- Maximian, emperor, chosen as colleague by Diocletian, i, 346; character, 346; conquers Moorish tribes in North Africa, 348; celebrates triumph with Diocletian at Rome, 351; abdicates at Milan, 352; resumes the throne, 371; defeats Severus, 371; marries his daughter Fausta to Constantine, 371, banished by his son Maxentius, 371; takes refuge with Constantine at Trèves, 372; makes two attempts against Constantine's life, 372, upon second attempt forced to commit suicide, 372.
- Maximianus, Archbishop of Ravenna, supposed author of the *Anonymus Valesii*, ii, 168; carries out works constructed at Ravenna in Justinian's reign, 274; consecrates church of St. Vitalis, 275; adorns chapel of the Archbishops with mosaics, 282; consecrates church of St. Apollinare in Classe, 282; sarcophagus and ivory throne, 282.
- Maximin, emperor, barbarian shepherd of Thrace, i, 310, immense height, 310; promoted by Caracalla, 310; revolts against Alexander Severus, 309; brutal character, 310; drives back the Allemanni, 310; murdered, 310.
- Maximin, appointed *Caesar* under Galerius, i, 352, revolts against Licinius, 378; defeated by him, 378; flies from Nicomedia, 378; commits suicide, 378.
- Maximin, sent by Justinian as Prefect to Italy, ii, 257.
- Maximnus, official of Valens, i, 521.
- Maximus, usurper, revolts against Gratian, i, 551; brutal character, 551; usurps Gaul, 551; bribes Gratian's troops, 552; establishes himself at Trèves, 559; designs upon Italy foiled by Ambrose and Bauto, 559, invades Italy, 563; defeated at Siscia and Pœtovic, 563; put to death, 564.
- Maximus, chosen by the Senate to succeed Valentinian III, ii, 120; forces the widowed empress Eudoxia to marry him, 120; torn to pieces by the people, 121.
- Mazdak, earliest teacher of socialism, ii, 159.
- Medical aid, Regular system for, established by Valentinian I, i, 507.
- Melchades, Bishop of Rome when the city was taken by Constantine, i, 377.
- Meletus, Pope of Antioch, presides at Second General Council, i, 536.
- Mellitus, appointed Bishop of the East Saxons, ii, 432; forced to fly to France, 433.
- Menestheus, by forgery causes murder of emperor Aurelian, i, 337.
- Merdasan, Mahomedan general, defeated by Leo III, ii, 551.
- Merobaudes, general, a Frank, faithful adviser of Gratian, i, 516; accompanies him to oppose Maximus, 552; put to death by Maximus, 553.
- Merogais, Frank king, slain in amphitheatre at Trèves, i, 371.
- Merovech, king of the Salian Franks, ancestor of the Merovingian dynasty in France, ii, 154.
- Merovech, son of Chilperic I, marries Brunhilda and assists her to escape, ii, 347; seized and forced to become a priest, 348; assassinated, 348.
- Merovingian dynasty, The, of the Franks founded, ii, 156.
- Mesopotamia conquered by the Mahomedans, ii, 444; fertile condition when taken by them, 445.
- Messalina, *see* Valeria Messalina.
- Metropolitan, Title of, begun to be used, i, 329, definitely adopted by Second General Council, 508, jurisdiction carefully defined, 509, Metropolitans grouped under Popes, 536; their rights vindicated by Hilary of Arles, ii, 110-111.
- Miklagard, name of the Goths for Constantinople, its meaning, i, 424.
- Milan, capital of second section of the empire under Diocletian, i, 347, capital of western half of the empire under Valentinian I, 495, the see of St. Ambrose, 513; its cathedral built by Gratian, 545; made his capital for three years by Theodosius I, 564; his death there, 571, besieged by Alaric, ii, 25; capital transferred from it to Ravenna, 31.
- Milan, Edict of, i, 385; its terms, 385.
- Milan, Cathedral of (now church of St. Ambrose), built by Gratian on site of ruined Temple of Bacchus, i, 545; porphyry columns of latter used to support canopy of high altar, and still remaining, 545, its doors closed in the face of Theodosius I, 568; its *atrium*, 567; tomb of St. Ambrose, 567; the "Iron Crown" kept in this church for eight centuries, 567.
- Milon, The, gold milestone set up in Constantinople, i, 422.
- Military service, compulsory in time of the Roman Republic, ii, 133, voluntary in time of the Roman emperors, i, 19; system of, under the Lombards, ii, 423.

- Military Code of Leo III, ii, 584; its comprehensive character, 584; demonstrates a strict discipline, 584.
- Milvian Bridge, Battle of the, *see* Saxa Rubra.
- Minervina, first wife of Constantine, i, 369; her son Crispus born, 370; divorced, 371.
- Minor works of art in 4th century, i, 581.
- Mint, British, in London in 4th century, i, 501.
- Mirrors, Corridor lined with, i, 192.
- Mishna, The, sacred book of the Jews, i, 184.
- Mistheus, capable minister of Gordian III, i, 311, death, 312.
- Misleading picture drawn by Gibbon of the emperor Gratian, i, 517, 528, 533, and 548-550.
- Misopogon*, The, satire written by Julian, i, 482.
- Mistaken view formerly held regarding Later Roman Empire, ii, 157; curious remark by Mr Lecky, 157.
- Mizizios, usurper in Sicily, ii, 483, executed, 483.
- Modesta, martyred in Second persecution, i, 196.
- Moesia, division of, by Aurelian, i, 335.
- Mohurrum, annual celebration of mourning for the slaughter of Hassan and Hosein, last descendants of the Prophet, by the Omeyyad dynasty, ii, 501.
- Money, Relative value of, during 5th to 8th centuries, ii, 616.
- Monica, mother of St. Augustine, i, 562; prays for many years for his conversion, 562; lives to see him baptized, 562; death at Ostia, 562.
- Monophysite heresy, The, ii, 104; meaning of name, 104 (*see also* Eutychian).
- Monothelite heresy, The, ii, 447; meaning of name, 447; accepted by Popes of Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, 447; firm stand against it of Sophronius, Pope of Jerusalem, 447.
