which entitle him to rank as one of the greatest military commanders whose deeds are recorded in history.[1] The great object which he proposed to himself in his first campaign, was to render himself master of a line of communications extending from the shores of the Black Sea to those of the Mediterranean, and resting on positions in Pontus and Cilicia.[2] The Persian armies, which had advanced into Asia Minor and occupied Ancyra, would, by this manœuvre, be separated from supplies and reinforcements on their own frontiers, and Heraclius would have it in his power to attack their troops in detail. The rapidity of his movements rendered his plan successful, the Persians were compelled to fight in the positions chosen by Heraclius, and were completely defeated. In the second campaign, the emperor pushed forward into the heart of Persia from his camp in Pontus.[3] Ganzaca was captured; Thebarmes, the birthplace of Zoroaster, with its temple and fire-altars, was destroyed; and after laying waste the northern part of Media, Heraclius retired to Albania, where he placed his army in winter quarters. This campaign proved to the world that the Persian empire was in the same state of internal weakness as the Roman, and equally incapable of offering any popular or national resistance to an active and enterprising enemy.[4] The third and fourth campaigns were occupied in laborious marches and severe battles, in which Heraclius proved himself both a brave soldier and an able general. Under his guidance, the Roman troops recovered all their ancient superiority in war. At the end of the third campaign, he established their winter quarters in the Persian dominions, and at the conclusion of the fourth he led his army back into Asia Minor, to winter behind the Halys, that he might be able to watch the movements concerted between the Persians and the Avars, for the attack of

[1] The industry of Lebeau, the learning of Gibbon, and the sagacity of D'Anville, have been employed in illustrating the chronology and geography of the campaigns of Heraclius; but something still requires to be done to enable us to follow his steps with certainty, and the labour of a scholar might be advantageously bestowed on this interesting period. D'Anville and Gibbon place Ganzaca at Tabreez, but Colonel Rawlinson has given reasons for placing it at Takht-i-Soleiman.—*Journal R. Geograph. Soc.* vol. x. The site of Thebarmes is generally placed at Urimiyeh.

[2] A.D. 622. [3] A.D. 623.

[4] Gibbon countenances the opinion that Heraclius penetrated as far as Ispahan, but this rests on a very doubtful conjecture.—Chap. xlvi. vol. v. 403. In order to gain allies against Persia, Heraclius promised his daughter in marriage to the son of the king, or chief, of the Khazars, a Turkish tribe who were, for some centuries, powerful in the countries between the Black Sea and the Caspian. Lebeau, xi. 115,—Notes de S. M.

"A senator of Rome, while Rome survived,
Would not have match'd his daughter with a king."

Constantinople. The fifth campaign was at first suspended by the presence of the Persian army on the shores of the Bosphorus, in order to assist the Avars in the siege of Constantinople. Heraclius, having divided his forces into three armies, sent one to the relief of Constantinople; the second, which he placed under the command of his brother Theodore, defeated the Persians in a great battle; and with the third he took up a position in Iberia, where he waited to hear that the Khazars had invaded Persia. As soon as he was informed that his Turkish allies had passed the Caspian gates, and was assured that the attempt on his capital had failed, he hastened to advance into the very heart of the Persian empire, and to seek his rival in his palace. The sixth campaign opened with the Roman army in the plains of Assyria; and, after laying waste some of the richest provinces of the Persian empire, Heraclius marched through the country to the east of the Tigris, and captured the palace of Dastargerd, where the Persian monarchs had accumulated the greatest part of their enormous treasures, in a position always regarded as secure from any foreign enemy. Chosroes fled at the approach of the Roman army, and his flight became a signal for the rebellion of his generals. Heraclius pushed forward to within a few miles of Ctesiphon, and then found that his success would be more certain by watching the civil dissensions of the Persians, than by risking an attack on the populous capital of their empire with his diminished army. The emperor led his army back to Ganzaca in the month of March, and the seventh spring terminated the war. Chosroes was seized and murdered by his rebellious son Siroes, and a treaty of peace was concluded with the Roman emperor. The ancient frontiers of the two empires were re-established, and the holy cross, which the Persians had carried off from Jerusalem, was restored to Heraclius, with the seals of the case which contained it unbroken.[1]

Heraclius had repeatedly declared that he did not desire to make any conquest of Persian territory.[2] His conduct when success had crowned his exertions, and when his enemy was ready to purchase his retreat at any price, proves the sincerity

[1] See the chronology of the campaigns of Heraclius in the table at the commencement of this volume.

If the site now shown as that of the Holy Sepulchre be supposititious, no period was better adapted to the fraud than the reign of Heraclius, yet even then it appears impossible.—See "Observations on the Site of the Holy Sepulchre." Appendix, No. III.

[2] *Chronicon Paschale*, 401.

and justice of his policy. His empire required not only a lasting peace to recover from the miseries of the late war, but also many reforms in the civil and religious administration, which could only be completed during such a peace, in order to restore the vigour of the government. Twenty-four years of a war, which had proved, in turns, unsuccessful to every nation engaged in it, had impoverished and diminished the population of a great part of Europe and Asia. Public institutions and buildings, roads, ports, and commerce, had fallen into decay; the physical power of governments had declined; and the utility of a central political authority became less and less apparent to mankind. Even the religious opinions of the subjects of the Roman and Persian empires had been shaken by the misfortunes which had happened to what each sect regarded as the talisman of its faith. The ignorant Christians viewed the capture of Jerusalem, and the loss of the holy cross, as indicating the wrath of heaven and the downfall of religion; and the fire-worshippers considered the destruction of Thebarmes, and the extinction of the sacred fire, as an irreparable evil, and ominous of the annihilation of every good principle on earth. Both the Persians and the Christians had so long regarded their faith as a portion of the State, and reckoned political and military power as the inseparable allies of their ecclesiastical establishments, that they considered their religious misfortune as a proof of the divine reprobation. Both the orthodox magians and the orthodox Christians believed that they saw the abomination of desolation in their holy places, and their traditions and their prophets told them that this was the sign which was to herald the approach of the last great and terrible day.

The fame of Heraclius would have rivalled that of Alexander, Hannibal, or Cæsar, had he expired at Jerusalem, after the successful termination of the Persian war. He had established peace throughout the empire, restored the strength of the Roman government, revived the power of Christianity in the East, and replanted the holy cross on Mount Calvary. His glory admitted of no addition. Unfortunately, the succeeding years of his reign have, in the general opinion, tarnished his fame. Yet these years were devoted to many arduous labours; and it is to the wisdom with which he restored the strength of his government during this time of peace that we must attribute the energy of the Asiatic Greeks who arrested the great tide of Mohammedan conquest at the

foot of Mount Taurus. Though the military glory of Heraclius was obscured by the brilliant victories of the Saracens, still his civil administration ought to receive its meed of praise, when we compare the resistance made by the empire which he reorganised with the facility which the followers of Mahomet found in extending their conquests over every other land from India to Spain.

The policy of Heraclius was directed to the establishment of a bond of union, which should connect all the provinces of his empire into one body, and he hoped to replace the want of national unity by identity of religious belief. The church was far more closely connected with the people than any other institution, and the emperor, as political head of the church, hoped to direct a well-organised body of churchmen. But Heraclius engaged in the impracticable task of imposing a rule of faith on his subjects, without assuming the office, or claiming the authority of a prophet or a saint. His measures consequently, like all ecclesiastical and religious reforms, which are adopted solely from political motives, only produced additional discussions and difficulties. In the year 630, he propounded the doctrine "that in Christ, after the union of the two natures, there was but one will and one operation." Without gaining over any great body of the schismatics whom he wished to restore to the communion of the established church, by his new rule of faith, he was himself generally stigmatised as a heretic. The epithet monothelite was applied to him and to his doctrine, to show that neither was orthodox. In the hope of putting an end to the disputes which he had rashly awakened, he again, in 639, attempted to legislate for the church, and published his celebrated Ecthesis, which, though it attempts to remedy the effects of his prior proceedings, by forbidding all controversy on the question of the single or double operation of the will in Christ, nevertheless includes a declaration in favour of unity.[1] The bishop of Rome, already aspiring after an increase of his spiritual authority, though perhaps not yet contemplating the possibility of perfect independence, entered actively into the opposition excited by the publication of the Ecthesis, and was supported by a considerable party in the Eastern church, while he directed the proceedings of the whole of the Western clergy.

On a careful consideration of the religious position of the empire, it cannot appear surprising that Heraclius should

[1] The *Ecthesis* is contained in Hardouin's *Concilia*, tom. ii. 791.

have endeavoured to reunite the Nestorians, Eutychians, and Jacobites, to the established church, particularly when we remember how closely the influence of the church was connected with the administration of the State, and how completely religious passions replaced national feelings in these secondary ages of Christianity. The union was an indispensable step to the re-establishment of the imperial power in the provinces of Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia; and it must not be overlooked that the theological speculations and ecclesiastical reforms of Heraclius were approved of by the wisest councillors whom he had been able to select to aid him in the government of the empire. The state of society required some strong remedy, and Heraclius only erred in adopting the plan which had always been pursued by absolute monarchs, namely, that of making the sovereign's opinion the rule of conduct for his subjects. We can hardly suppose that Heraclius would have succeeded better, had he assumed the character or deserved the veneration due to a saint. The marked difference which existed between the higher and educated classes in the East, and the ignorant and superstitious populace, rendered it next to impossible that any line of conduct could secure the judgment of the learned, and awaken the fanaticism of the people. As a farther apology for Heraclius, it may be noticed that his acknowledged power over the orthodox clergy was much greater than that which was possessed by the Byzantine emperors at a later period, or that which was admitted by the Latin church after its separation. In spite of all the advantages which he possessed, his attempt ended in a most signal failure; yet no experience could ever induce his successors to avoid his error. His effort to strengthen his power, by establishing a principle of unity, aggravated all the evils which he intended to cure; for while the Monophysites and the Greeks were as little disposed to unite as ever, the authority of the Eastern church, as a body, was weakened by the creation of a new schism, and the incipient divisions between the Greeks and the Latins, assuming a national character, began to prepare the way for the separation of the two churches.

While Heraclius was endeavouring to restore the strength of the empire in the East, and enforce unity of religious views, the pursuit of which has ever been one of the greatest errors of the human mind,—Mahomet, by a juster application of the aspiration of mankind after unity, had succeeded in

uniting Arabia into one state, and in persuading it to adopt one religion. The force of this new empire of the Saracens was directed against those provinces of the Roman empire which Heraclius had been anxiously endeavouring to reunite in spirit to his government. The difficulties of their administration had compelled the emperor to fix his residence for some years in Syria, and he was well aware of the uncertainty of their allegiance, before the Saracens commenced their invasion.[1] The successes of the Mohammedan arms, and the retreat of the emperor, carrying off with him the holy cross from Jerusalem, have induced historians to suppose that his latter years were spent in sloth, and marked by weakness.[2] His health, however, was in so precarious a state, that he could no longer direct the operations of his army in person; at times, indeed, he was incapable of all bodily exertion.[3] Yet the resistance which the Saracens encountered in Syria was very different from the ease with which it had yielded to the Persians at the commencement of the emperor's reign, and attests that his administration had not been without fruit. Many of his reforms could only have been effected after the conclusion of the Persian war, when he recovered possession of Syria and Egypt. He seems, indeed, never to have omitted an opportunity of strengthening his position; and when a chief of the Huns or Bulgarians threw off his allegiance to the Avars, Heraclius is recorded to have immediately availed himself of the opportunity to form an alliance, in order to circumscribe the power of his dangerous northern enemy. Unfortunately, few traces can be gleaned from the Byzantine writers of the precise acts by which he effected his reforms; and the most remarkable facts, illustrating the political history of the time, must be collected from incidental notices, preserved in the treatise of the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, concerning the administration of the empire, written for the instruction of his son Romanus, in the middle of the tenth century.[4]

Though Heraclius failed in gaining over the Syrians and Egyptians, yet he succeeded completely in reuniting the Greeks of Asia Minor to his government, and in attaching them

[1] Heraclius resided almost entirely in the East, from A.D. 629 to 635.

[2] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ix. 418. Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, xi. 173.

[3] Niceph. Cap. 17. Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, i. 271. The story of the Arabian historian, mentioned by Ockley, confirms the account of the patriarch Nicephorus, and shows that the health of Heraclius had declined before he quitted Syria.

[4] Published in *Banduri Imperium Orientale*, fol. Paris, 1711, tom. i., and in the third volume of the Bonn edition of the works of Constantine Porph.

to the empire. His success may be estimated from the failure of the Saracens in their attacks on the population of this province. The moment the Mohammedan armies were compelled to rely on their military skill and religious enthusiam, and were unable to derive any profit from the hostile feeling of the inhabitants to the imperial government, their career of conquest was checked; and almost a century before Charles Martel stopped their progress in the west of Europe, the Greeks had arrested their conquests in the East, by the steady resistance which they offered in Asia Minor.

The difficulties of Heraclius were very great. The Roman armies were still composed of a rebellious soldiery collected from many discordant nations; and the only leaders whom the emperor could venture to trust with important military commands, were his immediate relations, like his brother Theodore, and his son Heraclius Constantine, or soldiers of fortune who could not aspire at the imperial dignity.[1] The apostasy and treachery of a considerable number of the Roman officers in Syria, warranted Heraclius in regarding the defence of that province as utterly hopeless; but the meagre historians of his reign can hardly be received as conclusive authorities, to prove that on his retreat he displayed an unseemly despair, or a criminal indifference. The fact that he carried the holy cross, which he had restored to Jerusalem, along with him to Constantinople, attests that he had lost all expectation of defending the Holy City; but his exclamation of "Farewell, Syria!" was doubtless uttered in the bitterness of his heart, on seeing a great part of the labours of his life for the restoration of the Roman empire utterly vain. The disease which had long undermined his constitution, put an end to his life about five years after his return to Constantinople. He died in March, 641, after one of the most remarkable reigns recorded in history, chequered by the greatest successes and reverses, during which the social condition of mankind underwent a considerable change, and the germs of modern society began to sprout; yet there is, unfortunately, no period of man's annals covered with greater obscurity.

[1] Theophanes, *Chron.* 280. Eutychius, ii. 273. Elmacin, *Hist. Sarac* 26.

Section VIII

Condition of the Native Population of Greece

The history of the European Greeks becomes extremely obscure after the reign of Justinian. Yet this period is one of great interest in the history of the Hellenic race, which was reduced, like most of the others, to struggle hard to escape extermination from invaders far inferior in power and civilisation. It has been already mentioned that the Avar and Sclavonian tribes had penetrated into Greece in considerable numbers, and effected settlements in many districts, from which they waged a perpetual war with the Greeks. Unable to live in the state of misery and destitution to which the agricultural classes were now reduced in Europe, the Greek race confined itself to the towns where it could carry on trade, or to those districts which were defended by permanent garrisons.

The Thracian race had always effectually resisted the influence of Greek civilisation; and even when the population of Greece was increasing with the greatest rapidity, and while its colonies were multiplied in every land, from Sicily to the Tauric Chersonese, the Greeks were unable to press back towards the north the population of the border regions of Epirus and Macedonia, much less of the great Thracian plains between the Ægean Sea and the Danube. Yet these lands have from the earliest times lain open to constant invasion and emigration.[1] In the time of Maurice, the language of the Thracians had a much stronger resemblance to Latin than to Greek, and indeed Latin appears to have mixed more easily than Greek with the native dialects of all the nations on the northern limits of the Hellenic race.[2]

It is impossible to trace with accuracy the effects of the depopulation of Greece, and of the poverty of the inhabitants. No description could exaggerate the sufferings of a country in a similar situation.[3] The slaves who had formerly

[1] From the time of the Celts to that of the Turks.—Niebuhr's *Kleine Schriften*, 375.

[2] Ἕτερος προσφωνεῖ τῇ πατρῴᾳ φωνῇ τόρνα φράτρε.—Theophanes, *Ch.* 218.—Theophylact. Sim. ii. 15. This was the language of the Muleteers. The prevalent opinion at present seems to be that the Vallachian language represents the ancient Thracian, and that the Albanian is a dialect of the language of Macedonia and Epirus.

[3] Niebuhr thus describes the effects of the wars of Napoleon in Germany: "Whole villages have entirely disappeared; and in many, which are not altogether gone, the population is entirely, or almost entirely, destroyed by plunder, famine, and disease. The towns, part of which are in ashes, are equally desolate; and every inhabitant is

laboured for the wealthy had now disappeared, and the free labourer had sunk into a serf. The uncultivated plains were traversed by armed bands of Sclavonians, who gradually settled in great numbers in Macedonia and the Peloponnesus. The cities of Greece ceased to receive the usual supplies of agricultural produce from the country, and even Thessalonica with its fertile territory and abundant pastures, was dependent on foreign importations of grain for relief from famine.[1] The smaller cities, destitute of the same advantages of situation, would naturally be more exposed to depopulation, and sink more rapidly to decay. Roads, bridges, aqueducts, and quays were everywhere allowed to fall to ruin after the confiscation of the municipal revenues of the Greek cities by Justinian, and the transport of provisions by land, in a country like Greece, became difficult. This neglect of the roads had always been a cause of poverty and barbarism in the mountainous districts of the Roman empire, even during the period of its greatest prosperity, for the central government paid no attention to any roads but those connected with the great military lines of communication.

A complete opposition of feelings and interests now began to separate the inhabitants of Greece from the Greek population connected with the imperial administration. This circumstance warrants us in fixing on the reign of Heraclius as the period at which the ancient existence of the Hellenic race terminates. It is vain to attempt to fix with accuracy the precise time at which the ancient usages were allowed, one by one, to expire, for no change in social life which is long in progress, can be considered as really accomplished, until the existence of a new order of things can be distinctly pointed out. National transitions can rarely be effected in one generation, and are often not completed in a century. But when the Byzantine writers, after the time of Heraclius, find it necessary to mention the Greeks of Hellas and Peloponnesus, they do so with feelings of contempt. This display of ill will induces us to conjecture that the fate of the Greek cities engaged in resisting the Sclavonian invaders had not been very

sunk nearly to the same state of poverty. Almost all the landowners are bankrupt, and there has been a total change in the property of the soil—a great misfortune, for the rich who spring up out of war and want are sure to be the very worst of their class." *Lebens nachrichten uber* B. G. Niebuhr, 424. In order to form some idea of the state of Greece, add to this picture the difference between a declining and advancing state of society, and between the French of the nineteenth century and the Avars and Sclavonians of the seventh.

[1] Tafel, *De Thessalonica ejusque Agro*. proleg. lxviii.

different from that of the imperial cities on the Adriatic, and that they had been compelled to develop a spirit of independence, which had caused a return of prosperity sufficient to awaken the envy of the Byzantine Greeks.

The inhabitants of Greece are called Helladikoi, to distinguish them alike from the ancient Hellenes and from the Romans of the empire. This expression seems almost to imply envy as well as contempt.[1] The term Hellenes was now either used to indicate the votaries of paganism, or was too closely associated with reminiscences of the glory of ancient Hellas, to be conferred on the rude Christian population of the Peloponnesus, by the courtiers of Constantinople, the prototypes of the hated Phanariots.

In the midst of the darkness which conceals the political and social condition of the Greeks from our view during this period, a curious record of a later time informs us that a portion of the Hellenic race, in the mountains of Laconia, still continued to preserve its ancient habits, and even clung to the pagan religion.[2] This circumstance supplies the strongest testimony of the neglected and secluded condition of the people, among whom the ideas of the enlightened portion of mankind had not succeeded in penetrating. These heathens were, of course, only uninstructed peasantry, who had preserved some of the superstitious usages of their ancestors, and who, probably, were not more ignorant of the ideas and feelings of ancient paganism than they were of Christian doctrines.

The barbarism of the Greeks at this period was the consequence of their poverty, which prevented their procuring the means of education, and restricted the uses of the knowledge which they might possess. In the circumstances to which they were reduced, it is not surprising that the Greeks lost all veneration both for literature and art, and that Greece, for some centuries, hardly furnishes a single name in the long list of Greek writers whose works have been considered worthy of mention. In this state of depopulation and ignorance, the relics of ancient art began to fall unnoticed to the ground: another age covered them with the ruins of the buildings which they had once adorned; and thus many remained concealed and preserved, until increasing popu-

[1] Theophanes, *Ch.* 339. Cedrenus, i. 454. Tafel, *De Thessalonica*, proleg. lxx. 221, 513.
[2] Constantin. Porphyr. *De Adm. Imp.* c. 50, iii. 224; edit. Bonn.

lation, and reviving prosperity, caused the reconstruction of new cities.

It was not in their native seats alone that the Greeks declined in numbers and civilisation at this period; even their distant colonies were rapidly sinking to ruin. During the reign of Justin, the city of Bosporus, in Tauris, had been captured by the Turks, who then occupied a considerable portion of the Tauric Chersonesus.[1] The city of Cherson alone continued to maintain its independence, in the northern regions of the Black Sea, resembling, in its political relation to the empire, the cities of Dalmatia, and by its share of the northern trade, balancing the power and influence of the barbarian princes in the neighbourhood.

[1] *Excerpta e Menandri Historia*, 404, edit. Bonn.

CHAPTER V

CONDITION OF THE GREEKS FROM THE MOHAMMEDAN INVASION OF SYRIA TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE ROMAN POWER IN THE EAST. A.D. 633–716.

The Roman empire gradually changed into the Byzantine—Conquest of the southern provinces of the empire, of which the majority of the population was not Greek nor orthodox—Constans II. followed the policy of Heraclius—Constantine IV. yielded to the popular ecclesiastical party among the Greeks—Depopulation of the empire, and decrease of the Greeks under Justinian II.—Anarchy in the administration until the accession of Leo III.—General view of the condition of the Greeks at the extinction of the Roman power in the East.

SECTION I

THE ROMAN EMPIRE GRADUALLY CHANGED INTO THE BYZANTINE

THE precise date at which the eastern Roman empire ceased to exist has been variously fixed. Gibbon remarks, "that Tiberius by the Arabs, and Maurice by the Italians, are distinguished as the first of the Greek Cæsars, as the founders of a new dynasty and empire."[1] But if manners, language, and religion are to decide concerning the commencement of the Byzantine empire, the preceding pages have shown that its origin must be carried back to an earlier period; while, if the administrative peculiarities in the form of government be taken as the ground of decision, the Roman empire may be considered as indefinitely prolonged with the existence of the title of Roman emperor, which the sovereigns of Constantinople continued to retain as long as Constantinople was ruled by Christian princes. While the prejudices of the governing classes, both in Church and State, kept them completely separated from the national feelings of every race of their subjects, and rendered the imperial administration, and the people of the empire, two distinct bodies, with different, and frequently adverse views and interests, the spirit of Roman domination continued to animate the government, and guide the councils of the emperor. The period, therefore, at which the Roman

[1] Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vii. 38, chap. liii.

empire of the East terminated, is decided by the events which confined the authority of the imperial government to those provinces where the Greeks formed the majority of the population; and it is marked by the adoption of Greek as the language of the government, by the prevalence of Greek civilisation, and by the identification of the nationality of the people, and the policy of the emperors with the Greek church. For, when the Saracen conquests had severed from the empire all those provinces which possessed a native population distinct from the Greeks, by language, literature, and religion, the central government of Constantinople was gradually compelled to fall back on the interests and passions of the remaining inhabitants, who were chiefly Greeks; and though Roman principles of administration continued to exercise a powerful influence in separating the aristocracy, both in Church and State, from the body of the people, still public opinion, among the educated classes, began to exert some influence on the administration, and that public opinion was in its character really Greek. Yet, as it was by no means identified with the interests and feelings of the native inhabitants of Hellas, it ought correctly to be termed Byzantine, and the empire is, consequently, justly called the Byzantine empire. As the relics of the Macedonian empire at last overpowered the Roman element in the Eastern Empire, the court of Constantinople became identified with the feelings and interests of that portion of the Greek nation which, in Asia, owed its political existence to the Macedonian conquests; and on the numbers, wealth, and power of this class, the emperor and the orthodox church were, after the commencement of the eighth century, compelled to depend for the defence of the government and the Christian religion.

The difficulty of fixing the precise moment which marks the end of the Roman empire, arises from the circumstance of its having perished, rather from the internal evils nourished in its political organisation, than from the attacks of its external enemies. The termination of the Roman power was consequently nothing more than the reform of a corrupt and antiquated government, and its transformation into a new state by the power of time and circumstance was feebly aided by the intellects and acts of superstitious and servile men. The Goths, Huns, Avars, Persians, and Saracens, all failed as completely in overthrowing the Roman empire, as the Mohammedans did in destroying the Christian religion. For even

the final loss of Syria, Egypt, and Africa only reveals the transformation of the Roman empire, when the consequences of the change begin to produce visible effects on the internal government. The Roman empire seems, therefore, really to have terminated with the anarchy which followed the murder of Justinian II., the last sovereign of the family of Heraclius; and Leo III., or the Isaurian, who identified the imperial administration with ecclesiastical forms and questions, must be ranked as the first of the Byzantine monarchs, though neither the emperor, the clergy, nor the people perceived at the time the moral change in their position, which makes the establishment of this new era historically correct.

Under the sway of the Heraclian family, the extent of the empire was circumscribed nearly within the bounds which it continued to occupy during many subsequent centuries. As this diminution of territory was chiefly caused by the separation of provinces, inhabited by people of different races, manners, and opinions, and placed, by a concurrence of circumstances, in opposition to the central government, it is not improbable that the empire was actually strengthened by the loss. The connection between the Constantinopolitan court and the Greek nation became closer; and though this connection, in so far as it affected the people, was chiefly based on religious and not on political feelings, and operated with greater force on the inhabitants of the cities than on the whole body of the population, still its effect was extremely beneficial to the imperial government.

While the Roman and Persian empires, ruined by their devastating wars, had rapidly declined in wealth, power, and population, two nations had grown up to the possession of a greatly increased importance, and taken their place as arbiters of the fate of mankind. The Turks in the north of Asia, and the Arabs in the south, were now the most numerous and the most powerful nations in immediate contact with the civilised portion of mankind. The Turkish power of this time, however, never came into direct military relations with the Roman empire, nor did the conquests of this race immediately affect the political and social condition of the Greeks, until some centuries later.[1] With the Arabs or Saracens the case was very different. As they were placed on the confines of Syria,

[1] The Turks, by their wars with Persia at this period, facilitated the conquest of the Persian empire by the Arabs. There is an excellent description of the Saracens before the time of Mahomet in Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 4.

Egypt, and Persia, the disturbances caused by the wars of Heraclius and Chosroes threw a considerable portion of the rich trade with Ethiopia, Southern Africa, and India into their hands. The long hostilities between the two empires gave a constant occupation to the warlike population of Arabia, and directed the attention of the Arabs to views of extended national policy. The natural advantages of their unrivalled cavalry were augmented by habits of order and discipline, which they could never have acquired in their native deserts. The Saracens in the service of the empire are spoken of with praise by Heraclius in his last campaign, when they accompanied him into the heart of Persia.[1] The profits derived from their increased commercial and military adventures had doubtless given the population of Arabia a tendency to increase. The edict of Justinian, which prohibited the exportation of grain from every port of Egypt except Alexandria, must have closed the canal of Suez, and put an end to the trade on the Red Sea, or at least thrown whatever trade remained into the hands of the Arabians.[2] Their intimate connection with the Roman and Persian armies had revealed to them the weakness of the two empires; yet the extraordinary power and conquests of the Arabs must be attributed, rather to the moral strength which the nation acquired by the influence of their prophet Mahomet, than to the extent of their improvement in military or political knowledge. The difference in the social circumstances of a declining and an advancing population must not be lost sight of in weighing the relative strength of nations, which appear the most dissimilar in wealth and population, and even in the extent of their military establishments. Nations which, like the inhabitants of the Roman and Persian empires in the seventh century, expend their whole revenues, public and private, in the course of the year, though composed of numerous and wealthy subjects, may prove weak when a sudden emergency requires extraordinary exertion; while a people with scanty revenues and small resources may, from its frugal habits and constant activity, command a larger superfluity of its annual revenues for great public works or military enterprises. In one case it may be impossible to assemble more than one-twentieth of the population under arms; in the other it may be possible to take the field with one-fifth.

[1] *Chronicon Paschale*, 318.
[2] *Corpus Juris Civilis*, Edict xiii., "De Alexandrinis et Ægyptiacis provinciis."

Section II

Conquest of the Southern Provinces of the Empire, of which the Majority of the Population was not Greek nor Orthodox

Strange as were the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the Persian and Roman empires during the reigns of Chosroes and Heraclius, every event in their records sinks into comparative insignificance, from the mighty influence which their contemporary Mahomet, the prophet of Arabia, soon began to exercise on the political, moral, and religious condition of the countries whose possession these sovereigns had so eagerly disputed. Historians are apt to be enticed from their immediate subject, in order to contemplate the personal history of a man who obtained so marvellous a dominion over the minds and actions of his followers; and whose talents laid the foundations of a political and religious system, which has ever since continued to govern millions of mankind, of various races and dissimilar manners. The success of Mahomet as a lawgiver, among the most ancient nations of Asia, and the stability of his institutions during a long series of generations, and in every condition of social polity, proved that this extraordinary man was formed by a rare combination of the qualities both of a Lycurgus and an Alexander. But still, in order to appreciate with perfect justness the influence of Mahomet on his own times, it is safer to examine the history of his contemporaries with reference to his conduct, and to fix our attention exclusively on his actions and opinions, than to trace from them the exploits of his followers, and attribute to them the rapid propagation of his religion. Even though it be admitted that Mahomet laid the foundations of his laws in the strongest principles of human nature, and prepared the fabric of his empire with the profoundest wisdom, still there can be no doubt that the intelligence of no man could, during his lifetime, have foreseen, and no combinations on the part of one individual could have insured, the extraordinary success of his followers. The laws which govern the moral world insure permanent success, even to the greatest minds, only as long as they form types of the mental feelings of their fellow-creatures. The circumstances of the age in which Mahomet lived, were indeed favourable to his career; they formed the

mind of this wonderful man, who has left their impress, as well as that of his own character, on succeeding generations. He was born at a period of visible intellectual decline amongst the aristocratic and governing classes throughout the civilised world. Aspirations after something better than the then social condition of the bulk of mankind, had rendered the inhabitants of almost every country dissatisfied with the existing order of things. A better religion than the paganism of the Arabs was felt to be necessary in Arabia; and, at the same time, even the people of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, required something more satisfactory to their religious feelings than the disputed doctrines which the Magi, Jews, and Christians inculcated as the most important features of their respective religions, merely because they presented the points of greatest dissimilarity. The great success of Mani in propagating a new religion (for Manicheism cannot properly be called a heresy) is a strong testimony of this feeling. The fate, too, of the Manicheans, would probably have foreshadowed that of the Mohammedans, had the religion of Mahomet not presented to foreign nations a national cause as well as an universal creed. Had Mahomet himself met with the fate of Mani, it is not probable that his religion would have been more successful than that of his predecessor. But he found a whole nation in the full tide of rapid improvement, eagerly in search of knowledge and power. The excitement in the public mind of Arabia, which produced the mission of Mahomet, induced many other prophets to make their appearance during his lifetime. His superior talents, and his clearer perception of justice, and, we may say, truth, destroyed all their schemes.[1]

The misfortunes of the times had directed public opinion in the East to a belief that unity was the thing principally wanting to cure the existing evils, and secure the permanent happiness of mankind. This vague desire of unity is indeed no uncommon delusion of the human intellect. Mahomet seized the idea; his creed, "there is but one God," was a truth that insured universal assent; the addition, "and Mahomet is the prophet of God," was a simple fact, which, if doubted, admitted of an appeal to the sword, an argument that, even to the minds of the Christian world, was long considered as an appeal to God. The principle of unity was

[1] Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, i. 13, edit. 1757. Sale's *Koran*, Prel. Dis. i. 238. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chap. li.

soon embodied in the frame of Arabic society; the unity of God, the national unity of the Arabs, and the unity of the religious, civil, judicial, and military administration, in one organ on earth, entitled the Mohammedans to assume, with justice, the name of Unitarians, a title in which they particularly gloried.[1] Such sentiments, joined to the declaration made and long kept by the Saracens, that liberty of conscience was granted to all who would put themselves under the protection of Islam, were enough to secure the goodwill of that numerous body of the population of both the Persian and the Roman empires which was opposed to the state religion, and which was continually exposed to persecution by these two bigoted governments. In Persia, Chosroes persecuted the orthodox Christians with as much cruelty as Heraclius tormented the Jews and heretics within the bounds of the empire.[2] The ability with which Mahomet put forward his creed removed it entirely from the schools of theology, and secured among the people a secret feeling in favour of its justice, particularly when its votaries appeared as offering a refuge to the oppressed, and a protection against religious persecution.

As this work only proposes to notice the influence of Mohammedanism on the fortunes and condition of the Greek nation, it is not necessary to narrate in detail the progress of the Arab conquests in the Roman empire. The first hostilities between the followers of Mahomet and the Roman troops occurred while Heraclius was at Jerusalem, engaged in celebrating the restoration of the holy cross, bearing it on his own shoulders up Mount Calvary, and persecuting the Jews by driving them out of their native city.[3] In his desire to obtain the favour of Heaven by purifying the Holy City, he overlooked the danger which his authority might incur from the hatred and despair of his persecuted subjects. The first military operations of the Arabs excited little alarm in the minds of the emperor and his officers in Syria; the Roman forces had always been accustomed to repel the incursions of the Saracens with ease; the irregular cavalry of the desert, though often successful in plundering incursions, had hitherto

1 Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, i. 197.

2 Theophanes, *Chron.* 252. Elmacin, *Hist. Sarac.* pp. 12, 14.

3 The holy cross was replaced in the Church of the Resurrection on the 14th September, 629. In the month of Djoumadi I., in the eighth year of the Hegira (September, 629), war broke out between the Christian subjects of the empire and the Saracens, followers of Mahomet.

proved ineffective against the regularly disciplined and completely armed troops of the empire. But a new spirit was now infused into the Arabian armies; and the implicit obedience which the troops of the Prophet paid to his commands, rendered their discipline as superior to that of the imperial forces, as their tactics and their arms were inferior.