- Monte Cassino, Monastery of, founded by St. Benedict, ii, 258; rules drawn up for it, 258; made a home of learning, 259; renowned library, 259; sacked by the Lombards, 328.
- Montaus, quæstor of the palace murdered, by Gallus, i, 469.
- Moors, The, indigenous tribes of North Africa, ii, 527; properly Berbers, 527; attack the Saracens, 519; drive them back into Egypt, 520; defeated at Thysdrus, 532; large numbers of them slain, 537; accept Mahomedanism, 537; form advanced force sent against Spain, 546; give their name to the Mahomedan conquerors in Spain, 548.
- Mosaic pavement at Nennig, near Trèves, i, 507; mosaics in North Africa, ii, 81-83; in church of St. Vitalis, Ravenna, 197; in church of St. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, 276-280.
- Mosaic pictures of chariots racing and racing stables in 4th century, ii, 82-83.
- Moslemah, brother of Khalif Sulaiman, ii, 550; leads army to attack Constantinople, 550; unsuccessful siege of the city, 551; abandons the siege, 551.
- Mosque of Omar, built by him in Jerusalem, ii, 444.
- Motanna, Mahomedan general in Persia, ii, 450; wins battle of Bowsif, 450.
- Mount Badon, Battle of, severe defeat of the Saxons at by King Arthur, ii, 163.
- Muawiyah I, fourth Khalif, ii, 473; defeats force sent against him from Constantinople, 459; begins creation of a fleet, 469; belonged to Omeyyad branch of the Prophet's family, 473; chosen rival Khalif to Ali, 473; causes division among the Mahomedans, 473, becomes sole Khalif, 473; removes capital from Medina to Damascus, 473; establishes the Omeyyad dynasty of Khalifs, 473; poisons Hassan, elder grandson of the Prophet, 473; alters character of the Kalifate, 473; makes incursions into Asia Minor, 481; sends expedition against Sicily, 489; ambitious designs, 492; sends Okba against North Africa, 492; prepares immense Armada to besiege Constantinople, 493; puts forth whole resources during five years to gain Constantinople, 494; sustains signal defeat, 494; his spirit crushed, asks for peace, and agrees to pay tribute, 495; death, 499.
- Mucapor, general, murders Aurelian owing to a forgery, i, 337.
- Murdock Moor, Battle of, victory of Agricola over the Scots, i, 188.
- Mursa, Battle of, victory of Constantius over the usurper Magnentius, i, 458.
- Musa, Mahomedan governor of Egypt, ii, 531; advances against North Africa, 531; wins battle at Thysdrus, 532; cities in succession taken by him, 533-536; at end of five years' campaign reaches Tanger, 536; leaves no remnant of the Roman population alive, 536; sends a force into Spain, 546; himself follows with larger force, 547; takes Seville and Merida and subdues Spain, 547; inaugurates a new policy, 548; recalled to Damascus, 549, disgraced and returns to Mecca, 549; death, 549.
- Musc, Ambrosian, ii, 369; Gregorian, 369.
- Myron, sculptor belonging to zenith of Greek art, i, 430.
- NACHORAGAN, Persian general, flayed alive by Chosroes I, ii, 294.
- Næmorus, commander of the guards, killed in massacre at Pavia under Honorius, ii, 40.
- Name of Rome, Influence exercised upon mankind by, ii, 17.
- Name *Later Roman Empire* used from 476 to 1453, Preface, p. xi; reasons for so doing, xi.
- Name *Germanic Roman Empire*, reasons for using it in preference to Western Roman Empire, Preface, p. xii.
- Narcissus, leading minister of Claudius, i, 102; induces Claudius to put Valeria Messalina to death, 108; opposes Agrippina, protecting claims of the boy Britannicus, 110; banishment and death, 114.
- Narses, king of Persia, defeats Galerius, i, 348; subsequently defeated by him, 348; surrenders Mesopotamia and five districts beyond the Tigris, 348.
- Narses, Grand Chamberlain of Justinian, ii, 296; appointed to command fresh army for conquest of Italy, 296; appearance and character, 297, given a free hand as regards money, 297; large army collected, 297; advances to Salona, 298; slow movements, 298; opposed by the Franks, 300; march along the seashore, 300; reaches Ravenna, 300; advances by valley of the Cesano, 300; gains pass of Ad Ensem,

- 300; defeats Totila at battle of Helvillum, 302; takes Rome, 303; war of extermination against the Ostrogoths, 303; crushes them at battle of Angrî, 304; meets raid of Franks and Allemanni, 311; restores order in Italy, 312; his rule unpopular, 326; superseded by Justin II, 326; retires to Naples, 326; invited back to Rome, 326; death, 326.
- Narses, able general of the emperor Maurice, ii, 394, burnt to death by Phocas, 394.
- Naval power, First use of, by Constantine, i, 373.
- Navy, The Roman, naval battle of Actium, i, 7, imperial fleet created by Augustus, 20; its two stations, 20; description of ships used, 20; naval battle of Phenix, ii, 472; of Constantinople under Constantine IV, 493-494; of Constantinople under Leo III, 550-552; invention and use of the "Romæc fire," 493.
- Nebrius, Prefect of Gaul, his brave faithfulness to Constantius, i, 473.
- Nechtansmere, Battle of, Egferth and whole Northumbrian army destroyed by the Scots, ii, 515.
- Nectaridus, Count of the Saxon Shore under Valentinian I, killed in resisting a raid of the Saxons upon Britain, i, 500.
- Nehavend, Battle of, crowning victory of the Mahomedans over Persia, ii, 460.
- Nepotian, nephew of Constantine, put to death with his mother Eutropia by the usurper Magnentius, i, 454.
- Nero, son of Germanicus and Agrippina the elder, i, 65; honours obtained for him by Tiberius, 65, married to Tiberius' grand-daughter Julia, 67, led by Sejanus to conspire against Tiberius, 68; tried by the Senate and imprisoned, 69; commits suicide, 69.