Mahomet did not live to profit by the experience which his followers gained in their first struggle with the Romans. A long series of wars in Arabia ended in the destruction of many rival prophets, and at last united the Arabs into one great nation under the spiritual rule of Mahomet. But Aboubekr, who succeeded to his power as chief of the true believers, was compelled, during the first year of his government, to renew the contest, in consequence of fresh rebellions and insurrections of false prophets, who expected to profit by the death of Mahomet. When tranquillity was established in Arabia, Aboubekr commenced those wars for the propagation of Mohammedanism which destroyed the Persian empire of the Sassanides, and extinguished the power of Rome in the East. The Christian Arabs who owned allegiance to Heraclius were first attacked in order to complete the unity of Arabia, by forcing them to embrace the religion of Mahomet. In the year 633 the Mohammedans invaded Syria, where their progress was rapid, although Heraclius himself was in the neighbourhood, for he generally resided at Emesa or Antioch, in order to devote his constant attention to restoring Syria to a state of order and obedience. The imperial troops made considerable efforts to support the military renown of the Roman armies, but were almost universally unsuccessful. The emperor did not neglect his duty; he assembled all the troops that he could collect, and intrusted the command of the army to his brother Theodore, who had distinguished himself in the Persian wars by gaining an important victory in very critical circumstances.[1] Vartan, who commanded after Theodore, had also distinguished himself in the last glorious campaign in Persia.[2] Unfortunately the health of Heraclius prevented his taking the field in person.[3] The absence of all moral checks in the Roman administration, and the total want of patriotism in the officers and troops at this period, rendered the personal influence of the emperor necessary at the head of his armies, in order to preserve due

[1] Theophanes, *Chron.* 263. [2] Ibid. 265. Either in the year 634 or 636.
[3] Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus, p. 17. Ockley, *Hist. Sarac.* i. 271.

subordination, and enforce union among the leading men in the empire, as each individual was always more occupied in intriguing to gain some advantage over his colleagues than in striving to advance the service of the State. The ready obedience and devoted patriotism of the Saracens formed a sad contrast to the insubordination and treachery of the Romans, and would fully explain the success of the Mohammedan arms, without the assistance of any very extraordinary impulse of religious zeal, with which, however, there can be no doubt the Arabs were deeply imbued. The easy conquest of Syria by the Arabs is by no means so wonderful as the facility with which they governed it when conquered, and the tranquillity of the population under their government.

Towards the end of the year 633, the troops of Aboubekr laid siege to Bostra, a strong frontier town of Syria, which was surrendered early in the following year by the treachery of its governor.[1] During the campaign of 634 the Roman armies were defeated at Adjnadin, in the south of Palestine, and at a bloody and decisive battle on the banks of the river Yermouk, in which it is said that the imperial troops were commanded by the emperor's brother Theodore. Theodore was replaced by Vartan, but the rebellion of Vartan's army and another defeat terminated this general's career.[2] In the third year of the war the Saracens gained possession of Damascus by capitulation, and they guaranteed to the inhabitants the full exercise of their municipal privileges, allowed them to use their local mint, and left the orthodox in possession of the great church of St. John. About the same time, Heraclius quitted Edessa and returned to Constantinople, carrying with him the holy cross which he had recovered from the Persians, and deposited at Jerusalem with great solemnity only six years before, but which he now considered it necessary to remove into Europe for greater safety. His son, Heraclius Constantine, who had received the imperial title when an infant, remained in Syria to supply his place and direct the military operations for the defence of the province.[3] The events of

[1] For the chronology of the Syrian war, see the table at the commencement of this volume. I have followed Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*. But the confusion is often so great as to defy all explanation.

[2] Ockley (i. 70) names this general Werdan, and says he was slain at the battle of Adjnadin. Theophanes (*Chron.* p. 280) calls him Vahan (Βαάνης), and mentions the rebellion of his army. Eutychius (ii. 276) says he retired from the field of battle, and became a monk at Mount Sinai.

[3] Theophanes, *Chron.* 280. Ockley's Arabian authorities confounded the young Heraclius with his father.—See p. 271, where the father is spoken of when he could not be in Syria, and the son is mentioned at p. 282. I follow Theophanes as the best authority in what relates to Heraclius.

this campaign illustrate the feelings of the Syrian population. The Arabs plundered a great fair at the monastery of Abilkodos, about thirty miles from Damascus; and the Syrian towns, alarmed for their wealth, and indifferent to the cause of their rulers, began to negotiate separate truces with the Arabs. Indeed, wherever the imperial garrison was not sufficient to overawe the inhabitants, the native Syrians sought to make any arrangement with the Arabs which would insure their towns from plunder, feeling satisfied that the Arab authorities could not use their power with greater rapacity and cruelty than the imperial officers. The garrison of Emesa defended itself for a year in the vain hope of being relieved by the Roman army, and they obtained favourable terms from the Saracens, even after this long defence. Arethusa (Restan), Epiphanea (Hama), Larissa (Schizar), and Heliopolis (Baalbec), all entered into treaties, which led to their becoming tributary to the Saracen. Chalcis (Kinesrin) alone was plundered as a punishment for its tardy submission, or for some violation of a truce. No general arrangements, either for defence or submission, were adopted by the Christians, whose ideas of political union had been utterly extinguished by the Roman power, and who were now satisfied if they could preserve their lives and properties, without seeking any guarantee for the future. The Romans still retained some hope of reconquering Syria, until the loss of another decisive battle in the year 636 compelled them to abandon the province.[1] In the following year, A.D. 637, the Arabs advanced to Jerusalem, and the surrender of the holy city was marked by arrangements between the patriarch Sophronius and the caliph Omar, who repaired in person to Palestine to take possession of so distinguished a conquest.[2] The conditions of the capitulation indicate that the Christian patriarch looked

[1] Theophanes (*Chron.* p. 280) appears to place the battle of Yermouk in this year, and speaks of Vahan defeated at Yermouk, as the same person who commanded in the second campaign, and whom the Arabian historian distinguishes. This Vahan is called Mahan by Ockley (i. 29), who follows the authority of Theophanes for the date of the battle of Yermouk. Theophanes, however, indicates that the battle of Yermouk followed immediately after the death of Aboubekr, and appears to have confused the two great battles which decided the fate of Syria. Ockley's conjecture that Manuel was meant has been copied in the *Universal History*, and by Lebeau. Both Vartan and Vahan are Armenian names. Manuel, who subsequently commanded in Egypt, was also an Armenian. Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, xi.—Notes de Saint Martin.

[2] During the middle ages the Christians forged a document purporting to be a charter of protection to the inhabitants of Jerusalem by the prophet Mahomet himself, dated in the fourth year of the Hegira, but it is doubtful whether this forgery is as old as the first crusade. A Latin text is given in *Negociations de la France dans le Levant*, i. xvi.

rather to the protection of his own bishopric than to his duty to his country and his sovereign. The facility with which the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronius, at this time, and the patriarch of Constantinople, Gennaddius, at the time of the conquest of the Byzantine empire by Mohammed II. (A.D. 1453), became the ministers of their Mohammedan conquerors, shows the slight hold which national feelings retained over the minds of the orthodox Greek clergy.[1] It appears strange that Sophronius, who was the head of a Greek and Melchite congregation, living in the midst of a numerous and hostile Jacobite population, should have so readily consented to abandon his connection with the Greek empire and the orthodox church, when both religion and policy seemed so strongly to demand greater firmness; and on this very account, his conduct must be admitted to afford evidence of the humanity and good faith with which the early Mohammedans fulfilled their promises.[2] The state of society in the Roman provinces rendered it impossible to replace the great losses which the armies had suffered in the Syrian campaigns; and the financial resources of the empire forbade any attempt to raise a mercenary force among the northern nations sufficiently powerful to meet the Saracens in the field. Yet the exertions of Heraclius were so great that he concentrated an army at Amida (Diarbekr) in the year 638, which made a bold attempt to regain possession of the north of Syria. Emesa was besieged; but the Saracens soon assembled an overwhelming force; the Romans were defeated, the conquest of Syria was completed, and Mesopotamia was invaded.[3] The subjection of Syria and Palestine was not effected by the Saracens until they laboured through five vigorous campaigns, and fought several bloody battles. The contest affords conclusive testimony that the reforms of Heraclius had already restored the discipline and courage of the Roman armies; but, at the same time, the indifference of the native population to the result of the wars testifies with equal certainty that he had made comparatively small progress in his civil and financial improvements.[4]

The Arab conquest not only put an end to the political

[1] The Greek patriarchs of this age did little honour to their religion. Pyrrhus, patriarch of Constantinople, when banished after the death of Heraclius, renounced his Monothelite opinions in orthodox Africa, and made a public abjuration of them at Rome before Pope Theodore. Yet when he visited Ravenna, he as publicly returned to his Monothelite belief.

[2] The violence with which Sophronius had opposed the opinions of the Monothelites, may have induced him to confound treason with orthodoxy.—*Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. 65.

[3] Weil, i. 81.

[4] Theophanes, 282.

power of the Romans, which had lasted seven hundred years, but it also soon rooted out every trace of the Greek civilisation introduced by the conquests of Alexander the Great, and which had flourished in the country for upwards of nine centuries.[1] A considerable number of native Syrians endeavoured to preserve their independence, and retreated into the fastnesses of Mount Lebanon, where they continued to defend themselves. Under the name of Mardaïtes, they soon became formidable to the Mohammedans, and for some time checked the power of the caliphs in Syria, and by the diversions which they made whenever the arms of the Arabs were employed in Asia Minor, they contributed to arrest their progress.[2] The year after Syria was subdued, Mesopotamia was invaded, and proved an easy conquest; as its imperial governors, and the inhabitants of its cities, showed the same readiness to enter into treaties with the Mohammedans.[3]

As soon as the Arabs had completed the conquest of Syria, they invaded Egypt. The national and religious hostility which prevailed between the native population and the Greek colonists, insured the Mohammedans a welcome from the Egyptians; but at the same time, this very circumstance excited the Greeks to make the most determined resistance. The patriarch Cyrus had adopted the Monothelite opinions of his sovereign, and this rendered his position uneasy amidst the orthodox Greeks of Alexandria. Anxious to avert any disturbance in the province, he conceived the idea of purchasing peace for Egypt from the Saracens, by paying them an annual tribute; and he entered into negotiations for this purpose, in which Mokaukas, who remained at the head of the fiscal department, joined him. The emperor Heraclius, informed of this intrigue, sent an Armenian governor, Manuel, with a body of troops, to defend the province, and ordered the negotiations to be broken off. The fortune of the Arabs again prevailed, and the Roman army was defeated. Amrou, the Saracen general, having taken Pelusium, laid siege to Misr, or Babylon, the chief native city of Egypt, and the seat of the provincial administration. The treachery or patriotism of Mokaukas, for his position warrants either supposition,

[1] Pompey expelled Antiochus, B.C. 65. Alexander the Great conquered Syria, B.C. 331.

[2] The Mardaïtes are supposed by some to be the ancestors of the Maronites.—Theophanes, *Chron.* 295, 300. Asseman. *Biblioth. Orient. Vat.* tom. i. 496.

[3] Theophanes, *Chron.* 202. The governors of Osrhoene and Edessa both proved traitors.

induced him to join the Arabs, and assist them in capturing the town.[1] A capitulation was concluded, by which the native Egyptians retained possession of all their property, and enjoyed the free exercise of their religion as Jacobites, on paying a tribute of two pieces of gold for every male inhabitant. If the accounts of historians can be relied on, it would seem that the population of Egypt had suffered less from the vicious administration of the Roman empire, and from the Persian invasion, than any other part of their dominions; for about the time of its conquest by the Romans it contained seven millions and a half, exclusive of Alexandria, and its population was now estimated at six millions.[2] This account is by no means impossible, for the most active cause of the depopulation of the Roman empire arose from the neglect of all those accessories of civilisation which facilitate the distribution and circulation as well as the production of the necessaries of life.[3] From neglect of this kind Egypt had suffered comparatively little, as the natural advantages of the soil, and the physical conformation of the country, intersected by one mighty river, had compensated for the supineness of its rulers. The Nile was the great road of the province, and nature kept it constantly available for transport at the cheapest rate, for the current enabled the heaviest laden boats, and even the rudest rafts, to descend the river with their cargoes rapidly and securely; while the north wind, blowing steadily for almost nine months in the year, enabled every boat that could hoist a sail to stem the current, and reach the limits of the province with as much certainty, if not with such rapidity, as a modern steam-boat. And when the waters of the Nile were separated over the Delta, they became a valuable property to corporations and individuals, whose rights the Roman law respected, and whose interests and wealth were sufficient to keep in repair the canals of irrigation; so that the vested capital of Egypt suffered little diminution, while war and oppression annihilated the ac-

[1] Ockley calls Mokaukas the prefect of Heraclius, of the sect of the Jacobites, and a mortal enemy of the Greeks. Eutychius (ii. 302) is his authority.

[2] Josephus, B. J. ii. 16; vol. v. 206 (Whiston's translation). Eutychius (ii. 311) says that those registered for the tribute amounted to 6,000,000. He seems to confound this with the whole number of the native population.

[3] Strabo says the revenue of Egypt under Ptolemy Auletes was about two and a half millions sterling, and double under the Romans. In 1566, it yielded the Turks only £150,000.—Dr. Vincent, ii. 69. Reference has been made at page 351 to the edict which prohibited the exportation of grain from every port in Egypt except Alexandria; and the exportation from Alexandria had diminished even in the time of Justinian.

cumulations of ages over the rest of the world. The immense wealth and importance of Alexandria, the only port which Egypt possessed for communicating with the empire, still made it one of the first cities in the world for riches and population, though its strength had received a severe blow by the Persian conquest.[1]

The canal which connected the Nile with the Red Sea furnished the means of transporting the agricultural produce of the rich valley of Egypt to the arid coast of Arabia, and created and nourished a trade which added considerably to the wealth and population of both countries.[2] This canal, in its most improved state, commenced at Babylon, and ended at Arsinoe (Suez). It fertilised a large district on its banks, which has again relapsed into the same condition as the rest of the desert, and it created an oasis of verdure on the shore of the Red Sea. Arsinoe flourished amidst groves of palm-trees and sycamores, with a branch of the Nile flowing beneath its walls, where Suez now withers in a dreary waste, destitute alike of vegetables and of potable water, which are transported from Cairo for the use of the travellers who arrive from India. This canal was anciently used for the transport of large and bulky commodities, for which land carriage would have proved either impracticable or too expensive. By means of it, Trajan transported, from the quarries on the Red Sea to the shores of the Mediterranean, many of the columns and vases of granite and porphyry with which he adorned Rome.[3] This canal may have been neglected during the troubles in the reigns of Phocas and Heraclius, while the Persians occupied the country; but it was in such a state of preservation as to require but slight repairs from the earlier caliphs.[4] A year after Amrou had completed the conquest of Egypt, he had established the water communication between the Nile and the Red Sea; and, by sending large supplies of grain by the canal to Suez, he was able to relieve the inhabitants of Mecca, who were suffering from famine. After more than one interruption from neglect, the policy of the caliphs of

[1] The emperor Hadrian was struck by the commercial activity of Alexandria: "Civitas in qua nemo vivat otiosus."—*Hist. Aug. Scrip.* 245.

[2] Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo, saw this canal in operation.—Herod. ii. 158. Diod. i. 33, 83. Strabo, 1, 17. See also Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 29. Plutarch's *Life of Antony*, sect. 82. Lucian, *Pseudomant*, sect. 44.

[3] Strabo, xvii. 788, 804. Ptol. *Geog.* iv. 5, p. 108. It was called, after Trajan's repairs, Τραϊανὸς ποταμός.

[4] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* viii. c. 8. Paul. Silent. *Disc. Sanctæ Sophiæ*, i. v. 379, 625.

Bagdat allowed it to fall into decay, and it was filled up by Al Manzor, A.D. 762–767.[1]

As soon as the Arabs had settled the affairs of the native population, they laid siege to Alexandria. This city made a vigorous defence, and Heraclius exerted himself to succour it; but, though it held out for several months, it was at last taken by the Arabs, for the troubles which occurred at Constantinople after the death of Heraclius prevented the Roman government from sending reinforcements to the garrison. The confidence of the Saracens induced them to leave a feeble corps for its defence after they had taken it; and the Roman troops, watching an opportunity for renewing the war, recovered the city, and massacred the Mohammedans, but were soon compelled to retire to their ships, and make their escape. The conquest of Alexandria is said to have cost the Arabs twenty-three thousand men; and they are accused of using their victory like rude barbarians, because they destroyed the libraries and works of art of the Greeks, though a Mohammedan historian might appeal to the permanence of their power, and the increase in the numbers of the votaries of the Prophet, as a proof of the profound policy and statesman-like views of the men who rooted out every trace of an adverse civilisation, and of a hostile race. The professed object of the Saracens was to replace Greek domination by Mohammedan toleration. Political sagacity at the same time convinced the Arabs that it was necessary to exterminate Greek civilisation in order to destroy Greek influence. The Goths, who sought only to plunder the Roman empire, might spare the libraries of the Greeks, but the Mohammedans, whose object was to convert or to subdue, considered it a duty to root out everything that presented any obstacle to the ultimate success of their schemes for the advent of Mohammedan civilisation.[2] In less than five years (A.D. 646), a Roman army, sent by the emperor Constans under the command of Manuel, again recovered possession of Alexandria, by the assistance of the Greek inhabitants who had remained in the place; but the Mohammedans soon appeared before the city, and, with the assistance of the Egyptians, compelled the imperial troops to abandon their conquest.[3] The walls of Alexandria were thrown down, the Greek population driven out,

1 Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, xi. 300,—Notes de S. M. *Notices des Manuscrits Arabes*, par Langles, tom. vi. 334.

2 Gibbon, in his account of the destruction of the great Alexandrian library, depreciates the injury which literature sustained.—Ch. li.

3 Eutychius, 2, 339. Ockley, i. 325.

and the commercial importance of the city destroyed. Thus perished one of the most remarkable colonies of the Greek nation, and one of the most renowned seats of that Greek civilisation of which Alexander the Great had laid the foundations in the East, after having flourished in the highest degree of prosperity for nearly a thousand years.[1]

The conquest of Cyrenaïca followed the subjugation of Egypt as an immediate consequence. The Greeks are said to have planted their first colonies in this country six hundred and thirty-one years before the Christian era,[2] and twelve centuries of uninterrupted possession appeared to have constituted them the perpetual tenants of the soil; but the Arabs were very different masters from the Romans, and under their domination the Greek race soon became extinct in Africa. It is not necessary here to follow the Saracens in their farther conquests westward. The dominant people with whom they had to contend was Latin, and not Greek, in the western provinces; the ruling classes were attached to the Roman government, though often disgusted by the tyranny of the emperors; and consequently they defended themselves with far more courage and obstinacy than the Syrians and Egyptians. The war was marked by considerable vicissitudes, and it was not till the year 698 that Carthage fell permanently into the hands of the Saracens, who, according to their usual policy, threw down the walls and ruined the public buildings, in order to destroy every political trace of Roman government in Africa. The Saracens were singularly successful in all their projects of destruction; in a short time both Latin and Greek civilisation was exterminated on the southern shores of the Mediterranean.

It may be observed that the success of the Mohammedan religion, under the earlier caliphs, did not keep pace with the progress of the Arab arms. Of all the native population of the countries subdued, the Arabs of Syria alone appear to have immediately adopted the new religion of their co-national race; but the great mass of the Christians in Syria, Mesopo-

[1] Alexandria was founded B.C. 332. After the conquest of Egypt by the Saracens, the Egyptian or Coptic language began to give way to the Arabic. This followed because the numbers of the Copts were gradually reduced by the oppressive government of their new masters, until they formed a minority of the population. Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, who governed it several years, is said to have left at his death a sum equal to eight millions sterling, accumulated by his extortions. The caliph Othman is said to have left only seven millions in the Arabian treasury at his death. The officers soon became richer than the State.

[2] Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, i. 204.

tamia, Egypt, Cyrenaïca, and Africa, clung firmly to their faith, and the decline of Christianity in all these countries is to be attributed rather to the extermination than to the conversion of the Christian inhabitants. The decrease in the number of the Christians was invariably attended by a decrease in the numbers of the inhabitants, and arose evidently from the oppressive treatment which they suffered under the Mohammedan rulers of these countries,—a system of tyranny which was at last carried so far as to reduce whole provinces to unpeopled deserts, ready to receive an Arab population, almost in a nomade state, as the successors of the exterminated Christians. It was only when Mohammedanism presented its system of unity, in opposition to the evident falsity of idolatry, or to the unintelligible discussions of an incomprehensible theology, that the human mind was easily led away by its religious doctrines, which addressed the passions of mankind rather too palpably to be secure of commanding their reason. The earliest Mohammedan conversions of foreign races were made among the subjects of Persia, who mingled native or provincial superstitions with the Magian faith, and among the Christians of Nubia and the interior of Africa, whose religion may have departed very far from the pure doctrines of Christianity. The success of the Mohammedans was generally confined to barbarous and ignorant converts; and the more civilised people retained their faith as long as they could secure their national existence. This fact deserves to be carefully contrasted with the progress of Christianity, which usually indicated an immediate advance in the scale of civilisation. Yet the peculiar causes which enabled the Christians of the seventh and eighth centuries, in the ignorant and debased mental condition into which they had fallen, to resist steadily the attacks of Mohammedanism, and to prefer extinction to apostasy, deserve a more accurate investigation than they have yet met with from historians.

The construction of the political government of the Saracen empire was far more imperfect than the creed of the Mohammedans, and shows that Mahomet had neither contemplated extensive foreign conquests, nor devoted the energies of his powerful mind to the consideration of the questions of administration which would arise out of the difficult task of ruling a numerous and wealthy population possessed of property but deprived of civil rights. No attempt was made to arrange any systematic form of political government, and

the whole power of the State was vested in the hands of the chief priest of the religion, who was only answerable for the due exercise of this extraordinary power to God, his own conscience, and his subjects' patience. The moment, therefore, that the responsibility created by national feelings, military companionship, and exalted enthusiasm, ceased to operate on the minds of the caliphs, the administration became far more oppressive than that of the Roman empire. No local magistrates elected by the people, and no parish priests, connected by their feelings and interests both with their superiors and inferiors, bound society together by common ties; and no system of legal administration, independent of the military and financial authorities, preserved the property of the people from the rapacity of the government. Socially and politically the Saracen empire was little better than the Gothic, Hunnish, and Avar monarchies; and that it proved more durable, with almost equal oppression, is to be attributed to the powerful enthusiasm of Mahomet's religion, which tempered for some time its avarice and tyranny.

Even the military successes of the Arabs are to be ascribed in some measure to accidental causes, over which they themselves exercised no control. The number of disciplined and veteran troops who had served in the Roman and Persian armies could not have been matched by the Arabian armies. But no inconsiderable part of the followers of Mahomet had been trained in the Persian war, and the religious zeal of neophytes, who regarded war as a sacred duty, enabled the youngest recruits to perform the service of veterans. The enthusiasm was more powerful than the courage of the Roman troops, and their strict obedience to their leaders compensated in a great degree for their inferiority in arms and tactics.[1] But a long war proved that the military qualities of the Roman armies were more lasting than those of the Arabs. The important and rapid conquests of the Mohammedans were assisted by the religious dissensions and national antipathies which placed the great bulk of the people of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, in hostility to the Roman government, and neutralised many of the advantages which they might have derived from their military skill and discipline amidst a

[1] Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, i. 85. The Greeks (Roman troops) were completely armed; the Arabs were almost without defensive armour until they had obtained the arms of the Greeks by conquest. The statements in Ockley's History must be received with caution. His principal authority, Al Wakidi, indulges in romantic colouring, and is careless of facts and dates.—Weil, i. 48, note 1.

favourable population. The Roman government had to encounter the excited energies of the Arabs, at a moment, too, when its resources were exhausted, and its strength was weakened by a long war with Persia, which had for several years totally destroyed the influence of the central executive administration, and enabled numerous chiefs to acquire an almost independent authority. These chiefs were generally destitute of every feeling of patriotism; nor can this excite our wonder, for the feeling of patriotism was then an unknown sentiment in every rank of society throughout the Eastern Empire; their conduct was entirely directed by ambition and interest, and they sought only to secure themselves in the possession of the districts which they governed. The example of Mokaukas in Egypt, and of Youkinna at Aleppo, are remarkable instances of the power and treasonable disposition of many of these imperial officers. But almost every governor in Syria displayed equal faithlessness.[1] Yet in spite of the treason of some officers, and the submission of others, the defence of Syria does not appear to have been on the whole disgraceful to the Roman army, and the Arabs purchased their conquest by severe fighting, and at the cost of much blood. An anecdote mentioned in the "History of the Saracens,"[2] shows that the importance of order and discipline was not overlooked by Khaled, the Sword of God, as he was styled by his admiring countrymen; and that his great success was owing to military skill, as well as religious enthusiasm and fiery valour. "Mead," says the historian, "encouraged the Saracens with the hopes of Paradise, and the enjoyment of everlasting life, if they fought for the cause of God and religion. 'Softly,' said Khaled; 'let me get them into good order before you set them upon fighting.'"[3] Under all the disadvantages mentioned, it is not surprising that the hostile feelings of a numerous, wealthy, and heretical portion of the Syrian community, engaged in trade, and willing to purchase peace and toleration at any reasonable sacrifice, should have turned the scale against the Romans. The struggle became doubtful from the moment that the people of Damascus concluded an advantageous truce with the Arabs. Emesa and other cities could then venture to follow the example, merely

[1] Mansour, the governor of Damascus.—Eutychius, ii. 281. Bostra, Emesa, Kinnisrin, and Aleppo.—Ockley, i. 156–162. The citizens of Baalbec.—Ockley, i. 179.
[2] Ockley, i. 70.
[3] A similar anecdote is told of Cromwell, who once addressed his troops, "Put your trust in the Lord, and keep your powder dry."

for the purpose of securing their own property, without any reference to the general interests of the province, or the military plans of defence of the Roman government. Yet one of the chiefs, who held a portion of the coast of Phœnicia, succeeded in maintaining his independence against the whole power of the Saracens, and formed in the mountains of Lebanon a small Christian principality, of which the town of Byblos (Djebail) was the capital. Round this nucleus the Mardaïtes, or native Syrians, appear to have rallied in considerable force.

The great influence exercised by the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Alexandria in their provinces, tended also to weaken and distract the measures adopted for the defence of these countries. Their willingness to negotiate with the Arabs, who were resolved only to be satisfied with conquest, placed the Roman armies and government in a disadvantageous position. Where the chances of war are nearly balanced, the good will of the people will eventually decide the contest in favour of the party that they espouse. Now there is strong reason to believe, that even a majority of the orthodox subjects of the Roman Empire, in the provinces which were conquered during the reign of Heraclius, were the well-wishers of the Arabs; that they regarded the emperor with aversion as a heretic; and that they fancied they were sufficiently guaranteed against the oppression of their new masters, by the rigid observance of justice which characterised all their earlier acts. A temporary diminution of tribute, or escape from some oppressive act of administration, induced them to compromise their religious position and their national independence. The fault is too natural a one to be severely blamed. They feared that Heraclius might commence a persecution in order to enforce conformity with his monothelite opinions, for of religious liberty the age had no just conception; and the Syrians and Egyptians had been slaves for far too many centuries to be impressed with any idea of the sacrifices which a nation ought to make in order to secure its independence. The moral tone adopted by the caliph Aboubekr, in his instructions to the Syrian army, was also so unlike the principles of the Roman government, that it must have commanded profound attention from a subject people. "Be just," said the proclamation of Aboubekr, "the unjust never prosper; be valiant, die rather than yield; be merciful, slay neither old men, children, nor women. Destroy neither fruit-

trees, grain, nor cattle; keep your word, even to your enemies; molest not those men who live retired from the world, but compel the rest of mankind to become Mussulmans, or to pay us tribute,—if they refuse these terms, slay them." Such a proclamation announced to Jews and Christians sentiments of justice and principles of toleration which neither Roman emperors nor orthodox bishops had ever adopted as the rule of their conduct. This remarkable document must have made a deep impression on the minds of an oppressed and persecuted people. Its effect was soon increased by the wonderful spectacle of the caliph Omar riding into Jerusalem on the camel which carried all the baggage and provisions which he required for his journey from Mecca. The contrast thus offered between the rude simplicity of a great conqueror and the extravagant pomp of the provincial representatives of a defeated emperor must have embittered the hatred already strong in an oppressed people against a rapacious government. Had the Saracens been able to unite a system of judicial legislation and administration, and of elective local and municipal governments for their conquered subjects, with the vigour of their own central power and the religious monarchy of their own national government, it is difficult to conceive that any limits could ultimately have been opposed to their authority by the then existing states into which the world was divided.[1]

But the political system of the Saracens was of itself utterly barbarous, and it only caught a passing gleam of justice, while worldly prudence tempered the religious feelings of their prophet's doctrines. A remarkable feature of the policy by which they maintained their power over the provinces which they conquered, ought not to be overlooked, as it illustrates both their confidence in their military superiority and the low state of their social civilisation. They generally destroyed the walls of the cities which they subdued, whenever the fortifications offered peculiar facilities for defence, or contained a native population active and bold enough to threaten danger

[1] It is not correct to reproach the early Mohammedans with fanaticism. Even the fire-worshippers of Persia, who were idolaters in the eyes of the Saracens, and did not worship the true God, were, by their principles of toleration, allowed the exercise of their religion on paying tribute, a fact proved by several passages in the Arabian historians. The instructions of the Othoman Sultan Suleiman in the Multekas, display the increase of bigotry in modern times. If the infidel refuse to embrace Islam, or to pay the capitation-tax, his land is to be rendered desolate with fire, his trees are to be cut down, his cornfields laid waste, and he is to be slain or enslaved.—Hammer, *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des osmanischen Reichs*, i. 163.

from rebellion. Many celebrated Roman cities were destroyed, and the Saracen administration was transferred to new capitals, founded where a convenient military station for overawing the country could be safely established. Thus Alexandria, Babylon or Misr, Carthage, Ctesiphon, and Babylon, were destroyed, and Fostat, Kairowan, Cufa, Bussora, and Bagdat, rose to supplant them.

Section III

CONSTANS II., A.D. 641–668

After the death of Heraclius, the short reigns of his sons, Constantine III., or Heraclius Constantine, and Heracleonas, were disturbed by court intrigues and the disorders which naturally result from the want of a settled law of succession. In such conjunctures, the people and the courtiers learn alike to traffic in sedition. Before the termination of the year in which Heraclius died, his grandson, Constans II., mounted the imperial throne at the age of eleven, in consequence of the death of his father Constantine, and the dethronement of his uncle Heracleonas. An oration made by the young prince to the senate after his accession, in which he invoked the aid of that body, and spoke of their power in terms of reverence, warrants the conclusion that the aristocracy had again recovered its influence over the imperial administration; and that, though the emperor's authority was still held to be absolute by the constitution of the empire, it was really controlled by the influence of the persons holding ministerial offices.[1]

Constans grew up to be a man of considerable abilities and of an energetic character, but possessed of violent passions, and destitute of all the amiable feelings of humanity. The early part of his reign, during which the imperial ministers were controlled by the selfish aristocracy, was marked by the loss of several portions of the empire. The Lombards extended their conquests in Italy from the maritime Alps to the frontiers of Tuscany; and the exarch of Ravenna was defeated with considerable loss near Modenna; but still they were unable to make any serious impression on the exarchate. Armenia was compelled to pay tribute to the Saracens. Cyprus was rendered tributary to the caliph, though the amount of the tribute imposed was only seven thousand two hundred

[1] Theophanes, *Chron.* 284.

pieces of gold—half of what it had previously paid to the emperor. This trifling sum can have hardly amounted to the moiety of the surplus usually paid into the imperial treasury after all the expenses of the local government were defrayed, and cannot have borne any relation to the amount of taxation levied by the Roman emperors in the island. It contrasts strangely with the large payments made by single cities for a year's truce in Syria, and the immense wealth collected by the Arabs in Syria, Egypt, Persia, and Africa.[1] The commercial town of Aradus, in Syria, had hitherto resisted the Saracens from the strength of its insular position. It was now taken and destroyed. In a subsequent expedition, Cos was taken by the treachery of its bishop, and the city plundered and laid waste. Rhodes was then attacked and captured. This last conquest is memorable for the destruction of the celebrated Colossus, which, though it fell about fifty-six years after its erection, had been always, even in its prostrate condition, regarded as one of the wonders of the world. The admiration of the Greeks and Romans had protected it from destruction for nine centuries. The Arabs, to whom works of art possessed no value, broke it in pieces, and sold the bronze of which it was composed. The metal is said to have loaded nine hundred and eighty camels.

As soon as Constans was old enough to assume the direction of public business, the two great objects of his policy were the establishment of the absolute power of the emperor over the orthodox church, and the recovery of the lost provinces of the empire. With the view of obtaining and securing a perfect control over the ecclesiastical affairs of his dominions, he published an edict, called the Type, in the year 648, when he was only eighteen years old.[2] It was prepared by Paul, the patriarch of Constantinople, and was intended to terminate the disputes produced by the Ecthesis of Heraclius. All parties were commanded by the Type to observe a profound silence on the previous quarrels concerning the operation of the will in Christ. Liberty of conscience was an idea almost unknown to any but the Mohammedans, so that Constans

[1] The governor of Jushiyah paid 4000 pieces of gold, and fifty pieces of silk, for a year's truce.—Ockley, i. 150. Hems paid 10,000 pieces of gold, and 200 pieces of silk.—P. 154. Baalbec, 2000 ounces of gold, 4000 of silver, and 2000 pieces of silk.—P. 177. Kinnisrin and Alhadir, 5000 ounces of gold, as many of silver, and 2000 vests of silk.—P. 233. The tribute of Egypt was two pieces of gold a head. Eutychius, ii. 308. The accounts of the wealth of Ctesiphon are almost incredible, and those of Sufetula in Byzacene completely so.—Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. xi. 313, 329.

[2] The Type is contained in Hardouin's *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 834.

never thought of appealing to any such right; and no party in the Christian church was inclined to waive its orthodox authority of enforcing its own opinions upon others. The Latin church, led by the Bishop of Rome, was always ready to oppose the Greek clergy, who enjoyed the favour of the imperial court, and this jealousy engaged the pope in violent opposition to the Type. But the bishop of Rome was not then so powerful as the popes became at a subsequent period, so that he durst not attempt directly to question the authority of the emperor in regulating such matters. Perhaps it appeared to him hardly prudent to rouse the passions of a young prince of eighteen, who might prove not very bigoted in his attachment to any party, as, indeed, the provisions of the Type seemed to indicate. The pope Theodore, therefore, directed the whole of his ecclesiastical fury against the patriarch of Constantinople, whom he excommunicated with circumstances of singular and impressive violence. He descended with his clergy into the dark tomb of Saint Peter in the Vatican, now under the centre of the dome in the vault of the great Cathedral of Christendom, consecrated the sacred cup, and, having dipped his pen in the blood of Christ, signed an act of excommunication, condemning a brother bishop to the pains of hell. To this indecent proceeding Paul the Patriarch replied by persuading the emperor to persecute the clergy who adhered to the pope's opinion, in a more regular and legal manner, by depriving them of their temporalities, and condemning them to banishment. The pope was supported by nearly the whole body of the Latin clergy, and even by a considerable party in the East; yet, when Martin, the successor of Theodore, ventured to anathematise the Ecthesis and the Type, he was seized by order of Constans, conveyed to Constantinople, tried, and condemned on a charge of having supported the rebellion of the exarch Olympius, and of having remitted money to the Saracens. The emperor, at the intercession of the patriarch Paul, commuted his punishment to exile, and the pope died in banishment at Cherson in Tauris. Though Constans did not succeed in inculcating his doctrines on the clergy, he completely succeeded in enforcing public obedience to his decrees in the church, and the fullest acknowledgment of his supreme power over the persons of the clergy. These disputes between the heads of the ecclesiastical administration of the Greek and Latin churches afforded an excellent pretext for extending the breach, which had its real

origin in national feelings and clerical interests, and was only widened by the difficult and not very intelligible distinctions of monothelitism. Constans himself, by his vigour and personal activity in this struggle, incurred the bitter hatred of a large portion of the clergy, and his conduct has been unquestionably the object of much misrepresentation and calumny.

The attention of Constans to ecclesiastical affairs induced him to visit Armenia, where his attempts to unite the people to his government by regulating the affairs of their church, were as unsuccessful as his religious interference elsewhere. Dissensions were increased; one of the imperial officers of high rank rebelled; and the Saracens availed themselves of this state of things to invade both Armenia and Cappadocia, and succeeded in rendering several districts tributary. The increasing power of Moawyah, the Arab general, induced him to form a project for the conquest of Constantinople, and he began to fit out a great naval expedition at Tripoli in Syria. A daring enterprise of two brothers, Christian inhabitants of the place, rendered the expedition abortive. These two Tripolitans and their partisans broke open the prisons in which the Roman captives were confined, and, placing themselves at the head of an armed band which they had hastily formed, seized the city, slew the governor, and burnt the fleet. A second armament was at length prepared by the energy of Moawyah, and as it was reported to be directed against Constantinople, the emperor Constans took upon himself the command of his own fleet. He met the Saracen expedition off Mount Phœnix in Lycia, and attacked it with great vigour. Twenty thousand Romans are said to have perished in the battle;[1] and the emperor himself owed his safety to the valour of one of the Tripolitan brothers, whose gallant defence of the imperial galley enabled the emperor to escape before its valiant defender was slain, and the vessel fell into the hands of the Saracens. The emperor retired to Constantinople, but the hostile fleet had suffered too much to attempt any farther operations, and the expedition was abandoned for that year. The death of Othman, and the pretensions of Moawyah to the caliphate, withdrew the attention of the Arabs from the empire for a short time, and Constans turned his forces against the Sclavonians, in order to deliver the European provinces from their ravages. They were totally defeated, numbers were carried off as slaves, and many were compelled to submit

[1] Theophanes, 287. Abulpharag. *Ch. Syr.* iii.

to the imperial authority. No certain grounds exist for determining whether this expedition was directed against the Sclavonians, who had established themselves between the Danube and Mount Hæmus, or against those who had settled in Macedonia. The name of no town is mentioned in the accounts of the campaign.[1]

When the affairs of the European provinces, in the vicinity of the capital, were tranquillised, Constans again prepared to engage the Arabs; and Moawyah, having need of all the forces he could command for his contest with Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomet, consented to make peace, on terms which contrast curiously with the perpetual defeats which Constans is always represented by the orthodox historians of the empire to have suffered. The Saracens engaged to confine their forces within Syria and Mesopotamia, and Moawyah consented to pay Constans, for the cessation of hostilities, the sum of a thousand pieces of silver, and to furnish him with a slave and a horse for every day during which the peace should continue. A.D. 659.

During the subsequent year, Constans condemned to death his brother Theodosius, whom he had compelled to enter the priesthood. The cause of this crime, or the pretext for it, is not mentioned. From this brother's hand, the emperor had often received the sacrament; and the fratricide is supposed to have rendered a residence at Constantinople insupportable to the conscience of the criminal, who was reported nightly to behold the spectre of his brother offering him the consecrated cup, filled with human blood, and exclaiming, "Drink, brother!" Certain it is, that two years after his brother's death, Constans quitted his capital, with the intention of never returning; and he was only prevented, by an insurrection of the people, from carrying off the empress and his children. He meditated the reconquest of Italy from the Lombards, and proposed rendering Rome again the seat of empire. On his way to Italy the emperor stopped at Athens, where he assembled a considerable body of troops. This casual mention of Athens by Latin writers affords strong evidence of the tranquil, flourishing, and populous condition of the city and country around.[2] The Sclavonian colonies in Greece must, at this time, have owned perfect allegiance to the

[1] Theophanes, *Ch.* pp. 288, 299. Zinkeisen, i. 733. Tafel, *Thessalonica*, lxxxiii.
[2] Anastasius, *De Vitis Pont. Rom.* p. 51, edit. Par. Schlosser, *Geschichte der Bilderstürmenden Kaiser*, 81.

imperial power, or Constans would certainly have employed his army in reducing them to subjection. From Athens, the emperor sailed to Italy; he landed with his forces at Tarentum, and attempted to take Beneventum, the chief seat of the Lombard power in the south of Italy. His troops were twice defeated, and he then abandoned all his projects of conquest.

The emperor himself repaired to Rome. His visit lasted only a fortnight. According to the writers who describe the event, he consecrated twelve days to religious ceremonies and processions, and the remaining two he devoted to plundering the wealth of the church. His personal acquaintance with the affairs of Italy and the state of Rome, soon convinced him that the eternal city was ill adapted for the capital of the empire, and he quitted it for Sicily, where he fixed on Syracuse for his future residence. Grimoald, the able monarch of the Lombards, and his son Romuald, the duke of Beneventum, continued the war in Italy with vigour. Brundusium and Tarentum were captured, and the Romans expelled from Calabria, so that Otranto and Gallipoli were the only towns on the eastern coast of which Constans retained possession.

When residing in Sicily, Constans directed his attention to the state of Africa. His measures are not detailed with precision, but were evidently distinguished by the usual energy and caprice which marked his whole conduct. He recovered possession of Carthage, and of several cities which the Arabs had rendered tributary; but he displeased the inhabitants of the province, by compelling them to pay to himself the same amount of tribute as they had agreed by treaty to pay to the Saracens; and as Constans could not expel the Saracen forces from the province, the amount of the public taxes of the Africans was thus often doubled,—since both parties were able to levy the contributions which they demanded. Moawyah sent an army from Syria, and Constans one from Sicily, to decide who should become sole master of the country. A battle was fought near Tripoli; and though the army of Constans consisted of thirty thousand men, it was completely defeated. Yet the victorious army of the Saracens was unable to take the small town of Geloula (Usula), until the accidental fall of a portion of the ramparts laid it open to their assault; and this trifling conquest was followed by no farther success. In the East, the empire was exposed to greater danger, yet the enemies of Constans were eventually unsuccessful in their projects. In consequence of the rebellion of the Armenian

troops, whose commander, Sapor, assumed the title of emperor, the Saracens made a successful incursion into Asia Minor, captured the city of Amorium, in Phrygia, and placed in it a garrison of five thousand men; but the imperial general appointed by Constans soon drove out this powerful garrison, and recovered the place.

It appears, therefore, that in spite of all the defeats which Constans is reported to have suffered, the empire underwent no very sensible diminution of its territory during his reign, and he certainly left its military forces in a more efficient condition than he found them. He was assassinated in a bath at Syracuse, by an officer of his household, in the year 668, at the age of thirty-eight, after a reign of twenty-seven years. The fact of his having been murdered by one of his own household, joined to the capricious violence that marked many of his public acts, warrants the supposition that his character was of the unamiable and unsteady nature, which rendered the accusation of fratricide, so readily believed by his contemporaries, by no means impossible. It must, however, be admitted, that the occurrences of his reign afford irrefragable testimony that his heretical opinions have induced orthodox historians to give an erroneous colouring to many circumstances, since the undoubted results do not correspond with their descriptions of the passing events.

Section IV

CONSTANTINE IV. YIELDED TO THE POPULAR ECCLESIASTICAL PARTY AMONG THE GREEKS

Constantine IV., called Pogonatus, or the Bearded, has been regarded by posterity with a high degree of favour.[1] Yet his merit seems to have consisted in his superior orthodoxy, rather than in his superior talents as emperor. The concessions which he made to the see of Rome, and the moderation that he displayed in all ecclesiastical affairs, placed his conduct in strong contrast with the stern energy with which his father had enforced the subjection of the orthodox ecclesiastics to the civil power, and gained for him the praise of the priesthood, whose eulogies have exerted no inconsiderable influence on all historians. Constantine, however, was cer-

[1] Constantine IV. is called Pogonatus, but it is his father who is called Constantine on his coins, and is represented with an enormous beard.

tainly an intelligent and just prince, who, though he did not possess the stubborn determination and talents of his father, was destitute also of his violent passions and imprudent character.

As soon as Constantine was informed of the murder of his father, and that a rebel had assumed the purple in Sicily, he hastened thither in person to avenge his death, and extinguish the rebellion. To satisfy his vengeance, the patrician Justinian, a man of high character, compromised in the rebellion, was treated with great severity, and his son Germanos with a degree of inhumanity that would have been recorded by the clergy against Constans as an instance of the grossest barbarity.[1] The return of the emperor to Constantinople was signalised by a singular sedition of the troops in Asia Minor. They marched towards the capital, and having encamped on the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus, demanded that Constantine should admit his two brothers, on whom he had conferred the rank of Augustus, to an equal share in the public administration, in order that the Holy Trinity in heaven, which governs the spiritual world, might be represented by a human trinity, to govern the political empire of the Christians. The very proposal is a proof of the complete supremacy of the civil over the ecclesiastical authority, in the eyes of the people, and the strongest evidence, that in the public opinion of the age the emperor was regarded as the head of the church. Such reasoning as the rebels used could be rebutted by no arguments, and Constantine had energy enough to hang the leaders of the sedition, and sufficient moderation not to molest his brothers. But several years later, either from increased suspicions, or from some intrigues on their part, he deprived them of the rank of Augustus, and condemned them to have their noses cut off[2] (A.D. 681). The condemnation of his brother to death by Constans, figures in history as one of the blackest crimes of humanity, while the barbarity of the orthodox Constantine is passed over as a lawful act. Both rest on the same authority, on the testimony of Theophanes, the earliest Greek chronicler, and both may really have been acts of justice necessary for the security of the throne and the tranquillity of the empire. Constans was a

[1] This Germanos, notwithstanding his mutilation by Constantine, became bishop of Cyzicus, and joined the Monothelites in the reign of Philippicus. He retracted, and was made patriarch of Constantinople by Anastasius II. (A.D. 715), and figured as an active defender of images against Leo III., the Isaurian.

[2] Theophanes, *Chron.* 298, 303.

man of a violent temper, and Constantine of a mild disposition; both may have been equally just, but both were, without doubt, unnecessarily severe. A brother's political offences could hardly merit a greater punishment from a brother than seclusion in a monastery.[1]

The great object of the imperial policy at this period was to oppose the progress of the Mohammedans. Constans had succeeded in arresting their conquests, but Constantine soon found that they would give the empire no rest unless he could secure it by his victories. He had hardly quitted Sicily to return to Constantinople, before an Arab expedition from Alexandria invaded the island, and stormed the city of Syracuse, and after plundering the treasures accumulated by Constans, immediately abandoned the place. In Africa the war was continued with various success, but the Christians were long left without any succours from Constantine, while Moawyah supplied the Saracens with strong reinforcements. In spite of the courage and enthusiasm of the Mohammedans, the native Christian population maintained their ground with firmness, and carried on the war with such vigour, that in the year 676 a native African leader, who commanded the united forces of the Romans and Berbers, captured the newly founded city of Kairowan, which at a subsequent period became renowned as the capital of the Fatimite caliphs.[2]

The ambition of the caliph Moawyah induced him to aspire at the conquest of the Roman empire; and the military organisation of the Arabian power, which enabled the caliph to direct the whole resources of his dominions to any single object of conquest, seemed to promise success to the enterprise. A powerful expedition was sent to besiege Constantinople. The time required for the preparation of such an armament did not enable the Saracens to arrive at the Bosphorus without passing a winter on the coast of Asia Minor, and on their arrival in the spring of the year 672, they found that the emperor had made every preparation for defence. Their forces, however, were so numerous, that they were sufficient to invest Constantinople by sea and land. The troops occupied the whole of the land side of the triangle on which the city is constructed, while the fleet effectually blockaded the

[1] Theophanes (293, 300) says that the brothers of Constantine IV. lost their noses in 669, but were not deprived of the imperial title until 681.

[2] Kairowan was founded by Akbah in 670; taken by the Christians in 676; recovered by the Arabs under Zohair; but retaken by the Christians in 683; and finally conquered by Hassan in 697.

port. The Saracens failed in all their assaults, both by sea and land; but the Romans, instead of celebrating their own valour and discipline, attributed their success principally to the use of the Greek fire, which was invented shortly before this siege, and was first used on this occasion.[1] The military art had declined during the preceding century, as rapidly as every other branch of national culture; and the resources of the mighty empire of the Arabs were so limited by the ignorance and bad administration of its rulers, that the caliph was unable to maintain his forces before Constantinople during the winter. The Saracen army was nevertheless enabled to collect sufficient supplies at Cyzicus to make that place a winter station, while their powerful fleet commanded the Hellespont and secured their communications with Syria. When spring returned, the fleet again transported the army to encamp under the walls of Constantinople. This strange mode of besieging cities, unattempted since the times the Dorians had invaded Peloponnesus, was continued for seven years; but in this warfare the Saracens suffered far more severely than the Romans, and were at last compelled to abandon their enterprise.[2] The land forces tried to effect their retreat through Asia Minor, but were entirely cut off in the attempt; and a tempest destroyed the greater part of their fleet off the coast of Pamphylia. During the time that this great body of his forces was employed against Constantinople, Moawyah sent a division of his troops to invade Crete, which had been visited by a Saracen army in 651. The island was now compelled to pay tribute, but the inhabitants were treated with great mildness, as it was the policy of the caliph at this time to conciliate the good opinion of the Christians by his liberal government, in order to pave the way for future conquests. Moawyah carried his religious tolerance so far as to rebuild the church of Edessa, at the intercession of his Christian subjects.

The destruction of the Saracen expedition against Constantinople, and the advantage which the mountaineers of Lebanon had contrived to take of the absence of the Arab troops, by carrying their incursions into the plains of Syria, convinced

[1] For an account of the Greek fire, see the articles "Callinicus" (vi. 551), and "Marcus Græcus" (xxvi. 623) in the *Biographie Universelle*.

[2] During the siege of Constantinople, Abou Ayoub, who had received Mahomet into his house on his flight to Medina, died; and the celebrated mosque of Ayoub, in which the Sultan, on his accession, receives the investiture of the sword, is said to mark the spot where he was buried.—See the chronology of the operations of the siege, 21.

Moawyah of the necessity of peace. The hardy mountaineers of Lebanon, called Mardaïtes, had been increased in numbers, and supplied with wealth, in consequence of the retreat into their country of a mass of native Syrians who had fled before the Arabs.[1] They consisted chiefly of Melchites and Monothelites, and on that account they had adhered to the cause of the Roman empire when the Monophysites joined the Saracens. Their Syrian origin renders it probable that they were ancestors of the Maronites, though the desire of some Maronite historians to show that their countrymen were always perfectly orthodox, has perplexed a question which of itself was by no means of easy solution.[2] The political state of the empire required peace; and the orthodox Constantine did not feel personally inclined to run any risk in order to protect the Monothelite Mardaïtes. Peace was concluded between the emperor and the caliph in the year 678, Moawyah consenting to pay the Romans annually three thousand pounds of gold, fifty slaves, and fifty Arabian horses. It appears strange that a prince, possessing the power and resources at the command of Moawyah, should submit to these conditions; but the fact proves that policy, not pride, was the rule of the caliph's conduct, and that the advancement of his real power, and of the spiritual interests of the Mohammedan religion, were of more consequence in his eyes than any notions of earthly dignity.

In the same year in which Moawyah had been induced to purchase peace by consenting to pay tribute to the Roman emperor, the foundations of the Bulgarian monarchy were laid, and the emperor Constantine himself was compelled to become tributary to a small horde of Bulgarians. One of the usual emigrations which take place amongst barbarous nations had induced Asparuch, a Bulgarian chief, to seize the low country about the mouth of the Danube; his power and activity obliged the emperor Constantine to take the field against these Bulgarians in person. The expedition was so ill conducted, that it ended in the complete defeat of the Roman army, and the Bulgarians subdued all the country between the Danube and Mount Hæmus, compelling a district inhabited by a body of Sclavonians, called the seven tribes, to become their tributaries. These Sclavonians had once been formid-

[1] The earliest mention of the Mardaïtes is found in Theophanes, *Chron.* p. 295.
[2] Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, with notes by James Murdock, D.D. Edited by the Rev. H. Soames, ii. 109.

able to the empire, but their power had been broken by the emperor Constans. Asparuch established himself in the town of Varna, near the ancient Odessus, and laid the foundation of the Bulgarian monarchy, a kingdom long engaged in hostilities with the emperors of Constantinople, and whose power tended greatly to accelerate the decline of the Greeks, and reduce the numbers of their race in Europe.[1]

The event, however, which exercised the most favourable influence on the internal condition of the empire during the reign of Constantine Pogonatus, was the assembly of the sixth general council of the church at Constantinople. This council was held under circumstances peculiarly favourably to candid discussion. The ecclesiastical power was not yet too strong to set both reason and the civil authorities at defiance. Its decisions were adverse to the Monothelites; and the orthodox doctrine of two natures and two wills in Christ was received by the common consent of the Greek and Latin parties as the true rule of faith of the Christian church. Religious discussion had now taken a strong hold on public opinion, and as the majority of the Greek population had never adopted the opinions of the Monothelites, the decisions of the sixth general council contributed powerfully to promote the union of the Greeks with the imperial administration.

Section V

Depopulation of the Empire, and Decrease of the Greeks under Justinian II

Justinian II. succeeded his father Constantine at the age of sixteen, and though so very young, he immediately assumed the personal direction of the government. He was by no means destitute of talents, but his cruel and presumptuous character rendered him incapable of learning to perform the duties of his situation with justice. His violence at last rendered him hateful to his subjects; and as the connection of the emperor with the Roman government and people was direct and personal, his power was so undermined by the loss of his influence, that, in the ninth year of his reign, he was easily driven from his throne by a popular sedition. His nose was cut off, and he was banished to Cherson, A.D. 695. In exile his energy and activity enabled him to secure the

[1] Ducange, *Familiæ Byzantinæ*, p. 305. Theophanes, *Chron.* 298.

alliance of the Khazars and Bulgarians, and he returned to Constantinople as a conqueror, after an absence of ten years. His character was one of those to which experience is useless, and he persisted in his former course of violence, until, having exhausted the patience of his subjects, he was dethroned and murdered, A.D. 705–711.

The reign of such a tyrant was not likely to be inactive. At its commencement, he turned his arms against the Saracens, though the caliph Abdalmelik offered to make additional concessions, in order to induce the emperor to renew the treaty of peace which had been concluded with his father. Justinian sent a powerful army into Armenia under Leontius, by whom he was subsequently dethroned. All the provinces which had shown any disposition to favour the Saracens were laid waste, and the army carried off an immense booty, and drove away a great part of the inhabitants as slaves. The barbarism of the Roman government had now reached such a pitch that the Roman armies were permitted to plunder and depopulate even those provinces where a Christian population still afforded the emperor some assurance that they might be retained in permanent subjection to the Roman government. The soldiers of an undisciplined army,—legionaries without patriotism or nationality, were allowed to enrich themselves by slave hunts in Christian countries, and the most flourishing agricultural districts were reduced to deserts, incapable of offering any resistance to the Mohammedan nomades. The caliph Abdalmelik, being engaged in a struggle for the caliphate with powerful rivals, and disturbed by rebels even in his own Syrian dominions, arrested the progress of the Roman arms by purchasing peace on terms far more favourable to the empire than those of the treaty between Constantine and Moawyah. The caliph engaged to pay the emperor an annual tribute of three hundred and sixty-five thousand pieces of gold, three hundred and sixty slaves, and three hundred and sixty Arabian horses. The provinces of Iberia, Armenia, and Cyprus, were equally divided between the Romans and the Arabs; but Abdalmelik obtained the principal advantage from the treaty, for Justinian not only consented to abandon the cause of the Mardaïtes, but even engaged to assist the caliph in expelling them from Syria. This was effected by the treachery of Leontius, who entered their country as a friend, and murdered their chief. Twelve thousand Mardaïte soldiers were enrolled in the armies of the empire, and distributed

in garrisons in Armenia and Thrace. A colony of Mardaïtes was established at Attalia in Pamphylia, and the power of this valiant people was completely broken. The removal of the Mardaïtes from Syria was one of the most serious errors of the reign of Justinian. As long as they remained in force on Mount Lebanon, near the centre of the Saracen power, the emperor was able to render them a serious check on the Mohammedans, and create dangerous diversions whenever the caliphs invaded the empire. Unfortunately, in this age of religious bigotry, the Monothelite opinions of the Mardaïtes made them an object of aversion or suspicion to the imperial administration; and even under the prudent government of Constantine Pogonatus, they were not viewed with a friendly eye, nor did they receive the support which should have been granted to them on a just consideration of the interests of Christianity, as well as of the Roman empire.

The general depopulation of the empire suggested to many of the Roman emperors the project of repeopling favoured districts, by an influx of new inhabitants. The origin of many of the most celebrated cities of the Eastern Empire could be traced back to small Greek colonies. These emigrants, it was known, had rapidly increased in number, and risen to wealth. The Roman government appears never to have clearly comprehended that the same causes which produced the diminution of the ancient population would be sure to prevent the increase of new settlers; and their attempts at repeopling provinces, and removing the population of one district to new seats, were frequently renewed. Justinian II. had a great taste for these emigrations. Three years after the conclusion of peace with Abdalmelik, he resolved to withdraw all the inhabitants from the half of the island of Cyprus, of which he remained master, in order to prevent the Christians from becoming accustomed to the Saracen administration. The Cypriote population was transported to a new city near Cyzicus, which the emperor called after himself, Justinianopolis. It is needless to offer any remarks on the impolicy of such a project; the loss of life, and the destruction of property inevitable in the execution of such a scheme, could only have been replaced under the most favourable circumstances, and by a long career of prosperity. It is known that, in consequence of this desertion, many of the Cypriote towns fell into complete ruin, from which they have never since emerged.

Justinian, at the commencement of his reign, made a successful expedition into the country occupied by the Sclavonians in Macedonia, who were now closely allied with the Bulgarian principality beyond Mount Hæmus. This people, emboldened by their increased force, had pushed their plundering excursions as far the Propontis. The imperial army was completely successful, and both the Sclavonians and their Bulgarian allies were defeated. In order to repeople the fertile shores of the Hellespont about Abydos, Justinian transplanted a number of the Sclavonian families into the province of Opsicium. This colony was so numerous and powerful, that it furnished a considerable contingent to the imperial armies.[1]

The peace with the Saracens was not of long duration. Justinian refused to receive the first gold pieces coined by Abdalmelik, which bore the legend, "God is the Lord." The tribute had previously been paid in money from the municipal mints of Syria; and Justinian imagined that the new Arabian coinage was an attack on the Holy Trinity. He led his army in person against the Saracens, and a battle took place near Sebastopolis, on the coast of Cilicia, in which he was entirely defeated, in consequence of the treason of the leader of his Sclavonian troops.[2] Justinian fled from the field of battle, and on his way to the capital he revenged himself on the Sclavonians who had remained faithful to his standard for the desertion of their countrymen. The Sclavonians in his service were put to death, and he even ordered the wives and children of those who had joined the Saracens to be murdered. The deserters were established by the Saracens on the coast of Syria, and in the island of Cyprus; and under the government of the caliph, they were more prosperous than under that of the Roman emperor. It was during this war that the Saracens inflicted the first great badge of civil degradation on the Christian population of their dominions. Abdalmelik established the Haratch, or Christian capitation tax, in order to raise money to carry on the war with Justinian. This unfortunate mode of taxing the Christian subjects of the caliph, in a different manner from the Mohammedans, completely separated the two classes, and reduced the Christians to the rank of serfs of the State, whose most prominent political

[1] 30,000.—Nicephorus Pat. 24. Theophanes, 305.

[2] The Sclavonian leader Gebulus, or Nebulus, carried off 20,000 men, according to Theophanes (305); but Saint-Martin cites an Armenian historian who reduces the number to 7000 cavalry.—Lebeau, xii. 22.

relation with the Mussulman community was that of furnishing money to the government. The decline of the Christian population throughout the dominions of the caliphs was the consequence of this ill-judged measure, which has probably tended more to the depopulation of the East than all the tyranny and military violence of the Mohammedan armies.

The restless spirit of Justinian naturally plunged into the ecclesiastical controversies which divided the church. He assembled a general council, called usually *in Trullo*, from the hall of its meeting having been covered with a dome. The proceedings of this council, as might have been expected from those of an assembly controlled by such a spirit as that of the emperor, tended only to increase the growing differences between the Greek and Latin parties in the church. Of one hundred and two canons sanctioned by this council, the pope finally rejected six, as adverse to the usages of the Latins.[1] And thus an additional cause of separation was permanently created between the Greeks and Latins, and the measures of the church, as well as the political arrangements of the times, and the social feelings of the people, all tended to render union impossible.

A taste for building is a common fancy of sovereigns who possess the absolute disposal of large funds without any feeling of their duty as trustees for the benefit of the people whom they govern. Even in the midst of the greatest public distress, the treasury of nations, on the very verge of ruin and bankruptcy, must contain large sums of money drawn from the annual taxation. This treasure, when placed at the irresponsible disposal of princes who affect magnificence, is frequently employed in useless and ornamental building; and this fashion has been so general with despots, that the princes who have been most distinguished for their love of building, have not unfrequently been the worst and most oppressive sovereigns. It is always a delicate and difficult task for a sovereign to estimate the amount which a nation can wisely afford to expend on ornamental architecture; and, from his position, he is seldom qualified to judge correctly on what buildings ornament ought to be employed, in order to make

[1] Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* by Murdock, Soame's edit. ii. 111. The six canons rejected were—the fifth, which approves of the eighty-five apostolic canons, commonly attributed to Clement; the thirteenth, which allows priests to live in wedlock; the fifty-fifth, which condemns fasting on Saturdays; the sixty-seventh, which earnestly enjoins abstinence from blood and things strangled; the eighty-second, which prohibits the painting of Christ in the image of a lamb; and the eighty-sixth, concerning the equality of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople.—Schlegel's note.

art accord with the taste and feelings of the people. Public opinion affords the only criterion for the formation of a sound judgment on this department of public administration; for, when princes possessing a taste for building are not compelled to consult the wants and wishes of their subjects, in the construction of national edifices, they are apt, by their wild projects and lavish expenditure, to create evils far greater than any which could result from an exhibition of bad taste alone.

In an evil hour, the love of building took possession of Justinian's mind. His lavish expenditure soon obliged him to make his financial administration more rigorous, and general discontent quickly pervaded the capital. The religious and superstitious feelings of the population were severely wounded by the emperor's eagerness to destroy a church of the Virgin, in order to embellish the vicinity of his palace with a splendid fountain. Justinian's own scruples required to be soothed by a religious ceremony, but the patriarch for some time refused to officiate, alleging that the church had no prayers to desecrate holy buildings. The emperor, however, was the head of the church and the master of the bishops, whom he could remove from office, so that the patriarch did not long dare to refuse obedience to his orders. It is said, however, that the patriarch showed very clearly his dissatisfaction, by repairing to the spot and authorising the destruction of the church by an ecclesiastical ceremony, to which he added these words, "to God, who suffers all things, be rendered glory, now and for ever. Amen." The ceremony was sufficient to satisfy the conscience of the emperor, who perhaps neither heard nor heeded the words of the patriarch. The public discontent was loudly expressed, and Justinian soon perceived that the fury of the populace threatened a rebellion in Constantinople. To avert the danger, he took every measure which unscrupulous cruelty could suggest; but, as generally happens in periods of general discontent and excitement, the storm burst in an unexpected quarter, and the hatred of Justinian left him suddenly without support. Leontius, one of the ablest generals of the empire, whose exploits have been already mentioned, had been thrown into prison, but was at this time ordered to assume the government of the province of Hellas. He considered the nomination as a mere pretext to remove him from the capital, in order to put him to death at a distance without any trial. On the eve of his departure, Leontius placed himself at the head of a

sedition; Justinian was seized, and his ministers were murdered by the populace with the most savage cruelty. Leontius was proclaimed emperor, but he spared the life of his dethroned predecessor for the sake of the benefits which he had received from Constantine Pogonatus. He ordered Justinian's nose to be cut off, and exiled him to Cherson. From this mutilation the dethroned emperor received the insulting nickname of Rhinotmetus, or Docknose, by which he is distinguished in Byzantine history.

Section VI

Anarchy in the Administration until the Accession of Leo III

The government of Leontius was characterised by the unsteadiness which not unfrequently marks the administration of the ablest sovereigns who obtain their thrones by accidental circumstances rather than by systematic combinations. The most important event of his reign was the final loss of Africa, which led to his dethronement. The indefatigable caliph Abdalmelik despatched a powerful expedition into Africa under Hassan; the province was soon conquered, and Carthage was captured after a feeble resistance.[1] An expedition sent by Leontius to relieve the province arrived too late to save Carthage, but the commander-in-chief forced the entrance into the port, recovered possession of the city, and drove the Arabs from most of the fortified towns on the coast. The Arabs constantly received new reinforcements, which the Roman general demanded from Leontius in vain. At last the Arabs assembled a fleet, and the Romans, being defeated in a naval engagement, were compelled to abandon Carthage, which the Arabs utterly destroyed,—having too often experienced the superiority of the Romans, both in naval affairs and in the art of war, to venture on retaining populous and fortified cities on the sea coast. This curious fact affords strong proof of the great superiority of the Roman commerce and naval resources, and equally powerful evidence of the shameful disorder in the civil and military administration of the empire, which rendered these advantages useless, and allowed the imperial fleets

[1] Carthage was founded B.C. 878. The Tyrian colony was exterminated by the Romans B.C. 146. The Roman colony of Carthage was founded by Julius Cæsar B.C. 44, and destroyed by the Arabs A.D. 698.

to be defeated by the naval forces collected by the Arabs from among their Egyptian and Syrian subjects. At the same time it is evident that the naval victories of the Arabs could never have been gained unless a powerful party of the Christians had been induced, by their feelings of hostility to the Roman empire, to afford them a willing support; for there were as yet neither shipbuilders nor sailors among the Mussulmans.

The Roman expedition, on its retreat from Carthage, stopped in the island of Crete, where a sedition broke out among the troops, in which their general was killed. Apsimar, the commander of the Cibyraiot troops, was declared emperor by the name of Tiberius.[1] The fleet proceeded directly to Constantinople, which offered no resistance. Leontius was taken prisoner, his nose cut off, and his person confined in a monastery. Tiberius Apsimar governed the empire with prudence, and his brother Heraclius commanded the Roman armies with success. The imperial troops penetrated into Syria; a victory was gained over the Arabs at Samosata, but the ravages committed by the Romans in this invasion surpassed the greatest cruelties ever inflicted by the Arabs; for two hundred thousand Saracens are said to have perished during the campaign. Armenia was alternately invaded and laid waste by the Romans and the Saracens, as the various turns of war favoured the hostile parties, and as the changing interests of the Armenian population induced them to aid the emperor or the caliph. But while Tiberius was occupied in the duties of government, and living without any fear of a domestic enemy, he was suddenly surprised in his capital by Justinian, who appeared before Constantinople at the head of a Bulgarian army.

Ten years of exile had been spent by the banished emperor in vain attempts to obtain power. His violent proceedings made him everywhere detested, but he possessed the daring enterprise and the ferocious cruelty necessary for a chief of banditti, joined to a singular confidence in the value of his hereditary claim to the imperial throne; so that no undertaking appeared to him hopeless. After quarrelling with the inhabitants of Cherson, and with his brother-in-law, the king

[1] The Cibyraiot Theme included the ancient Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and a part of Phrygia; Cibyra Magna was a considerable town at the angle of Phrygia, Caria, and Lycia. Tiberius Cæsar was regarded as its second founder, from his having remitted the tribute after a severe earthquake.—Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 13. From him Apsimar must have taken the name of Tiberius, and not from the emperor of Constantinople of better fame. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, indeed, says the Theme in question was named from the insignificant town of Cibyra in Pamphylia, but his authority is of little value on such a point.—*De Them.* lib. i. p. 16.

of the Khazars, he succeeded, by a desperate exertion of courage, in reaching the country of the Bulgarians. Terbelis, their sovereign, agreed to assist him in recovering his throne, and they marched immediately with a Bulgarian army to the walls of Constantinople. Three days after their arrival, they succeeded in entering the capital during the night. Ten years of adversity had increased the natural ferocity of Justinian's disposition; and a desire of vengeance, so unreasonable as to verge on madness, seems henceforward to have been the chief motive of his actions. The population of Constantinople had now sunk to the same degree of barbarism as the nations surrounding them, and in cruelty they were worthy subjects of their emperor. Justinian gratified them by celebrating his restoration with splendid chariot races in the circus. He sate on an elevated throne, with his feet resting on the necks of the dethroned emperors, Leontius and Tiberius, who were stretched on the platform below, while the Greek populace around shouted the words of the Psalmist, "Thou shalt tread down the asp and the basilisk, thou shalt trample on the lion and the dragon."[1] The dethroned emperors and Heraclius, who had so well sustained the glory of the Roman arms against the Saracens, were afterwards hung from the battlements of Constantinople. Justinian's whole soul was occupied with plans of vengeance. Though the conquest of Tyana laid open Asia Minor to the incursions of the Saracens, instead of opposing them, he directed his disposable forces to punish the cities of Ravenna and Cherson, because they had incurred his personal hatred. Both the proscribed cities had rejoiced at his dethronement; they were both taken and treated with savage cruelty. The Greek city of Cherson, though the seat of a flourishing commerce, and inhabited by a numerous population, was condemned to utter destruction. Justinian ordered all the buildings to be razed with the ground, and every soul within its walls to be put to death; but the troops sent to execute these barbarous orders revolted, and proclaimed an Armenian, called Bardanes, emperor, under the name of Philippicus.[2] Seizing the fleet, they sailed directly to Constantinople. Justinian was encamped with an army in Asia Minor when Philippicus arrived and took possession of the

[1] These are the words of the Septuagint, Psalm xc. 13. In our version, Psalm xci. 13, the passage stands, "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet."

[2] Theophanes calls him the son of Nicephorus the Patrician.—P. 311. Nicephorus Pat. mentions that he was an Armenian.—P. 50. edit. Bonn.

capital without encountering any resistance. He was immediately deserted by his whole army, for the troops were as little pleased with his conduct since his restoration, as was every other class of his subjects; but his ferocity and courage never failed him, and his rage was unbounded when he found himself abandoned by every one. He was seized and executed, without having it in his power to offer the slightest resistance. His son Tiberius, though only six years of age, was torn from the altar of a church, to which he had been conducted for safety, and cruelly massacred; and thus the race of Heraclius was extinguished, after the family had governed the Roman empire for exactly a century (A.D. 611 to 711).