- Nero, emperor, son of Domitius Ahenobarbus and Agrippina the younger, i, 90; speech of his father at his birth, 90; adopted by Claudius, 110; married to Claudius' daughter, Octavia, 114, made emperor by artifices of Agrippina, 125, appearance and character, 125-128; falls in love with Acte, 127; poisons Britannicus, 128; struggle with his mother, 129; falls under dominion of Poppæa Sabina, 130; murders his mother, 130; triumphal pageant in the Circus Maximus, 132, wild revel of excesses, 132-133; murders Octavia, 135; marries Poppæa, 135; tries and acquits St Paul, 153; plans to build a new palace, 135; causes Rome to be set on fire, 136; accuses the Christians of causing the fire, 137; causes them to be tortured in various inhuman ways, 160, massacre in the Vatican gardens, 162-163; description of it by Tacitus, 164; begins construction of the "Golden House," 138, description of it by Suetonius, 139; its interior decorations, 139-140; climax of "the Terror," 141-142; aspect it presented to Tacitus, 143-144; fawning servility of all around Nero, 145; conspiracy of Piso, 146; Nero kills Poppæa, 147; murders Antonia, 147; marries Stæthia Messalina, 147; confers crown of Armenia upon Tiridates, 147; visits Greece, 147, puts to death Corbulo, 147; flies from Rome, 148; commits suicide, 148; buried by Acte, 148; his memory execrated, 148.
- Nerva, emperor, i, 201; just rule, 202; associates Trajan with himself, 202; completes Forum known by his name, 202, death, 202.
- Nestorian heresy, The, ii, 75; condemned by Third General Council, 77; widely adopted from the Euphrates to China, 78.
- Nestorius, Pope of Constantinople, ii, 75, character, 75; doctrine put forward by him, 75; General Council summoned to determine its orthodoxy, 76; refuses to appear, 77; deposed from his office, 77, banished to Antioch, 78.
- Neustria, north-western part of the Frank kingdom, with capital at Soissons, ii, 345.
- Nevitta, general under Julian, i, 472.
- New Testament, Books of the, when and where written, i, 204-208.
- Nibelungen Lied*, The, Attila's history transformed therein, ii, 117.
- Nibelungen Rmg*, The, composed from the *Nibelungen Lied* and the *Edda*, ii, 117.
- Nicæa, chosen as place of assembly of First General Council, i, 407; position and surroundings, 407.
- Nicene Creed, The, drawn up, i, 411; its object, 411, subsequent value to mankind, 411.
- Nicephorus, writer in 8th century, ii, 452.
- Nicetas, commands force sent by Heraclius the elder against Egypt, ii, 396; captures Alexandria and defeats forces of Phocas, 396.
- Nicolaitans, Sect of the, in 1st century, i, 186.
- Nicomedes, martyred in Second persecution, i, 196.
- Nicomedia, capital of the fourth section of the empire under Diocletian, i, 347; death there of Constantine, 441.
- Niger, chosen emperor by legions in Syria, i, 280, defeated and killed by Septimius Severus, 281.
- Nika insurrection, The, ii, 201; destruction caused, 201; rival emperor chosen, 202; flight proposed by the Council, 203; opposed by Theodora, 203, the insurrection subdued, 204; effect upon Justinian's position thenceforth, 214.
- Niobe* group of statuary, one of the works adorning the palace of Augustus, i, 25; where afterwards found, 25; now at Florence, 25.
- Nisibus, chief Roman stronghold on the eastern frontier, i, 302, three times besieged unsuccessfully by Sapor II, 453; surrendered to him by Jovian, 488; outcry at its surrender, 488.
- Nobleman's house in 4th century, Ruins of, called "Palace of the Labern," at Oudna, ii, 82.
- Nomisma*, gold coin, *see* Byzant.
- North Africa, invaded by the Vandals, ii, 72; its conquest by them completed, 79; great prosperity when conquered by them, 80; existing remains demonstrating splendour of its cities, 80-81; its mosaics, 82-83; reconquered by the empire, 211; arrangements for its future rule, 213; immense scheme of fortifications constructed by Justinian for its defence, 242; in reign of Constant II first attack upon it by the Mahomedans, 459, they retire again to Egypt for 14 years, 460; again advance and besage Tripoli, 478; capture Carthage, but city retaken by Capus and the

- Mahomedans driven out of the province, 481; in reign of Constantine IV again advance, 489; flourishing condition of the province, 490; numerous fortresses, 491; Okba founds Kairowan, 492; that city several times taken and retaken, 492; Okba's raid and death, 508; Kairowan again taken by the empire, 509, in reign of Justinian II Mahomedans again advance, 518; Kairowan retaken by them, 518, Carthage taken and retaken, 518; battle of Utica, 518; Carthage taken by Hassan and destroyed, 518; Mahomedans defeated by the Moors and driven out of North Africa, 519; return again to Egypt for five years, 520, eastern district had acted as a shield for 57 years, 526; description of rest of the province, 527; Roman character of its population, 528; evidences of its prosperous condition, 529; the Mahomedans in 704 again advance under Musa, 531, general course of his five years' campaign, 532; cities in succession captured and destroyed, 533; fate of the population, 537; the statement that they became Mahomedans, 539, impossibility that this can be true, 539, testimony of race, 539; testimony of the land, 540; testimony of language, 541; Musa reaches Tangier, 542; North Africa left a ruin, 542.
- North Africa, Church of, position in 3rd century, 1, 292; school of thought represented by it, 292; practical tone, 292, suffers greatly in Fifth persecution, 294; in 3rd century refuses to be dictated to by Church of Rome, 329; in 4th century suffers much discord through the Donatists, 398; in 6th century again refuses to be dictated to by Church of Rome, 1, 364; in 7th century becomes the most important part of the Church in the West, 529, in 8th century entirely destroyed by the Mahomedan invasion, 538.
- Northumbria, made by Æthelfrith the leading kingdom in Britain, 1, 355; under Edwin accepts Christianity, 433, attacked by Penda, king of Mercia, and Edwin killed, 434, Oswald king, 435; attacked by Penda, and Oswald killed, 466; Oswy king, 466; fiercely attacked by Penda, 466, Oswy victorious, 466; brings about conversion of Mercia, concluding long contest of Northumbria in cause of Christianity, 467; battle of Nechtansmere, 515; loss by Northumbria of the supremacy, 515.