During the interval of six years which elapsed from the death of Justinian II. to the accession of Leo the Isaurian, the imperial throne was occupied by three sovereigns. Their history is only remarkable as proving the inherent strength of the Roman body politic, which could survive such continual revolutions, even in the state of weakness to which it was reduced. Philippicus was a luxurious and extravagant prince, who thought only of enjoying the situation which he had accidentally obtained, He was soon dethroned by a band of conspirators, who carried him off from the palace while in a fit of drunkenness, and after putting out his eyes, left him helpless in the middle of the hippodrome. The reign of Philippicus would hardly deserve notice, had he not increased the confusion into which the empire had fallen, and exposed the total want of character and conscience among the Greek clergy, by re-establishing the Monothelite doctrines in a general council of the eastern bishops.

As the conspirators who had dethroned Philippicus had not formed any plan for choosing his successor, the first secretary of state was elected emperor by a public assembly held in the great church of St. Sophia, under the name of Anastasius II. He immediately re-established the orthodox faith, and his character is consequently the subject of eulogy with the historians of his reign.[1] The Saracens, whose power was continually increasing, were at this time preparing a great expedition at Alexandria, in order to attack Constantinople. Anastasius sent a fleet with the troops of the theme Opsicium, to destroy the magazines of timber collected on the coast of Phœnicia for the purpose of assisting the preparations at Alexandria. The Roman armament was commanded by

[1] Nicephorus Pat. 32. Theophanes, 322.

a deacon of St. Sophia, who also held the office of grand treasurer of the empire. The nomination of a member of the clergy to command the army gave great dissatisfaction to the troops, who were not yet so deeply tinctured with ecclesiastical ideas and manners, as the aristocracy of the empire. A sedition took place while the army lay at Rhodes: John the Deacon was slain, and the expedition quitted the port in order to return to the capital. The soldiers on their way landed at Adramyttium, and finding there a collector of the revenues of a popular character, they declared him emperor, under the name of Theodosius III.

The new emperor was compelled unwillingly to follow the army. For six months, Constantinople was closely besieged, and the emperor Anastasius, who had retired to Nicæa, was defeated in a general engagement. The capital was at last taken by the rebels, who were so deeply sensible of their real interests, that they maintained strict discipline, and Anastasius, whose weakness gave little confidence to his followers, consented to resign the empire to Theodosius, and to retire into a monastery, that he might secure an amnesty to all his friends. Theodosius was distinguished by many good qualities, but on the throne he proved a perfect cipher, and his reign is only remarkable as affording a pretext for the assumption of the imperial dignity by Leo III., called the Isaurian. This able and enterprising officer, perceiving that the critical times rendered the empire the prize of any man who had talents to seize, and power to defend it, placed himself at the head of the troops in Asia Minor, assumed the title of emperor, and soon compelled Theodosius to quit the throne and become a priest.

During the period which elapsed between the death of Heraclius and the accession of Leo, the few remains of Roman principles of administration which had lingered in the imperial court, were gradually extinguished. The long-cherished hope of restoring the ancient power and glory of the Roman empire expired, and even the aristocracy, which always clings the last to antiquated forms and ideas, no longer dwelt with confidence on the memory of former days. The conviction that the empire had undergone a great moral and political change, which severed the future irrevocably from the past, though it was probably not fully understood, was at least felt and acted on both by the people and the government. The sad fact that the splendid light of civilisation which had illuminated

the ancient world had now become as obscure at Constantinople as at Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and Carthage, was too evident to be longer doubted; the very twilight of antiquity had faded into darkness. It is rather, however, the province of the antiquary than of the historian to collect all the traces of this truth scattered over the records of the seventh century.

There is one curious and important circumstance in the history of the later days of the Roman empire, of which little beyond the mere fact has been transmitted by historians. A long and violent contention was carried on between the imperial power and the aristocracy, which represented the last degenerate remains of the Roman senate. This struggle distracted the councils and paralysed the energy of the Roman government. It commenced in the reign of Maurice, and existed under various modifications during the whole period of the government of the family of Heraclius. This aristocratic influence had more of an oriental than of a Roman character; its feelings and views had originated in that class of society imbued with a semi-Greek civilisation which had grown up during the days of the Macedonian rather than of the Roman empire; and both Heraclius and Constans II., in their schemes for circumscribing its authority in the State, resolved to remove the capital of the empire from Constantinople to a Latin city. Both conceived the vain hope of re-establishing the imperial power on a purely Roman basis, as a means of subduing, or at least controlling, the power of Greek nationality, which was gaining ground both in the State and the Church. The contest terminated in the destruction of that political influence in the Eastern Empire, which was purely Roman in its character. But the united power of Greek and oriental feelings could not destroy the spirit of Rome, until the well-organised civil administration of Augustus and Constantine ceased to exist. The subjects of the empire were no great gainers by the change. The political government became a mere arbitrary despotism, differing little from the prevailing form of monarchy in the East, and deprived of all those fundamental institutions, and that systematic character, which had enabled the Roman state to survive the extravagances of Nero and the incapacity of Phocas.

The disorganisation of the Roman government at this period, and the want of any influence over the court by the Greek nation, are visible in the choice of the persons who

occupied the imperial throne after the extinction of the family of Heraclius. They were selected by accident, and several were of foreign origin, who did not even look upon themselves as either Greeks or Romans. Philippicus was an Armenian, and Leo III., whose reign opens a new era in eastern history, was an Isaurian. On the throne he proved that he was destitute of any attachment to Roman political institutions, and any respect for the Greek ecclesiastical establishment. It was by the force of his talents, and by his able direction of the State and of the army, that he succeeded in securing his family on the Byzantine throne; for he unquestionably placed himself in direct hostility to the feelings and opinions of his Greek and Roman subjects, and transmitted to his successors a contest between the imperial power and the Greek nation concerning picture-worship, in which the very existence of Greek nationality, civilisation, and religion, became at last compromised. From the commencement of the iconoclastic contest, the history of the Greeks assumes a new aspect. Their civilisation, and their connection with the Byzantine empire, become linked with the policy and fortunes of the Eastern Church, and ecclesiastical affairs obtain a supremacy over all social and political considerations in their minds.

Section VII

General View of the Condition of the Greeks at the Extinction of the Roman Power in the East

The geographical extent of the empire at the time of its transition from the Roman to the Byzantine empire affords evidence of the influence which the territorial changes produced by the Saracen conquests exercised in conferring political importance on the Greek race. The frontier towards the Saracens of Syria commenced at Mopsuestia in Cilicia, the last fortress of the Arab power. It ran along the chains of Mounts Amanus and Taurus to the mountainous district to the north of Edessa and Nisibis, called, after the time of Justinian, the Fourth Armenia, of which Martyropolis was the capital. It then followed nearly the ancient limits of the empire until it reached the Black Sea, a short distance to the east of Trebizond. On the northern shores of the Euxine, Cherson was now the only city that acknowledged the supremacy of the empire, retaining at the same time all its

wealth and commerce, with the municipal privileges of a free city.[1] In Europe, Mount Hæmus formed the barrier against the Bulgarians, while the mountainous ranges which bound Macedonia to the north-west, and encircle the territory of Dyrrachium, were regarded as the limits of the free Sclavonian states. It is true that large bodies of Sclavonians had penetrated to the south of this line, and lived in Greece and Peloponnesus, but not in the same independent condition with reference to the imperial administration as their northern brethren of the Servian family.

Istria, Venice, and the cities on the Dalmatian coast, still acknowledged the supremacy of the empire, though their distant position, their commercial connections, and their religious feelings, were all tending towards a final separation. In the centre of Italy, the exarchate of Ravenna still held Rome in subjection, but the people of Italy were entirely alienated from the political administration, which was now regarded by them as purely Greek, and the Italians, with Rome before their eyes, could hardly admit the pretensions of the Greeks to be regarded as the legitimate representatives of the Roman empire. The loss of northern and central Italy was consequently an event in constant danger of occurring; it would have required an able and energetic and just government to have repressed the national feelings of the Italians, and conciliated their allegiance. The condition of the population of the south of Italy and of Sicily was very different. There the majority of the inhabitants were Greeks in language and manners; but at this time the cities of Gaëta, Naples, Amalfi, and Sorento, the district of Otranto, and the peninsula to the south of the ancient Sybaris, now called Calabria, were the only parts which remained under the Byzantine government. Sicily, though it had begun to suffer from the incursions of the Saracens, was still populous and wealthy. Sardinia, the last possession of the Greeks to the westward of Italy, was conquered by the Saracens about this time, A.D. 711.[2]

In order to conclude the view which, in the preceding pages, we have endeavoured to present of the various causes that gradually diminished the numbers, and destroyed the civilisation, of the Greek race, it is necessary to add a sketch of the position of the nation at the commencement of the

[1] Gibbon, ch. xvii. vol. ii. p. 360, Smith's edit. Constant. Porphyr. *De Adm. Imp.* c. 58.

[2] Price, *Mohammedan History*, i. 471.

eighth century. At this unfortunate period in the history of mankind, the Greeks were placed in imminent danger of that annihilation which had already destroyed their Roman conquerors. The victories of the Arabs were attended with very different consequences to the Greek population of the countries which they subdued, from those which had followed the conquests of the Romans. Like the earlier domination of the Parthians, the Arab power was employed in such a manner as ultimately to exterminate the whole Greek population in the conquered countries; and though, for a short period, the Arabs, like their predecessors the Parthians, protected Greek art and Grecian civilisation, their policy soon changed, and the Greeks were proscribed. The arts and sciences which flourished at the court of the caliphs were chiefly derived from their Syrian subjects, whose acquaintance both with Syriac and Greek literature opened to them an extensive range of scientific knowledge from sources utterly lost to the moderns. It is to be observed, that a very great number of the eminent literary and scientific authors of later times were Asiatics, and that these writers frequently made use of their native languages in those useful and scientific works which were intended for the practical instruction of their own countrymen. In Egypt and Cyrenaïca the Greek population was soon exterminated by the Arabs, and every trace of Grecian civilisation was much sooner effaced than in Syria; though even there no very long interval elapsed before a small remnant of the Greek population was all that survived. Antioch itself, long the third city of the Eastern Empire, the spot where the Christians had first received their name,[1] and the principal seat of Greek civilisation in Asia for upwards of nine centuries, though it was not depopulated and razed to the ground like Alexandria and Carthage, nevertheless soon ceased to be a Grecian city.

The numerous Greek colonies which had flourished in the Tauric Chersonese, and on the eastern and northern shores of the Euxine, were now almost all deserted. The greater number had submitted to the Khazars, who now occupied all the open country with their flocks and herds; and the inhabitants of the free city of Cherson, shut out from the cultivation of the rich lands whose harvests had formerly supplied Athens with grain, were entirely supported by foreign commerce. Their ships exchanged the hides, wax, and salt

[1] Acts xi. 26.

fish of the neighbouring districts, for the necessaries and luxuries of a city life, in Constantinople and the maritime cities of the empire.[1] It affords matter for reflection to find that Cherson,—situated in a climate which, from the foundation of the colony, opposed insurmountable barriers to the introduction of much of the peculiar character of Greek social civilisation, and which deprived the art and the popular literature of the mother country of some portion of their charm,—to whose inhabitants the Greek temple, the Greek agora, and the Greek theatre, must ever have borne the characteristics of foreign habits, and in a land where the piercing winds and heavy clouds prevented a life out of doors being the essence of existence—should still have preserved, to this late period of history, both its Greek municipal organisation, and its independent civic government. Yet such was the case; and we know from the testimony of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, that Cherson continued to exist in a condition of respectable independence, though under imperial protection, down to the middle of the tenth century.

In Greece itself the Hellenic race had been driven from many fertile districts by Sclavonian settlers, who had established themselves in large bodies in Greece and the Peloponnesus, and had often pushed their plundering and piratical incursions among the islands of the Archipelago, from which they had carried off numerous bands of slaves.[2] In the cities and islands which the Greeks still possessed, the secluded position of the population, and the exclusive attention which they were compelled to devote to their local interests and personal defence, introduced a degree of ignorance which soon extinguished the last remains of Greek civilisation, and effaced all knowledge of Greek literature. The diminished population of the European Greeks now occupied the shores of the Adriatic to the south of Dyrrachium, and the maritime districts of Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace, as far as Constantinople. The interior of the country was everywhere overrun by Sclavonic colonies, though many mountainous

[1] Leucon, king of Bosporus (B.C. 393–353), once sent to Athens from the Tauric Chersonese, in a year of scarcity, upwards of two million bushels of grain. The ordinary importation was about six hundred thousand.—Strabo, vii. c. 4, vol. 2, 97, edit. Tauch. Demosthenes, *in Leptin.* 467. In the time of Strabo, the eastern part of the Chersonese was a country very fertile in grain; but in that of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Cherson imported corn, wine, and oil as foreign luxuries. Gibbon, in copying Constantine Porphyrogenitus when speaking of the time of Justinian II., omits to notice the commercial prosperity of the place, and represents it as a lonely settlement.—Ch. xlviii. vol. iv. p. 78.—See pp. 152, 153, of this volume.

[2] Niceph. Pat. pp. 49, 86, edit. Bonn.

districts and most of the fortified places still remained in the possession of the Greeks. It is, unfortunately, impossible to explain with precision the real nature and extent of the Sclavonic colonisation of Greece; and, indeed, before it be possible to decide how far it partook of conquest, and how far it resulted from the occupation of deserted and uncultivated lands, it becomes absolutely necessary to arrive at some definite information concerning the diminution which had taken place in the native agricultural classes, and in the social position of the slaves and serfs who survived in the depopulated districts. The scanty materials existing render the inquiry one which can only engage the attention of the antiquary, who can glean a few isolated facts; but the historian must turn away from the conjectures which would connect these facts into a system. The condition of social life during the decline of the Roman empire had led to the division of the provincial population into two classes, the urban and the rustic, or into citizens and peasants; and the superior position and greater security of the citizens gradually enabled them to assume a political superiority over the free peasants, and at last to reduce them, in a great measure, to the rank of serfs.[1] Slaves became, about the same time, of much greater relative value, and more difficult to be procured; and the distinction naturally arose between purchased slaves, who formed a part of the household and of the family of the possessor, and agricultural serfs, whose partial liberty was attended by the severest hardships, and whose social condition was one of the lowest degradation and of the greatest personal danger. The population of Greece and the islands, in the time of Alexander the Great, may be estimated at three millions and a half;[2] and probably half of this number consisted of slaves. During the vicissitudes of the Greek population under the Roman domination, the diminution of its numbers cannot have been less than the total amount of the whole slave population, though the diminution did not fall exclusively on any one class of society. The extent, however, to which the general depopulation affected the agricultural population, and the value of labour, must be ascertained before full light can be thrown on the real nature of the Sclavonic and Albanian colonisation of Greece.[3]

[1] *Cod. Just.* xi. t. 49, 1, l. *Cod. Theod.* v. par. t. 9 and 11, &c.
[2] Clinton's *Fasti Hell.* vol. ii. p. 431.
[3] The high value of labour in many thinly-peopled countries in a declining state, as Turkey, is a subject for curious investigation, as connected with the decline of one race of the population, and its replacement by another.

In the island of Sicily, and in the south of Italy, the great bulk of the population was Greek, both in language and manners, and few portions of the Greek race had succeeded so well in preserving their wealth and property uninjured.[1]

Even in Asia Minor the decline of the numbers of the Greek race had been rapid. This decline must, however, be attributed rather to bad government causing insecurity of property and difficulty of communication than to hostile invasions; for from the period of the Persian invasion during the reign of Heraclius, the greater part of this immense country had enjoyed almost a century of uninterrupted peace. The Persian invasions had never been very injurious to the sea-coast, where the Greek cities were still numerous and wealthy; but oppression and neglect had already destroyed the internal trade of the central provinces, and literary instruction was becoming daily of less value to the inhabitants of the isolated and secluded districts of the interior.[2] The Greek tongue began to be neglected, and the provincial dialects, corrupted by an admixture of the Lydian, Carian, Phrygian, Cappadocian, and Lycaonian languages, became the ordinary medium of business and conversation. Bad government had caused poverty, poverty had produced barbarism, and the ignorance created by barbarism became the means of perpetuating an arbitrary and oppressive system of administration. The people, ignorant of all written language, felt unable to check the exercise of official abuses by the control of the law, and by direct application to the central administration. Their wish, therefore, was to abridge as much as possible all the proceedings of power; and as it was always more easy to save their persons from the central power than their properties from the subordinate officers of the administration, despotism became the favourite form of government with the great mass of the Asiatic population.

It is impossible to attempt any detailed examination of the changes which had taken place in the numbers of the Greek population in Asia Minor. The fact that extensive districts, once populous and wealthy, were already deserts, is proved by

[1] For the antiquity of the Greek race and language in Magna Græcia, see Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, i. 61, English trans. The Greek language continued in use until the fourteenth century.

[2] The barbarism of the provincial Asiatics is often alluded to by the Byzantine writers. Λυκάονάς τινας ἢ λυκανθρώπους.—Theophanes, *Chron.* 406. For the existence of Lycaonian dialect, see Acts xiv. 11.

the colonies which Justinian II. settled in various parts of the country. The frequent repetition of such settlements, and the great extent to which they were carried by the later emperors, prove that the depopulation of the country had proceeded more rapidly than the destruction of its material resources. The descendants of Greek and Roman citizens ceased to exist in districts, while the buildings stood tenantless, and the olive groves yielded an abundant harvest. In this strange state of things the country easily received new races of inhabitants. The sudden settlement of a Sclavonian colony so numerous as to be capable of furnishing an auxiliary army of thirty thousand men, and the unexpected migration of nearly half of the inhabitants of the island of Cyprus, without mentioning the emigration of the Mardaïtes who were established in Asia Minor, could never have taken place unless houses, wells, fruit-trees, water-courses, enclosures, and roads had existed in tolerable preservation, and thus furnished the new colonist with an immense amount of what may be called vested capital to assist his labour. The fact that these new colonies, planted by Justinian II., could survive and support themselves, seems a curious circumstance when connected with the depopulation and declining state of the empire which led to their establishment.

The existence of numerous and powerful bands of organised brigands who plundered the country in defiance of the government was one of the features of society at this period, which almost escapes the notice of the meagre historians whom we possess, though it existed to such an extent as materially to have aggravated the distress of the Greek population. Even had history been entirely silent on the subject, there could have been no doubt of their existence in the latter days of the Roman empire, from the knowledge which we have of the condition of the inhabitants, and of the geographical conformation of the land. History affords, however, a few casual glances of the extent of the evil. The existence of a tribe of brigands in the mountains of Thrace during a period of two centuries, is proved by the testimony of authorities which the time and circumstances render unimpeachable. Menander mentions bands of robbers, under the name of Scamars, who plundered the ambassadors sent by the Avars to the emperor Justin II.; and these Scamars continued to exist as an organised society of robbers in the same district until the time of Constantine V. (Copronymus), A.D. 765, when the capture

and cruel torture of one of their chiefs is narrated by Theophanes.[1]

History also records numerous isolated facts which, when collected, produce on the mind the conviction that the diminution in numbers, and the decline in civilisation of the Greek race, were the effect of the oppression and injustice of the Roman government, not of the violence and cruelty of the barbarian invaders of the empire. During the reign of that insane tyrant Justinian II., the imperial troops, when properly commanded, showed that the remains of Roman discipline enabled them to defeat all their enemies in a fair field of battle. The emperor Leontius, and Heraclius the brother of Tiberius Apsimar, were completely victorious over the redoubted Saracens; Justinian himself defeated the Bulgarians and Sclavonians. But the whole power of the empire was withdrawn from the people to be concentrated in the government. The Greek municipal guards had been carefully deprived of their arms under Justinian I., whose timid policy regarded internal rebellion as far more to be dreaded than foreign invasions. The people were everywhere disarmed because their hostile feelings were known and feared. The European Greeks were regarded as provincials just as much as the wild Lycaonians or Isaurians; and if they anywhere succeeded in obtaining arms and resisting the progress of the Sclavonians, they owed their success to the weakness and neglect which, in all despotic governments, prevent the strict execution of those laws which are at variance with the feelings and interests of the population, the moment that the agents of the government can derive no direct profit from enforcing them.

The Roman government always threw the greatest difficulties in the way of their subjects' acquiring the means of defending themselves without the aid of the imperial army. The injury Justinian inflicted on the Greek cities by disbanding their local militia, and robbing them of the municipal funds devoted to preserve their physical well-being and mental culture, caused a deep-rooted hatred of the imperial

[1] *Excerpta e Menandri Hist.* p. 313, edit. Bonn. Theophanes, *Chron.* 367. The Bagaudæ in Spain and Gaul were a similar race of outlaws.—Ducange, *Gloss. Med. et Infra Lat.*, in voce. In the time of Gallienus, Sicily was ravaged by armies of brigands.—*Script. Aug.* Trebell. Poll. c. 4. In the reign of Arcadius, bands of slaves in the dress of Huns plundered Thrace.—Zosimus, v. 22. The frequent portents of insurrections of slaves and ravages of brigands, indicated by Lydus, proved that men lived in constant fear of these calamities during the sixth century.—*De Ostentis*, xxxiv. 7, 15, 25.

government. This feeling is well portrayed in the bitter satire of the "Secret History" of Procopius. The hatred between the inhabitants of Hellas and the Roman Greeks connected with the imperial administration soon became mutual; and at last a term of contempt is used by the historians of the Byzantine empire to distinguish the native Greeks from the other Greek inhabitants of the empire,—they were called Helladikoi.

After the time of Justinian we possess little authentic information concerning the details of the provincial and municipal administration of the Greek population. The state of public roads and buildings, of ports, of trade, of maritime communications; of the nature of the judicial, civil, and police administration, and of the extent of education among the people—in short, the state of all those things which powerfully influence the character and the prosperity of a nation, are almost unknown. It is certain that they were all in a declining and neglected state. Thessalonica, though situated in one of the richest provinces of Europe, was often reduced to great distress by famine, and unfortunately these famines arose in as great a degree from the fiscal regulations and commercial monopolies of the Roman government, as from the devastations of the barbarians.[1] The local administration of the Greek cities still retained some shadow of ancient forms, and senates existed in many, even to a late period of the Byzantine empire. Indeed, they must all have enjoyed very much the same form of government as Venice and Amalfi, at the period when these cities first began to enjoy a virtual independence.

The absence of all national feeling, which had ever been a distinguishing feature of the Roman government, continued to exert its influence at the court of Constantinople long after the Greeks formed the bulk of the population of the empire. This spirit separated the governing classes from the people, and induced all those who obtained employments in the service of the State to constitute themselves into a body, directly opposed to Greek nationality, because the Greeks formed the great mass of the governed. The election of many emperors not of Greek blood at this period must be attributed to the strength of this feeling.[2] This opposition

[1] Tafel, *Thessalonica*, p. lxvii.

[2] Heraclius was a Roman of Africa; Leontius was an Isaurian (Niceph. Pat. 25); Leo, an Isaurian (see Theophanes, *Ch.* 300; Lebeau, xii. 93, 97). Philippicus and

between the Greek people and the imperial administration contributed, in a considerable degree, to revive the authority of the Eastern Church. The church was peculiarly Greek; indeed, so much so, that an admixture of foreign blood was generally regarded as almost equivalent to a taint of heresy. As the priests were chosen from every rank of society, the whole Greek nation was usually interested in the prosperity and passions of the church. In learning and moral character, the higher clergy were far superior to the rest of the aristocracy, and thus they possessed a moral influence capable of protecting their friends and adherents among the people, in many questions with the civil government. This legitimate authority, which was very great in the civil administration, and was supported by national feelings and prejudices, gave them unbounded influence, the moment that any dispute ranged the Greek clergy and people on the same side in their opposition to the imperial power. The Greek Church appears for a long period of history as the only public representative of the feelings and views of the nation, and, after the accession of Leo the Isaurian, it must be regarded as an institution which tended to preserve the national existence of the Greeks.

Amidst the numerous vices in the social state of mankind at this period, it is consoling to be able to find a single virtue. The absence of all national feeling in the imperial armies exercised a humane influence on the wars which the empire carried on against the Saracens. It is certain that the religious hatred, subsequently so universal between the Christians and Mohammedans, was not very violent in the seventh and eighth centuries. The facility with which the orthodox patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Alexandria submitted to the government of the Mohammedans has been already mentioned. The empire, it is true, was generally the loser by this want of national and patriotic feeling among the Christians; but, on the other hand, the gain to humanity was immense, as is proved by the liberality of Moawyah, who rebuilt the church of Edessa. The Arabs for some time continued to be guided by the sentiments of justice which Mahomet had carefully inculcated, and their treatment of their heretic subjects was far from oppressive, in a religious point of view. When Abdalmelik desired to convert the splendid church of

Leo V. were Armenians; Nicephorus was of Arabian descent (Abou'lfaradj, 139). Michael II., of Amorium, was said to be a Jew (Cedrenus, *H. C.* 2, 496); he was probably of Phrygian race.

Damascus into a mosque, he abstained, on finding that the Christians of Damascus were entitled to keep possession of it, by the terms of their original capitulation. The insults which Justinian II. and the caliph Walid respectively offered to the religion of his rival, were rather the effect of personal insolence and tyranny, than of any sentiment of religious bigotry. Justinian quarrelled with Abdalmelik, on account of the ordinary superscription of the caliph's letters—"Say there is one God, and that Mahomet is his prophet." Walid violently expelled the Christians from the great church of Damascus, and converted it into a mosque. At this period, any connection of Roman subjects with the Saracens was viewed as ordinary treason, and not as subsequently in the time of the Crusades, in the light of an inexpiable act of sacrilege. Even the accusation brought against the Pope, Martin, of corresponding with the Saracens, does not appear to have been made with the intention of charging him with blacker treason than that which resulted from his supporting the rebel exarch Olympius. All rebels who found their enterprise desperate, naturally sought assistance from the Saracens, as the most powerful enemies of the empire. The Armenian, Mizizius, who was proclaimed emperor at Syracuse, after the murder of Constans II., applied to the Saracens for aid. The Armenian Christians continually changed sides between the emperor and the caliph, as the alliance of each appeared to afford them the fairest hopes of serving their political and religious interests. But as the Greek nation became more and more identified with the political interests of the church, and as barbarism and ignorance spread more widely among the population of the Byzantine and Arabian empires, the feelings of mutual hatred became daily more violent.

The government of the Roman empire had long been despotic and weak, and the financial administration corrupt and oppressive; but still its subjects enjoyed a benefit of which the rest of mankind were almost entirely destitute, in the existence of an admirable code of laws, and a complete judicial establishment, separated from the other branches of the public administration. It is to the existence of this judicial establishment, guided by a published code of laws, and controlled by a body of lawyers educated in public schools, that the subjects of the empire were chiefly indebted for the superiority in civilisation which they still retained over the rest of the world. In spite of the neglect displayed in the

other branches of the administration, the central government always devoted particular care to the dispensation of justice in private cases, as the surest means of maintaining its authority, and securing its power, against the evil effects of its fiscal extortions. The profession of the law continued to form an independent body, in which learning and reputation were a surer means of arriving at wealth and honour than the protection of the great; for the government itself was, from interest, generally induced to select the ablest members of the legal profession for judicial offices. The existence of the legal profession, uniting together a numerous body of educated men, guided by the same general views, and connected by similar studies, habits of thought, and interests, must have given the lawyers an independence both of character and position, which, when they were removed from the immediate influence of the court, could not fail to operate as some check on the arbitrary abuse of administrative and fiscal power.

In all countries which exist for any length of time in a state of civilisation, a number of local, communal, and municipal institutions are created, which really perform a considerable portion of the duties of civil government; for no central administration can carry its control into every detail; and those governments which attempt to carry their interference farthest are generally observed to be those which leave most of the real work of government undone. During the greater period of the Roman domination, the Greeks had been allowed to retain their own municipal and provincial institutions, as has been stated in the earlier part of this work, and the details of the civil administration were left almost entirely in their hands. Justinian I. destroyed this system as far as lay in his power; and the effects of the unprotected condition of the Greek population have been seen in the facilities which were afforded to the ravages of the Avars and Sclavonians. As the empire grew weaker, and the danger from the barbarians more imminent, the imperial regulations could not be regarded. Unless the Greeks had obtained the right of bearing arms, their towns and villages must have fallen a prey to every passing band of brigands, and their commerce would have been annihilated by Sclavonian and Saracen cruisers. The inhabitants of Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia, the citizens of Gaëta, Capua, Naples, and Salerno, and the inhabitants of continental Greece, the Peloponnesus, and the Archipelago, would have been exterminated by their barbarous neighbours,

unless they had possessed not only arms which they were able and willing to use, but also a municipal form of local administration capable of directing the energies of the people without consulting the central government at Constantinople. The possession of arms, and the government of a native magistracy, gradually revived the spirit of independence; and to these circumstances must be traced the revival of the wealth of the Greek islands, and of the commercial cities of the Peloponnesus. Many patriotic Greeks may possibly have lived brooding over the sufferings of their country in the monasteries, whose number was one of the greatest social evils of the time; and the furious monks, who frequently issued from their retirement to insult the imperial authority under some religious watchword, were often inspired by political and national resentments which they could not avow.

Although the period of history which has been treated in this work has brought down the record of events to the final destruction of ancient political society in the Eastern Empire, still the reader must carefully bear in mind that the change had not, in the seventh and eighth centuries, completely changed the external appearance of the ancient cities of the empire. Though the wealth and the numbers of the inhabitants had diminished, most of the public buildings of the ancient Greeks existed in all their splendour, and it would be a very incorrect picture indeed of a Greek city of this period, to suppose that it resembled in any way the filthy and ill-constructed burghs of the middle ages.[1] The solid fortifications of ancient military architecture still defended many cities against the assaults of the Sclavonians, Bulgarians, and Saracens; the splendid monuments of ancient art were still preserved in all their brilliancy, though unheeded by the passer-by; the agoras were frequented, though by a less numerous and less busy population; the ancient courts of justice were still in use, and the temples of Athens had yet sustained no injury from time, and little from neglect. The enmity of the iconoclasts to picture-worship, which, as Colonel Leake justly remarks,[2] has been the theme for much exaggera-

[1] Some fine statues were found in the ruins of Eclana, a town near Beneventum which was destroyed by Constans II. (A.D. 663). They were conveyed to Spain.—Lebeau, xi. 387.

[2] *Topography of Athens and the Demi*, vol. i. p. 65. I am not quite sure that "it was about the age of the iconoclastic dispute that the productions of ancient sculpture finally disappeared from every part of the ancient world, with the sole exception of the Byzantine capital." They appear, from the position in which monuments are often found, to have been preserved untouched to a much later period, and it seems probable

tion, had not yet caused the destruction of the statues and paintings of pure Grecian art. The classical student, with Pausanias in his hand, might unquestionably have identified every ancient site noticed by that author in his travels, and viewed the greater part of the buildings which he describes. In many of the smaller cities of Greece it is doubtless true that the barbarians had left dreadful marks of their severity. When imperial vanity could be gratified by the destruction of ancient works of art, or when the value of their materials made them an object of cupidity, the finest masterpieces of sculpture were exposed to ruin. The emperor Anastasius I. permitted the finest bronze statues, which Constantine had collected from all the cities of Greece, to be melted into a colossal image of himself.[1] During the reign of Constans II., the bronze tiles of the Pantheon of Rome were taken away. Yet new statues continued to be erected to the emperors in the last days of the empire. A colossal statue of bronze, attributed to the emperor Heraclius, existed at Barletta, in Apulia, as late as the fourteenth century.[2] That the Greeks had not yet ceased entirely to set some value on art, is proved by the well-executed cameos and intaglios, and the existing mosaics, which cannot be attributed to an earlier period. Yet no more barbarous coinage ever circulated than that which issued from the mint of Constantinople during the early part of the seventh century. The soul of art, indeed, that public feeling which inspires correct taste, was extinct, and the excellence of execution still existing was only the result of mechanical dexterity, and apt imitation of good models.

The destinies of literature were very similar to those of art; nothing was now understood but what was directly connected with practical utility; but the memory of the ancient writers was still respected, and the cultivation of literature still conferred a high degree of reputation. Learning was neither neglected nor despised, though its objects were sadly misunderstood, and its pursuits confined to a small circle of votaries. The learned institutions, the libraries, and the universities of Alexandria, Antioch, Berytus, and Nisibis, were destroyed; but at Athens, Thessalonica, and Constantinople, literature and science were not utterly neglected;

that they only then began to be exposed to destruction for the use of the materials of which they were composed.

[1] Malalas, xvi. 42, edit. Venet. [2] Visconti, *Icon. Rom.* iv. 165.

public libraries and all the conveniences for a life of study still existed. Many towns must have contained individuals who solaced their hours by the use of these libraries; and although poverty, the difficulties of communication, and declining taste, daily circumscribed the numbers of the learned, there can be no doubt that they were never without some influence on society. Their habits of life and the love of retirement, which a knowledge of the past state of their country tended to nourish, certainly inclined this class rather to conceal themselves from public notice, than to intrude on the attention of their countrymen. The principal Greek poet who flourished during the latter years of the Roman empire, and whose writings have been preserved, is George Pisida, the author of three poems in iambic verses on the exploits of Heraclius, written in the seventh century. It would perhaps be difficult, in the whole range of literature, to point to poetry which conveys less information on the subject which he pretends to celebrate, than that of George Pisida. In taste and poetical inspiration, he is quite as deficient as in judgment, and he displays no trace of any national character.[1] The historical literature of the period is certainly superior to the poetical in merit, for though most of the writers offer little to praise in their style, still much that is curious and valuable is preserved in the portion of their writings which we possess. The fragments of the historian Menander of Constantinople, written about the commencement of the seventh century, make us regret the loss of his entire work. From these fragments we derive much valuable information concerning the state of the empire, and his literary merit is by no means contemptible.[2] The most important work relating to this period is the general history of Theophylactus Simocatta, who wrote in the earlier part of the seventh century. His work contains a great deal of curious information, evidently collected with considerable industry; but, as Gibbon remarks, he is harmless of taste or genius, and these deficiencies lead him to mistake the relative importance of historical facts.[3] He is supposed to have been of Egyptian origin.

[1] The best edition is that of Bekker, in the collection of the Byzantine historians, now publishing at Bonn. It is included in the same volume as Paulus Silentiarius and the patriarch Nicephorus. The two poets deserved an index, for nobody is likely to peruse them for amusement.

[2] The fragments of Menander are contained in the first volume of the Bonn edition of the Byzantine historians, a volume valuable to those who may feel little interest in the greater part of the collection.

[3] *Decline and Fall*, ch. xlvi. notes 34, 55.

Two chronological writers, John Malalas, and the author of the "Chronicon Paschale," likewise deserve notice, as they supply valuable and authentic testimony as to many important events. The many curious notices concerning earthquakes, inundations, fires, plagues, and prodigies, which appear in the Byzantine chronicles, afford strong ground for inferring that something like our modern newspapers must have been published even in the latter days of the empire. The only ecclesiastical historian who belongs to this period is Evagrius, whose church history extends from A.D. 429 to 593. In literary merit he is inferior to the civil historians, but his work has preserved many facts which would otherwise have been lost. The greater number of the literary and scientific productions of this age are not deserving of particular notice. Few, even of the most learned and industrious scholars, consider that an acquaintance with the pages of those whose writings are preserved, is of more importance than a knowledge of the names of those whose works are lost.[1] The discovery of paper, which Gibbon says came from Samarcand to Mecca about 710, seems to have contributed quite as much to multiply worthless books as to preserve the most valuable ancient classics. By rendering the materials of writing more accessible in an age destitute of taste, and devoted to ecclesiastical and theological disputation, it announced the arrival of the stream of improvement in a deluge of muddy pedantry and dark stupidity.

The mighty change which had taken place in the influence of Greek literature since the time of the Macedonian conquest deserves attention. All the most valuable monuments of its excellence were preserved, and time had in no way diminished their value. But the mental supremacy of the Greeks had, nevertheless, received a far severer shock than their political power; and there was far less hope of their recovering from the blow, since they were themselves the real authors of their literary degeneracy, and the sole admirers of the inflated vanity which had become their national characteristic.[2] The admitted superiority of Greek authors in taste and truth, those universal passports to admiration, had once induced a number of writers of foreign race to aspire to fame

[1] For information on Greek literary history, see Fabricii, *Bibliotheca Græca*, edit. Harless. Hamb. 1790, &c. Schoell, *Histoire de la Litterature Grecque Profane*, &c., Paris, 1823: or the improved German translation by Dr. Pinder. Petersen, *Handbuch der Griechischen Litteratur Geschichte*. Hamb. 1834.

[2] Dion. Chrysostomus, *Or.* 38. Ἑλληνικὰ ἁμαρτήματα.

by writing in Greek; and this happened not only during the period of the Macedonian domination, but also under the Roman empire, after the Greeks had lost all political supremacy, when Latin was the official language of the civilised world, and the dialects of Egypt, Syria, and Armenia, possessed a civil and scientific, as well as an ecclesiastical literature. The Greeks forfeited this high position by their inordinate self-adulation. This feeling kept their minds stationary, while the rest of mankind was moving forward. Even when they embraced Christianity they could not lay aside the trammels of a state of society which they had repudiated; they retained so many of their old vices that they soon corrupted Christianity into Greek orthodoxy.

The position of the Greeks was completely changed by the conquests of the Arabs. At Alexandria, in Syria, and Cyrenaïca, they soon became extinct; and that portion of their literature which still retained a value in the eyes of mankind came to be viewed in a totally different light. The Arabs of the eighth century undoubtedly regarded the scientific literature of the Greeks with great respect, but they considered it only as a mine from which to extract a useful metal. The study of the Greek language was no longer a matter of the slightest importance, for the learned Arabians were satisfied if they could master the results of science by the translations of their Syrian subjects. It has been said that Arabic has held the rank of an universal language as well as Greek, but the fact must be admitted only in the restricted sense of applying it to their extensive empire. The different range of the mental and moral power of the literatures of Arabia, of Rome, and of Greece, is only, in our age, becoming fully apparent.

There is no country in the world more directly dependent on commerce for the well-being of its inhabitants than the land occupied by the Greeks round the Ægean Sea. Nature has separated these territories by mountains and seas into a variety of districts, whose productions are so different, that unless commerce afford great facilities for exchanging the surplus of each, the population must remain comparatively small, and must languish in a state of poverty and privation.

The Greeks still possessed the greater share of that commerce which they had for ages enjoyed in the Mediterranean. The conquest of Alexandria and Carthage undoubtedly gave it a severe blow, and the existence of a

numerous maritime population in Syria, Egypt, and Africa, enabled the Arabs to share the profits of a trade which had hitherto been a monopoly of the Greeks. The absolute government of the caliphs, their jealousy of their Christian subjects, and the civil wars which so often laid waste their dominions, rendered property too insecure in their dominions for commerce to flourish with the same tranquillity which it enjoyed under the legal despotism of the Eastern emperors; for commerce cannot long exist without a systematic administration, and soon declines, if its natural course be at all interrupted.

The wealth of Syria at the time of its conquest by the Arabs proves that the commerce of the trading cities of the Roman empire was still considerable. A caravan, consisting of four hundred loads of silk and sugar was on its way to Baalbec at the time the place was attacked. Extensive manufactories of silk and dye-stuffs flourished, and several great fairs assisted in circulating the various commodities of the land through the different provinces.[1] The establishment of post-horses was at first neglected by the Arabs, but it was soon perceived to be so essential to the prosperity of the country, that it was restored by the caliph Moawyah. The Syrian cities continued, under the Saracen government, to retain their wealth and trade as long as their municipal rights were respected. No more remarkable proof of this fact need be adduced, than the circumstance of the local mints supplying the whole currency of the country until the year 695, when the Sultan Abdalmelik first established a national gold and silver coinage.[2]

Even the Arabian conquests were insufficient to deprive the empire of the great share which it held in the Indian trade. Though the Greeks lost all direct political control over it, they still retained possession of the carrying trade of the south of Europe; and the Indian commodities destined for that market passed almost entirely through their hands. The Arabs, in spite of the various expeditions which they fitted out to attack Constantinople, never succeeded in forming a maritime power; and their naval strength declined with the numbers and wealth of their Christian subjects, until it

[1] Ockley, i. 166.

[2] Saulcy, *Lettres à M. Reinaud*, Membre de l'Institut, sur quelques points de la Numismatique Arabe. Curt Bose, *Ueber Arabische Byzantinische Münzen*. Grunina, 1840

dwindled into a few piratical squadrons.[1] The emperors of Constantinople really remained the masters of the sea, and subjects the their inheritors of the riches which its commerce affords.[2]

The principal trade of the Greeks, after the Arabian conquests, consisted of three branches,—the Mediterranean trade with the nations of Western Europe, the home trade, and the Black Sea trade. The state of society in the south of Europe was still so disordered, in consequence of the settlements of the barbarians, that the trade for supplying them with Indian commodities and the manufactures of the East was entirely in the hands of the Jews and Greeks, and commerce solely in that of the Greeks. The consumption of spices and incense was then enormous; a large quantity of spice was employed at the tables of the rich, and Christians burned incense daily in their churches. The wealth engaged in carrying on this traffic belonged chiefly to the Greeks; and although the Arabs, after they had rendered themselves masters of the two principal channels of the Indian trade, through Persia and Syria, and by the Red Sea and Egypt, contrived to participate in its profits, the Greeks still regulated the trade by the command of the northern route through central Asia to the Black Sea. The consumption of Indian productions was generally too small at any particular port to admit of whole cargoes forming the staple of a direct commerce with the West. The Greeks rendered this traffic profitable, from the facility with which they could prepare mixed cargoes by adding the fruit, oil, and wine of their native provinces, and the produce of their own industry; for they were then the principal manufacturers of silk, dyed woollen fabrics, jewellery, arms, rich dresses, and ornaments. The importance of this trade was one of the principal causes which enabled the Roman empire to retain the conquests of Justinian in Spain and Sardinia, and this commercial influence of the Greek nation checked the power of the Goths, the Lombards, and the Avars, and gained for them as many allies as the avarice and tyranny of the exarchs and imperial officers created enemies. It may not be superfluous to remark, that the invectives against the government and persons of the

[1] Compare Theophanes, *Ch.* 332, and *Scriptores post Theoph.* 46.

[2] Τὸ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θαλασσοκρατεῖν μέχρι τῶν Ηρακλέους στηλῶν καὶ πασῆς ὁμοῦ τῆς ὧδε θαλάσσης."—Constant. Porphyr. *De Them.* p. 58, edit. Bonn.

exarchs which abound in the works of the Italians, and from them have been copied into the historians of Western Europe, must always be sifted with care, as they are the outbreaks of the violent political aversion of the Latin ecclesiastics to the authority of the Eastern Empire, not an echo of the general opinion of society. The people of Rome, Venice, Genoa, Naples, and Amalfi, clung to the Roman empire from feelings of interest, long after they possessed the power of assuming perfect independence. These feelings of interest arose from the commercial connection of the West and East. The Italians did not yet possess capital sufficient to carry on the eastern trade without the assistance of the Greeks. The return cargoes from the north consisted chiefly of slaves, wood for building, raw materials of various kinds, and provisions for the maritime districts.[1]

The most important branch of trade, in a large empire, must ever be that which is carried on within its own territory, for the advantage of its subjects. The peculiar circumstances have been noticed that make the prosperity of the inhabitants of those countries which are inhabited by the Greek race essentially dependent on commerce.[2] The internal commerce, if it had been left unfettered by restrictions, would probably have saved the Roman empire; but the financial difficulties, caused by the lavish expenditure of Justinian I., induced that emperor to invent a system of monopolies,[3] which ultimately threw the trade of the empire into the hands of the free citizens of Venice and Amalfi, whom it had compelled to assume independence. Silk, oil, various manufactures, and even grain, were made the subject of monopolies, and temporary restrictions were at times laid on particular branches of trade for the profit of favoured individuals.[4] The traffic in grain between the different provinces of the empire was subjected to onerous, and often arbitrary arrangements;[5] and the difficulties which nature had opposed to the circulation of the necessaries of life, as an incentive to human industry, were increased, and the inequalities of price augmented for the

[1] Constant. Porph. *De Cær. Aulæ Byz.* l. i. c. 72; vol. i. p. 363, edit. Bonn. Anastasius, *De Vitis Pont. Rom.* p. 70. The Venetians, in 960, were forbidden by the Pope to export Christian slaves to sell them to the Saracens.

[2] The ancient prosperity of Greece is shown in the existence of numerous small towns celebrated for their manufactures. Thus the purple dye of Melibœa, a little town on Mount Ossa.—Lucretius, 2, 499. Virgil, *Æn.* 5, 251. Leake's *Travels in Northern Greece*, iii. 388.

[3] Procopius, *Hist. Arc.* c. 25, where particular mention is made of a monopoly of silk at Berytus and Tyre.

[4] Leo Gramm. *Chron.* p. 477. A.D. 888. [5] Procop. *Hist. Arc.* c. 22, p. 64.

profit of the treasury or the gain of the fiscal officers, until industry was destroyed by the burden.[1]

These monopolies, and the administration which supported them, were naturally odious to the mercantile classes. When it became necessary, in order to retain the Mediterranean trade, to violate the great principle of the empire, that the subjects should not be intrusted with arms, nor fit out armed vessels to carry on distant commerce, these armed vessels, whenever they were able to do so with impunity, violated the monopolies and fiscal regulations of the emperors. The independence of the Italian and Dalmatian cities then became a condition of their commercial prosperity. There can be little doubt, that if the Greek commercial classes had been able to escape the superintendence of the imperial administration as easily as the Italians, they, too, would have asserted their independence; for the emperors of Constantinople never viewed the merchants of their dominions in any other light than as a class from whom money was to be obtained in every possible way.[2] This view is common in all absolute governments. An instinctive aversion to the independent position of the commercial classes, joined to a contempt for trade, usually suggests such measures as eventually drive commerce from countries under despotic rule. The little republics of Greece, the free cities of the Syrian coast, Carthage, the republics of Italy, the Hanse towns, Holland, England, and America, all illustrate by their history how much trade is dependent on those free institutions which offer a security against financial oppression; while the Roman empire affords an instructive lesson of the converse.

The trade of Constantinople with the countries round the Black Sea, was an important element in the commercial prosperity of the empire. Byzantium served as the entrepôt of this commerce, and the traffic to the south of the Hellespont, even before it became the capital of the Roman empire.[3] After that event, its commerce was as much augmented as its population. It was supplied with a tribute of grain from Egypt, and of cattle from the Tauric Chersonese, which kept provisions generally at a low price, and made it the seat of a flourishing manufacturing industry.[4] The commerce of the

[1] *Digest.* l. 50, tit. 5, *De vacat. et excusat. Munerum*, l. 9. *De Negotiatoribus Frumentariis.* [2] Procop. *Hist. Arc.* c. 25.
[3] Polybius, *Hist.* iv. sect. 38, 4; vol. ii. p. 55, edit. Tauch.
[4] Cedrenus, 367. Theophanes, *Chron.* p. 149. Constant. Porph. *De Adm. Imp.* c. 6.

countries to the north of the Black Sea, the fur and the Indian trade, by the Caspian, the Oxus, and the Indus, centred at Constantinople, whence the merchants distributed the various articles they imported among the nations of the West, and received in exchange the productions of these countries. The great value of this commerce, even to the barbarous nations which obtained a share in it, is frequently mentioned by the Byzantine historians. The Avars had profited greatly by this traffic, and the decline of their empire was attributed to its decay; though there can be little doubt that the real cause, both of the decline of the trade and of the Avar power, arose from the insecurity of property, originating in bad government.[1] The wealth of the mercantile and manufacturing classes in Constantinople contributed, in no small degree, to the success with which that city repulsed the attacks of the Avars and the Saracens.

Nothing could tend more to give us a correct idea of the real position of the Greek nation at the commencement of the eighth century, than a view of the moral condition of the lower orders of the people; but, unfortunately, all materials, even for a cursory inquiry into this subject, are wanting. The few casual notices which can be gleaned from the lives of the saints, afford the only authentic evidence of popular feeling. It cannot, however, escape notice, that even the shock which the Mohammedan conquests had given to the orthodox church, had failed to recall its ministers back to their real duty of inculcating the pure principles of the Christian religion. They continued their old practice of confounding the intellects of their congregations, by propagating a belief in false miracles, and by discussing the unintelligible distinctions of scholastic theology. From the manner in which religion was treated by the Eastern clergy, the people could profit little from the histories of imaginary saints, and understand nothing of the doctrines which they were instructed to consider as the essence of their religion. The consequence was, that they began to fall back on the idle traditions of their ancestors, and to blend the last recollections of paganism with new superstitions, derived from a perverted application of the consolations of Christianity. Relics of pagan usages were retained; a belief that the spirits of the dead haunted the paths of the living, was general in all ranks; a respect for the bones of martyrs, and a confidence in the figures on

[1] Suidas, v. Βούλγαροι.—Vol i. 1017, edit. Bernhardy.

amulets, became the real doctrines of the popular faith. The connection which existed between the clergy and the people, powerful and great as it really was, appears at bottom to have been based on social and political grounds. Pure religion was so rare, that the word only served as a pretext for increasing the power of the clergy, who appear to have found it easier to make use of the superstitions of the people than of their religious and moral feelings. The ignorant condition of the lower orders, and particularly of the rural population, explains the curious fact, that paganism continued to exist in the mountains of Greece as late as the reign of the emperor Basil (A.D. 867–886), when the Maniates of Mount Taygetus were at last converted to Christianity.[1]

It has often been asserted, that about this time continental Greece, the Peloponnesus, and the islands of the Archipelago, were reduced to such a state of destitution and barbarism, because they are only mentioned by historians as places of banishment for criminals.[2] But this mode of announcing the fact, that many persons of rank were exiled to the cities of Greece, leaves an incorrect impression on the mind of the reader, for the most flourishing cities of the East were often selected as the places best adapted for the safe custody of political prisoners. We know from Constantine Porphyrogenitus that Cherson was a powerful commercial city, whose alliance or enmity was of considerable importance to the Byzantine empire, even so late as the tenth century.[3] Yet this city was often selected as a place of banishment for persons of high rank, who were regarded as dangerous state criminals. Pope Martin was banished thither by Constans II., and it was the place of exile of the emperor Justinian II. The emperor Philippicus, before he ascended the throne, had been exiled by Tiberius Apsimar to Cephallenia, and by Justinian II. to Cherson, a circumstance which would lead us to infer that a residence in the islands of Greece was considered a more agreeable sojourn than that of Cherson. Several of the adherents of Philippicus were, after his dethronement, banished to Thessalonica, one of the richest and most populous cities of the empire.[4]

The command of the imperial troops in Greece was con-

[1] Constant. Porphyr. *De Adm. Imp.* c. 50; vol. iii. 224, edit. Bonn.
[2] Gibbon, ch. xlviii.; vol. vi. 78, 85, Smith's edit. Emerson's *History of Modern Greece*, i. 56.
[3] Const. Porph. *De Adm. Imp.* c. 53; vol. iii. 269, edit. Bonn.
[4] Theophanes, *Chron.* 321.

sidered an office of high rank, and it was accordingly conferred on Leontius, when Justinian II. wished to persuade that general that he was restored to favour. Leontius made it the stepping-stone to the throne. But the strongest proof of the wealth and prosperity of the cities of Greece, is to be found in the circumstance of their being able to fit out the expedition which ventured to attempt wresting Constantinople from the grasp of a soldier and statesman, such as Leo the Isaurian was known to be, at the time when the Greeks deliberately resolved to overturn his throne.[1]

It is difficult to form any correct representation of a state of society so different from our own, as that which existed among the Greeks in the eighth century. The rural districts, on the one hand, were reduced to a state of desolation, and the towns, on the other, flourished in wealth; agriculture was at the lowest ebb, while trade was in a prosperous condition. If, however, we look forward to the long series of misfortunes which were required to bring this favoured land to the state of complete destitution to which it sank at a later period, we may arrive at a more accurate knowledge of its condition, in the early part of the eighth century, than would be possible were we to confine our view to looking back at the records of its ancient splendour, and to comparing a few lines in the meagre chronicles of the Byzantine writers with the volumes of earlier history recounting the greatest actions with unrivalled elegance.

[1] See *Byzantine Empire*, i. 43.

APPENDIX

I

ON THE BLINDNESS OF BELISARIUS[1]

LORD MAHON, in his *Life of Belisarius*, published in 1829, has endeavoured to set aside the verdict of historians concerning the blindness of Belisarius, which Ducange, Gibbon, Lebeau, and Clinton pronounce to be an invention of later times. Undoubtedly, neither the critical sagacity nor the profound knowledge of these eminent writers ought to command our assent, if historical evidence could be produced with which they were not acquainted. Lord Mahon cites what he considers a new authority on the subject. He points out that the blindness of Belisarius is mentioned as early as the latter part of the eleventh century in an anonymous writer who has left a description of Constantinople.[2] This guide-book was written more than five hundred years after the death of the emperor Justinian; and unless its authority be quite free from doubt, it can hardly be considered as more valuable testimony on a point of Roman history than a London guide-book, written in 1829, would be concerning the garter of Lady Salisbury. The passage in question informs us that Justinian, from envy (and not, as history says, because Belisarius was accused of being privy to a conspiracy against the emperor), ordered the eyes of his generalissimo Belisarius to be put out, and stationed him in the Laurus, with a bowl of earthenware in his hand, that passers-by might toss him an obolus. It seems probable that both Gibbon and Lebeau had not overlooked this passage, though they make no allusion to it; for they must have considered it refuted by the marks it bears of being taken from a tale illustrating the vicissitudes of fortune and the ingratitude of princes, and not from historical authority. Besides, they probably observed that it was quite inconsistent with a fact mentioned a few lines farther down on the same page, and for which the guide-book was an excellent authority—namely, that there was still standing near the palace of Chalke a gilded statue of Belisarius beside a statue of the emperor Justin I., and a cross erected by Justinian. Now, in the case of a condemned traitor, the first act was to throw down his statues; and if Belisarius had been treated with extreme indignity, his statue would not have been allowed to retain a place of singular honour. The position of this statue indicates that it was a dedication of Justi-

[1] See p. 243.

[2] This work is ascribed to Michael Psellus, the prince of the philosophers.

nian in the early part of his reign. Belisarius left no posterity, and his exploits were not likely to receive any public testimony of gratitude from the successors of Justinian, who soon lost the provinces which had been reunited to the empire by his victories. The anonymous writer also, near the end of his work, mentions that Justinian, in order to honour his victorious general, ordered a medal to be struck, having on the reverse a figure of Belisarius armed with the inscription, "Belisarius the glory of the Romans"; but that envy as usual assailed him in his prosperity, and he was removed from his command. Here no allusion is made to his having been punished with the loss of his eyes.

It is not easy to fix the period at which the tale of the blindness of Belisarius obtained general currency, in company probably with the secret histories of the court and the lives of the saints; but the edition seen by the anonymous guide was probably not so old as the latter part of the ninth century. A historical event somewhat similar in circumstances is described by several writers of chronicles in nearly similar words; and the punishment of Symbatios, who rebelled against Michael III. (the Drunkard) in the year 866, appears to have served as the foundation for the tale of Belisarius.

The words of the guide-book are: Ὅς (Ἰουστινιανὸς) ὕστερον φθονήσας τῷ ῥηθέντι στρατηγικωτά τῷ Βελισαρίῳ ἐξώρυξε τούτου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ προσέταξε τούτον καθεσθῆναι εἰς τὰ Λαύρου καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτῷ σκεῦος ὀστράκινον καὶ ἐπιῤῥίπτειν αὐτῷ τοὺς διερχομένους ὀβολόν.[1]

The chronicles of the tenth century say: Καὶ ἀποτυφλοῦσι Συμβατίου τὸν ἕνα ὀφθαλμον, καὶ ἐκκόπτουσι καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα: καὶ ἐκ θισαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ Λαύσου καὶ δεδώκασι σκεῦος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ ἵνα ὃς ἔχῃ προαίρεσιν ἐπιῤῥίπτῃ αὐτῷ τί.[2]

The guide-book would, in any case, require to be corroborated by other evidence before it can be admitted as evidence of a doubtful fact in the sixth century. Lord Mahon attempts to supply confirmatory evidence by depreciating the authority of Theophanes, and magnifying the value of John Tzetzes. Now, Theophanes may be, as Gibbon calls him, "the father of many a lie," for the worthy confessor was credulous as well as pious; but his chronography proves that he had before him many official documents relating to the sixth and seventh centuries, and he has used them generally, in spite of some confusion at times, so as to be our best guide on many occasions. Theophanes wrote in the early part of the ninth century, John Tzetzes in the latter part of the twelfth, and he is generally considered a writer of very little authority on any subject. One of his critics observes, very justly, that he wrote a great number of verses, making a display of some knowledge of everything but poetry. Besides, there is considerable doubt whether Tzetzes believed the tale of the blindness of Belisarius which he records, for he admonishes his readers that other chronicles gave a very different account of the last days of Beli-

[1] Banduri, *Imperium Orientale*, tom. i. Ant. *Con.* p. 7; compare p. 80.
[2] *Scriptores post Theophanem*, Georg. Mon. 540. Simeon Met. 449. Leo Gramm. p. 469, edit. Par.

sarius ; that they record that his eyes were not put out, and that he was restored to his honours. According to every rule of evidence, the testimony of Tzetzes is of less value than that of either Cedrenus, Zonaras, or even Glycas. All these historians confirm the account of Theophanes.

There is an edict in the Corpus Juris Civilis, which would decide the question if its date and authenticity were firmly established. It is dated in February 565, and was published by Cujacius. In it Belisarius is entitled *gloriosissimum Belisarium patricium*. Now, as Theophanes states that Belisarius was restored to his rank and honours in the month of July 563, and that his death occurred in the month of March 565, this edict would confirm his statement. But a note in the last edition of the Corpus warns lawyers not to put implicit faith in its authenticity. "Hoc privilegium editum est in Cujac. obss. sed ex quo fonte desumptum sit, non indicatur, nisi quod Cujacius a P. Galesio Hispano se id accepisse dicat. Non sine ratione addidit Beck qui in app. corporis juris civ. hanc constitutionem recepit, an genuina sit, dubio non carere."[1]

If sound criticism, therefore, must set aside this edict, it must also declare that the guide-book refutes its anonymous author when he tells us that envy induced Justinian to put out the eyes of Belisarius whose statue it described, and it cannot give more weight to one of the statements of John Tzetzes than to the other. Consequently the only historical authority we possess concerning the last years of Belisarius is Theophanes, who appears to have drawn his account of the investigations relating to the conspiracy in which Belisarius was implicated from official records.[2]

II

ON ROMAN AND BYZANTINE MONEY

In reviewing the various causes which contributed to the decline of the wealth and to the diminution of the population of the Roman empire, it is necessary to take into account the depreciation of the coinage, which frequently robbed large classes of the industrious citizens of great part of their wealth, reduced the amount of property in the empire, produced confusion in legal contracts, and anarchy in prices even in the public markets.[3] The evils which must have resulted from the enormous depreciation of the Roman coinage at several periods can only be clearly understood by a chronological record of the principal changes—by remembering that each issue of a depreciated coinage was an act of bankruptcy on the part of the reigning emperor—and by observing the ruinous

[1] *Privilegium pro Titionibus*. C. J. C. tom. ii. p. 511, edit. St.

[2] Cedrenus, 387, Zonaras ii 69, and Glycas, 267, may be compared with Joannis Tzetzæ *Historiarum Variarum Chiliades*, p. 94, edit. Kiessling, Lip. 1826.

[3] Zosimus, p. 54, edit. Bonn. Speaking of Aurelian's attempt to remedy these evils, he says, Τὰ *συμβόλαια συγχύσεως ἀπαλλάξας*.

effects of similar conduct in modern times in the Othoman empire. Whether the subject of the delinquency of the state be Roman plated denarii, Turkish pewter piastres, French assignats, or Austrian imperial paper florins, the fraud is the same in its nature. A short account of the principal changes which took place in the monetary system of the empire will be sufficient to explain the evil results which they produced on the commerce and industry of the eastern provinces.

From the conquest of Greece to the time of Augustus, both Greek and Roman money circulated in the East. Large payments, both of gold and silver, were made by weight. The great discrepancy in the size of Greek silver coins in circulation rendered the stamp of each mint merely a certificate of the purity of the metal; for the drachma of different states varied in the proportion of 7 to 10; and the Roman denarius was one sixth lighter than the Attic drachma.[1]

Augustus imposed the Roman monetary system as the official standard in financial business for the whole Roman empire. No mint was allowed to exist without the imperial licence. The permission to coin copper money was, however, conceded to many Greek local mints, and the privilege of coining silver money was granted to several cities; but the only local mint of which gold coins are known is that of Cæsarea in Cappadocia.[2] Under the earlier emperors, the money in circulation throughout the East consisted chiefly of Greek and Macedonian coins. Mark Antony and Augustus, however, appear to have coined a number of pieces of three denarii in Asia Minor, to facilitate the collection of the taxes in Roman money. After the restrictions placed on the coinage of silver by the Greek mints, the tribute of the provinces was paid in Roman money; and the receivers of the imperial revenues either compelled the provincials to purchase denarii from the money-changers, or received payments in Greek money at a rate which allowed them a profit on the amount of Roman money remitted to the imperial treasury.

The Roman coins in circulation from the time of Augustus were, the *aureus*, of which forty were coined from a pound of gold, and the half aureus; the *denarius*, of which eighty-four were coined from a pound of silver, and the quinarius or *victoriatus*, which was a half denarius.[3] The copper coins were the *sestertius*, weighing an ounce; the *dupondius*, weighing half-an-ounce; the *as*, which

[1] Col. Leake's *Numismata Hellencia*. A catalogue of Greek coins is of great value, from giving the weight of all the Greek silver coins of importance, besides containing many valuable observations.

[2] Eckhell, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, iii. 187. Sabatier (*Production de l'Or, de l'Argent et du Cuivre, chez les Anciens*, p. 103) gives a list of twenty-five Greek cities which coined silver under the emperors.

[3] There is great uncertainty concerning the exact weight of the Roman pound. Hussey estimates it at 5204 grains troy; Boeckh, at 5071; Longperier, at 5014. In the time of Constantine it appears to have been about 5040. It may have been diminished at the mint during the six centuries which intervened between the taking of Corinth and the fall of the Western Empire. I have, therefore, assumed the pound after that time to be 5040 grains.

was nearly equal in size and weight to the dupondius, but was distinguished from it by being coined of red copper, while the sestertius and the dupondius were of a yellow brass.[1] The colour of the metal is not now always apparent through the rust of centuries, but the as is generally of inferior fabric. Sixteen asses were reckoned to the denarius; but in earlier times, as the name indicates, the denarius had been divided into ten asses, and the troops were always paid at that rate. The parts of the *as* in circulation were the *semissis*, or half; the *triens*, or third; and the *quadrans*, or quarter. Examples of all these coins exist; and it would be a great improvement in numismatic works and collections if the coins were arranged under their real denominations, instead of being classed as large, middle, and small brass.

The Greek mints that were licensed by Augustus continued to coin money on the old local standard. There are silver didrachmæ of Nero from the mint of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and drachmæ from that of Ephesus, with these denominations on the coins.[2] But after the time of Nero, the coinage of the Greek mints must have obtained only a limited circulation, as they were issued much under the normal standard, in order to secure a profit to the municipality. Its value was, nevertheless, maintained within the district where it circulated, because it was received in all payments at its nominal rate, not only in the public markets, but by the receivers of municipal taxes, and by the great civil and religious corporations of the place. At the same time, the abundant issue of copper money by many Greek mints must have accelerated the operation of withdrawing silver coin from general circulation. Even Greek local silver coins would soon be at a premium, from the facility of transporting them from one place to another in the neighbourhood when considerable payments were required. The increasing rarity of silver in the Greek cities soon gave rise to the coinage of the large copper pieces, called medallions, which were current for half a drachma, or half a denarius, and which became numerous during the second century. About the same period, the silver coins of Antioch and Cæsarea are debased with a larger proportion of alloy.

The first official step in the deterioration of the Roman coinage was made by Nero. He reduced the size both of the aureus and the denarius by coining 45 aurei from a pound of gold, and 96 denarii from a pound of silver, thereby retaining the proportion of 25 denarii to an aureus; for the relative value of silver to gold was then as 12 to 1. But as Nero coined his silver money below the nominal standard, the actual quantity of silver in his denarii made the proportion in his coins as 10.68 to 1.[3] Succeeding emperors increased the quantity of alloy in the denarius; and in the time of Severus (A.D. 193–211), the twenty-five denarii, which were

[1] Pinkerton, *Essay on Medals*, i. 132. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 2.
[2] Eckhell, vi. 279. Akerman, *Numismatic Manual*, 16.
[3] Mommsen, *Ueber den Verfall des Roemischen Münzwesens in der Kaiserzeit*, 192.

exchanged for an aureus, and which ought, according to the standard, to have contained 1320 grains of pure silver, really contained only about 670 grains. To this extent the depreciation of the coinage had been carried by the fraudulent conduct of the emperors at the commencement of the third century.

Caracalla in the year 215 made the second great official change in the standard of the imperial money.[1] He reduced the value of the aureus as well as of the denarius, by coining 50 aurei from a pound of gold, and by adding nearly twenty-five per cent of alloy to the silver coins. The denarius now weighed only about 50 grains, and of these only about 36 grains were of pure silver. Caracalla also introduced a new silver coin, the *argenteus Antoninianus*, of 60 to the pound. This became subsequently the principal silver coin of the empire. It is distinguished by the radiated crown of the emperor, and by the bust of the empress being placed on a half-moon. This new coin was minted with a large proportion of alloy.[2]

After the time of Caracalla the deterioration of the Roman coinage took place in the most variable and arbitrary manner. Some emperors issued both gold and silver coins greatly deficient in weight and purity, while others returned to the standard of Caracalla, as appears by the existing aurei of Aurelian, Tacitus, and Probus. The size of the denarius was retained for a time, in order to facilitate its circulation, at the rate of 25 to an aureus. But the proportion of alloy was gradually increased, until the denarius was replaced by the argenteus, which also became at last so depreciated, that it was coined by Gallienus, near the end of his reign, of a base metal washed over with silver.[3] During the whole period between Caracalla and Gallienus, 25 denarii were reckoned in account as equal to an aureus. But in the reign of Gordian III. the denarius had become so depreciated, that the aureus was exchanged for 25 argentei, and as long as the argenteus contained from 38 to 40 per cent of pure silver, it maintained this course by its real value. After the reign of Philippus, however, it was reduced in size, and depreciated in quality in an irregular manner, so that

[1] That the depreciation by Caracalla was effected in the eighteenth year of his tribunitian power (A.D. 215) is proved by coins.—De la Nauze, *Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscrip.* xxx. 392.

[2] Dio Cassius, 77, 4, mentions the frauds of Caracalla.

[3] The proportion of silver in the denarius had fallen to 45½ per cent before the end of Caracalla's reign. It fell lower subsequently.

Under Elagabalus	A.D.	218–222	it was	38.
,, Alex. Severus	,,	222–235	,,	33·5
,, Gordianus III.	,,	238–244	,,	38.

After this time the argenteus replaced the denarius, and the proportion was as follows:—

Under Philippus	A.D.	244–249	it was	42.
,, Trajanus Decius	,,	249–251	,,	34.
,, Valerianus	,,	253–260	,,	35.
,, Gallienus	,,	260–268	,,	38.

But it diminishes, until it at last disappears, and the argenteus becomes a copper coin washed with tin.—Mommsen, 231. Letronne, *Considerations*, 110. Sabatier, *Production de l'Or*, 74.

the derangement in the coinage must have produced a constant variation in the price of gold, and inexplicable confusion in all monetary transactions. Elagabalus, and even Alexander Severus, committed acts of bankruptcy, by issuing debased silver coins, which must have ruined innumerable families, and caused incalculable misery. The first lavished money, coined on the legal standard, among his vicious companions, and paid his debts with debased money. Even Alexander Severus issued good money to his friends, and circulated bad among his subjects. Both enforced payment of the public taxes in gold coins of full weight.[1] The depreciation of the coinage in these evil days of Roman history appears to have proceeded with almost as much activity under the best as under the worst of the emperors. Alexander Severus, nevertheless, did not entirely overlook the bad effects produced by the state of the coinage; and he made some efforts to arrest the depreciation of the silver coins, by issuing a large quantity of copper sesterces; for as long as the denarius could be exchanged for four sesterces, its value would be maintained as a medium of exchange in small purchases. The number of large brass coins of Alexander Severus and Gordianus III. which still exist, must be remarked by every person who has an opportunity of seeing ancient coins. Towards the end of the reign of Gallienus, however, the deterioration of the argenteus was carried so far that its metallic value became less than four copper sesterces. The coinage of the sestertius and dupondius ceased, and men began to hoard the pieces coined by Alexander Severus and Gordianus III. The denarius in circulation now ceased to be a silver coin, and the denarius of account was merely a monetary denomination for one twenty-fifth of an aureus.