- Notitia Dignitatum*, The, Official Army List and Civil List for the whole empire compiled at end of 4th century, 1, 572; important information supplied by it, 573.
- Numerian, emperor, accedes to the demands of the army for retirement from Persia, 1, 344; death, 344.
- OBELISKS, Egyptian, first two brought to Rome by Augustus, 1, 26-27; a third brought by Caligula, 89; a fourth brought by Claudius, 98; a fifth brought by Hadrian, 234; a sixth brought by Constantine, 436.
- Obelisk, The, outside church of the Lateran, 1, 436; the largest in existence, 437; taken by Constantine from Temple of the Sun at Thebes, 437; now 3512 years old, 437; words of Marcellinus regarding its removal, 437; inscriptions upon it, 438; their curious revelation regarding Constantine, 439.
- Octavia, sister of Augustus, married to Marc Antony, 1, 6; divorced in favour of Cleopatra, 7, brings up the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, 8; Portico erected to her memory by Augustus, 16.
- Octavia, daughter of Claudius and Valeria Messalina, married to Nero, 1, 114; character, 135; murdered by Nero, 135.
- Octavianus, *see* Augustus.
- Odenathus of Palmyra, married to Zenobia, 1, 332; together with her makes war upon Persia, 332; defeats Sapor I, and besieges Ctesaphon, 332; overthrows kingdom set up by the traitor Macriannus, 332; recognized by Gallienus as a colleague, 332; assassinated, 332.
- Odoacer, chosen king by the Goths in Italy, 1, 127, takes Ravenna, 127; temperate rule, 144; attacked by the Ostrogoths, 151; defeated in three battles, 151; defends Ravenna, 152; after a three years' siege capitulates, 153; treacherously murdered by Theodoric, 153.
- Odom, Count, put to death by Theodoric, 1, 168.
- Okba, Mahomedan leader in North Africa, 1, 492; founds Kairowan, 492; his raid, 508; death, 509.
- Olympiodorus, his writings, 1, 139.
- Olympius, infamous tool of the nobles for the destruction of Stilicho, 1, 37; rascality, 38; causes massacre of eight high officials friends of Stilicho, 40; murders Stilicho, 41; tortures to death his servants and friends, 42; contrives massacre of wives and children of the Teuton troops, 42; flies for his life, 50; beaten to death, 50.
- Omar, second Mahomedan Khalif, 1, 441; sends Abu Ubeida to take charge in Syria, 442; comes in person to take possession of Jerusalem, 444; kneels at shrine of Holy Sepulchre, 444; builds Mosque of Omar on site of Jewish Temple, 444; sends Abi Wakkas to Persia as his vicegerent, 450; orders Bagdad to be built on a new site, not on that of Ctesaphon, 451; founds Bussora, 451; despatches an army into Scinde, 451; takes Alexandria and destroys the Alexandrian library, 458; founds Cairo, 459; death, 459.
- Omeyyad dynasty, established by Muawiyah, the fourth Khalif, 1, 473; destroys last descendants of the Prophet at Kerbelah, 501; never recovers effect of defeat of the armada sent against Constantinople in reign of Leo III, 552; its decline and end, 552.
- Optatian, leading poet of Constantine's time, 1, 430.
- Orestes, Prefect of Egypt, intervenes in riot between Christians and Jews in Alexandria, 1, 65.
- Origen, a student at Alexandria in reign of Septimius Severus, 1, 293; plunged into poverty by the martyrdom of his father, 294, tortured in Sixth persecution, 321; death, 322.
- Orosius, Spanish ecclesiastic, mouthpiece of the clerical party opposed to Stilicho, 1, 38.
- Orshoëne, conquered by Trajan, 1, 219; finally annexed by Caracalla, 302.
- Ostia, port of, silted up, 1, 98; new harbour made by Claudius, 98.

- Ostorius Scapula, conquests in Britain, i, 111-112, death, 113.
- Ostrogoths, The, seek protection of Roman Empire, i, 522; ill-treatment, 522, rise in revolt, 522, win battle of Hadrianople, 524; ravage Thrace and Illyricum, 526; defeated by Theodosius, 529, invade Pannonia, 531; defeated by Gratian, 531; magnanimously treated by him, 532; become *federati* of the empire, 532, given lands in Pannonia and upper Moesia, 533, long held subject by the Huns, ii, 148, wars with the Suevi, 148; migrate to the Dobrudscha, 148, start under Theodoric to invade Italy, 150; defeat the Gepidæ, 150, cross Pear Tree pass into Italy, 151; win battle of the Isonzo, 151; of Verona, 151, and of the Adda, 152; capture Ravenna, 153.
- Ostrogoth kingdom, The, set up by Theodoric, ii, 165; Romans and Ostrogoths ruled with equity, 165; promulgation of laws, 168; treasonable conduct of Roman Senate, 174, Amalasintha's reign, 215; Thudabad, 216; kingdom attacked by Justinian in vengeance for Amalasintha's murder, 217; Naples captured, 220, Rome captured, 222; Ostrogoths besiege Rome, 224; siege abandoned, 229, Rimini captured, 229; Milan captured, 231; Fiesole and Osimo captured, 233; Ravenna captured, 235; king and nobles sent prisoners to Constantinople, 238; under Totila Ostrogoths regain most of Italy, 257, eight years' desultory warfare, 263-267 and 287-288; army under Narses sent to reconquer Italy, 298; fatal defeat of the Ostrogoths at battle of Helvillum and death of Totila, 302, slaughtered in a war of extermination, 303; remnant under Teias make their last stand at peninsula of Sorrento, 303; battle of Anagni, 304, death of Teias, 304; end of the Ostrogoth nation, 304; causes of their failure to establish a permanent dominion, 305.
- Oswald, Anglian king of Northumbria, ii, 436; invites Aidan to Northumbria, 435; gives him island of Lindisfarne, 435; attacked by Penda, king of Mercia, and killed at battle of Oswestry, 466; his dying speech, 466; his body refused burial by Penda, 466; owing to his character and death in the cause of Christianity canonized as St. Oswald, 466.