From the accession of Claudius Gothicus, A.D. 268, to that of Diocletian, A.D. 284, there was the greatest disorder in the Roman coinage. The local mints of the Greek cities, one after another, ceased to exercise the right of coining money, for they could no longer make a profit by issuing coins on any local standard. The rapid impoverishment and consequent depopulation of the provinces, was accelerated by the fiscal proceedings of the emperors. The debts of the imperial treasury were discharged with tin-washed copper denarii, which were paid at the rate of 25 to an aureus; but when taxes were exacted, the provincials were compelled to make their payments in gold, which they were obliged to purchase (probably from the agents of the imperial mints) at the rate of 500 to 525 of the base denarii for an aureus. This fact may afford the student of history some aid in comprehending the wretched condition to which he finds the Roman empire reduced during the latter half of the third century. Another circumstance must have tended to increase the sufferings of the people. During this period, it appears that the great officers of the court were paid in good money, and that the donatives of the emperors were distributed in

[1] Lampridius, "Alex. Sev." 38. Dio Cassius, 72, 16.

gold and silver coins of pure metal, for many such are found of periods when the general currency consisted of base money.[1]

Aurelian (A.D. 270–275) attempted to remedy the disorder in the coinage, but the short duration of his busy reign prevented him from carrying his whole plan into execution. His first object was to put an end to the continual fluctuations in the price of gold, caused by the quantity of base money which was issued from the imperial mint. To effect this with as little injury as possible, he reduced the base denarii in circulation to the rate at which they then circulated, which appears to have been 500 or 525 to an aureus, and he consequently issued from the mint pieces equal to 20 or 21 of these copper denarii as equivalent to a denarius of account. The weight of the common copper and plated coins of Aurelian and his successors, which have XX and XXI in the exergue, varies from 56 to 66 grains, and consequently from twenty to twenty-one are equal to four of the large copper coins or sesterces of Alexander Severus, and Gordianus III.[2] From this time copper money was generally used in the markets of the Roman empire, and its proportionate value to gold became a matter of importance, as it was often employed in large payments.

The reforms of Aurelian reduced the value of the base denarii which Gallienus had put in circulation at the rate of eightpence, before six years had expired, to the value of two-fifths of a penny. He also took away the privilege of coining money from almost all the local mints of the empire. His reforms deprived the mint-masters and the corporations of moneyers of the enormous profits which they had previously gained by issuing base money and selling pure gold coins to be used in paying taxes, and probably from other iniquitous measures. But from whatever sources the gains of the mint-masters and the moneyers were derived, it is certain that their power and wealth were very great, and their number considerable; their corporations embraced many families in the cities where imperial mints were established, and like other artisans in the Roman empire, they were serfs of their corporation, and were compelled to marry only in the families of the corporation.[3] Aurelian's reforms produced an extensive and dangerous revolt of these moneyers; and so great was their animosity against the imperial reformer, who had sacrificed their profits to the public good, that it cost the army seven thousand men before their rebellion was suppressed.[4]

[1] Gold medallions exist of Aurelian, Severina, Probus and Carinus, and silver of Probus, besides quinarii of fine silver of emperors who only coined base denarii.—Mionnet, *Médailles Romaines*.

[2] The numerals XX, XXI, and XXIU, which are supposed to indicate the value of these pieces, are found on coins of the same size and with the same reverses, without any very marked difference in weight. Many bear the star, which has been supposed to indicate the denarius. The XXIU appears first on a coin of Probus.

[3] *Cod. Theod.* x. 19, 15. *Cod Just.* xi. 6, 47. *Cod. Theod.* x. 20, 1; 10. *Cod. Just.* xi. 7, 1, 7.

[4] Fl. Vopiscus Aurelianus, 38. Aur. Victor, *De Cæsaribus*. Eutropius, ix. 14. Zosimus, i. 61; p. 54, edit. Bonn.

Diocletian made another great reform in the monetary system of the empire, but the exact date of the change he effected is not known, nor can all its details be ascertained with precision. From existing coins, it is evident that he coined a new aureus of 60 to a pound of gold, and that he restored the denarius of silver. The metal of the silver coinage of Diocletian being purer than that of Caracalla, and the size of the aureus having been reduced about one-fifth, the pieces which weigh 48 grains appear to represent the denarius of account, and to have been issued at the rate of 25 to an aureus. From this we may conclude that the relative value of silver to gold had been fixed by Diocletian as 14·27 to 1. It has been conjectured that the numerals XCVI, which we find on some of the silver coins of Diocletian and his colleagues, indicate that ninety-six of these pieces were coined from a pound of silver. But if this were the case, the normal weight of these coins ought to exceed 52 grains, and if 25 had been current for an aureus, they must have been minted on a proportion of 16·6 to 1. The fact, however, is, that the usual silver coins of Diocletian weigh 48 grains, and the half generally from 22½ to 23 grains. These pieces appear to be the cententionales so frequently mentioned in the Codes, though the full weight of the 1-100th of a Roman pound ought to be 50·8. The loss of 2·8 grains for mintage and wear cannot, however, be considered as too great. Another silver coin, however, appears at this time, existing specimens of which weigh 62 grains; of these, therefore, about 80 must have been minted from a pound of silver. It may be assumed, that in coins of pure silver where there is a difference in weight of more than five grains, accompanied with a difference of type and a perceptible difference in diameter, the coins were originally of different denominations and value. We find the mint, in the time of Zeno and Anastasius, issuing copper coins weighing little more than 5 grains, and in the time of Justinian silver coins of 5, 10, and 15 grains were in circulation at Constantinople; so that it cannot be supposed that Diocletian and his colleagues could have issued coins weighing 48 grains, and others of 62 grains, as pieces of the same value and denomination.[1]

Diocletian also introduced some new copper coins; one of these weighs one third of an ounce, and appears to have been called teruntianus and also follis.[2] Another weighs about a quarter of an

[1] Mommsen, in his valuable essay *Ueber den Verfall des Roemischen Münzwesens in der Kaiserzeit* (p. 264), draws an average from coins which differ more than a quarter in their weights. Pinder and Friedländer (*Beiträge zur älteren Münzekünde*, 22) class together coins which differ more than a quarter. Thus, well-preserved coins weighing 41·8 and 62 grains, are classed together because they are all marked XCVI.

[2] Marcellini, *Chron.*, cited by Mommsen in Pinder and Friedländer, *Beiträge*, 123. There are copper coins of Diocletian and of Maximianus which have been plated, and weigh more than one-third of an ounce. That representing one-third generally weighs 130 grains. A smaller size weighs 110. The quarter ounce, from 106 to 108. The piece weighing 110 marked with a star, may be the denarius or unit of the tariff. The large copper piece introduced by Diocletian which is generally plated, was probably the follis, and passed in currency for an ounce of copper, so that 300, or 25 lb. of copper, would be current for an aureus, which is one-sixth less than the proportion of copper to gold indicated in the *Cod. Theod.* xi. 21, 2, as the aureus was one-sixth heavier than

ounce. The monetary system of Diocletian was soon changed, and its historical interest would not be very great, but from the circumstance that we must seek in it for the key to explain the prices contained in the great tariff of the Roman empire which was published in the year 301, fixing a maximum price for almost every article which could be brought to market or produced by human industry. Considerable fragments of this curious and valuable decree, both in Greek and Latin, have been discovered in different provinces of the empire, proving that it received universal authority, and it has occupied the attention of many learned men.[1] The attempt to regulate prices on one uniform scale over the whole extent of an empire so extensive as that of Rome, and whose provinces were in very different conditions of civilisation, must have produced much misery and confusion in trade. The monetary reforms of Diocletian appear to have been abolished from the necessity of abrogating the whole system on which the prices in this great tariff were based. It is possible, also, that there was an error in the proportion of value adopted between silver and gold, or that a change in their relative values took place about this time. Constantine the Great soon modified the coinage of Diocletian, but the changes he made indicate that a modification rather than a revolution in the monetary system was intended.

Constantine reduced the size of the aureus by coining 72 pieces from a pound of gold; and from this time, these coins received a new name, and were coined at Constantinople on the same standard, until the Eastern Empire was destroyed by the Crusaders and Venetians in 1204. The gold coin of Constantine was called *solidus* in Latin, and *nomisma* in Greek. When, at a later period, similar pieces circulated in western Europe, they were called bezants or byzants. Gold and silver bullion of the standard purity was, after the time of Constantine, generally received in payment of large sums at the imperial treasury as well as in commercial transactions. In these payments, a pound of gold was reckoned as equal to 72 solidi, but we are not acquainted with the manner employed for verifying the purity of the metal in bars. It appears probable, however, that a much larger number of gold coins forming multiples of the solidus, were in general circulation than is usually supposed

the solidus. These folles are so abundant, that they must have formed an important part of the currency during the reign of Constantine I. Several passages in the later writers, relating to money, speak of the quadrans both as the quarter of the follis and as the quarter of an ounce, alluding probably to its value in currency. But those who desire to know the degree of confusion which exists in the names and in the evaluation of Roman coins, as transmitted to us by ancient compilers and lexicographers, will find much curious matter collected, and great learning poured forth without any very important result, in the work of Gronovius, *De Sestertiis*, or *De Pecunia vetere*.

[1] Count Borghesi considers the denarius of the tariff to be the tetrassarion, of which twenty-four were current to a denarius of silver, which would make a coin about the size of the copper denarius of Aurelian; and similar pieces of Diocletian are marked with a star.—Dureau de la Malle, *Economie politique des Romains*, i. 113.

Mommsen has published the most complete edition of the edict, with observations: *Das Edict Diocletians de Pretiis Rerum venalium*.

from the small number now existing.[1] The legal proportion of silver to gold in bullion payments is not known with certainty until the year 397, when it was fixed by law at $14\frac{2}{3}$ to 1.[2]

The change which Constantine made in the silver coinage, appears to have added two new denominations to the pieces already in circulation; the miliarensis, called by the Greeks miliarision, and the siliqua, called by the Greeks keration. These new coins must have circulated for some time contemporaneously with silver money issued by Diocletian and his colleagues; but the new system became that of the Eastern Empire for ages. Nevertheless, the first mention of the miliarision in an official act is found in a law of Justinian dated 536. But, from the derivation given of the word by a writer of the period, we may conclude that the word had been long in use as the name of a very common silver coin.[3] The siliqua is mentioned in a law of the year 428, when 24 were reckoned to the solidus; and as the proportion of silver to gold had been already fixed by the law of 397 at $14\frac{2}{3}$ to 1, the weight of the siliqua ought to have been 42 grains.[4] A con-

[1] The proof that Constantine's solidi weighed 4 scruples of 288 to a Roman pound, is in the law dated A.D. 325.—*Cod. Theod.* xii. 7, 1. Compare *Cod. Just.* x. 71; *Cod. Theod.* xii. 6, 13, and *Cod. Just.* x. 70, 5.

Elagabalus coined gold pieces of 100 aurei in addition to the double, quadruple and decuple aurei of preceding emperors.—*Hist. Scrip. Aug.* Lampridius, "Alex. Sev." 38. Pinder and Friedländer (*Die Münzen Justinians*, 68) mention pieces of 9 solidi, or one-eighth of a pound. The gold medallion of Justinian weighed 36 solidi, or half a pound. Gregory of Tours (*Historia Francorum*, vi. 2) mentions having seen gold coins of a pound weight sent by the emperor Tiberius II. to Chilperic. There are several very large gold medallions of Valens in the Museum of Vienna, but they are generally fixed in a gold frame. Mongez (*Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscrip.*, 2 Serie, ix. 277) estimates the weight of four at 19, 27, 33 and 62 aurei. Unfortunately, he seeks his unit of comparison in the aureus of Nero, instead of the solidus of Constantine. The weight of the largest, as given by Eckhell (viii. 153), is $11\frac{1}{2}$ Hungarian ducats; by Arneth (*Synopsis num. Rom.* 204) only 118. Now, as the Hungarian ducat weighs 53 grains, this piece is equal to 92 solidi. Another is stated by Eckhell (viii. 154) to weigh $51\frac{1}{2}$ ducats. This is exactly 40 solidi. Steinbüchel (*Recueil de Medaillons d'Or du Cabinet de Vienne*) has published engravings of these medallions of Valens. It deserves to be noticed, that the golden seals affixed to the letters addressed by the emperors of Constantinople at a later period to foreign princes, were equal to single, double, triple, or quadruple solidi, according to the etiquette of the Byzantine court. Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions particularly, that a letter of his own to the Caliph of Egypt had a seal affixed to it of 18 solidi, or a quarter of a pound.—*De Cæremon. Aulæ Byz.* ii. 48; p. 689, edit. Bonn. The silver medallion of Priscus Attalus in the British Museum weighs 1203 grains, according to Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, where a reduced representation of this medal is given. The diameter of the original is about two inches. The weight of this piece is abnormal. To be a quarter of a Roman pound, it ought to have weighed 1260 grains; and a silver medal representing a solidus ought to weigh 1008 grains. It is true, 4 solidi are reckoned as equivalent to a pound of silver by a law of Honorius and Theodosius II., dated 422 (*Cod. Theod.* viii. 4, 27); but this law was intended to facilitate paying gold at that rate. Its object was to enable four solidi to discharge claims for a pound of silver when a pound of silver was worth five solidi. As the medal of Attalus must have been coined in 409 or 410, there is no reason for supposing that the proportion of silver to gold was other than $14\frac{2}{3}$ to 1, according to the standard of the Roman mint. Though considerably under the just weight, this medallion was probably issued as a quarter of a pound of silver, 60 being reckoned as equal to a pound of gold.

[2] *Cod. Theod* xiii. 2.

[3] *Corpus Juris Civilis*, Nov. cv. 23. Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 9.

[4] Coins of this weight are not uncommon.—*Cod. Theod.* xii. 4, 1, and xiii. 2. *Nov. Major*, vii. 6.

siderable change in the relative value of gold and silver had consequently taken place since the times of Nero and Caracalla, but the rate as fixed in 397 remained the legal standard of the mint at Constantinople for several centuries.[1]

The weights of the existing coins of Constantine and his successors render it difficult to determine their denomination, and the proportion they bear to the solidus. If we reckon 12 miliarisia to a solidus, and take the proportion of silver to gold as 14·4 to 1, the miliarision ought to weigh 84 grains, and pieces of this size are found equal to one-sixtieth of a Roman pound.[2] Much confusion is found in the statements of the different writers who mention ancient coins. The texts are often corrupt, from having been adapted by copyists to more modern times, and vague denominations are used, or ancient terms are employed, which are quite inapplicable.[3]

A considerable change is observable in the copper coinage of Constantine, caused probably by the necessity of abrogating the tariff of Diocletian, and by the necessity of making it conform to the new system in the gold and silver money.

In the reign of Valentinian I., copper coins of a smaller size than those previously in use began to be coined in great quantity; and under Theodosius II. and his successors, until the reign of Anastasius, hardly any copper money, except these small coins, seems to have issued from the imperial mint. The consequence was, that the small currency of the empire again fell into a state of confusion. Of these small copper coins, 7200 pieces were current for a solidus according to a law of Valentinian III., dated in the year 445.[4] At nearly the same period also, another small copper coin, called a denarius, is said by Cassiodorus to have been exchanged at the rate of 6000 to a solidus.[5] The rarity of silver money during this period is shown by this evaluation of the gold currency in copper money. It is not easy to determine accurately to which of the existing copper coins the names of nummus and of denarius ought to be given, for we find that in 398 a loaf was sold for a nummus, and in 419 a pound of bacon was valued at 50 denarii.[6] In 396, the value of copper was fixed by law at 25 lb. for a solidus, and there seems reason for inferring that, at this

[1] *Cod. Theod.* xiii. 2, repeated *Cod. Just.* x. 76.

[2] *Cod. Theod.* xv. 9. 1.

[3] An accurate account of the weights of the known coins of Constantine and his successors, distinguishing the different types, is required to fix the denominations of those which can be ascertained. In the time of Constantine, the miliarensis may have been only 1¾ siliqua. In that case, the coins weighing from 70 to 75 grains may be miliarenses. Those from 46 to 50 seem to be cententionales.—*Cod. Theod.* ix. 23, 1. Those from 37 to 42, siliquæ. It is possible that there was a variation in the proportion of silver to gold more than once in the interval between Diocletian and 397. The following are the weights of coins of different sizes, all having on the reverse, Vot. xx. or xxx.; Mult. xxx. or xxxx. 84, 75, 49, 31, 21. Here, we have evidently five different denominations of silver coin in the reign of Constantius II. In my possession I have one, not well preserved, weighing 41 grains. The other weights are taken from Pinkerton, Pinder and Friedländer, and Mommsen.

[4] *Nov. Valentin.* iii. "De Pretio Sol." xiv. 1.

[5] *Cassiodori Var.* i. 10.

[6] *Cod. Theod.* xiv. 19, 1. *Cod. Theod.* xiv. 4, 10.

period, the copper coins of the empire were minted at the full value of the metal.[1] If the denarius and nummus had been coined on this standard, the denarius ought to weigh 21 grains, and the nummus 17½, and existing coins of Arcadius are found corresponding with these weights.[2] After Theodosius II., the copper coinage seems to have been again deteriorated.

In the year 395, Arcadius and Honorius prohibited the circulation of all silver coins larger than the cententionalis, which must have weighed rather more than 50 grains. They were particularly anxious to compel all private individuals to bring the large coins called decargyra to the mint. This law must for a time have put an end to the circulation of the pieces of sixty to a pound and miliarisia, whether identical or not.[3] After this time, the silver coinage of the Roman empire is rare, and in the interval between Theodosius II. and Anastasius even the copper coinage appears to have been depreciated.

Anastasius introduced a new copper coinage in the year 498, in order to relieve the people from the inconvenience resulting from the great variety in the weight and value of the coins in circulation, many of which must have been much defaced by the tear and wear of time. The new coinage was composed of pieces with their value marked on the reverse by large numeral letters indicating the number of units they contained. The nummus, which was the smallest copper coin then in circulation, appears to have been taken as this unit, and its weight had already fallen to about 6 grains. The pieces in general circulation were those of 1, 5, 10, 20, and 40 nummi, marked A, Є, I, K and M.[4]

Justin I. followed the type and standard of Anastasius, but the barbarous fabric of his coins, even when minted at Constantinople, is remarkable. The same system and the same barbarism appear in the copper money of Justinian I., until the twelfth year of his reign, A.D. 538. He then improved the fabric to prevent forgery, and added the date, numbering the years of his reign on the reverse. Though the value of copper had been fixed by the code at a higher rate than by the law of 396, since a solidus was exacted where twenty pounds of copper were due to the fisc, Justinian

[1] *Cod. Theod.* xi. 21, 2. When this law is repeated by Justinian, the fisc exacted a solidus for every 20 lb. of copper due.—*Cod. Just.* x. 29.

[2] The smallest coins of Arcadius agree. A perfect Vot. v. weighs 17½, a tolerably preserved Salus republicæ, 19; and the size of this latter, which appears to be the denarius, is visibly larger.

[3] *Cod. Theod.* ix. 23, 2.

[4] *Marcellini Chron.*, as cited by Mommsen, Pinder and Friedländer, *Beiträge*, i. 123. This passage states that Anastasius coined pieces called teruntiani by the Romans, and phollerales by the Greeks; but none of the coins of Anastasius weigh a third of an ounce, so the passage is supposed to indicate that the large pieces marked M are those indicated. They weigh on an average 260 grains. I presented to the British Museum a set of small coins of this period, marked A.B.Γ.Δ.&Є, weighing 6, 11, 16, 24 and 29 grains respectively. They were found at Athens, and the B.Γ.&Δ were not previously known. I have now in my possession pieces marked A, weighing from 6 to 10 grains. This gives a variation, in the piece M, from 240 to 400 grains. The Roman ounce at this time was equal to 420 grains, but no M of more than 384 grains has, I believe, been found, even of Justinian.

nevertheless increased the size of his copper coins.[1] Now, if we suppose the coins to have corresponded with the value of copper as indicated in the code, the normal weight of the nummus being $10\frac{1}{2}$ grains, the piece of 40 nummi would be equal to a Roman ounce, and 240 ought to have been current for a solidus. No piece of 40 nummi has yet been found weighing an ounce, and it has generally been supposed that these pieces are the coins mentioned by Procopius, who says that previous to the reform the money-changers gave 210 obols, which were called pholles, for a solidus, but that Justinian fixed the value of the solidus at 180 obols, by which he robbed the people of one-sixth of the value of every solidus in circulation.[2] It has, however, lately been conjectured that the obolus to which Procopius alludes was a silver coin, and according to the proportion between silver and gold then observed at the Roman mint, a silver coin current as $\frac{1}{180}$ of a solidus ought to have weighed 5·6 grains, and such pieces exist.[3] It is not probable that the copper coinage of Justinian was ever minted at its real metallic value, and it is certain that he made frequent reductions in its weight, and that specimens can be found differing in weight which were issued from the same mint in the same year. An issue of unusually deteriorated money in the twenty-sixth year of his reign caused an insurrection, which was appeased by recalling the debased pieces.[4]

The system of marking the copper coins of the Eastern Empire with the letters indicating their value continued until another great monetary reform by Basil I., after a lapse of more than three centuries. But during this long period frequent changes took place in the size of the pieces, which must consequently have been often current at a depreciated value.[5]

1 Compare *Cod. Just.* x. 29, 1, with *Cod. Theod.* xi. 21, 2.

2 Procopius, *Hist. Arc.* sect. 25.

3 Isambert, in his notes to a new edition of the *Secret History* of Procopius, has published a learned dissertation on the money of Justinian. He gives an engraving of a coin from his own collection, which he considers the silver obolos. It weighs rather more than 5 grains.—*Anecdota par Procope*, trad. par M. Isambert, p. 860.

The phollis and obolos, at a later period, were certainly two distinct copper coins.

4 Malalas, p. 80, edit. Ven. No traces of this deterioration have been observed in the coins of this year, but it is possible that the reduction was confined to the smaller copper pieces, κέρμα, which are generally rare. The large coins marked M, which have generally been considered to be the phollis or obolos alluded to by Procopius, are extremely abundant. If so, and 180 were current for a solidus, their normal weight, according to the value of copper in the *Cod.* x. 29, ought to have been 560 grains; as, however, the heaviest seldom weigh more than 366 grains, the solidus, if we suppose these to be obolos, was then exchanged for 15 pounds 8 ounces of copper.

5 It is curious to note the variations which took place in the weight of the large pieces marked M, and the attempts repeatedly made to restore its value by an augmentation in its size.

A.D.		Grains.
491–539.	Six pieces of Anastasius, Justin I., and Justinian I., before his reform of the coinage, average	264
540.	Justinian I., Constantinople	*384
,,	,, ,,	340
,,	,, Nicomedia	366
541.	,, Constantinople	361
,,	,, ,,	332
,,	,, Carthage	336

The silver coins of Justinian were numerous, and of various sizes and denominations, which have not yet been identified with the existing pieces. By a law of the year 536, Justinian allowed the consuls to scatter silver coins among the people, which had been forbidden by Marcian. Four denominations are enumerated, with the addition that similar pieces might also be distributed. Those mentioned are miliarisia, mela, kaukia, and tetragona.[1] There is no direct testimony concerning the value of the miliarision at this time, but we know that it was subsequently current as one-twelfth of a solidus. At this rate, its normal weight ought, as we have already seen, to be 84 grains; but as a legal glossator says that it was at one time only equal to a keration and three quarters, it may, in the reign of Justinian I., have weighed 73½ grains. The keration was the twenty-fourth of the solidus, so that it weighed 42 grains. No data exist for determining the value of the pieces called mela, kaukia, and tetragona.[2]

It is no easy task to affix names to the specimens of Justinian's coins which exist; but six different sizes can be distinguished, the largest weighing about 65 grains, and the smallest about 5. We must bear in mind that it sometimes happens that a very common coin in ancient times is now extremely rare; so that though we cannot identify the keration with any of the existing coins of Justinian, there is not, from that circumstance, sufficient reason to conclude that it was not coined in abundance of its normal weight. And the same may be said of the miliarision, though it may always have been less abundant. The scarcity of the keration may arise from its having been employed in paying the troops in the provinces, and from its always bearing an agio, on account of its cir-

A.D.		Grains.
554.	Justinian I., Antioch	286
555.	,, Constantinople	273
557.	,, ,,	263
,,	,, Cyzicus	263
567.	Justin II., Cyzicus	236
579.	Tiberius II., Constantinople	274
582.	Maurice, Constan.	186
586.	,, ,,	170
601.	,, ,,	185
610.	Heraclius, Constantinople	160
624.	,, ,,	60
628.	,, ,,	102
668–681.	Constantine IV. (Pogonatus)	288
780–790.	Constantine VI and Irene	48
813–820.	? Leo V. and Constantine	85
	The attribution of these coins may be doubtful. They may be of Leo III. and Constantine V.	
821–829.	Michael II. and Theophilus	138
829–840.	Theophilus	90

All these, except the heaviest of Constantinople, marked with an asterisk, are well preserved, and in my possession.

A well-preserved K of Justinian's twelfth year, A.D. 539, weighs 173 grains; one of his thirty-eighth, of Thessalonica, only 80. I gave one of his thirty-ninth, as that date had not been previously found, to the British Museum, which, from my memorandum, weighed 76 grains.

[1] *Corpus Juris Civilis*, Nov. cv. 2.

[2] The authorities can be found under the respective words, in Ducange, *Glossarium ad Script. Med. et Inf. Græcitatis*, and *De Imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum, seu d'Inferioris Ævi vel Imperii uti vocant numismatibus Dissertatio.*

culation in the most distant parts of the empire, and even in the East beyond its limits.[1] The diminutive size of the smallest coins of Justinian need not cause any surprise. The Dutch pieces of five cents weigh only 10 grains, and the French of twenty centimes only 15 grains, though silver is now less valuable than in the time of Justinian. There seems no reason for supposing that silver was coined with less attention to its weight at the mint of Constantinople, in the sixth century, than it had been by the Athenians a thousand years earlier. The slaves who were sent to market at Athens had no difficulty in distinguishing three different silver coins, all fractions of the obolos, which weighed only 11 grains. These diminutive pieces weigh respectively 8, $5\frac{1}{2}$, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ grains, and they are still detected by the sharp eyes of the labourers who excavate at Athens, and collected from time to time.[2]

No official change appears to have taken place in the silver coinage under the successors of Justinian, until Heraclius, in the year 615, coined pieces weighing 6 grams, equal to 105 grains, consequently 48 were coined from a pound of silver. The normal proportion of these pieces to the solidus was $9\frac{6}{10}$; but as the currency of the empire was at this time in a state of confusion, in consequence of the financial embarrassment caused by the conquests of the Persians, who occupied Syria, Egypt, and a great part of Asia Minor, this new hexagram was probably paid at a higher rate by the imperial treasury.[3] Indeed, it is possible that this coin was

[1] Colonel Leake ("Numismata Hellenica," *European Greece*, p. 25) observes, that although the tetrobolon must anciently have been very common, having been the ordinary pay of an Athenian foot-soldier, it is now very rare, and generally much worn. One in my possession, well preserved, weighs forty-two grains.

[2] The six different classes of coins seem to be:—

	Grains.
I. That engraved by Pinder and Friedländer (*Die Münzen Justinians*, p. 71)	64.5
II. A coin mentioned by Isambert, p. 859	46.9
III. With the reverse, Vot. Mut. H T I, 19 to 21	21.
IV. Coins mentioned by Pinkerton, Pinder and Friedländer, and Isambert	14. to 16.
V. Do. do. do.	8. to 12.
VI. Small coin engraved by Isambert, pl. iii. 7	4.65 to 5.735
Coins of Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin I., are found, weighing	11.

It may not be superfluous to observe, that the ancient Athenians had no less than nine silver coins in common use, smaller than the drachma, the value of which was $9\frac{3}{4}$d. The following list indicates the normal weight of these pieces as they issued from the Athenian mint, taken from Colonel Leake's "Numismata Hellenica," where the various types by which they were distinguished are described. The weight of pieces in my own collection is also given, to show the average deterioration in ancient coins where the type is preserved.

	Standard.		G. F.'s Collection.
Pentobolon	56.25	type much worn	50. grains.
Tetrobolon	45.	well preserved	42.
Triobolon, or half-drachma	33.75	two, well preserved, each	32.
Diobolon	22.5	two, worn, each	18.75
Trihemiobolon, $1\frac{1}{2}$ obol.,	16.87	tolerable preservation	15.
Obolos	11.25	average of six	10.
Tritemorion, $\frac{3}{4}$	8.45	average of two	6.5
Hemiobolion, $\frac{1}{2}$	5.62	average of six fine	5.4
Tetartemorion $\frac{1}{4}$	2.8	average of three	2.15

[3] *Chron. Pasch.* 386, edit. Par. Theophanes, 254, edit. Par. The hexagram and miliarision of Heraclius and his successors seem to have been of the same type. Two pieces of Heraclius, with the reverse "Deus adjuta Romanis," were purchased by me at

issued at the rate of six for a solidus, since it was coined for the purpose of facilitating or partially concealing the payment of salaries, pensions, and donatives at a reduced rate equal to one-half of their previous amount. In the year 621 we are informed that Heraclius coined miliarisia in great quantity for the expenses of his Persian campaigns. Coins of the same type as the hexagram of Heraclius were struck by Heraclius, Constantine, Constans II., and Constantine IV. (Pogonatus).[1] The copper coinage of Heraclius is generally of the most barbarous fabric, and the size of the pieces bearing the same denomination varies in the most extraordinary manner. Constantine IV. restored the copper coinage to its condition in the latter years of Justinian I., but under Justinian II. it became again depreciated.

The money of the Isaurian dynasty is rare. The hexagram disappears; but the uncertainty in the attribution of the coins of this period renders it unsafe to make any conjectures concerning the existing pieces. At this time the silver coins having the name and title of the emperor across the field on one side, and a cross on steps with "Jesus Christus nica" on the other, appear to have been introduced, and it seems very possible that the coins usually ascribed to Leo V. the Armenian, and his son Constantine, really belong to Leo III. and his son Constantine V. Coins of this type are found of three different weights, 30, 41, and 46 grains. Those weighing 30 and 41 grains are so similar in size that they could only be distinguished by the names of the emperors or by weighing them. The copper coinage of this period is greatly diminished in size, but the Amorian dynasty made an attempt to improve it. There can be no doubt that it circulated at a high conventional value, which it received from the mint.[2]

Basil I. became sole emperor in 867. He does not seem to have made any change in the silver coinage, for the principal silver coin during the long period that his dynasty governed the empire is the piece which weighs 41 grains, and is in all probability the keration or $\frac{1}{24}$ of a solidus.[3] In the copper coinage Basil I. seems to have been the author of a great reform, for it can hardly be doubted that

Trebizond. They differ only in their thickness and weight. One weighs 101 grains, the other 72 grains. Sabatier observed a similar variation in examples he purchased at Teflis. One in the possession of Mr. Lambros, dealer in medals at Corfou, weighed also 72 grains.

[1] Tannini, *Supplementum ad Bandurii Numism. Imp. Rom.*, gives the weight of several pieces. One of Constans II. and Constantine IV., in my possession, weighs 72 grains. Another of Constantine IV., of the same size, but thicker, perhaps a piece of five grams, weighs 88 grains. It is impossible to conjecture how much of the variation which takes place in the imperial coinage arises from the issue of a deteriorated coinage by the emperors for some temporary purpose. In the Eastern Empire we see that an organic law existed, though it was often violated.

[2] Well-engraved representations of the coins of the Eastern Empire, from Anastasius, will be found in the works of Saulcy, *Essai de Classification des Suites monetaires Byzantines;* and Marchant, *Lettres sur la Numismatique et l'Histoire*, nouvelle edition.

[3] In the preface of the second edition of my *Byzantine History*, there are representations of the silver coins of John I. (Zimisces), and Basil II., and Constantine VIII., but the weight is erroneously given as 44 grains, instead of 41.

he restored the large brass coin previously marked **M** to its original weight in the reign of Anastasius. It was now called phollis, and is the largest of the Byzantine coins having a sacred type. The obverse has the bust of our Saviour, and on the reverse the words "Jesus Christus Basileu÷Basile÷" across the field. The weight of these pieces, when of good fabric, is 260 to 276 grains.[1] The other copper coin in general circulation was the obolos, bearing the effigy of the emperor on the obverse, and his name and title across the field on the reverse. Well-preserved specimens weigh from 118 to 125 grains, but those of Romanus I, or of Constantine VII. (Porphyrogenitus) struck over Romanus, frequently weigh more than 140 grains.[2]

It has been generally supposed that John Zimisces introduced the sacred type in the Byzantine mint, because two historians say that he placed the image of our Saviour on the nomisma (solidus), and on the obolos, which was previously the case, and inscribed on the reverse in Roman letters, "Jesus Christus Basileus Basileon."[3] The plain meaning of this passage seems to be, that John I made a change in the type of the gold nomisma and of the copper obolos, which had previously been distinguished by the portrait of the emperor; but, strange to say, numismatists, who generally pay such exclusive attention to types and sizes of coins, have given a different interpretation to these words. Existing coins confirm the plain meaning of the passage. It is true that no gold nomisma of the sacred type has been found; but this is not astonishing, as those of another type exist, coined probably during the first years of his reign; and as succeeding emperors restored their portraits to the obverse of the nomisma, all those of a sacred type may have been reminted or melted down. But the smaller copper pieces, which appear to have been the obolos, and which had been previously impressed with the emperor's portrait, disappear from the Byzantine coinage in the reign of John Zimisces; and coins of a sacred type of this size are common, though not so extremely abundant as those of the larger size, which I suppose to be the phollis. The portrait of the emperor does not reappear on Byzantine copper until the reign of Constantine X. (Ducas), A.D. 1059, when it is found on the phollis. The smaller copper coins, which were parts of the obolos, are rare during the Basilian dynasty, and cannot be accurately identified.

[1] A representation of this coin is given in the preface to the second edition of my *Byzantine History*, No. 4.

[2] There can be no doubt that Saulcy is wrong in attributing the coins of Romanus to the second, instead of the first of the name. I gave an example of Constantine VII. struck over Romanus, to the British Museum, and I have two specimens in my possession, besides three of Constantine VII. and Romanus II. struck over Romanus I.

[3] Cedrenus, ii. 683. Glycas, 308, edit. Par. "Προσέταξε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ νομίσματι καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁβολῷ εἰκόνα ἐγγράφεσθαι τοῦ Σωτῆρος, μὴ πρότερον τούτου γινομένου· ἐγράφοντο δὲ καὶ γράμματα ῥωμαϊστὶ ἐν θατέρῳ μέρει ὧδε πη διεξιόντα· Ιησους Χριστὸς Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων: τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ καθεξῆς ἐτήρησαν βασιλεῖς." There is in my possession a well-preserved piece, with the portrait of Romanus I. struck over the earlier phollis, with this type.

The next remarkable change in the coinage of the Roman or Byzantine empire was the introduction of concave pieces, *scyphati nummi*. This form was introduced as early as 1024, but it did not become the prevailing type of the gold, silver, and copper coinage, until the end of the eleventh century.[1] No change in the weight or value of the gold and silver pieces was made, in consequence of the introduction of concave money; but the size and weight of the copper coins was greatly reduced as forgery was rendered more difficult. The phollis and obolos appear to have been generally concave, and their fractions of the usual form. Under the Comneni these smaller pieces are numerous.[2]

The coinage of the Byzantine empire appears to have been depreciated after the reign of Manuel I. (Comnenus); and the coinage of the Greek empire of Constantinople, after its reconquest from the Flemish emperors, fell into a state of disorder. The gold ducats of Italy were then more esteemed than the ducati, michelati, and manuelati, of the Eastern Empire; and the *gros tournois* of the French kings, and the aspers of the emperors of Trebizond, were more valued in eastern commerce than the silver money of the Paleologi of Constantinople.

From the time of Justinian, or even earlier, accounts were kept in solidi, keratia, and folles, or in solidi, miliarisia, and folles; and this system continued until the Roman empire was destroyed by the Crusaders and Venetians.[3] Large sums were reckoned in centenaries, or hundred pounds-weight of gold or silver bullion. The gold coins in circulation were the *solidus*, called by the Greeks nomisma, and by the Western nations byzant; the *semisseion*, or half solidus; the trimission, or one-third; and the tetarteron, or quarter.[4] The silver coins were numerous, but latterly the *miliarision*, keration, and half-keration, appear to have been the most abundant.[5] The copper coins were the *phollis*, the obolos, and apparently, at least, two smaller denominations.

The rarity of Byzantine silver coins does not appear to arise from their having been coined in small quantity, but from the constant demand for silver in the East, where the Indian trade and the silversmiths have always consumed a great quantity. The good silver money of the earlier sultans of Constantinople is almost as rare as that of the last emperors.

The gradual transformation of the Eastern Empire from a Roman to a Greek state may be traced in the coinage as coincident with a similar change in the institutions and the general adminis-

1 Tannini, *Supp. ad Bandurii Num. Imp. Rom.*, 428.

2 There are flat pieces of four different sizes in the time of the Comneni. The largest may be the obolos. Those of the reigns of John II. and Manuel I., of different types, weigh 72, 43, 32, and 24 grains.

3 *Analecta Græca*, Paris, 1668, p. 316—"Antiquum rationarum Augusti Cæsaris et novum rationarum Alexii Comneni Imperatoris."

4 The tetarteron is much rarer than the other fractions of the solidus. One of Theophilus, in perfect preservation, weighs 17 grains.

5 The commonest silver coins of Manuel I. weigh 45 to 46 grains; and I possess a coin of Nicephorus III. struck over Michael VII., which weighs only 13, but it is imperfect. The normal weights of the silver coins have been already mentioned.

tration. Under Constantine and his successors until Leo I., everything in the manners and habits of Constantinople was Roman; but under Anastasius, Greek letters appear as indications of value on the copper coins; and under Justinian I. it appears that the imperial heralds addressed the people in the Greek language when assembled at the chariot-races in the circus. Yet it is curious to observe how slowly the movement advanced which led the government of the Eastern Empire to abandon the systematic administrative tyranny of Rome for the arbitrary despotism of Greece. Heraclius, in the early part of the seventh century, first introduced a Greek legend, ἐν τοῦτο νίκα, on the copper coins of rude fabric, which were probably coined for the use of the troops and the provincials during his Persian campaigns. The Greek titles of Basileus and Despotes make their first appearance in the place of Augustus during the eighth century. In the middle of the ninth, we find Greek inscriptions on the reverses of several coins. A copper coin of Theophilus has the title Augustus, another *Θeofilas basileus* round the portrait, and on the reverse *Θeofile Augouste su nikas*. There is a coin of Michael III. with two portraits. That of the obverse has the legend *Mihael imperat.*, that of the reverse *Basilius rex*. Under the Basilian dynasty, Greek inscriptions occupy the field of the reverse both of the silver and copper coins, but the reverse of the gold is usually a bust of our Saviour, with the legend *Jesus Christus Rex Regnantium*. This Latin inscription continues on the solidus until the latter part of the eleventh century: it is found, I believe, for the last time, in the reign of Michael VII. (A.D. 1078).

Alexius I. (Comnenus) may be considered the first Emperor of the East who was entirely Greek. After his accession, Latin never again appears on the coins of the Roman empire, so that its transformation into the Byzantine monarchy was then complete.

TABLES OF ROMAN MONEY.

Augustus and his Successors.—B.C. 31 to A.D. 54.

As

2 = Dupondius.

4 = 2 = Sestertius Æ.

8 = 4 = 2 = Quinarius Æ.

16 = 8 = 4 = 2 = Denarius of 84 to lb. Æ.

400 = 200 = 100 = 50 = 25 = Aureus of 40 to lb. Æ.

Parts of As.

Quadrans.

$1\frac{1}{3}$ = Triens.

2 = $1\frac{1}{2}$ = Semissis.

4 = 3 = 2 = As.

Nero and his Successors.—A.D. 54 to 215.

Quinarius, Æ and Æ.

Denarius of 96 to lb.

25 = Aureus of 45 to lb.

CARACALLA AND HIS SUCCESSORS.—A.D. 215 TO 268.

Quinarius, Æ and Ar.

2 = Denarius of 96 to lb.
3 = 1½ = Argenteus of 60 to lb.
50 = 25 = 16⅔ = Aureus of 50 to lb.
100 Argentei = 6 Aurei.

AURELIAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS.—A.D. 275 TO 300

Assarion.

4 = Denarius of copper.
84 = 21 = Argenteus or Denarius of account.
2100 = 525 = 25 = Aureus of 50 to lb.

DIOCLETIAN AND HIS COLLEAGUES, AFTER A.D. 300.

Assarion.

4 = Denarius of copper.
16 = 4 = Follis.
192 = 48 = 12 = Denarius of 48 grs. Ar or cententionalis.
4800 = 1200 = 300 = 25 = Aureus of 60 to the pound.

CONSTANTINE AND HIS SUCCESSORS.—A.D. 325 TO 491.

Nummus or denarius.

20 = Follis.
240 = 12 = Siliqua Ar.
480 = 24 = 1¾ or 2 = Miliarensis.
5760 = 288 = 24 = 12 = Solidus of 72 to lb.

ANASTASIUS AND HIS SUCCESSORS.—A.D. 491 TO 867.

Noumion.

5 = Є Pentanoumion.
10 = 2 = I Dekanoumion.
20 = 4 = 2 = K Eikosarion or obolos.
40 = 8 = 4 = 2 = M Follis Æ and Ar.
240 = 48 = 24 = 12 = 6 = Keration Ar.
480 = 96 = 48 = 24 = 12 = 2 = Miliarision.
5760 to 7200 = 180 = 24 = 12 = Solidus or Nomisma. to 210

BASIL I. TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE. A.D. 867 TO 1204.

Small copper pieces of unknown denominations.

Obolos Æ.

2 = Phollis Æ.
12 = 6 = Keration Ar.
24 = 12 = 2 = Miliarision.
288 = 144 = 24 = 12 = Solidus, Nomisma, or Byzant AV.

III

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SITE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

The majority of Christians feel anxious to ascertain that the precise spot where the body of Christ was interred is still known. The voice of reason may suggest that, in a religious point of view, this can at present be a matter of little importance; for "God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." And it is indeed possible that, from the actual state of education in all Christian nations, superstition will be likely to gain more than true religion by pointing out the exact site of the death and burial of our Saviour. Still, it is a duty to search after the truth, and to examine whether sufficient evidence exists to determine the site of the Holy Sepulchre, under the conviction that, when the truth is clearly established, it will aid religion in destroying superstition.

It would give every Christian a sentiment of dissatisfaction, as well as of melancholy, to adopt the opinion that no satisfactory evidence can be found to determine the real site of Christ's death and burial. Yet, if none exist, then the thousands of sincere believers who, for fifteen centuries, have annually repaired in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to visit spots shown as the Golgotha and the place of the resurrection of Scripture, have been the deluded votaries of a pious fraud. How can the uninstructed hope to learn the way of truth, or expect to avoid becoming the dupes of those who speculate on man's superstition, if they have been imposed on in this instance? Of what value is history, if it has entirely omitted to preserve the means of confirming, or refuting, any hypothesis directly affecting the identification of sites so deeply interesting to a large majority of the most enlightened inhabitants of the globe since the commencement of the fourth century?

OPINIONS CONCERNING THE SITE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

Various opinions have been formed, by learned and conscientious Christians, concerning the verity of the sites now shown as Golgotha and the place of the resurrection; and a good deal of discussion has taken place between those, on the one hand, who declare that the sites reverenced by pilgrims have not the smallest title to be considered authentic, and those, on the other, who maintain that they are the precise spots mentioned by the Evangelists—that the Calvary of the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem is that spot to which "He, bearing his cross, went forth into a place called the Place of a Skull, which is called in Hebrew Golgotha, where they crucified Him"[1]—and that the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre

[1] St. John xix. 17.

is built over that "new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid."[1]

The first attempt to assail the identity of the sepulchre now shown was made by a German named Korte, who visited Jerusalem in 1738.[2] But the ablest assailant of the actual site is Dr. Robinson, the author of a learned work on the geography of Palestine, entitled *Biblical Researches*.[3] This work enters into a long investigation of all the questions connected with the topography of Jerusalem. The opponents as well as the supporters of Dr. Robinson's views consider it the chief source of information on the subject, for they use it as their guide even while they attack its conclusions. The able clergymen who composed *The Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in* 1839, declare that Dr. Robinson's arguments may justly be regarded as a final settlement of this long-agitated question.

The work of Dr. Robinson is the most learned and impartial statement of the reasoning of the dissentients.[4] In order not to injure the clear and candid manner in which he states his case, I transcribe his own words. "A true estimate of this long-agitated question must depend on two circumstances. As there can be no doubt that both Golgotha and the Sepulchre lay outside of the ancient city, it must first be shown that the present site may also anciently have been without the walls. Or, should this in itself appear to be impossible, then it must be shown that there were, in the fourth century, historical or traditional grounds for fixing upon this site, strong enough to counterbalance such an apparent impossibility."[5]

To the tourists who venture to give decided opinions of dissent to these principles, without studying the writings of Dr. Robinson or Dr. Tobler, it is enough to observe, with Bacon,—"Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief, affecting free-will in thinking as well as in acting."[6] *Plus negare potest asinus, quam probare philosophus.*

On the other hand, the identity of the present sites has found eloquent defenders in Chateaubriand, Mr. Wilde, Dr. Olin, Lord Nugent, the Reverend George Williams, and the Reverend Albert Schaffter.[7]

[1] St. John xix. 41.

[2] Jonas Korte's *Reise nach dem gelobten Lande, Aegypten, Syrien, und Mesopotamien.* Halle, 1751. 8vo.

[3] *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa.* By Edward Robinson, D.D. 3 vols. 8vo. Boston, 1841.

[4] The opinions of Dr. Robinson have been ably supported by Dr. Tobler.—*Golgatha*, etc. St. Gallen, 1851.

[5] *Biblical Researches*, vol. ii. p. 66.

[6] Bacon's *Essays*, "Of Truth."

[7] F. A. de Chateaubriand. *Itineraire de Paris à Jerusalem.* 3 tomes. Paris, 1811. 8vo.

W. R. Wilde, M.R.I.A. *Narrative of a Voyage to Madeira and along the Shores of the Mediterranean.* 2 vols. Dublin, 1840.

Stephen Olin, D.D. *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land.* 2 vols. New York, 1843.

Lord Nugent. *Lands Classical and Sacred.* 2 vols. London, 1845.

Rev. George Williams. *The Holy City; or, Historical and Topographical Notices of Jerusalem.* 8vo. London, 1845.

A. Schaffter. *Die ächte lage des Heiligen Grabes.* Bern, 1849.

Mr. Fergusson has advanced a third opinion, based solely on architectural proofs, and maintains that the Mosque of Omar indicates the site of the Holy Sepulchre.[1]

HISTORY OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

Before attempting to investigate the existing evidence relative to the identification of the site of the Holy Sepulchre, it is necessary to collect the historical information that remains, connected with the subject. A review of the historical notices preserved will enable us to appreciate the precise bearing of the evidence to be adduced.

The place of the crucifixion was near the walls of Jerusalem, and without the gate. "Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate."[2] And St. John: "For the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city."[3] The spot was called, in Hebrew, Golgotha. In the Latin translation of St. Luke, it is translated Calvaria.[4]

The tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa was situated in a garden, so near the spot where Jesus was crucified, that it was said to be in the same place, or at Golgotha. "Now, in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was man never yet laid. There laid they Jesus, therefore, because of the Jews' preparation day; for the sepulchre was nigh at hand."[5]

The crucifixion and interment of our Lord took place, according to the common chronology, in the year 33.

WALL OF JERUSALEM EXTENDED BY AGRIPPA.

About the year 42, King Agrippa commenced building a new wall, to enclose the suburbs on the north side of the city. This wall commenced at the tower Hippicus, and proceeded to the north, to the tower Psephinus; it then extended to the vicinity of the monument of Helena; advancing further, it passed by the sepulchral caverns of the Kings, and returned to the tower of the corner. It joined the old wall again at the valley of Kedron.[6] This new wall is supposed by all modern writers to have included the site of the crucifixion within its circuit.

Agrippa did not complete this wall on the plan he had originally adopted. The jealousy of the Emperor Claudius was awakened by

[1] *An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*: with restored Plans of the Temple, and Plans, Sections, and Details of the Church built by Constantine the Great over the Holy Sepulchre, now known as the Mosque of Omar. London, 1847. The architectural illustrations and arguments of this work are excellent; the inductions are often erroneous, and the proposed topography is at variance with history.

[2] Hebrews xiii. 12.

[3] St. John xix. 20.

[4] St. Matthew xxvii. 33: "And when they were come unto a place called Golgotha, that is to say, a place of a skull, ... they crucified Him." St. Luke xxiii. 33: "And when they were come to the place which is called Calvary, there they crucified him." St. John xix. 17: "And he, bearing his cross, went forth into a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew, Golgotha."

[5] St. John xix. 41.

[6] Josephus, *Jewish War*, book v. chap. iv. 2.

the Governor of Judea; and Agrippa thought it prudent to modify his design in the execution, and give the new fortifications less strength than he had intended. But, from the description Josephus has left us of the work, it was a magnificent monument of military architecture; equal—in the style of the masonry, the size of the stones, and the solidity of the building,—to the most celebrated portions of the ancient walls, and even to the foundations of the Temple itself.

The whole circuit of the city, after the construction of this wall, was 33 stades, or about $3\frac{1}{3}$ geographical miles. The present walls enclose a circumference of about $2\frac{1}{8}$ geographical miles.

TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS.

Until the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, in 70, no change could have taken place in the aspect of Golgotha or of the tomb. The place must have been known to every inhabitant of Jerusalem. But the destruction of the city, after its conquest by Titus, might have produced a great change. That destruction, however, was not so complete as is usually reported. Josephus indeed mentions that the city and the Temple were demolished; but at the same time he relates, that Titus commanded the troops to leave the most remarkable of the towers, which defended Jerusalem, standing as a memorial of the splendid construction of the fortifications of the ancient city. And he preserved the whole of the western wall, to form a fortification for the garrison he placed in his conquest. The towers left standing were, Phasælus, Hippicus, and Mariamne; and as it was without the walls that Christ suffered, the place, if on this side of the city, probably underwent no change. The garrison consisted of the tenth legion, some squadrons of cavalry, and several cohorts of infantry.[1] A large force to be stationed in a ruined city.

Around this garrison, permanently established on the western side of the ancient city, a town of some size would immediately be formed, for Palestine continued to be extremely populous, and the Jews still reverenced Jerusalem and were allowed to visit it. The Christians, too, though they fled to Pella before the siege, soon returned; and it continued to be the residence of a Christian bishop.[2] We are informed by Eusebius, that Simeon, the son of Cleophas, was elected to the vacant see at Jerusalem on the return of the Jewish Christians, so that a considerable number of the native inhabitants must have soon assembled in an open town under the protection of the Roman garrison.[3]

It is needless to offer any conjecture concerning the portion of the city wall preserved by Titus. In a military point of view, Mount Zion would appear the most suitable place for a fortified camp within the walls, and that the towers preserved formed part

1 Josephus, *Jewish War*, book vii. chap. i.
2 *Flight to Pella.* Eusebius, *Eccles. History*, book iii. chap. iii.
3 Eusebius, *Eccles. History*, book iii. chap. xi.

of the fortifications of the city of David which were added to the old wall by Herod, is mentioned by Josephus.[1]

The neighbourhood of Golgotha was not a thickly inhabited quarter. It had a garden and a tomb in its immediate vicinity. The present site of the Holy Sepulchre, from its position, could not have been within the fortifications of Titus. It must also be recollected that the Christian bishop elected to the see of Jerusalem, after the conquest by Titus, was Simeon the son of Cleophas, who was the cousin of Jesus, as appears from St. John: "Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary, the wife of Cleophas.[2] These circumstances render it improbable that the site of Christ's crucifixion and burial was forgotten at this period.

FOUNDATION OF THE ROMAN COLONY OF ÆLIA CAPITOLINA IN JERUSALEM, BY HADRIAN.

The Emperor Hadrian, in order to destroy the nationality of the Jews, determined to transform Jerusalem into a Roman city.[3] The measures he adopted caused a rebellion in Palestine, and the rebels took possession of Jerusalem. The success of this rebellion attests the numbers, wealth, and power of the Jews, and proves that they had continued to preserve some degree of political organisation even after their subjugation by Titus. The Romans slowly collected their forces. The Jews seized on fifty fortified places and nine hundred and eighty-five large villages. The Roman troops at last crushed the rebellion, recovered Jerusalem, exterminated the rebels, and punished the rest of the nation as irreconcilable enemies of Rome.

When peace was restored, Hadrian endeavoured to efface all memory of the ancient Jerusalem: he issued a decree forbidding any Jew to return to the city; and guards were stationed to prevent them even from approaching it. A new city, called Ælia Capitolina, was founded on its ruins, which was peopled as a Roman colony, and adorned with the usual public buildings, theatres, baths, and pagan temples. The inhabitants of Ælia Capitolina were doubtless chiefly Roman freedmen and Syrian Greeks. Even the Christians who were allowed to settle in this new city were converted Gentiles, for the Christian Jews, in the eyes of the Roman administration, continued to retain the stamp of their nationality, and consequently dared not approach the place.[4]

The Jewish writers agree with St. Jerome in relating that the

[1] *Jewish War*, book v. chap. iv. v. vi.

[2] St. John xix. 25; compare Eusebius, *Eccles. History*, book iii. chap. xi.

[3] Dio Cassius, lxix. c. 12.

[4] Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* iv. 6. Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 47. "Οτι δὲ φυλάσσεται (Ἱερουσαλὴμ) ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ γένηται, καὶ θάνατος τοῦ καταλαβομένου Ἰουδαίου ἐσιόντες ὥρισθαι, ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθε. Sulpicii Severi, *Hist. Sac.* ii. 45. "Militum cohortem custodias in perpetuum agitare jussit, quæ Judæos omnes Hierosolymæ aditu arceret."

Roman governor, Titus Annius Rufus, ordered the foundations of the Temple to be torn up, and the plough to be drawn over the site, as a mark that it was devoted to perpetual desolation.[1]

SITE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE DEFACED.

Everything was done by Hadrian to give Ælia Capitolina the character of a pagan city as well as of a Roman colony. Not only were the Jews expelled for ever from the capital of their forefathers, but their prejudices and feelings were insulted in order to induce them to avoid the spot. A temple was dedicated to Jupiter on the site of the temple of Solomon. Statues of the heathen god and the pagan emperor defiled the Holy of Holies.[2] The figure of a swine was set over the gate leading to Bethlehem and Hebron.[3]

Nor were the Christians spared. The Christian Church of Jerusalem had until this period been a Jewish congregation governed by Jewish pastors, and it was naturally enough considered by the Romans to form a portion of the nation : as such, it was treated with the same indignity. The site of the Holy Sepulchre was covered over with earth, and a temple was erected to Venus on the spot. The place was thus peculiarly desecrated in the eyes of Christians, whether Jew or Gentile.[4]

LOSS OF THE JEWISH TRADITIONS RELATING TO JERUSALEM.

The exertions of the Roman administration to root out Jewish traditions in the city of Jerusalem, were not fruitless. The Christians who settled in Ælia Capitolina were a community of Gentiles. With the Jews they had no common bond of feeling, and they had no national character. Perhaps one of the most general sentiments in their body was an aversion to the rebel Jews and to everything Jewish. A converted Gentile, named Mark, was elected bishop of the Christian church of Ælia Capitolina. The preceding bishops of the congregation of Jerusalem had all been by birth Jews.[5]

The Roman administration would encourage the neglect of every practice connected with the reminiscences of the old city, whose

[1] Gemarah Taanieh, c. 4 : "Quando aravit Turanus Rufus impius porticum," etc. Maimonides "in Bartoloc." *Biblioth. Rabb.* iii. p. 679. Hieronymi (Divi) *Comm. in Zachar.* viii. 19.

[2] Dio Cassius, lxix. 12 : Ἐς δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς κατασκαφείσης οἰκίσαντος, ἣν καὶ Αἰλίαν Καπιτωλίναν ὠνόμασε, καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον ναὸν τῷ Διΐ ἕτερον ἀντεγείραντος. Hieronymi *Comm. in Esai.* ii. 8 : "Ubi quondam erat templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua et Jovis idolum collocatum est." Some of the architectural remains of the Mosque of Omar may date from this time.

[3] Eusebius, *Chronicon.*

[4] Eusebius (*Life of Constantine*, iii. 26) mentions the Temple of Venus. Sozomen, *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 1. The name of Hadrian as the founder of the temple is, however, only mentioned by later writers.—*Biblical Researches*, vol. ii. p. 73. The practice of desecrating the sacred edifices of the Pagans was adopted by the Christians at a later period. A church was built at Alexandria to insult the votaries of Mithra on the spot where they had performed their mysteries.—Neander, "Julian," 125.

Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* iv. 6.

name it was the wish of the emperor should be buried in oblivion. The traditions of Jerusalem and of the Jews, thus powerfully assailed and carefully undermined, soon faded away among a population of Gentiles. It is, therefore, by no means extraordinary that between the year 136, when Hadrian dedicated his colony, and the year 326, when Helena sanctified the site of the Holy Sepulchre, all tradition of its exact locality had ceased among the Christian inhabitants of the Roman colony of Ælia Capitolina.

Though it may have been known to the persons connected with the government of the Church, and with the local administration, that the Temple of Venus marked the site of the Holy Sepulchre, the general disgust with which the Christians must have viewed the desecration, led them, without doubt, to neglect the locality. Here, then, we have evidence sufficient to warrant the conclusion that during great part of the interval between Hadrian and Constantine, or a considerable portion of the space of 190 years, there was an interruption of the general tradition concerning the position of Golgotha, and the site of the Holy Sepulchre. The name of Golgotha and the place of a skull may have been utterly forgotten by the citizens of Ælia Capitolina, and the tomb of our Saviour may have been neglected by the new Christian population of the Roman colony.

CONSTANTINE SANCTIFIES THE TOMB OF CHRIST.

Immediately after the first general council of Nice, the emperor Constantine determined to consecrate the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and to honour it by erecting a church. Whether he was moved to this undertaking by what he believed to be a divine impulse, by the solicitations of his mother Helena, or by the prayers of some of the bishops at the Council, is not a matter of great moment as evidence of his having selected the true site. The first step of the emperor was to seek for topographical proofs. The temple of Venus had been constructed to desecrate that site. It was destroyed, and the heaps of earth in which its foundations were raised were cleared away. When the rubbish was removed, and the ancient level of the rock laid bare, the tomb was discovered.[1] That tomb is now disfigured with marble ornaments, and visited annually by thousands of pilgrims, who mark their devotion to Christianity with as much superstition as sincerity.

TESTIMONY OF EUSEBIUS.

Eusebius, the cotemporary historian who speaks of the discovery, may be considered an eye-witness of the event. He was Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, and a man of piety and learning, though a courtier and a flatterer of his patron the Emperor Constantine. This ecclesiastical historian gives the discovery of the Holy

[1] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, iii. 28.

Sepulchre something of a miraculous aspect in his narrative. But he relates the facts in so clear a manner that his evidence is of the most precise and unexceptionable nature. His insinuations that an unbaptised Christian like Constantine was moved by a divine impulse, must be connected with the facts that Constantine was Emperor of Rome and the protector of Eusebius.[1]

The testimony of Eusebius must, however, be admitted to prove that the discovery was in some degree unexpected by the majority of the Christians at Jerusalem, and that all memory of the site was lost to the people.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHAPEL OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE BY CONSTANTINE.

After his discovery, the emperor erected a monument adorned with columns over the tomb, and a splendid church in its vicinity, opposite, as Eusebius says, to the ancient Jerusalem, which God had allowed to be ruined as a punishment for the impiety of its inhabitants.[2] The dedication of these buildings took place in the year 336, ten years after the discovery.

"No one has ever doubted the identity of the present site with that selected by Constantine."[3] But a great deal of discussion has arisen concerning the identity of this site with the tomb in which the body of our Saviour was laid.

ARGUMENTS OF DR. ROBINSON AGAINST THE PRESENT SITE.

The arguments of Dr. Robinson against the authenticity of the site actually shown at Jerusalem as the Holy Sepulchre, go so far as to prove that it cannot by any possibility be the true site. The evidence adduced in its favour rests, in his opinion, on two grounds,—on tradition, and on the inference adopted by the Emperor Constantine that the Temple of Venus erected by the pagans over the site of the sepulchre was really so placed. Tradition Dr. Robinson dismisses as a vain and fallacious guide, even if it existed in the time of Constantine; but he infers, from the circumstance that no pilgrimages were then made to the Holy Sepulchre, that there could be no such tradition. Eusebius, the cotemporary ecclesiastical historian, whose testimony might be of some value as a proof of its existence, is absolutely silent concerning any such tradition. With regard to the temple of Venus, he thinks that the writers who mention the discovery of the Sepulchre by Constantine, only afford evidence that such a temple stood over the spot fixed upon by Constantine as the site of the Holy Sepulchre.

[1] Constantine had probably embraced Christianity in Gaul, A.D. 312.—Godefroy. *Cod. Theod.* xvi. x. 1.

[2] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, iii. 33: Ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ παλαίᾳ ταύτῃ ἄντικρυς.

[3] Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, vol. ii. p. 71. This is no longer correct since the publication of Mr. Fergusson's work.

Dr. Robinson, in concluding his arguments, sums up with the following words: "I am led irresistibly to the conclusion, that the Golgotha and the tomb now shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, are not upon the real places of the crucifixion and resurrection of our Lord. The alleged discovery of Calvary and the Sepulchre by the aged and credulous Helena, like her discovery of the cross, may not improbably have been the work of pious fraud. It would, perhaps, not be doing injustice to the Bishop Macarius and his clergy, if we regard the whole as a well-laid and successful plan for restoring to Jerusalem its former consideration, and elevating his see to a higher degree of influence and dignity." [1]

So far, however, Dr. Robinson's arguments only raise great doubts concerning the probability of the sites now shown being the actual sites. The truth of his observations concerning the small value of tradition, in all historical questions, must be fully admitted. And the fact that there is no direct evidence of the existence of any tradition relating to the position of the Holy Sepulchre, except the supposed connection between its site and that of the Temple of Venus, from the time of Hadrian to that of Constantine, is undeniable.

But Dr. Robinson has gone much farther, and attempted to prove that the sites now shown cannot by any possibility be the real sites, because they are within the line of the ancient walls of Jerusalem, and the places of the crucifixion and interment of our Lord were without the gate of the city. But Dr. Robinson has only supported this assertion by an opinion of his own concerning the position of the ancient walls of Jerusalem. He decides the discussion in his own favour by imagining a line of wall for the city, which would include the sites whose identity he assails.

It is not proposed to enter on this subject in the following pages, the questions relating to the position of three wal's which enclosed Jerusalem at different periods, presenting far greater difficulties than any relating to the site of the Holy Sepulchre. The authenticity of the site assailed by Dr. Robinson, must be proved or disproved by direct evidence, and not by any hypothesis concerning the direction of the city wall in which Titus left the three towers standing.

ARGUMENTS OF THE REV. GEORGE WILLIAMS IN ITS FAVOUR.

The Reverend George Williams, in a learned work on the topography of Jerusalem, entitled "The Holy City," endeavours to prove that the sites now shown are authentic. Mr. Williams attempts to refute all the arguments of Dr. Robinson. He considers tradition competent to establish the identity of these sites, and the existence of the tradition in their favour he holds to be satisfactorily proved; borrowing from Chateaubriand the argument that the regular succession of the Jewish-Christian bishops from the

[1] *Biblical Researches*, vol. ii. p. 80.

Apostle St. James to the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian, and of Gentile bishops from the time of Hadrian to that of Constantine, must have preserved the memory of these sacred places.

Mr. Williams remarks, "that if any apology be required for attempting a defence of the tradition relating to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, it is offered in the consideration, that the credit of the whole Church for fifteen hundred years is in some measure involved in the question."[1] But Mr. Williams is too candid to assert that the tradition, even in this case, is conclusive evidence. "It must be admitted, in examining the question, that the nature of the case does not admit of demonstrative proof; the most we can expect is a high degree of probability; and, if we can divest ourselves of an undue prejudice against traditionary evidence, we shall be ready to grant that there is a strong antecedent presumption on the side of a tradition which has antiquity and universality in its favour."[2] He argues also that the name of Golgotha would be preserved, and "tend to preserve the memorial of the site among the natives";[3] and that the Christian Church never having been absent from Jerusalem for more than a few years, the Christians at Jerusalem must always have been able to identify the true site, however accident or design might have altered its character.[4]

The impossibility of any pious fraud having been committed by Helena, or sanctioned by the Bishop of Jerusalem, is also strongly insisted on. As I have quoted the words in which Dr. Robinson sums up his arguments, I shall do the same with Mr. Williams: "The main authority for the present site of the Holy Sepulchre is Eusebius, and the warrant for its preservation or recovery is the pagan temple raised over it by Hadrian, which became a lasting record of the spot."[5] And since, in the time of this emperor, the crucifixion and burial of our Saviour were almost in the memory of man, we may conclude "that this powerful record of the means used by pagans to obliterate the rites of Christianity, seems to afford decisive evidence concerning the locality of the tomb, and to place its situation beyond the reach of doubt."[6]

Though Mr. Williams seems to think tradition sufficient to satisfy all impartial inquirers, he nevertheless enlarges with great care on the topographical evidence which can be brought forward in opposition to Dr. Robinson's opinions. But it must be owned that, able as some of his topographical observations are, they can no more be magnified into direct evidence in favour of the sites now shown than Dr. Robinson's topographical opinions into direct evidence against them. The truth is, that neither Mr. Williams nor Dr. Robinson have adduced any conclusive evidence concerning the precise line of the ancient walls of Jerusalem. And, on this particular point, it is evident that Dr. Robinson has a very great advantage in the nature of the question; for, if Dr. Robinson's line

[1] *The Holy City*, p. 253. [2] *Ibid.* 256 [3] *Ibid.* 289. [4] *Ibid.* 290.
[5] Mr. Newman's Preface to Fleury, p. clvi., note *f*, as quoted in *The Holy City*, p. 297.
[6] Dr. Clarke's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 549, as quoted in *The Holy City*, p. 297.

of wall be the true one, then the present sites cannot possibly be authentic, since they are within that wall. But even if Mr. Williams's line of wall should really be proved to rest on the firmest foundations, still it would be possible that the sites now shown, though without that wall, might not be the true sites.[1]

Lord Nugent has also attempted to uphold the evidence of tradition against the powerful assaults of Dr. Robinson's reasoning.[2] Lord Nugent considers tradition peculiarly applicable to this case. What can mankind prove by tradition, if it can be supposed that Christians could forget the site of their Saviour's burial and resurrection? Alas, however, for mankind! Man will forget anything.

The supplementary arguments deduced by Lord Nugent from the direction of the walls, from the position of the gate Gennath, and from his attempt to identify the present bazaar with the spot where the troops of Titus carried the second wall, as recorded by Josephus,[3] even supposing they were all conceded, would still hardly be sufficient to frame an issue directly affecting the authenticity of the present sites that could be sent to a jury. His lordship's topographical arguments, though ingenious, cannot be admitted to be direct evidence on the question of the identification of the sites of the crucifixion and resurrection.

In this discussion, Dr. Robinson has certainly the advantage in his arguments, though Mr. Williams and Lord Nugent may be right in their conclusions. It is much easier to find good reasons for doubting than to find evidence strong enough to refute doubts. The American divine has also adopted a more correct spirit of investigation; but the English clergyman has prosecuted his inquiry with better topographical observations, and the man of the world has displayed a finer and juster discrimination of the results of facts. Dr. Robinson studied authorities with care; and these authorities, as he perceived, were far from conclusive. The reverence Mr. Williams resolved to pay to these very authorities made him rest satisfied with imperfect evidence. Lord Nugent looked at the site with candour, and, under the guidance of taste and feeling, he felt convinced. All three have, however, spoiled their case. Dr. Robinson, by making an untenable hypothesis concerning an imaginary wall; and Mr. Williams and Lord Nugent, by allowing this weakness of their adversary to delude them into indulging in conjecture as a means of refuting conjecture.

[1] In spite of all the learning that has been employed on the subject, and the laborious researches of Dr. Robinson and Mr. Williams, we really know but little concerning the topography of ancient Jerusalem. It is necessary to use great caution in examining the subject under the guidance of modern authors. Though the work of Mr. Williams is perhaps the best on the subject, he has too often neglected the canons of archæological science to be a safe guide. Still, he has added something to our scanty stock of knowledge, and his identification of the valley Tyropoion is a very important step towards solving many existing difficulties. The best statement of the historical evidence concerning the ancient walls, is that of Professor Fallmerayer, "Denkschrift über Golgatha und das Heilig Grab," 1852, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Bavaria*.

[2] *Lands Classical and Sacred.* [3] Josephus, *Jewish War*, book v. ch. 8.

PRESENT STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION CONCERNING THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE SITE.

The question now at issue is, where is the true site of the Holy Sepulchre? It is therefore necessary, in the first place, to examine whether there exists any direct evidence on the subject; for if there be none, then the question will be a matter of inference and opinion, and cannot in all probability ever be permanently settled. The presumption that the site now shown is not the real tomb, has become of late years so general among Protestants, that the burden of the proof in its favour is now thrown, rather unfairly, it must be confessed, on those who maintain a fact undisputed for about 1500 years. Undoubtedly, they who first called in question the authenticity of the actual site, ought to have been compelled to prove that it is not the real tomb, before the public condescended to change its opinion; but, unfortunately, the doubters have always the advantage in historical discussion; and be it right or wrong now, it is evident that if the site shown as the Holy Sepulchre is to be in future generally admitted to be the tomb of our Saviour, it must be proved to be so by historical evidence. Tradition will no longer serve the purpose.