- Oswestry, name given to it in memory of Oswald, ii, 466
- Oswy, Anglian king of Northumbria, brother of Oswald, ii, 466; married to Banflid, daughter of Edwin, 466; animosity of Penda, 466; Oswy's daughter married to Penda's son, 466; Oswy attacked by Penda, 466; wins battle of Doncaster, 466; causes Mercia to accept Christianity, 466; assembles conference of Whitby, 487; unites with Egbert, king of Kent, in obtaining Theodore of Tarsus as Archbishop, 487; death, 488.
- Othman, third Mahomedan Khalif, ii, 459; character, 459; sends expedition against North Africa, 459; captures Cyprus and Rhodes, 472, death, 472.
- Otho, emperor, profligate companion of Nero, i, 129, refusing to divorce his wife Poppæa Sabina is sent to Gaul, 130, rules southern Gaul well for ten years, 173, joins Galba, 173; proclaimed emperor by the Praetorian Guards, 173; completes the "Golden House," 174, attacked by army of Vitellius, 174, loses battle of Bedriacum, 174; decides to end civil war by taking his own life, 174, dignified speech of farewell and suicide at Braxellum, 174, grief of the Praetorian Guards at his death, 175.
- Ovid, poet, history and writings, i, 18.
- PÆTUS, CÆCINA, put to death by Claudius, i, 102.
- Pagan ceremonies, Performance of in private prohibited by Constantine, i, 395.
- Pagan emblems on Arch of Constantine, i, 377.
- Pagan sacrifices, Contributions for, from people of Rome stopped by Gratian, i, 546.
- Palace of Augustus, i, 25-26, of Tiberius, 78; of Caligula, 91-93, of Nero, 138-140; of Domitian, 193-194, of Hadrian, 232; of Septimius Severus, 290.
- Palace of the Caesars, The, at Rome, its fine appearance after construction of Domitian's additions, i, 193.
- Palace, Imperial, at Constantinople, built by Constantine, i, 423, increased by Theodosius I, 557, becomes like a marble city in time of Arcadius, ii, 14; entirely reconstructed by Justinian, 240; magnificence, 240; hall of the *Chalce*, 240, hall of the *Excubitors*, 240; Throne-room, 240; Banqueting hall, 240, gardens, 241; the *Cochlea*, 241.
- Palace, Imperial, at Ravenna, ii, 272, its position, 272; mosaic picture of it, 273.
- Palladius, sent by Valentinian I to inquire into complaints against Romanus, Count of Africa, i, 504; corrupted by him, 504; commits suicide, 504.
- Palladium, The, sacred figure of the goddess Pallas, i, 40.
- Pallas, one of the freedmen surrounding Claudius, i, 102, assists Agrippina in her crimes, 114; banished by Nero and poisoned, 129.
- Pallium*, The, scarf worn as a mark of their office by the Popes of the five patriarchates, i, 537.
- Palmyra, made by Zenobia the most splendid city of the East, i, 332-333, entirely destroyed by Aurelian, 336.
- Pancras, St., boy martyred at Rome in Tenth persecution, i, 359.
- Pandataria, island of, i, 33.
- Pandects* of Justinian, The, ii, 199; their rediscovery in the 12th century, 199.
- Pantheon, The, built by Marcus Agrippa to commemorate his marriage to Marcella, i, 10; exemplifies solidity, simplicity, and splendour of Roman architecture, 10; lower part of the walls 20 feet thick, 10, the only building of ancient Rome still in possession of its roof, 10; stood through Nero's fire, 10; diameter of its dome, ii, 239.
- Papal Medieval historians, Accounts of regarding treatment of Pope Vigilius full of impossibilities, ii, 308; attribute action to Theodora three years after she was dead, 309.
- Papal writers of 9th and 10th centuries not reliable as to 7th and 8th centuries, ii, 577.
- Paris, *see* Lutetia.
- Parsees, remnant of the Fireworshippers

- driven out of Persia by the Mahomedans, ii, 451.
- Parthian empire, The, overthrown by Artaxerxes and ended, i, 308.
- Patmos, St. John's exile to, date of, i, 197.
- Patriarch, *see* Pope.
- Patriarchates, The five, i, 537.
- Patrick, St., Christian noble of northern Britain sent to convert Ireland, ii, 162; becomes Ireland's first Bishop, 162; establishes his see at Armagh, 162.
- Paul, St., conversion, i, 84; escapes from Damascus, 94; retires to Tarsus, 94; visits Arabia and Jerusalem and returns to Tarsus, 117, brought by St. Barnabas to Antioch, 118, countries allotted to him as his special sphere, 123; first missionary tour, 123, second tour, 123-124; third tour, 124; journey into Greece and thence to Jerusalem, 160; arrested at Jerusalem and sent to Caesarea, 150; sent to Rome, 161; brought before Nero, 161; allowed to live at large in Rome, 162; marked consideration throughout shown to him by the Roman authorities, 162, final trial before Nero, 153-154; acquitted and travels to Spain, 155; returns thence by sea to Jerusalem, 169, thence by sea to Jerusalem, 169; thence visits Philippi, 170; arrested and sent a second time to Rome, 170; imprisoned at Rome, 170; his martyrdom, 171.
- Paul, St., Church of, at Rome, founded by Theodosius the Great, i, 565; enlarged and adorned by Galla Placidia, ii, 94; splendid triumphal arch erected by her, 94.
- Paul, Pope of Constantinople, a strong adherent of the Monothelite error, ii, 462; assertion that he may have helped to draw up the edict called the *Type* refuted, 464.
- Paul the Deacon, ii, 563; his *History of the Lombards*, 563.
- Paulinus, commander in Britain, subdues the Silures, i, 134; defeats Boadicea, 134; recalled by Nero, 135.
- Paulinus, first Bishop of York, ii, 433, induces Edwin, king of Northumberland, to become a Christian, 433, forced to fly to Kent, 434, encases church at shrine of Avallon in lead, 516.
- Peada, son of Penda, king of Mercia, ii, 466; married to Alchfleda, daughter of Oswy, 466, after death of his father accepts Christianity, 466; allows a community from Lindisfarne to be established in Mercia, 466; death, 486.
- Pear Tree pass, over Julian Alps, i, 570; fierce wind which blows over it, 570.
- Pelagia, an actress, martyred at Rome in Seventh persecution, i, 331.
- Pelagius, a native of Britain, arouses a controversy by his doctrines, ii, 72; his teaching declared by Third General Council to be erroneous, 77.
- Pelagius II, Pope of Rome, during his election Rome isolated by being besieged by the Lombards, ii, 333; sends Gregory to Constantinople as his representative, 362; death, 362.
- Pella, Christians in Jerusalem take refuge there, i, 172.
- Penda, king of Mercia, claims descent from Woden, ii, 434; violent opponent of Christianity in Britain, 434; attacks Northumbria, kills its king Edwin, takes York, and drives Christianity out of Northumbria, 434; attacks East Anglia and kills its king Sigebert, 466; attacks Northumbria and kills its king Oswald, 466; attacks latter's successor Oswy, 466; attacks Wessex and forces its king to renounce Christianity, 466; again attacks East Anglia and kills its king Anna, 466; again attacks Northumbria, 466; refuses terms offered by Oswy, 466; defeated and killed at battle of Doncaster, 466.
- Pépin of Heristal, becomes virtual ruler of the Frank kingdom, ii, 514; efficient rule, 566; death, 566.
- Perctarit, Lombard king, regains his father's throne, ii, 477.
- Peredeus, lover of Rosamund, ii, 331; assists to murder Alboin, king of the Lombards 331, death, 332.
- Perpetua, *see* *Vivia Perpetua*.
- Persecutions, The:—
- First*, Christians slain in batches by cruel methods in the Circus Maximus, i, 160; massacre in the Vatican gardens, 163; names of some of those slain, 167-169.
- Second*, carried out by Domitian, i, 195; names of some of those slain, 196; St. John tortured, 196.
- Third*, under Trajan, St. Clement martyred, i, 222; letter of Pliny regarding torturing and killing Christians, 223; St. Ignatius martyred, 224.
- Fourth*, first general persecution, carried out by Marcus Aurelius, i, 259; terrible nature of a general persecution, 260; description of events at Lyons, 262-265.
- Fifth*, carried out by Septimius Severus, i, 293; protest of Tertullian, 294; immense numbers who suffered in North Africa and Egypt, 294-295; martyrdom of *Vivia Perpetua* and her companions, 296-299.
- Sixth*, carried out by Decius, i, 320, special magistrates appointed to require all to sacrifice to the Emperor, 320; three Bishops of Rome martyred in four years, 321; meaning of a "confessor," 328.
- Seventh*, carried out by Valerian under influence of Maecianus, chief of the Magi, i, 326; five commissioners ordered to visit every town and see that this religion was completely stamped out, 326; martyrdoms of Cyprian, Stephen I, Sixtus II, Fructuosus, Lawrence, and Daria, 326-330.
- Eighth*, carried out by Aurelian, i, 338; tombstones of many of those slain to be seen in the Catacombs, 338.
- Ninth*, inaugurated by Probus, and continued by Carus and Carinus, i, 340; many tombs in the Catacombs of those slain in this persecution, 341; martyrdoms of Ceclia, Alban, Eutychianus, and Christina, 341-342.
- Tenth*, inaugurated by Diocletian, i, 356; wholesale destruction of all Christian writings ordered, 358; martyrdom of St. George, St. Sebastian, St. Vincent, St. Blasius, St. Faith, St. Agnes, St. Margaret and many others, 360-363; martyrdom of St. Euphemia, 363; description by Eusebius of some of the sufferings endured, 363.
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- Peter, St., movements during Caligula's reign, i, 94-95; imprisoned at Jerusalem and liberation from prison, 118, countries taken by him as his special sphere, 121-122; founds Church of Antioch, 122; founds Church of Corinth, 149; rules Church of Antioch for seven years, 155; visits to Rome and superintendence of the Church there, 156-157; last visit to Rome, 158; writes his First Epistle, 160; legend of *Quo Vadis*, 160; thrown into prison at Rome, 161; writes his Second Epistle, 161; martyrdom, 162.
- Petilius Cerialis, commander of Ninth legion, defeated by Boadicea, i, 133.
- Petra Pertusa, fortified incised rock in the Apennines on the Flaminian Way, forming the chief obstacle on this route, ii, 300.
- Petronius, called the Arbitrator, director of Nero's pleasures, i, 146; writings, 146; degraded character and death, 146.
- Petronius, Minister of Finance, killed in massacre at Pavia under Honorius, ii, 40.
- Peuke, island of, birthplace of Alaric, ii, 9.
- Phidias, sculptor belonging to zenith of Greek art, i, 430.
- Philip, St., stated to have preached in Scythia and been martyred in Phrygia, i, 123.
- Philip the Arabian, emperor, character, i, 312; poisons Mithreus and causes death of Gordian III, 313; celebrates the thousandth anniversary of the founding of Rome, 313; legions in Mesia revolt against him, 314; killed in battle at Verona, 314.
- Philippi, Battle of, i, 6; murderers of Julius Caesar killed, 6.
- Philippicus (Vardan), emperor, commands force sent by Justinian II to destroy Cherson, ii, 525, proclaimed emperor, 525; takes name Philippicus, 525; deposed, 543.
- Phlostorgius, speech regarding Arcadius, ii, 16; his writings, 139.
- Phocas, leader of mutinous troops on the Danube, ii, 375; crowned as emperor by the Green faction, 376, murders the emperor Maurice and his sons, 376; also his brother Peter, the Prefect Constantine, and the general Comentiolus, 376; tortures the empress Constantina, 394; murders her with her three daughters, 394; burns alive the general Narses, 394, carries out indiscriminate slaughter, 394; causes general anarchy in which enemies overrun the Balkan provinces, Mesopotamia, Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia, 395; creates a riot in Constantinople, 395, force sent against him from North Africa, 396; dragged on board ship of Heraclius, and hewn in pieces, 397.