No inferences from the disputed and questionable topography of ancient Jerusalem can be admitted. Direct proof must be adduced that Constantine really brought to light the real tomb of Christ, and that the site now reverenced is the one which he sanctified. This spot, though well known after the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus, appears to have been forgotten or neglected after the foundation of Ælia Capitolina by Hadrian. It must be proved that documentary evidence existed for nearly two centuries, while tradition was silent. Nothing less will satisfy a hesitating world.

EVIDENCE THAT CONSTANTINE FIXED ON THE TRUE SITE.

It is necessary to examine all the evidence which it was in the power of Constantine to collect in his endeavour to ascertain the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and to scrutinise this evidence with perfect impartiality. We may then decide whether the evidence is sufficient to establish the truth of a point of history.

Eusebius, as has been already noticed, mentions that the pagans had erected a temple of Venus over the Holy Sepulchre. Tradition, it has been supposed, would enable the Christians to preserve some memory of this circumstance. Dr. Robinson is of a contrary opinion. He declares, that "the amount of the testimony relative to an idol erected over the place of the resurrection, and serving to mark the spot, is simply that writers, *ex post facto*, have mentioned such an idol as standing, not over the sepulchre known of old as being that of Christ, but *over the spot fixed upon by Constantine as that sepulchre*."[1]

[1] *Biblical Researches*, vol. ii. p. 73.

It becomes, therefore, necessary to show that Constantine had documentary evidence to prove, that the Temple of Venus, or the idol which stood over the spot fixed upon by his officers as the site of the Holy Sepulchre, really stood over the sepulchre known of old as that of Christ. It is the simplest method of arriving at a solution of the question, to adopt the very ground occupied by Dr. Robinson in his *Biblical Researches* as the arena of discussion, and prosecute the search for truth, as far as possible, by his side.

MODE OF INVESTIGATION FOLLOWED BY CONSTANTINE.

What mode of investigation would Constantine adopt, when he had resolved to ascertain the site of the Holy Sepulchre? In spite of the reverence many persons display for tradition, I cannot believe that the Roman emperor instructed his officers in Palestine to commence by an examination of the oldest grave-diggers or notaries of Ælia Capitolina. There can be no doubt that, in a case of so much importance in the eyes of Constantine himself, and in the opinion of the whole Christian world, the emperor would adopt the usual means afforded by the administration of the Roman empire for ascertaining the truth in any doubtful topographical or territorial dispute. In this particular case, as a numerous, powerful, and intelligent body of sceptic and pagan philosophers and statesmen would watch every step of the imperial proceedings with suspicion, the government would undoubtedly observe strictly the usual official forms.

It is from the very circumstance of Constantine having scrupulously observed these forms of proceeding in order to ascertain the truth, that they are not particularly detailed by the ecclesiastical historians who mention his discovery of the Holy Sepulchre.

PERFECTION OF THE ROMAN CENSUS, AND EXACT REGISTRATION OF PROPERTY.

It is well known that the excellence of the Roman imperial government consisted in two things,—in an admirable civil administration, and an incomparable judicial organisation. Now, in no department of the civil administration was the superiority of the Roman system of Government over that of modern states more conspicuous, than in the mass of statistical information in the possession of the executive power.

In the time of Vespasian, the political archives of Rome contained 3000 bronze tablets, on which all the public laws, decrees of the senate, and treaties of peace with foreign powers, as well as special privileges to confederated states or favoured individuals, were engraved. But, besides this splendid collection of public documents, the national archives contained another collection for the preservation of all statistical information connected with the census.[1]

[1] Suetonius, "Vespasian," c. 8.

The census was so perfect, that throughout the wide extent of the Roman empire every private estate was surveyed. Maps were constructed, indicating not only every locality possessing a name, but so detailed that every field was measured. And in the register connected with the map, even the number of the fruit-trees in the gardens, the olive-trees in the groves, and the vines in the vineyards, was set down, the cattle were counted, and the inhabitants, both slaves and free, were individually inscribed in this register.[1]

Not only every Roman province, and especially every Roman colony, but even every municipality, was surveyed with this extreme accuracy. A plan of the district was engraved on brass, and deposited in the imperial register-office; while copies were placed in the hands of the local administrations, and in the provincial archives. The fact that these plans were engraved on plates of brass is mentioned by Hyginus, and the practice of multiplying copies of these brazen plates on linen is incidentally recorded in the Theodosian code.[2]

APPLICATION OF THE CENSUS TO JUDEA MENTIONED BY ST. LUKE.

Such were the principles on which the Roman census was constructed, and these principles were first applied to Judea in the time of Augustus. St. Luke gives us some interesting information concerning the manner of framing the personal registers of the census. He shows us the minute attention paid by the Roman administration to all statistical details, and supplies us with the means of contrasting the personal importance of each citizen in ancient political communities with the utter insignificance of the social position of a private individual in modern states. The words of the Evangelist are: "And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. (And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.) And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judæa, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem (because he was of the house and lineage of David), to be taxed."[3]

The Pandects also afford evidence that the inspection over

[1] Ulpian in the Pandects, lib. l. tit. xiv. 4.

Ulpianus, lib. iii. "De Censibus." Forma censuali cavetur, ut agri sic in censum referatur: nomen fundi cujusque, et in qua civitate, et in quo pago sit, et quos duos vicinos proximos habeat, et id arvum quod in decem annis proximis satum erit, quot jugerum sit, vinea quot vites habeat, olivetum quot jugerum, et quot arbores habeat, pratum, quod intra decem annos proximos factum erit, quot jugerum, pascua quot jugerum esse videantur, item silvæ cæduæ, omnia ipse, qui defert, æstimet. . . . Quare si agri portio chasmate perierit, debebit per censitorem relevari."

[2] Hyginus, *De Limitibus constituendis*, p. 193, in the collection of the Agrimensones, entitled "Rei Agrariæ auctores legesque, variæ quædam nunc primum, cætera emendatiora prodeunt cura Wilhelmi Goesii, 4to, Amst. 1674."

Cod. Theodos. xi. xxvii.: "Æreis tabulis vel cerussatis aut linteis mappis scripta per omnes civitates Italiæ proponatur lex," etc.

[3] St. Luke ii. 1–5.

every portion of property was as exact and minute as the control which was exercised over each individual citizen.[1] And Livy informs us that this administrative organisation was a portion of the Roman constitution, and had been applied in all its details to the allied cities, and among the Latins, as early as the year B.C. 173.[2]

The mass of statistical information collected by the great census of Augustus, was of such importance, that the emperor himself was induced to prepare an abstract of its results, which was presented to the Senate by his successor Tiberius, and regarded as one of the most valuable monuments of his government.[3] The registers of the census were still farther improved in the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine; and the revision of the taxation based on these registers was established every fifteenth year, as a fundamental law of the empire.

The importance of the general survey and registration of property over the whole Roman empire has not been sufficiently appreciated by modern historians, nor has its effect on the events of Roman history been fully developed. It is not one of the least of the merits of the sagacious Niebuhr that he was the first to point out the great importance of the Agrimensones, or corps of civil engineers; and the necessity of studying their duties in order to enlarge our knowledge of the Roman administration. The business of the Agrimensones was to measure lands and maintain boundaries, and a map of their survey was deposited in the imperial archives, while a copy was placed in those of the colony. During the decline of the empire, and consequently in the time of Constantine, they formed a numerous and respectable class. Many of them were men both of rank and science.[4]

The name of the Surveyor-general of Augustus, Balbus, has been preserved by history. Frontinus, who mentions it, gives us some notices concerning the survey. The limits of the provinces, and the boundaries of the municipalities and cities, were determined and recorded in the books of Augustus and Nero; and Balbus, in the time of Augustus, compiled a commentary on the forms and admeasurements of the census, in which the condition of landed property throughout the empire was registered and explained.[5]

The exactitude of the details in this early survey was so great, that they were applicable to fixing questions relating to private property; and excited the admiration of posterity as late as the time of Cassiodorus, who cites its minuteness as enabling each proprietor to know his own rights with certainty, and the amount of the public taxes to which he was liable, about the middle of the sixth century.[6]

1 *Pandects*, book l. tit. xv. 4: "Is vero qui agrum in alia civitate," etc.
2 Livy, xlii. 10. 3 Tacitus, *Annals*, l. 2. Suetonius, "Augustus," c. 28, 102.
4 Niebuhr's *Roman History*, vol. ii. p. 634.
5 *Frontini de Coloniis Libellus*, in the collection to the "Rei Agrariæ Auctores Legesque, ap. Goesium," p. 109.
6 *Cassiodori Variarum*, lib. xii.; lib. iii. 52: "Augusti si quidem temporibus orbis Romanus agris divisus censuque descriptus est, ut possessio sua nulli haberetur incerta, quam pro tributorum susceperat quantitate solvenda."

MATERIALS AT CONSTANTINE'S DISPOSAL FOR VERIFYING THE SITE.

The evidence already produced would be sufficient to prove that the Roman Archives, in the time of Constantine, afforded the materials necessary for determining with exactitude the site of any public building in Jerusalem. The particular mention of Ælia Capitolina in the Pandects puts this beyond a doubt. Ulpian there informs us that the two Roman colonies in Palestine, Ælia Capitolina and Cæsarea, did not enjoy the Jus Italicum.[1] Now this proves that they enjoyed every other advantage of the Roman administration. The previous application of the census of Augustus to the citizens of Judea, would require the government of the colony to pay even more than the usual attention to perfect all the details of its survey, and compile comparative maps and plans of the topography of Jerusalem and the new colony. We have, also, precise evidence that the details of the census were most rigorously applied throughout the whole extent of the empire in the reign of Constantine. Lactantius, the tutor of his son, gives a sketch of its minuteness.[2]

When Constantine, therefore, had determined to ascertain the exact site of the tomb of our Saviour, there can be no doubt that he ordered the imperial archives to be searched for plans of Jerusalem, as it existed both before and after its conquest by Titus and Hadrian. Such plans must have existed, not only in the imperial archives, but also in the provincial records of Judea, and in the register-office of the colony of Ælia Capitolina. These plans would leave no doubt that the Temple of Venus stood over the real site of the tomb of our Saviour. Had the smallest doubt remained, it could easily have been removed by actual measurement from some other position. The position of Golgotha, the gate leading to Golgotha, and the property of Joseph of Arimathæa, were all places which must have been inserted in the registers. The words of Eusebius, already quoted, lead us to believe that the Temple of Venus was, even in his time, without the walls. Supposing, however, that not a trace of the walls or of the gate remained, their position could easily be ascertained from the title-deeds of property in the vicinity, inscribed in the register as early as the time of Augustus. With the place called Golgotha, and the tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa, a rich man and a counsellor, to search for, both of which must have been laid down in the plans, and inscribed

[1] *Pandects*, l. tit. xv. 1, 6: "In Palæstina duæ sunt coloniæ, Cæsariensis et Ælia Capitolina; sed neutra jus Italicum habet."

[2] *Lactantii de Mortibus Persecutorum*, c. 23: "Agri glebatim metiebantur, vites et arbores numerabantur, animalia omnis generis scribebantur, hominum capita notabantur; unusquisque cum liberis, cum servis aderant."

Siculus Flaccus, edit. Goesii. p. 9: "Titulos finitis spatiis positos, qui indicent cujus agri quis dominus, quod spatium tueatur."—*Rei Agrariæ Auctores.*

Dureau de la Malle, in his *Economie Politique des Romains*, gives an accurate and critical examination of our knowledge relating to all the details of the Roman census.

in the registers, prior to the time of the crucifixion, any pious fraud of the Christians in the time of Constantine, could only have proved injurious to their own cause.

That the Temple of Venus, consequently, really stood over the site of the Holy Sepulchre, was a fact that could be verified without difficulty, both by Constantine and his officers. That the site was so verified, we may rest assured, otherwise the Jews and Pagans, in the time of Julian, would have pointed out the inaccuracy of the researches of Constantine, and revealed the smallest flaw in the evidence. Any insufficiency in the data on which Constantine had pretended to fix the sites of the crucifixion and the resurrection, as soon as it was adopted by the Christians, would have been considered a legitimate ground for drawing the inference, that the Christians had accepted the fundamental truths of their religion on the same imperfect testimony. It would not have been reserved for Korte, a bookseller from Altona, to raise doubts concerning the authenticity of the site; nor for Dr. Robinson, an American divine, to make the charitable discovery that Constantine, or Helena, or the Bishop Macarius, had committed a pious fraud.

ARGUMENTS HITHERTO ADDUCED BOTH AGAINST AND IN FAVOUR OF THE PRESENT SITE NUGATORY.

The arguments of recent writers against and in favour of the authenticity of the actual site have now been proved to be nugatory or irrelevant. Dr. Robinson combats tradition, insinuates fraud, and builds an imaginary wall, when he ought to have searched for historical evidence. Both Lord Nugent and the Rev. George Williams adopt conclusions based only on opinions.

The question of the authenticity of the site now shown, really turns on the probability of the Roman administration having preserved documentary evidence for the space of at most one hundred and ninety years, when we know that at least three copies of this documentary evidence must have existed originally. During all the period, too, between the foundation of Ælia Capitolina and the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, Palestine enjoyed as great a degree of tranquillity as England since the time of Cromwell. The uniform course of the Roman administration, therefore, renders the preservation of all the statistical documents required for the verification of the sites sought by Constantine, a fact which must be admitted, unless historical evidence can be adduced to prove that their destruction was more probable than their preservation.

AUTHENTICITY OF THE NARRATIVE OF EUSEBIUS.

We now see that the account given of the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre by Eusebius, as a cotemporary and an eye-witness, is in the strictest accordance with the official course pursued by Constantine. Eusebius makes no mention of tradition, for he knew

that documentary evidence alone could determine with certainty that the Temple of Venus was erected over the tomb of our Saviour. When the removal of the pagan shrine took place, and the foundations were cleared away, the fact that the sepulchre, hewn in the rock, remained undestroyed, naturally called forth expressions of wonder and pious gratitude. Its destruction would have been so easy to those who covered it up with earth, and desecrated it in the eyes of the Christians, in order to veil it for ever in oblivion, that Eusebius might well consider that it had been spared only by a miracle.

SUMMARY.

The arguments concerning the identity of the site at present shown as the Holy Sepulchre which have been hitherto brought forward in examining the subject, are insufficient either to prove or disprove any disputed point of history. They seem to me to be grounded on unwarranted assumptions, and supported by unfounded suppositions.

I have made an attempt to treat the question as one of historical evidence. Unless I deceive myself, I have succeeded in demonstrating that, far from the site of the Holy Sepulchre being, as it has generally been considered, the most doubtful point in the topography of Jerusalem, it is precisely the point which we are enabled to fix with the greatest certainty. It is the settled base from which all future investigations of the topography of the Holy City must proceed.

It is vain to pretend that any argument can be drawn from the actual appearance of Jerusalem, to render it impossible that the present site should ever have been without the walls. Eusebius never could have committed so preposterous an error concerning the walls of Jerusalem as to suppose it without their limits, had it been included within their circuit ; and the Jews and Pagans in the time of Julian would have loudly proclaimed the blunder.

It appears to me that there are only two points within the walls of Jerusalem which are incontestable,—the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and of the Temple of the Jews. From these two points, and the marked topographical features of Mount Sion and the valley Tyropoion, we must cautiously proceed to the identification of the rest.

Since the discovery of the tomb by Constantine, the buildings erected over it, and the church constructed in its vicinity, have been more than once destroyed.[1] But while the greatest doubt rests on

[1] Jerusalem was taken by the Persians in the year 614, and the church of the Holy Sepulchre was burnt.—*Chronicon Paschale*, p. 385, edit. Paris. It was rebuilt almost immediately. The church was again burnt by the Mohammedans in the reign of Nicephorus II., about 966.—Cedrenus, vol. ii. p. 661. In the year 1010, Hakem, caliph of Egypt, demolished the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and defaced the tomb itself.—Cedrenus, 706; William of Tyre, i. 4. Romanus III. and Michael IV. contributed to its reconstruction.—Cedrenus, 731. It was completed in 1048.—William of Tyre, i. 6. After the Crusaders founded the kingdom of Jerusalem, they erected over,

the lines of the various walls with which Jerusalem has at different times been fortified, none can now exist concerning the authenticity of the site of the Holy Sepulchre, which many rival sects and hostile national churches have ever since agreed in considering as a holy place of pilgrimage.

If history can prove any facts by collateral evidence, it must be admitted that it has proved that Constantine could not possibly have been mistaken in identifying the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and that Christians cannot have transferred the site from the spot fixed on by him in his time.

We may consequently rest perfectly satisfied, that when we view the marble tomb now standing in the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, we really look on the site of the sepulchre that was hewn in a rock in the place where Jesus was crucified.

IV

CATALOGUE OF THE EDITION OF THE BYZANTINE HISTORIANS PRINTED AT PARIS, AND REPRINTED AT VENICE, WITH THE ADDITIONS REQUIRED TO COMPLETE IT

Copies both of the original edition of the collection of the Byzantine historians, printed at Paris, and of the Venetian reprint, vary so much in the arrangement and number of the volumes, that an alphabetical catalogue of the works is necessary in order to enable purchasers to form a complete set of these writers, and may prove useful to students of the history of the Eastern Empire. A list of the Paris edition, as the volumes were first published, or at least as they were arranged in the oldest French catalogues, will be found in Ebert's Bibliographisches Lexicon, and in Schweiger's Handbuch der Classichen Bibliographie, and an alphabetical index of all the works, in the third volume of Pinder's Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur, von Schoell. It is needless to notice the superiority of the new edition, now in the course of publication at Bonn, which is often great. Still the older editions often retain their value, as many works are not entirely reprinted.

and in connection with the sacred places, a stately temple, enclosing the whole of the sacred precincts; the walls and general form of which probably remain to the present day.—Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, vol. ii. p. 61. In the year 1808, the church of the Holy Sepulchre was nearly destroyed by fire, but the tomb escaped uninjured. The repairs of the walls and reconstruction of the church were completed in the year 1810.

As a proof that no change took place in the site at the destruction of the church by the Persians in 614, the Iberians who accompanied Heraclius in his campaigns had been in the habit of making pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre, and sending money for the use of the holy places to the Patriarch before the Persian invasion, and they continued to do so after the Mohammedan conquest.—Constantine Porphyr. *De Adm. Imp.* p. 198, edit. Bonn.

1. PH. LABBÆI de Byzantinæ historiæ Scriptoribus emittendis ad omnes per orbem eruditos protrepticon. Parisiis, 1648.

   Excerpta de legationibus ex DEXIPPO Atheniense, EUNAPIO Sardiano, PETRO Patricio, PRISCO Sophista, MALCHO Philadelph., MENANDRO Protect., THEOPHYLACTO Simocatta, a D. Hoeschelio edita Item Eclogæ historicorum de rebus Byzantinis, quorum integra scripta aut injuria temporum interciderunt, aut plura continent ad Constant. historiam minus spectantia. Selegit interp. recensuit notisque illust. PH. LABBE. Recensio auctorum, qui in hisce eclogis continentur. OLYMPIODORUS Thebæus, CANDIDUS Isaurus, THEOPHANES Byzantius de bello Justini adv. Persas, HESYCHIUS Milesius de rebus patriis Constantinopoleos. Parisiis, 1648.

2. AGATHIÆ Scholastici de imperio et rebus gestis Justiniani, imp. libri V. gr. et lat. interpr. B. Vulcanio, access. ejusd. Agathiæ epigrammata. Parisiis, 1660.

3. ANASTASII Bibliothecarii Historia Ecclesiastica, acced. notæ Car. Annib. Fabroti. Ejusd. Anastasii vitæ Pontificum Romanorum. Parisiis, 1649.

4. COMNENÆ Porphyrog. Cæsarissæ (Annæ) Alexias, lib. xv. a Pet. Passino, lat. interpret glossario et notis illust., accesserunt præfat. ac notæ Dav. Hoeschelii. Parisiis, 1651.

   Notæ historicæ et philol. in Annæ Comnenæ Alexiadem. Parisiis, 1670.

5. and 6. BANDURI (Anselmi) Imperium Orientale, sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanæ in quatuor partes distributæ. 2 vol. Parisiis, 1711.

   Vol. I. Constantini Porphyro, de Thematibus Orientis et Occidentis liber. Hieroclis Grammatici Synecdemus—Constantini Porphyr. de administrando imperio lib.—Agapeti Diaconi capita admonitoria ad Justinianum imp.—Basilii imp. capita exhortationum ad Leonem filium—Theophylacti Archiep. Bulg. institutio regia ad Constantinum Porphyrog. —Anonymi origines Constantinopolitanæ ac descriptio ædis Sophianæ—Breves demonstrationes chronographicæ incerti auctoris—Nicetæ Choniatæ narratio de statuis Constantinopolitanis, quas Latini, capta urbe, in monetam conflaverunt.

   Vol. II. Ans. Banduri animadversiones in Constantini Porph. libros de thematibus et de adm. imperio ; ac breves notæ ad opuscula Agapeti Diac Basilii imp. et Theophylacti etc.

7, 8, and 9. CANTACUZENI (Joan.) Historia, gr. et lat. ex interp. J. Pontani, c. ejusdem, et J. Gretseri, annot. 3 vol. Parisiis, 1645.

10. CEDRENI (Georgii) Compendium Historiarum, gr. et lat. ex vers. et c. not. G. Xylandri, Acce. ad not. J. Goar et Car. Annib.

Fabroti glossar, in Cedrenum. Excerpta ex breviario historico Joannis Skylitzæ Curopolatæ. Parisiis, 1647.

11. CHALCOCONDYLÆ (Laonici) Historiar. lib. x. de origine et reb. gestis Turcorum gr. et lat. cum annalibus Sultanorum ex vers. J. Leunclavii. acc. C. A. Fabroti ind. gloss. Chalcocond. Parisiis, 1650.

12. Chronicon Alexandrinum s. Chronion Paschale a mundo condito ad Heraclii imp. a. 20. c. n. chron. et hist. cura Car. Dufresne Dn. du Cange. Parisiis, 1688.

13. Chronicon Orientale latinitate donatum ab Abrahamo Ecchellensi. Ejusd. Historiæ Orientalis supplementum. Parisiis, 1651. Chronicon Orientale Petri Rahebi Ægypti ex Arabico latine reddittum ab Ab. Ecchellensi, nunc nova interpr. donatum a J. S. Assemano. Fol. Venet. 1729.

This Venetian edition is improved and augmented.

14. CINNAMI (Joan.) Historiar. libr. vi. gr. et lat. c. not. hist. et philol. Car. Dufresne du Cange. acc. Pauli Silentiarii descriptio S. Sophiæ. gr. et lat. c. n. Ducange. Parisiis, 1670.

15. CODINI (Georgii) et Anonymi excerpta de antiquitat. Constantinopolitanis, gr. et lat. ex vers. Petr. Lambecii. c. ejusd. not. acc. MANUEL. CHRYSOLARÆ, epist. iii. etc. IMP. LEONIS. oracula (c. fig.) gr. et lat. interpr. Bern. Medonio. Parisiis, 1655.

16. CODINI (Georgii) De off. magnæ ecclesiæ et aulæ Constantino politanæ, gr. et lat. ex vers. J. Gretseri c. ejusd. comment. acc. notitiæ Græcorum episcopatuum a Leone Sapiente ad Andronicum Palæologum a J. Goar. Parisiis, 1648.

17 and 18. PORPHYROGEN. (Constantini) Lib. ii. De ceremoniis aulæ Byzantinæ, gr. et lat. ed. J. H. Leich, et J. Jac. Reiske. 2 vol. Lipsiæ, 1751.

19. Corporis Historiæ Byz. nova appendix opera GEORGII PISIDÆ, THEODOSII Diaconi, et CORIPPI Africani complectens, c. notis P. F. Foggini. Romæ, 1777.

20. DUCÆ (J.) Historia Byzantina, gr. et lat. not. illustrav. Ism. Bullialdi. Parisii, 1649.

21. DUFRESNE D. DUCANGE (Car.) Historia Byzantina duplici commentario illustrata, prior familias ac stemmata imperatorum Constantinopolit. cum eorundem numismatibus; alter descriptionem urbis Constantinopolitanæ sub imp. Christianis. Parisiis, 1680.

22. GENESIUS (Jos.) de reb. Constantinopolitanis, a Leone Armenio ad Basilium Macedonem—Geo. PHRANZÆ, Chronicon lat.—J. ANTIOCHENI cog. MALALÆ, Chronographia. R. BENTLEII Epistola ad Millium. LEONIS ALLATII Opuscula. Fol. Venet. 1733.

23. ACROPOLITÆ (Georgii) Historia, gr. et lat. JOELIS Chronographia Compendiaria, et J. CANANI Narratio de bello Constantinopolitano, gr. et lat. ex interpr. Leon. Allatii c. ejusd. et Theod. Dousæ observ. acc. Allatii de Georgiis et eorum scriptis diatribæ. Parisiis, 1651.

24. GLYCÆ (Mich.) Annales, gr. et lat. ex vers. J. Leunclavii, ex rec. et c. notis, Ph. Labbæi. Parisiis, 1660.

25. Historiæ Byzantinæ Scriptores post Theophanem. Parisiis, 1685.

Chronici jassu Constantini Porphyrog. conscripti a Leone Armenio usque ad Michaelem Theoph. fil. libri iv. Constantini Porphyrog, Basilius Macedo.—Anonymus continuator Theophanis—Orthodoxorum invectiva adv. Iconomachos.—Joannis Jerosolymitani narratio de Iconomachis—Joannis Cameniatæ narratio de excidio urbis Thessalonicæ—Demetri Cydonii monodia occisorum Thessalonicæ—Symeonis Magistri ac Logothetæ Annales—Georgii Monachii, vitæ recentior. imp. a Leone Armenio usque ad Constantinum Porphyrogen.

26. LEONIS (Diaconi) Historia, scriptoresque ad res Byzantinas pertinentes etc. ed. C. B. Hase. Fol. Parisiis, 1819.

LEONIS Diaconi Caloënsis Historiæ, libri x. et liber de velitatione bellica Nicephori Augusti, e recensione Car. Ben. Hasii, addita ejusdem versione atque adnotationibus ab ipso recognitis. Accedunt Theodosii Acroases de Creta capta e rec. F. Jacobsii et Luitprandi legatio cum aliis libellis qui Nicephori Phocæ et Joannis Tzimiscis historiam illustrant. Bonnæ, 1828.

27. LYDUS (J. F.) De magistratibus Romanis ed. J. D. Fuss, præf. est. C. B. Hase. 8vo. Parisiis, 1811.

De ostentis. Parisiis, 1823.

The works of Lydus are printed in one volume of the Bonn edition. Joannes Lydus, ex. rec. Imm. Bekkeri. 8vo. Bonn, 1837.

28. MALALÆ (Joan) ANTIOCHENI. cognomento J. MALALÆ, Hist. Chronica, ed. Ed. Chilmead. Oxon. 8vo. 1691.

Reprinted at Venice, in No. 24.

29. MANASSIS (Constantini) Breviarium Hist. ex. interpr. J. Leunclavii, c. ejusdem et J. Meursii, not. acc. var. lect. cura Leonis Allatii, et C. Ann. Fabroti, et ejusdem glossarium. Parisiis, 1655.

30. NICETÆ ACOMINATI, Historia, gr. et lat. interpr. Hier. Wolfio, c. ejusd. notis, acc. C. A. Fabroti. glossarium. Parisiis, 1647.

NICETÆ ACOMINATI CHONIATÆ, Narratio de statuis antiquis, quas Franci post captam anno 1204 Constantinopolin destruxerunt. Ex codice Bodleiiano emendatius edita a F. Wilken. Lipsiæ, 1830, 8vo.

31. NICEPHORI Patriarchæ, Breviarium Hist. de reb. gest. ab obitu Mauricii ad Constantinum usque Copronymum. gr. et lat. c. interpr. et notis D. Petavii. Parisiis, 1648.

32. NICEPHORI (Bryenii) Commentarii de rebus Byzantinis gr. et lat. stud. P. Possini. Parisiis, 1661.

33 and 34. NICEPHORI (Gregoræ) Byzantina Historia, ex vers. Hieron. Wolfii et J. Boivini. 2 vol. Parisiis, 1702.

35. Notitia Dignitatum imperii Romani—ex nova recens. PH. LABBÆI. Parisiis, 1651, 8vo. Ven. 1732, Fol.

The new edition by Dr. Bœcking is so superior that all earlier ones are useless. 8vo. 2 vols. Bonn, 1839.

36 and 37. PACHYMERIS Georgii) Historia, gr. et lat. cum observat. P. Possini. 2 vol. Fol. Romæ typ. Barberinis, 1666–69.

38. POLLUCIS (Jul.) Historia Physica, seu chronicon ab origine mundi usque ad Valentis tempora, nunc primum gr. et lat. editum. ab Ign. Hard. Monach. 1792, 8vo.

It was also published under the title, Anonymi Scriptoris hist. sacra. Folio. J. B. Bianconi. Bononiæ, 1779.

39. PHRANTZÆ (Georg.) Chronicon, ed. F. C. Alter. Fol. Vindob. 1795. Gr.

A new edition of Phrantzas has been published at Bonn, with the gr. text and lat. translation.

40 and 41. PROCOPII (Cæsariensis) Hist. sui temp. lib. viii. Ejusd. de ædificiis Justiniani, lib. vi. gr. et lat. c. n. C. Maltreti. Ejusd. Arcana historia, gr. et lat. ex interpr. et c. notis N. Alemanni. Parisiis, 1662–3, 2 vol.

42. SYNCELLI Chronographia et NICEPHORI Breviarium chronogr. gr. et lat. interpr. et c. n. Jac. Goar. Parisiis, 1652.

43. THEOPHANIS Chronographia, et Leonis Grammatici Vitæ. recent. imperator. gr. et lat. ex interpr. J. Goar, et c. ejusd. et F. Combefis not. Parisiis, 1655.

44. THEOPHYLACTI Simocattæ Hist. lib. viii. gr. et lat. ex J. Pontani interp. Parisiis, 1647.

45. THEOPHYLACTI Institutio regia ad Porphyrogenitum Constantinum, gr. et lat. interpr. P. Possino. Fol. Venet. 1729.

46 and 47. ZONARÆ (Joan.) Annales. gr. et lat. ex interpr. Hier. Wolfii recens. et not. illustr. C. Dufresne D. Ducange, 2 vol. Parisiis, 1686–87.

In order to form a complete set of works on Byzantine history, it is usual to add the following to the library.

48. Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs François, par GEOFFRAY de Ville-Hardouin, avec les notes du C. Dufresne D. Ducange. Paris, 1657.

49. DUFRESNE DN. DUCANGE, (C.) Dissertatio de imperator. Constantinop. numismat. 4to. Rom. 1755.

50 and 51. BANDURI (Ans.) Numismata imperatorum Romanorum a Trajano Decio ad Palæologos. Fol. 2 vol. Parisiis, 1718.

52. TANINII (Hier.) Numismatum imperatorum Romanorum a Bandurio editorum supplementum. Fol. Romæ, 1791.

53, 54, and 55. LEQUIEN, (Mich.) Oriens Christianus. Fol. 3 vol. Parisiis, 1740.

56. BOSCHII (Petri) Tractatus de patriarchis Antiochenis. Fol. Venet. 1748.

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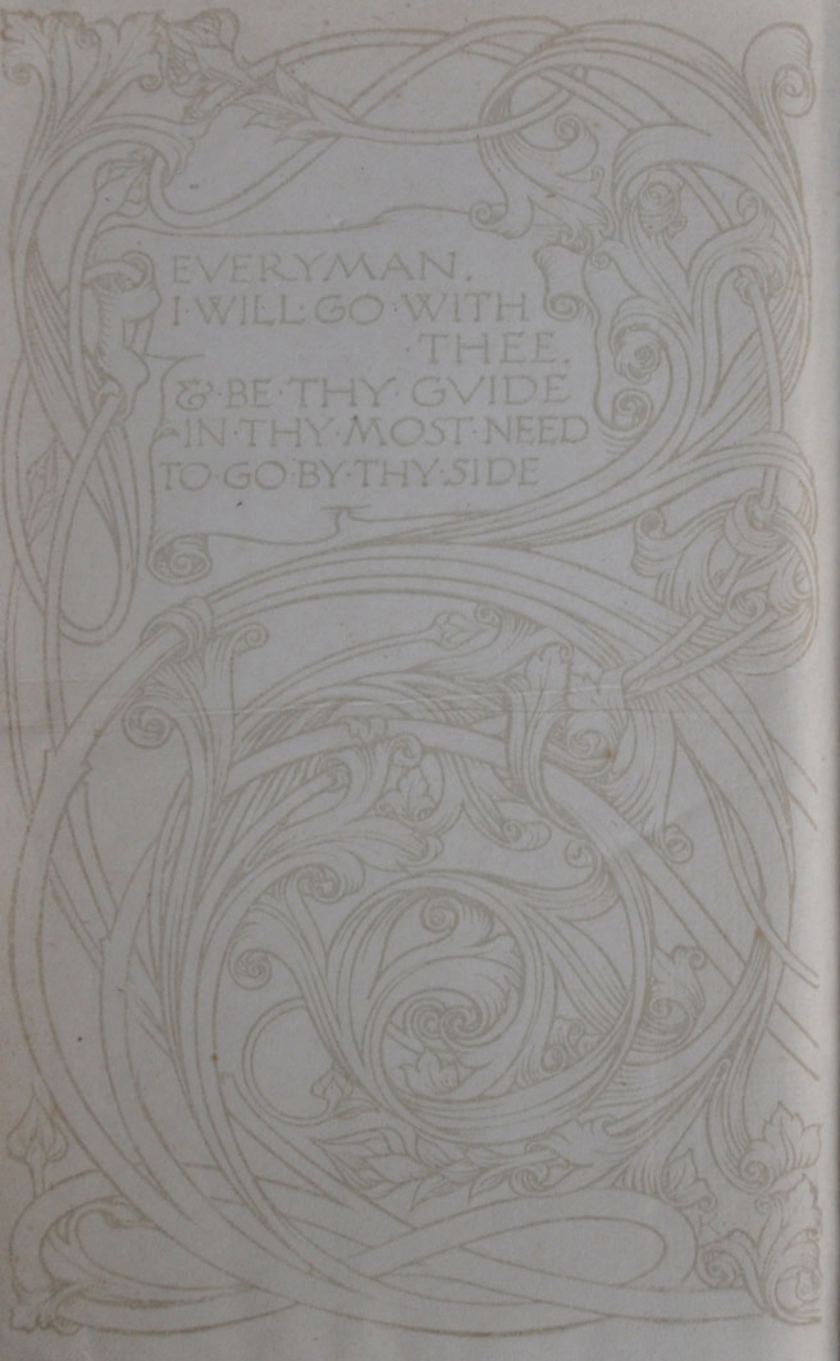
EVERYMAN.
I WILL GO WITH
THEE.
& BE THY GVIDE
IN THY MOST NEED
TO GO BY THY SIDE