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- Plautianus, minister of Septimius Severus, i, 283; severely carries out new policy of Severus, 283; extortions, 283, his daughter married to Caracalla, 284; put to death, 284.
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- given by Second General Council to the Metropolitans of the principal sees of the five "patriarchates," 537; used by Gregory the Great in addressing John of Constantinople, Anastasius of Antioch, and Eulogius of Alexandria, ii, 385-387; jurisdiction of the five Popes carefully defined so as not to trench upon the independence of Bishops, i, 537; mark of their office, the *pallium*, 537.
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- Praxiteles, sculptor belonging to zenith of Greek art, i, 430.
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- Theodore, Abbot of Studion, ii, 589; writings, 589; makes every monk learn a trade, 589.
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- Thudalhnda, daughter of Garibald, duke of Bavaria, ii, 357; beauty and accomplishments, 357; wooed by Autharis in disguise, 357; flight from Bavaria and marriage to Autharis, 357; at his death choice of a king left to her, 357; chooses Aglulf and marries him, 357; becomes good genius of the Lombard race, 358; change effected by her, 358; causes them to abandon Arianism, 359; her palace at Monza, 359; bears a son, 359; his baptism by the Catholic rite, 359; correspondence with Gregory the Great, 371; writes to him for guidance regarding controversy, 380; becomes regent on behalf of her son, 424; her death, 425; reverence of the Lombards for her memory, 425; relics of her preserved at Monza, 425.
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- Thudaric II, younger son of Childebert II, ii, 348; succeeds to kingdom of Burgundy, 348; death, 349.
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- Titus, emperor, captures Jerusalem, i, 180; celebrates triumph, 180; becomes emperor, 185; character, 186; builds Baths of Titus and Arch of Titus, 185; celebrates opening of the Colosseum, 186; assists sufferers by the great eruption of Vesuvius, 186; death, 186.
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- Totila, Ostrogoth king, ii, 256; noble character, 256; gains nearly all Italy, 257; strict discipline and justice, 257; takes Tivoli, 264; captures Rome, 266; destroys Baths of Caracalla, 266; proposes entirely to destroy the city, 266; leaves Rome empty, 267; destroys Villa of Hadrian, 267; drives Belisarius into Sicily, 270; besieges and again captures Rome, 287; ravages Sicily, 288; his just rule of Italy, 298; prepares to meet the army under Narses, 299; his plan of campaign, 299; fights battle of Helvillum, 301; death at Caprara, 302.
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- Trajan, emperor, character, i, 210; reduces the Praetorian Guards to obedience, 210; greatly strengthens the "Limes," 210; founds Timgad, 211; puts to death Clement, Bishop of Rome, 222; prepares for war with the Dacians, 212; first campaign in Dacia, 213; second Dacian campaign, 213; widespread reforms, 215; stores corn in Rome for seven years' consumption, 215; constructs the Aqua Trajana, 216; bluntness of his moral sense, 216; his Forum, 216; his Column, 217; letters to Pliny, 218; proceeds to the East, 219; puts to death Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, 224; conquers Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Armenia, Osroëne, Mesopotamia, Carduene, and Assyria, and captures Ctesiphon, 219; suffers defeat at Hatra, 220; given title of "Parthicus," 220; death, 220, his reign just and temperate as regards the Christians, 226.
- Trèves (Augusta Trevirorum), capital of the first section of the empire under Diocletian, i, 347; made a bishopric by Constantine, 399; importance in 4th century, 495-496; chief residence of Valentinian I and Gratian, 496; Roman remains at, 496; called Rome beyond the Alps, 496; proximity to most dangerous part of the frontier, 605.
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- Turks, The, called by the Chinese *Tshu-kü*, ii, 313; in 6th century become very powerful, 313; after long contests with the Chinese push their way westwards, 313; first heard of in reign of Justinian, 313; embassy to Justin II, 326; make an alliance with the empire, 326.
- Twelve Apostles, Church of the, in Constantinople, built by Constantine, i, 423; its magnificence described by Eusebius, 423; twelve tombs with one in centre for Constantine, 442; becomes regular burial-place of all the emperors, 514.
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- 210; killed at battle of Tricameron, 211.
- ULDIŃ, kills Ostrogoth chief Gafnas, ii, 27.
- Ulpian, minister of Alexander Severus, i, 307; ability and high character, 307; life sacrificed in mutiny of the Praetorian Guards, 307.
- Uraias, nephew of Wings, attempts to relieve Ravenna, ii, 234; retains Pavia, 237; murdered, 256.
- Urbicus, assists empress Ariadne to put down revolt of Longinus, ii, 152.
- Urbicus, Lollius, commander in Britain under Antoninus Pius, i, 240.
- Ursinus, martyred at Rome in Seventh persecution, i, 331.
- Ursula, St., and the virgins of Cologne, ii, 100.
- Ursulus, imperial treasurer in Gaul, steadfastly loyal to Constantius, i, 476; shamefully put to death by Julian, 476.
- Utica, Battle of, defeat of John the Patrician by the Saracens, ii, 518.
- VALENS, brother of Valentinian I, and made joint emperor by him, i, 495; contemptible character, 495; leans entirely upon his brother, 495; goads Procopius into rebellion, 497; puts to death many believed implicated with him, 497; gains a victory over the Goths, 501; oppresses the Catholics, 508; obstructs operations of Sapor II against Armenia, 513; hears of magic ring spelling out name of his successor, 513; paroxysm of fear thereat, 527; puts to death many persons in consequence, 527; suspicion against him regarding death of Theodosius the elder, 527; weakly allows the Visigoths to enter Roman dominions, 521; by gross mismanagement converts them into maddened enemies, 521-522; marches to attack them, 523, refuses to wait for his nephew Gratian, 523; defeated at battle of Hadrianople and killed, 524.
- Valentia, new province in southern part of Scotland named after Valentinian I, i, 501.
- Valentine, St., martyred at Rome in Eighth persecution, i, 338.
- Valentine, general, assists Senate in its opposition to the empress Martina, ii, 457; his daughter married to Constantius II, 478.
- Valentinian I, emperor, birth, i, 493; becomes commander of the legions in Gaul and Britain, 493; chosen emperor, 493; appearance and characteristics, 493-494; associates his brother Valens with himself, 495; makes Trèves his chief residence, 495; speech upon hearing of revolt of Procopius, 498, prepares to make war, 498; defeats the Allemanni, 498; curbs the operations of the Saxons, 498; sends Theodosius the elder to Britain, 500; crushes the Allemanni at battle of Solimicum, 502; erects chain of fortresses along Rhine frontier, 502; increases defences of Timgad, 503; repulses the Burgundians, 503; speech to his son Gratian, 505; measures for welfare of the people, 506; establishes regular system for medical assistance, 507; hatred of sorcery, 507; determined impartiality in matters of religion, 508; severe vengeance upon the Quadi for invasion of Pannonia, 513-514; death, 514; open and upright character, 515; hatred of effeminacy and profligacy, 515; iron hand upon all who oppressed the people, 515; high praise given him by Romans of later times, 515.
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- Valentinian III, birth, ii, 66; succeeds to rule of western half of the empire, 68; vicious and incapable, 86; married to his cousin Eudoxia, 86, leaves his mother to conduct public affairs, 93; upon invasion of the Huns remains terror-stricken in Rome, 113; kills Aëtius, 120; assassinated, 121.
- Valeria Messalina, empress, daughter of Valerius Messala Barbatius and Domitia Lepida, i, 103; beauty, 103; married at sixteen to Claudius, 103; her two children, 104; conflict with Agrippina, 104; causes banishment of Julia Livilla and Seneca, 105; her splendid entertainments, 106; brings up her children with good sense, 107; divorced by Claudius in order that she might marry Caius Silus, 107-108; murdered, 108; the charge against her of excessive immorality of very doubtful authenticity, 109; is not supported by Seneca, 109.
- Valeria, a young girl martyred at Rome in Seventh persecution, i, 331.
- Valeria, empress, daughter of Diocletian, i, 346; married to Galerius, 346; history, 380-381; put to death by Licinius, 381.
- Valerian, emperor, high character i, 323; universally honoured, 323; simultaneous series of calamities, 323; his efforts to confront so many enemies at once, 323; sends his son Gallienus to oppose the Franks, 323; stops the Decian persecution and at first highly favourable to the Christians, 325; in fourth year of his reign under influence of Macrianus issues edict for the Seventh persecution, 326; proceeds to the East to oppose Sapor I, 324; by treachery of Macrianus almost whole army destroyed, 324; treacherously seized by Sapor and carried off a prisoner to Persia, 324; treated for five years with greatest insults, 324; death, 324; his skin stuffed and hung up in temple of Persepolis, 324.
- Valerian, general, brings reinforcements to Belisarius, ii, 269.
- Vallio, Count, faithful general of Gratian, i, 551; put to death by Maximus, 553.
- Vandals, The, in reign of Honorius, with the Alans and Suevi, cross the Rhine and pour over Gaul, ii, 35; cross the Pyrenees and ravage Spain, 55; driven by the Visigoths into southern part of Spain, 66; invade North Africa, 72; complete the conquest of that country and set up Vandal kingdom, 79; capture and plunder Rome, 120; carry away the nobles and wealthy Romans and sell them as slaves, 121; defeat Armada of the emperor Leo I, 124; become the leading power in the Mediterranean, 127; attacked by the emperor Justinian, 204; defeated at battle of Ad Decimum, 208; defeated at battle of Tricameron, 210; king and nobles transported to Constantinople, 212; "Justinian's Vandals," 212; end of the Vandal

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- Varanes V, surnamed "Wild Ass," favourite hero of Persian romances, *ii*, 323.
- Varius Marcellus, married to Julia Sœmias, *i*, 305, father of the emperor Elagabalus, 305.
- Varronianus, general, father of the emperor Jovian, *i*, 487.
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- Vespasian, emperor, character, *i*, 178; restores order to the State, 179; works a revolution in the moral atmosphere of Rome, 179; subdues Judæa, 180; builds the Colosseum, 180; extends Roman dominions in Britain, 182; death, 182.
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- Vestal Virgins, House of the, rebuilt by the empress Julia Domna, *i*, 289.
- Vetramo, general, crowned as emperor by the princess Constantina, *i*, 457; submits to Constantius and resigns, 457.
- Vettius Epagathus, young Roman noble, in Fourth persecution voluntarily confesses himself a Christian and martyred, *i*, 263.
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- Vitellius, emperor, infamous career, i, 174; given command on the Rhine by Nero, 174; his troops win battle against Otho, 174; celebrates his victory by combats of gladiators, 175; gives Rome up to plunder, 175; gluttony and extravagant banquets, 175; his troops defeated at second battle of Bedriacum, 176; watches the conflict in Rome, 176; seized and slain, 177.
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- Yezdem, "Paradise" of, country palace of Chosroes II, ii, 420.
- Yezid I, fifth Khalif, ii, 500; destroys Hosein, grandson of the Prophet, and his family at Kerbela, 501; breaks treaty made by his father, 508; death, 509.
- Yezid, Mahomedan general, ii, 551.
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- Belisarius, 315; retires again north of the Danube, 316.
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- Ziebil, khan of the Khazars, ii, 417; makes an alliance with Heraclius, 417; death, 419.
- Zohair, Mahomedan general, gains victory at Thysdrus, but afterwards overthrown, ii, 511.
- Zoroaster, founder of the Magian Fire-worship, ii, 413, said by some to have been contemporary with Moses, 413; called by Plato the son of Oromazes, 413; district of Azerbyan the chief seat of the worship, 413.
- Zosimus, Pagan Roman writer, i, 588.

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N.B The Suez Canal does not cross the Balkan Mountains, but crosses a spur from the Balkan Mountains which runs towards the south-west

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In this map Tyana should be more to the west, on the north-western side of the Taurus mountains, and about sixty miles north of Tarsus.

